CLASH OF DISCOURSES: THE U.S. NATIONAL DEBATE ON RELATIONS WITH HAITI, 1789-2004

A Ph.D. Dissertation

by

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CLASH OF DISCOURSES: THE U.S. NATIONAL DEBATE ON RELATIONS WITH HAITI, 1789-2004

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences of Bilkent University

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ABSTRACT

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November 2008

This dissertation is a historical-comparative analysis of the rhetorical forms and frames that have shaped United States-Haitian relations, departing from the predominantly action-oriented perspective of international relations literature. The study expounds continuity and change in official foreign policy discourse as "The United States" and "Haiti" were reinterpreted through time. It also displays how these constructions of "self" and "other" have been contested within the public and political domain. This work is a contribution not only for its elaboration on the mostly unattended public, press and congressional critique of Haitian policy, but also for shedding further light on the role of African Americans in U.S. foreign policy making.

Keywords: The United States, Haiti, discourse, foreign policy, rhetoric, immigration, intervention

ÖZET

SÖYLEMLER ÇATIŞMASI: HAİTİ İLE İLİŞKİLER ÜZERİNE AMERİKAN ULUSAL TARTIŞMASI, 1789-2004

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Doktora, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü

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Bu doktora tezi, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri-Haiti ilişkilerini şekillendiren dilsel biçim ve çerçevelerin tarihsel-karşılaştırmalı bir analizi olarak, uluslararası ilişkiler literatürüne hakim olan eylem ağırlıklı perspektiften ayrılır. Çalışma, "Amerika Birleşik Devletleri" ve "Haiti" ifadelerinin zaman içerisinde yeniden yorumlanması üzerine resmi dış politika söyleminde gözlemlenen süreklilik ve değişiklikleri detaylıca ortaya koymaktadır. İlave olarak, bu "ben" ve "öteki" kurgularının politik düzlemde ve kamuoyu nezdinde ne şekilde eleştirildiğini de gözler önüne sermektedir. Eser, akademik araştırmalarda nispeten gözardı edilmiş kamuoyu, medya ve parlamenter karşı-söylemlerine yaptığı vurgunun yanısıra, Amerikan dış politika yapım sürecinde Afro-Amerikalıların rolüne ışık tutmasıyla da literatüre katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, Haiti, söylem, dış politika, retorik, göç, müdahale

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. 1 Case Study and Objective

This dissertation is a historical-comparative analysis of the rhetorical forms and frames that have shaped United States-Haitian relations. It is a departure from the predominantly action-oriented perspective of international relations, focusing on the rhetoric behind state behavior. Regarding foreign policy as representations of national identity, the study expounds continuity and change in foreign policy rhetoric as identity is re-interpreted through time. It also displays how constructions of identity have been contested within the public and political domain. By examining foreign policy rhetoric in socio-historical context, this study aims to answer a number of questions.

-Can rhetorical history contribute to a fuller understanding of foreign policymaking and national identity?

-How did the basic American principles become ingrained in foreign policy, and how were these reconceptualized and utilized by official and oppositional fronts?

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¹ Lene Hansen. Security as Practice: Discouse Analysis and the Bosnian War (London: Routledge, 2006), 30.

-What were the content and degree of concerns regarding Haiti that the United States administrations dealt with in their respective times? Were these unanimously shared by other political figures involved and the public opinion?

-Does foreign policy rhetoric feed upon and/or reflect domestic concerns as well?

While there exists a growing literature on the use of metaphors in political speech, informed analyses of foreign policy rhetoric are neither many nor exhaustive. Most importantly, exploration of patterns of rhetoric quality in different political contexts is clearly neglected. Existing academic literature on American foreign policy rhetoric involves studies conducted on the annual messages to Congress (later, State of the Union addresses), inaugural addresses, or even on one single address or other document, and they mostly cover policy rhetoric in the foundational era or in the Cold War by textually examining the public addresses of presidents. This is affirmed by Theodore Windt's observation that contemporary studies in presidential rhetoric are "primarily critical and fall into four categories: criticism of single presidential speeches, criticism of rhetorical movements, development and criticism of genres of presidential speeches, and miscellaneous articles on various ancillary topics."²

This dissertation aims to be comprehensive in that it will attempt to cover both public and private communications. The reason being, rhetorical activity exists not only in the public addresses of the foreign policy elite, but also in the more private communication among policymaking groups. Although political rhetoric has much more to do with the shaping of public opinion, this process also takes place within the official framework itself. The political domain is never a single, composite

² Quoted in Martin J. Medhurst. "A Tale of Two Constructs: The Rhetorical Presidency Versus Presidential Rhetoric" in *Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency*, Martin J. Medhurst, ed. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1996), xx.

body with a consensus over policy decisions. Hence official discourse also works within the establishment for indoctrination purposes in view of differences of opinion among political actors.³

Hence, while analyzing the various means in which Haiti was narrated in the United States foreign policy discourse, this dissertation does not only look at official statements. Due consideration is given to counterdiscursive strategies. Such perspective enables the problematization of the identity profile drawn by the establishment as regards itself and the other countries with which the United States is in touch. Put differently, this study aspires to arrive at a better understanding of the room for maneuver that the official position enjoys by analyzing the "argumentative" space" in which a policy is shaped. It is true that as every discourse adds up to or is changed to a degree by outside influences, highlighting the adjustments in the official discourse would be very revealing.⁴ However, it is highly problematic to gauge the degree with which the official position adapts itself in relation to criticisms. Stability or change in policy discourse may as well stem from various other internal and external constraints not addressed by the oppositional discourse. In very succint terms, this study analyzes how the hegemony of the official discourse is challenged by the opposition through looking at a wide array, if not every one, of sources in the form of public addresses, correspondence, parliamentary debates, pro-establishment as well as critical media and non-governmental organization (NGO) propaganda. While appreciating their influence and contribution to public and official opinion, this work refrains from attributing changes in the establishment discourse fully to the vigor of oppositional arguments.

³ Hansen. Security as Practice, 32.

⁴ Hansen. *Security as Practice*, 61; Gearóid Ó Tuathail. "Theorizing practical geopolitical reasoning: the case of the United States' response to the war in Bosnia," *Political Geography* 21 (2002), 601, 606.

Conceptual analysis of policy discourse and counterdiscourses reveals the vulnerability and flexibility of the decisionmaking process. Focusing only upon official statements to understand foreign policy making would yield a less proficient work. Such a perspective encapsulates oppositional discourses only as long as they are attended to within the official discourse.⁵ Counterdiscourses may bring to light the points that the official language evades, challenge the metaphors it attaches to the United States and the rest, and highlight the "instabilities and slips" in policy articulations used for multi-interpretability and consensus purposes. Accordingly, a more professional analysis of foreign relations is attainable through the display of hidden or marginalized stories. This dissertation is a contribution also in terms of highlighting the hitherto understudied role of African Americans in foreign policymaking. The plight of Haitians was extensively covered in black dailies and magazines in the United States, forming public opinion and contributing to the abolitionist efforts in the United States and the withdrawal of U.S. occupational forces from Haiti in 1934. The Congressional Black Caucus joined these efforts in the early 1970s, with its Democratic representatives constituting the foremost active force for Haitian rights in the Cold- and post-Cold War periods.

Parenthetically, neither the establishment nor the oppositional forces were unanimous in their respective arguments. There is not a clear-cut correlation between a rhetorical stance and the actors' occupation, party affiliation or race. An administration, for example, could as well be challenged by the ruling party's fellow senators and representatives. In a similar vein, some black Americans were apathetic toward the Haitian cause, with some supporting an imperialist American foreign

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⁵ Hansen. Security as Practice, 74.

⁶ Hansen. Security as Practice, 42; Tuathail. "Theorizing practical geopolitical reasoning," 607, 617, 620

⁷ See Henry Lewis Suggs. "The Response of the African American Press to the United States Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934," *Journal of African American History* (January 2002), 70-82.

policy. Haiti also gradually receded from the agenda of the black press in the Cold and post Cold War periods.

This dissertation is handicapped in terms of sources regarding the earlier stages of United States-Haitian relations. This results both from the late appearence and limited circulation of the critical press on the issue, as well as their frequent suppression by the establishment. As an example, the public was told little about the U.S. occupation of Haiti between 1915-1934 and, except in *The Nation*, very few exposés of the occupation was carried by the press.⁸ Press effectiveness was also curbed by official coercion and censorship as seen in the Espionage and Sedition Acts of 1917 and 1918 respectively.⁹ Critical media and non-governmental propaganda became much more effective and available as time proceeded.

1.2 Methodology

This dissertation offers a rhetorical history of the United States-Haitian relations, using the historical-comparative approach for analysis. The historical-comparative approach puts historical time and cross-cultural variation at the center of research. While this approach mainly uses qualitative techniques, it is open to quantitative techniques as well. It allows the use of different data types in combination, including primary and secondary sources, running records, and recollections. Historical-comparative research is useful to study, especially related with the task at hand, which is long-term political/societal change. A historical-comparative research links the micro- and macro-level processes; that is, it begins with the individuals, but also incorporates the link between the individuals' qualities, behaviors and the context. The researcher may focus on what occurs in one nation or

⁸ Donald B. Cooper. "The Withdrawal of the United States from Haiti, 1928-1934," *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 5:1 (January 1963), 86, 88.

⁹ Suggs. "The Response of the African American Press to the United States Occupation of Haiti," 74.

a set of nations and may examine a given topic either across time, at one time in history or at present. ¹⁰ This dissertation will look at past contexts in one nation across time for sequence and comparison.

As Kathleen J. Turner stated, historical research provides an understanding of rhetoric as a "process rather than as simply a product," and helps to appreciate the commonalities and differences of rhetorical situations. ¹¹ Since history consists of symbols created by people, rhetorical perspective can contribute particular insights to an understanding of history. In David Zarefsky's words

The economic historian might view human conduct from the perspective of the market, the political historian from the mobilization of interest and power, the intellectual historian from the standpoint of the evolution of ideas, and the rhetorical historian from the perspective of how messages are created and used by the people to relate to one another. ¹²

Rhetorical study of history encompasses more than just chronicling of the past. Here, the focus of interest is the rhetorical use of the past in the construction, especially of political arguments, in order to reveal the much less obvious techniques by which particular views prevailed over time.¹³

Rhetoric is a comprehensive discipline for studying "discursive" practices regardless of subject matter. If "discourse" is associated with meaning-making by various actors, rhetoric is related with "that art or talent by which the discourse is adapted to its end."¹⁴ As Moya Ann Ball contends, "a rhetorical perspective

Kathleen J. Turner. "Introduction," in *Doing Rhetorical History: Concepts and Cases*, Kathleen J. Turner, ed. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1998), 6, 9.

Thomas Ricento. "The discursive construction of Americanism," *Discourse and Society* 14:5 (2003), 614.

¹⁰ W. Lawrence Neuman. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, 4th ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2000) Chapter 14: "Historical-Comparative Research," 381-398.

¹² David Zarefsky. "Four Senses of Rhetorical History," in *Doing Rhetorical History: Concepts and Cases*, Kathleen J. Turner, ed. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1998), 30.

¹⁴George Campbell. *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (Online edition), 1776, 1. Retrieved from http://people.cohums.ohio-state.edu/Ulman1/Campbell/Book1/Book1-1.htm

ultimately props us to ask what persuasive discourse means in its historical context."¹⁵ Some actors have differential power on representational practices based on language. On the other hand, it is true that the discursive process is interactive, and cannot be limited to enunciations by a few key actors. Nevertheless, while any rhetorical utterance is made in a socio-institutional context, and is therefore open to contestation, the principals of the foreign policymaking community are dominant over meaning-making. ¹⁶ Those "subjects authorized to speak and to act" in the case of the United States are, principally, the president, the secretary of state, and the secretary of defense. It is these personalities that draw the contours of foreign policy, as well as the identity of a country. In turn, these realities are contested in public and political fronts, bringing forth new realities that compete for acknowledgement.

In sum, this dissertation analyzes the discourses of major foreign policy makers and their opponents by looking at the constructions and strategies of their respective arguments. It sees policymaking as a "constant discursive struggle over the criteria of classification, the boundaries of problem categories, [and] interpretation of common experiences," that is, it focuses on the politics of representation. Within the framework of foreign policymaking, politics of representation is related with "how foreign policymakers make sense of international crises, how they construct stories to explain these crises, how they develop strategies for handling these crises as political challenges, and how they conceptualize

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¹⁵ Moya Ann Ball. "Political Language and the Search for an Honorable Peace: Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, Their Advisers and Vietnam Decision Making," in *Beyond Public Speech and Symbols: Explorations in the Rhetoric of Politicians and the Media*, Christ' le De Landtsheer and Ofer Feldman, eds. (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2000), 38.

¹⁶ Carol Bacchi. "Policy as Discourse: what does it mean? Where does it get us?" *Discourse* 21:1 (2000), 52.

¹⁷ Frank Fischer and John Forrester. "Editors' Introduction," in *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*, Frank Fischer and John Forrester eds. (London: Duke University Press, 1993), 2.

'solutions' to these crises." As written history is representational, looking at "how certain terms and concepts have historically functioned within discourse" helps illuminate the social and political imagination in the discourses of leading policy figures. 19

Analysis of discursive/representational practices involves "a heterogeneous mix of approaches, perspectives and strategies."20 No consensus exists on the appropriate methods and criteria for their study, but predicate analysis (linking of certain qualities to particular objects) and metaphorical analysis are regarded as suitable for the study of language practices in policy texts.²¹ Presupposition (background knowledge that is taken to be true) and *subject positioning* (opposition, identity, similarity, complementarity) are among other mechanisms that supplement these analyses.²² These linguistic tools provide a more solid analytical base for locating and identifying policy strategies, and reveal the rhetorical dimensions of narrative discourse.

1.3 Literature Review

There are relatively few academic studies dealing comprehensively with political rhetoric in international relations literature. These mostly comprise theoretical articles written from critical, constructivist or post-structural perspectives of international relations.²³ Much of the contribution comes from linguistics and

¹⁸ Tuathail. "Theorizing practical geopolitical reasoning," 603.

¹⁹ David Campbell. Writing security: United States foreign policy and the politics of identity (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 6.

²⁰ Tuathail. "Theorizing practical geopolitical reasoning," 605.

²¹ Milliken. "The Study of Discourse in International Relations," 226, 231, 235.

²² Doty. "Foreign Policy as Social Construction," 306.

²³ Among examples see Jutta Weldes and Diane Saco. "Making State Action Possible: The United States and the Discursive Construction of 'The Cuban Problem', 1960-1994," Millennium: The Journal of International Studies 25:2 (1996), 361-395; David Campbell. Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992); Jennifer Milliken. The Social Construction of the Korean War: Conflict and its Possibilities

communication studies,²⁴ as well as quantitative analyses within political science premises.²⁵ There are also works in the disciplines of history, geography and religion.²⁶ Nevertheless, narrowness of the research focus unites these sources under

(Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) and Roxanne Lynn Doty. "Foreign Policy as Social Construction: A Post-Positivist Analysis of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy in the Philippines," International Studies Quarterly 37 (1993), 297-320; Amy Skonieczny. "Constructing NAFTA: Myth, Representation and the Discursive Construction of U.S. Foreign Policy," International Studies Quarterly 45 (2001), 433-454; Ronald Bleiker. "A rogue is a rogue is a rogue: U.S. foreign policy and the Korean nuclear crisis," International Affairs 79:4 (2003), 719-737; Peter Howard. "Why Not Invade North Korea? Threats, Language Games and U.S. Foreign Policy," International Studies Quarterly (2004), 805-828. However, several works deserve special credit for the extensive research they entail on the issue of American foreign policy traditions. These studies do not present exhaustive quotational investigation, but they question the linguistic shifts in U.S. foreign policy. See Walter A. McDougall. Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World Since 1776 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997); David Hastings Dunn. "Isolationism revisited: seven persistent myths in the contemporary American foreign policy debate," Review of International Studies 31 (2005), 237-261 and Michael Dunne. "The Terms of the Connection: Geopolitics, Ideology and Synchronity in the History of US Foreign Relations," Cambridge Review of International Affairs 16:3 (October 2003), 463-481. ²⁴ Among examples see James R. Andrews. "Oaths Registered in Heaven: Rhetorical and Historical

Legitimacy in the Inaugural Addresses of Jefferson Davis and Abraham Lincoln," in Doing Rhetorical History: Concepts and Cases, Kathleen J. Turner, ed. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1988); Moya Ann Ball. "Political Language and the Search for an Honorable Peace: Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, Their Advisers, and Vietnam Decision-Making," in Beyond public speech and symbols: explorations in the rhetoric of politicians and the media, Christ'le De Landtsheer and Ofer Feldman, eds. (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2000); Nicholas Howe. "Metaphor in Contemporary American Political Discourse," Metaphor and Symbolic Activity 3:2 (1988), 87-104; John M. Jones and Robert C. Rowland. "A Covenant-affirming jeremiad: The post-presidential ideological appeals of Ronald Wilson Reagan," Communication Studies 56:2 (June 2005), 157-174; Martin J. Medhurst. Eisenhower's War of Words: Rhetoric and Leadership. (East Lansing: Michigan University Press, 1994); Hal W. Bochin. Richard Nixon: Rhetorical Strategist (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990); Robert L. Ivie. "Tragic Fear and the Rhetorical Presidency: Combating Evil in the Persian Gulf," in Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency, Martin J. Medhurst, ed. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1996); Tim Rohrer. "The Metaphorical Logic of (Political) Rape: The New Wor(l)d Order," Metaphor and Symbolic Activity 10:2 (1995), 115-137; Mary E. Stuckey. "Competing Foreign Policy Visions: Rhetorical Hybrids After the Cold War," Western Journal of Communication 59 (Summer 1995), 214-227; Denise M. Bostdorff. "George W. Bush's post-September 11 rhetoric of covenant renewal: upholding the faith of the greatest generation," Quarterly Journal of Speech 89:4 (November 2003), 293-320; Stephen Smith, ed. Bill Clinton on Stump, State and Stage: The Rhetorical Road to the White House (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1994).

Among examples see Lyn Ragsdale. "The Politics of Presidential Speechmaking, 1949-1980," American Political Science Review, 78 (December 1984); Matthew C. Moen. "The Political Agenda of Ronald Reagan: A Content Analysis of the State of the Union Messages," Presidential Studies Quarterly 18 (1988), 775-785; Jeffrey E. Cohen. "Presidential Rhetoric and the Public Agenda," American Journal of Political Science 39 (February 1995), 87-107; Roland Paris. "Kosovo and the Metaphor War," Political Science Quarterly 117:3 (2002), 423-450; Kathyrn Olson. "Democratic Enlargement's Value Hierarchy and Rhetorical Forms: An Analysis of Clinton's Use of a Post-Cold War Symbolic Frame to Justify Military Interventions," Presidential Studies Quarterly 34:2 (2004) 307-340; Jon Roper. "The Contemporary Presidency: George W. Bush and the Myth of Heroic Presidential Leadership," Presidential Studies Quarterly 34:1 (2004) 132-142.

²⁶ Among examples see Eric Foner. *The Story of American Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1998); John O'Loughlin and Richard Grant. "The Political Geography of Presidential Speeches, 1946-87," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80:4 (1990), 504-530 and Cynthia Toolin. "American Civil Religion from 1789 to 1981: A Content Analysis of Presidential Inaugural Addresses," *Review of Religious Research* 25:1 (September 1983), 39-48.

one common denominator. They restrict themselves either to one theme, case or presidency, examined through a limited number of policy statements.

It is much harder to find sources when it comes to American foreign policy discourse regarding Haiti. The few scholarly treatments of the issue belong to history, with special reference to Afro-American and Hispanic American subdisciplines. Moreover, they are not at all inclusive to deal with the evolution of discourse throughout 1789-2004. This dissertation's primary contribution lies in its scope, covering all Unites States-Haitian diplomatic history through a vast documentary search. One of the challenges was to narrow them down for the purposes of this work. The methodological test cases follow predicate and metaphorical analyses as well as presupposition and subject positioning venues.

1.4 Haitian history until independence²⁸

Modern Haitian history begins in 1492 when Christopher Columbus landed on the east coast of Hispaniola, and claimed this Caribbean island for Spain. After

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²⁷ Among examples see Alfred Hunt. Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988); Charles H. Wesley. "The Struggle for the Recognition of Haiti and Liberia as Independent Republics," The Journal of Negro History 2:4 (October 1917), 369-383; Selig Adler. "Bryan and Wilsonian Caribbean Penetration," The Hispanic American Historical Review 20:2 (May 1940), 198-226; Harold T. Pinkett. "Efforts to Annex Santo Domingo to the United States, 1866-1871," The Journal of Negro History 26:1 (January 1941), 12-45; Joseph Robert Juarez. "United States Withdrawal from Santo Domingo," The Hispanic American Historical Review 42:2 (May 1962); Donald B. Cooper. "The Withdrawal of the United States from Haiti, 1928-1934," Journal of Inter-American Studies 5:1 (January 1963), 83-101; Donald R. Hickey. "America's Response to the Slave Revolt in Haiti," Journal of the Early Republic 2:4 (Winter 1982), 361-379; Daniel Brantley. "Black Diplomacy and Frederick Douglass' Caribbean Experiences, 1871 and 1889-1891: The Untold History," Phylon 45:3 (3rd Qtr., 1984), 197-209; Henry Lewis Suggs. "The Response of the African-American Press to the United States Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934," Journal of African American History, (2002), 70-82 and Mary A. Renda. Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

²⁸ Tim Matthewson. A Proslavery Foreign Policy: Haitian-American Relations during the Early Republic (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 1-17, 48-50; Hans Schmidt. The United States Occupation of Haiti 1915-1934, 2nd print (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 19-23; John R. Ballard. Upholding Democracy: The United States Military Campaign in Haiti 1994-1997 (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1998), 3-12. For a detailed account of Haitian history, please refer to Phillippe Girard. Paradise Lost: Haiti's Tumultuous Journey from Pearl of the Caribbean to Third World Hotspot (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

the 1520s however, Spanish interest in Hispaniola waned upon the discovery of vast reserves of gold and silver in Mexico and South America. Thence, the island fell prey to British, Dutch and French pirates. The French began to settle on the island beginning from 1625, and by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 Spain finally ceded the western third of the island to France. The new French colony was named Saint Domingue (later Haiti).

Through sugar, coffee and cotton exports, the French part of the island prospered, becoming the richest colony in the Western Hemisphere vis-à-vis the Spanish part called Santo Domingo (later the Dominican Republic). On the other hand, not all people enjoyed this prosperity. The hierarchical caste system in Saint Domingue was composed of Europeans, the gens de couleur (free people of color mostly of mulatto²⁹ background), and slaves whose import dated back the Spanish rule. On the eve of the French Revolution, the population was made up of over 90 percent slaves. The more educated and wealthy free mulattoes comprised about 20,000 people out of a total of 519,000 people. The whites amounted to only 40,000. Against the backdrop of the French Revolution, the gens de couleur and later the slaves sought for expanded rights and freedoms, revolting against the government beginning in October 1790. Eventually, the freedom of all slaves within the French borders came in 1793, followed by another proclamation next year ending slavery throughout the French empire. Nevertheless, signs of reimposition of slavery appeared with Napoleon Bonaparte in power as of 1799. Upon the rebelling slave leader Toussaint L'Ouverture's capture and execution by the French forces, Jean Jacques Dessalines resumed from where the former had left, and defeated the French in November 1803. On January 1, 1804 the nation proclaimed its independence, and

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²⁹ A person of mixed white and black ancestry.

adopted the republican form of government with Dessalines as the first president. The French colonial name was discarded, and the aboriginal name "Haiti" was adopted, meaning the land of mountains. However, the segmented nature of Haitian society continued after independence. This would constitute one of the main reasons for the political and socio-economic problems in Haiti in the following centuries. The power vacuum with the departure of the French, mulatto-black rivalry, and rise of military dictatorships as well as relative alienation in international diplomacy and foreign trade became the foremost obstacles crippling the new republic. This is a chronologically stretched period between the 18th and 21st centuries, like the synopsis below suggests. However, a survey of history as well as a survey of U.S. rhetoric needs to be consulted.

1.5 Synopsis

1.5.1 The pre-Cold War period (1789-1945)

Three elements are essential in understanding the discourse of early United States-Haitian relations at the political and public levels: i) slavery and "white man's burden," ii) relations with European powers, and iii) stability and order particularly in Haiti, and in the Caribbean in general. Hence, portrayal of Haiti and its criticisms depended on both internal and external elements.

The Haitian Revolution³⁰ (1791-1803) is a historical landmark for a number of reasons. It is the first anticolonial racial war to break off the French domination, the first instance of mass emancipation in a slave society, and the only slave revolt to

³⁰ Haiti is referred to in the United States records as "St. Domingo," "Hayti," and finally "Haiti" in chronological order. In secondary sources and sometimes also in official accounts, the "island of San Domingo" is referred to as Hispaniola, whereas "Santo Domingo," stands for Hispaniola, Saint Domingue/Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. Currently, Santo Domingo is the capital of the Dominican Republic. The author does not make any alterations in the authentic usage, making explanations as to the true meaning of reference when necessary.

end up in a modern state.³¹ It is these characteristics of the revolution that the United States sought to avoid recognition (contrary to the European powers, even France)³² since, until 1862 and also much later afterwards in more subtle forms, the United States was a country which endorsed slavery and segregation with respect to color. According to Alfred W. Hunt: "No issue having to do with slavery and the role of blacks in American society was discussed at so many different times, in so many different ways, for so many different reasons as the lessons of the Haitian Revolution."33 In the face of the Haitian Revolution, "our suffering brethren" namely, the white Frenchmen, were given aid whereas the anti-administration camp raised criticism either along the sacred lines of "all men are created equal" or with fear that those "cut-throat Negroes" accompanying their masters would instil the spirit of insurrection among American slaves. Abolitionists hailed Haiti as "the city on a hill." Whenever it seemed that the slavery's doom was clear, Haiti was couched by the official camp in much favorable terms, whose republican form of governance, mild climate and fertile territory would prove the most suitable resettlement place for freed slaves.

Even after the abolition of slavery in the United States and recognition of Haiti, the black Republic was viewed according to the "white man's burden" mentality. The Haitians were regarded as incapable of shaping their destiny unless aided by white guidance. It was also within this context that annexationist or occupational schemes came into view to "civilize" Haiti. Though a Republic, Haiti was officially depicted as unqualified for self-determination for being "savage" and

³¹ Tim Matthewson. "Jefferson and the Nonrecognition of Haiti," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 140:1 (March 1996), 22.

³² King Charles X of France recognized Haiti on April 17, 1825. The recognition was ratified on June 6, 1838. Britain recognized Haiti in 1833.

³³ Alfred W. Hunt. *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 190.

"inferior." On the other hand, the counterarguments maintained that the United States also had a huge record of crimes. Other critical works juxtaposed Ireland and Haiti, the former being oppressed at the hands of imperial Britain, the latter at the hands of republican America. Despite the public exposure of U.S. forces' exploitation of Haiti during the occupation of 1915-1934, the United States continuously portrayed itself as a selfless actor to uplift a "sister Republic" and celebrated the progress of Haiti at the hands of "brave and patriotic members of the U.S. Corps."

Relations with European powers were also influential in the metaphors attributed to Haiti. In official parlance, Haiti's portrayal as racially inferior gradually waned in the face of souring relations with France in the early 1800s. Even though the Monroe Doctrine³⁴ refused to extend protectorship to Haiti, there were numerous references as to its indispensability to Caribbean defense and transisthmian security in case of European intrusion. An oft-repeated argument was the need to acquire naval posts in Haiti to outmaneuver Europe. Another burning issue was the French and German influence on Haitian finances and revolutions. The German threat ranked higher in the priority list on the eve of two world wars. Criticisms involved that enhanced relations with Haiti would run counter to George Washington's maxim of non-interference and avoiding alliances. Others argued that resuming bilateral commerce would end up in recognition of a nation "incapable of self-government." Another counterargument maintained that the European threat was mere pretext for expansionist purposes.

Order and stability in Haiti was essential for the United States especially in the latter's foundational years. After the proclamation of the Republic on January 1,

³⁴ The Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed on December 2, 1823 by the fifth President of the United States James Monroe. The Doctrine stated that European powers should no longer colonize or interfere with the affairs of the nations of the Americas. The United States was to stay neutral in wars between European powers and its colonies unless such wars occured in the Americas.

1804, independent Haiti faced many obstacles. The hundred millions of francs of indemnity to France for compensation, near total devastation of infrastructure and high death rate as a result of the war, and lack of skilled administrators and craftsmen with the departure of the French created a procession of transient presidents and great instability. The list below would provide some insight.³⁵

Jean-Jacques Dessalines – 1804-1806 – Assasinated Henri Christophe – 1807-1820 – Suicide³⁶ Alexandre Petion – 1807-1818 – Died in office Jean-Pierre Boyer – 1818-1843 – Removed from office Charles Herard - 1843-1844 - Fled Philippe Guerrier – 1844-1845 – Died in office Jean-Louis Pierrot – 1845-1846 – Overthrown Jean-Baptiste Riche – 1846-1847 – Died in office Faustin Soulouque – 1847-1859 – Forced from power Fabre Geffrard – 1859-1867 – Forced from power Sylvain Salnave - 1867-1869 - Executed Nissage Saget - 1870-1874 - Retired Michel Domingue - 1874-1876 -Fled to Jamaica Boisrond Canal - 1876-1879 - Fled to Jamaica Louis Felicite Salomon – 1879-1888 Fled to France F. Florvil Hyppolite – 1889-1896 – Died in office³⁷ Tiresias Simon Sam - 1896-1902 - Fled Nord Alexis - 1902-1908 - Fled to Jamaica Antoine Simon - 1908-1911 -Fled to Jamaica Cincinnatus Leconte – 1911-1913 – Blown up Tancrede Auguste - 1912-1913 Poisoned Michel Oreste - 1913-1914 - Fled to Jamaica Oreste Zamor - 1914 - Murdered J. Daviliar Teodore – 1914-1915 – Fled J. Vilbrun Guillaume Sam – 1915 – Dismembered Philippe Dartiguenave – 1915-1922 –Forced from office Louis Borno – 1922-1930 – Forced to resign Stenio Vincent - 1930-1941 -Pressured to retire Elie Lescot - 1941-1946 - Ousted

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³⁵ John R. Ballard. *Upholding Democracy: The United States Military Campaign in Haiti, 1994-1997* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998), 223-224.

³⁶During the reign of Dessalines, the island was divided into two by Henri Christophe and Alexandre Petion. Upon their tragic deaths one after the other, Jean-Pierre Boyer unified the two governments. Boyer also invaded the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo and united the entire island of Hispaniola under Haitian rule until 1844, when Santo Domingo obtained its independence.

³⁷Prior to August 1889, Haiti was divided into two provisional camps; one based in the North ruled by Forvil Hyppolite, and one based in the South led by François Legitime. Hyppolite was supported by American businessmen, whereas Legitime was given aid by France. In August 1889, Hyppolite, with the aid of the United States took control of all of Haiti.

In official discourse, Haiti was depicted as needing aid for self-defense and sustainable order. This was a common theme for all U.S. administrations. It was "too unsettled," and that the United States needed to feel safe in its backyard. Against this background, the United States became the first arbiter of the border dispute between Santo Domingo and Haiti. In addition, there was a general unwillingness to end military occupation of Haiti (1915-1934) since immediate withdrawal would cause bloodshed. The opposition took these pronouncements with a grain of salt. The main criticism was related to expansionism under the guise of benevolence. Some mocked the most cherished post-World War I Wilsonian principle of self-determination on the basis that Haiti could not take the reins of its own destiny. Another discrepancy brought into the open was that Haiti, as a charter member of the League of Nations, was under military occupation.

Throughout the subject period, there is not a fixed delineation of Haiti along party lines. Democratic-Republican presidents Thomas Jefferson (1801-1809) and James Monroe (1817-1825) refrained from enhanced relations with Haiti, let alone extend recognition. Both depicted Haiti as racially inferior and unqualified for membership in the civilized world. However, John Quincy Adams (1825-1829) of the same party, with feelings of amity and solidarity in the Western Hemisphere, sought to attend the Panama Congress of 1826 in which Haiti would also participate. Republican presidents Andrew Johnson (1865-1869) and Ulysses Grant (1869-1877) had annexationist plans, but it was Democratic Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921) who ordered the military occupation of Haiti "for protection of both American and Haitian interests." Finally, it was Herbert Hoover (1929-1933) from the Republican camp that would pave the way for U.S. withdrawal. In the Congress, the ruling party did not have consensus either. They occasionally allied with the oppositional party in

attacking the administration; even on the same grounds at times. For example, during the Jeffersonian era, the Democratic-Republican policy of welcoming slaves accompanying their French masters was denounced by some members of the ruling party as fueling slave insurrection, like the Federalist critique which conveyed fears about the future of the Union regarding the constitutional three-fifths clause.³⁸ Republican Andrew Johnson's proposals as to the incorporation of Haiti within U.S. borders were checked by Republicans and Democrats alike; the common denominator being the principle of non-interference in international affairs. There were also many officials testifying before the Senate or in the critical press against the U.S. policies in Haiti. Several administrations even admitted their mishandling of the Haitian affairs; nevertheless, their statements were mainly condescending and apologetic.

Overall, the U.S. official rhetoric was patronizing or, at best, condescending; it was also repetitive and normative. One frequent statement was that the United States was there to protect American and Haitian interests, and that it had no desire to take advantage of the Republic. The successive administrations also thrust their definitions of civilization, republic or progress on Haiti, refusing to assess and accept Haiti on its own terms. Since official rhetoric drew the lines of civilization and self-governance along racial lines, Haiti's future was deemed as conflict-ridden without the benevolent guidance of the United States. As a similar case, the withdrawal of U.S. military forces from Haiti in 1934 was made contingent upon the sight of "a reasonable promise of internal peace and stability," with the abstract terms of "promise," "peace" and "stability" defined at U.S. will. The official portrait also withheld many positive attributions that Haiti deserved. Contributions of Haitians in

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³⁸ In the first article of the Constitution, the "three-fifths clause" regards a slave as 3/5 of a white person. The clause would later be repealed by the Fourteenth Amendment of 1868.

the American Revolution or Civil War (in the Union ranks) were appreciated only by the critical press, while the U.S. Administrations mostly evaded responding to their accusations. The oppositional front also made use of the sacred founding principles of America (i.e. "city upon a hill," and "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness"), in order to show the discrepancies between rhetoric and practice in American foreign policy. Other historical analogies to liken the American example to that of Britain were equally abundant like, "taxation without representation." They helped to display that America had become as tyrannical as its motherland, and added to the strength of critical arguments. References to international law, like Haiti's right to self-determination, were equally extensive, which further helped to drain the power and challenge the plausibility of the official portrait.

1.5.2 The Cold War period (1945-1990)

In this period, it was the communist threat as a major domestic and international phenomenon that determined the rhetorical underpinnings of both the official and the oppositional discourse. While racial elements dropped from the official agenda, the critics still used them as ammunition with which to condemn U.S. restrictive immigration policies especially. The opposition mainly comprised the Democratic members of the House of Representatives. As observed in the pre-Cold War era, there were many ruling party congressmen breaking ranks with the Administration. There also appeared new actors on the opposition side, like the civil rights activists and the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC). The black press, having fought actively for the Haitian cause in the pre-Civil War period, passed the torch to the CBC, and concentrated mostly on the black civil rights in the United States.

The Haitian domestic situation in the early Cold War period resembled that of the pre-Cold War period in terms of short-term presidencies and the instability that followed. In 1957, there began the Duvalier regime to last until 1986, during which the father and son took turns in further drifting the country into chaos. The last years of the Cold War era again saw turbulent political rivalries and frequent successions.

Dumarsias Estime (1946-1950) – Fled to the U.S. Paul Magloire (1950-1956) – Overthrown Joseph N. Pierre-Louis (1956-1957) – Forced to resign François Sylvain (1957) – Overthrown Daniel Fignole (1957) – Overthrown François Duvalier (1957-1971) – Died in office Jean-Claude Duvalier (1971-1986) – Fled to France Henri Namphy (1986-1988) – Overthrown Leslie Manigat (1988) – Overthrown Henri Namphy (1988) – Overthrown Prosper Avril (1988-1990) – Fled to the U.S.

Throughout the subject period, Haiti's willingness to align itself with the Western camp was a relief for the United States. This state of affairs had two implications: i) Haiti's rulers were to be tolerated so long as they remained anticommunist and kept the country's domestic problems in check, and ii) immigration to the United States would be rearranged along the communist factor, which meant that those fleeing from "red" oppression were to be prioritized at the expense of others running from right-wing dictatorial regimes. Hence, Washington condoned the arbitrary rule of Haiti's despotic presidents, especially the infamous Duvalier dynasty on the grounds that there were no alternative to those dictators as they were not only anti-communist, but also able to contain the social and economic chaos within the country, and preclude a trickling down effect at the regional level. Only very occasionally did Washington half-heartedly condemn the breach of human rights of Haiti. As Haiti was anti-communist, successive U.S. Administrations interpreted the country's problems through an economic lens. In their view, the only political

problem was Communism, hence Haiti suffered only from economic chaos, which culminated into social disturbance. Thence began the flow of U.S. aid to this "impoverished nation." The official rhetoric also offered a fatalistic and condescending portrayal of events, believing that Haiti's plight was insurmountable, and could only be reined in through generous economic aid by the United States, and by authoritarian rule.

In return, the critics replied with questioning America's being the "city on a hill" -a role model for others to emulate. In their view, the United States was tolerating dictators for the sake of regional stability, yet, at the expense of the indigenous peoples suffering under despotic rule. America's selective admission of immigrants was another target of attack, with the critics, as also observed in the pre-Cold War era, talking about the high qualities of the Haitians as well as their successes and contributions to the United States. It was equally underlined that, repression under non-communist rule should be evaluated on par with repression under communist regimes. They chastised the ideological prejudices behind the U.S. humanitarian responses, believing that the social and economic problems in Haiti were not the result of their inherent incapability to live up to the example of its Western counterparts, but of systematic oppression at the hands of brutal rulers who exploited the country's resources for their own ends. The critics, especially, the CBC attacked the U.S. Government also on racial grounds, claiming that Haiti was discriminated against for being a black Republic, and the negative attributes attached to it. The civil activists and federal judiciary action also challenged Washington by offering evidence regarding the unfair and inhumane conditions that Haitian immigrants and asylum seekers endured.

1.5.3 The post-Cold War period (1990-2004)

In the wake of the Cold War, Haiti was again struggling with succession problems that were left almost unattended by the United States. Washington devoted all attention to the Gulf Crisis, relegating the Haitian issue to a minor status. Seeking order and stability in its backyard, the U.S. simply followed the usual path of tolerating the arbitrary rule of whomever offered the best policy to rein in Haiti's thorny issues. When the democratically-elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was ousted from office, the Republican George H. W. Bush Administration (1989-1993) quickly acknowledged the rule of the military junta, while chastising Aristide and its followers for destabilizing the country as Aristide sought to resume his rule.

Ertha Pascal Truillot (1990-1991) – Forced to resign, jailed.

Jean-Bertrand Aristide (1991) – Fled to the U.S.

Military junta under General Raoul Cédras (1991-1994) [Joseph Nérette (Provisional President 1991-

1992), and Marc Bazin (Acting President 1992-1993)]

Emile Jonassaint (Provisional President 1994) – Stepped down

Jean-Bertrand Aristide (1994-1996) – Completed term

René Préval (1996-2001) – Completed term

Jean-Bertrand Aristide (2001-2004) – Forced to resign

The Democratic Administration under Bill Clinton (1993-2001) pursued the same policy, finally giving in as criticism mounted against his tolerance vis-à-vis the democratic process having been overridden at the hands of the military junta. With Aristide reinstated by the Operation Uphold Democracy, Haiti could not breathe a sigh of relief though. This time it was labeled as the scapegoat for some new problems that had its roots in the Cold War period like drug trafficking and AIDS. The September 11 attacks on the United States also added to the hitherto allegations associated with Haiti. Haiti's turbulent situation was displayed by the official rhetoric as ripe for illegal activities. Hence, especially the George W. Bush

Administration (2001-2009) sought actively to reverse the Haitian refugee flow toward the American shores.

The post-Cold War period witnessed the apogee of the U.S. discrimination in immigration. Cold War mentality still dominated Washington's considerations as America offered solace and shelter for those running from the former Communist countries. The prioritizing of those "politically oppressed" over "economically destitute" still haunted U.S. policymaking on Haiti. On the other hand, the Haitians were not only intercepted but were also subject to forced return despite the oftpublicized fact that punishment awaited those returnees at the hands of the military junta. The official circles also postulated that Haitians were highly engaged in drug trafficking, that they carried the highest risk of carrying and spreading the HIV virus, and that, after the September 11 attacks, terrorists could enter the United States posing as Haitian immigrants. In return, the critics chided the U.S. Government for its inhospitality, barring Haitians on lack of evidence especially regarding their relation with AIDS or terrorism. As in the Cold War period, with activists, the CBC, and the Democratic Representatives from the U.S. Congress being in the forefront of Haitian advocacy, the critical view countered the official rhetoric with first-hand data on, for example, the alleged rate of homosexuality in Haiti and the conditions in refugee processing and detainment centers. For them, the post-Cold War era did not herald a fresh page in history like President George H. W. Bush had proclaimed in his "New World Order" speech, as the United States withheld its guidance and benevolence inscribed in the Statue of Liberty. Similarly observed in the Cold War period, the critics also commended the Haitians for being "hardworking" and "Godfearing" men, with many having become noteworthy figures in the United States.

CHAPTER II

FROM THE FOUNDATIONAL ERA TO THE COLD WAR, 1789-1945

2.1 Prior to the Haitian independence (1789-1804)

In the years after the war of independence from Britain, it became the utmost priority for the United States to sustain survival and order. Internal development was elevated above pursuing adventures abroad. George Washington (1789-1797/no party) was the first president of this white and Anglo-Saxon oriented country. Parenthetically, he was a slave owner. It is within this background that Washington approached the St. Domingo revolution with indirect and biased treatment. The policy adopted was to assist the French refugees fleeing from the island and help France to regain its dominion. In his message to Governor Charles Pinckney, Washington distinguished between "our neighbours of St. Domingo," or "our suffering brethren," namely the French on the island, and the colored slaves.³⁹

Challenging the official position Abraham Bishop, a fervent supporter of the black cause in St. Domingo, wrote a piece named "The Rights of Black Men," in Boston *Argus*. There he criticized the refugee policy on the basis of one of the cherished founding tenets of America.

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³⁹ George Washington to Charles Pinckney (Governor of South Carolina), November 8, 1791, in *The George Washington Papers* at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799. Retrieved from http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html

Does our allegiance with France oblige us to murder our fellow creatures?. . .The blacks are entitled to freedom, for we did not say, all *white* men are *free*, but *all men* are free. The blacks bore their condition of slavery, till it became too terrible. The blacks took up arms to rid themselves of slavery. Arms were their only resource.⁴⁰

One Quaker⁴¹ legislator from Pennsylvania challenged the policy by giving reference to the American Revolution: "It would be inconsistent on the part of a free nation to take measures against a people, who had availed themselves of the only means they have to throw off the yoke of the most atrocious slavery."

The dispatch of arms and ammunition for the French nationals in St. Domingo stopped on account of France's declaration of war against England in early 1793.⁴³ President Washington issued a "Proclamation of Neutrality" (April 1793), which implied that necessity for internal development after an independence war dictated aloofness from foreign entanglements.

Whereas it appears that a state of war exists between Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Great Britain, and the United Netherlands, of the one part, and France on the other; and the duty and interest of the United States require, that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent Powers.⁴⁴

"Duty and interest" ranked prior to the concerns about St. Domingo in the Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson's (1789-1793) correspondence with Senator James

figure in Connecticut politics.

41 Quakerism sprang in England from the seventeenth-century Puritanism as an unorthodox sect. It denied the necessity for a special priesthood and for outward rites. Its main tenet was the doctrine of the "inner light." Quakers believed that inspiration comes from within the individual. They were vocal in antislavery and temperance movements.

⁴² Quoted in Tim Matthewson. A Proslavery Foreign Policy: Haitian-American Relations during the Early Republic (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2003), 23.

⁴³ Matthewson. A *Proslavery Foreign Policy*, 46. In the face of the slave uprising, Great Britain seized the initiative and occupied the colony of its ancient enemy between 1793-1798. The French won over Britain between 1802-1803.

⁴⁴ "Proclamation of Neutrality," April 22, 1793 in *The George Washington Papers* at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series Two Letterboks. Retrieved from http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html

⁴⁰ Quoted in Tim Matthewson. "Abraham Bishop, 'The Rights of Black Men,' and the American Reaction to the Haitian Revolution," *The Journal of Negro History* 67:2 (Summer 1982), 153. Abraham Bishop was a Yale graduate, harboring strong anti-slavery views. He became an influential

Monroe (Democratic-Republican⁴⁵-VA). Jefferson's statements were also couched in racial terms, depicting the white French as victims at the hands of bloody black inhabitants.

The situation of the St. Domingo fugitives (aristocrats as they are) calls aloud for pity and charity. Never was so deep a tragedy presented to the feelings of man. I deny the power of the general government to apply money to such a purpose, but I deny it with a bleeding heart. It belongs to the State governments . . . I become daily more and more concerned that all the West India islands will remain in the hands of the people of colour and the total expulsion of the whites sooner or later take place, It is high time we should see the bloody scenes. . . 46

The American government extended aid to the planters who made their escape to the United States: "a sum, not exceeding fifteen thousand dollars, be appropriated to . . . the inhabitants of Saint Domingo, resident within the United States, as shall be found in want of such support" Shortly afterwards, the administration also resumed military and financial aid to the French colonial administration, as France deeply needed unhampered commerce due to bad harvests, the French-British War and the peasant rebellions. America, bound to the French by the 1778 treaties to keep St. Domingo under French control in return for the latter's help in the American Revolution, seized the initiative and also gained economically while continuing to welcome French refugees.⁴⁸

However, it was limited or, preferably no relations with St. Domingo that the Southern critics sought after. In the October 9, 1793 issue of the Charleston *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, an official cautioned against "the lower order of

⁴⁵ The Antifederalists called themselves "Democratic-Republicans" or "Jeffersonians." US They also referred to themselves as "Republicans," (not related with the present Republican Party) or later, Jacksonians named after President Andrew Jackson (1829-1837). In 1840, at their third national nominating convention, Democratic-Republicans adopted "Democratic Party" as their official name.

⁴⁶ Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe, July 14, 1793, in *The Thomas Jefferson Papers* at the Library of Congress. Retrieved from http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/jefferson_papers/

⁴⁷ Annals of Congress, Appendix, 3rd Congress, 1st Session. 1417-1418.

⁴⁸ Matthewson. A Proslavery Foreign Policy, 25, 44-45.

Frenchmen . . . who would fraternize with our Democratic Clubs and introduce the same horrid tragedies among our negroes."49 Their fears were further exacerbated with the French commissioners proclamation of the freedom of all slaves in 1793, which was followed by another proclamation next year by the National Convention which abolished slavery throughout the empire. These concessions to stave off defeat and keep the colony French, caused a massive exodus to the United States of French white planters with their slaves.⁵⁰ A series of letters appearing in the Columbia (South Carolina) Herald in the summer of 1794 were illustrative of Southern fears. The supposed author of the letters, Alexander Garden, underlined the fact that these "French ideas" would prove to be "fatal" for the southern society and called for the expulsion from the state "all negroes without exception that have within the last three years arrived from the French West India Islands."51 As the influx of blacks from the island would reach a climactic nuisance in 1797, there was the constant fear that all blacks, free as well as slave, would turn into internal enemies. As one Philadelphia newspaper, Gale's Independent Gazetteer remarked in early 1797, it was "the Irish emigrants and the French Negroes" that caused "the most afflictive and accumulated distress" in Philadelphia. 52 In 1797 Porcupine's Gazette, a Philadelphia daily, published an article on "French Incendiaries at Charleston" by "Americanus." The piece complained that the thousands of French refugees who had arrived after 1792 in Charleston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Norfolk with their slaves from the island of St. Domingo, had treated their American benefactors in an ungrateful manner. The charge was that, both slaveholders and slaves were Jacobin incendiaries and spies

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⁴⁹Quoted in Alfred Hunt. *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 110.

Matthewson. A Proslavery Foreign Policy, 48-50.

⁵¹ Quoted in Hunt. *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America*, 111.

⁵² Gale's Independent Gazetteer, January 3, 1797 quoted in Gary B. Nash. "Reverberations of Haiti in the American North: Black St. Dominguans in Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania History* 65 (Special Supplemental Issue, 1998), 59.

who set fires in Charleston, Savannah, and elsewhere, seeking to overthrow the United States Government and assist French seizure of the Carolinas and Georgia. An oft repeated phrase used for the Haitian blacks was "cut-throat Negroes" in many of *Gazette*'s editorials. As regards parliamentary critique, two Virginian representatives of the anti-administration camp, James Madison and John Nicholas raised a constitutional objection against the sending of aid. During the debate in the House of Representatives in January 1794, Madison reminded the Federal Constitution which granted a right to Congress of expanding, on objects of benevolence, the money of their constituents. His concern was that the House did not possess an indefinite and absolute authority to dispose this money and it was impossible to say to what lengths this practice might go. Hence, rather than an act of Congress, he favored to advance a sum for the French refugees in return for the debt owed to France for its help in the American War of Independence. 54

These pleas turned into practice as of the late 1790s. Relations with Britain, which worsened in the early 1790s within the context of Anglo-French competition in the Caribbean trade ended with an Anglo-American rapprochement with the Jay Treaty of November 1794. Despite the 1778 treaties with France, most of the United States' trade was with Britain. The main bones of contention had been, seizures of American merchant ships trading in the West Indies, impressment of American seamen and continuing British occupation of western posts within U.S. borders. The treaty signified a break in the French-American relations, which would bring forth the Quasi War⁵⁵ with France between July 1798-September 1800 during the next

⁵³ "French Incendiaries at Charleston," *Porcupine's Gazette*, 20 March 1797 quoted in Arthur Scherr. "'Sambos' and 'Black Cut-Throats': Peter Porcupine on Slavery and Race in the 1790s," *American periodicals: a journal of history, criticism, and bibliography* 13 (2003), 11-12.

⁵⁴ Annals of Congress, House of Representatives, 3rd Congress, 1st Session, January 1794. 170-171. ⁵⁵ The Quasi War was an undeclared war fought entirely at sea between the United States and France from 1798 to 1800. The result sealed the end of French revolutionary piracy.

president John Adams' tenure. It would take some time for the Congress to ratify the treaty, as it entailed some humiliating terms. The British refused to allow trade between the United States and the Caribbean, as the treaty went. However, President Washington called for ratification on the ground that further conflict with England was not in the public interest. Accordingly, the Congress banned all trade with France and its dependencies. ⁵⁶

John Adams (1797-1801/Federalist)⁵⁷ was pragmatic in the sense that he sought to resume commerce with St. Domingo. He also thought that it would be best if the island was not under the dominion of any of the great European powers. As the British admitted defeat and evacuated the island in 1798, France remained the only country to be cautioned against –indeed feared, due to ongoing war between the United States and France. Relations with France had soured considerably with the XYZ Affair in 1797, which led to the Quasi War of 1798. Upon the French seizure of nearly three hundred American ships bound for British ports in the Atlantic, Mediterranean, and Caribbean, President John Adams sent a diplomatic delegation to Paris in 1797 for negotiations. Three French agents, originally called X, Y, and Z, demanded bribes for the delegation to speak to the French foreign minister Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, a huge loan to help fund the French wars as a prerequisite for negotiations, and an apology for remarks made by Adams on French imperialism. Adams' release of the report to the Congress in April 1798 united the country under

⁵⁶ Mary Beth Norton, David M. Katzman et al. *A People and a Nation*, Vol I: To 1877 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994), 220-221.

⁵⁷ Federalists, who prevailed under Presidents George Washington and John Adams, began to disappear during the administration of President Jefferson (1801-1809). They reappeared some 20 years later as National Republicans, followed by the "Whigs" during the decades between 1836 and 1856. The modern "Republican Party" succeeded the Whigs.

anti-French sentiment. The public as well as the Republicans hailed the American delegates as they gave "not a sixpence," for tribute.⁵⁸

Although the Adams Administration had achieved a general consent to break off relations with France, there was still intense criticism about the permission of St. Domingo blacks to enter into American borders. American Mercury labeled them as "some of those missionaires of hell who have long made the southern States the scene of their incendiary efforts." ⁵⁹ Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser quoted the words of Pennsylvania Governor Thomas Mifflin, who in vain requested authority from the President to prohibit landing of "any French negroes," as well as their masters in adjacent states for fear of insurrection.⁶⁰ Adams' initiative was fiercely debated in the Congress as well. The Democratic-Republican critique mainly revolved around the prospective independence of the island of which renewed trade would be its main catalyst. Representative Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina depicted the blacks in St. Domingo as "Negroes [who] lacked the capacity for selfgovernment." In the same vein, Representative John Nicholas of Virginia underlined that the president should not deal with "usurpers." Pennsylvanian Representative Albert Gallatin's address before the House briefly summarized the Democratic-Republican thesis.

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[St. Domingue] is known to consist, almost altogether of slaves just emancipated, of men who received their first education under the lash of the whip, and who have been initiated to liberty only by that series of rapine, pillage, and massacre . . . If they were to govern themselves, they might become more trouble to us, in our

⁵⁸ See Stanley M. Elkins and Eric McKitrick. *The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic,* 1788-1800 (1993), 549-573, and Thomas M. Ray. "'Not One Cent for Tribute': The Public Addresses and American Popular Reaction to the XYZ Affair, 1798-1799," *Journal of the Early Republic* 3:4 (1983), 389-412.

⁵⁹ American Mercury, March 6, 1797 quoted in Gary B. Nash. "Reverberations of Haiti in the American North," 62.

⁶⁰ Governor Mifflin to President Adams, June 27, 1798 in *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser* June 28, 1798. Quoted in Gary B. Nash. "Reverberations of Haiti in the American North," 63.

⁶¹ Annals of Congress, House of Representatives, 5th Congress, 3rd Session, January 22, 1799. 2740-2767.

commerce to the West Indies, than the Algerines were ever in the Mediterranean; they might also become dangerous neighbours to the southern states, and an asylum for renegades from those parts.⁶²

Nevertheless, the Secretary of State Timothy Pickering (1795-1800) conveyed the official viewpoint, portraying that France would prove to be more troublesome for the country vis-à-vis the nuisance of blacks within the U.S. borders.

Nothing is more clear that, if left to themselves, that the Blacks of St. Domingo will be incomparably less dangerous than if they remain the subjects of France. . .France with an army of those black troops might conquer all the British isles [in the Caribbean] and put in jeopardy our Southern States. 63

The first proclamation on June 26, 1799 enabled commerce to resume (as of August 1) only at certain ports, "for the interests of the United States".

Whereas the arrangements which have been made at St. Domingo for the safety of commerce of the United States and for the admission of American vessels into certain ports of that island do, in my opinion, render it expedient and for the interest of the United States to renew a commercial intercourse with such ports. ⁶⁴

Adams' Annual Message of 1799 explicated the positive effects of this decision: "Since the renewal of this intercourse, our citizens trading to those ports, with their property, have been duly respected and privateering from these ports has decreased." Accordingly, it was in his Proclamation of September 1800 that Adams

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⁶²Annals of Congress, House of Representatives, 5th Congress, 3rd Session. 2751-2752.

⁶⁴ "Proclamation of June 26, 1799, Regarding Commerce with St. Domingo." Retrieved from the Library of Congress at http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.rbc/rbpe.22401200. Parenthetically, commerce with St. Domingo had never stopped completely.

⁶⁵ American State Papers, 6th Congress, 1st Session. 50-51.

discontinued "the restraints and prohibitions imposed by the act aforesaid in respect to every part of the said island." 66

Toward the end of President Adams' tenure, the southern fears of insurrection due to enhanced relations with the black island seemed to come true. The abortive Gabriel's Rebellion of late August 1800 in Virginia, assumed to have been instigated by the French blacks from St. Domingo, raised many concerns. The antislavery advocates made use of the St. Domingo uprising to advance their cause through a connection they made to the Gabriel plot. The first major insurrectionist attempt in the early 19th century that was supposed to have been inspired with the St. Domingo revolution, was portrayed by them as a major warning that called for immediate emancipation in America so as not to meet the same fate with the French. The *New England Palladium* reflected these concerns in the verse below

Remember ere too late
The tale of St. Domingo fate.
Tho'Gabriel dies, a host remain
Oppress'd with slavery's galling chain
And soon or late the hour will come
Mark'd with Virginia's dreadful doom⁶⁷

It was against this background of the Gabriel incident as well as the Paris peace talks between France and the United States culminating into the Convention of 1800 (September 30) that Thomas Jefferson, another slave owner, (1801-1809/Democratic-Republican) assumed presidency. Jefferson, along with his sympathy to the French as a Republican, ⁶⁸ and thinking that France might check the growing British naval power in the Caribbean, aligned with the slaveholding

⁶⁶ "Suspending as to Hispaniola the Restraints of the Act of 1799," *Statutes at Large*. September 6, 1800. 759.

⁶⁷ Boston New England Palladium, January, 1801 quoted in quoted in Hunt. Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America, 118.

⁶⁸ The Republicans saw Britain as a traditional enemy advocating aristocracy and monarchy vis-à-vis the French republicanism.

southerners and the French. In May 1801, he ordered the cease of hostilities against the French and summoned American ships back from St. Domingo and Guadelupe.⁶⁹ The southerners had long been discontent with John Adams' resuming trade with the black nation, and the French still clinged to the hope of regaining the insurrectionist dominion. Yet, when Jefferson learned that it was the intention of Napoleon Bonaparte to suppress the revolution in St. Domingo first, and then head toward the United States and establish its power in the Louisiana Territory for schemes of empire, he changed his mind and opted for American neutrality.⁷⁰

Louisiana Purchase was one of the great successes in the Jeffersonian era, and in American history in general. During the latter half of the 1790s, France had begun to find ways to take Louisiana back from Spain to use it as a supply base for St. Domingo, instead of having to depend on the United States. Originally a French colony, the Louisiana Territory had been returned to France by the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso (on October 1, 1800, the day after the end of the Quasi War between France and the United States) with the French promise to give Spain a kingdom in Italy. Upon hearing the clandestine transfer and unfair treatment of American ships by the Leclerc expedition of 1802 to St. Domingo, Jefferson withdrew all support for the French cause to win over the rebellion. When all hope vanished to recapture the island or to set up French influence on American soil, Napoleon Bonaparte found it more feasible to sell the territory to the United States at bargain price. The sale nearly doubled the size of U.S. territory, secured the much demanded port of New Orleans and expanded trade for states bordering Mississippi.

⁶⁹ Matthewson. A Proslavery Foreign Policy, 97.

⁷⁰ Matthewson. A Proslavery Foreign Policy, 97-114.

⁷¹ Charles Leclerc, a French general and brother-in-law of Napoleon Bonaparte, was appointed as commander of the expedition to re-establish control over St. Domingo.

⁷² Robert W. Tucker. *Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson* (Cary, NC: Oxford University Press, 1992), 104-127; Matthewson. *A Proslavery Foreign Policy*, 97-114.

As soon as information reached about Bonaparte's imperial designs, the President began to see the St. Domingo blacks in a different light. In his two letters to the Governor of Virginia James Monroe in late 1801, Jefferson stated that the St. Domingo blacks were not a threat and that they would not "stimulate and conduct vindictive or predatory descents on our coasts, and facilitate concert with their brethren remaining there." Hence, Jefferson finally chose neutrality in the war between France and its dependency. The Jeffersonian era was also a time in which the emigration of free blacks in the United States became an issue. Among the options for their deportation were St. Domingo and Africa; Jefferson initially opted for the St. Domingo project, but he would later change his mind.

The West Indies offer a more probable & practicable retreat for them. Inhabited already by a people of their own race & color; climates congenial for their natural constitution . . .The most promising portion of them is St. Domingo, where the blacks are established into a sovereignty *de facto*, have organized themselves under regular laws and government . . .⁷⁴

The emigration issue was closely related with the southern view, critical of continuing inclusion inside the U.S. borders of French refugee blacks accompanying their masters. In late 1802, a Virginia newspaper *Alexandria Advertiser and Commercial Intelligencer* protested that "the infernal French are disgorging the whole of their wretched black upon our shores." Later, the *Charleston Courier* warned that "transports laden with refractory negroes from St. Domingue are to come to America and land their contents on the banks of the River St. Marys." The St. Domingo analogy was also used by the Democratic-Republicans in Senate debates

⁷³ Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe, November 21, 1801 and November 24, 1801 in *The Thomas Jefferson Papers* at the Library of Congress. Retrieved from http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/jefferson_papers/

⁷⁴ Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe, November 24, 1801 in *The Thomas Jefferson Papers* at the Library of Congress. Retrieved from http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/jefferson_papers/
⁷⁵ Quoted in Hunt. *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America*, 112.

on the issue of admission of slaves into Louisiana. John Breckinridge of Kentucky demonstrated his fear that "our slaves in the South will produce another St. Domingo." In a similar vein, John Smith of Ohio asked: "Will you increase their number, and lay the necessary foundation for the horrors of another St. Domingo? If slaves are admitted there, I fear . . .that country . . .will prove a curse." Apart from Alexander Hamilton who would hail the Haitian revolutionaries for their making possible the American acquisition of Louisiana, the Federalists shared the same opinion with the Republicans. Their fear was that inclusion of slaves into the borders would disrupt the Union in the face of the constitution's three-fifths clause. The New York Evening Post spoke harshly about the influx of French refugees coming into America with their slaves

A horde of the most dreadful, desperate and bloody-minded wretches are daily and nightly disgorged upon our shores from the French frigates . . .Already may we predict, that constant additional watch will be necessary the ensuing winter, to preserve our houses from conflagration, our dwellings from burglary, and every species of property from beimg plundered. We have here to mention a dangerous and shameful species of traffic, which is going on daily between the Long Island people and the frigates in the purchase of their negroes for small sums of money. Cannot this be stopped? One question must occur to every citizen –for what purpose were these cargoes of negroes brought here?⁸¹

New England Palladium equally denounced the incoming refugees on account of their inferiority: "The United States had many ambitious knaves, but only a small

⁷⁶ Louisiana would be admitted as a slave state in 1812.

⁷⁷ E.S. Brown. "Documents: The Senate Debate on the Breckinridge Bill [January 25, 1804]" *American Historical Review* 22 (1917), 345.

⁷⁸ E.S. Brown. "Documents: The Senate Debate on the Breckinridge Bill," 347.

⁷⁹ Alexander Hamilton's editorial appeared in *New York Evening Post*, July 5, 1803.

⁸⁰ John Kyle Day. "Federalist Press and Slavery in the Age of Jefferson," *The Historian* 65:6 (December 2003), 1315-1319.

⁸¹ New York Evening Post, September 10, 1802 quoted in Day. "Federalist Press and Slavery in the Age of Jefferson," 1319.

number of destitute rabble. All our cities have not so much as London or Paris. Shall we import rabble from St. Domingo, Ireland or France?"⁸²

2.2 From Haitian independence to the recognition of Haiti (1804-1862)

The United States' withholding of aid to France had a considerable role in St. Domingo's (now resumed its indigenous name, Haiti) independence as of January 1, 1804. Nevertheless, Jefferson did not show any willingness for trade with or recognition of the Republic. In political and public parlance, "Haiti" did not replace "St. Domingo" altogether, with the exception of some Federalists' reference to the new name. The President's earlier thoughts about creating a refuge for former slaves in West Africa and St. Domingo had also long been shelved by the mid-1803. Jefferson claimed that both regions were too "unsettled" to be suitable places for spirited blacks. 83 What the President sought after was balance and peace among the international powers and protect American commerce. He also had in mind the southerners, who would be overly infuriated when some Haitian diplomats would travel freely through the southern United States under diplomatic passport. Yet, in order to forestall any divisive clash over slavery at the Congress, he refrained from portraying the issue in racial terms.⁸⁴ In his opening message to Congress in November 1804, Jefferson pointed at some American citizens who took upon themselves "to arm merchant vessels, and to force a commerce into certain ports and countries in defiance of the laws of those countries."85 Conveying the British and French concerns regarding privateering as counter to the law of nations, the President

⁸² New England Palladium, October 12, 1802 quoted in Day. "Federalist Press and Slavery in the Age of Jefferson," 1319.

⁸³ Quoted in Roger G. Kennedy. *Burr, Hamilton and Jefferson: A Study in Character* (Cary, NC: Oxford University Press, 2000), 179.

⁸⁴ Matthewson. A Proslavery Foreign Policy, 125-126.

⁸⁵ Quoted in Matthewson. "Jefferson and Haiti," 233-234.

called on the Congress to permit prohibitive action. The issue was that the French were seizing American merchants on the trade routes to Haiti and the merchants responded by arming their ships for resistance.

The House first debated the issue of the clearance of armed vessels. However, this motion was opposed even by some of the commercial Republicans who contended that the armaments saved the merchantmen from calamities in the Caribbean trade. Representative William Eustis of Maryland believed that this motion would deprive the merchants of the capacity of trading not with St. Domingo alone, but with Cuba and many other West India islands and trusted that the Congress would not abandon so advantageous and profitable a trade. The Federalists were unanimous in opposing the bill and their concerns found voice in many of their papers. These underlined the independence of Haiti and America's right to trade with this Republic. The *Centinel* drew parallels between the American and Haitian experiences: "Their case is not dissimilar to that of the people of the United States in 1778-1800." Likewise, Representative William Ely (Federalist-MA) spoke in favor of the Haitians: "Have these Haytians no rights? If they were once subjects of a Government that can no longer hold them, has that nation any right to call on us to starve them out?"

The Senate debate to suspend commercial intercourse between the United States and St. Domingo was equally heated. Senator John Quincy Adams (Federalist-MA) countered on the ground that the purpose was to inhibit a branch of commerce which proved to be great importance to the country.⁸⁹ Concurring with

⁸⁶ Annals of Congress, House of Representatives, 8th Congress, 2nd Session, December 13, 1804. 814.

⁸⁷ Boston *Columbian Centinel*, November 17, 1794 quoted in Hickey. "America's Response to the Slave Revolt in Haiti," 373.

⁸⁸ Annals of Congress, House of Representatives, 9th Congress, 1st Session, February 25, 1806. 515.

⁸⁹ Annals of Congress. Senate, 9th Congress, 1st Session, December 20, 1805. 29.

Representative Ely, Senator Samuel White (Federalist-DE) took issue with the allegation that since the blacks were the slaves of the French, and that they were in a state of revolt, no nation had a right to trade with them. He argued that it was "the duty of the government to protect and encourage its citizens in the exercise of this advantageous trade." He furthermore gave evidence that the French National Convention had abolished slavery on February 4th, 1794 and declared that all inhabitants of the French colonies, of whatever color, were French citizens.⁹⁰

[It is] a fallacious idea that has been taken up, and urged by some, that our merchants are conducting this commerce with slaves, the property of freemen, and not with freemen themselves, thus ingeniously endeavoring to draw a distinction between the situation of St. Domingo and and that of any other colony that has ever heretofore attempted to separate itself from the mother country. . .The people of St. Domingo are fighting to preserve not their independence as a community, but their liberty as individuals. . .91

White also drew another historical parallel, reminding the audience about the French commerce with the American colonies after they had revolted against the authority of Great Britain. There were even criticisms on the Democratic-Republican camp. Senator Samuel Smith of Maryland said he believed this was a British ploy to block the nation's profitable commerce, enumerating the various means the British had been employing against American seamen and vessels including their impressment. Despising to "legislate at the nod or bidding of any nation," what he offered was a retrospective solution

Thirty years ago, you and your patriotic associates could form a general non-importation agreement, and despising the luxuries of the mother country, and superior to her prowess, you, spirits of freedom, achieved our glorious Revolution. If the case requires it, may not we do this again? If we must curtail our commerce by our statutes, it is certainly a better policy to retaliate upon an adversary in that way

⁹⁰ Annals of Congress, Senate, 9th Congress, 1st Session, February, 1806. 119, 120, 122.

⁹¹ Annals of Congress, Senate, 9th Congress, 1st Session, February, 1806. 123, 124.

⁹² Annals of Congress, Senate, 9th Congress, 1st Session, February, 1806. 130.

than to abandon to her, as the proposed bill contemplates, a lucrative portion of our trade.93

Nevertheless, the bill to end trade with Haiti passed, prohibiting anyone residing in the United States from trading with any part of Haiti "not in possession, and under the acknowledged Government of France" as a measure to stem French seizure of American merchants.⁹⁴

Parenthetically, in March 1807, the "Act to Prohibit Importation of Slaves" passed to be effective January 1, 1808. The southerners, especially Louisianans, even though they feared servile insurrection, were against the Act on economic grounds due to cotton and tobacco fields in the territory demanding manual labor. However, this federal ban underwent a change upon the influx of slaves accompanying white St. Domingo refugees which had found a shelter in, but later expelled from Cuba. 95 The end result was the congressional approval in late June 1809 of an act remitting penalties incurred in introducing slaves owned by persons expelled from Cuba.⁹⁶ Here again was another political action condoning the import of slaves for the sake of their white masters.

James Madison's tenure (1809-1817/Democratic-Republican) distinguishes from its predecessors for the lack of enthusiasm for Haiti in congressional debates or the press. Most attention was devoted to the War of 1812 with Great Britain which ended with both sides returning to the previous boundaries by the Treaty of Ghent in

⁹³ Annals of Congress. Senate, 9th Congress, 1st Session, December 20, 1805. 34.

⁹⁴ Annals of Congress, Appendix, 9th Congress, 1st Session. 1228-1229. The embargo of 1806 was renewed on February 24, 1807. It expired on April 25, 1808, but because of the general embargo of December 22, 1807 and similar prohibitions on commerce, trade with Haiti was not again legal until the spring of 1810. At that time, there was no effort in Congress to revive the embargo as the attention had shifted to Europe. See Matthewson. A Proslavery Foreign Policy, 131.

⁹⁵ Paul F. LaChance. "The Politics of Fear: French Louisianans and the Slave Trade, 1786-1809," Plantation Society 1:2 (June 1979), 181, 186, 189. The sharpest increase in the refugee movement occurred between May 1809 and January 1810, when Spanish authorities expelled from Cuba thousands of refugees of the Haitian Revolution.

⁹⁶ Annals of Congress, Appendix, 11th Congress, 1st Session. 2507-2508.

1815.⁹⁷ One exception was the authorization of commercial agents to Haiti as of 1813, which stood for limited recognition. Trade with and recognition of Haiti continued to occupy the agenda of James Monroe, another president from the Democratic-Republican camp (1817-1825). However, Monroe had a negative view of commerce with Haiti. In a report laid before the House by the Secretary of State John Quincy Adams (1817-1825), some American merchants "engaged in a lawful commerce" with the ports and places on the island had encountered spoliations on their commerce (i.e. detaining of American vessels, arrest of officers and crews). Quoting the petitioners' portrayal of a decree enabling Henri Christophe, ⁹⁸ the King of northern Haiti to seize American property, the report said

a decree so manifestly wicked and unjust, that even Christophe, while he endeavors to shelter himself under his supposed necessity, acknowledges it to be as much against sound policy and good faith in him as arbitrary and contrary to the laws of all civilized nations. ⁹⁹

Adams' observation stated that he found "formal recognition of the kingdom of Haiti [as] not being expedient." President Monroe also declined the pleas for recognition upon Jean Pierre Boyer's unification of Haiti and becoming the president. Boyer also invited African Americans to Haiti and offered homesteads and free passage. Monroe's message to the Congress had the final say over the issue of recognition. He portrayed the Haitians in racial lines, and as still belonging to the French.

⁹⁷ The reasons for the United States' declation on Britain were many: the impressment of thousands of American sailors into the navy, frustration at British restraints on neutral trade while Britain was at war with France, and anger at British alliances with native Americans defending their territories which conflicted with American expansion into the west.

⁹⁸ Between 1806 and 1820 Haiti was divided between the authoritarian northern *State*, later *Kingdom of Haiti* under Henri Christophe, and the southern *Republic of Haiti* under Alexander Petion. Christophe became President of the State of Haiti on February 17, 1807 and was proclaimed King of Haiti on March 26, 1811. Jean Pierre Boyer would reunite Haiti in 1820 and rule as president until his overthrow in 1843.

⁹⁹ Annals of Congress, Appendix, 16th Congress, 1st Session. 2260-2261.

¹⁰⁰ Annals of Congress, House of Representatives, 16th Congress, 1st Session, March 27, 1820. 1678.

¹⁰¹ Matthewson. A Proslavery Foreign Policy, 145.

[T]he whole island is now united under one government, under a constitution which retains the sovereignty in the hands of the people of color, and with the provisions which prohibit the employment in the government, of all white persons who have emigrated there since 1816, or who may hereafter emigrate there; and which prohibit, also, the acquisitions by such persons, of the right of citizenship, or to real estate in the island . . . No invasion of the island has been made or attempted by any power. It is, however, understood that the relations between the Government of France and the island have not been adjusted, that its independence has not been recognized by France . . . The establishment of a government of a people of color in the island, on the principles above stated, evinces, distinctly, the idea of a separate interest, and a distrust of other nations. 102

Monroe's message also touched upon economic relations with the island. Stating that the existing commerce was extensive, but was subject to higher duties than those of some other nations, the President called for a most favored nation status to be extended to the United States. 103 It is against this background that the famous Monroe Doctrine of December 1823 did not include any welcoming reference to Haiti, leaving the Republic open to French intervention. ¹⁰⁴

> With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States . . .

The President's propositions were an attempt to hinder "future colonization by any European Powers." But, as Haiti's independence was not yet acknowledged, the Monroe principles did not extend United States protection for the new republic. The European powers were simply told that they could keep what they already had within existing boundaries so long as they did not seek to transfer them to any other European power or to add other colonies. This was the only thing that the United

¹⁰² Annals of Congress, 17th Congress, 2nd Session, February 25, 1823. 285

¹⁰³ Annals of Congress, 17th Congress, 2nd Session, February 25, 1823. 285-286.

Annals of Congress, 18th Congress, 1st Session, December 2, 1823. 12-29.

^{105 &}quot;James Monroe Declares That European Powers May Not Interfere in the Americas, 1823," in Elizabeth Hoffman and Jon Gjerde. Major Problems in American History, Volume I: To 1877 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), 208-209.

States could do as regards its yet feeble capabilities as being a relatively new republic itself. 106 For Monroe, the principle of self-determination did not apply also because, as mentioned in his February message, its independence was not yet recognized by France, and that a colored government attested to "the idea of a separate interest and a distrust of other nations." ¹⁰⁷

Haiti once more appeared on the scene within the context of the First Pan-American Conference, scheduled by President Simon Bolivar of Panama in 1826. There was heated debate in the Congress upon President John Quincy Adams' (1825-1829/Democratic-Republican) intention to send delegates to represent the United States. This step meant a departure from his Democratic-Republican predecessor Monroe's policies against establishing formal relations with Haiti. Adams outlined the reasons for participation within the context of American generosity and benevolence.

> [The] motive of [our] attendance is neither to contract alliances, nor to engage in any undertaking or project importing hostility to any other nation. . .[I]t is believed to be of infinite moment, that the principles of a liberal commercial intercourse should be exhibited to them, and urged with disinterested and friendly persuasion upon them. . [T]he moral influence of the United States may, perhaps, be exerted with beneficial consequences at such a meeting -the advancement of religious liberty. 108

These words provoked considerable criticism directly related with Haiti, one of the participants to the Panama Congress and whose population mostly practiced the Catholic religion. Senator John McPherson Berrien (Jacksonian 109-GA) stated

¹⁰⁶ Gaddis Smith. The Last Years of the Monroe Doctrine: 1945-1993 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994), 22; Ernest Gruening. "The Monroe Doctrine -Killed in its Home," The Nation 117 (December 5, 1923), 630.

Lester D. Langley. The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750-1850 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 140-141.

¹⁰⁸ Register of Debates, Appendix, 19th Congress, 1st Session, December 26, 1825. 43.

¹⁰⁹ Jacksonianism was a response to President Adams' advocating a strong federalist policy. During his tenure, Adams upheld an activist government in social and economic affairs, a national bank and protective tariffs. In response, the Jacksonians stood for limited central government, and an agrarian society.

that the United States must not "intermeddle with the principles of their faith," praising the Catholic priests for the "noble part which they have performed in the struggle for Independence." This statement was a reminder of the flight of Puritans and other religious exiles from Europe, to find a shelter in America. Hugh White, another Jacksonian Senator from Tennessee pointed at the country's own bigotry: "Let us be sure that we have wiped out all the motes out of our own eyes before we engage in plucking the beams out of those of our neighbors." New Hampshiren Senator Levi Woodbury of the same camp ironically denounced the state constitution, meaning Washington could send a mission to them next: "by express prohibitions in her Constitution, not a single Catholic, much less Jew, Mahometan, or Deist, is eligible to either her House of Representatives, her Senate, or her Executive chair."

The President's March 15 Message to the House of Representatives was a response to the criticisms. He argued that there would not be any interference in the island's internal concerns, but religious liberty was desired only for the benefit of the American citizens residing there. Adams further enumerated the reasons for the U.S. nonrecognition of Haiti, and hoped that participation to the Panama Congress would yield beneficial results as to the political condition of the island.

There are in the political constitution of Government of that People, circumstances which have hitherto forbidden the acknowledgement of them by the Government of the United States, as sovereign and independent. Additional reasons or witholding that acknowledgement, have recently been seen in their acceptance of a nominal sovereignty, by the grant of a foreign Prince; under conditions equivalent to the concession by them, of exclusive commercial advantages to one nation, adapted altogether to the state of colonial vassalage, and retaining little of independence but the name. ¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Register of Debates, Appendix, 19th Congress, 1st Session, March, 1826. 291.

Register of Debates, Appendix, 19th Congress, 1st Session, March, 1826. 212.

¹¹² Register of Debates, Appendix, 19th Congress, 1st Session, March, 1826. 194.

¹¹³ Register of Debates, Appendix, 19th Congress, 1st Session, March 15, 1826. 71.

Adams also presented a new understanding of George Washington's maxim of "avoiding entangling alliances".

Compare our situation and the circumstances of that time, with those of the present day, and what from the very words of Washington, then would be his counsels to his countrymen now? . . .[European Colonies] have now been transformed into eight Independent nations, extending to very borders. Seven of them Republics like ourselves; with whom we have an immensely growing commercial, and *must* have, and have already important political connexions. With reference to whom, our situation is neither distant, nor detached. 114

Nevertheless, his calls were not embraced with equal fervor. Senator Joseph Hemphill (Jacksonian-PA) responded

It is not in my apprehension, deducible from this, that [George Washington] would have recommended entangling alliances with the Republics on our borders, just after they had risen to existence. He warned us against alliances with the countries we then had intercourse with; and the danger would be as great, if not greater, to form alliances with countries adjoining us. 115

The idea of establishing diplomatic relations with Haiti did not find many adherents especially among the southerners. Senator John Berrien's (Jacksonian-GA) comments were one of the harshest:

The revolted slaves of St. Domingo, who, although years have passed since they broke their fetters, have recently afforded the most decisive evidence of their incapacity for freedom . . . Our own Cabinet has accepted this invitation to "manifest the sensibility of the United States to whatever concerns the prosperity of the American hemisphere" but in utter recklessness of the condition of a portion of the People of this Union . . .Is the emancipated slave, his hands yet reeking in the blood of his murdered master, to be admited into the [Southern] ports, to spread the doctrine of insurrection, and to strengthen and invigorate them, by exhibiting in his own person an example of successful revolt?¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Register of Debates, Appendix, 19th Congress, 1st Session, April 13, 1826. 2238.

¹¹⁴ Register of Debates, Appendix, 19th Congress, 1st Session, March 15, 1826. 72.

¹¹⁶ Register of Debates, Senate, 19th Congress, 1st Session, March, 1826, 290-291.

Another attack came from Senator Robert Young Hayne (Jacksonian-SC). Referring to the "revolutionary governments" Hayne stated: "You find men of color at the head of their armies, in their legislative halls, and in their executive departments. They are looking to Hayti, even now, with feelings of the strongest fraternity and . . . acknowledge her to be independent." The end result was that the Senate confirmed the President's decision to send delegates to the Congress, and the House voted the expenses. Nevertheless, this was a hollow success. The Panama Congress had ended by the time the delegates reached their destination. 118

The black press was not silent during this period and it mostly tried to convey the civilized style of living in the Republic –a thing that was almost never brought forth in official pronouncements or congressional debates. Many such articles further called for U.S. recognition of Haiti, let alone sending delegates to the Panama Congress. *Freedom's Journal* spoke very highly of Haiti, referring to "the establishment of the republic of Hayti after years of sanguinary warfare and its subsequent progress in all the arts of civilization." Again, the Haitian revolution was juxtaposed against its American and French counterparts, and was portrayed as bearing similarity in terms of respect to the principles of equality and liberty.

The American revolution which first led the way in asserting the great principles of liberty was hailed with enthusiasm . . . The French revolution too had supporters and well-wishers everywhere . . . But the Revolution of St. Domingo, which taught the world that the African, though trodden down in the dust by the foot of the oppressor; yet had not entirely lost the finer sensibilities of his nature, and still possessed the proper spirit and feelings of a man –no one wished it well. 120

¹¹⁷ Register of Debates, Senate, 19th Congress, 1st Session, March, 1826, 166.

¹¹⁸ Charles H. Wesley. "Struggle for Recognition of Haiti and Liberia as Independent Republics," *The Journal of Negro History* 2:4 (October 1917), 374.

¹¹⁹ Freedom's Journal 1:1 (March 16, 1827), 1.

¹²⁰ Freedom's Journal 1:4 (April 6, 1827), 14.

Despite the whites' portrayal of Haiti as savage and backward, many editorials depicted Haiti as no different than America or Europe.

The present Government of Hayti is decidedly Republican. It consists of a President, Senate and House of Deputies. . .The Judiciary is an independent branch of Government . . .The cause of Education has always received firm support from the Executive of Hayti . . .[T]he rights of citizens and foreigners are respected; and in no parts of the globe are crimes less frequent. The police over the island is excellent, and so secure do the citizens consider themselves and property, that many never close their doors during the night. ¹²¹

During the years between 1825-1860, there were also many memorials and petitions brought before the Congress as regards the recognition of Haiti. Beginning with the summer of 1838, these petitions grew in number. The 25th Congress (1837-1839) and 26th Congress (1839-1841) saw heightened debates about sending diplomatic representatives and establishing commercial relations with the Republic.¹²²

In pre-Civil War America, the experiences of Haiti again became a widely used tool for the abolitionist cause. Especially many black spokesmen considered the Haitian Revolution as superior to the American Revolution. As William Wells Brown argued in his 1854 lecture *St. Domingo: Its Revolutions and Its Patriots*, "Toussaint liberated his countrymen; Washington enslaved a portion of his, and aided in giving strength and vitality to an institution that will one day rend asunder the UNION that he helped to form." James Theodore Holly, a black theologian, claimed in 1857, the Haitian revolution was "one of the noblest, grandest and most justifiable outbursts against tyrannical oppression," and it was more "wonderous and

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¹²¹ Freedom's Journal 1:16 (June 29, 1827), 62.

¹²² See *Congressional Globe*, 25th Congress and 26th Congress. Retrieved from the Library of Congress website http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwcglink.html

William Wells Brown. St. Domingo: Its Revolutions and Its Patriots, 37 quoted in John Ernest. Liberation Historiography: African American Writers and the Challenge of History, 1794-1861 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 246.

momentous" than the American Revolution.¹²⁴ In a similar vein, one writer in the *Anglo-African Magazine* stated that it was the portrait of Toussaint that brought before his mind "in all its scope and strength the inimitable document, the Declaration of Independence." Holly also made use of the Haitian revolution so as to refute the allegations to black inferiority

[The] successful establishment of this Negro nationality; the means by which its establishment was sought and accomplished; and the masterly vigilance by which the same has been maintained for upwards of a half century, presents us with the strongest evidence and the most irrefragible proof of the equality of the Negro race. ¹²⁶

In another editorial, the Haitian Revolution was exalted over the American experience.

For a time it was fashionable to call them even in our Congress a nation of murderers and cutthroats, and for no better reason than that they won their freedom by their arms. It is quite time that this interesting people should be better understood. Though a city set on an hill, she has been hid . . . 127

On the issue of emigration to Haiti, the black press had varying views; most favored to remain in the United States fearing about what to do in an unknown geography and climate. However, there were also pro-emigrationist remarks. Some newspapers and magazines even printed welcoming calls from the President of Haiti to encourage African-Americans to emigrate. A sample argument seeing the emigration in a positive light appeared in *Douglass' Monthly*. Elaborating on the qualities of Haiti, the article went,

¹²⁵ Anglo-African Magazine (March 1859), 87 quoted in Fordham. "Nineteenth-Century Black Thought in the United States," 121.

¹²⁴ Monroe Fordham. "Nineteenth-Century Black Thought in the United States: Some Influences of the Santo Domingo Revolution," *Journal of Black Studies* 6:2 (December 1975), 120.

¹²⁶ Anglo-African Magazine (June 1859), 185 quoted in Fordham. "Nineenth-Century Black Thought in the United States," 122.

¹²⁷ Douglass' Monthly 3:12 (May 1861).

[Hayti] is at peace at home, and within a year or two past has rapidly risen to respect in the world . . . The cry from that country is for light, labor, enterprize, order and all the arts of an advanced civilization . . .On the other hand, the United States is in great trouble. Slavery, vengeance and settled hate, frown and threaten the free colored people in the slave states with bondage or expulsion, while evidence are abundant of a settled purpose to hold them as a servile and degraded caste in the freest of the free States . . . It is easily seen that just in proportion to the inteligence and respectability of the colored race in the North, is their power to endanger the stability of slavery. Hence, the desire to get rid of us . . . Let us not go to Africa, where those who hate and enslave us want to go; but let us go to Hayti, where our influence and example can still be of service to those whose tears will find their way to us by the waters of the Gulf washing all our shores. ¹²⁸

President Fabre Geffrard of Haiti was depicted as "patriotic and philanthropic," visà-vis the "professedly more enlightened and Christianized white Republic of the North" since he offered to "this stricken and outcast people a home and a country." ¹²⁹

In return, *De Bow's Review* became representative of the Southern fears for slave emancipation. The editorials made extensive use of Haiti to frighten Americans so that they would not uphold the notions of freedom and equality for the colored race. As one article went: "The two races cannot mix and mingle in social and political equality. Oil and water could as soon unite. The history of the French and British West Indies is proof of this." A similar article named "Free Negroes in Hayti" aimed at refuting the highly manners in the Republic that the abolitionist press so boasted of: "the fruits of freedom in that island, since its independence, in 1804, are revolutions, massacres, misrule, insecurity, irreligion, ignorance, immorality, indolence, and neglect of agriculture." In antebellum America, there were even northern papers sympathizing with southern fears. One example was the New York *Herald*, which drew upon "the bloody history of Hayti" to prove that abolition would culminate into a "perpetual war of races [that] cannot cease until the

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¹²⁸ *Douglass' Monthly* 3:8 (January 1861) 386.

¹²⁹ Douglass' Monthly 4:2 (July 1861) 481.

¹³⁰ Quoted in Hunt. Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America, 131.

George Fitzhugh. "Free Negroes in Haiti," *De Bow's Review* 27 (1859) quoted in Hunt. *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America*, 138.

black race has been exterminated or driven among us."¹³² President James Buchanan (1857-1861/Democratic) even considered to acquire Cuba as a solution to prevent blacks from taking over the island: "And should a black government, like that of Haiti, be established there, it would endanger peace and domestic security of a large and influential portion of our people."¹³³

It was in the Abraham Lincoln era (1861-1865/Republican) that emigration to, and recognition of Haiti comprised a major part of the policy agenda. Lincoln's faithful enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law not only filled Washington, D.C. jails with runaway slaves, but also enraged the anti-slavery figures. The President saw that the clamor for abolitionism threatened his success in prosecuting the war that he fought to preserve the Union. In an effort to appease both the opposition and his party's abolitionist faction, Lincoln urged that the United States formally recognize the black republics of Haiti and Liberia. What he also had in mind was resettlement of blacks. ¹³⁴ He could not propose emancipation without at the same time proposing colonization. The resettlement schemes might make emancipation more endorsable for conservatives. ¹³⁵ In his first Annual Message to Congress, the President questioned "why we should persevere longer witholding our recognition of the independence and sovereignty of Hayti," and argued that "important commercial advantages might be secured by favorable treaties with them." ¹³⁶

¹³² New York *Herald*, September 19, 1860 quoted in Hunt. *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America*, 131.

¹³³ Quoted in James Moore Binder. *James Buchanan and the American Empire* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1994), 202.

Robert Morgan. "The Great Emancipator and the Issue of Race: Abraham Lincoln's Program of Black Resettlement," *Journal of Historical Review* (September/October 1993)13:5. Retrieved from http://www.ihr.org/jhr/v13/v13n5p-4_Morgan.html

¹³⁵ Michael Vorenberg. "Abraham Lincoln and the Politics of Black Colonization," *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* 14:2 (Summer 1993), 41.

¹³⁶ "Annual Message to Congress," December 3, 1861 in *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States* 59 (December 3, 1861), 15.

The debates on the bill authorizing the President to appoint diplomatic representatives to Haiti (brought before the Congress on February 4, 1862), ran concurrently with those of another bill introduced in April. This was about the emancipation of blacks initially in the District of Columbia, and their resettlement. The latter bill entailed a plan for compensated emancipation and colonization, which would finally be signed into law on April 16, 1862.

[T]he sum of one hundred thousand . . . is hereby appropriated to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States, to aid in the colonization and settlement of such free persons of African descent now residing in said District, including those to be liberated by this act, as may desire to emigrate to the Republic of Haiti or Liberia, or such other country beyond the limits of the United States as the President may determine. ¹³⁷

However, the bill on diplomatic recognition of the Republic did not pass with the same ease. The official view found voice in Senator Charles Sumner's (R-MA) words: "... I have found the [Haytians] so refined and so full of self-respect that I am led to believe no one of them charged with a mission from his government will seek any society where he will not be entirely welcome." He also read a letter from the Commercial Agent at Port au Prince to Secretary of State William H. Seward (1861-1869), conveying the disappointment of the Haitians at the coldness and neglect on the part of the United States and demanding immediate recognition so as to counteract "the schemes of foreign powers." 139

On the oppositional side, Senator Garrett Davis (Unionist-KY) was against acknowledging representatives from the Republic and treating them "upon the same terms of equality with similar representatives from other powers." For Davis, "if a

¹³⁷ Abraham Lincoln to Congress, April 16, 1862 (Compensated Emancipation in District of Columbia) in *The Abraham Lincoln Papers* at the Library of Congress Series 1. General Correspondence. 1833-1916. Retrieved from http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/alhtml/malhome.html ¹³⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, April 24, 1862. 1807.

¹³⁹ Quoted in Wesley. "Struggle for Recognition of Haiti and Liberia," 381.

full-blooded Negro were sent in that capacity from [Hayti], by the laws of nations he could demand that he be precisely on the same terms of equality with the white representative from the powers on the earth composed of white people." Senator William Saulsbury (D-DE) was even harsher in attacking the bill. His presumption was that, blacks and whites were forever incompatible in manners and style, with the latter portrayed as more civilized.

How fine it will look, after emancipating the slaves in this District, to welcome here at the White House an African, full-blooded, all gilded and belaced, dressed in court style, with wig and sword and tights and shoe-buckles and ribbons and many other adornments which African vanity will suggest . . . If that is agreeble to the tastes and feelings of the people of this country, it is not to mine. ¹⁴¹

This fierce debate ended up in the diplomatic recognition of Haiti, and on June 5, 1862, President Lincoln signed the bill for the appointment of commissioners to oversee colonization projects in Haiti.

2.3 From recognition to occupation (1862-1915)

Abolitionists rejoiced upon the recognition; however, they still raised opposing voices against any resettlement plan. Their main argument was that blacks had a right to remain in the land of their birth. They were also aided by some Republican Party leaders as they sought to enlist black political support in a defeated South, where most whites would be barred from voting. Others shared the same view with Senator Charles Sumner, who spoke this time for the anti-administration camp. Sumner argued that black laborers were an indispensable element of the national

¹⁴⁰ Congressional Globe, Senate, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, April 24, 1862. 1806.

¹⁴¹ Congressional Globe, Senate, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, June 2, 1862. 2501-2506.

economy, and plans to expel them "would be fatal to the prosperity of the country." ¹⁴²

However, Lincoln was insistent on resettling the blacks. In his second Annual Message to Congress, the President argued that in the face of applications brought before him by free African-Americans for emigration, he saw Liberia and Haiti as "yet the only countries to which colonists of African descent from here could go with certainty of being received and adopted as citizens." It was not before the project of settling a number of blacks in the Vache Island off the coast of Haiti ended up in utter failure that President Lincoln abandoned the colonization plans. Eventually, in November 1864, a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation was signed between the United States and Haiti. Lincoln's Annual Message in December 1864 stated that bilateral relations are "of the most friendly nature," and that "during the past year no differences of any kind have arisen."

Andrew Johnson (1865-1869/Republican) followed in the steps of his predecessor with his willingness to improve relations with Haiti. As he stated, "with the exception of those of the island of Hayti," the people in the West Indies were neither independent or capable of self-defence. Conveying that this had been a disadvantage for the United States as the European powers had the upper hand by using the West India islands for their military or economic designs during war and

¹⁴² Morgan. "The Great Emancipator and the Issue of Race."

¹⁴³ Congressional Globe, Appendix, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, December 1, 1862. 1.

On December 31, 1862, Abraham Lincoln signed a contract with Bernard Kock. He was the Governor of Vache Island off the coast of Haiti (a dependency), who proposed to colonize the island with 5,000 former slaves from the United States. The contract was canceled in April 1863 and the United States agreed to a different contract with three of Kock's financial partners. By the end of April 1863, 500 colonists had sailed for the island. Less than a year later (January 1864) the project was a complete failure and the 350 remaining colonists on Vache Island returned to the United States. Bernard Kock to Abraham Lincoln, October 4, 1862, note 1. *The Abraham Lincoln Papers* at the Library of Congress. Also see James D. Lockett. "Abraham Lincoln and Colonization: An Episode That Ends in Tragedy at L'Ile à Vache, Haiti, 1863-1864," *Journal of Black Studies* 21:4 (June 1991), 428-444.

¹⁴⁵ Wesley. "Struggle for Recognition of Haiti and Liberia," 382.

¹⁴⁶ Congressional Globe, Appendix, 38th Congress, 2nd Session, December 6, 1864. 1.

peace, Johnson advanced the need to acquire naval outposts between the Atlantic coast and Europe. The President spoke in favor of Haiti for its embrace of republican traditions; yet, he also pointed at a number of obstacles, probably stemming from "long-indulged habits of colonial supineness and dependence upon European monarchical powers." He denounced the American policy which had failed to lend even a moral support to their efforts. He moreover criticized the American example.

It is indeed a question of grave consideration whether our recent and present example is not calculated to check the growth and expansion of free principles, and make those communities distrust, if not dread, a government which at will consigns military domination States that are integral parts of our Federal Union, and, while ready to resist any attempts by other nations to extend to this hemisphere the monarchical institutions of Europe, assumes to establish over a large portion of its people a rule more absolute, harsh, and tyrannical than any known to civilized powers. ¹⁴⁸

Yet, it was also Andrew Johnson who paved the way for the annexation of the Dominican Republic¹⁴⁹ and Haiti. The same Annual Message had an overbearing tone, conveying the desire to incorporate the two republics in order to help solve their problems.

It cannot be long before it will be necessary for this Government to lend some effective aid to the solution of the political and social problems which are continually kept before the world by the two Republic of the island of St. Domingo, and which are now disclosing themselves more distinctly than heretofore in the island of Cuba. The subject is commanded to your consideration with all the more earnestness because I am satisfied that the time has arrived when even so direct a proposition of an annexation of the two Republics of the island of St. Domingo would not only receive the consent of the people interested, but would give satisfaction to all foreign nations. ¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Congressional Globe, Appendix, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, December 9, 1868. 5.

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¹⁴⁷ Journal of the Senate of the United States 61 (December 3, 1867) 26.

¹⁴⁹ Santo Domingo, the Spanish part of the Republic after the Haitian independence, remained under Haitian invasion under Jean Pierre Boyer between 1822-1844. It finally attained independence as "the Dominican Republic" in February 1844. Nevertheless, in 1861, the Dominicans voluntarily returned to the Spanish rule in view of enduring Haitian threat and economic hardships. They regained their independence through war in 1865.

¹⁵⁰ Here the island of Hispaniola.

¹⁵¹ Congressional Globe, Appendix, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, December 9, 1868. 5.

Johnson's expansionist plans encountered strong congressional hostility from Democratic and Republican fronts alike. The House deliberated upon the resolution below, which

authorizes the President of the United States to extend to the Governments and people of the republics of Hayti and San Domingo¹⁵² the protection of the United States for the purpose of assisting them to establish permanent republican institutions whenever those Governments, or either of them shall apply to the United States for its protection, or whenever the President shall be satisfied that the Governments and people of those republics desire or voluntarily consent to the protection of this government ¹⁵³

Representatives James Mullins (R-TN) and George W. Woodward (D-PA) argued that this resolution clashed with the founding principle of noninterference with foreign governments. In the words of Representative Woodward:

But the question in my mind is this: if we extend our protection over what claims to be an independent, tough a very feeble government, do we not invite agression and incur the hazard of a dispute with all the powerful nations of Europe? Is not this the very way to form an offensive alliance?¹⁵⁴

Another Representative Samuel Shellabarger (R-OH) shared the same view. Reminding the audience of the "most approved, most cherished, and most loved part of the Farewell Address of the Father of [this] country which admonished his countrymen against the intervention of this nation in the affairs of others," he added

We want republics to be established all over the world. If we take care well of our Government we become . . .the lighthouse to the other Governments of the world. In that light, given in the honor, the justice, the power and the glory of this Government, will be found the moral power which is to furnish the true, the real and effective protectorate of the struggling or the feeble or the threatened republics of the world. That moral power is to be found in adhering to the old land marks. ¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² Here the Dominican Republic.

¹⁵³ Congressional Globe, House of Representatives, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, January 12, 1869.

¹⁵⁴ Congressional Globe, House of Representatives, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, January 12, 1869.

¹⁵⁵ Congressional Globe, House of Representatives, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, January 13, 1869. 335. The reference here belongs to the first President George Washington's Farewell Address of 1796.

William E. Robinson (D-NY) came up with a different proposal: "I desire that Ireland shall be protected. Her claims to our protection are higher than those of any other country. Her people are brothers of ours and aliens to the Government which has usurped control over that country during seven centuries of oppression." ¹⁵⁶

Annexation policy came to a climax during the Ulysses Grant Presidency (1869-1877/Republican). Senate debates on the annexation treaty began on March 24, 1870 –four months after it was signed and just five days before its expiration. Eventually, the treaty expired without coming to a vote. This did not stop the President, who announced to the Senate on May 31, 1870 that the period for the ratification of the treaty had been extended. Grant wrote a memorandum titled "Reasons Why Santo Domingo Should Be Annexed to the United States." Among the reasons enumerated were the fertility of the territory, its being in the transit line for half the world's commerce, the stipulations of the Monroe Doctrine, and the aim to pressure the slaveholding trade partners of Cuba and Brazil to abolish this practice —slavery had been abolished in Santo Domingo. One last reason as regards Haiti was that, Grant proposed to annex Santo Domingo as the republic was "internally weak, [though] it struggled bravely to hold off an invasion from Haiti."

The *New York Herald* published the oppositional theses by Republican Senator Charles Sumner (R-MA). Sumner denounced the Dominicans as "a turbulent, treacherous race," and believed that the country's problems with Haiti succintly demonstrated that "the character of the people would render acquisition of

¹⁵⁶ Congressional Globe, House of Representatives, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, January 13, 1869.

¹⁵⁷ Eric T. Love. *Race over Empire: Racism and U.S. Imperialism*, 1865-1900 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 55, 60.

¹⁵⁸ Here the Dominican Republic.

¹⁵⁹ Love. Race over Empire, 43-44.

their country undesirable."¹⁶⁰ The debate on the issue of appointment of a commission to examine into and report upon the condition of the island, reignited the fear of anti-annexationists. During the Senate debates, Sumner also pointed at the dangers awaiting "the neighboring republic of Hayti, [the only colored Government now existing in the world, a republic seeking to follow our great example] . . ." as the annexationist policies of the Grant administration might also include this republic. ¹⁶¹ For Sumner, the reasons declared for the annexation of Santo Domingo could well apply to Haiti. ¹⁶² In a similar vein, Senator Allen G. Thurman (D-OH) attacked the expansionist spirit of the United States.

This scheme contemplates the acquisition first of Dominica; 163 secondly, it contemplates the acquisition of the remainder of the island, the republic of Hayti, by force or by intrigue. It contemplates that, *per fas out per nefas*, Hayti too is to be annexed. That is the meaning of it. Nobody can believe that if the United States gets Dominica they will stop there. Nobody entertains any such opinion. "The whole" if not "boundless continent," boundless island, is to be ours if we ever set a foot of ownership upon one single of it. 164

The opposition's attacks culminated into the March 1871 resolutions that failed to please the President. Grant's schemes regarding the two republics were denounced as being incompatible with international law, as well as the founding principles of America among which liberty ranked first.

Resolved, that since certain naval officers of the United States, commanding large warships . . . with powerful armaments, acting under instructions from the Executive and without the authority of the Congress, have entered one or more ports of the Republic of Hayti, a friendly nation, and under the menace of open and instant war have coerced and restrained that republic in its sovereignty and independence under international law and [in defiance of] the principles of our institutions . . .Resolved, that while the President, without any previous declaration of war by act of Congress, may defend the country against invasion by foreign enemies, he is not justified in

¹⁶⁰ Quoted in Love. Race over Empire, 56.

¹⁶¹ Congressional Globe, Senate, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, December 21, 1870. 229.

¹⁶² Congressional Globe, Senate, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, December 21, 1870. 230.

¹⁶³ Here the Dominican Republic.

¹⁶⁴ Congressional Globe, Senate, 41st Congress, 3rd Session, December 21, 1870. 249.

exercising he same power in an outlying foreign island which has not yet become part of the United States. 165

After the fade of an annexationist wave, President Chester A. Arthur's tenure (1881-1885/Republican) was characterized by "relations of unimpaired amity" with the Republic and "increasing trade." There was one complication, but it did no harm to bilateral relations. In the face of recurring turmoil in Haiti, Arthur enforced neutrality laws "by instituting proceedings against individuals and vessels charged infringement." ¹⁶⁷ His with their successor Grover Cleveland (1885-1889/Democratic) was also content to see that the "Republic has made prompt provision for adjudicating the losses suffered by foreigners because of hostilities there, and the claims of certain citizens of the United States will be in this manner determined." Often quoted as a committed isolationist except for cases requiring the application of the Monroe Doctrine, Cleveland followed in the steps of his Republican predecessor and called for neutrality in the light of "insurrection, disorder and bloodshed [in Haiti]" in his last Annual Message of 1888.

Our representative has been instructed to abstrain from interference between the warring factions, and a vessel of our Navy has been sent to Haytian waters to sustain our minister and for the protection of the persons and property of American citizens. Due precautions have been taken to enforce our neutrality laws and prevent our territory from becoming the base of military supplies for either of the warring factions. 169

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¹⁶⁵ Journal of the Senate of the United States of America, March 27, 1871. 95.

¹⁶⁶ "Annual Message to Congress, December 6, 1881" quoted in John Woolley and Gerhard Peters. *The American Presidency Project* [online] (Santa Barbara, CA: University of California). Retrieved from http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29522; "Annual Message to Congress, December 4, 1882" quoted in Woolley and Peters. *The American Presidency Project*. Retrieved from http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29523

[&]quot;Annual Message to Congress, December 1, 1884" quoted in Woolley and Peters. *The American Presidency Project*. Retrieved from http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29525

¹⁶⁸ "Annual Message to Congress, December 8, 1885" quoted in Woolley and Peters. *The American Presidency Project*. Retrieved from http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29526

¹⁶⁹ "Annual Message to Congress, December 3, 1888" quoted in Woolley and Peters. *The American Presidency Project*. Retrieved from http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29529

Whether the decision of the Cleveland administration to withhold recognition to François Légitime's *de facto* government after the fall of the dictator Louis Salomon was related with Légitime's being favored by the French or not, ¹⁷⁰ the rationale for avoiding the acknowledgement of republicanism's reinstitution in Haiti was conveyed differently.

The tenure of power has been so unstable amid the war of factions that has ensued since expulsion of President Salomon that no government constituted by the will of the Haytian people has been recognized as administration responsibly the affairs of the country.¹⁷¹

Benjamin Harrison's term (1889-1893/Republican) saw better relations with Haiti. Harrison stood on the Haitian side when it came to diplomatic relations and offered self-criticism. Pointing at the fact that the United States envoys to some "sister Republics" were of lower rank, Harrison stated that

In view of the importance of our relations with the States of the American system, our diplomatic agents in those countries should be of the uniform rank of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary. Certain missions were so elevated by the last Congress with happy effect, and I recommend the completion of the reform just begun, with the inclusion also of Hawaii and Hayti, in view of their relations to the system of the American system of states. ¹⁷²

In his next Annual Address, Harrison talked about the conference between October 1889-April 1890 at which the representatives of every independent state of the American continent and of Haiti met. The President deemed this convocation as "a

"Annual Message to Congress, December 3, 1888" quoted in Woolley and Peters. *The American Presidency Project*. Retrieved from http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29529

¹⁷² "Annual Message to Congress, December 3, 1889" quoted in Woolley and Peters. *The American Presidency Project*. Retrieved from http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29530

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¹⁷⁰ Prior to August 1889, Haiti was divided into two provisional camps. Forvil Hyppolite of the North was one of the factions to get power after the overthrow of President Louis Salomon, and was supported by American businessmen. The other faction headed by François Legitime of the South was a Francophile. In August 1889, Hyppolite, with the aid of Rear Admiral Bancroft Gherardi and the North Atlantic fleet, took control of all of Haiti. The United States became the first big power to recognize Hyppolite's government.

most interesting and influential epoch in the history of the Western Hemisphere."¹⁷³ However, 1889 was also the year in which the United States multiplied its efforts to obtain naval stations in the Caribbean. This was the time that the construction of a Nicaraguan canal was authorized as a competitor to the French Panama Canal. Accordingly, a base to oversee the region became necessary. The utmost aim was to acquire Mole St. Nicholas, a three miles-long, strategic and capacious peninsula, through which the control of a transisthmian route would be possible. 175

Some editors were vocal in criticizing the U.S. policy in Haiti as "not only interventionist but also immoral." The editor of a black newspaper *Age* warned the U.S. Minister to Haiti Frederick Douglass, not to be the agent of the expansionist Secretary of State James G. Blaine's (1881/1889-1892) schemes "with the guns of three wartubs levelled at the head of Hyppolite." However, Minister Douglass allegedly failed in the mission and was denounced by many critics about his capabilities. Upon his resignation, Douglass issued a two piece article which appeared in *The North American Review*, answering the allegations against him and conveying the inside story of St. Mole negotiations, the true U.S. motives and the unprofessional, impractical tactics to get the base. In fact, he had never been instructed to enter into negotiations with St. Nicholas and had never heard of the mission until Admiral Bancroft Gherardi unexpectedly arrived on the island to replace Douglass. He stated that, many people in the establishment linked his failure

¹⁷³ "Annual Message to Congress, December 1, 1890" quoted in Woolley and Peters. *The American Presidency Project*. Retrieved from http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29531

¹⁷⁴ The Nicaraguan canal project would become redundant by the American takeover of the French Panama Canal project on May 4, 1904. This was made possible by helping the Panamanian rebels to break from Colombia. In return, the United States was authorized to take control of the Panama Canal Zone for an initial payment of \$10 million and an annual payment for rental of the land. The Canal became operational in 1914.

¹⁷⁵ See Myra Himelhoch. "Frederick Douglass and Haiti's Mole St. Nicholas," *The Journal of Negro History* 56:3 (July 1971) and Daniel Brantley. "Black Diplomacy and Frederick Douglass' Caribbean Experiences, 1871 and 1889-1891: The Untold History," *Phylon* 45:3 (3rd Qtr., 1984).

¹⁷⁶ T. Thomas Fortune in New York *Age*, January 4, 1890 quoted in Himelhoch. "Frederick Douglass and Haiti's Mole St.Nicholas," 170.

to his being black, on the basis that "a white man is held in higher esteem by [Haiti] than is a black man, and that he can get more out of her than can one of her own color."177

> Even if it were true that a white man, could, by reason of his alleged superiority, gain something extra from the servility of Haiti, it would be the height of meanness for a great nation like the United States to take advantage of such servility on the part of a weak nation. The American people are too great to be small . . . ¹⁷⁸

For Douglass, the United States thought of Haiti as too naive or gullible: "Haiti is no stranger to Americans or to American prejudice. Our white fellow-countrymen have taken little pains to conceal their sentiments." As he contended, the harsh terms of instruction handed to the Haitians by the United States and the dispatch of the American navy to oversee the negotiations were unbearable. The terms of agreement stipulated "not only a comprehensive limitation of the power of Haiti over her own territory, but a denial to all others of that which we claimed for ourselves." ¹⁸⁰

Frederick Douglass' "Lecture on Haiti" at the World's Fair in January 1893 had similar tones. In it, he spoke of Haiti's character, history, importance and its relations with the United States in apologetic terms.

> They have no taste for revolutions. The fault is not with the ignorant many, but with the educated and ambitious few . . .I admit that there is much ignorance and much superstition in Haiti, [but] we need not travel far from our own country, from England, from Scotland, from Ireland, France, Germany or Spain to find considerable traces of gross superstition . . . A word about snake worship. This practice is not new in the history of religion. It is as old as Egypt and is a part of our religious system.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Frederick Douglass. "Haiti and the United States: Inside History of the Negotiations for the Mole St. Nicholas," *The North American Review* 153:418 (September 1891), 339.

178 Douglass. "Haiti and the United States," 339.

179 Douglass. "Haiti and the United States," 339.

¹⁸⁰ Frederick Douglass. "Haiti and the United States: Inside History of the Negotiations for the Mole St. Nicholas, II" The North American Review 153:419 (October 1891), 453.

¹⁸¹ Frederick Douglass. "Lecture on Haiti," (January 2, 1893), 16, 28-29, 31. Retrieved from the Daniel A.P.Murray Collection, 1818-1907 at the Library Congress. http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.rbc/lcrbmrp.t2109

As for Haiti's relations with the United States, the former minister spoke in favor of the black republic. Challenging the notion that the United States stood for liberty to set an example for others, Douglass asserted that, by abolishing slavery it was in fact Haiti that others should emulate. So long as the United States regarded Haiti as inferior, it was inevitable for this republic to turn its face to other nations that revered its existence.

We charge her with being more friendly to France and to other European countries than to ourselves. This charge, if true, has a natural explanation, and the fault is more with us than Haiti. No man can point to any act of ours to win the respect and friendship of this black republic . . .But a deeper reason for coolness between the countries is this: Haiti is black, and we have not yet forgiven Haiti for being black or forgiven the Almighty for making her black . . .Until she spoke, the slave trade was sanctioned by all the Christian nations of the world, and our land of liberty and light included. ¹⁸²

Beginning with Grover Cleveland's second term (1893-1897/Democratic) and continuing into the expansionist William McKinley's tenure (1897-1901/Republican) bilateral commerce became a source of complaint although most of the issues ended up in settlement. Nevertheless, one tension erupted during the McKinley era, in which the United States warned Germany against "annexation schemes or undue punishment" in the face of imprisonment of a German citizen by Haitian authorities. The State Department remarked that "the United States could not tolerate either of the courses before mentioned." Germany would reappear on the agenda as an alleged threat on the eve of the United States occupation of Haiti in 1915.

The McKinley era had pioneered a more expansionist agenda beginning with the 1898 Spanish-American War. In the shadow of German problem, Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1909/Republican) and his famous corollary to the Monroe Doctrine

¹⁸² Douglass. "Lecture on Haiti," 9, 36.

^{183 &}quot;United States Shields Haiti," The New York Times, November 29, 1897. 7

added to the former an offensive tone, developing a "protectorate policy" for the "sister Republics" that contradicted the long-cherished commitment to self-determination. While Monroe had advocated a "hands off" policy for the European powers, the more expansionist Roosevelt Corollary (conveyed in his Annual Message to Congress in December 1904) went one step beyond and justified intervention to stave off a European threat. Other examples of interventionism in the U.S. backyard were the Panama Canal and Venezuela debt crisis cases of 1903, as well as the crisis in Santo Domingo in 1905. Although Roosevelt and his administration often repeated that "under no circumstances do we intend to acquire territory in or possession of either Haiti and Santo Domingo . . . even if the two republics desired to become a part of the United States," there were doubts in the minds of many. 185

One article in *Chicago Tribune* suspicious about U.S. motives, argued against intervening in Haitian affairs even if the United States was invited to do so:

It is still a country where brute force is the only law and and where there is barely a trace of what nowadays be called civilization except among the few whites and the educated mulattoes of the coast towns . . . In the distant years manifest destiny will make the United States the ruler of all the West India islands, but there should be no hurry about their acquisition. This country has now all the dependencies it can attend to 186

Although the Secretary of State Elihu Root (1899-1904) reiterated that "no invasion or conquest or annexation is intended," the *Cleveland Journal* revealed the War Department's plans determined to maintain order in Haiti and even invade the island if necessary in the face of a renewed revolution. As the journal conveyed, "this

¹⁸⁵ "Special Message to the Senate, March 6, 1905," quoted in Woolley and Peters. *The American Presidency Project*. Retrieved from http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=69548

¹⁸⁶ Quoted in *Cleveland Journal* 6:10 (May 2, 1908) 2.

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¹⁸⁴ See Serge Richard. "The Roosevelt Corollary," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36:1 (March 2006).

action on the part of the United States government is said to be in the interest of the better classes on the island, and to save their property from depreciations and confiscation."¹⁸⁷

Order and stability became catchwords during William Howard Taft's tenure (1909-1913/Republican) so as to obviate the invocation of the Roosevelt Corollary in case of any European move towards the troubled sister republics. In line with this view, the United States appeared as an arbiter of boundary disputes between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. In his Annual Message of 1911, Taft talked about how "the government of the United States, by a friendly interposition of good offices, succeeded in prevailing upon the parties to place their reliance upon some form of pacific settlement."188 Next year, the President took one step beyond and became more intrusive. As "the revolutionary activities on the Haitian-Dominican frontier had become so active as practically to obliterate the [hitherto] line demarcation," the United States indicated a provisional *de facto* boundary line "without prejudice to the rights or obligations of either country [and aimed] to conform to the best interests of the disputants." ¹⁸⁹ All these actions were in line with the Secretary of State Philander Knox (1909-1913) speech at a banquet, which spoke of the need for stability in the U.S. backyard. His view, which would inspire the next president Woodrow Wilson, rested on the belief that the United States was in danger unless self-government and material prosperity were fully instituted around its vicinity.

At a time when the obligation which my country has assumed as the agent of the interest of all America and of the world in creating a higway for international commerce [the Panama Canal] is about to be realized, we are impressed with the conviction that the fullest success of our work is, to a notable degree, dependent on

¹⁸⁷ Cleveland Journal 6:26 (August 22, 1908) 4.

¹⁸⁸ "Annual Message to Congress, December 5, 1911" quoted in Woolley and Peters. *The American Presidency Project*. Retrieved from http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29552

¹⁸⁹ "Annual Message to Congress, December 3, 1912" quoted in Woolley and Peters. *The American Presidency Project*. Retrieved from http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29553

the peace and stability of our neighbors and on their enjoying the prosperity and material welfare which flow from orderly self-government. 190

Upon taking office, Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921/Democratic) heralded a more interventionist attitude in America's vicinity. His statement on Latin American affairs to the Cabinet in early March 1913 linked American cooperation so long as "when supported at every turn by the orderly process of just government based upon law, not upon arbitrary or irregular force." Put differently, the lack of democracy in other nations became a cause for concern in the Wilsonian era that called for U.S. attention. The interventions in Haiti and the Dominican Republic make more sense in the light of his declaration: "We can have no sympathy with those who seek to seize the power of government to advance their own personal interests or ambition." ¹⁹² Wilson also derided Haiti and the Dominican Republic for bearing African racial traits: "That's why they differ completely from all the other republics." ¹⁹³ His first Secretary of State William J. Bryan (1913-1915) totally shared the President's ideas. In his address to the governing board of the Pan-American Union, Bryan said that "ideals were the most valuable export that the United States had to offer her sister republics to the South." ¹⁹⁴ However, Wilson began on a slow note. At a press conference in late June 1914, when asked about the probability of French and German governments to take certain steps regarding the certain indebtedness that Haiti owed, the President said these were just rumors. 195 In July, President Wilson

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¹⁹⁰ Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), April 3, 1912 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1912), 545.

¹⁹¹ Quoted in Selig Adler. "Bryan and Wilsonian Caribbean Penetration," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 20:2 (May 1940), 205.

¹⁹² Frank Ninkovich. *The United States and Imperialism* (Malden, Massachussetts: Blackwell Publishers, Inc., 2001), 132.

¹⁹³ Ninkovich. *The United States and Imperialism*. 220.

¹⁹⁴ Quoted in Adler. "Bryan and Wilsonian Caribbean Penetration," 205.

¹⁹⁵ "Remarks at a Press Conference," June 25, 1914 in *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, Volume 30 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 209.

regarded Haiti as a "conflicting situation," yet, he concluded that there did not exist "any danger of our intervening in the literal sense of the word . . . We are trying to exercise as much influence as we can now, to quiet things and accomodate things down there." Later in the month at another press conference Wilson remarked, "We didn't feel at liberty to be so far away that if it should appear with regard to some lives, for example or interests that ought to be protected." ¹⁹⁷

Within the context of the First World War that began in August 1914, things took a new turn in mid-1915 as the United States became highly interested in Haitian affairs. The *New York Times* revealed the findings of a report prepared by ex-Governor Fort pointing out that

Haiti had been in constant revolution since 1908, no fewer than eight presidents having been elected and overthrown in that time. The financial condition of the country was found to be deplorable and the Government of President Sam was declared to be tottering for the want of funds. ¹⁹⁸

The article also conveyed that, according to another report by Paul Fuller, Jr., sent to Haiti by President Wilson to seek authorization to the American control of customs collection in the face of French and German threat to seize the custom houses unless debts were repaid, the Haitian government had declined the offer: "Haitian Government made counterproposals which are not regarded as likely to lead to a settlement of disturbances on the island." On July 27, 1915 American marines landed in Haiti to bring back order after the brutal murder of Haitian President Vilbru Guillaume Sam, and it was in August 1915 that the United States made a proclamation.

¹⁹⁶ "Remarks at a Press Conference," July 2, 1914 in *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, Volume 30, 244

^{197 &}quot;Remarks at a Press Conference," July 23, 1914 in *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, Volume 30, 522.

¹⁹⁸ "President to take firm stand in Haiti," *The New York Times*, June 28, 1915. 3.

¹⁹⁹ "President to take firm stand in Haiti," 3.

... to assure the Haitian people that the United States has no object in view except to insure, to establish, and to help maintain Haitian independence and the establishment of a stable and firm government by the Haitian people. Every assistance will be given to the Haitian people in their attempt to secure these ends. It is the intention to retain the United States forces in Haiti only as long as will be necessary for this purpose. ²⁰⁰

Contrary to Germany, France and Italy, the United States had been withholding recognition of the Vilbru Sam government "until some arrangement could be made which would stabilize conditions [in Haiti]."²⁰¹ However, it chose to protect Haiti from drifting into further chaos after the murder of a president it had not officially sanctified.

2.4 The occupation (1915-1934)

The occupation of Haiti initiated a fierce debate on the Administration's justifications and their critique. Booker T. Washington,²⁰² a black educator, author and leader of the African American community, became a fervent opponent of the American occupation of Haiti. Even though Washington had a patronizing, fatalistic tone toward the Haitian people, he found fault with the American policies toward the Republic.

The way matters are now going, there is likely to be bitterness and war. The United States, in the end, will conquer, will control, will have its way, but it is one thing to conquer a people through love, through unselfish interest in their welfare, and another thing to conquer them through the bullet, through the shotgun. Shooting civilization into the Haitians on their own soil will be an amazing spectacle. Sending marines as diplomats and Mauser bullets as messengers of destruction breed riot and anarchy, and are likely to leave a legacy of age-long hatreds and regrets. ²⁰³

²⁰⁰ "Proclamation of the United States," August 9, 1915 in *FRUS*, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1915), 481.

²⁰¹ "President to take firm stand in Haiti," 3.

²⁰² Booker T. Washington was a black leader fighting for betterment of African Americans' status and living standards. He supported self-improvement and hard work for change in blacks' situation, albeit in a non-confrontational and accommodationist way. His approach was adopted by the Tuskagee Institute, founded in 1881. The Institute aimed at providing a role model for black education.

²⁰³ New York *Age*, October 21, 1915 in *The Booker T. Washington Papers* Vol. 13 (University of Illinois Press, 1984), 398.

The black magazine *The Crisis* rebuked American policies on the basis of recurrent strife in the so-called "civilized" nations of America and Europe: "The anarchy in Hayti is no worse than the anarchy in the United States at the time of our Civil War, and not as great as the anarchy today in Europe. The lynching and murder in Port au Prince is no worse than, if as bad as, the lynching in Georgia."204 The Elizabeth City, N.C. *Independent* shared the same view. Haiti represented "the earliest effort of the Negro race to establish a Republican form of government" and America was in fact indebted to Haiti, as it was Toussaint L'Ouverture "who was big enough and brave enough and resourceful enough to drive back Napoleon Bonaparte at a time when that imperial personification of force and power was tempted to push his conquests into the Western Hemisphere."205 The Republican National Committee' address pointed at discrepancies of the Democratic Administration: "The Administration was 'too proud to fight' Mexico but did not hesitate to conquer the Black Republic of Hayti and Santo Domingo. There was one policy of international justice for Mexico and another for the Negro Republics south of us."206 The African American press championed the Haitian revolutionaries, called *cacos* or "bandits" by the administration, as freedom fighters, following the example of African American abolitionists like Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner. They also ridiculed Wilson for celebrating the rights of small nations in the context of post-World War I settlement, but denying the same right for Haiti. 207 Former President Theodore Roosevelt was equally critical of Wilson's hypocritical stance toward certain nations.

²⁰⁴ The Crisis 10:6 (October 1915), 291.

²⁰⁵ Quoted in *The Crisis* 11:2 (December 1915), 78.

²⁰⁶ "Address to the Colored Voters," *The Crisis* 13:1 (November 1916). Santo Domingo, or the Dominican Republic, was also occupied by the United States from 1916 to 1924.

Henry Lewis Suggs. "The Response of the African American Press to the United States Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934," *Journal of African American History* (January 2002), 72.

The first fact is that nations do not stand on any real equality, and that at this moment we are not so treating them. A couple of years ago Haiti and Santo Domingo were two little independent republics. According to the principles Mr. Wilson has publicly laid down they were as much entitled to the right of self-determination as the United States or France, and all our dealing with them should have been frank and above board. But in practice Mr. Wilson conquered them, killed large numbers of their people, deprived them of self-determination, and kept the action absolutely secret. ²⁰⁸

President Wilson held the view that certain nations were inferior and hence, could not qualify for the application of self-determination principle. Nevertheless, he concurrently believed that, "when properly directed there is no people not fitted for government."²⁰⁹ Furthermore, Wilson's address to the Commercial Club of Omaha underscored the need for more assertiveness to have a say over international finance and commerce.

England had bankers of its own in foreign ports all over the world . . .Germany had bankers everywhere, had bankers where we had not dreamed of having trade, to serve their own people in financing their own trade. France had banks; the leading bank of Haiti, our neighbor is a French bank. The French had thought of their trade in Haiti and the right ways to serve it when we had thought of our commercial interests there at all. With what we boasted and believed -what I believe- to be the best business genius in the world, we had not even thought of using that genius outside of our own markets. We cannot do it any longer. We have got, for a certain period at any rate, to finance some of the chief undertakings of the world for ourselves and others. ²¹⁰

One editorial in *The Nation* reminded Woodrow Wilson's Mobile Speech in which the President promised not to take any more territory to the south of America: "Until we agree to respect the rights of small Caribbean nationalities and treat respectfully the citizens of those whom we have annexed or purchased, our moral

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²⁰⁸ "Roosevelt Drafts League of Nations," *The New York Times*, December 14, 1918. 15.

²⁰⁹ Mary Beth Norton, David M. Katzman et al. *A People and a Nation*, Vol II: From 1877 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994), 681.

²¹⁰ "Address to Omaha Businessmen," October 5, 1916 in *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson* Volume 38, 339-340.

protests as to Servia and Belgium must lack convincing force."²¹¹ Another article asserted that, since the World War was over, the American overseeing of Haiti was no longer necessary.

> It was understood, of course, that the protection of the American navy was necessary to keep both Haitians and Dominicans from falling into the clutches of the former Kaiser Wilhelm, but now that Mr. Wilson has brought peace to all the world -with certain exceptions- that necessity is no longer imperative . . . The world cannot be made safe for democracy while the Secretary of the Navy rules, with absolute power and without the consent of the governed . . . 212

On the administration's side, Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels (1913-1921) challenged Senator Warren G. Harding's (R-OH) statements on American occupation. For Harding, thousands of native Haitians had been killed by the Marines.

> We are at war, not alone technically with Germany, but actually with the little, helpless republics of our own hemisphere. The wars upon our neighbors to the south were made and are still being waged through the usurpation by the Executive of powers not only never bestowed upon him, but scrupulously withheld by the Constitution . . .[M]any of our gallant men have sacrificed their lives at the behest of an executive department in order to establish laws drafted by an Assistant Secretary of the Navy to secure a vote in the League . . . 213

Daniels defended the "brave and patriotic members of the Marine Corps [who] have served the best interest of peaceble Haitians, built roads, preserved order, introduced sanitation and served Haitian prosperity and Haitian stability, first destroyed and menaced by bodies of bandits."214 The Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby (1920-1921) also replied to the attacks on the government's policies in Haiti. He underlined

²¹¹ "Drifting in the Caribbean," *The Nation* (February 8, 1917), 152-153. Austria attacked Servia (Serbia) on July 29, 1914 and Germany invaded Belgium on August 3, 1914.

212 "America's Ireland: Haiti-Santo Domingo," *The Nation* 110 (February 21, 1920), 231-232.

²¹³ Warren G. Harding's speech at Marion, Ohio (September 17, 1920) quoted in *The Crisis* 24:3 (July

²¹⁴ "Daniels defends Marines in Haiti," *The New York Times*, September 19, 1920. 18.

the stipulations of the Monroe Doctrine, even though the Doctrine had refused to extend protectorship to the black Republic

[Back in 1915] Haiti's European creditors were pressing for payment of the foreign debts of Haiti and the fear was frequently entertained that murder of the Haitian President would prompt an aggressive program on the parts of some European Governments which would not only challenge the Monroe Doctrine but arraign the United States for a failure to perform duties which it had expressly avowed as a part of the Monroe Doctrine. These duties have nowhere found more explicit statement than in the addresses and messages of the late President Roosevelt. In an address delivered by him in August 1905, he said 'Inasmuch as by the Monroe Doctrine we prevent other nations from interfering on this side of the water, we should ourselves, in good faith, help our sister republics upward in peace and order.' ²¹⁵

The public statements of Rear Admiral Harry S. Knapp, who had been charged by the Navy Secretary Daniels to investigate the conditions in Haiti spoke similar words. He outlined the achievements and asserted that the United States needed to stay longer as to reach a fullfledged stability and prosperity in Haiti: "There is no censorship of the press in the ordinary sense that of the word in Haiti although false and incendiary propaganda against the United States is prohibited." Knapp also justified the taking over of the police forces by the United States on the fact that the Haitian army at the time of the occupation was "utterly inefficient, untrained and undisciplined." He would again make reference to his findings in early 1921 to justify prolonged American occupation of Haiti. For him, Haiti did not qualify for a republic, but was an inferior nation ruled by oligarchs.

The people of the United States should not allow themselves to be deceived by the words 'Republic of Haiti' into believing that there exists in Haiti, or ever has, a republic in any sense, founded upon the expressed will of an intelligent and educated electorate. The so-called Republic of Haiti, left to itself, has been a tyrannical oligarchy in which those in power fattened upon the vast masses of the population:

²¹⁵ "Colby Gives Policy in Occupying Haiti," *The New York Times*, September 21, 1920. 12.

²¹⁶ "Knapp urges Haiti be held for years," *The New York Times*, October 21, 1920. 8.

while those of the governing class out of power sought every opportunity to get into power, by fair means or foul, with the same personal corrupt ends in view. ²¹⁷

However, atrocity stories were abundant in the media. Philadelphia Public Ledger, New York Tribune, and Brooklyn Eagle frequently used such terms as "slavery in Haiti," "slaughter," or "shameful abuse of power." A remarkable attack appeared in October 1920 in *The New York Times* which told of

> how American marines, largely made up of and officered by Southerners, opened fire with machine guns from airplanes upon defenseless Haitian villages, killing men, women and children in the open market places; how natives were slain for "sport" by a hoodlum element among these same Southerners; and how the ancient corvee system of enforced labor was revived and ruthlessly executed, increasing, through retaliation, the banditry in Haiti . . . 219

Nineteen-twenty was also the year in which the oppositional press began counteracting the portrayal of Haiti in official accounts. They took the initiative of investigating the conditions in Haiti, rather than being informed by the administration's records. They also exalted the history and culture of Haiti more offensively. In other words, the truths spoke for themselves. That year the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which hitherto had focused upon national issues as equality for blacks, incorporated in their program blacks in other countries. As the black magazine Phylon conveyed, the NAACP decided to send James Weldon Johnson to Haiti to conduct an investigation on the atrocities of U.S. marines there. Johnson's report was widely quoted by the critical

²¹⁷ "Knapp opposes our quitting Haiti," *The New York Times*, February 14, 1921. 9; "Talking of Haiti," Union 16:8 (February 19, 1921), 1.

²¹⁸ Quoted in Hans Schmidt. The United States Occupation of Haiti, 1915-1934 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 119.

²¹⁹ The New York Times, October 15, 1920 quoted in Schmidt. The United States Occupation of Haiti, 119.

media, and the Wilson Administration was faced with demands for explanation. ²²⁰ Concisely, the report conveyed that the marines did not intervene to restore peace since, in 1914, there were U.S. attempts to persuade Haiti for U.S. control of national finances –a proposal fully rejected by the Haitian government. Johnson also exposed the relationship between the American business community and the United States government, which cooperated to reap the benefits of occupation by controlling the Haitian economy at the expense of its nationals. Lastly, Johnson demonstrated the brutality of the occupation forces, censorship of the press and ailing infrastructure of Haiti despite the official records about the various successes in uplifting the inhabitants. ²²¹ In reply to Johnson's charges, the Secretary of State Colby maintained that the intentions of the United States had been "benevolent."

One other alternative account demonstrated how Haiti paid for its reluctance to be engaged in European imbroglios. The Wilson Administration wanted Haiti to declare war against Germany, so that one more ally would help shape the postwar settlement in favor of United States. In return, Haiti witnessed the dissolution of its parliament at the hands of an alleged champion of democracy.

But Washington was far seeing. Before squaring accounts with Germany a Peace Conference was going to be held somewhere and votes would be required to put certain propositions through. If Haiti declared war against Germany, Haiti would be at the Peace Table to vote and that vote would be counted. But the Haitian government refused to declare war against Germany. Out of friendship with the United States they advised simply that diplomatic relations with Germany be broken . . . Because of the refusal to accede to the wishes of the American Government [Admiral Caperton] forced the dissolution of the Haitian Parliament [established] a

²²⁰ Leon D. Pamphile. "The NAACP and the American Occupation of Haiti," *Phylon*, 47:1 (1986), 91-03

James Weldon Johnson. "Self-Determining Haiti: I. The American Occupation," *The Nation* 111 (August 28, 1920); James Weldon Johnson. "Self-Determining Haiti: II. What the United States Has Accomplished," *The Nation* 111 (September 4, 1920); James Weldon Johnson. "Self-Determining Haiti: III. Government Of, By, and For the National City Bank," *The Nation* 111 (September 11, 1920); James Weldon Johnson. "Self-Determining Haiti: IV. The Haitian People," *The Nation* 111 (September 25, 1920).

²²² "James Weldon Johnson Exposes U.S. Misrule in the Republic of Haiti," *Cleveland Advocate* 7:21 (October 2, 1920), 1.

Council of State of twenty-one members whose function shall be to discharge all legislative duties. ²²³

Another editorial in late 1920 in *The New Republic* criticized the happy picture presented by the administration about the affairs in Haiti. Quoting from the Navy Secretary Daniels' annual reports of 1918 and 1919 to the country, the article then gave a record of how this "official contentment with our rule in Haiti" was challenged by many critics. In his report for 1918, Daniels told that Haiti, "under the direction and guidance of naval administration, has, in peace and quiet, and just laws well administered, enjoyed development, prosperity, and tranquility. The Marines have not only preserved order, but have aided in system of internal improvement." His next report entailed similar lines

Called to restore order and administer the finances of these governments (Haiti and Santo Domingo) close to us in geography and interest, it is gratifying to report that there has been freedom from all suggestion of selfish aims on the part of the occupying civilian and military agencies. The development of the country, the education and welfare of the people, improvement in agriculture, the firm and kind administration of justice have borne their fruit in the most prosperous era in the history of these neighbor governments.

For his part, Republican Senator Joseph Medill McCormick of Illinois saw American failure in Haiti and urged that, rather than militarily occupy the Republic, the United States had to send there such people who were "keenly sympathetic with the purpose to develop the country, the government and above all the civilization of the people of whom the overwhelming majority have African blood in their veins."

²²³ John R. Hurst. "Haiti," *The Crisis* 20:1 (May 1920), 34. Haiti finally declared war on Germany on July 12, 1918.

Felix Frankfurter. "Haiti and Intervention," *The New Republic* 25 (December 15, 1920).

²²⁵ Frankfurter. "Haiti and Intervention."

²²⁶ The Nation, 111 (December 1, 1920), 615-616.

The low value placed on the Haitians were challenged on many other grounds during the Warren G. Harding (1921-1923/Republican) era as well. One editorial claimed that

> The vaudouism of which much has been made by our imperialist propaganda as justification for anything we choose to do anything in Haiti, has been encouraged by the American Occupation. Since the days of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the Haitian government has legislated against any exhibition of the fantastic and primitive rites practiced by a very small fraction among the most ignorant of the Haitian masses, and the Haitian civil code, for which American military law has been substituted since 1915, expressly forbade it.²²⁷

The Messenger, another black magazine, juxtaposed Haiti and Ireland, drawing parallels between the oppression of the Irish by imperial Britain and republican America alike.

> Santo Domingo and Haiti are the Ireland of America. So long as brutal oppression and ruthless exploitation of Haitians and Dominicans continue by American forces of occupation, the "land of the free and the home of the brave" sometimes erroneously paraphrased as the land of the lynching bee and home of the slave, has no right to speak to the notion on the self-determination of smaller nationalities. ²²⁸

One critic argued against the propaganda efforts by the American occupation which aimed at displaying the Haitian nationalists ("cacos") and revolutionists as "bandits." In U.S. terms, "caco" was depicted as a mountaineer who would fight for pay in the ranks of the revolutionary leader who offered him the highest pay. All cacos were regarded as "opponents of the Occupation," whereas "revolution" meant "any organized movement against the Occupation or its policies."²²⁹ In another article in The Messenger, Haiti was claimed to be "not more savage than Texas;" contrary to the allegations of being "backward," the Haitians "neither lynch nor burn human

 ²²⁷ The Nation, 112 (April 20, 1921) 578.
 ²²⁸ The Messenger 3:3 (August 1921), 226.

²²⁹ Helena Hill Weed. "Hearing the Truth About Haiti," *The Nation*, 113 (November 9, 1921), 534.

beings."²³⁰ A similar argument would be repeated by the Republican Senator William Edgar Borah of Idaho in 1922 as: "When you examine the record of robberies and murders in great cities, the lynchings and burnings in this country, and compare them with the lawlessness in Haiti, you will find little excuse for our going to Haiti."²³¹ Alternative histories of American occupation continued well into 1921 and 1922. These brought into open the brutality, torture, rape and arson attributed to the American marines, by giving witness names and mortality statistics. Some of them even included orders in private correspondence and secret dispatches.²³² A comprehensive account was the memoir on the wretched political, economic and financial conditions in Haiti by the delegates of the Union Patriotique d'Haiti, which was presented to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May 9, 1921, and was publicized on May 25. Its conclusion mocked America as the so-called cradle of liberty and democracy, while celebrating the founding principles, capabilities and manners of the Haitian nation.

The Haitian Republic was the second nation of the New World –second only to the United States– to conquer its national independence . . . For 111 years the little Haitian nation has managed its own affairs; for 111 years it had made the necessary effort for its material, intellectual, and moral development as well as any other nation –better than any other nation, because it has been from the start absolutely alone in its difficult task . . . [One day], without any possible explanation or justification on the grounds of *violation of any American rights or interest*, American forces landed on our national territory and actually abolished the sovereignty and independence of the Haitian Republic . . . [The Occupation] is the most terrible regime of military autocracy which has ever been carried on in the name of the great American democracy. ²³³

²³⁰ The Messenger 4:6 (June 1922), 418.

²³¹ The Messenger 4:8 (August 1922), 459.

²³² *Union*, February 19, 1921; "The Rape of Haiti," *The Nation* 113 (November 9, 1921), 547-555.

²³³ "Memoir," *The Nation* 112 (May 25, 1921), 751-769.

In a defensive reply, the former Secretary of State Robert Lansing's (1915-1920) letter read before a Select Committee of Inquiry²³⁴ put forth that, the reason for intervention was "the imminent threat of Haiti's falling into German hands." For him, "the Germans were financing revolutions, dominating local politics and were about to take over exclusive control of Haitian customs and the Mole-Saint-Nicolas." One of the conclusions of the Committee was the need for an imposition of a system of vocational education in the republic, which also drew much criticism. According to the committee report, a new agency to supervise the manual/technical education was founded under the name of *Service Technique de l'Agriculture et de l'Enseignement Professionnel*, which became operational in early 1926. Zonia Barber and E.G. Balch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom pointed at another negative impact of the occupation on Haitian life.

Haitians, so far as we talk with them, dread American influence on their education system, fearing that if it is "Anglo-Saxonized" it will be turned away from the French cultural tradition and given a materialist and purely utilitarian trend. Their sense of distress is acute. It is as if their soul itself were in danger of being tampered by alien hands.²³⁷

At the annual conference at Langwood, Pennsylvania, June 2-4, 1922, The Progressive Friends²³⁸ expressed their discontent of the "seizure and military control

²³⁴ The Select Committee of Inquiry was created by the U.S. Senate in 1922 to investigate the Haitian intervention.

²³⁵ Congressional Record, Senate, 67th Congress, 2nd Session, May 4, 1922. 6485-88 quoted in Schmidt. The United States Occupation of Haiti, 58. The extent of German interest and activity in the Caribbean during the subject period are debatable. Contrary to U.S. allegations, German investments in Cuba, Haiti and the Dominican Republic were negligible, comprising only \$1 million in 1918 compared to U.S. investments in Haiti of \$4 million in 1913. See Schmidt. The United States Occupation of Haiti, 52-54 and J. Fred Rippy. "German Investments in Latin America," Journal of Business 21(April, 1948), 63-73.

²³⁶ Leon D. Pamphile. "America's Policy-Making in Haitian Education, 1915-1934," *The Journal of Negro Education* 54:1 (Winter 1985), 102.

²³⁷ Quoted in Pamphile. "America's Policy-Making in Haitian Education," 105-106.

Progressive Friends appeared in pre-Civil War period as a group of rebellious Quakers defying their conservative peers. They wanted to speed the social progress of man, and sought for peace and education for this cause. Believing in the natural rights of man, they disapproved of slavery and discrimination against women.

of the Dominican Republic and Haiti," and considered the intervention as "not only un-American and in violation of existing treaties and international law," but also inconsistent with President Harding's ante-election pledges.²³⁹ The opposition also criticized America's hypocrisy as the government began signs of granting freedom to Santo Domingo but not Haiti. For them, the rationale behind this had racial and cultural undertones.

Santo Domingo, although most of her citizens are of Negro descent, ranks as a "white country" because most Dominicans are ashamed of Africa and are encouraging white migration . . . Santo Domingo, speaking Spanish, also calls on the sympathy of Spanish and Portuguese South America, where our banking interests are seeking broader fields. ²⁴⁰

The final report of the United States Senate hearings before the Select Committee on Haiti and Domingo was condescending. Although natives and foreigners alike were given the opportunity to express their views during the hearings, and despite the fact that the report admitted the deficiencies on the part of the occupation forces, the final prescription favored the Americans. It was stated that Haitian moral, social, political and economic development depended upon continued American policy.

The obvious duty of patriotic Haitians is to uphold their own government in effectively cooperating with that of the United States under the treaty, and so hasten the day when Haiti may stand alone. The alternative to the course herein suggested is the immediate withdrawal of American support and the abandonment of the Haitian people to chronic revolution, anarchy, barbarism, and ruin.²⁴¹

In late 1923, an appeal was made in *The Nation* by the Haitian diplomat Dantes Bellagarde. Reminding that Haiti was a charter member of the League of

²³⁹ "President Harding's Pledge," *The Nation* (June 21, 1922), 748.

²⁴⁰ The Crisis 24:5 (September 1922), 202.

²⁴¹ Quoted in Philip Marshall Brown. "American Intervention in Haiti," *The American Journal of International Law*, 16:4 (October 1922), 610.

Nations, Bellagarde's claim revolved around the prolonged military occupation as being an unjustifiable violation of international law: "a humiliation for the Haitian nation, an attack upon its territorial integrity, and a limitation of the full exercise of its sovereignty." A 1924 article in *Atlantic Monthly* displayed criticism by France, Britain and Spain against the occupation, portraying the military intervention as a blot in American history since it encouraged other actors to act arbitrarily in their backyard.

In no country has the military occupation of Santo Domingo and Haiti has been more discussed than in Japan, where the government has formed now its own Monroe Doctrine of the Orient, by which it justified its recent Twenty-One demands on China, and its imperialism in Korea. ²⁴³

Nevertheless, the John Calvin Coolidge (1923-1929/Republican) era did not offer anything different from other administrations' policies. In 1923, the Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes (1921-1925) referred to the United States as a benefactor, with no other intention than guaranteeing sustainable order in Haiti, whose nationals were yet unable to govern themselves.

Conditions in Haiti have not yet permitted the withdrawal of American forces, as there is general agreement that such a withdrawal would be the occasion for revolution and bloodshed . . .[The Government of the United States] does not seek to acquire or to control the territory of Haiti and it will welcome the day when it can leave Haiti with the reasonable assurance that the Haitians will be able to maintain an independent government competent to keep order and discharge its international obligations. ²⁴⁴

²⁴² The Nation 117 (December 26, 1923).

²⁴³ Samuel Guy Inman. "Imperialistic America," *Atlantic Monthly* 134:1 (July 1924), 107-16 quoted in Schmidt. *The United States Occupation of Haiti*, 204.

²⁴⁴ Quoted in Joseph Robert Juarez. "United States Withdrawal from Santo Domingo," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 42:2 (May 1962), 188.

Coolidge's remarks in early 1925 reflected a similar understanding. He portrayed the United States as behaving selfless and volunteering to bear the burden of occupation at the pleas of Haitians.

Of course, we want to withdraw. We had some plans to withdraw. We have there a few marines –sent there for the purpose of maintaining peace and order and protecting American interests, and incidentally, perhaps more than incidental for protecting also the Haitians. But the Government of Haiti sent a very strong request that we continue the occupation, and that we have done.²⁴⁵

Upon criticisms about the United States withdrawal from Santo Domingo but not Haiti, Hughes almost repeated his words

We have no desire to take advantage of this regrettable condition [of internal dissensions and revolutions instead of fair elections] in neighboring countries, either to acquire territory or to assume political control . . . In Haiti, we are only waiting to see a reasonable promise of internal peace and stability to effect our withdrawal. And meanwhile we are doing our utmost to promote the interest of the people of Haiti without selfish considerations. ²⁴⁶

In 1926, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom organized a committee to look into the conditions of Haiti and offer alternatives to the American policy of routinely sending in the marines. According to their conclusions,

²⁴⁵ March 13, 1925 quoted in Schmidt. *The United States Occupation of Haiti*, 134. This remark was contested in many accounts. As Schmidt wrote: "When it became clear that the Haitians would not agree to a negotiated customs receivership and that military force was necessary to achieve American ends, the only missing detail in the military invasion plans was an appropriate Haitian revolution that would justify United States intervention on the customary pretext of protecting American lives and property. In fact, there was no record of any American life having been lost or property destroyed prior to the intervention . . . Faced with overwhelming military superiority of American forces, those Haitians who were determined to resist the intervention took to the hills and there organized guerilla bands." (65, 68). Another related article in *The Nation* wrote similarly: "The insertion in the record of the Navy's hitherto secret dispatch book disclosed that American intervention in Haiti had long been planned and that the assassination of President of Guillaume Sam in 1915 was only a plausible excuse. A treaty giving the United States certain rights over Haiti was drafted in Washington as early as July 2, 1914 . . . The Haitian Government, however, then and again in 1915, refused to yield and maintained its independence." See Helena Hill Weed. "'Hearing the Truth About Haiti," *The Nation* 113 (November 9, 1921), 533.

²⁴⁶ Quoted in Juarez. "United States Withdrawal of Santo Domingo," 189.

what the United States was doing in Haiti was a gross aberration that contradicted the basic founding tenets of America.

We are teaching them to accept military control as the supreme law, and to acquiesce in the arbitrary use of superior power. They are not permitted to elect representatives nor to convene a National Assembly. Haitians themselves complain that a generation is growing up without any political experience or habit of political responsibility or initiative, and that the government was never so militarized.²⁴⁷

Another editorial, mocking the so-called American "experts" to uplift Haiti, drew parallels with the "American haze in Haiti" and the "British mess in Mesopotamia": "The present policy is using starvation as a threat and money as a bait in order to force all Haitian departments under American control. When the Haitian law professors are sufficiently hungry, they too will put their schools under an 'expert'."²⁴⁸ Senator William H. King (D-UT) repeatedly attacked the occupation's self-portrayal as "the savior," and called for withdrawal from "that unhappy country." In his eyes, "Haiti is in the position of a conquered country and the Haitian people regarded themselves as the victim of an oppressive foreign invader."²⁴⁹ One other article pointed at an inconsistency: the United States, interfering in the domestic affairs of Haiti since 1915, was refraining from doing as such in the case of oppositional press members in Haiti being sent to prison.

What happens to a newspaper man, arbitrarily cast into prison? He stays there, without examination by a magistrate, without the judgement of a court. And if an American philanthropic society, knowing of the case, makes an appeal to the State Department at Washington, the invariable response is: "It is the native government which has acted, and we are powerless to interfere in the domestic affairs of Haiti."

²⁴⁷ See Emily G. Balch. *Occupied Haiti* (New York: The Writers Publishing Company, Inc., 1927), 150-161.

²⁴⁸ Rayford W. Logan. "The Haze in Haiti," *The Nation* 124 (March 16, 1927), 282-283.

²⁴⁹ Congressional Record, Senate. 69th Congress, 2nd Session, 1927. 2702.

²⁵⁰ "The Press in Haiti," *The Nation* (August 17, 1927).

Another discrepancy was reflected in the occupational forces' behavior during the voting of constitutional amendments in early 1928. The so-called inferior Haitians, who were allegedly unable to take part in elections, were brought to the voting platform by the U.S. forces themselves.

American and Haitian officials state that elections in Haiti are impossible because of the illiteracy of the people. Yet, in January, 1928, the people solemnly voted upon a set of constitutional amendments which were "adopted" by [an] overwhelming majority. The United States assisted in this election by placing trucks at the disposition of the Borno Government to take voters to the polls. If the United States insists on "fair" elections in Nicaragua and elsewhere in Central America, is it unreasonable to ask why in the one country, where it is in the position to secure such elections, it should be a party to a jocose fraud?²⁵¹

Within the context of economic exploitation of Haiti by the occupation, one editorial attacked the American policy by a retrospective argument: "Once Americans were sensitive about taxation without representation. Now they force this upon a neighboring republic, at the dictate of affected American financial interests."

Coolidge's replies to these allegations had a defensive tone. The President reiterated that the United States had no veiled intentions, and that it aspired to elevate Haiti to the level of civilization.

Though we have at this time some of our forces in Haiti, Nicaragua and China, they are in none of these places for the purpose of making war, but for the purpose of insuring peaceful conditions under which the rights of our nationals and their property may receive that protection to which they are entitled under the terms of international law. Our further purpose in Haiti and Nicaragua is to assist the peoples and governments of those two countries in establishing stability, in maintaining orderly and peaceful institutions in harmony with civilized society.²⁵³

²⁵¹ "The Haitian Situation," *The Nation* 126 (May 23, 1928), 579-598.

²⁵² Clement Wood. "The American Uplift in Haiti," *The Crisis* 35:6 (June 1928), 189.

²⁵³ Calvin Coolidge. "Address at Gettysburg Battle Field, May 30, 1928," in *The Everett Sanders Papers* retrieved from the Library of Congress.

Nevertheless, he never refrained to talk about the benefits the U.S. would derive by the extension of air-mail routes "from Key West, Fla., over Cuba, Haiti, and Santo Domingo to San Juan, P.R., where it will connect with another route to Trinidad." For Coolidge, an additional route from Key West to the Canal Zone "will give us a circle around the Caribbean under our own control."

A progressive and reformer, Herbert C. Hoover's (1929-1933/Republican) policies were more concessionary than those of the former Republican President. They aimed at improving the conditions and image of the United States both at home and abroad. His view toward Latin America was summarized as the attitude of the "good neighbor," which meant the repudiation of the Roosevelt Corollary. This term was later adopted by Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945/Democratic) as well. 255 It was within this context that the United States abrogated its rule in Cuba, Nicaragua and Haiti. In his first Annual Message to the Congress, the President stated: "We still have marines on foreign soil -in Nicaragua, Haiti, and China. In the larger sense, we do not wish to be represented abroad in such manner."²⁵⁶ Calling for the Congress the approval of a Commission to Haiti to review and the study of American withdrawal, Hoover nevertheless spoke highly of the occupation forces: "Our representatives in Haiti have shown great ability and devotion, and have accomplished signal results in improvement of the material condition of that people."²⁵⁷ In his instructions to the Forbes Commission set up by Congress approval Hoover spoke in a patronizing manner. According to the President, any haste in withdrawal would probably cause a blowback.

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²⁵⁴ "Annual Message to Congress, December 4, 1928" quoted in Woolley and Peters. *The American Presidency Project*. Retrieved from http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29569

²⁵⁵ Edgar Eugene Robinson and Vaughn Davis Bornet. *Herbert Hoover: President of the United States* (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 1975),101.

²⁵⁶ Herbert Hoover: containing the public messages, speeches, and statements of the President, March 4 to December 31, 1929 (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Service, 1974), 406.

²⁵⁷ "Message to the Congress Requesting Authorization for a Commission to Investigate Conditions in Haiti," December 7, 1929 in *Herbert Hoover*, 463.

The primary question which is to be investigated is when and how we are to withdraw from Haiti...There are some people who wish for us to scuttle overnight. I am informed that every group in Haiti considers that such action would result in disaster to the Haitian people.²⁵⁸

Nevertheless, Hoover's refusal to appoint an African American to the Forbes Commission drew much criticism. An editorial by Robert Abbott of the Chicago *Defender* denounced the "lily white" commission, writing that "there is no one on the commission with whom Haitians can claim kinship." Additionally, in a late 1929 congressional debate, several congressmen denounced the condescending attitude of the Administration, and desired that Haiti should be treated on an equal footing with America. They pointed at the fact that the number of Haitian presidents assassinated was almost the same as the number of American presidents assassinated and that, at the time of the United States' recognition of Haiti, the numbers were three presidents for both countries. In the Congress, there were also repeated attacks against the occupation, with the critics resembling it to that of Great Britain in India and Japan in Korea. Representative George Huddleston (D-AL) also underlined that "an imperialism abroad cannot remain a democracy at home." Speech by another Representative, Robert Crosser (R-OH), conveyed the congress member's fear about the possible repercussions of highhandedness in Haiti on the United States itself

I sympathize with the Haitian people, but I regard our disregard of the right of self-government by the Haitians as more harmful to our own institutions than to the Haitians, because we disregard the great principles announced in the Declaration of

²⁵⁸ "Statement on the President's Commisssion for the Study and Review of Conditions in the Republic of Haiti," February 4, 1930. *Public Papers of the United States Presidents: Herbert Hoover* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), 39.

Quoted in Suggs. "U.S. Occupation of Haiti," 75.

²⁶⁰ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 71st Congress, 2nd Session, 1929. 910 quoted in Schmidt. Haitian Occupation of the United States, 66.

²⁶¹ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 71st Congress, 2nd Session, 1929. 316-18, 677-78 quoted in Schmidt. Haitian Occupation of the United States, 203.

²⁶² Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 71st Congress, 2nd Session, December 9, 1929. 317-18 quoted in Schmidt. *Haitian Occupation of the United States*, 203.

Independence. When we cease to practice justice, the moral fiber of the people will begin to decay. ²⁶³

The report of the Forbes Commission in 1930²⁶⁴ reflected a version of the Senate Hearings Report of 1922. Even though certain weaknesses of the occupation system was admitted, overall, it was the positive accomplishments that filled the papers such as the "noteworthy" financial improvements. However, it signified a turning point in U.S.-Haitian relations and gradual withdrawal began according to its recommendations. Walter Thurston, Chief of the Division of Latin American Affairs of the Department of State portrayed the nation's Caribbean policy in the context of the "Monroe Doctrine and the Isthmian policy, which has to do with the protection of the Panama Canal" and added that he saw nothing in American policies on Caribbean countries "that need alarm or embarrass any good American citizen." With reference to Haiti, Thurston asserted that "to withdraw fully at this time and leave them exposed to their own inadequacies of one sort or another" would be an ingracious move. ²⁶⁶

As the process of withdrawal gained pace, criticisms abounded. An article by Walter White in *The Crisis*, exposed a comment by one of the American officials on the issue of not teaching physics and higher mathematics to the Haitians -essential knowledge in modern warfare: "We may have to come down here again sometime and if these Haitians know too much about the use of modern guns it might cost us too much."²⁶⁷ In line with the findings of the Commission, the new policy of

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²⁶³ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 71st Congress, 2nd Session, December 18, 1929. 910 quoted in Schmidt. *Haitian Occupation of the United States*, 203.

²⁶⁴ "Report of the President's Commission for the Study and Review of Conditions in the Republic of Haiti, " *FRUS* 1930, Volume II, March 26, 1930. 217-235. This report was also made public. See "The Haiti Commission Report," *The Nation* 130 (April 9, 1930), 433-435.

²⁶⁵ Donald B. Cooper. "The Withdrawal of the United States from Haiti, 1928-1934," *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 5:1 (January 1963), 93-94.

²⁶⁶ "Defends our Policy in the Caribbean," *The New York Times*, November 25, 1930. 19.

²⁶⁷ Walter White. "Danger in Haiti," *The Crisis* 40:7 (July 1931), 232.

"Haitianization," that is, the process of replacement of Americans with Haitian nationals in public works, sanitation and education began in October 1931. However, the *Journal and Guide* treated Haitianization as "rampant imperialism" deeming it as a means to "extend iron-fisted diplomacy over Haiti."

Hoover's December 1931 message to the Congress seemed to confirm this observation. The terms of withdrawal were designed not for the sake of the Haitians altogether. Regarding the Haitians as still incapable to stand on their own, the withdrawal framework mostly aimed at protecting the U.S. forces before they finally left the Republic.

To minimize the possibility of epidemics, and in order that the health of the American troops and officials still stationed in Haiti might adequately be protected, the accord provided that an American scientific mission, consisting of three American naval officers and six hospital corpsmen, should be charged with the control of sanitation in the cities of Port au Prince and Cape Haitien. 269

The election of 1932 also witnessed sarcastic comments about the presidential candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt and his role in the drawing up of the Haitian Constitution. Quoting Roosevelt's own words that had appeared in the August 19, 1920 issue of *The New York Times*, namely that "I wrote Haiti's constitution myself, and if I do say it, I think it was a pretty good constitution," Cleveland *Gazette* said that "the enforcement of Roosevelt's Haitian constitution has occasioned the *bloodiest chapter in all the history of Haiti*."²⁷⁰

However, it was Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945/Democratic) who won the election, and his Inaugural Address incorporated the borrowed term of "good neighbor" from the Hoover administration. Roosevelt went one step beyond

²⁶⁸ Quoted in Suggs. "U.S. Occupation of Haiti," 77.

²⁶⁹ Public Papers of the United States Presidents: Herbert Hoover, 623.

²⁷⁰ Cleveland *Gazette*, September 24, 1932, 2 quoted in Charles H. Martin. "Negro Leaders, the Republican Party, and the Election of 1932," *Phylon* 32:1 (1971), 88-89. Emphases original.

Hoover's neighbor policy though, by finally realizing the withdrawal of American troops from Haiti. Criticism inside and outside the United States, as well as frustration with the incessant political and socio-economic upheaval in Haiti had rendered further American presence there obsolete. In a public statement in early November 1933, the Secretary of State Cordell Hull (1933-1944) quoted from the President's message that promised to "dedicate this nation to the policy of good neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors." Hull's address affirmed that it was this understanding to be adopted in the upcoming Pan American Conference at Montevideo.²⁷¹ In line with this thinking, Roosevelt requested that the Congress authorize the granting of unneeded U.S. marines' buildings and equipment to Haiti.

Next October, our Marine and Naval forces will be withdrawn from Haiti. During a period of almost twenty years in Haiti, they have rendered valuable assistance in training the Haitian Constabulary. This Constabulary known as the *Garde*, has been using certain equipment and material loaned to them by our Marine and Naval forces. Also, there are various buildings, barracks, garages and workshops which our Marine and Naval forces have constructed. It would seem to me a fitting climax to the close of the period of special relationship which has existed between Haiti and the United States if our Government were to make a gift of these buildings and a portion of this material and equipment to the Haitian Government.

In a Fireside Chat, Roosevelt referred to Haiti as one of the "sister republics." And finally, the marines departed on August 15.

2.5 Until the Cold War (1934-1945)

Haiti was relegated to relatively minor status with occasional moments of alert during the Second World War and the following Cold War period. In late 1935,

²⁷¹ "Hull Gives Pledge as 'Good Neighbor'," *The New York Times*, November 3, 1933. 42.

²⁷² *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt* Volume 3 (1934) Book I (New York: Random House, 1938), 285-86.

²⁷³ Fireside Chat, June 28, 1934 in *FDR's Fireside Chats* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992).

the President's Address to a Committee from the National Students Federation at the White House repeated his goodwill toward America's neighbors. He also spoke in apologetic terms.

[T]here has always been a suspicion on the part of Latin Americans that the United States had some ulterior motive –and there was ground for some suspicion. In the past we have done all sorts of things. After all, they are a people of great pride. We should have respected that pride. Yet we sent troops to Nicaragua, to Cuba, to Haiti and to Santo Domingo. In fact, that continued until two years ago, giving them the idea that we had in the back of our minds the thought to expand and take in their territory.²⁷⁴

Yet, it was also in the same address that Roosevelt distinguished between the United States and Europe, favoring the former as usual: "In establishing trade relations we are establishing peaceful relations with Canada and other American republics and perhaps, some day, European Nations will see what we have done and will try to copy us." His statements evoked the "city upon a hill" discourse, which regarded the United States as an exemplary nation for others to emulate. The State Department's foreign policy statement for the Democratic Platform also repeated that the actions of the present administration had erased suspicion and hostility in the Western Hemisphere towards the United States. Hailing the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other sovereign nations, the statement held that the Administration "will carry on the policy of the 'good neighbor', encouraging increased trade and stimulating all means of intercourse with our American neighbors to our mutual advantage." The President's Address at Chautauqua, N.Y. reiterated the withdrawal of marines from Haiti, underlining that "throughout the

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²⁷⁴ "Informal Extemporaneous Remarks to a Committee from the National Students Federation at the White House," November 11, 1935. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt* Volume 4 (1935) Book I (New York: Random House, 1938), 446.

²⁷⁵ "Informal Extemporaneous Remarks to a Committee from the National Students Federation at the White House," 448.

²⁷⁶ "State Department Draft of a Foreign Policy Statement for the Democratic Platform," June 17, 1936 in *FDR and Foreign Affairs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968) Volume 3: September 1935-1937, 328.

Americas the spirit of the good neighbor is a practical and living fact. The twenty-one American Republics are not only living together in friendship and in peace; they are united in the determination so to remain."²⁷⁷

Within the context of the Second World War, a critical article in late 1939 pointed at the lack of interest in Haiti by the press. As it exposed, "that an American fiscal representative has dictatorial control over its finances are facts that are scarcely known . . . [T]he insidious civil invasions have done their work without their beating of tomtoms. Haiti has become the land of the forgotten." It was in mid-April 1942 that an official agreement was made public in *The New York Times* for strengthening the military, naval and economic position of Haiti against fascist invasion. Supplemental to the Lend-Lease agreement between the United States and Haiti of September 16, 1941, it stated that America would give "active assistance in developing and manning Haitian defenses" and would "buy Haiti's cotton, extend credits for exchange purposes and assist in increasing sisal production." Lastly, the statement talked about experts to be sent to the Republic to improve health and sanitation. It was not before the prospect of Haiti-Cuba rapprochement appeared in the Cold War setting that Haiti would again occupy the attention of U.S. administrations.

2.6 Analysis

This account of argumentative challenge between official and oppositional rhetoric regarding U.S.-Haitian relations brings into light many details that can never be reached only through an analysis of the official view. The anti-establishment lens

²⁷⁷ "I Have Seen War... I Hate War," August 14, 1936 in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt* Volume 5 (1936) Book I (New York: Random House, 1938), 287.

²⁷⁸ D. La Fern. "Haiti –Land of the Forgotten," *The Nation*, (December 2, 1939). The United States control of the Haitian treasury continued until 1947.

²⁷⁹ "U.S. agrees to aid Haiti on defenses," *The New York Times*, April 14, 1942. 10.

presents almost a completely different account of Haiti's situation, furnishing the audience with behind the scenes data right from the country itself. The position of the black press is especially insightful on this issue, arguing fervently about the rights of Haiti and against the distorted account of Haiti's portrayal by the U.S. officials as bloody barbars requiring caution and guidance. Within this web of meaning-making efforts, various techniques are used to interpret and describe the past and present. Recounting history from the perspective of predicates, comparisons and metaphors created by the people offers a fresh venue for a better understanding of the character and quality of the burning issues of history, as well as the actors associated with them. Parenthetically, rhetorical elements do not often show stability in terms of the actors' occupation (i.e. government or Congress member, ordinary citizen), party affiliation or race. This is one of the contributions of this study, showing the variety in perspective and rhetoric even within the establishment or the opposition. Finally, the research case also contributes another example to the preexisting studies showing the interrelatedness of internal and external constraints in policy, and of domestic and foreign policies.

The U.S. official rhetoric from the foundational era to the pre-Cold War period rests upon rigid presuppositions, yet changing metaphors as regards Haiti. The change in metaphorical quality can be attributed both to internal and external developments in and around the United States, and according to how these were interpreted as dangers and threats to the country by the administration and the opposition. The first and foremost predicate rested on racial prejudices, and stated that the black republic was naturally and irrevocably savage, inferior, hence incapable of reaching to the level of civilization. This identification would be a recurring theme for most of the U.S. administrations. Haiti gradually became a

source of anxiety for the United States since a weak actor in its backyard would incur threats upon the U.S itself. Nevertheless, "avoiding entangling alliances" of the first President George Washington (1789-1797/no party) remained the basic tenet for a considerable period of time as the United States itself was a newly founded republic in need of internal development. Worsening relations with France and prospects of profitable trade with Haiti paved the way towards denoting Haiti in more favorable terms, yet the presupposition of a destitute Haiti which was better to be avoided remained.

Positioning itself above Haiti, the official rhetoric often couched the United States in overbearing metaphors that justified late recognition of Haiti. The announcement by the U.S. of its being the watchman over the Western Hemisphere did nothing to elevate the status of Haiti any further, as the famous Monroe Doctrine of 1823 (James Monroe, 1817-1825/Democratic-Republic) left Haiti outside its protection due to non-recognition of this black republic. Another Democratic-Republican President John Quincy Adams' (1825-1829) stance toward Haiti was a positive, yet, condescending one. His decision for sending American delegates to the Panama Congress in which Haiti would also participate was based on a presupposition of American generosity and benevolence. The metaphors associated with the United States proposed a new interpretation of avoiding alliances, describing this country as the role model for liberal commercial economic system and religious liberty for others in an increasingly interdependent world.

Against the background of fervent abolitionist campaigns, Republican Abraham Lincoln (1861-1865) foresaw domestic approval as well as commercial advantages in establishing formal bilateral relations with Haiti, and further qualified this country refined and friendly for American blacks to resettle if they desired. Also

a Republican, Andrew Johnson (1865-1869) even identified Haiti as the only independent republic in the West Indies capable of self-defence, yet he also noted its dependence on European monarchies. Therefore, Johnson "selflessly" advocated annexation of Haiti "for the best interests" of the United States, European powers and the Haiti itself. Another Republican president Ulysses Grant's (1869-1877) annexation policy involving Santo Domingo was based upon this country's being open to intervention by restless Haiti. Behind these territorial expansion schemes stood the desire for enhanced American control over the region. Within this context, Haiti was viewed as an important venue regarding the U.S.-initiated Nicaraguan Canal as a competitor to the French Panama Canal. Mole St. Nicholas was also seen as a strategic place to oversee the region. Theodore Roosevelt's (1901-1909/Republican) militant and interventionist interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine in his Roosevelt Corollary, and finally Woodrow Wilson's (1913-1921/Democratic) policy of occupation marked a turning point in Haitian history. Upon taking office, Wilson sought to see "the orderly process of just government" around U.S. borders, and stated that Haiti lacked the capability to achieve such political order as it bore African racial traits. The occupation's (1915-1934) main official justification was phrased as the need "to insure, establish, and to help Haitian independence and the establishment of a stable and firm government by the Haitian people," since certain nations were naturally inferior. 280 It was also for this presupposed inferiority that Wilson believed Haiti could not qualify for the self-determination principle.

French and especially German influence over political and economic conditions of Haiti was another reason for occupation put forward by the Wilson Administration against the background of World War I. Moreover, the so-called

²⁸⁰ "Proclamation of the United States," August 9, 1915 in *FRUS*, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office,1915), 481.

"brutal" or "bloody" Haitian "bandits" were often portrayed as slaughtering the U.S. Marines busy with uplifting the pitiful Haitian people. In many official accounts and reports, the United States were described as building roads, introducing sanitation and serving Haitian prosperity and stability. Criticisms as to the abuse of power by the occupational forces, or the lack of improvement in Haiti finally led to hearings and surveys on the situation in Haiti as of 1922. Nevertheless, even though the Administration admitted some deficiencies in handling the Haitian development, it was stated that many substantial steps had been taken and that immediate withdrawal from Haiti would culminate in "chronic revolution, anarchy, barbarism and ruin." It was only at the hands of progressive and reformist Herbert Hoover (1929-1933/Republican) that Haiti saw the initial signs of regaining its independence, although with remarks about American achievements there: "Our representatives in Haiti have shown great ability and devotion, and have accomplished signal results in improvement of the material condition of that people."²⁸¹ Eventually, Franklin Roosevelt (1933-1945/Democratic) built upon his Republican predecessor's "good neighbor" policy and authorized the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Haiti albeit with remarks on their "valuable assistance to the Haitian government and people." He also juxtaposed the United States and Europe, underlining that Europe should emulate their way of establishing peaceful relations with other American republics. Against the background of the Second World War, Haiti was accorded relatively very little interest vis-à-vis Germany, Italy or Japan. However, the United States again offered its helping hand by agreeing to strengthen military, naval and economic position of Haiti with concerns about prospective fascist infiltration into this republic.

²⁸¹ "Message to the Congress Requesting Authorization for a Commission to Investigate Conditions in Haiti," December 7, 1929 in *Herbert Hoover*, 463.

Looking at the United States-Haitian relations from a critical perspective makes visible many gaps, as well as veiled and distorted truths. The abovementioned account of the United States handling of Haitian affairs misses a variety of essential details. Alternative viewpoints display how others perceive and interpret domestic and foreign events. They also bring into open the degree of credibility and legitimacy attributed to the U.S. administrations. Inside information provided by critics in the form of witness interviews, field reports or even confessions by former or current officials contribute to a better understanding and analysis of historical events.

Critical views challenged the official portrait by various means. Some appeared in the form of accusing the United States for betraying the basic founding tenets of Americanism such as "all men are created equal" which appears in the Declaration of Independence. Aiding the French refugees, but ignoring a black nation's cries for independence was regarded as breaching the Declaration. Some critics also juxtaposed the Haitian plight to that of American colonies in the War of Independence from Britain. In a similar vein, ending commerce with Haiti during its war with France also raised many critical voices. It was stated that France had not stopped trading with the American colonies during their war against Great Britain. Jacksonians' critique in the Congress, of Democratic-Republican John Quincy Adams' (1825-1829) decision to attend the inter-American Panama Congress for reasons of playing role model again reminded the Administration of America's own faults. In many accounts especially of the pre-Civil War period, Toussaint was celebrated as the true warrior against tyrrany, and the Haitian Revolution was deemed more "wondrous and momentous" than the American Revolution. "City set on a hill, though she has been hid" was one of the frequent predicates used to denote Haiti's exemplary nature vis-à-vis the slaveholding America, with its self-made

declaration of being the role model for others to imitate. Andrew Johnson (1865-1869/Republican) or Ulysses Grant's (1869-1877/Republican) annexation policies were equally denounced on the basis of the first President George Washington's maxim of avoding foreign entanglements. Against the backdrop of U.S. occupation of Haiti (1915-1934), republican America's oppression and exploitation of Haitians were likened to imperial Britain's unjust treatment of the Irish. It was further stated that America once suffered from "taxation without representation" at the hands of British; now they were doing the same to the Haitians.

Those Haitians that were welcomed into the U.S. borders in the company of their French masters evoked mixed responses from the pro-slavery, aristocratic southerners. These people detested the influx of blacks for fears of insurrection among their own slaves, labeling them as "missionaries of hell," "refractory Negroes," or "dreadful, desperate and bloody-minded wretches" to set the South on fire. Yet at the same time, it was these southerners who protested the 1808 Act to Prohibit Importation of Slaves as they sought laborers to toil in the cotton and tobacco fields. Apart from their need for menial workers, the southerners firmly stood against sending American delegates to the Panama Congress in which Haiti would also participate. Seeing this as one step toward diplomatic recognition of Haiti, Jacksonian Senators from Georgia and South Carolina gave examples from continuing chaos and revolutions in Haiti, where bloody changes of government attested to incapacity for freedom. Positioning the exemplary United States above barbarian Haiti, the southerners in public or in the parliament believed that America should be choosy about whom to show its generosity, and take into consideration the sake and sensitivity of "a portion of the People of this Union." The southerners also attacked the abolitionist press before and during the Civil War with reports of massacres, misrule, immorality and indolence in Haiti, pointing at the fact that when freed, the American slaves would indulge in similar behavior.

It was not only southerners, but also many others that called for aloofness on the Haitian plight. "The Irish emigrants and French Negroes" were regarded as equals in causing distress in Philadelphia, Baltimore and Norfolk. Even the white French masters were portrayed as secondary class of French. Democratic-Republicans challenged John Adams' (1797-1801/Federalist) decision to resume commerce with Haitians, claiming the Haitian blacks were initiated into liberty through "rapine, pillage, and massacre," and that their self-governance would cause trouble for America's commerce. Within the context of plans for emancipation in the Civil War era, Haiti was often given as an example that "the two races cannot mix and mingle" as the history of the French and British West Indies proved. In the World War I context, the Wilson Administration was chastised for protesting Servia and Belgium while invading Haiti. Some articles maintained that, with the First World War's end, there remained no necessity for overseeing Haiti as German threat waned. The critical press also revealed the bakestage of U.S. occupation by portraying abuse of power by the American forces. They displayed natives' being slain for sport" or, revival of enforced labor. It was also reiterated that prolonged military occupation was counter to the fact that Haiti was a Charter member of the League of Nations. Democratic Representatives pressed Republican President Herbert Hoover (1929-1933) by maintaining that "an imperialism abroad cannot remain democracy at home."

Analyzing the black press contributes a lot while questioning the official view. It was only through articles, editorials or reports in black magazines and newspapers as well as some black activists that the civilized style of living in Haiti

and the Haitians' dedication to set up a democratic type of governance was brought before the public. The Haitian revolution was likened to the American or French counterparts in terms of respect to the principles of equality and liberty. Contrary to the general picture of the Haitians as savage and backward, black rhetoric celebrated the republican characteristics of governance with due concern about the rights of citizens and foreigners, as well as about education. In the pre-Civil War era, the Haitian and American examples were often compared as regards the situation of blacks. It was frequently stated that when Toussaint liberated his colored people, Washington enslaved his, and that he further paved the way toward slavery's solid institution inside the United States. As time proceeded, the opposition in general and the black press in particular attached more importance to uncovering truths or engaging in field research in Haiti themselves in order to fight more effectively against the distorted picture of Haiti. Frederick Douglass, a colored American and the former U.S. Minister to Haiti, contributed to the debate by unveiling the U.S. highhandedness during negotiations for the strategic Mole St. Nicholas. He further challenged the United States' role model aspirations by disclosing the harsh terms imposed on Haitians, and the presence of the American Navy to oversee the negotiations. During the U.S. occupation of Haiti, there were numerous references to the anarchy in the United States from the Civil War onwards and in Europe. Hence, they refute one of the allegations for occupation that Haiti had drowned into anarchy and chaos. NAACP-conducted research by James Weldon Johnson finally paved the way to gradual withdrawal of U.S. troops. Johnson made public how Haiti was forced to declare war against Germany, the relations between American business community and the U.S. government who collaborated in draining Haiti's resorces at the expense of its inhabitants, and atrocity stories by U.S. marines engaged in theft, murder and rape.

Like the southerners, the black press and the administration in the United States were somehow divided on a number of issues. As regards the resettlement project, advocates of emigration underlined the qualities of Haiti in the light of its mild climate and advanced lifestyle in terms of order, enterprise and arts. On the other hand, the opponents of the idea put forth that leaving the United States for pursuit of a better life meant admitting defeat and spoiling all hitherto efforts to create a just order in the United States. Or, even Booker T. Washington, one of the ardent supporters of the black cause almost condoned the U.S. occupation of Haiti, believing that the United States would conquer, control and have its way sooner or later. Yet, he said this process should entail love and honest interest in others' welfare, not bullets. In a similar vein, the administrations' policies were sometimes criticized by the fellow congressmen from the president's party. During Thomas Jefferson's tenure (1801-1809/Democratic-Republican), continuing inclusion of the Haitian slaves inside the U.S. borders was protested by several Democratic-Republican Senators alike for the fear that "slaves in the South will produce another St. Domingo." Or, Jefferson's attempt to cut trade ties with the newly independent Haiti so as not to infuriate Britain and France was criticized by his party fellows for this would mean abandoning a profitable trade at the bidding of other nations. Republican presidents Andrew Johnson and Ulysses Grant's mid-nineteenth century annexationist policies regarding Haiti were also denounced by some Republican congressmen since "extending protection over what claims to be an independent, yet feeble government" not only would clash with one of the most cherished founding principles of noninterference with foreign governments but also invite aggression from the European nations. U.S. occupation of Haiti, began during the Democratic Wilson Administration but continued under the Republican Warren Harding Administration (1921-1923) was criticized by the same party members. Republican Senators underlined that lawlessness and lynchings in America's many great cities should be examined and ameliorated before occupying Haiti for the same reason.

Concisely, the juxtaposition of official and oppositional rhetoric of U.S.-Haitian relations gives us a nearly full picture of the domestic and foreign concerns of the time and respective responses of the involved actors. Haiti's character and qualities like its dedication to liberty and equality as well as the abuses and atrocities at the backstage would not have been brought into the open without the alternative accounts by the critics, especially the black press. The basic tenets of Americanism declared by the Founding Fathers of the United States were rendered hollow at the hands of the opposition. Witness reports also added to the strength of the alternative rhetoric, making public the contradictory, distorted and overbearing nature of official portrait.

CHAPTER III

THE COLD WAR PERIOD, 1945-1990

3.1 The early Cold War period

Relations with Haiti in the early Cold War period were far from deserving close surveillance and emergency measures. Haiti's preference for the Western camp obviated the need for attentive watchfulness. Special attention was devoted to the Soviet Union and its satellites in Central and Eastern Europe during the Harry S. Truman (1945-1953/Democratic) era. In a State Department report of April 1951, Haiti was regarded as cooperating with the United States in the Organization of American States (OAS)²⁸² as well as in the United Nations on issues of human rights and anti-colonialism. Haiti's referral of disputes with the Dominican Republic to the OAS peace machinery was also considered as a positive step through Haiti's becoming a fullfledged liberal democracy. Its accession to General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT)²⁸³ in January 1950 through the U.S. efforts were thought to prepare Haiti for extended foreign investment in the country. Finally, it was hoped that the modest U.S. contribution to the small Haitian air force and coast guard

²⁸² Organization of American States was established on 5 May 1948 with Haiti as one of the 21 founding members. It includes all 35 independent nations of the Americas, with the exception of Cuba as the single suspended member. Its agenda covers a variety of issues such as peace, democracy,

sustainable development and anti-drug efforts.

283 The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was an agreement in 1947 (not an international organization) for economic recovery after World War II. The GATT's main purpose was to reduce barriers to international trade. The World Trade Organization (WTO) replaced the GATT in 1995 as a professional organization.

would help Haiti's effective overseeing and defense of the Windward Passage separating Haiti and Cuba as being the channel for most shipping between the Panama Canal and eastern U.S. ports. 284 Against this background, the United States chose not to break relations despite the recurring pattern of Haiti's frequent changes in government. President Elie Lescot, 285 who had taken Haiti to the Second World War on the side of the Allies, was overthrown by a military coup in January 1946. Franck Lavaud assumed power for the first time as Chairman of the Military Executive Committee. His second term began with another coup, which deposed President Dumarsais Estimé²⁸⁶. Upon Dumarsais Estimé's flight to the United States in May 1950, the U.S. agreed to recognize Lavaud's junta government as it was the policy to recognize a new government "if it clearly has control of the country, and if it agrees to undertake all the country's international obligations, including treaties."²⁸⁷ In other words, the United States recognized the new administration as it did not seem to disrupt bilateral relations or the international order. Lavaud would rule Haiti until early December 1950, when President Paul Eugene Magloire²⁸⁸ assumed the presidency.

There were critics against the Truman Administration. These called for enhanced involvement in Haitian affairs on account of the looming threat of communism. One article in *The Nation* revealed the complicated domestic situation in Haiti that clashed with the sunny picture drawn by the United States. It pointed out how the nascent socialist movement in Haiti wanted to end corruption in the Haitian government as well as granting monopolies to foreign-owned, especially American

²⁸⁴ "Political and Economic Relations of the United States and Haiti," Department of State Policy Statement, April 16, 1951 in FRUS: The United Nations and the Western Hemisphere Volume II (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951), 1454-1464. ²⁸⁵ President Elie Lescot ruled Haiti between May 15, 1941-January 11, 1946.

²⁸⁶ President Dumarsais Estimé ruled Haiti between August 16, 1946-May 10, 1950.

²⁸⁷ "U.S. Retains Haitian Ties," *The New York Times*, June 6, 1950.

²⁸⁸ President Paul Eugene Magloire ruled Haiti between December 6, 1950-December 12, 1956.

corporations while reviving Haitian economic, social and cultural riches. It also touched upon the asymmetrical commercial relations between Haiti and the United States, accusing the latter for not allowing the Haitian people enjoy the riches provided by coffee, sugar, bananas and cotton thanks to the monopolies of Standard Fruit, the Haitian-American Sugar Company and other firms. 289 Dr. Joseph F. Thorning, associate editor of *The Americas* also joined in by chiding the "singularly inept and sadly ineffective nature of the State Department's Division of International Information and Cultural Affairs." Having returned form an observation tour through Haiti, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, Thorning said the United States should engage more thoroughly with Haiti at a time when "Red Fascism" hung over the world and undermined the Good Neighbor Policy in the Western Hemisphere. For him, the United States should put more imagination in winning the masses and overcoming totalitarian propagandists.²⁹⁰

As regards the black press in the early Cold War period, it was almost inconspicuous compared to the pre-Cold War era. This trend would continue throughout the Cold War. Magazines like The Black Scholar, The Crisis, Ebony, and Freedomways allocated almost no space for Haitian affairs other than some minor references in other articles.²⁹¹ The focus between the 1950s and 1970s rested mostly on civil rights activism at home, especially in terms of black voting and labor rights. Within this context, it was Africa in the form of Pan-Africanism, rather than Haiti or elsewhere, that attracted the most attention. 292 The handful of works on Haiti throughout the Cold War also had a very different focus. While in the 1940s many

²⁸⁹ Raymond Pace Alexander. "Haiti's Bid For Freedom," *The Nation* May 4, 1946. 534-535.

Thorning Chides U.S. on Latin America," *The New York Times* January 5, 1947.

Personal research of *The Black Scholar* (issues between 1969-1989), *The Crisis* (1970-1989), Ebony (1963-1985) and Freedomways (1973-1985).

²⁹² Among those persons and organizations conspicuously associated with black nationalism, civil rights and/or Pan Africanism involved Martin Luther King (nonviolent civil rights activist), Malcolm X (Pan Africanist, black nationalist) and Black Panther Party (a revolutionary black nationalist organization).

black periodicals had filled their pages with stories about the exploitation of Haiti by the U.S. Government and Wall Street, by 1950, there were articles suggesting that black Americans might also join in this process.²⁹³ Haiti was often depicted as "the paradise of the greater Antilles," favorable "for happy vacationers": "Negroes who have long held regal dreams of living like a native prince can have these dreams come true in Port-au-Prince, Haiti."²⁹⁴ It was also conveyed that the Haitian President Estimé sought to attract "American Negro business people [to] come to Haiti to establish business."²⁹⁵ It would be only after 1970 that African-American members of the Congress would actively counter the U.S. official rhetoric and policy regarding relations with Haiti.

The Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953-1961/Republican) Administration did not differ from its predecessor in continuing friendly relations with Haiti despite the Republic's incessant political turmoil. The President extended greetings and best wishes to the Haitian government on the 150th anniversary of the country's independence, and talked highly about its devotion to freedom as well as Haitian support to the American War of Independence at the battles in Savannah and Yorktown. As the Department of State commented in 1954, the government of General Paul Magloire (1950-1956) in Haiti was characterized as follows: "Haiti has been reasonably democratic, has opposed communism, has encouraged foreign investment, and has been very friendly toward the United States." Even though the overthrow of Magloire and the circulation in Haitian government seven times in less than a year disturbed the United States, no considerable change in relations or

²⁹³ See Penny M. Von Eschen. *Race and Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997). 163-165.

²⁹⁴ "Live Like a Millionaire: Haiti, the Paradise of the Greater Antilles," *Chicago Defender* June 4, 1949 (magazine section).

²⁹⁵ Claude A. Barnett. "Haiti Fair Entertaining: It'll be a Dream Come True for Lucky Girls," *Chicago Defender* April 8, 1950. 2.

²⁹⁶ "Eisenhower Recalls Haitian Aid," *The New York Times*, January 2, 1954.

²⁹⁷ Smith. The Last Years of the Monroe Doctrine: 1945-1993, 221.

rhetoric would take place.²⁹⁸ One exception was President Eisenhower's speech to the Congress for withdrawal of the treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation between the United States and Haiti, signed on March 3, 1955 and submitted to the Senate on June 22 the same year. The reason was stated as a desire "to give further consideration" to the subject treaty.²⁹⁹

During this period, many articles from the black press ironically celebrated the American presence in Haiti, without which the country would not have experienced stability and order. They also wanted more U.S. involvement in Haiti: "The nation felt no security until it was occupied by the United States Marines in 1915. The occupation was a bitter thing for Haitians, but it provided them with stability until 1934, when the Marines withdrew." The beginnings of a new economy in Haiti through agricultural, social and political reforms were also attributed to the Marines. The fall of Magloire was equally associated with "bad advice from his henchmen and adverse economic circumstances," and it was demanded that the U.S. should not refrain from helping Haiti. However, there was some criticism against the United States, saying that it should withdraw recognition of the Magloire government on account of its "exceptional measures" on the pretext of alleged disorder in Haiti. Democratic Representative Adam Clayton Powell (D-NY) contended that Magloire also gave signals for suspending the Senate and Presidential elections due January and April 1958 respectively.

²⁹⁸ Dec. 12, 1956-Feb. 1957 Joseph Nemours Pierre-Louis (provisional), Feb. 7-1957-Apr. 1, 1957 Franck Sylvain (provisional), Apr. 1, 1957-Apr. 6, 1957 Léon Cantave (1st time/Army Chief of the General Staff), Apr. 6, 1957-May 20, 1957 Executive Government Council, May 20, 1957-May 25, 1957 Léon Cantave (2nd time), May 25, 1957-Jun. 14, 1957 Daniel Fignolé (provisional), Jun. 14, 1957-Oct. 22, 1957 Antonio Thrasybule Kebreau (chairman of Military Council).

²⁹⁹ Congressional Record, Senate, 85th Congress, 1st Session. July 22, 1957. 12403.

^{300 &}quot;Haiti needs stability to finish all reforms," *Chicago Defender* April 4, 1953. 6.

^{301 &}quot;Haiti, Troubled Island," *Pittsburgh Courier* December 22, 1956.

^{302 &}quot;Rep. Powell Calls Haiti 'Crisis' a Myth," The Washington Post December 9, 1956. 10.

The seizure of power by François Duvalier³⁰³ (October 1957-April 1971) through fraudulent elections did not make any difference in the policy of condoning Haiti's internal turbulence. "The situation there is essentially chronic," remarked Eisenhower's Secretary of State Christian Herter (1959-1961) in the light of economic decline and breach of human rights in Haiti. Nevertheless, only minor measures were taken against Duvalier such as two-thirds reduction of the American aid program in Haiti. The reason was stated as being "not in reprisal against Haiti's governing junta for the reported fatal beating of a United States citizen Shibley Talamas by the Haitian police," but as the failure of the junta to provide the required counterpart funds for assistance mission.³⁰⁵ At the same time though, the U.S. dispatched a mission to train Haiti's army for "further demonstration of the close bonds of friendship," and State Department officials maintained that despite the shortcomings of his regime, Duvalier "had given more stability to the impoverished nation than had any of his numerous predecessors in recent years." However, the Special National Intelligence Estimate of March 1959 directly rejected any establishment of U.S. military facilities at Duvalier's request as this would help bolster his unpopular regime, and raise criticism against the United States both in Haiti and the Latin America in general. 307

³⁰³ François Duvalier was referred to as "Papa" Doc for being a doctor, and the father of the next President Jean-Claude Duvalier.

³⁰⁴ Smith. The Last Years of the Monroe Doctrine: 1945-1993, 221.

³⁰⁵ "U.S. Aid to Haiti is Reduced Two-Thirds as Junta Puts Up No Counterpart Funds," *The New York Times*, October, 5, 1957.

³⁰⁶ "Marine Adviser Arrives in Haiti," *The New York Times*, January 21, 1959; "U.S. Fears Chaos in a Haiti Revolt," *The New York Times*, February 28, 1959. 1.

³⁰⁷ "Threats to the Stability of the U.S. Military Facilities Position in the Caribbean in the Caribbean Area and in Brazil," Special National Intelligence Estimate, March 10, 1959 in *FRUS: American Republics* Volume V (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958-1960), 368. Special National Intelligence Estimates were interdepartmental authoritative evaluations contributed by Central Intelligence Agency, the intelligence organizations of the Departments of the State, the Army, the Navy, the Air Force and the Joint Staff.

Haiti did not became a major source of nuisance for the United States on the issue of impending communist spread over the Western Hemisphere. The Eisenhower Administration had conceded that the Communist Premier Fidel Castro³⁰⁸ of Cuba was trying to foment rebellion in Haiti not for the sake of ideology, but for using Haiti as a base of guerrilla operations against Castro's enemies, namely the dictator of the Dominican Republic Rafael L. Trujillo Molina, and his brother President Hector B. Trujillo Molina.³⁰⁹ Similarly, the Special National Intelligence Estimate of June 1959 pointed at the traces of communist actions in Haiti, yet saw them as weak and opted for Duvalier's continued rule in the country. The rationale was stated as follows.

There is, however, no clear alternative to the Duvalier regime . . . There are very few communists in Haiti and no organized communist party, but the nucleus of a communist movement exists among the intelligentsia. A significant number of known and suspected communists are employed by the government which provides the principal source of employment for intellectuals . . . When [Duvalier] goes, it is probable that there will be a period of political chaos comparable to that following the exit of dictator Magloire in late 1956. 310

The United States' main policy became one of not infuriating or incapacitating Haiti so as to guarantee Haiti in the Western camp. Eisenhower's message to the Congress in mid-February 1960 requested a total of \$268 million for a number of mutual security measures including undergirding the Haitian economy. In April the same year, the \$4,300,000 economic aid project that was suspended in March resumed

³⁰⁸ Fidel Castro, the current president of Cuba had led the first communist revolution in the Western Hemisphere by overthrowing the U.S.-backed Fulgencio Batista in 1959. He became the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba in 1965, and transformed Cuba into a one-party socialist republic.

^{309 &}quot;U.S. Fears Chaos in a Haiti Revolt," *The New York Times*, February 28, 1959. 2.

³¹⁰ "The Situation in the Caribbean through 1959," Special National Intelligence Estimate, June 30, 1959 in *FRUS: American Republics* Volume V (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958-1960), 402.

³¹¹ "Special Message to the Congress on the Mutual Security Program," in *The Public Papers of the United States: Dwight D. Eisenhower 1960-1961* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), 184.

again although on certain conditions. The Artibonite Valley project, the target of the subject sum was the largest aid program hitherto launched by the United States.³¹² Within a few months, Haiti was also furnished with military equipment besides regular training service provided by the U.S. forces. The official view believed "a competent and well-trained Haitian Army [was] becoming of increased importance because of the troubled situation in the Caribbean," meaning the threat of a possible invasion by communist Cuba or Haiti's arch-enemy, the Dominican Republic. It was further stated that the equipment hitherto used by the Haitian army had been given to them on the eve of the U.S. invasion of 1915, and that they dated back as far as the Spanish-American War.³¹³ Yet, upon Duvalier's expulsion from the country of Archbishop François Poirier for his alleged help of \$7,000 to communist students to overthrow the regime, the United States did not move a finger.³¹⁴

3.2 Relations in the shadow of communism

The U.S. view on Haiti gradually involved the emanating communist threat in the backyard of the United States. John F. Kennedy Administration (1961-1963/Democratic) took office with the project of Alliance for Progress in order to eliminate any chance for this gloomy prospect to realize. The initiative aimed at promoting democracy and stability thorough economic development in the Western Hemisphere. It rested on the principle of "good" countries deserving to receive aid.315 Accordingly, Haiti could not qualify for aid with its catastrophic political and social conditions. Yet, ironically the Kennedy Government would continuously

³¹² "U.S. to Reinstate Big Haiti Project," *The New York Times*, April 10, 1960. ³¹³ "U.S. to Send Arms to Haiti's Forces," *The New York Times* September 4, 1960. 2.

Paul P. Kennedy. "Haiti expels Catholic Prelate: Says he gave \$7,000 to Reds," *The New York* Times November 25, 1960. 1, 19.

The Alliance for Progress was initiated by John F. Kennedy in 1961 for the purpose of establishing economic cooperation between North and South America. The intention was to stave off communist influence and to keep the region in the Western camp.

extend aid to this brutal dictatorship which, not very long ago, had declared martial law, curbed the opposition and closed the university in Port-au-Prince. 316 The main reason behind this action was the possibility of ideological infiltration in Haiti, just 45 miles from the eastern tip of communist Cuba. Kennedy's Task Force on Immediate Latin American Problems viewed Haiti as being in an explosive situation since it was infiltrated by pro-Communists.³¹⁷ The Under Secretary of State Chester Bowles also condoned the state of affairs in Haiti for fear of "Communists or other anti-U.S. factions getting control of the state."318 François Duvalier's running for a second term through rigged elections despite the fact that there were over two years before his first term's expiration did not cause due discontent on the part of the Kennedy Administration. Despite the U.S. Ambassador Robert Newbegin's deliberate absence during the inauguration ceremony, the Ambassador resumed office only after a week with the instructions "to be cool but correct." In the Administration's words, "it would be unwise to try to upset the Duvalier regime until a political alternative was found," and additionally, withdrawal of the annual \$6 million aid was avoided so as not trigger the collapse of the Haitian government.³¹⁹

The U.S. programs in Haiti, in fact, were not effective. Soon many critics raised their voices over the arrested development of the Artibonite project, the unmoving literacy programs and Haiti's incapability to raise itself out of poverty and catch up with the rest in the Western Hemisphere. Articles found fault with the United States for its neglect of the projects after pouring money into them, rather than mandating the Haitians fiscal accountability or management programs.

 ^{316 &}quot;Government closes University in Haiti," *The New York Times* November 24, 1960.
 317 Editorial Note in *FRUS*, 1961-1963, Vol. XII: American Republics (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1996), 749-750.

³¹⁸ Smith. The Last Years of the Monroe Doctrine: 1945-1993, 221.

³¹⁹ Tad Szulc. "Washington Decides to show disapproval of Duvalier," *The New York Times* May 31, 1961. 10.

Maladministration and inefficiency coupled with the fact that the Duvalier Government was the true beneficiary of American aid.³²⁰ From the pro-establishment camp, Deputy Director for Operations of the International Cooperation Administration Dennis A. Fitzgerald fought against allocation of military aid to the Haitians for the Fiscal Year 1962. For him, it was dubious that Haiti could make proper use of military equipment for the sake of the public, since the sum was most likely to be directed to Duvalier and his forces to solidify his own power.³²¹ A similar viewpoint was conveyed by Senator Stephen M. Young (D-OH).

Are there any good reasons for our policy in Haiti? There is no military advantage as we have no bases in Haiti. Politically there is no advantage, we are supporting a dictator who is blackmailing us with threats to turn his people over to communists. There are no sizable private American investments which demand our protection . . . If U.S. aid to Haiti were ended, the Duvalier regime would surely fall. Duvalier realizes this. We should insist that he hold free elections supervised by the Organization of America States before we grant any more aid. 322

Officials maintained that a related concern necessitating aid was the possible swing to the extreme left from within the Duvalier government itself rather than from without. Yet, criticism about economic aid to a dictatorship and the Administration's own reports about the futility of feeding Haiti helped cancellation of most aid to Haiti in July 1962 except for a sum for malaria eradication. A joint memorandum of August 8 by the State Department and CIA reported that no chance existed for the Duvalier regime to survive devoid of American economic and military

³²⁰ Max Frankel. "U.S. Dilemma on Haiti," *The New York Times* May 29, 1961. 6.

Memorandum from the Deputy Director for Operations of the International Cooperation Administration Fitzgerald to the General Counsel of that Agency, Rubin. Department of State. August 21, 1961. *FRUS*, 1961-1963, Volume XII. 179.

³²² Congressional Record, Senate, 87th Congress, 2nd Session, May 24, 1962. 9167-9168.

³²³ Tad Szulc. "U.S. Shuns fete for Haiti's Chief," *The New York Times* May 23, 1962. 12.

³²⁴ Since 1946, the United States endowed Haiti with a total of \$100 million in loans and grants. U.S. economic aid program amounted to \$13,5 million by 1962. The cut was reported as \$6 million.

aid. 325 Nevertheless, the U.S. continued to endow Haiti with other financial benefits such as a \$2.8 million jet airport in Port-au-Prince. The official reason pronounced was that Haiti needed it anyway, and that by the time the construction ended, the Duvalier government may not be in office. 326 As they indicated: "[T]he advantage of limited aid to Haiti outweighed the disadvantages of being vulnerable to charges by the Haitian people and other Latin Americans that the United States is supporting a dictator."327 In January 1963, President Kennedy finally ordered a policy review regarding Haiti for a solid and successful posture against this country. Insisting that replacement of Duvalier was a prerequisite for U.S. interests in Haiti, Kennedy sought assurances before any plan which could not guarantee that the new regime would be better than the existing one. He also maintained that the plan should be conducted either by the Haitians or by a third country. ³²⁸ In late April 1963, a war between Haiti and the Dominican Republic loomed on the horizon on the former's intrusion into the Dominican Embassy and seeking to get the Haitian refugees back. The State Department issued a statement of detachment rather than active involvement, observing that

the overall situation remains explosive and inflammatory statements by government officials, apparently directed at opposition elements, are a strong contributing factor. In this situation, the Embassy's warning to United States citizens to stay off the

³²⁵ State Department situation report on Haiti, FRUS, 1961-1963 Vol. XII. 766-769.

³²⁶ Richard Eder. "U.S. Loan Dismay's Haitian Opposition," *The New York Times* October 18, 1962. 39. Some authors reveal a hidden reason behind the airport project. Accordingly, the Haitian Foreign Minister Rene Chalmers had stipulated in January 1962 that the United States build an jet airport if it wanted Haiti to vote in favor of communist Cuba's expulsion from the Organization of American States. It was in 1964 that Haiti voted along with the U.S. to impose OAS sanctions against Cuba. See Robert Debs Heinl, and Nancy Gordon Heinl. *Written in Blood: The Story of the Haitian People*, 1492-1995 (New York: University Press of America, Inc., 1996), 589; James Ferguson. *Papa Doc, Baby Doc: Haiti and the Duvaliers* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 44 and Stephen G. Rabe. *The Most Dangerous Area in the World: John F. Kennedy Confronts Communism in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 51.

Dan Kurzman. "U.S. Resuming aid to Haiti with Loan to Build Jet Airport," *The Washington Post* 4 December, 1962. A9.

³²⁸ Edwin Martin. "Haiti: A Case Study in Futility," SAIS Review 1:2 (Summer 1981), 63.

In a couple of days an evacuation order followed, through which dependents of the U.S. personnel slowly made their way to the United States. The State Department announced that this action should not mean "that the chances of strife between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, her neighbor on the island has increased," yet the "deteriorating situation" between the two Caribbean nations was uttered as the reason for the evacuation policy. In the words of the Under Secretary of State George W. Ball, "Haiti appeared to be falling apart" in a kind of "progressive disintegration." Nevertheless, rather than a UN action, the State Department believed that the OAS should handle the crisis.³³⁰ In mid-May 1963, the Administration officials still believed that if anything should happen to Duvalier, confusion and chaos would follow. Hence, they chose to suspend diplomatic relations upon the commencement of Duvalier's second term on May 15, yet, administrative contact remained though at the lowest level: "The United States has still not decided how to treat the Haitian Government, which it considers unconstitutional, and that is why it has discontinued formal contact with that government for the time being."331 Nevertheless, the United States resumed "normal diplomatic business" with Haiti as early as June 3, insisting that the lifting of diplomatic sanctions did not imply any change in the U.S. view that the Duvalier regime was unconstitutional. It was also concluded that the Haitian government was "firmly in power," despite the "reasonable belief" of the Administration that the dictator Duvalier would actually leave his post. In the light of

³²⁹ Max Frankel. "Protest to Haiti Scores Harrying of U.S. Officials," *The New York Times* May 3, 1963, 1.2

³³⁰ "U.S. Tells Aides in Haiti to Send Families Home," *The New York Times* May 8, 1963. 10.

³³¹ "U.S. Policy Avoids Full Haitian Break," *The New York Times* May 19, 1963. 1, 28.

this reality, it was stated that "resumption of full-scale relations appeared to be in the best interests of the United States." ³³²

Critics from both Democratic and Republican parties raised their voices on many accounts. Representative Armistead I. Selden (D-AL) argued that the Kennedy Government had failed to create a stable order in Haiti, which would pave the way toward Haiti's fall into the orbit of communist sphere.

U.S. Government . . . has been slow to react to the growing political crisis in Haiti . . . There is evidence -ominious evidence- that forces are at work to convert Haiti into the second communist base in the Caribbean. Certainly the conditions in that unsettled country are ripe for communist purposes. And let there be no doubt that Fidel Castro and the Kremlin's agents are ready, willing and capable of moving into any power vacuum left open by indecision and inaction on the part of the free nations of the hemisphere. ³³³

Republican Representative John R. Pillon from New York reiterated the issue of a prospective communist infiltration in Haiti, and chastised the slowness and ineffectiveness of the State Department to stabilize Haiti.

[T]he communists in Cuba, in the United States and in Latin America are building a hostile image of Duvalier as a bloody-voodoo dictator. This propaganda is intended to create a world opinion for the liquidation of Duvalier. A political vacuum would thus be created, and only the communists are prepared to fill this political vacuum. This was the exact pattern used to destroy Batista and to create Castro's communist Cuba. The State Department and our government are fiddling and finagling while the international Soviet-Communist forces are calculatingly coverting Haiti into a second Soviet satellite at our back door.³³⁴

In his speech, Pillon even went as far as advocating occupation of Haiti "for the purpose of protecting the vital security interests of both this nation and this

³³³ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 88th Congress, 1st Session, May 14, 1963. 8521-8522.

³³² Tad Szulc. "Haitian Contacts resumed by the U.S." *The New York Times* June 4, 1963. 1,6.

³³⁴ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 88th Congress, 1st Session, May 14, 1963. 8531-8532.

hemisphere."³³⁵ Floridan Representative William Cato Cramer of the same camp called for deeper involvement of the U.S. in Haiti. He called for firm leadership of the United States in the Organization of the American States, conveying that communists in Cuba were getting tooled and armed. He put forth evidence regarding lack of surveillance and intelligence on the U.S. part to detect arms drops or infiltration in Haiti. Cramer also pointed at "Haitian sugarcane cutters from Cuba who had been trained in Cuban subversive schools."³³⁶ As for press criticism, an article in *The Nation* touched upon how Haiti became such a messy place.

In the main, U.S. seems to have benefited the governments, rather than the people of Haiti. The assorted old weapons received as "foreign aid" are for the convenience of the government, and it uses them in maintaining itself in power. Perhaps military aid is the only kind Haitian governments ever requested. Whatever the reason, the Haitian people seem not to have shared in the largess distributed in so many quarters of the globe by the United States since World War II. Haitian per capita income, education, health, and other statistics have not changed very much in three decades. 337

Representative Paul Grant Rogers (D-FL) revealed the continuing of economic aid by the Kennedy Administration despite the official statements to the contrary. He called for more effective measures by the U.S. Government that would not only ensure Haiti's seat in the Western camp, but also contribute to sustainable development in Haiti not at the expense of, but for the sake of the Haitian people themselves.

[T]he American people have had the impression that U.S. aid to Haiti has been suspended. I am informed that this is not so. Under the U.S. food-for-peace program, Haiti last year received some \$1.3 million in U.S. surplus foodstuffs subsidized by the U.S. taxpayer . . . And at present Haiti is free to market over 40,000 tons of sugar in the United States, and at present prevailing price of sugar in New York last Friday, which was \$152 per ton, Haiti could expect an income of \$6,166,488 this

³³⁵ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 88th Congress, 1st Session, May 14, 1963. 8532. ³³⁶ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 88th Congress, 1st Session, May 16, 1963 and Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 88th Congress, 1st Session, May 29, 1963. 9850-

³³⁷ Roch L. Mirabeau. "Background to Chaos: Can Haiti be Helped?" *The Nation* May 18, 1963. 417.

year if its U.S. sales continued. This aid should be cut as well. Positive actions, such as these, would do much to strengthen our position in the Caribbean and the rest of the hemisphere as well. 338

3.3 Anti-communist Haiti

The policy of non-interference in Haiti's internal policies was immediately adopted by the Lyndon B. Johnson Administration (1963-1969/Democratic), as the United States at the time was preoccupied with the Vietnam debacle outside, and with civil rights issue and "Great Society" inside. 339 In November 1963, the State Department prepared an Action Plan for Haiti, underlining the need to continue "present cool posture toward Duvalier while denying his government economic or financial assistance other than of a purely humanitarian nature," together with the recommendation that the United States avoid involvement with exile groups or plans to invade Haiti and/or assassinate Duvalier.340 Another intelligence analysis by the State Department under the heading "Opportunities for Communist Exploitation in Latin America," did not see Haiti as a threatening actor where Duvalier sustained order through superstition, terror and execution of opponents.³⁴¹ The historical attitude toward Haiti as well as the ever increasing corruption associated with the Duvalier regime led the Johnson Administration to follow the same policy of partial engagement with the intent of not rocking the boat. Against this background, resuming direct aid was not feasible. Hence, on the issue of a water-supply project for which the United States had refused to endorse a loan so as not to further

³³⁸ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 88th Congress, 1st Session, June 17, 1963. 10908

³³⁹ The Great Society involved a set of domestic programs proposed or enacted in the United States by President Lyndon B. Johnson. Among the main goals of the initiative were the elimination of poverty and racial injustice. Social reforms associated with the Great Society also encompassed education, medical care, urban problems, and transportation. In many ways, the project bore resemblance to Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.

³⁴⁰ Proposed Haitian Plan of Action. Department of State. November 23, 1963, *FRUS*, 1961-1963. Vol. XII. 804-806.

³⁴¹ Smith. The Last Years of the Monroe Doctrine: 1945-1993, 222.

strengthen Duvalier's rule, Johnson chose to give blessing to the Inter-American Bank's involvement in the project. The State Department underlined that "the United States continued to be faithful to the Democratic principles of the Alliance for Progress," despite its tacit approval in March of a \$2,360,000 loan for the development of Haitian potable-water facilities. It was further acknowledged that "to continue to hold back all economic and technical help was seen as imposing a senseless penalty on more than four million Haitians who have confronted the Western Hemisphere with a pathetic problem of poverty, illiteracy and disease." 343

Despite the aid, the United States never endorsed or permitted Duvalier's acquisition of modern arms, especially through formal authorization by the U.S. Upon hearing about the Haitian government's purchase of 30 T-28 trainer aircrafts from Texas, the Johnson Administration blocked licenses for these aircrafts on account of the fact that no exports of arms to Haiti have been authorized in the last two years, and that Haiti was not participating in a regular assistance program.³⁴⁴ The Johnson Administration continuously reiterated that the United States Haitian policy was one of reluctant acceptance of the unchanging affairs there. The Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Mann addressed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee session in 1965 in these words.

We have tried nearly everything to get aid to the people, to help them get educated. If you put in an education program, then the teachers have tried to kick back to the government. If you try to build a dam, the trucks are taken away from hauling dirt and put to hauling people to political rallies. We have simply given up, Mr. Chairman, in trying to do anything . . . There is some communist infiltration, and we are afraid if we are pushed out without ears or eyes, that before we get back in we may have a communist in the presidential chair. I think the only way we deal with that kind of situation is by collective action, and we have neer been able to get collective action. We have tried it since 1945 periodically. By collective action, I mean the use of military force. 345

³⁴² Tad Szulc. "Bank aid to Haiti approved by U.S.," *The New York Times* May 21, 1964.

Henry Raymont. "U.S. quietly seeks better Haiti ties," *The New York Times* May 24, 1964.

³⁴⁴ Tad Szulc. "Haiti Said to seek navy ships in U.S.," *The New York Times* July 17, 1964.

³⁴⁵ Smith. The Last Years of the Monroe Doctrine: 1945-1993, 222-223.

The Democratic camp raised criticism on aid to Haiti. As Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois argued, there was no urgent communist threat, but surely a steady anti-Americanism in Haiti which spoiled the efforts to upgrade that country.

We have given \$100.8 million in aid to Haiti since 1945; Americans have advised, cajoled, pled and deplored, ineffectually threatened –and we are farther from attaining very modest objectives in Haiti than we were in 1958. Still worse, we have in François Duvalier, a thoroughly undependable, implaceably unfriendly, bitterly, antiwhite neighbor who fosters internal communism as a means of blackmailing the United States . . . Haiti is a one-party state. There have been no overt communist manifestations (only anti-American ones) since Duvalier attained power. The Communist Party (outlawed) is small, but growing steadily. 346

Another Democratic criticism posed a contrast to this observation as it underlined the looming communist threat, and the incapacity of the Johnson Administration in preventing this. Senator Vance Hartke of Indiana invited attention to an article by Jeremiah O'Leary published in Washington *Sunday Star* in mid-December 1967. The article spoke of the two Haitian Marxist parties and the Radio Moscow's recently-initiated daily broadcast in Haiti.

The ingredients exist for another Vietnam. The violence, bloodshed and further deterioration of the economy and citizens' hopes, are prospects serious enough in themselves. A menacing and opportunist communist Cuba scarcely 50 miles across the Windward Passage makes the situation all that much more ominous.³⁴⁷

Nothing important happened in U.S.-Haitian relations in the forthcoming years of President Johnson's tenure. The same conclusion is valid for Richard Nixon (1969-1974/Republican) and Gerald R. Ford (1974-1977/Republican) Administrations. Latin America and the Caribbean were not the priority regions for Richard Nixon as compared to the Vietnam case. For him, Third World countries

³⁴⁶ Congressional Record, Senate, 88th Congress, 2nd Session, June 2, 1964. 12442, 12444.

³⁴⁷ Jeremiah O'Leary in *Sunday Star* quoted in *Congressional Record*, Senate, 90th Congress, 1st Session, December 14, 1967. 36736-36737.

were a major issue of concern only when there was an imminent threat regarding Soviet interest on these places. As long as they remained anti-communist, they would rule themselves as they willed.³⁴⁸ The United States refused to take action when François Duvalier's son Jean-Claude Duvalier assumed power in April 1971, at the age of 19. The State Department said the United States would recognize the new president of Haiti; since the change in leadership was "an ordinary one," the question of breaking normal diplomatic relations did not arise. Yet, the United States increased naval surveillance near Haiti "out of prudence," in an effort "to learn what was happening" since the death of the former president. 349 Meanwhile, during the Nixon Administration Haitian military and economic embargo came to an end, with the country included in the list of countries eligible for military aid. It was argued that the Haitian arms equipment was obsolete and that many P-51 airplanes dating back to post-World War II period had been lost "in a series of clashes." Economic aid was also resumed, with the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) reopening its office and giving a sum of \$3 million for road construction, and with an annual grant of \$500,000 for road maintenance. 350

Nixon Administration's Haitian policy met considerable disapproval. The opposition, in the name of Democratic Representative William S. Moorhead from Pennsylvania, countered against endowing Haiti with military aid, resembling the brutal Tonton Macoutes to the contemporary version of Haitian gestapo. On the visit of the Haitian Minister of Defense and Interior Luckner Cambronne to the United States, Moorhead addressed the Senate as follows

³⁴⁸ Smith. The Last Years of the Monroe Doctrine: 1945-1993, 129-137.

³⁴⁹ "U.S. increases naval surveillance near Haiti," *The Washington Post* April 23, 1971. A20.

Terri Shaw. "U.S. ends its Haitian embargo," *The Washington Post* April 16, 1973. A16 and Marlise Simmons. "U.S. and France Court Haiti," *The Washington Post* August 18, 1974. A17.

I am afraid that our government -the Easter bunny to so many military dictators- is going to drop some military goods in Cambronne's basket . . . [T]he Nixon Administration is giving "favorable consideration" to granting Haiti approximately \$1.5 million worth of credits to purchase military goods in the United States . . . Today, with Cambronne the real power behind a figurehead president, Haiti's government can become equally repressive as it was under the infamous "Papa Doc." Cambronne has replaced "Papa Doc's" feared personal army, the Tonton Macoute, with his own army, the Leopards, reportedly the 1972 version of the Haitian gestapo. Haiti's people are among the poorest in the world, and yet President Nixon is considering the approval of military aid credits that cannot do anything but make them poorer. ³⁵¹

For his part, Representative William Lehman (D-FL) focused on the plight of Haitians fleeing from the repressive baby-Duvalier regime, and the United States' denial to treat them justly. For Lehman, there could be no plausible distinction between repression under communist and under right-wing dictatorial regimes.

Miami, on the southern tip of Florida, has been the touchstone for liberty during the last few months for persons fleeing the brutal regime of Duvalier in Haiti. There have been no freedom flights in Haiti. They have come to Miami at the risk of their lives in small boats. Yet, if they finally reach Miami safely, the United States government is less than cordial to them. For some reason, the Immigration and Naturalization service has determined that these Haitians do not meet the guidelines for political refugees. I reject this reasoning. The persecution of peoples under communist regimes is no different in quality than persecution by non-communist dictatorial governments. 352

Gerald R. Ford (1974-1977/Republican) did not attach much importance to Haiti. However, there was a subtle belief that Cuba was intent on extending its sphere of influence through winning the hearts and minds of the Caribbean countries. The Administration officials thought that Castro might play upon the color differences as a black revolutionary cause against the United States; yet, they did not pin much hope on a Cuban military assistance to Haiti to fuel the country toward a

Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 92nd Congress, 2nd Session, March 29, 1972.
 Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 92nd Congress, 2nd Session, October 12, 1973.
 34012-34013.

revolution.³⁵³ Hence, the United States continued to furnish Haiti with arms for signs of friendship and cooperation, while at the same time denouncing it as among the countries that constantly breach human rights. According to the State Department, there were some reasons for not suspending military sales to certain countries which engaged in human rights violations. As for Haiti, it was stated that: "Elimination of the modest United States security assistance program would have no impact on Haitian human rights practices." It was dubious that this view abided by the foreign aid law, which stipulated withholding military aid to governments following a consistent pattern of human rights abuse except for "extraordinary circumstances."³⁵⁴

The Ford Administration's policies in Haiti were subject to considerable criticism. Related with this was the U.S. Government's Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), which insured bank loans given to American citizens to start businesses in underdeveloped nations. OPIC's first and thus far only direct authorization of \$415,000 for the construction of the luxurious hotel Habitation Leclerc fueled criticism. The Leclerc operators explained that the hotel aimed at reviving tourism which would lead to employment for many, while encouraging tourists' spending money on local arts. Senator Frank Church (D-ID) replied that it was outrageous for a government agency to provide loans for a hotel that "cater[ed] exclusively to the rich," hence created further schisms between the rich and the poor. Church also observed that the Haitian employees did only menial jobs, the hotel really lacked guests other than some young wealthy Haitians in the discotheque at weekends, and that the food was inedible. More serious than that, condoning of Haiti's anti-democratic profit-making policies also raised concerns. *The Washington*

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³⁵³ David Binder. "Cuban Influence in Caribbean Rises, Worrying U.S. Officials," *The New York Times* March 21, 1976.

³⁵⁴ Bernard Gwertzman. "U.S. Says 6 Nations Curb Human Rights," *The New York Times* January 2, 1977. 1,14.

Tom Zito. "U.S. Aid to Resort Criticized," *The Washington Post* August 19, 1974. A1, A6.

Post brought into light several U.S. investors' loss in a proposed Haiti free port complex since they had refused to bribe the Haitian officials. The article quoted criticism by Senator William Proxmire (D-WI). For him, the case "raise[d] the most serious questions about the policy and actions of the U.S. government regarding bribes and payoffs," when federal agencies decided to ignore such problems. Baltimore Sun also paid attention to the incident, and allocated some remarks from Proxmire who denounced the State Department for failing "to protect the interests of the American citizens" in this case. One Democratic Representative, Lee H. Hamilton from Indiana, directed attention to another The Washington Post column contrasting the lifestyle of AID employees "with conditions of extreme poverty that exist in that small country," and stated that "some questions remain concerning whether or not our aid program is well organized for trying to relieve the severe problems of poverty and unemployment in the rural areas of the country." U.S. generosity on military terms towards Haiti provoked similar criticism.

The increase in U.S. munitions sales to countries prompted Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D-MN) to liken American arms industry to "a kind of arms supermarket into which any consumer can walk and pick up whatever he wants." Humphrey also asked as follows: "What kind of security do you get out of giving something to Haiti, or to Paraguay?" Haiti's takeover of American property owned by the Translinear Corporation of Texas was again revived in September when Representative J. J. Pickle (D-TX) told how the issue fell on deaf ears by the Ford Administration wheras the affair was totally against a number of U.S. trade and foreign assistance

³⁵⁶ William H. Jones. "Haitians Demand Bribes," *The Washington Post March* 3, 1976.

³⁵⁷ Stephen E. Nordlinger in *Baltimore Sun* March 3, 1976 quoted in *Congressional Record*, House of Representatives, 94th Congress, 2nd Session, March 24, 1976. 7858.

³⁵⁸ Jack Anderson. "American Luxury, Haitian Poverty," *The Washington Post* August 4, 1976 quoted in *Congressional Record*, House of Representatives, 94th Congress, 2nd Session, August 23, 1976. 27248-27249.

³⁵⁹ Richard D. Lyons. "U.S. Arms-Sale Rise Stirs Capital Concern," *The New York Times* October 19, 1975. 1, 41.

agreements. To prove his case, Pickle mentioned Senator Lloyd Bentsen's (D-TX) letter to the President to invoke against Haiti the Hickenlooper Amendment of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1962, as amended, the Gonzales Amendment to the Sugar Act of 1968, and the provisions of the 1974 Trade Act denying the benefits of the generalized system of preferences to countries which expropriate without compensation. 360

3.4 Refugee Crisis - I

Bilateral relations after the Johnson era witnessed another handicap as the Haitian refugee issue transformed from chronic to acute during the Jimmy E. Carter Administration (1977-1981/Democratic). Haitians suffering from the brutal Duvalier regime had begun to flee from the country as early as the 1960s. Nevertheless, as the dictatorial quality of the Haitian Government multiplied, the number of refugees rose as well. In 1980, within the context of thousands of incoming refugees from Southeast Asia, Cuba and Haiti, President Carter showed initial sympathy. However, some restrictions soon followed, based on the reason of flight –those running from communist countries faced a more favorable treatment. Accordingly, many Haitians were deported back to their homeland in cooperation with the Duvalier regime.³⁶¹

The United States' first restrictive immigration law was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. This and other exclusionary laws until the Cold War reflected racial, national and religious discrimination towards, for example, the Irish and the Chinese. With the issuing of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, foreign

³⁶⁰ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 94th Congress, 2nd Session, September 29, 1976, 35435

³⁶¹ Smith. The Last Years of the Monroe Doctrine: 1945-1993, 223.

policy considerations became the utmost principle for refugee status.³⁶² In 1957, the U.S. definition of refugee was an alien who had fled a communist or communistdominated country or an area of the Middle East.³⁶³ It was in 1968 that the United States signed and ratified the 1967 UN Protocol Relating to the Status of the Refugees. Hence, it accepted to forego any ideological bases associated with refugees. Even though the Protocol formally superseded the discriminatory U.S. refugee law, in practice, the executive branch testified in mid-1970s that nothing was done for the sake of implementing the new principles and adopting an impartial perspective as regards the "race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" of those running to the shores of the U.S. 364 During the Ford Administration the State Department continuously associated refugee status with those running from communist repression. People from other countries were believed to flee out of personal disputes with the country's officials or because of bad economic conditions. The categorization also implied that the communist governments were "unfriendly," whereas the rest including rightist authoritarian countries were considered as "friendly." Hence, withholding of deportation from temporary processing centers became available almost only for those members of dissident political groups, active political figures, or those who were extremely critical of their home government. As the State Department maintained

There is no question that, when we grant asylum to a refugee from a [friendly] government $\,$. . . that government feels that its reputation is slighted, its honor impugned. This can only lead to resentment against the United States and both governments lose out. 365

³⁶² Alex Stepick. "Haitian Boat People: A Study in the Conflicting Forces Shaping U.S. Immigration," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 45:2 (Spring 1982), 162. Definitions of "refugee" and "asylum" are in order. Refugees are those individuals outside the country seeking admission, whereas asylum refers to the status extended to those within the country, seeking refugee status.

³⁶³ Malissia Lenox. "Refugees, Racism, and Reparations: A Critique of the United States' Haitian Immigration Policy," *Stanford Law Review* 45:3 (February, 1993), 710.

³⁶⁴ Stepick. "Haitian Boat People," 170 and Lenox. "Refugees, Racism, and Reparations," 710.

³⁶⁵ Stepick. "Haitian Boat People," 172-173.

Analysis of asylum data belonging to years 1975 and 1976 show that, 95% of those that were treated by the U.S. as deserving asylum were citizens from communist countries.

It was only at the Congress' initiative culminating into the Refugee Act of 1980 that a transformation of the U.S. refugee and asylum policy became possible for the better. Accordingly, the UN Protocol was activated and the new policy was based on humanitarian principles. However, lack of precise wording about those aliens fleeing a "well founded fear of persecution" soon became a useful tool for the U.S. Administrations to twist the phrase so as to meet their own ends, interpreting it as that only the ones escaping from communist regimes had a feasible reason to fear. 366 There was one other explanation for increased vigilance over Haitians' refugee claims. The previous emigrants of 1960s running from the despotic Duvalier regime were composed of a heterogeneous group of urban middle and lower class members which the Immigration and Naturalization Service³⁶⁷ (INS) authorities did not bother to meddle with. However, the newcoming influx beginning in early 1970s were of poor, rural and black in origin, coming to the United States on rickety boats. Hence there were also racial undertones in the rigid practice of refugee policies. Despite the fact that the two Duvaliers had ruined the economic fabric of the country and deprived many with diminished income and GNP, people fleeing from Haiti underlined that they were fleeing political persecution.³⁶⁸ The U.S. initially responded to their plight with lenient admission; however, when the issue gradually turned into a chaos under the "Baby Doc" regime, the United States began to make a

³⁶⁶ Stepick. "Haitian Boat People," 173. The Refugee Act of 1980 became law in March.

³⁶⁷ INS was once a branch of the United States Department of Justice, dealing with legal and illegal immigration and naturalization. It ceased to operate on March 1, 2003 with most of its functions transferred to the newly-created Department of Homeland Security.

³⁶⁸ Gilburt Loescher and John Scanlan. "Human Rights, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Haitian Refugees," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 26:3 (August 1984), 327, and Stepick. "Haitian Boat People," 174-175.

shift in policy and adopted a preferential treatment of refugees sailing ashore American borders. The official view as regards Haitian refugees was presented in the testimony in 1975 before the House Subcommittee on International Organizations by William Luers, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs in these words.

The great majority of Haitians who are illegally in the United States say, when first apprehended, that they have come to the United States to seek employment. In very few instances are they able to demonstrate that they have been or will be persecuted by their government. Frequently, they claim that they will be punished on return to Haiti simply because they left their country without permission . . . ³⁶⁹

President Carter took office with a view of condemning past discrimination and offering "equal treatment and temporary legal status" rather than refugee status for both Cubans and Haitians under the categorization of Cuban-Haitian Entrant in June 1980. The Program was designed in the face of a mass asylum crisis in mid-1980, and only for those migrants who had arrived before October 10, 1980. This initiative found its root in the Mariel Boatlift between April-October, 1980 in which Cubans suffering economic hardships left for the United States. ³⁷⁰ President Carter's address to the League of Women Writers in May 1980 portrayed Haitian deportees as if they had been receiving more preferential treatment than those from communist Cuba.

It's important for me, for instance, to treat the Cuban refugees with the same degree of compassion and understanding and with the same commitment to the law as we do the refugees from Haiti and from other countries. We are the most generous nation on Earth in receiving refugees, and I feel very deeply that this commitment should be maintained. Ours is a country of refugees. Many of those in this room have either parents or grandparents who were refugees who came here for a new life

³⁶⁹ Loescher and Scanlan. "Human Rights, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Haitian Refugees," 334.

³⁷⁰ Stepick. "Haitian Boat People," 188. According to this initiative, all of the Cubans arriving prior to October 20, 1980 were given a very special Cuban-Haitian entrance status. All of those arriving after that date were determined to be illegal. The Haitians were given this status until December 1980.

of freedom, a chance to worship as they pleased, or a chance to combine their own talents to build a growing and dynamic country. ³⁷¹

Carter spoke of refugees as "the flood of people" from Cuba and Haiti "seeking freedom and a better life." He reiterated the benevolence of the United States at every occasion, underlining that the U.S. elevated everywhere the cause of political freedom.

[We] treat those seeking asylum and those who are refugees from Cuba, from Haiti, and from other countries equally, on a case-by-case basis as is required by the American law . . . We have a sober, responsible recognition that American power is especially important in a turbulent world where others depend upon us for their safety and for their freedom. ³⁷³

In October 1980, Carter made remarks on the signing of the Refugee Education Assistance Act into law. This Act would enable financial help from the Federal authorities to reimburse the expenses of Florida and some other states related with the influx of Cuban and Haitian people arriving in these places. Carter celebrated these places for their accomodating "this large number who are seeking freedom and new life in this country." In his words, this Act would be of service to the "difficult task of helping these newcomers enter the mainstream as productive members of [the] society."³⁷⁴ Yet, in a remark, Carter distinguished between Haiti and the other incoming people, portraying it as suffering from economic burdens rather than political.

³⁷¹ "Remarks and a Question and Answer Session at the League's Biennial National Convention," May 5, 1980 in *The Public Papers of Jimmy Carter: 1980-1981*. Book 1 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981-1982). 834.

³⁷² "Remarks at the Swearing in of Edmund S. Muskie as Secretary of State," May 8, 1980 in *The Public Papers of Jimmy Carter: 1980-1981*. Book 1. 861.

³⁷³ "Address before the World Affairs Council Philadelphia," May 9, 1980 in *The Public Papers of Jimmy Carter: 1980-1981*. Book 1. 874.

[&]quot;Remarks on signing the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980 into Law before a Joint Session of the Florida State Legislature", October 10, 1980 in *The Public Papers of Jimmy Carter:* 1980-1981. Book 3. 2153.

[L]iterally millions and millions of people are trying to escape totalitarian governments and find freedom. This is going on in Cambodia, where the Vietnamese have invaded. It's going on in Afghanistan where the Soviet Union has invaded. It's going on in Ethiopia, where people are trying to seek a life of freedom, and in other countries around the world. Some people are escaping extreme poverty, like in the case in Haiti, and of course, in Cuba, the Castro regime had imposed on its people a loss of freedom and also poverty at the same time.³⁷⁵

Nevertheless, the Administration continued in other instances to acknowledge political oppression in Haiti. Upon arrests by Haitian authorities of critical journalists and political figures including Joseph L'Enfantin, a founding member of the Haitian Human Rights League, the State Department expressed "grave concern": "We would view an attempt by Haitian authorities to silence the free expression of political opinion as inconsistent with the Government's previous expression of the intention to move toward a more liberal system." However, Haiti ranked low compared to other emigrants in the acknowledgement by INS of their refugee status. Beginning with the first attempt of Haitians in September 1963 to request political asylum after being taken into custody by the INS, almost all following claims were denied.

Criticisms regarding the Haitian policy of the Carter Administration revolved around continuing communication and cooperation with dictatorial Haiti, as well as the U.S. Haitian refugee policy. Representative Edward I. Koch (D-NY) argued that Baby Doc engaged in only cosmetic development of Haiti hoping to entice tourism and foreign investment. Signifying that Haiti was an "intensely repressive society," Koch said Haiti continued to receive economic and military assistance from the United States. He also quoted from Nat Henthoff's article in the *Village Voice* as follows: "Baby Doc, by the way, like his grand old dad, is also president for life. And one of his most devoted supporters is Heyward Isham, the American Ambassador in

³⁷⁵ "Remarks and Question and Answer Session at a Townhall Meeting in St. Louis, Missouri," October 13, 1980 in *The Public Papers of Jimmy Carter: 1980-1981* Book 3. 2211.

³⁷⁶ "Broad Wave of Arrests in Haiti," *The New York Times* November 30, 1980.

Port-au-Prince. Does Jimmy Carter know? Does Jimmy Carter care? Ask him."³⁷⁷ The Congressional Black Caucus (CBC)³⁷⁸ members also contributed to the debate, criticizing the sanctioning of the authoritarian regime in Haiti as well as the U.S.' unprofessional refugee program. CBC member Senator Edward W. Brooke's (R-MA) analysis of the current affairs in Haiti continued somehow mixed comments; criticism regarding Haiti's domestic turmoil that refuted the official reports' rosy metaphors to describe the domestic situation in Haiti, together with a hint of applaud for U.S. involvement in there.

There are still recurring instances of government disregard for basic procedural safeguards for individuals guaranteed by the Haitian constitution. Too little attention has been given to the need to reduce opportunities for corruption. Press freedoms are still minimal . . . My own conclusion is that, in general, our assistance efforts are contributing to the betterment of the Haitian people and are supportive of liberalizing trends in Haiti . . . Nonetheless, the government in Haiti remains basically authoritarian. Opposition political activity is not permitted. 379

Senator Brooke's report also included the State Department's Human Rights Report for Fiscal Year 1978, which provided a more optimistic picture about the Haitian human rights issue. This official certification enabling cooperation and aid towards Haiti faced many objections.

Since 1971, there has been an improvement of the political atmosphere; this slow trend continues, with occasional setbacks. President Jean-Claude Duvalier has declared policies of domestic detente and national reconciliation; and political repression has ceased . . . The Department of State is of the opinion that the current U.S. security program for Haiti should be continued. Elimination of the modest U.S. security assistance program would have no impact on Government of Haiti's human

Nat Hentoff. "Baby Doc King of the Zombies Now," *Village Voice* quoted in *Congressional Record*, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, 1st Session, June 7, 1977. 17903-17904.

The CBC represents the African American members of the Congress. Founded in 1971, it initially focused upon domestic issues and Africa. However, its areas of interest gradually encompassed foreign affairs as well, including the Caribbean issues and the defense budget. For an introductory source regarding CBC involvement in U.S. foreign policy see Raymond W. Copson. *The Congressional Black Caucus and Foreign Policy* (New York: Novinka Books, 2003).

Edward W. Brooke. *Review of Factors Affecting U.S. Diplomatic and Assistance Relations with Haiti*, submitted to the Senate Committee on Appropriations, November 15, 1977 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977). 4, 67.

rights practices. To the contrary, it would lessen our ability to influence the Haitian government on a range of U.S. interests in Haiti, including promotion of human rights. 380

Representative Tom Harkin (D-IO) presented a critique of the Carter Administration's proposed security assistance program for fiscal year 1979, and of the State Department's Human Rights report. As Harkin contended, this initiative included assistance to "governments which continue to violate the human rights of their citizens."

U.S. military and financial contributions to repressive regimes historically have tended to strengthen military sectors and discourage democratic opposition forces . . . The State Department report on Haiti represents a blatantly self-serving attempt to obscure the continuation of human rights violations by the Duvalier regime. Among the few clear statements in the report are "organized political opposition is not permitted" and "Haiti is a one-party authoritarian state and the President has tenure for life." Much of the remainder of the report consists of generalized statements of improvement based either on flagrant misrepresentation or outright omission of facts that have been presented to the State Department by our office and by others. Perhaps the most telling omission is the report's total failure to note the fact that more than 2,700 Haitians have fled their country since 1972 seeking political asylum in the United States from the political repression and economic misery which are the hallmarks of the current government . . . In seeking to prove that justice is more available now than before, the State Department says that criminal trials held (for the first time in years) in 1976 and 1977 resulted in a number of acquittals. Ironically enough, these acquittals were of public officials accused of exactly the corruption which the report describes as "endemic." 381

The Carter Administration also had critics within itself. Richard Celeste of the Peace Corps³⁸² denounced the discriminatory refugee policies of the United States, supposedly the role model for asylum.

[R]egardless of diplomatic and domestic pressures, I believe we must be at least as generous to these refugees as we are to Southeast Asians, Cubans, Eastern Europeans, and Russians . . . We can, should, set an example of what should be done

³⁸¹ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, 2nd Session, April 5, 1978. 8893, 8896-8897.

³⁸⁰ Brooke. Review of Factors Affecting U.S. Diplomatic and Assistance Relations with Haiti, 71, 78.

³⁸² The Peace Corps is an independent United States federal agency (independent agencies of the U.S. Government exist outside of the departments of the executive branch; examples include CIA, FBI, NARA). It was established by executive order on March 1, 1961 and authorized by Congress on September 22, 1961 with passage of the Peace Corps Act (Public Law 87-293). The basic goals of the Peace Corps are to promote world peace and friendship.

by a country of first asylum. This, I believe, is the least we can do for those Haitians who flee to our shores. 383

The House Subcommittee on Immigration hearing on Haitian refugees in 1980 marked the apogee of critique as regards U.S. immigration policies. Upon asking the State Department's human rights officer in Haiti about whether political freedom existed in Haiti, it was the freedom of religion, the only "gleam of light" that the officer could tell.³⁸⁴ The Administration's argument that the Haitians were economic refugees were also discredited by the fact that, as the Cuban refugees of the Mariel Boatlift arriving Florida explained, they had come to the United States for scarcity of food in Cuba, or they had thought they could earn more in the U.S. Despite their testimonies, the Cubans were quickly processed and released, with asylum applicant grantees as well as cash benefits by the Carter Administration.³⁸⁵ Many articles denounced this disparity in behavior regarding the Cuban and Haitian cases. In an editorial article, Andrew Brimmer wrote in *The Washington Post* as follows.

> I have been deeply concerned by what appears to be a serious disparity in treatment between Cuban refugees -who have been welcomed to the United States with "open arms," and Haitian refugees -to whom the door may be slammed shut unless there is timely action by President Carter.³⁸

Another editorial in The New York Times countered against such unjust classifications as it not only had racial undertones, but also a shallow understanding of what constituted "political oppression."

> There are difficulties with this distinction. First, it is subject to grievous misunderstanding: most of the Cubans are white, most of the Haitians are black. Second, many of the Cubans seem to be driven not only by political motives but also

385 Stepick. "Haitian Boat People," 187.

³⁸³ Smith. The Last Years of the Monroe Doctrine. 223.

³⁸⁴ Stepick. "Haitian Boat People," 172.

³⁸⁶ Andrew Brimmer. "The Haitian Exception," *The Washington Post* May 8,1980. A19.

by a desire for economic opportunity. Many of the Haitians, meanwhile, are in fact subject to persecution. There is no doubt of their desire for jobs; Haiti is one of the genuinely poor countries of the world. But national poverty provides no protection against being beaten for opposing the regime. When they run governments, families can be as repressive as fascists.³⁸⁷

Several lawsuits were filed on behalf of the Haitians, among which perhaps the famous case was the *Haitian Refugee Center v. Civiletti*. Here Judge James Lawrence King acknowledged the link between economic and political factors in Haiti.

Haitian economics is a function of the political system. Much of Haiti's poverty is a result of Duvalier's efforts to maintain power. Indeed it could be said that Duvalier has made his country weak so that he could be strong. To broadly classify all of the class of plaintiffs as "economic refugees," as has been repeatedly done, is therefore somewhat callous. Their situation is a political condition. 388

On the refugee issue, the Congressional Black Caucus became a fierce advocate of the Haitian people. Shirley A. Chisholm, Democratic Representative of New York, and also the Chairperson of CBC Task Force on Haitian Refugees, called for adherence to the "Nation's fundamental tradition of equal protection for all persons under law by granting work authorization and genuine due process to Haitians seeking political asylum in [America]." In her speech, Chisholm refuted the official argument that the Haitian people were economic refugees by several examples including the official pronouncements.

To deny political asylum to refugees merely because they are from an economically poor country unfairly punishes them for conditions over which they have no control in their homeland. This position further suggests that poor people have no political rights . . . Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in his 1977 Law Day address at the University of Georgia stated that "the fulfillment of such vital needs as food shelter, health care, and education was a recognized human right. We recognize that the fulfillment of this right will depend, in part, upon the stage of a nation's economic development. But we also know that this right can be violated by a government's

^{387 &}quot;Giving Refuge – And Taking It," The New York Times April 16, 1980. A26.

³⁸⁸ Lenox. "Racism, Refugees and Reparations," 708, and Loescher and Scanlan. "Human Rights, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Haitian Refugees," 340.

action or inaction, for example, through corrupt official processes which divert resources to an elite at the expense of the needy or, through callous indifference to the plight of the poor."³⁸⁹

Another CBC member, Representative George T. Leland (D-TX) quoted the inscription on the The Statue of Liberty for disparaging the U.S. Government.

Give me your tired, your poor/Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free/The wretched refuse of your teeming shore/Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me . . . The Haitians whom we have turned away from our shores are receiving precisely the opposite message –the land of liberty does not want this particular huddled mass yearning to breathe free, these homeless, tempest-tossed refugees fleeing repression in search of liberty. 390

Hispanic members of the U.S. Congress were equally critical of the official policy of discrimination based on color or poverty. Henry B. Gonzales, another Democratic Representative from Texas added that Haiti's discrimination may stem from its being predominantly a colored nation, and a colored immigration vis-à-vis Cuba's demograpic aspect and immigration experience. For his part, Representative Anthony Lee Coelho (D-CA) questioned the true motives for immigration from the Soviet camp.

Certainly all of the people who fled from Cuba did not do so because of opression of the government. Many fled because they wanted a more prosperous life in the United States. Did the Soviet danseur flee because of a desire for political expression or artistic expression and/or economic reward? Are all the Vietnamese fleeing because of political oppression or primarily for economic reasons because their urban lifestyle had been transformed to a rural one. 392

Shirley Chisholm continuously articulated the international obligations of the United States in terms of human rights, contending that the Carter Administration had been

³⁹⁰ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 96th Congress, 1st Session, December 20, 1979. 37262

³⁹¹ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 96th Congress, 1st Session, December 20, 1979. 37262.

³⁹² Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 96th Congress, 1st Session, December 20, 1979. 37263.

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³⁸⁹ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 96th Congress 1st Session, October 24, 1979. 29703

violating not only international law, but also basic American principles. She talked of lawsuits and complaints against the Administration's discriminationatory refugee policies.

The procedures employed by the United States in handling the claims of these Haitian refugees violate regional and international commitments which the United States has undertaken. The United States of America is subject to the Inter-American Commission on Human Right by virtue of the fact that the United States is a member of the Organization of American States. As a member of the OAS, the United States is obliged to guarantee those rights which are enumerated in the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man (adopted at the Ninth International Conference of American States in 1948. The United States is also a signatory to the American Convention on Human Rights, which entered into force on July 18, 1978 . . . Pursuant to Article XXVII of the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, the United States is bound not only to act in accordance with its domestic laws in granting asylum to those seeking it, but must also act in accordance with international agreements. 393

CBC member, Representative Walter E. Fauntroy, (D-D.C.) touched upon two points in his criticism; one being the segregation within the State Department, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service personnel: "[As of 1974], blacks comprised only 2.5 percent of the foreign service corps . . . More important than skin color has been the insensitivity and cavalier attitudes that are all too often found among Government officials who deal with countries such as Haiti." Another accusation was related with the Administration's discriminating in favor of the Indochinese refugees, whose admission quota and refugee assistance were doubled. However, the black Haitian refugees had not ever met with such attention. This case was also subject to a number of critical articles. One of them was Bruce Keldan's article in *Philadelphia Inquirer*: "They are the other boat people, the people whose plight is every bit as pitiful as that of Indochina's boat people . . . But, unlike the boat people of Indochina, they have attracted little public notice; no humanitarian outcry has

³⁹³ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 96th Congress, 1st Session, December 20, 1979. 37263

³⁹⁴ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 96th Congress, 1st Session, December 20, 1979. 37267.

gone up on their behalf."³⁹⁵ Comparison of Vietnamese and Haitian refugees was another issue. One *Saturday Review* article claimed that these two refugee people endured the same plight, yet had evoked different responses from the U.S. Government: "Like the Vietnamese 'boat people,' the poorer illegal Haitians cram themselves onto the open decks of broken-down fishing boats for the 800-mile voyage to Florida."³⁹⁶ In a similar vein, Representative Cardiss Collins of CBC (D-IL) regarded right-wing persecution on par with communist persecution.

Why does this nation distinguish between the oppression of the Eastern European nations and the oppression of the right-wing regimes? Why can we suddenly find a means to admit thousands of Vietnamese refugees, but keep passing the buck between legislative and executive branches on the Haitian refugees.³⁹⁷

Representative James Oberstar (D-MN) contended that the United States had "a far greater obligation to the Haitian refugees" than it did to the Cubans due to time-honored American presence there.

It is a moral obligation to a country and a people who have virtually been our satellite for 65 years, since the outset of the U.S. occupation of Haiti in 1915. Haiti's currency, the gourde, is tied to the dollar; the U.S. is the principal market for their exports, sugar and coffee . . . Yet, our foreign aid program there has largely been a failure, principally because of the insufficiency of our commitment to solid, sustained economic growth in that neediest of all the countries of the hemisphere. ³⁹⁸

Oberstar also criticized the official refugee policy by a Haitian phrase: "An old Haitian Creole proverb says: 'It makes no sense to wash your hands and then dry

³⁹⁶ Kevin Krajik. "Refugees Adrift –Barred from America's Shores," *Saturday Review* October 1979 quoted in *Congressional Record*, House of Representatives, 96th Congress, 1st Session, December 13, 1979. 35821.

³⁹⁷ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 96th Congress, 1st Session, December 20, 1979.

³⁹⁸ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 96th Congress, 2nd Session, May 8, 1980. 10487.

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³⁹⁵ Bruce Keldan. "Seeking Refugee in the United States, They Wash off Haiti's Shores," *Philadelphia Inquirer* October 7, 1979 quoted in *Congressional Record* 96th Congress 1st Session. House of Representatives. December 13, 1979. 35823.

them in the dirt.' Paraphrased, it applies to the refugee case: "It makes no sense to crusade for human rights and ignore the need on your very doorstep." Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA) blamed the Administration for the "chaos and confusion in the Cuban and Haitian refugee crises." Naming both cases as "worsening human tragedies," Kennedy called for "urgent diplomatic action to end the chaos," threatening the lives of thousand of refugees, as well as the integrity of U.S. immigration laws. Last, but not least, Shirley Chisholm touched upon the measures taken by the House Appropriations Committee, which involved a reduction of \$2 million economic assistance to Haiti while eliminating all military aid on account of "the Government's tragic disregard for the well-being of its people" and the "brutality and corruption in Haiti." The Committee report argued that "maintenance of direct U.S. Government assistance programs with a developing country carries with it an implicit approval of the recipient country's approach toward development."

3.5. Refugee Crisis - II

The last president of the Cold War period, Ronald Reagan (1981-1989/Republican), was busy with U.S.-Soviet rapprochement. Against this background, President Reagan followed in the steps of his predecessors by according Haiti minor status. The United States almost chose to dismiss the refugee problem altogether by adopting the policy of intercepting ships from Haiti, rather than offering a helping hand. Couched in veiled words, Reagan's Executive Order alluded

³⁹⁹ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 96th Congress, 2nd Session, May 8, 1980. 10488.

⁴⁰⁰ Graham Hovey. "Kennedy Plans a New Hearing Monday on Cuba and Haiti Refugee Crises," *The New York Times* May 9, 1980, and Robert Pear. "Congressmen and Clergy Prod Carter on Refugees," *The New York Times* May 13, 1980.

⁴⁰¹ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 96th Congress, 2nd Session, December 3, 1980. 32124-32125. Also see Charles R. Babcock. "Rep. Chisholm Asks Equity for Haiti's Black Refugees," *The Washington Post* June 18, 1980.

to Haiti in his proclamation that the Coast Guard should turn around "ships on the high seas that are suspected of carrying illegal immigrants." The reason was stated as "the entry of undocumented aliens arriving at the borders of the United States from the high seas is detrimental to the interests of the United States." As the White House officials further elaborated, no refugees fleeing political persecution in their homeland would be refused, and that the Coast Guard was ordered to communicate with the Haitians on the reasons of their escape to the U.S. 402 The Administration also made some legislation proposals aimed at a more active and healthy appeal process since, with reference to the Haitians, the system was being "abused by applicants with frivolous claims." On the other hand, the United States ironically called for southeast Asian nations not to turn Vietnamese and Cambodian exiles back to their repressive communist countries. In order not to sound hypocritical, the Reagan Administration claimed that the Haitian and these two cases were not comparable since Haitians could "return to their homeland without fear of reprisal."

The official policy was to couch Haiti in such terms that justified their escape as stemming from economic reasons. The U.S. Government's position was reflected in the INS General Counsel Maurice Inman's words saying that "one hundred percent" of Haitian refugees fled for economic reasons: "They want material wealth, whatever that may be to them –a house, a car, a pig." In his message to the Congress, Reagan coined the Caribbean Basin countries' crisis as being economic in nature, and maintained that

⁴⁰² "Reagan Orders Aliens Stopped on the high sea," *The New York Times* September 30, 1981, and Lenox. "Refugees, Racism, and Reparations," 703.

⁴⁰³ Stepick. "Haitian Boat People," 192-193.

Stepick. "Haitian Boat People," 190.

⁴⁰⁵ Lenox. "Refugees, Racism, and Reparations," 704.

The crisis facing most of the Basin countries is real and acute. Deteriorating trade opportunities, worldwide recession, mounting debt burdens, growing unemployment and deepseated structural problems are having a catastrophic impact throughout the region. This economic disaster is consuming our neighbors' money reserves and credit, forcing thousands of people to emigrate, and shaking even the most established democracies. This is not a crisis we can afford to ignore. The people of the Caribbean Basin are our neighbors. Their well-being and security are in our vital interest. Events occuring in the Caribbean Basin can affect our lives in profound and dramatic ways. The migrants in our midst are a vivid reminder of the closeness of this problem to all of us. 406

By the end of its tenure, the Reagan Administration had surpassed his predecessors in discriminating against Haitian emigrants. Between 1981 and 1990, 22,940 Haitians were intercepted at sea with only 11 qualifying to apply for asylum. The statistics between 1987 and 1991 show that nearly 90% percent of those granted refugee status were those from communist regions in Asia and Europe. Between 1983 and 1989, only 39 out of 2000 of asylum applications by Haitians were successful vis-à-vis the approval rate from USSR being 72.6, Romania 70.3 and Iran 61.5 percent.

President Reagan repeatedly associated the acute problems in Haiti with economic backwardness, hence gave advice accordingly: "Illegal immigration is spurred by stagnant economic activity and a credit-starved private sector in a country already desperately poor." He talked of the Caribbean as a possible prey to communism, hence condescendingly offered economic guidance and aid by the United States to stave off such prospect: "A faraway totalitarian power has set its sights on our friends and neighbors in Central America and the Caribbean. If we don't meet our responsibilities there, we'll pay dearly for it." Conveying that the Caribbean Basin Initiative aimed at "bring[ing] the power of private enterprise -

⁴⁰⁶ "Message to the Congress Transmitting Proposed Caribbean Basin Initiative Legislation," March 17, 1982 in *The Public Papers of Ronald Reagan: 1982* Book 1 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983), 314.

⁴⁰⁷ Lenox. "Refugees, Racism, and Reparations," 704.

⁴⁰⁸ Lenox. "Refugees, Racism, and Reparations," 711.

^{409 &}quot;Message to the Congress Transmitting Proposed Caribbean Basin Initiative Legislation," 315.

America's most potent weapon- to help build Central America and the Caribbean," he recounted the AID program's contributions in Haiti and the Dominican Republic in eradicating the swine fever disease. Haiti as qualified for trade-liberalizing measures provided for in the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act (CBERA). A project to revitalize and rebuild weak economies, selection of Haiti as one of CBERA beneficiaries stemmed from the fact that the country had demonstrated that their laws, practices and policies conformed with the CBERA criteria. In 1984 Ronald Reagan certified to the Congress that despite "serious human rights abuses," Haiti would receive more aid from the United States. The justification criteria were enumerated as Haiti's being cooperative in halting illegal emigrants and implementing American aid programs. The State Department explained that Haiti was "the poorest country in the Western hemisphere," hence needing aid though it still had to proceed in terms press freedom, political association and multi-party elections. The President reiterated next year that Haiti was one of the least-developed beneficiary countries.

Duvalier's imposition of martial law in resistance to the riots in January 1986 against his regime led the State Department to announce delay of new aid commitments to Haiti. Denying "a conscious decision to push Duvalier out," it was maintained by the Department that shipments of food and other humanitarian aid

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 ^{410 &}quot;Remarks at the Annual Convention of the United States Hispanic Chamber of Commerce in Tampa, Florida," August 12, 1983 in *The Public Papers of Ronald Reagan: 1983* Book 2 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984-1985). 1154.
 411 "Letter to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate on the Designation of Certain

⁴¹¹ "Letter to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate on the Designation of Certain Countries as Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery," December 29, 1983. *Public Papers of Ronald Reagan:* 1983 Book 2. 1752.

⁴¹² Bernard Gwertzman. "Haiti Certified for More U.S. Aid Despite Rights Issue," *The New York Times* February 5, 1984.

⁴¹³ "Letter to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate on the Designation of the Least-Developed Beneficiary Developing Countries," April 29, 1985 in *The Public Papers of Ronald Reagan:1985* Book 1 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1988), 526. The other 31 countries were Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Djibuti, Equatorial Guinea, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Lesotho, Malawi, Maldives, Mali, Nepal, Niger, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Western Samoa, Yemen Arab Republic (Sanaa).

would continue. The Administration said they saw no communist involvement as regards the protests against the Haitian regime. President Reagan himself referred to the country as not "very much of a model of democracy." On the question of whether the United States would resume economic aid to Haiti that was stopped on account of breach of human rights Reagan said they were in a process of reviewing the situation, yet, he spoke in hopeful terms regarding Haiti's future.

Well, this group now -this council that has stepped in has made it that they- what they want to do is make possible now to have a government. In other words, they don't view themselves as the government. They're an interim force, and they want to now establish democracy and a government that represents the will of the people. And, we're perfectly willing and ready to help in any way we can bring that about.

In a news conference, Reagan reiterated his frank efforts to reestablish democracy in Haiti, and denied the U.S. role of participation in Duvalier's departure other than providing an airplane to fly him to France. Upon the end of the Duvalier regime in early 1986, the United States endowed Haiti with over \$26 million in economic aid. In Secretary of State George P. Shultz's (July 1982-January 1989) words, the decision was made in view of improvements in Haiti, primarily in human rights as well as the Haitian government's prompt and cooperative response for repatriation of illegal migrants. Shultz also underlined the new Education Minister's commitment to educational reforms and the new Health Minister's willingness for implementation of disease control programs. Shultz noted that all political prisoners were also released

⁴¹⁴ Joseph B. Treaster. "U.S. Acts to Reduce Aid to Haiti, Charging Human Rights Abuses," *The New York Times* January 31, 1986; Joanne Omarg. "U.S. Hits Haiti on Rights," *The Washington Post* January 30, 1986, A6, and Robert A. Pastor. "Preempting Revolutions: The Boundaries of U.S. Influence," *International Security* 15:4 (Spring 1991), 66.

⁴¹⁵ "Informal Exchange With Reporters at Thomas Jefferson High School of Science and Technology in Fairfax County, Virginia," February 7, 1986 in *The Public Papers of Ronald Reagan: 1986* Book 1 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1988-1989). 175.

⁴¹⁶ "Interview with Lou Cannon and David Hoffman of the Washington Post," February 10, 1986 in

⁴¹⁶ "Interview with Lou Cannon and David Hoffman of the Washington Post," February 10, 1986 in *The Public Papers of Ronald Reagan: 1986* Book 1. 194.

⁴¹⁷ "The President's News Conference," February 11, 1986 in *The Public Papers of Ronald Reagan:* 1986 Book 1. 204. President Duvalier, his family and closest aided evacuated Haiti on February 7.

from detention on Government orders. One month later, the President stated that Haiti had demonstrated "the desire of the people worldwide for democratic rule." In a message to the Congress in March 1986, Reagan repeated the United States' "responsibilities and security interests" beyond the U.S. borders which required "strong, confident, and consistent American leadership," and conveyed how the U.S. had met these responsibilities in Haiti "in difficult circumstances" during the past several weeks. As he said, the Haitian people had "the first chance in three decades to direct their own affairs." In a National Security Decision Directive issued by the White House, the Reagan Administration gave the news of extended U.S. aid in Haiti's pursuit of a stable socio-economic and political order.

The flight of Jean-Claude Duvalier from Haiti has created an opportunity to break the pattern of Haitian history -which has alternated between periods of political instability and periods of dictatorial rule- and to set Haiti on a path toward a true democracy . . . Our near-term goals in Haiti must be to support and to stabilize the National Council of Government, to stabilize the Haitian economy now suffering from critical financial and material shortfalls, to ensure that security forces are able to maintain order and avert threats to the government, and to achieve the transition to to a genuine and respected democracy. Our longer-term goals must be to achieve installation of a democratically elected government and the implementation of legal and policy reforms in Haiti and the stimulation of foreign private investment to promote economic development on the basis of free enterprise principles. Achieving these goals would reduce pressures for illegal immigration from Haiti.

Accordingly, the United States quickly increased and diversified the amount and type of aid extended to the Haitians. Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs specified Haiti's most pressing needs as food and jobs, yet also touched upon military support.

⁴¹⁸ "U.S. Unblocks \$26 million Haitian aid," *The New York Times* February 27, 1986.

⁴¹⁹ "Remarks at a White House Meeting for Supporters of United States Assistance for the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance," March 3, 1986 in *The Public Papers of Ronald Reagan: 1986* Book 1. 284.

⁴²⁰ "Message to the Congress on Freedom, Regional Security, and Global Peace," March 14, 1986 in *The Public Papers of Ronald Reagan: 1986* Book 1. 341, 344.

⁴²¹ Unclassified National Security Decision Directive # 220. April 2, 1986. Retrieved from http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsdd?

But if you want to maintain order in the country, then the military is going to have to modernize and professionalize, which it wishes to. Obviously a new democratic Haiti will need a professional force to maintain order . . . I think the Army wants training. This is something we can offer and that I think will be very useful for the armed forces here. 422

In June, an emergency grant of \$20 million was given to Haiti for the purpose of financing fuel to run Haiti's electric power stations and other urgent foreign imports. On this occasion, the Reagan Administration also repeated its consideration of a security aid to Haiti. As the State Department argued, no force had effectively replaced the infamous secret police of the Duvalier regime, and that Haiti had "so few police that it would be equivalent to having six police for the entire District of Columbia." As Secretary Shultz argued, the United States had a commitment to help the new Haitian Government as it did for the Philippines upon the departure of Ferdinand E. Marcos. Alexandre Marcos, a late 1987 statement showed that the path to Haiti's transformation had its thorns. However, President Reagan was hopeful about the prospect of Haiti's elections to take place in February 1988.

Following the ouster of Jean-Claude Duvalier, the provisional government of Haiti, the Provisional Electoral Council and -most importantly- the Haitian people have moved towards the goal of true democracy. The path has not been easy or smooth. We, along with other friends of Haiti, have been concerned by the all too frequent violence which has marked the process, especially that which was directed at electoral authorities and candidates. Despite these disturbing events, we are heartened by the evident determination of the Haitian public not to be denied their voice in choosing those who will lead their country in a new, freer era. 424

However, the Reagan Administration cut off military and other nonhumanitarian aid to Haiti upon violence that led to cancellation of presidential elections. In order to

422 Marlise Simons. "U.S. to Give Haiti More Military Aid," *The New York Times* April 4, 1986.

⁴²³ Bernard Gwertzman. "U.S. to Send Haiti a \$20 Million Emergency Grant," *The New York Times* June 14, 1986.

"Statement on the Haitian Elections," November 25, 1987 in *The Public Papers of Ronald Reagan:* 1987 Book 2 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 1383.

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bring the military-dominated government of Lieutenant General Henri Namphy⁴²⁵ into line with the American view of liberal-democratic Haiti, such aid categorizations would not be resumed until the electoral process was resumed. Elliott Abrams defended the U.S. position by maintaining that "the cancellation of elections was always regarded as a possibility," and that "what happened yesterday would not have been avoided by a different U.S. policy." Shultz also made it clear that U.S. intervention in support of presidential elections was "not being contemplated" as it would bring with it "the risk of adding fuel to the problems in Haiti." He strongly argued that the blame rested with the Haitian Government, whose dissolution of the civilian commission responsible for carrying out the elections and for annuling all electoral election culminated in chaos in the country. 426 However, as the election day drew nearer, the Reagan Administration viewed it "flawed." The State Department said the military-dominated national governing council should "prevent violence against all Haitian citizens on voting day, something it did not do on November 29," referring to the violence by soldiers and right-wing Duvalier supporters which had led to cancellation of elections. 427 Haiti again faced a threat to its democratically elected type of governance when Leslie F. Manigat, 428 the civilian President of Haiti was ousted by General Namphy on June 20. The United States evaluated the coup as a "serious blow to hopes for democracy." When Lieutenant General Namphy was himself overthrown by officers from the palace guard on September 17, the American officials said this may have been a response to the "feckless leadership" of

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⁴²⁵ Henri Namphy ruled Haiti for the first time between February 7, 1986 and February 7, 1988 as Chair of the National Council.

⁴²⁶ Elaine Sciolino. "U.S. Seeks Wedge in Haiti, Tying New Aid to Elections," *The New York Times* December 1, 1987.

⁴²⁷ John H. Cuskman Jr. "U.S. Condemning Haiti on Its Plan For Election, Terming It Flawed," *The New York Times* January 15, 1988.

⁴²⁸ Leslie Manigat ruled Haiti between February 7, 1988-June 20, 1988.

the Namphy Government. Upon Lieutenant General Prosper Avril's⁴²⁹ assuming power as the new President of Haiti, Elliott Abrams commented as follows: "You have one military group replacing one another. There is no reason to believe that such a move is either harmful or beneficial to Haiti." Within two months, the Reagan Administration agreed to release some \$25 million to Haiti since they were "encouraged by what the Avril Government [was] doing." Underlining that President Avril had pledged to lead Haiti to democracy, the United States believed he needed encouragement and assistance if "his government, the fourth Haiti has had this year," was to survive to accomplish this goal. In the official view, "with the army at his command" President Avril had more potential to bring about change. The U.S. Administration recounted the steps Avril had taken to reduce the use of Haiti as a drug base for smuggling into the United States. Plus, the President was portrayed as "unlike his predecessors as chief of state," Avril had consulted military and civilian circles on the issue of how to realize elections. "431"

Reagan Administration's policies towards Haiti faced frequent disapprovals on various fronts. As early as February 1981, the Administration was blamed for not taking the reins on the issue of refugee accommodation. As Senator Walter D. Huddleston (D-KY) contended: "Mr. Castro has more control over who will come to this country and how many and when, than does the Congress of the U.S. or does the President of the U.S. unless we have a change in policy." Representative Richard L. Ottinger (D-NY) also touched upon the Administration's flawed policy of

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⁴²⁹ Prosper Avril ruled Haiti between September 17, 1988-March 10, 1990.

⁴³⁰ Robert Pear. "U.S. Officials Say New Haiti Rulers Are About Like the Old Ones," *The New York Times* September 19, 1988.

⁴³¹ Joseph B. Treaster. "U.S., Mellowing Toward Haiti, Releases Some Aid," *The New York Times* November 20, 1988.

⁴³² Congressional Record, Senate, 97th Congress, 1st Session, February 6, 1981. 1996.

intercepting and turning around ships in agreement with the Haitian government as strengthening the hands of the communists.

Those Haitians who have succeeded in arriving in the United States to the promise of freedom and liberty are being sent to detention centers throughout the country, including some in cold northern climates . . . Clearly, the Administration's program casts doubts on our Nation's historical humanitarian commitment to those fleeing the tyranny and oppression . . . This threatens our long-term interests in the Caribbean by handing the cause of freedom to the Communists. 433

Detention centers became focus of attention by many attorneys and civil rights activists. In the words of Ira Kurzban, an attorney for the Haitian Refugee Center Inc. of Miami and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the faraway detention centers proved to be similar to those in Siberia. He accused the Reagan Government of treating the refugees "in a completely alien environment, separate from lawyers, with the idea of getting them voluntarily to return to Haiti, circumventing the legal process." As for Dorothy Samuels, executive director of the New York Civil Liberties Union, the U.S. Army previously described Fort Drum in upstate New York as "having climactic conditions unsurpassed in the continental United States for cold weather training." Shirley Chisholm spoke for the CBC regarding the U.S. State Department's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1979 and 1980. These analyses portrayed Haiti as having "no institutional changes favoring political liberalization," and suffering from "authoritarian rule characterized by many periods of political instability and serious rights abuses." In light of these admissions by the U.S. Administration, Chisholm chided the official refugee policy on humanitarian grounds.

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⁴³³ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 97th Congress, 1st Session, October 5, 1981. 23221.

⁴³⁴ Jo Thomas. "Racism is Charged in Fort Drum Plan," *The New York Times* November 12, 1981.

On the 34th aniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it is indeed ironic that the United States is currently engaged in violations of Article 13, which guarantees the right of a person to emigrate from their homeland. The interdiction of Haitian vessels on the high seas by our U.S. Coast Guard is in direct violation of Article 13. Interdiction certainly violates the principle of nonrefoulement in the UN protocol relating to refugees. 435

Representative Fauntroy also reiterated his attacks toward the Reagan Administration's Haitian refugee policy as being racist, seen from its "alarming tilt to the racist government of South Africa, [and] its support for tax exemptions for racist institutions in the United States." Fauntroy also criticized the Reagan Administration's announcement in July 1981 of the new policy of "indefinite imprisonment of Haitians until they receive exclusion hearings," and quoted from *Newsweek*, in which a recent article resembled the detention centers to "concentration camps," impeding "fair hearings of asylum claims." Mayor Maurice Ferre of Miami also spoke in favor of Haitians by contrasting their experience with those of luckier Cubans and Mexicans.

We absorbed 125,000 Cubans in two months and many of these were criminals . . . Our criminal record for the Haitians is zip. They are a peaceful people . . . There are 1,000 illegal Mexicans that enter the United States each hour. The Mexicans are just as poor as the Haitians, but we don't put them into jail. We are talking about human beings and putting them in a camp for eight months without explanation. 437

Representative Peter W. Rodino (D-NJ) likewise called for "reasonable and human detention policies which will apply equally to all persons, regardless of their race or national origin."

⁴³⁵ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 97th Congress, 1st Session, December 10, 1981. 30733-30734.

436 Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 97th Congress, 1st Session, April 21, 1982. 7399-7400.

⁴³⁷ Gregory Jaynes. "U.S. is Remaining Adamant as Detained Haitians Press Appeals for Asylum," *The New York Times* April 24, 1982.

⁴³⁸ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 97th Congress, 2nd Session, June 22, 1982. 14578.

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Senators Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA) and Daniel P. Moynihan (D-NY) condemned the continuation of U.S. Government's partial refugee policy despite disapproval by judiciary action. Senator Kennedy reminded the Congress that the Federal Court had twice found the illegal imprisonment of the Haitian boat people as violating the U.S. Constitution for being selective and discriminatory. Senator Moynihan quoted from the Freedom House report, which testified the existence of political repression in Haiti.

Haiti is a dictatorship . . . Attempts at independence in journalism were severely repressed in 1980 . . . A government-sponsored militia has suppressed opposition; political murders, imprisonment without trial, exile and torture have characterized the system intermittently. An acceptable rule of law has been in abeyance during a prolonged "state of siege"; property has been seized indiscriminantly by security forces. 440

Wade Henderson, legislative counsel to the American Civil Liberties Union in Washington put forth a similar view: "What you really have is a situation in which the U.S. supports the regimes in [some] countries and would find it terribly inconsistent to say that on the one hand their human conditions were improving while at the same time granting asylum to persons who have fled." Timothy Barker, directing attorney for the National Center for Immigrants' Rights in Los Angeles counted Haiti among such countries along with El Salvador and South Africa. As he cited from Government statistics, from October 1981 to December 1982, 68 percent of the Afghani and Iranian refugees were granted asylum vis-à-vis 8 percent for Haitians and 5 percent for Salvadorans. State Department's human rights report of Haiti dating May 14, 1984 brought heightened criticism as well. CBC members and Representatives Ronald V. Dellums (D-CA) and Major R. Owens (D-NY) belied

⁴³⁹ Congressional Record, Senate, 98th Congress, 1st Session, May 16, 1983. 12389.

⁴⁴⁰ Congressional Record, Senate, 98th Congress, 1st Session, May 16, 1983. 12391.

⁴⁴¹ Nathaniel Sheppard Jr. "Rights Groups See Bias in Policies on Refugees," *The New York Times* August 5, 1983.

such statements as "the Duvalier regime was making progress toward greater reforms for Haitians." As Representative Owens argued, as early as May 10, "the Haitian government decreed an immediate halt to all political activity." His analysis of the Haitian regime went as follows.

Like the child's game of giant steps, Haiti takes one step forward and one giant step backward. The small steps forward are the proclamations which recognize the basic rights and the giant steps backward are the summary arrests of those who dare to believe and act as if they could exercise those rights. In the past, those who were politically active were most likely to be subjected to arrest, incommunicado detention, and physical abuse. In the last year, those who have been active in community development and work with the poor have always been subjected to arrest and abuse. ⁴⁴³

Representative Michael D. Barnes (D-MD) and Senator David F. Durenberger (R-MN) attracted attention to the purge of three bishops from the Haitian Catholic Church in late July 1985. Radio stations associated with Catholicism and other denominations were also threatened or closed. Radio Soleil and Radio Ave Maria, as well as the Protestant Radio Lumiere ceased broadcasting. One of the members of CBC, Representative Edolphus Towns (D-NY) touched upon the amount of some \$450 million "spirited out of the country by the Duvalier family and government ministers," while the Haitian children fed upon "stones to fill their aching stomachs." He furthermore mocked the U.S. Administration for its faulty misinformation as follows.

[The Reagan Administration] already has egg on its face from Friday's faux pas, when White House spokesperson Larry Speakes announced aboard Air Force One that Duvalier had been overthrown and fled the country. The error was compounded when officials circulated the names of Duvalier's replacements . . . Yet, baby Doc

⁴⁴³ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 99th Congress, 1st Session, April 17, 1985. 8312.

⁴⁴⁴ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 99th Congress, 1st Session, August 1, 1985.
22799-22800 and Congressional Record, Senate, 99th Congress, 1st Session, December 13, 1985.
36459.

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⁴⁴² Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, August 10, 1984. 24137.

appeared on the television at the National Palace in Port-au-Prince, saying that he was still in power and "fo pase ke makak" ("as firm as a monkey's tail"). 445

By February 1986, the Duvalier regime had ended for good, and everywhere in the United States were calls to help Haiti recover from the chaos. The situation in Haiti had shown signs of renewed turbulence on account of the caretaker junta appointed by Duvalier just before his departure. Representative Owens pressed for U.S. initiative in the free elections to take place in Haiti at once: "The argument that they are an illiterate people, that they have never had democracy, is not a legitimate argument. We have solved all these problems before in places as large as India and Africa." Ironically, the U.S. Government paid no heed to these pleas and supported instead the re-militarization of the Haitian government. Representative Byron L. Dorgan (D-ND) summarized the position of the Reagan Administration as adding fuel to a restless spark.

It looks like the White House wants to pump in military aid to Haiti's new military council, just as we did so many years for the Marcos bunch in the Philippines . . . Haiti has not ranked high among our military aid recipients. But, last month, the Administration approved some \$383,000 worth of riot control gear. Now it seems poised to provide unconditional security training for a new police force to fill in the vacuum left by the demise of ex-dictator Duvalier's hated militia, the Tonton Macoute. 447

Dante Fascell, Democratic Representative from Florida argued that Haiti was indispensable for American security interests for a number of reasons, and had to be treated accordingly.

Haiti occupies a position of great strategic importance to the United States and its other friends in the Caribbean region. Together with Cuba, Haiti forms the narrow Windward Passage, a vital choke point for legitimate maritime commerce, illicit

⁴⁴⁶ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 99th Congress, 2nd Session, February 18, 1986.

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⁴⁴⁵ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 99th Congress, 2nd Session, February 6, 1986. 2032

⁴⁴⁷ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 99th Congress, 2nd Session, April 15, 1986. 7589.

drug trafficking and migration in the region. Thus, the development of stability, peace, prosperity, and democracy in Haiti is of importance to both the people of Haiti and the United States itself. 448

For his part, Representative Tony P. Hall (D-OH) likened the poverty and despair in Haiti to that in Ethiopia and Sudan, calling for deeper involvement by the U.S. Administration with Haitians' plight. Rather than military aid, Hall advised humanitarian aid to help directly the Haitian people: "Why cannot our enhanced aid to Haiti be a massive immunization-against-disease campaign for the children? Why could we not sponsor a crash effort to the several million people in the country who now lack that?" Representative Gerry E. Studds (D-MA) focused on the same issue about the boomerang effect of the military aid to the transitional National Governing Council of Haiti: "When Secretary Schultz stopped off in Haiti for a few hours in August, taking the opportunity to call for \$6 million in new military aid for the [National Governing Council], Haitians gathered en masse for their first anti-American protests in over 20 years." One critical article in *The New York Times* followed suit.

An Administration that not long ago was inordinately pleased with itself for having saved the 100,000 inhabitants of Grenada from unspecified terrors, today ignores the anarchy threatening five million Haitians. Our policy is to keep sending a flood of military aid and a trickle of economic to an interim government that few Haitians like or trust. President Reagan, so pious and voluble on Afghanistan's woes, is silent on Haiti. If only there were a threat of a communist takeover to remind us our vaunted devotion to democracy and human rights! But the Soviet Union has troubles of its own; one doubts that it would accept Haiti as a gift. Yet, there Haiti stands, a few hundred miles off the Florida coast, a mute but eloquent reproach to our vain glory. 451

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⁴⁴⁸ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 99th Congress, 2nd Session, May 8, 1986. 10168.

⁴⁴⁹ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 99th Congress, 2nd Session, May 8, 1986. 10169.

⁴⁵⁰ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 100th Congress, 1st Session, December 3, 1987. 34052.

⁴⁵¹ Arthur Schlesinger. "Yes, Washington, There is Haiti," *The New York Times* September 9, 1987.

It was only when the National Governing Council cancelled the elections in a wave of terror that the United States cut all military and nonhumanitarian aid to Haiti. Amidst political instability, there was another problem for Haiti looming on the horizon, namely that of drug trafficking. Upon the inauguration of Haiti's new president Leslie Manigat, Representative Owens blamed the Reagan Government with cynicism on account of rigged presidential elections.

Can Leslie Manigat say with all honesty that it was a fair election when he knows as well as the rest of us that every citizen who voted had to show his ballot to a member of the army . . . People were allowed to vote more than once. Children well under the legal voting age were allowed to vote as polling officials looked the other way. 453

As for the drug threat, Owens portrayed Haiti as "under the domination of the second largest power or second strongest power in the Western Hemisphere, the South American drug mob." Underlining that this threat would penetrate the borders of the United States and influence families and children, Owens pointed at Colonel Jean-Claude Paul as the "real power behind the Haitian regime," and the main person responsible for the drug issue. Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY) concurred with the findings, asserting that Haiti was on par with Panama in being a drug menace, and that these countries had close communications.

President Leslie Manigat's overthrow by a coup under Henri Namphy⁴⁵⁶ bred equal criticism. CBC member, Representative Charles B. Rangel (D-NY) argued that the United States should partake in the blame as it was the U.S. that condoned the rigged elections that not also brought Manigat to power but also showed Namphy

⁴⁵³ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 100th Congress, 2nd Session, February 9, 1988. 1238-1239.

⁴⁵⁶ Henri Namphy ruled Haiti for the second time between June 20, 1988-September 17, 1988.

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⁴⁵² Leslie Manigat ruled Haiti between February 7, 1988-June 20, 1988.

⁴⁵⁴ *Congressional Record*, House of Representatives, 100th Congress, 2nd Session, February 17, 1988. 1607. Col. Jean-Claude Paul was the commander of the Haitian army's largest battalion.

⁴⁵⁵ "Haiti is Called Growing Hub for Drug Smuggling," *The New York Times* May 22, 1988.

that the U.S. would do nothing if he resorted to the same unfair tactics. Rangel quoted from Paul Kantz's article to maintain his position on the issue.

The White House's immediate reaction to the coup was a perfunctory expression of surprise and disapproval. This was followed quickly and inevitably by assurances that diplomatic relations with Port-au-Prince would neither be broken, nor economic sanctions be used to isolate the illegitimate regime. Instead, the Administration says it will push for democracy in Haiti through "quiet diplomacy." This policy has failed miserably in the past because achieving democracy is not the principal goal for Foggy Bottom. Seen from Washington, the primary mission of any Haitian government is to prevent anything resembling a political left from emerging as a political force, whatever the cost, which is a cause in which General Namphy has been a durable soldier.⁴⁵⁷

In the wake of the Cold War period, Haiti fared no better. General Prosper Avril's rule, as well as the Reagan Administration which released economic aid funds to his government were fiercely condemned. When the United States and Europe finally took a deep breath with the Cold War's end, Haiti was still struggling to find a way out. The country would be beset by additional post-Cold War problems like terrorism or drug trafficking that Haiti had already been afflicted with.

3.6 Analysis

During the Cold War period, United States' domestic and foreign policies were shaped along one main determinant factor –communism. This external problem also left its mark on the United States-Haitian relations. U.S. economic, military, or refugee assistance to Haiti were determined in line with this criterion. Haiti's fighting along with the Western camp in World War II, and its stance on the Western side directed the United States' attention to other problematic regions like Korea, the Middle East, Central America and Vietnam. Overall, the United States refrained from meddling with Haitian affairs -despite human rights abuses and recurrent

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⁴⁵⁷ Paul Kantz. "United States Share Blame for Haiti's Coup," quoted in *Congressional Record*, House of Representatives, 100th Congress, 2nd Session, September 14, 1988. 23867.

domestic strife- on condition that the country stayed anti-communist. With the exception of the Kennedy Administration (1961-1963/Democratic), no U.S. Government saw any major trace of communism in Haiti. Hence, as dictatorial leaders occupied the Haitian government one after the other, the position of the United States was to recognize them if they had control of the country and abided by international obligations. Namely, dictatorships in Haiti were often condoned, provided that they did not disrupt the international order by behaving against the U.S. interests or shifting ideological camps. During the Eisenhower Administration (1953-1961/Republican), the government of General Paul Magloire was celebrated in 1954 for being "reasonably" democratic, for its opposition to communism and its friendly behavior towards the United States. The François Duvalier regime that began after fraudulent elections in 1957 was similarly acknowledged and continuously backed by the United States since, despite the shortcomings of his despotic rule, "he had given more stability to the impoverished nation than any of his numerous predecessors." President Eisenhower's concern was not one of communist Cuba's infiltration into or invasion of Haiti; it was related rather with the possibility of communist Cuban Premier Castro's using Haiti as a base to attack their common enemy, the Dominican Republic. This was the justification offered by the official front to boost Duvalier's corrupt regime with military aid: "a competent and welltrained army is becoming of great importance because of the troubled situation in the Caribbean."

It was only during the Kennedy Administration that the prospect of Haiti's falling into the Soviet sphere became a major concern in view of the Cuban Missile

Crisis. 458 During this period, it was the U.S. security interests abroad that dictated the metaphors associated with Haiti. Accordingly, Haiti was not only certified for admission to the Alliance for Progress initiative despite its bad human rights record, but Duvalier's second term presidency through rigged elections was also condoned. The country was depicted as being in an "explosive situation," with "communists or other anti-U.S. factions getting control of the state." The United States occasionally cut off aid to Haiti in response to the corrupt regime of Duvalier, who resorted to blackmails to get further U.S. military and economic aid; yet, this always meant to be a partially practiced, short-term deterrence tactic to calm down the critics. Soon after the cancellation of most aid to Haiti in summer 1962, the Kennedy Administration ironically authorized the construction of an almost \$3 million dollar jet airport, using such vague statements as "Haiti needed it anyway" or by the time it finished "the Duvalier Government may not be in office." Haiti fell off the Lyndon Johnson Administration's (1963-1969/Democratic) agenda, for other foreign and domestic problems. During Johnson's tenure, the United States had to concentrate not only on Vietnam's falling into the Soviet sphere at the time, but also on domestic demands for civil rights and economic development. The official rhetoric did not enumerate Haiti among possible preys for "communist exploitation in Latin America," for Duvalier was portrayed as maintaining order through superstition, terror and execution of opponents. The Johnson Government sought ways to continue to furnish Haiti with, though partial, aid so as "not to rock the boat." Hence, indirect aid toward Haiti for its water project was justified as stemming from a humanitarian concern for

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The Cuban Missile Crisis was a confrontation during the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union upon the latter's deployment of nuclear missiles in Cuba. The missiles were justified by the Soviets as compensation to the U.S. deployable nuclear warheads in the United Kingdom, Italy, and Turkey. The crisis began on October 14, 1962, and ended after fourteen days with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's announcement on October 28, 1962 that the installations would be dismantled.

the Haitians who suffered from "a pathetic problem of poverty, illiteracy and disease." The Richard Nixon era (1969-1974/Republican) did not attach much importance to Haiti either with regard to communist spread over there. A repeated presupposition was that Haiti was anti-communist. It was against this background that the United States interpreted Duvalier junior's inheritance of the presidency in 1971 as only an "ordinary" change in leadership. Military and economic embargo also ended on the same grounds put forth during the Eisenhower Administration; that the Haitian military equipment was obsolete and that many planes had been lost in a series of clashes.

Regardless of party affiliation and date of presidential tenure, one of the frequently-repeated official justifications for the support given to the Papa and Baby Doc Duvaliers was that there was no other alternative, and that if they left, confusion and chaos would follow. The Eisenhower Administration believed that, with the departure of Duvalier, there would be "a period of political chaos comparable to that following the exit of dictator Magloire in late 1956" —note that, very shortly before, the same Administration had viewed the Magloire Government as reasonably democratic. The Kennedy Administration shared a similar view on the prospect of Duvalier's leaving his post, arguing that "it would be unwise to try to upset the Duvalier regime until a political alternative was found." The Carter Presidency (1977-1981/Democratic) maintained a similar posture when resuming military and economic aid to Haiti—the reason was stated as elimination of the "modest" U.S. "security assistance" program would not make a difference on human rights issues in Haiti.

The refugee rhetoric of the United States was equally shaped according to the communist threat abroad. Relations with Haiti on the issue of refugees rested on

arbitrary definitions of the terms "refugee" and "persecution." Metaphors associated with the Haitians coming ashore the U.S. also had overbearing and racial undertones. Haitians fleeing the country for reasons of deprivation and repression were evaluated by the consecutive U.S. governments through an economic, not political perspective. In 1957, the official definition of a refugee rested on whether the aliens fled a "communist or communist-dominated country or an area of the Middle East." Even though adoption of the 1967 UN Protocol Relating to the Status of the Refugees led to the elimination of ideological bias in the evaluation of refugees, this principle never went into practice. The Nixon and Ford Administrations conceived of political repression as emanating only from communist countries, whereas flight from other right-wing authoritarian regimes was associated with pursuit of economic hardships, better jobs or with personal disputes. One other rationalization of this behavior was the classification of communist countries as "unfriendly," vis-à-vis other regimes which were "friendly." Hence, the United States governments refrained from disrupting relations with those friendly countries by granting their people refugee and asylum status.

President Carter came to office with a commitment to end duplicity in U.S. refugee policy. This was the intent behind the Refugee Act of 1980, a final initiative to redress the discrimination and injustice practiced by the U.S. governments. However, the vague phrase of "well founded fear of persecution" in the Act, rendered impossible any welcoming approach toward those black Haitians. Hence, the former policy in the 1960s of lenient admission into the U.S. borders transformed into one of deportation and interception as the status of Haitian refugees changed from mostly urban and middle class into poor, rural and black in the 1980s. Carter's speeches oscillated between acknowledging and rejecting the political nature of the

Haitians' plight. In some cases he spoke of "the flood of people" from Cuba and Haiti "seeking freedom and a better life"; yet, he also made occasional remarks about Haiti's being an exceptional case since the Haitians were "escaping extreme poverty" vis-à-vis the Cubans on whom the Castro regime had imposed "a loss of freedom and also poverty at the same time." The only stable element in Carter's refugee rhetoric was its condescending nature, which boasted of the United States' benevolence of being a refugee country itself. President Carter often reiterated that America was "the most generous nation on earth receiving refugees." The Administration circulated this portrayal of affairs despite the admission statistics which witnessed no change regarding the Haitians. State Department's human rights reports repeatedly wrote about political stability in Haiti despite "occasional setbacks." In their words, the political atmosphere had improved since 1971. In the Report of 1978, Jean-Claude Duvalier was described as having promised "domestic detente and national reconciliation." During the Ronald Reagan Administration (1981-1989/Republican), the hitherto biased refugee policy turned for the worse as the Haitians were interdicted at sea and forced to return to their homelands. Claiming that Haitians could return "without fear of reprisal," the Reagan Presidency regarded their demands for refugee status as "frivolous claims," and saw that "the entry of undocumented aliens" were "detrimental to the interests of the United States." According to the official view, as high as "one hundred percent" of Haitian refugees fled for economic purposes such as "a house, a car, a pig." The economic underpinnings for the Haitians' fleeing ashore the United States was not the only theme borrowed from earlier administrations. The Reagan Administration also adopted a condescending posture concerning the Haitian refugees, and took relevant measures to upgrade the Haitian economy to curb the refugee flow and to prevent Haiti from falling into the Soviet sphere of influence. In Reagan's words, "illegal immigration [was] spurred by stagnant economic activity," and if they did not meet their responsibilities in Central America and the Caribbean, the United States would pay dearly for it since "a faraway totalitarian power [had] set its sights" on America's "friends and neighbors." The Administration further justified the economic nature of Haitians' plight as the country's being "the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere." Hence, aid was extended to Haiti though with veiled acknowledgement of human rights abuses there: Haiti was described as not "very much a model of democracy." The end of the Duvalier regime in 1986, did not divert the United States from pursuing the usual course towards Haiti. The successors to the Haitian Government were welcomed by the U.S. with initial optimism and extension of economic and military aid. The United States saw each new president as being dedicated to lead Haiti to democracy, and committed to pursue reforms. Each time the Reagan Administration had to admit that the recurring change in leadership through coups meant a "serious blow to hopes for democracy."

Criticism against the official portrayal of relations with Haiti was raised mostly by the House of Representatives from the Democratic camp, regardless of the party in power. Even though there were mixed opinions among the Congress members and in the oppositional press concerning the existence, or degree of communist threat, they showed concurrence as regards the U.S. Government's flawed policies towards Haiti. When the initial U.S. policy was to count Haiti in the Western camp, some early Cold War articles warned against a nascent socialist movement in Haiti which would undermine monopolies by American corporations, or talked about "Red Fascism" to ruin the Good Neighbor Policy in the Western Hemisphere. The Democratic camp, albeit agreeing with the Kennedy

Administration on the prospect of communism in Haiti, criticized its inefficiency to prevent such a conclusion. In the words of one Democratic Representative, the Kennedy Government failed in creating a stable political and economic order in Haiti -a situation ripe for communist forces to make use for their benefit. In the oppositional camp, many Republican members of congress also called for close attention by the United States, believing that the State Department and the Kennedy Government were "fiddling" as communist forces were "calculatingly converting Haiti into a second Soviet satellite" at the United States' "back door." Democratic Lyndon Johnson was also countered by his party Senators, who foresaw another Vietnam debacle in the face of Haiti's getting influenced by "a menacing and opportunist communist Cuba." However, here the Democrats did not behave in a uniform manner as was observed during the Democratic Kennedy Administration. One Democratic Senator believed there was "no overt communist manifestations (only anti-American ones)," arguing that the small, already outlawed Communist Party had no chance in Haiti. The Republican Reagan Administration was equally denounced by the Democrats for its controversial policy of intercepting and turning around Haitian refugee boats while trying to prevent Haiti to shift ideological camps at the same time. Several Representatives evoked the "Nation's historical humanitarian commitment to those fleeing the tyranny and oppression," the neglect of which would hand "the cause of freedom to the communists."

Criticisms mainly revolved around the United States' cooperating with, and furnishing a dictatorial regime in vain. Many thought that it was the Duvalier family and their coterie being the true beneficiaries of economic and military aid, and chastised the U.S. Government for not holding these people responsible for maladministration and inefficiency as regards development projects in Haiti. As for

parliamentary criticism, Congress members did not withhold their disapproval towards the U.S. Administrations even in cases when they were of the same party. As one article argued, "Haitian per capita income, education, health, and other statistics" remained almost the same for three decades despite aid by the United States. There were even critics from the establishment. One criticism regarding Democratic President Kennedy's paving the way for a power vacuum in which communists would fill was mentioned above. The Kennedy Government met disapproval also by its Senators who believed that the corrupt Duvalier rule would come to an end with the cut of aid flow to Haiti. When the Administration had yielded to criticisms from various fronts and announced a considerable cut in aid except for the malariaeradication program, one Democratic Representative revealed that Haiti still benefited a lot from U.S. food-for-peace program. The Gerald Ford Government (1974-1977/Republican) was challenged by Democratic Representatives and Senators alike. Among the factors for disapproval were the AID personnels' luxurious lifestyle in contrast to the "conditions of extreme poverty in that small country," or the American arms industry being "a kind of arms supermarket" which pleased any consumer. The absence of a response by the United States upon Haiti's expropriation without compensation of a Texan corporation was another disparaging theme put forth by the Democratic camp. The argument was that the United States had failed to support its citizens' rights while rewarding the Haitians despite their breach of the Foreign Assistance Act and for the sake of stability and order in the Caribbean. Democrats were vocal also during the Carter Administration to pressure for economic and military cuts toward the "repressive" Baby Duvalier regime who was engaged only in "cosmetic developments to entice tourism and foreign investment." They questioned the State Department human rights report of 1979,

maintaining that acquittals after criminal trials, "held for the first time in years" by the Duvalier regime, were granted to some corrupt public officials themselves. Even some Tonton Macoutes members revealed that everyone who left Haiti was jailed upon return. The unchanging findings in consecutive human rights reports during the Reagan Administration were challenged by several human and civil rights organizations like the Freedom House or the American Civil Liberties Union. They concurred that Haiti was a dictatorship, contrary to the Administration's portrait which described Duvalier as "making progress toward greater reforms."

Criticisms also abounded on the plight of Haitians being denied refugee status. The Democratic camp questioned the Republican Nixon's policy of leaving the Haitians to their own fate by not acknowledging their behavior as "freedom flights." Portraying Miami, the closest place the Haitians rushed to, as being "the touchstone for liberty" they maintained: "The persecution of peoples under communist regimes is no different in quality than persecution by non-communist dictatorial governments." The Democratic Carter Administration's rhetoric was countered even by the members from the establishment as one Peace Corps member said the United States should treat the Haitians on par with the "Southeast Asians, Cubans, Eastern Europeans, and Russians," for the reason that the U.S. was "a country of first asylum." Democratic Representatives concurred with this argument, maintaining that not all Soviet or Vietnamese refugees flee from their countries out of political reasons, but for such reasons as artistic expression and/or economic reward. A surprising fact was that, as many Cuban refugees maintained, they came to the United States for scarcity of food in Cuba or for hopes of a decent salary. On the other hand, in the words of one State Department human rights officer, the only "gleam of light" in Haiti was the freedom of religion. Articles in *The New York* Times and The Washington Post also highlighted the racial dimension of discriminatory refugee policies in which the white Cubans were favored in contrast to black Haitians. Acknowledging that Haiti was one of the poorest countries of the world, these articles contended that national poverty enabled no protection against being prosecuted for being a regime opponent. Periodicals like *Philadelphia Inquirer* and Saturday Review juxtaposed Haitians with other more preferable "boat people" like the Vietnamese and the Indochinese, and found no difference between these cases. The color factor was raised also by the Hispanic congress members of the Democratic camp, contending that the Haitian experience might have its roots with this case's being "predominantly a colored nation, and a colored immigration." One major contribution to redress the injustice towards the Haitians came from various lawsuits. Their conclusions were united under one common denominator that Haitian economics was "a function of the political system:" "Duvalier has made his country weak so that he could be strong." The Reagan era also witnessed active involvement from various human rights and civil rights groups' initiatives such as those of the Haitian Refugee Center, or the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Through publicizing their legal investigations, they revealed the unjust imprisonment of the Haitians in faraway, unhygienic detention centers, some of which resembled to "concentration camps" like "those in Siberia."

It was Federal judiciary action and civil rights advocates that resumed from where black activists had left in the pre-Cold War period. The black press during the Cold War was preoccupied mostly with the civil rights issues or issues related with Africa, and was remarkably absent from the debates regarding U.S. behavior towards Haiti. Compared to the pre-Cold War period in which the black press had vehemently fought against the U.S. occupation and exploitation of Haiti, only a few

black magazines and newspapers of the Cold War era touched upon Haiti, ironically celebrating the American presence there without which the country would have become a desperate place. In their words, Haiti was "the paradise of the greater Antilles," in which black Americans could feel themselves like a native prince. Some articles also maintained that Haiti had not experienced stability since the U.S. Marines' departure in 1934. It was only after 1970 that African American members of Congress organized themselves around the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), and voiced resentment about the U.S. Government's view of affairs in Haiti. They continously criticized the consecutive State Department human rights reports, which gave a rosy picture of affairs in Haiti with only minor criticisms in passing. In contrast, CBC's own analyses revealed that there was little attention devoted by the Haitian Government "to reduce opportunities for corruption," that press freedoms were "minimal," or "political activity [was] not permitted." CBC also tried to strengthen their arguments by evoking major tenets of Americanism like the "nation's fundamental tradition of equal protection for all persons under law." In another case, they reminded the inscription on the Statue of Liberty which went as "Give me your tired, your poor/Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free." CBC members also quoted from official statements, like the Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's address which recognized food, shelter, health care and education as among basic human rights that could be violated by "a government's action or inaction." They also publicized the United States's breach of international treaties, like the regulations of Inter-American Commission on Human Rights under OAS or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the UN, by withholding equitable treatment of Haitian refugees. In collaboration with such organizations as the National Center for Immigrant Rights or the Freedom House, CBC members

publicized that Duvalier in fact had halted political activity, censored Catholic Church radio broadcasts and expelled some bishops.

This account of Cold War official and oppositional rhetoric in U.S.-Haitian relations showed different interpretations of the communist factor by the actors involved. Even though Haiti occupied less space and attention during this period, the discriminatory, condescending and racial elements borrowed from the pre-Cold War era were present in the official portrait of Haitian affairs. The United States' preference of working with anti-communist dictators at the expense of the people there who bore the burden of such a policy would not have generated due concern among the public without the alternative accounts by critics, especially at the level of Congress, or human and civil rights organizations. As in the previous period of bilateral relations, the oppositional action refuted the basic tenets of Americanism that the Cold War Administrations repeatedly boasted of. One, and perhaps the main difference was the dissipation of Black press activism in fighting the cause of the Haitians. Nevertheless, beginning with the 1970s, the African-American members of congress would resume the task from where had left. they

CHAPTER IV

THE POST-COLD WAR ERA, 1990-2004

4.1 The "New World Order"?

As a new era unfolded, the George H. W. Bush (1989-1993/Republican) Administration saw hopeful developments in Haiti. Richard Melton, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Caribbean Affairs told he was "encouraged by the progress" General Prosper Avril's government had made to crack down on the narcotics trade. Washington also noted with satisfaction the efforts towards holding democratic elections in Haiti during the successor provisional government under Ertha-Pascal Trouillot. Haiti's first free and fair election in December 1990 which brought to power Reverend Jean-Bertrand Aristide seemed to confirm that the "New World Order" coined by President Bush to denote the post-Cold War era had really come. Nevertheless, hopes vanished again with Aristide's being ousted from office in late September 1991 by the Haitian military under General Raoul Cédras.

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⁴⁵⁹ David E. Rosenbaum. "Drug Link Reported," *The New York Times* April 3, 1989.

⁴⁶⁰ "Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on President Bush's Meeting with Provisional President Ertha Pascal-Trouillot of Haiti," May 24, 1990 in *The Public Papers of George H. W. Bush* Book 1 (Washington D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991), 716. Ertha Pascal-Trouillot ruled Haiti between March 10, 1990-February 7, 1991.

⁴⁶¹ Jean-Bertrand Aristide ruled Haiti first between February 7, 1991-September 30, 1991. He was restored to power with the Operation Uphold Democracy, and served between October 12, 1994-February 7, 1996. He ruled for the last time between February 7, 2001-February 29, 2004.

The Bush Administration initially responded with economic sanctions against the de facto regime, declaring on October 4, 1991 "a national emergency to deal with the threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States caused by the events that had occured in Haiti to disrupt the legitimate exercise of power by the democratically elected government of that country."462 Nevertheless, when asked about the possibility of a U.S. intervention there as observed upon Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, President Bush responded negatively: "We are interested in the restoration of the democratically elected government in Haiti, and the situations are not parallel at all, entirely different."⁴⁶³ However, the Bush Administration's initial unequivocal support for the restoration of Aristide soon gave way to statements prioritizing the restoration of democracy in Haiti no matter who ruled the country: "Our interest is not in trying to say who's going to run Haiti . . . The hemisphere's moving towards democracy, and Haiti started moving back towards totalitarian dictatorship. We have a keen interest in that."464 Moreover, the U.S. named Aristide as "uncooperative" and "intransigent" from November 1991 through February 1992 as he refused to abide by the U.S. advice to try to come to terms with the pro-coup Haitian parliamentarians. Such behavior, in the official view, added to the chaos in Haiti multiplying the refugees rushing to

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⁴⁶² "Message to the Congress Reporting on Economic Sanctions Against Haiti," April 7, 1992 in *The Public Papers of George H. W. Bush: 1992-1993* Book 1 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993), 550-551. The Executive Order No. 12775, dated October 4, 1991, imposed a number of sanctions against the Government of Haiti, among which was the blocking of all property and interests in its property. This was followed on October 28, by Executive Order No. 12779 adding trade sanctions against Haiti.

⁴⁶³ "Exchange with reporters prior to discussions with President Jean-Bertrand Aristide of Haiti," October 4, 1991 in *The Public Papers of George H. W. Bush: 1991* Book 2 (Washington D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992), 1260.

⁴⁶⁴ "The President's News Conference with Foreign Correspondents," December 19, 1991 in *The Public Papers of George H. W. Bush: 1991* Book 2 (Washington D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992), 1646; Thomas L. Friedman. "The White House Refuses to Link Aristide's Return and Democracy," *The New York Times* October 8, 1991.

American shores.⁴⁶⁵ Meanwhile, as the Haitian military launched a massive attack especially against Aristide supporters and created havoc all over the country, a renewed refugee flow reached its climax by February 1992.⁴⁶⁶

The legacy of treating Haitian refugees as economic refugees, and relegating them to secondary status vis-à-vis the refugees from formerly communist countries endured in the post-Cold War era. President Bush reiterated that such distinctions were fair, and that distinguishing between economic and political refugees was not based on "some race or double standard." In his words, if there happened a renewed Cuban refugee flow, those that would qualify as economic refugees would not be admitted into the United States. 467 Washington began in January 31, 1992 to deport by force Haitians who arrived after the 1991 coup. 468 Soon, the Bush Administration went as far as permitting the U.S. Coast Guard "to begin returning Haitians picked up at sea directly to Haiti." The reason for the issuing of Executive Order 12807, also known as the Kennebunkport Order, was conveyed as "to protect the lives of the Haitians, whose boats are not equipped for the 600-mile sea journey," underlining the exceeded capacity of temporary processing center at the U.S. Naval Base in Guantanamo, Cuba and the Coast Guard cutters on patrol. 469 As Washington argued,

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Eventually, Aristide had to accept the nomination of (anti-Aristide) Haitian Communist Party leader and former presidential candidate René Théodore under the U.S. State Department's pressure. He also signed the Washington Accord in February 1992, in which he agreed to an amnesty for the army and the putschists, respected all postcoup parliamentary legislation (including the appointment of General Cédras as head of the army through 1994). The Accord acknowledged Aristide as President, yet did not arrange a date for his return. When Aristide showed nuisance against the amnesty clause, the U.S. charged him for reneging on the Accord. See Alex Dupuy. *Haiti in the New World Order: The Limits of the Democratic Revolution* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1996), 175-176; John Canham-Clyne. "Selling out Democracy," in James Ridgeway, ed. *The Haiti Files: Decoding the Crisis* (Washington D.C.: Essential Books, 1994),108.

⁴⁶⁶ Chetan Kumar. Building Peace in Haiti (Boulder, Colorado: L. Rienner Publishers, 1998), 21.

⁴⁶⁷ "Interview with Tom Randles, WTVJ-TV, Miami," November 20, 1991 in *The Public Papers of George H. W. Bush: 1991* Book 2 (Washington D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992), 1494.

⁴⁶⁸ Lester H. Brune. *The United States and the Post-Cold War Interventions: Bush and Clinton in Somalia, Haiti and Bosnia, 1992-1998* (Claremont, California: Regine Books, 1998), 47.

⁴⁶⁹ "White House Statement on Haitian Immigrants," May 24, 1992 in *The Public Papers of George H. W. Bush: 1992-1993* Book 1 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993), 818. The Kennebunkport Order was a unilateral action, which abrogated the hitherto agreement done with the

they were not rescinding the 1967 UN Refugee Convention and Protocol's ban on forced return, as this principle "applie[d] only to refugees within the territory of the contracting state," not to those refugees interdicted in international waters. Those repatriated were offered the option of in-country (that is, in Haiti) refugee processing beginning in February 1992. According to President Bush, the Haitian situation was still better compared to what was happening in Cuba: "There's only one holdout against democracy in this hemisphere really, except for the problems in Haiti. It's Cuba." His major justification for his policy of return was that, as he remarked in Marietta, Georgia on May 28: "I am convinced that the people in Haiti are not physically oppressed." However, one late September 1992 statement by the White House still underlined the "unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States."

4.2 The second intervention in Haiti

The presidential candidate who made his way through the White House, William J. Clinton (1993-2001/Democratic) turned from critical to concurring with regards to his predecessor's policy of continuing relations with the interim military

Baby Doc regime. The Guantanamo Bay Naval Base was set up in a month and a half after the coup in Haiti. This program commenced upon the legally insufficient basis of the practice of picking up of Haitians on the high seas and screening them onboard for asylum pruposes. Haitians picked up by the Coast Guard were first taken there for an initial screening to see whether they had a "credible fear" of persecution. If they had, they would be screened into the U.S. for a political asylum hearing; if not,

they would be shipped back to Haiti.

⁴⁷⁰ Bill Frelick. "Haitian Exodus," *The Washington Post* May 24, 1992.

⁴⁷¹ Wasem. *U.S. Immigration Policy on American Migrants*, 3. Those places of in-country processing in Haiti were in Port-au-Prince, Les Cayes and Cape Haitien. In-country processing (ICP) applied to the Haitians was a first worldwide. Though ICP was a part of the 1980 Refugee Act procedures, it was not intended as one of the main practices of protection. Previous such programs in Vietnam, Cuba and the former Soviet Union were designed to process the predisposably eligible groups for admission to the U.S. In the Haitian case, however, the ICP program aimed to cut off the refugee influx that the U.S. was already predisposed to reject. See "No Port in a Storm," 194.

^{472 &}quot;Remarks to the Economic Club of Detroit," March 13, 1992 in *The Public Papers of George H. W. Bush: 1992-1993* Book 1 (Washington D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993), 447.

⁴⁷³ Canham-Clyne. "Selling out Democracy," 109.

⁴⁷⁴ "Notice on continuation of Haitian emergency," September 30, 1992 in *The Public Papers of George H. W. Bush: 1992-1993* Book 2 (Washington D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993), 1727.

government and repatriating Haitian refugees. He especially reneged on his campaign promises to rescind the forced return policy, and left intact President Bush's rhetoric and policy on Haitian refugees:⁴⁷⁵ "[I]t is necessary to avert a humanitarian tragedy that could result from a large boat exodus. Hundreds, if not thousands, could lose their lives in overloaded, unseaworthy vessels if the United States reversed the practice of direct return precipitiously."⁴⁷⁶ However, when the refugee flow came to the full brim, President Clinton revised his policy in order to restore Aristide via tough measures if needed.

In line with this new approach, the Clinton Administration helped broker an agreement between Haitian President-in-exile Jean-Bertrand Aristide and Commander Raoul Cédras named the Governors Island Agreement on July 3, 1993. The plan involved the restoration of Aristide to power on October 30, 1993. However, the plan turned to ashes when the *USS Harlan County*, a cargo ship carrying unarmed U.S. and Canadian troops to help train the Haitian police and army, and help rebuild the country's infrastructure in line with the Governors Island Agreement, was prevented from landing by Cédras' forces. The Clinton Administration's initial response was conciliatory towards the military regime in Haiti though. While Aristide called for a blockade of Haiti and other tougher measures, Washington was insistent on appeasement techniques. The Haitian Prime Minister Robert Malval was not discouraged to include pro-coup supporters in his cabinet. Meanwhile a CIA report conveyed Aristide's alleged mental instability. By

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⁴⁷⁵ Morris Morley and Chris McGillion. "Disobedient' Generals and the Politics of Redemocratization: The Clinton Administration and Haiti," *Political Science Quarterly* 112:3 (Autumn 1997), 367.

⁴⁷⁶ Deborah Sontag. "White House Again Defends Bush's Policy on Haitians," *The New York Times* March 9, 1993.

⁴⁷⁷ Roland I. Perusse. *Haitian Democracy Restored, 1991-1995* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1995), 48-50; Morley and McGillion. "Disobedient' Generals and the Politics of Redemocratization," 368-369; Brune. *The United States and Post-Cold War Interventions*, 49.

⁴⁷⁸ Perusse. Haitian Democracy Restored, 51-55; Brune. The United States and Post-Cold War Interventions, 50.

February 1994, President Clinton still accused Aristide of being "uncooperative" and "intransigent" for rejecting a plan including a broad coalition government, an amnesty law for the coup-makers, and lifting of the embargo. Deputy Under Secretary for Policy Walter Slocombe talked of Aristide as "that psycopath," whose restoration to power was not worth risking U.S. soldiers' lives. However, as the UN imposed new sanctions on Haiti, Clinton agreed in May 1994 that interdicted Haitians would be taken to a location in the region to be processed as potential refugees. He also gave hints for using U.S. military force to restore Aristide: "I don't think it's useful to rule out any option." Stiffer economic sanctions initiated in June 1993 also assumed wider forms in May and June 1994, including a tighter embargo against Haiti as well as limitation of transport by air to this country for the reason of "the essential foreign policy interests of the United States" in "restor[ing] the democratically elected Aristide government."

In Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott's words, there were two "principal ways in which the Haitian crisis impinge[d] on the vital interests of the United States."

First it represents an affront and a potential reversal to the trend of democratization in this hemisphere . . . And second, of course, because that catastrophe so severe, one of the results is an outpouring of refugees, any of whom of course do want to come to the United States. And if all of them came . . . that would put a considerable burden on the United States. 484

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⁴⁷⁹ Dupuy. Haiti in the New World Order, 180-181; Brune. The United States and Post-Cold War Interventions, 51.

⁴⁸⁰ Morley and McGillion. "Disobedient' Generals and the Politics of Redemocratization," 370.

⁴⁸¹ Perusse. *Haitian Democracy Restored*, 91; Dupuy. *Haiti in the New World Order*, 182; Wasem. *U.S. Immigration Policy on Haitian Migrants*, 3.

⁴⁸² "Exchange with reporters on Haiti," May 3, 1994 in *The Public Papers of William J. Clinton: 1994* Book 1 (Washington D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1995), 816.

^{483 &}quot;Message to the Congress on Additional Economic Sanctions Against Haiti," May 21, 1994 in *The Public Papers of William J. Clinton: 1994* Book 1, 975-976 and "Memorandum on Air Transportation to Haiti," June 10, 1994 in *The Public Papers of William J. Clinton: 1994* Book 1, 1065-1066.

⁴⁸⁴ Newland. "Impact of U.S. Refugee Policies on U.S. Foreign Policy."

Meanwhile, President Clinton continued to urge Haitians "to avoid risking their lives in treacherous boat voyages," encouraging them to apply for refugee status at the U.S. facilities within Haiti. For his part, the Secretary of State Warren Christopher (1993-1997) briefed the congressional leaders on July 13, conveying the "very strong" American interests in Haiti as being "U.S. support for democracy in the hemisphere, maintaining stability in the region, prevention of the overthrow of democratically-elected governments, protecting the lives of several hundred Americans in Haiti, and stopping the massive flow caused by conditions in Haiti." President Clinton spoke in more serious terms on the Haitian situation in mid-September, on the eve of a U.S. invasion.

This is plainly the most brutal, the most violent regime anywhere in our hemisphere. They have perpetrated a reign of terror in Haiti, and it is just getting worse . . . So the human rights violations and the situation there, right on our back door, is very very significant . . . [T]he United States clearly has an interest in preventing another massive outflow of refugees. 487

When a negotiating team of former President Jimmy Carter, former chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell, and U.S. Senator Sam Nunn returned from Haiti with empty hands (September 16-18), the U.S. forces landed on Haiti on September 19, 1994 with the UN Security Council resolution at hand dated July 31 approving the U.S. plan to raise a multilateral force against the military leadership in Haiti. The President's televised address to the nation prior to the Operation Uphold Democracy put emphasis on the impending refugee issue. The prospective operation was justified as being necessary to rescue the Haitians out of

⁴⁸⁵ "Remarks Announcing Additional Economic Sanctions Against Haiti," June 10, 1994 in *The Public Papers of William J. Clinton: 1994* Book 1, 1064.

⁴⁸⁶ Perusse. Haitian Democracy Restored, 95.

⁴⁸⁷ "Interview with Wire Service Reporters on Haiti," September 14, 1994 in *Public Papers of William J. Clinton: 1994* Book 2 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1995), 1548.

tyranny, and to bring back regional stability to American citizens' relief by preventing further flow of refugees to the U.S. shores.

Thousands of Haitians have already fled toward the United States, risking their lives to escape the reign of terror. As long as Cédras rules, Haitians will continue to seek sanctuary in our nation. . . No American should be surprised that the recent tide of migrants seeking refuge on our shores comes from Haiti and Cuba. After all, they're the only nations left in the Western Hemisphere where democratic government is denied, the only countries where dictators have managed to hold back the wave of democracy and progress that has swept over our entire region and that our own government has so actively promoted and supported for years. Today, 33 of the 35 countries in the Americas have democratically elected leaders. And Haiti is the only nation in our hemisphere where the people actually elected their own government and chose democracy, only to have tyrants steal it away. 489

Operation Uphold Democracy ended with success, with President Aristide returning to Haiti on October 15. In the Adminitration's view, a new era began for the Haitians: "The coup leaders are gone from Haiti and the thugs are no longer in control. Haiti's Parliament is open. It has enacted an amnesty law and is busy laying the legislative groundwork for stronger democratic institutions . . . [T]he state media are back at the service of the people." Nevertheless, the Clinton Administration continued its presence in Haiti through the Multinational Force (MNF)⁴⁹¹ "to further the national security interests of the United States" in the face of occasional attacks on U.S. soldiers by the Haitian Armed Forces. President Clinton also announced that he would keep U.S. military troops in Haiti despite the fact that the last UN peacekeepers withdrew in early December 1997. It was claimed that the country was "sliding back into political paralysis and economic decay," under René Préval's

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⁴⁸⁹ "Address to the Nation on Haiti," September 15, 1994 in *The Public Papers of William J. Clinton:* 1994 Book 2, 1559.

⁴⁹⁰ "Statement on Signing Legislation Regarding United States Policy Toward Haiti," October 25, 1994 in *The Public Papers of William J. Clinton: 1994* Book 2, 1898.

⁴⁹¹ Provided for by the UN Security Council Resolution 940 of July 31, 1994.

⁴⁹² "Letter to Congressional Leaders on Deployment of United States Armed Forces to Haiti," March 21, 1995 in *The Public Papers of William J. Clinton: 1995* Book 1 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1996), 381.

rule, 493 but that the U.S. mission would focus on public works projects, not security and law enforcement. 494

Meanwhile, the Clinton Administration still continued to make policy for the benefit of Haitian refugees. An example to this was related with the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act (NACARA) in November 1997, enabling Nicaraguans and Cubans to become legal permanent residents and endowed certain unsuccessful Central American and Eastern European asylum applicants to seek another form of immigration relief. As a compensation, the President called for a more inclusionary project to deal with the Haitian refugees: Before we helped restore democracy to Haiti, many Haitians were also forced to flee their country because of persecution and civil strife. They deserve the same treatment that this legislation makes possible for other groups. In December 1997, Clinton gave further support to the Haitians albeit in condescending terms, recounting how the United States tried to uplift this country amidst tyranny and chaos.

Like Central Americans, Haitians for many years were forced to seek the protection of the United States because of oppression, human rights abuses, and civil strife at home. Many of them have established strong ties and made significant contributions to our communities. And while we have been encouraged by Haiti's progress following the restoration of democratic government in 1994, the situation there remains fragile. Staying the deportation of these Haitians and obtaining for them permanent legislative relief will help support a stable and democratic Haiti —which, in turn, is the best safeguard against a renewed flow of Haitian migrants to the United States. 497

⁴⁹³ As the Haitian Constitution prevented Aristide from running for a second consecutive term, René Préval, an Aristide supporter won, despite a very low turnout of 28%. Préval assumed office in February 1996 (until February 2001), and introduced in Haiti a massive privatization program under IMF. He soon began to rule by decree. In a critical response, former President Aristide formed a new party (Lavalas Family) in January 1997 for the presidential elections in 2000. See Maureen Taft-Morales. *Haiti: Developments and U.S. Policy since 1991 and Current Congressional Concerns* CRS Report for Congress, Library of Congress, June 2, 2005. 4.

⁴⁹⁴ Bradley Graham. "Clinton Decides to Maintain U.S. Military Presence in Haiti," December 6, 1997 *The Washington Post*. A26.

⁴⁹⁵ Wasem. U.S. Immigration Policy on Haitian Migrants, 4.

⁴⁹⁶ "Statement of Congressional Action on Immigration Legislation," November 14, 1997 in *The Public Papers of William J. Clinton: 1997* Book 2 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998-1999), 1565.

⁴⁹⁷ "Statement on Deferred Enforced Departure for Haitians," December 23, 1997 in *The Public Papers of William J. Clinton: 1997* Book 2, 1823.

It was with the Haitian Refugee Immigration Fairness Act (HRIFA) of 1998 that Haitians who filed asylum claims or who were paroled into the United States before December 31, 1995 could adjust to legal permanent residence. The President also supported the proposed Central American and Haitian Parity Act of 1999, even though it failed to become a law.

Like Nicaraguans and Cubans, many Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Hondurans and Haitians fled human rights abuses and unstable economic conditions in the 1980s and 1990s... The United States has a strong foreign policy interest in providing the same treatment to these similarly situated people. Moreover, the countries from which these migrants have come are young and fragile democracies in which the United States has played and continue to play a very important role. The return of these migrants to these countries would place significant demands on their economic and political systems. By offering legal status to a number of nationals of these countries with long-standing ties in the United States, we can advance our commitment to peace and stability in the region.

4.3 Relations in the shadow of 9/11

U.S. President George W. Bush's (2001-2008/Republican) first and Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's second term in office began in January and February 2001 respectively. Haiti was not a region of concern for the Bush Administration until the September 11 terrorist attacks. However, in the immediate aftermath of the incident, Washington's first and foremost policy toward the Haitians was one of indefinite detaining of all Haitian refugees arriving by boat during the processing of their immigration claims. The issues in consideration were the heightened sensitivity toward foreigners as potential terrorists, the fact that extensive military and law-enforcement sources were diverted to homeland security, and the unavailability of the Guantanamo Center now holding alleged Al-Qaeda members. The policy that began in December 2001 was applied to no other nation. At that time,

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⁴⁹⁸ Wasem. U.S. Immigration Policy on Haitian Migrants, 4.

⁴⁹⁹ "Message to the Congress Transmitting Proposed Legislation to Support Democratization in Central America and Haiti," August 5, 1999 in *The Public Papers of William J. Clinton: 1999* Book 2 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2000-2001), 1388.

Haiti was in an unstable situation, having endured two alleged coup attempts, one in July and the other in December 2001. The Administration remarked that admitting Haitians who met the credible fear requirement may encourage other Haitians to dare the "risky sea travel" hence "potentially trigger a mass asylum from Haiti to the United States" —a rhetoric reminiscient of George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton's. Moreover, Washington argued that migrants arriving by sea might pose a national security threat since terrorists may pose as Haitian asylum seekers. ⁵⁰¹

This period of tension coincided with opposition to President Aristide, who effectively curbed down criticism against his rule. His term also witnessed numerous extrajudicial killings by the Haitian National Police and lynchings by mobs. ⁵⁰² As turmoil reached unbearable rates, renewed refugee flows loomed on the horizon. The Bush Administration responded with the ordinary Cold- and post-Cold War tactic of condoning the present conditions in Haiti. Although in February 2002 the State Department announced its withholding the release of an Inter-American Development Bank aid until President Aristide ended the country's political crisis, ⁵⁰³ by August 2002, the sanctions dating back to the Clinton Administration to correct the allegedly rigged elections that brought Aristide to power was to be lifted. ⁵⁰⁴ Moreover, in a November 2002 interview, President Bush made a distinction between the Haitian and Cuban experience couched in Cold War rhetoric.

[T]he immigration laws ought to be the same for Haitians and everybody else, except for Cubans. And the difference, of course, is that we don't send people back

⁵⁰⁰ James R. Morrell. "Impact of September 11 on U.S. Haiti Policy," paper presented at the 2003 meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Dallas, Texas, March 27-29, 2003. 1-5. Retrieved from http://136.142.158.105/Lasa2003/MorrellJames.pdf on August 19, 2007.

⁵⁰¹ Wasem. U.S. Immigration Policy on Haitian Migrants, 5.

Morales. Haiti: Developments and U.S. Policy since 1991 and Current Congressional Concerns, 5.

Peter Slevin. "U.S. Delays Support for Release of Aid to Haiti," February 8, 2002 The Washington Post A23.

Morrell. "Impact of September 11 on U.S. Haiti Policy," 2-3. Jean-Bertrand Aristide's Lavalas Party won large majorities in both houses of the parliament during May 2000 legislative elections. Aristide came to power once again in November 2000 elections.

to Cuba because they're going to be persecuted. And that's why we've got the special law on the books as regards to Cubans. But Haitians and everybody else ought to be treated the same way. And we're in the process of making sure that happens. ⁵⁰⁵

However, as criticism against the Aristide rule culminated in great upheaval and instability, the United States again couched the Haitian regime in very unfavorable terms. The State Department's February 2004 Human Rights Practices Report maintained that the "Haitian government's human rights record remained poor, with political and civil officials implicated in serious abuses." The Bush Administration further pressured Aristide to resign, on account of "his failure to adhere to democratic principles [which] contributed to deep polarization and violent unrest in Haiti today." In President Bush's terms, "this long-simmering crisis" was largely of Aristide's making, and that "his own actions have called into question his fitness to continue to govern." President Aristide resigned on February 29, 2004 and on the same day, Supreme Court Chief Justice Boniface Alexandre was sworn in as President. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who shaped U.S.-Haitian relations from the early post-Cold War onwards, would never reappear on bilateral relations.

4.4 Enter new threats

The post-Cold War era was also a period in which new threats were addressed in National Security Strategy documents from 1990 onwards. Among these were terrorism, drug trafficking, environmental degradation, sustainable development, and

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⁵⁰⁵ "The President's News Conference," November 7, 2002 in *The Public Papers of George W. Bush*, 2002 Book 2, 2050. Retrieved from http://www.gpoaccess.gov/pubpapers/gwbush.html. On November 25, 2002, the Homeland Security Act abolished INS, transferring its functions from the Department of Justice to several bureaus in the Department of Homeland Security. Yet, the Department of Justice's Executive Office for Immigration Review was still responsible for asylum and removal hearings.

Morales. Haiti: Developments and U.S. Policy since 1991 and Current Congressional Concerns, 5.

Morales. Haiti: Developments and U.S. Policy since 1991 and Current Congressional Concerns, 6.

David E. Sanger and Eric Schmitt. "Bush Increases Push for Haitian to Leave Office," February 29, 2004 The New York Times.

spread of diseases like AIDS. 509 Haiti's being a hub for drug trafficking, as well as Haitians' being singlehandedly labeled as the utmost foreign source for AIDS transmission had already been observed in the late Cold War period. These phenomena echoed also in the post-Cold War era. In late 1980s and early 1990s, Washington kept certifying that the drug problem with Haiti was getting better. However, from April 1993 onwards, the Clinton Administration acknowledged that corruption of Haitian officials as regards the drug issue continued to be a major problem. The State Department also publicized reports indicating involvement of government and military personnel in Haiti in narcotics trafficking. Reports pointed at Columbian organizations using Haiti as a drug-transshipment venue. 510 From 1995 to 2004, Haiti was regarded as among the countries to be major illicit narcotics producing and/or transit countries. 511 According to a U.S. Government interagency assessment on cocaine movement, the total amount of cocaine coming to the United States through Haiti jumped from 5 percent in 1996 to 19 percent by the end of 1997. From 1999 onwards, Haiti was listed among those countries having "failed demonstrably" in fully cooperating in or complying with U.S. drug control efforts. Nevertheless, it was pointed out that it was in the national interest to grant a waiver to this country so that U.S. aid would continue. The reason behind this decision were several signs of hope that Haiti would perform better in terms of narcotics control such as "putting into force a bilateral maritime narcotics interdiction agreement with the United States, establishing a financial intelligence unit, and extraditing four well known traffickers to the United States" in 2002 and 2003. In view of the George W.

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⁵⁰⁹ The AIDS issue was non-existent in National Security Strategy Document 1990. It first appeared in National Security Strategy dated August 1991. 3.

John Kerry. "Drugs and the Haitian Military," in Ridgeway, ed. *The Haiti Files*, 169.

⁵¹¹ K. Larry Storrs. *Drug Certification/Designation Procedures for Illicit Narcotics Producing and Transit Countries* CRS Report for Congress, Library of Congress, September 22, 2003. 11. Among other major illicit drug producing or transit countries were Afghanistan, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Columbia, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Vietnam.

⁵¹² Congressional Record, Senate, 105th Congress, 2nd Session, October 14, 1998. 12483-12484.

Bush Administration, the root cause of this problem was again economic in nature: It was "Haitian poverty and hopelessness" that triggered Haitian involvement in the drug trade. However, the State Department's International Narcotics Control Strategy Report of 2004 still maintained that "serious allegations persisted that high-level government and police officials [were] involved in drug trafficking."⁵¹³

As for the AIDS pandemic, when asked about the U.S. immigration policy that restricted HIV-infected people from entering into the United States borders, and about the allegation that this conveyed a wrong message to people about discrimination, President George H. W. Bush answered as such: "Well, this is a health problem, and that part of it should be treated in a health manner." Consequently, one late 1991 federal announcement pointed at a situation at the Guantanamo Bay Naval Base in Cuba that, a high incidence of the virus that caused AIDS among Haitians who had been cleared to apply for political asylum may indefinitely delay or prevent their entry into the United States. Moreover, the 1987 ban on HIV-infected immigrants that barred their entrance into the U.S. was signed in June 1993 into law in the Clinton period, despite the President's occasional efforts from February onwards for the contrary, on the grounds that the disease did not spread casually, and that people inflicted with it did not threaten public health. Nevertheless, the President eventually announced that he was afraid of lost lives at

⁵¹³ Storrs. Drug Certification/Designation Procedures for Illicit Narcotics Producing and Transit Countries. 3, 6-8, 13. Also see "Presidential Determination on Major Drug Transit or Major Illicit Drug Producing Countries under the FY2002 Modification to the Annual Drug Certification Procedures," Federal Register 67:43 (March 5, 2002). 9889-9893; "Presidential Determination on Major Drug Transit or Major Illicit Drug Producing Countries for 2003," Federal Register 68:24 (February 5, 2003). 5787-5791.

514 "The President's News Conference in Rome, Italy," November 8, 1991 in The Public Papers of

⁵¹⁴ "The President's News Conference in Rome, Italy," November 8, 1991 in *The Public Papers of George H. W. Bush:1991* Book 2 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992), 1419-1420

⁵¹⁵ Howard W. French. "HIV Could Cut Entry to the U.S.," *The New York Times* December 14, 1991. 516 Philip J. Hilts. "Clinton to Lift Ban on HIV-Infected Visitors," *The New York Times* February 9, 1993.

sea, and hence, measures for restricted admission into the country were in order.⁵¹⁷ Eventually, the National Institutes of Health (NIH) Reauthorization Act codified the exclusion of AIDS-afflicted people from the United States.⁵¹⁸

4.5. Clash of discourses

4.5.1. Counterarguments in general

While the George H. W. Bush government saw promising developments in Haiti during Prosper Avril's rule, a report by the Americas Watch, National Coalition for Haitian Refugees and Caribbean Rights demonstrated that Haiti was "no closer to an elected lawful government," and that General Avril had "halted significant efforts to disband the paramilitary forces." Representative Ted Weiss (D-NY) criticized the Administration for its hesitancy to condemn the coup against President Aristide in due time, whereas it had "acted decisively to stem the tide of tyranny in the Persian Gulf." Senator Bob Graham (D-FL) used a pre-Cold War analogy when he admonished the Government for taking into account the Amnesty International report on intolerable conditions in Kuwait to act against Iraq, while it was overlooking a similar report on Haiti. Warning against appeasement policies toward Haitian dictators, Graham argued as follows: "Haiti could become the *Munich* of the Caribbean for its own struggle for democracy and for other similar

⁵¹⁷ Anna Quindlen. "Public & Private; Lost in Limbo," *The New York Times* February 24, 1993.

⁵¹⁸ The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1990 listed as excludable "any alien who is determined to have a communicable disease of public health significance" –tuberculosis, syphilis and leprosy. The new legislation added, "which shall include infection with the etiologic agent for acquired immune deficiency syndrome." This did not change the hitherto U.S. policy, but also froze it so that it wouldn't be changed administratively.

⁵¹⁹ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 101th Congress, 1st Session, March 1, 1989. 3178-3179.

⁵²⁰ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 102nd Congress, 1st Session, October 1, 1991. 3214.

fledgling democracies throughout the hemisphere." Senator Graham also underlined that there were serious human rights abuses in Haiti after the overthrow of Aristide, that almost matched those in Bosnia. He furthermore criticized Washington on racial terms, for being only "interested in the white, rich man's war," and adopting passivity in a conflict "involving an impoverished country, particularly a country that [was] not Caucasian." Senator Tom Harkin (D-IA) also touched upon the Bosnian case, and questioned the United States' being the keeper of democracy all over the world: "If we can't stand up for democracy and human rights in our own hemisphere, then what do the Bosnian Serbs have to fear? What do the Chinese have to fear?"

Apart from criticism as regards U.S.' slowness in applying countermeasures towards Aristide's overthrow, there were many others who denounced Washington for trying to reinstall a president who was communist leaning and tyrannical. Representative Tom DeLay (R-TX) revealed that Aristide had been necklacing (the practice of igniting gasoline-soaked tires around the neck and burning the victim alive) his political opponents, and added that: "He is a lifelong leftist, a fervent nationalist and a strong advocate of liberation theology, which promotes the ideals of Communism thinly veiled with religion." Representative Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA) concurred that Aristide was "an anti-American Marxist President." Complementing remarks admonished the U.S. military action in Haiti, both before and after the Operation Uphold Democracy. Senator Bob Dole (R-TX) argued that

⁵²¹ Congressional Record, Senate, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session, February 6, 1992. 1113. Emphasis added.

⁵²² Congressional Record, Senate, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session, August 12, 1992. 12765.

⁵²³ John M. Goshko. "Senators Seek New Sanctions Against Haiti," April 20, 1994 *The Washington Times* A15.

⁵²⁴ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 103rd Congress, 1st Session, October 27, 1993. 8544.

⁵²⁵ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 103rd Congress, 2nd Session, September 19, 1994. 9164.

Haiti did not pose a strategic threat for the U.S., and that the American citizens there were safe and sound. He further remarked that: "But, if human rights violations were enough reason for the United States intervention, we would be invading most countries in the world: Rwanda, Sudan, China, Syria and many more."526 Representative James A. Leach (R-IA), reminded President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy and concluded that "if a combination of human rights abuses and geographical propinquity [was] the controlling standard for U.S. military intervention in the Western Hemisphere," then the United States should better invade Cuba rather than Haiti. He further underlined that U.S. intervention "in a setting where no tangible threat to international peace and security exist[ed] . . . may set a precedent for the use of force by Russia, China, or other regional powers such as Iran or Iraq in their own backyard."527 Participation in "a U.S.-led, U.S.-munitioned, and largely U.S. financed UN army" in the aftermath of the Haitian intervention also bred criticism on the part of Representative Christopher Cox (R-CA): "Haiti has no military airfields, no naval ports, no missile sites like those in Cuba that enemies of America might use. Militarily, Clinton's invasion was a classic case of using a billion dollar hammer to crack a 20-cent nut." Representative Porter J. Goss (R-FL) drew attention to the ongoing violent rioting and mob rule in Haiti, and questioned whether Operation Uphold Democracy made any difference. 529

Meanwhile, several reports revealed inside information on U.S. collaboration with the Haitian hit squad Front for the Advancement and Progress of Haiti (FRAPH), whose leader Emmanuel Constant worked for the CIA. In the words of

⁵²⁶ Congressional Record, Senate, 103rd Congress, 2nd Session, May 5, 1994, 5245.

⁵²⁷ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 103rd Congress, 2nd Session, October 6, 1994. 11021.

⁵²⁸ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 104th Congress, 1st Session, April 4, 1995. 772.

⁵²⁹Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 104th Congress, 1st Session, November 28, 1995. 13667.

Constant, the U.S. forces still used FRAPH for "crowd control," "understanding the neighbors," and to learn what Aristide's Lavalas Party was doing. 530 A 1997 report by Human Rights Watch and the National Coalition for Haitian Rights demonstrated that, the U.S.-trained Haitian Police Force (HNP) first deployed in 1995 were committing "serious abuses including torture and summary executions." In a similar vein, Representative Steve Chabot (R-OH) underlined the Clinton Administration's failed Haiti policy as the HNP was "just a new version of the old one," with its arbitrary killings and involvement in drug trafficking. President Préval's rule was equally contested by Senator Porter Goss (D-FL), who quoted from the U.S. Ambassador to Haiti that: "Haiti is a long way from getting democracy." Senator Mike DeWine (R-OH) concurred, saying that Préval's term was associated with ruling by decree, stagnant economy and political intimidation. During the George W. Bush era, some critics underlined that more should be done for Haiti. As the Administration prevented Haiti from receiving assistance from the Inter-American Development Bank, Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT) argued as such:

Even in the United States, with our proud history, peaceful transition of power, orderly elections, and representative governments, we have had significant troubles with our own elections. Merely look at what happened in the year 2000 in this country with our elections. . . By not providing basic help, by the United States blocking the assistance reaching the desperately poor people, we are not strengthening the institutions but making it worse and harder for the Nation to get back on its feet. ⁵³⁵

As public criticism climaxed during President Aristide's last term, U.S.' hesitancy to get involved again raised some critical voices. One article commented that Aristide's

⁵³⁰ Allan Nairn. "Haiti under the Gun," *The Nation January 8/15*, 1996. 11-12.

⁵³¹ Dan Coughlin. "Haitian Lament: Killing Me Softly," *The Nation* March 1, 1999. 23.

⁵³² Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 106th Congress, 1st Session, September 28, 1999. 8877.

⁵³³ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 106th Congress, 1st Session, September 27, 1999. 8711.

⁵³⁴ Congressional Record, Senate, 106th Congress, 2nd Session, May 18, 2000. 4181.

⁵³⁵ Congressional Record, Senate, 107th Congress, 2nd Session, July 31, 2002. 7732.

liberation theology built on providing "a preferential option for the poor," coupled with his Marxist preaching and criticisms of the United States were the developments behind the U.S. policy of not supporting him wholeheartedly. It was maintained that the United States moreover helped create the main political opposition against Aristide, namely the Democratic Convergence. ⁵³⁶ Senator Tom Harkin (D-IA) spoke in similar terms by drawing parallels with the last Iraqi invasion:

We can send \$160 billion to Iraq. We can send our young men and women to Iraq to die . . . Do we only believe in [rule of law, human rights and dignity] when the country has a lot of oil, for example? . . When it comes to a small, black, impoverished nation where people are poorer than dirt, where they have been subjected to centuries of dictatorial rule, where they have been ignored by their neighbors and us for centuries, . . . I guess it just means that we can turn a deaf ear and a blind eye to what is happening. 537

The Congressional Black Caucus was also vocal in denouncing Washington for its ineffective handling of the Haitian affairs, with Representative Major R. Owens (D-NY) being the main spokesman for Haitians. He called for cutting off all U.S. support for the military regime under General Avril.

[T]he Haitian people paid for their constitution in blood, just as the American people fought and died for their own freedom against oppression and tyranny. Our Government should empathize with the Haitian people and cut all economic and diplomatic ties with that country until free and fair elections for a civilian government are held there. 538

He also countered Richard Melton, Inter-American Affairs Deputy Secretary of State, who spoke about Avril Government's offering "the best, perhaps the last, real chance for democratic reform in Haiti," and refused to acknowledge "any evidence to link [human rights abuses] to policy levels within the Avril Government." ⁵³⁹

⁵³⁶ Tracy Kidder. "The Trials of Haiti," *The Nation* October 27, 2003. 28.

⁵³⁷ Congressional Record, Senate, 108th Congress, 2nd Session, February 27, 2004. 1877-1878.

⁵³⁸ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 101st Congress, 1st Session, March 23, 1989. 993.

⁵³⁹ Robin Taylor. "An Attempted Coup in Haiti," *National Catholic Reporter* March 24, 1989.

Why is our Government is willing to settle for so little in Haiti? I feel it is because it is worried that any free and fair elections on the island would bring to power one of the popularly supported civilian opposition leaders that our Government does not like, someone who could not be under our Government's control, as was the case with previous Haitian regimes. Our Government's experiences with Nicaragua and Grenada should have taught us that it is up to the people themselves to determine who their leaders are, or will be, and we cannot impose our will on sovereign nations.540

Owens blended both Cold War and post-Cold War rhetoric in chastising the lack of genuine interest in the Haitian plight.

> We are more concerned about democracy in Eastern Europe than in our hemisphere. . . Another election is scheduled, so it prompted the present dictators of Haiti to start a new reign of terror. . . We should show the Haitian military regime with the new reign of terror that the U.S. Government means business about democracy all over the world, and democracy in this hemisphere, and cut off all aid to Haiti . . . Drug runners are running Haiti. Haiti is a major drop off point, still. If we mean business about fighting drugs, we do not need to invade Haiti. We can just apply pressure. 541

Representative George W. Crockett (D-MI) from CBC joined in the debate by quoting from one Boston Globe article which reminded the Haitians' contribution to the American War of Independence, and the U.S. disregard of this country "because in 1803 the United States maintained a slave economy and could not tolerate the thought of a successful slave revolt spreading to our shores."542 Crockett maintained that similar behavior continued

> We have supported guerilla movements to the tune of billions of dollars and even gone so far as sending U.S. troops to others' shores -all in the name of democracy. Why is it the administration can find discretionary funds for other countries in their times of crisis, can request almost a billion dollars for the emerging democracies of Panama and Nicaragua and yet remain silent on Haiti?⁵⁴³

⁵⁴⁰ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 101st Congress, 1st

Session, April 5, 1989. 1074. ⁵⁴¹ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 101st Congress, 2nd Session, January 24, 1990.

⁵⁴² Lester S. Hyman. "What are We Waiting for in Haiti?" *The Boston Globe* April 23, 1990.

⁵⁴³ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 101st Congress, 2nd Session, May 3, 1990. 1358.

To the contributions by Haiti to the United States, Representative Owens added the conversion of Haitian agricultural economy to the production of trees and plants (to the detriment of Haitian soil) that produced latex for American use in World War II, and called for genuine help by the U.S. to reinstate President Aristide.⁵⁴⁴ Representative Eva M. Clayton (D-NC) argued that the Haitian case was important because it was a nation longing for the same democratic principles cherished in the United States.⁵⁴⁵ U.S. help towards President Aristide's opponents in his second term was equally denounced by the CBC members. Representative Maxine Waters (D-CA) chastised the U.S. Government for blocking aid to Haiti in order to "expand the influence of a single political party [Democratic Convergence], that is supported by less than four percent of the Haitian electorate." Similarly, Representative Edolphus Towns (D-NY) revealed important connections between the United States and the Haitian opposition.

Despite Aristide's democratic authenticity, the Convergence's provocations have effectively cut off international resources to Haiti while billions of U.S. dollars flow to authoritarian nations such as Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. In January 2001, Ira Kurzban, the Aristide Administration's general counsel in the U.S., claimed that the IRI facilitated the allocation of \$3 million of NED funds to the Convergence.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁴ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 102nd Congress, 1st Session, November 21, 1991. 10815.

⁵⁴⁵ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 103rd Congress, 1st Session, October 20, 1993. 8209.

⁵⁴⁶ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 107th Congress, 1st Session, November 15, 2001. 2099.

⁵⁴⁷ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 107th Congress, 2nd Session, July 9, 2002. 1220. Founded in 1983, the International Republican Institute (IRI) is an organization, funded by United States government. Its mission is stated as expanding freedom throughout the world by teaching and assisting political party and candidate development, civil society development, women's and youth leadership development, electoral reform and election monitoring, and political expression in closed societies. The National Endowment for Democracy, or NED, is a U.S. non-profit organization founded in the same year with IRI to promote democracy by providing cash grants funded primarily through an annual allocation from the U.S. Congress.

The CBC members unequivocally pressured the Bush Administration to take effective measures in ensuring Aristide's stay in power. Representative Diane Watson (D-CA) talked of Aristide as

... a democratically elected leader, one of the few in Haiti's two violent centuries of independence. To turn our back on him would be to turn our back on the values America was founded upon, the values which we have guided our foreign policy from Jefferson through Wilson, through Truman, through Reagan and Bill Clinton. 548

Representative Barbara Lee (D-CA) reminded the Secretary of State Colin Powell's remarks: "We cannot allow thugs and murderers to overthrow the democratically elected government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide." For her part, Representative Corrine Brown (D-FL) drew an analogy with the U.S. involvement in Iraq: "I ask this President, how can he justify our attack of Iraq by claiming we are building a democracy while he sits idly by and watches a democracy in Haiti being destroyed by thugs?" Representative Sheila Jackson-Lee (D-TX) questioned the true motives of the U.S. Government in "condemning a man that was elected democratically, stepped down, allowed a new President, [returned] and [indicated] that he [would] end his tenure in 2006."

4.5.2 Counterarguments on refugee affairs

As for the refugee issue, Haitians fleeing after the deposition of Aristide in 1991 and their unfortunate discrimination by the U.S. officials were assessed

⁵⁴⁸ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 108th Congress, 2nd Session, February 24, 2004. 542.

⁵⁴⁹ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 108th Congress, 2nd Session, February 24, 2004.

⁵⁵⁰ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 108th Congress, 2nd Session, February 24, 2004.

⁵⁵¹ *Congressional Record*, House of Representatives, 108th Congress, 2nd Session, February 25, 2004. 628.

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critically by bipartisan effort. Heated debates in the Senate called for a more humane treatment of Haitian refugees in line with the United States' being a role model for other freedom-seekers. Senator Connie Mack (R-FL) argued against the selective quality of U.S. hospitality.

[I]n recent times, we have witnessed an astonishing movement away from socialism toward democracy and free market economies around the world. The United States has been the symbol of freedom the rest of the world has sought to emulate. Freedom, by is nature, and for the sake of its preservation, must be afforded to everyone –black, white, yellow, old, young, disabled, man, women- everyone. Anything else is simply selective freedom. And in the case of the current treatment of Haitians fleeing an illegally formed military government, it is discriminatory and unacceptable. 552

Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA) similarly addressed the Administration to take the initiative in aiding the plight of Haitians.

[T]he Administration should urge all countries in the region to refrain from forcibly returning Haitians until conditions in Haiti are stabilized, and should press these nations to grant temporary protected status or temporary safe haven to Haitians entering their country. The Administration has the authority to do this under the terms of the Immigration Act of 1990, and it should use it today to protect the Haitian people. . . ⁵⁵³

As Kennedy argued, greater contribution by the United States was required in a time when the post-Cold War era witnessed new concerns. In the face of Haitians being picked up from sea and forced to return, he juxtaposed the Reagan and George H. W. Bush Administrations saying that in 1981, the former Administration had accepted that Article 33 of the 1951 International Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (principle of non-return) bound the United States even on the high seas.

⁵⁵² Congressional Record, Senate, 102nd Congress, 1st Session, November 14, 1991. 16713.

⁵⁵³ Congressional Record, Senate, 102nd Congress, 1st Session, November 22, 1991. 17662. Immigration Act of 1990 (dated November 29, 1990) increased the limits on legal immigration to the United States, revised all grounds for exclusion and deportation, authorized temporary protected status to aliens of designated countries, revised and established new nonimmigrant admission categories, revised and extended the Visa Waiver Pilot Program, and revised naturalization authority and requirements.

Hence, in Kennedy's words, formerly no Haitians had been returned without first determining whether they were political refugees.

At a time when refugee needs are greater than ever before, the United States is setting an unconscionable example for the world. With refugees flooding out of the former Yugoslavia and Somalia by the thousands, with the alarming riots taking place in Germany, with ethnic controversies erupting in violence in many other troubled lands, America must not abdicate its role of leadership and compassion in accord with international law. 554

Senator Clairborne Pell (D-RI) said the U.S. could not blame Great Britain for the repatriation of Vietnamese boat people from refugee camps in Hong Kong, and then follow a similar policy for the Haitians itself. He also gave the example of Guinea as a role model for the U.S. immigration policy.

Guinea, which by almost any measure is one of the poorest countries in the world, received 325,000 in 1990 -10 times the number of Haitians received in the Guantanamo Bay. Despite international humanitarian assistance, the huge influx had a disruptive effect on Guinea, yet there were no known cases of denial of entry or involuntary repatriation. 555

Senator Bill Bradley (D-NJ) quoted from *The Star-Ledger* in criticizing the Bush Presidency.

Our problem is not Haiti: It is George Bush. President Bush suffers from Politicus Interruptis: He sends us to fight Saddam Hussein but hesitates to deliver the coup de grace! He denounces the Haitian military coup but imposes an embargo that starves the poor Haitian who came out in the millions at U.S. urging to vote for a president. I ask George Bush: When was the last time an embargo brought down an oppressive regime? The 30-year embargo against Castro? The embargo against Saddam Hussein? Saddam Hussein?

⁵⁵⁴ Congressional Record, Senate, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session, September 9, 1992. 13096.

⁵⁵⁵ Congressional Record, Senate, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session, June 3, 1992. 7475. Also see Representative Chester G. Atkins (D-MA) on St. Louis and Vietnamese refugees analogies in Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session, June 4, 1992. 1678.

⁵⁵⁶ Robert R. Klein. "Bush is denounced as heartless on Haiti," in *The Star-Ledger* June 13, 1992 quoted in *Congressional Record*, Senate, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session, August 11, 1992. 12398.

During the Clinton period, Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-NY) spoke disfavorably about the Governor Island Agreement by alluding to the former examples of U.S.' *rapprochement* with tyrants: "Interestingly, the same President that labeled Cedras and his cohorts as 'dictators,' was quick to make a deal with them. This should not be strange for an administration that has concluded an agreement with Fidel Castro, negotiated with Hafez Assad, and appeased the Chinese dictators." On the other hand, in order to secure the Haitian Immigration Fairness Act, many congress members spoke highly of those Haitians welcomed into the United States. In the words of Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA): "Like other political refugees, Haitians have come to this country with a strong love of freedom and a strong commitment to democracy. . .Wherever they have settled, they have made lasting contributions to the economic vitality and diversity of our communities and the nation." 558

In the House debates, Representative Gary L. Ackerman (D-NY) reminded the embarrassing case of St. Louis ship when, back in 1939, was filled with Jews but forced to return to Europe to perish after being denied access to the United States. He equally questioned the official view of Haitians as economic refugees while the Government "has recognized in various executive orders and official statements the brutality of the military in power and called for the return of President Aristide to power." Representative Jose E. Serrano (D-NY) reminded the fact that the Administration still abided by an "11-year-old agreement negotiated with the deposed dictator 'Baby Doc' Jean-Claude Duvalier" in repatriating the Haitians. He called for the U.S. to promote "international cooperation to support the fundamental

⁵⁵⁷ Congressional Record, Senate, 103rd Congress, 2nd Session, September 20, 1994. 12992.

⁵⁵⁸ Congressional Record, Senate, 105th Congress, 2nd Session, November 12, 1998. 13003.

⁵⁵⁹Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 102nd Congress, 1st Session, November 22, 1991. 4021.

rights of all citizens worldwide" as the President explicated in his "New World Order" speech. Sepresentative Thomas M. Foglietta (D-PA) asked whether it would make a difference if Haitians were fleeing a communist regime and, like some of his peers in the Cold War period, reminded the words on the Statue of Liberty which called for welcoming anyone yearning to breathe free, inside the U.S. Liberty and Iraq again set the background for criticism by Representative Nicholas Mavroules (D-MA), who argued that in-country processing held the possibility for Haitians to meet retribution by the ruling junta, adding that it was "clear-cut hypocrisy to allow Cubans into the United States and criticize Iraq for its treatment of refugees only to turn away Haitians escaping similar crimes against humanity." To further highlight the contemporary selective treatment of refugees, Representative Neil Abercrombie (D-HI) gave examples from his own ancestors' memorable experiences in the United States, which clashed with those of Haitian refugees.

Nobody asked my grandfather whether he was Scottish or he came from Ireland or came from Canada. They wanted to know if you can handle this eight-horse team. . . He delivered on that wagon. All he asked for was a chance to work. . . He did not get fingerprinted in any police station. Not in this country. That is not what it was supposed to be about. But that is what we are doing today to our neighbors. Is this not the country with the good neighbor policy? 563

Representative Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD) ironically contended that the U.S. Haitian refugee policy had those illiberal characteristics similarly observed in communist regimes.

⁵⁶⁰ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 102nd Congress, 1st Session, November 26, 1991. 4165.

⁵⁶¹Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session, March 2, 1992. 494.

⁵⁶² Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session, May 27, 1992. 1558.

⁵⁶³ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session, May 27, 1992. 3827.

Amnesty International has been denied permission to investigate the asylum processing facilities for Haitian refugees in Guantanamo, Cuba. Official responses to their request to "monitor government asylum procedures in light of international refugee standards" remind me of evasive doublespeak the Commission routinely heard from Communist authorities. The State Department deferred judgement to the Department of Defense, yet added that logistical problems made the visit unwise. The Department of Justice, citing ongoing litigation concerning the Haitians, declined to comment on the proposed visit. The Department of Defense never replied to the request. 564

After the 9/11 incident, the December 2001 decision by the Administration which stipulated that no Haitian should be paroled from detention without approval from Washington met considerable disapproval. As Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA) argued, this fell counter to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees' advisory opinion that "deter[ring] future arrivals does not fall within any of the exceptional grounds for detention and is contrary to the principle underlying the international refugee protection regime." The Senator also contended that, Haitians' being singled out for restrictive treatment clashed with a 1995 Supreme Court decision, which called for policy based on "individualized parole determinations without regard to race or national origin." The United States' heightened military cooperation with the Dominican army in terms of U.S. technical and training aid was also subject to criticism. It was claimed that the United States aimed at sealing off the border in order to forestall further refugee flows. The U.S. was accused of exploiting the Dominicans' historic fear of the "black Haitian" through the offers of joint exercises and free weaponry, thus adding to the instability in the region. 566

Meanwhile, during the congressional hearings on Haitian refugees in 2002, various witness reports enumerated the high qualities of Haitians, or the

⁵⁶⁴ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session, June 22, 1992. 1937.

⁵⁶⁵ "The Detention and Treatment of Haitian Asylum Seekers," Hearing before Subcommittee on Immigration of the Committee on the Judiciary, Senate, 107th Congress, Second Session, October 1, 2002 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2003), 2.

⁵⁶⁶ Kathie Klarreich. "Iron Seal Around Haiti," *Miami Herald*, December 6, 2002.

discriminatory policies in refugee detention and processing centers. As Thomas G. Wenski, auxiliary bishop of Miami, Florida maintained

In my work with Haitians in South Florida, I have found them to be hard-working, honest and God-fearing members of our communities. They have been a positive influence in South Florida and elsewhere. In recent years, Haitian Americans have distinguished themselves in all areas of our community's life, and indeed today several are elected public officials. In other words, whatever fears there might have been that led to the early policies of the 1980s have not been realized. ⁵⁶⁷

Dina Paul Parks, Executive Director of National Coalition for Haitian Rights, New York made a complementary remark.

Despite the treatment that sometimes we receive in this country, our community had produced individuals such as Pierre-Richard Prosper, the U.S. Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues; Dr. Rose-Marie Toussaint, the first African American woman to head a liver transplant service in the world; Mr. Dumas Simeus, Chairman and CEO of Simeus Food International; the largest black-owned business in Texas and one of the top in the country; Mario Elie, the power guard that helped the Houston Rockets to back-to-back NBA championships in the mid-1990s. ⁵⁶⁸

In the words of Marie Jocelyn Ocean, a Haitian asylee and former detainee, Haitian women were humiliatingly detained in a former jail TGK, and were subject to strip-searching, banging on jail doors and flashlights that interrupted their sleep. She also argued that many of them lacked language and legal assistance. As for the Krome Service Processing Center where Haitian men were gathered, Cheryl Little of Florida Immigrant Advocacy Center contended that the lawyers found it hard to get access to their clients on such reasons as long head count hours or limited confidential visitation space. S70

The CBC members were also active in challenging the official viewpoint on Haitian immigration. In the face of Jean-Bertrand Aristide's overthrow from office

⁵⁶⁸ Hearing before Subcommittee on Immigration of the Committee on the Judiciary, 17.

⁵⁷⁰ Hearing before Subcommittee on Immigration of the Committee on the Judiciary, 19.

⁵⁶⁷ Hearing before Subcommittee on Immigration of the Committee on the Judiciary, 5.

⁵⁶⁹ Hearing before Subcommittee on Immigration of the Committee on the Judiciary, 8.

and the ongoing chaos there especially against Aristide supporters, Representative Charles B. Rangel (D-NY) argued that it was difficult to distiguish economic fear from political fear, and that the Haitians now lived in fear of both. ⁵⁷¹ He also pointed at the action of many religious organizations regarding the crisis in Haiti, "showing the kind of moral leadership that has been sadly lacking in [the U.S.] Government." Rangel quoted from many of these leaders' speeches as they drew parallels with the oft-used St. Louis and the British treatment of Vietnamese refugee cases. ⁵⁷² Representative Major R. Owens (D-NY) called for genuine efforts to secure Aristide's return as he was elected by 70 percent of the voters, whereas in the United States, of those who voted for President Bush comprised only 52-53 percent of the total votes. Moreover, Owens maintained that the U.S., originated as a refugee country itself, should especially welcome those Haitians fleeing their homes just because they had supported Aristide.

[Our] country was founded by people fleeing oppression. We have been consistent most of the time, whether they are Hungarian Freedom Fighters fleeing communist oppression in Hungary, or Salvadorans, Nicaraguans, people fleeing oppression in Central America or South America, we have always opened the doors. People from Lebanon, Palestine, all over we have consistently opened our doors to political refugees. Only the Haitians have been treated differently, only the Haitians. . . Could it be the fact that the Haitians are black that has elicited this special inhumane treatment? . . There is no more clear definition of a political refugee than a person who is fleeing from bullets and bombs of his own government. ⁵⁷³

Owens' rhetoric became bitter as the number of fleeing Haitians rose daily, associating U.S. refugee policy with Hitler's fascism.

⁵⁷¹ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 102nd Congress, 1st Session, October 30, 1991. 8673

⁵⁷² Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 102nd Congress, 1st Session, November 26, 1991. 4105, 4107.

⁵⁷³ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 102nd Congress, 1st Session, November 14, 1991. 10259-10260.

[T]he Administration's plan to forcibly deport 14,000 Haitians and return them to the terror of the police state controlled by Haitian military thugs is a racist act with deadly genocidal consequences. . . Refugees in much greater numbers have been allowed to enter into this country. Fourteen thousand is not a large number. Not 14,000 but 61,826 Hungarians have been admitted to this Nation at the time of the Soviet invasion of Hungary. Not 14,000, but 488,796 anti-Castro Cubans had been admitted to this country between the time that Castro came to power and 1981. 574

Representative Charles A. Hayes (D-IL) contended that the U.S. Embassy itself had ample proof regarding killings, police harassment, illegal searches and looting of private homes and arrests without warrants by Haiti's *de facto* Government in order to qualify for a case of political repression. As Hayes argued, hundreds of Haitians returning to their country were being monitored by fingerprinting. Representative Alan Wheat (D-MO) again reminded the inscription on the Statue of Liberty, adding that "this refusal to recognize repression and support its victims is not in the great tradition of American compassion." Representative Lucien E. Blackwell (D-PA) played on the "New World Order" theme to admonish the hypocritical policy of repatriating the Haitians.

[T]he United States has a new policy in today's "new world order." The woman, with her child, was dragged off the boat, dragged across the dock, and then dragged into the repatriation station, as she screamed in harmonious agony with her young son. . . The new United States, you know, the one with the barbed wire fence around the perimeter of the country?" ⁵⁷⁷

Representative Edolphus Towns (D-NY) equally condemned the U.S. refugee policy as being racially discriminatory: "Never before has the United States had a policy of

⁵⁷⁵ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session, February 7, 1992. 261.

⁵⁷⁶Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session, March 25, 1992. 823.

⁵⁷⁷ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session, June 5, 1992. 1713.

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⁵⁷⁴ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session, February 4, 1992. 222.

return for any group suffering from civil strife other than these black refugees. How can we allow these refugees who are fleeing tyranny to be turned back?"⁵⁷⁸

CBC members continued their attacks well into the Clinton era.

Representative Carrie P. Meek (D-FL) once again challenged the ever-enduring
"economic" quality of the Haitian plight.

While I agree that after years of dictatorships and corruption Haiti's economy is a disaster, I disagree that the people of Haiti are not fleeing the violence they are being subjected to at the hands of the military and the violent political movement known as FRAPH, the Front for Advancement and Progress of Haiti, a paramilitary anti-Aristide force; the acronym means "hit" or "strike" in Creole. . .[It] is modeled after the feared Tonton Macoutes, a private right-wing militia employed by "Papa Doc" Duvalier to help keep power. ⁵⁷⁹

The CBC also sought equitable relief for Haitians, who were left outside the framework of the Victims of Communism Relief Act, or NACARA. Representative John Conyers, Jr. (D-MI) was the author of the Haitian Refugee Immigration Fairness Act, so that the Haitians would be treated on par with Nicaraguans, Cubans, Salvadorans, Guatemalans, and certain Eastern European refugees who now had the opportunity to apply for suspension of deportation. In the face of September 11 attacks, CBC members criticized the December 2001 decision of detaining all Haitians seeking or having been granted asylum in Haiti, whereas 91 percent of refugees from other nations were given parole in American communities while they sought asylum. As Representative Edolphus Towns (D-NY) argued, many Haitians chose "to face detainment here rather than face terrorism at home." As he continued, "we were attacked on that day because of our principles, if we retract on them, we

⁵⁷⁸ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session, June 9, 1992. 1738.

⁵⁷⁹ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 103rd Congress, 2nd Session, February 1, 1994. 44.

⁵⁸⁰ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 105th Congress, 1st Session, November 13, 1997. 2382.

are only allowing ourselves to lose in the war on terrorism."⁵⁸¹ Representative Kendrick Meek (D-FL) shared his personal observations on the allegation that Haitians were related with terrorist activities:

[B]eing on the Committee on Homeland Security, being on the Committee on Armed Services, I have not yet heard or seen an FBI report or a CIA report to show any level or any indication of terrorism in Haiti, or any member of its government that condones terrorism in Haiti, or the Haitian people in general . . . But Castro sided with Saddam Hussein. Cuba is also a communist country, and every day we have individuals that are migrating to South Florida. We should be very careful as a country when we start using homeland security against individuals who cannot harm this government. ⁵⁸²

Representative Sheila Jackson-Lee (D-TX) argued that it would be a shame for the Bush Administration to withhold aid from its neighbor in the face of its generosity towards Bosnia, Albania and Kosovo refugees.⁵⁸³

Parenthetically, the NAACP also showed remarkable presence in the form of several resolutions condemning the unjust treatment of Haitian immigrants. By two resolutions on the issue in 1980 and 1982, together with those introduced in 1993, 1994 and 2002, its members called upon the Congress to enact permanent legislation to designate Haitians as political refugees. They also asked the U.S. President to demonstrate his commitment to human rights and called for fair and just hearings in addition to due counseling facilities for the Haitian refugees. Reminding the Federal Government that the United States had been a haven for the tired, the poor and the homeless, giving blanket refugee status to hundreds of thousands of Cubans, Cambodians, Vietnamese, Eastern Europeans and others, the NAACP called for same benevolence to be extended to the Haitians.

⁵⁸¹Congressional Record, House of Representatives, Extension of Remarks, 107th Congress, 2nd Session, June 20, 2002. 1110-1111.

⁵⁸² Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 108th Congress, 1st Session, April 30, 2003. 3559

⁵⁸³ Congressional Record, House of Reresentatives, 108th Congress, 2nd Session, February 26, 2004. 636.

4.5.3 Counterarguments on new threats

On the issue of Haiti's affliction with the new post-Cold War problems like drug trafficking and AIDS pandemic, the opposition shared the same view with the U.S. Government on the former topic -that Haiti was a hub for drug transit. However, challenges to federal accusations regarding Haiti as a brewing source for AIDS transmission continued in the post-Cold War era. According to critics, the George H. W. Bush Administration's blood policy unfairly singled out Haitian nationality, when other groups including black and Hispanic Americans in several major cities, not to mention other Caribbean nationalities including the Bahamans and Jamaicans, actually had a higher rate of AIDS. 584 Despite the fact that a government advisory panel had found no scientific basis for the blanket categorization of Haitians as likely carriers of the virus, and that the FDA was reviewing its policy toward Haitian blood donors, Ringo Cayard, a leading Haitian business and political leader in Miami believed a more effective propaganda was needed to exonerate Haitians of being potential AIDS transmitters: "We have more problems than other groups. . . We get stigmatized not only as blacks, but also as illiterates and disease-carriers who come from an underdeveloped country."585 Upon the news that even those Haitians cleared for political asylum at the Guantanamo Bay Naval Base in Cuba may be denied entry into the United States on account of AIDS risk heightened criticism against the Administration: "The Government is obliged to bring the Haitians quickly to shore after they are identified as potential refugees so that they can meet with their lawyers and begin their asylum claims. . . Asylum laws provide no mandate for HIV screening," said Cheryl Little. 586

⁵⁸⁴ Lambert. "Now, No Haitians Can Donate Blood."

⁵⁸⁵ James Remoyne. "Long Docile, Haitian Americans Turn Militant," *The New York Times* May 5, 1990.

⁵⁸⁶ French. "HIV Could Cut Entry to the U.S."

Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA) joined in these pleas by quoting a report by the National Minority AIDS Council, in which it was enumerated several reasons that hindered effective collaboration with the U.S. Government on the AIDS issue: "1. previous efforts to identify nationality as a risk factor for HIV transmission, as was the case with the Haitian population; 2. inadequately addressed deficiencies in data collection; 3. discriminatory immigration policies. . ."587 Many articles condemned the United States as being one of the few nations in the world that excluded HIV-positive immigrants, among which were China, South Korea, Russia, and Saudi Arabia. Et was also claimed that no special travel restrictions existed in most European nations for HIV-contracted people.

This summer, Americans thrilled to the performance of the Dream Team in Barcelona. But if Spain had our immigration policy, which prevents anyone infected with HIV from entering the U.S., Magic Johnson would never have been allowed to play. Last month, Mr. Johnson quit the National Commission on AIDS. How can you justify this country's continued discrimination against the world's Magic Johnsons?⁵⁸⁹

During the Clinton Administration, the conciliatory stance of the President about admitting AIDS-infected Haitians into the U.S. met with remarkable sarcasm. In the view of Representative Marge Roukema (R-NJ), such action would further cause burden on the American health-care system, while exposing the country to the disease through another avenue. Senator Don Nickles (R-OK) concurred, thinking that it would not be compassionate to say "Come to America and Uncle Sam is going to take care of your medical expenses," with Senator Phil Gramm (R-TX) believing

⁵⁸⁷ Congressional Record, Senate, 102nd Congress, 2nd Session, March 26, 1992. 4362.

⁵⁸⁸ Anna Quindlen. "Public & Private; Set Her Free," *The New York Times* November 18, 1992.

⁵⁸⁹ James Ledbetter. "23 Questions; Mr. President:" *The New York Times* October 11, 1992.

⁵⁹⁰ Hilts. "Clinton to Lift Ban on HIV-Infected Visitors."

that compassion began at home. ⁵⁹¹ On the other hand, the Clinton Administration's hesitance to use further initiative to admit Haitians on the basis of their HIV-positive status caused some people to wage hunger strikes. As Haitian Olden Polynice of the Detroit Pistons argued: "We're talking about the Bosnians and the Somalians and everybody else, but nothing is being said about the situation in Guantanamo, or in Miami, or the Haitian plight, period." ⁵⁹² Articles also pointed at the U.S. hypocrisy in immigration policy, and called for genuine interest toward the Haitians.

Their illusions about a voyage to freedom seem pathetic now. Immigration officials determined that all of them had credible claims for asylum. But the Haitians have had to prove that not only their blood, but their blood is pure. . . "Huddled masses," it says at the base of the Statue of Liberty. "Wretched refuse." Not "perfect specimen." ⁵⁹³

Another article demonstrated that even Thailand, Costa Rica and South Africa lifted bans on such travelers. ⁵⁹⁴

The CBC members also attacked the Administration as regards banning Haitians' admission into U.S. borders on account of their affiliation with AIDS. Representative Carrie Meek (D-FL) pointed at the injustice toward selective labeling of potential immigrants by referring to the Cuban immigrants' experience as observed in the Cold War period.

Indeed, Cubans who have made it to the Guantanamo Naval Base are being brought to the United States and allowed to enter the asylum program without any medical testing at all. . . These HIV positive Haitians pose less of a public health threat than the millions of untested Americans who unknowingly infect others through high risk practices. 595

⁵⁹¹ Clifford Krauss. "Senate Opposes Immigration of People with AIDS Virus," *The New York Times* February 19, 1993.

⁵⁹² "Pro Basketball; Polynice Ends Hunger Strike," *The New York Times* February 21, 1993.

⁵⁹³ Quindlen. "Public & Private; Lost in a Limbo."

⁵⁹⁴ Sharon Lerner. "Banned from Pride," Village Voice June 30, 1999.

⁵⁹⁵ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 103rd Congress, 1st Session, June 23, 1993. 4007.

Another CBC member, Representative Major Owens (D-NY) concurred in similar lines, arguing that the Hungarian refugees running from the Soviet invasion were never tested for any kind of disease for admission to the United States.⁵⁹⁶

4.6 Analysis

The U.S. official discourse on Haiti during the post-Cold War period mostly revolved around the refugee issue. As the Haitian influx into the U.S. borders reached new heights after the Cold War, U.S. Administrations couched any Haitian ruler in favorable terms who could ensure stability in the country to stem the refugee tide. This period was also differentiated from the earlier periods for the extended attention given to the newly emerging and widely spreading threats of drug trafficking and the AIDS pandemic, whose roots had already been observed in the late Cold War era. Despite the ever-changing metaphors attributed to Haitian rulers as they complied or not with the U.S. interests, Haiti's being a major drug transit country and the foremost source of AIDS remained constant. The AIDS pandemic, and terrorism, the latter bearing its indelible mark especially after the 9/11 incident, also had their impact on the attributes ascribed to the Haitian refugees.

Interestingly, the refugee rhetoric of Washington showed remarkable continuity with that observed in the Cold War era. The main repetitive element was the arbitrary definitions of the terms "refugee" and "persecution." Haitians fleeing their country were still evaluated by the United States through an economic, not political perspective. Despite rare instances of official acknowledgement of terror and dictatorship in Haiti, U.S. governments in both the Cold War and post-Cold War period conceived of political repression as emanating only from communist

⁵⁹⁶ Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 103rd Congress, 1st Session, June 23, 1993. 4009.

countries. Cubans and refugees from the former Soviet countries were prioritized at all times. It was only when refugee crisis first climaxed in the early 1990s that the U.S. regarded the situation in Haiti as constituting a "national emergency," and decided to rescue Haitians out of "tyranny." Only in this and other instances of refugee influx that the U.S. Administrations criticized the breach of democracy and rule of law in this country, even intervening in Haiti for reinstituting liberalism and human rights there.

Another attribute of the official portrayal of Haiti in general, and the Haitian refugees in particular, was its condescending nature, which boasted of the United States' benevolence in uplifting this conflict-ridden nation. As a borrowed theme from the Cold War, the United States was portrayed as embracing "the difficult task of helping these newcomers as productive members." Moreover, Washington chastised other "civilized" countries like Britain for turning back immigrants. Being a refugee country itself, the United States posed as the role model for others. After the Operation Uphold Democracy, it was still claimed that Haiti should be kept under close vigilance as the situation there remained volatile. The country was described as one of the "young and fragile democracies" in which the U.S. played and should play a very important role.

Challenges against the official portrait of refugee affairs brought into light various truths that Washington evaded. The critics backed up their arguments with field studies, witness reports, references to protocols and conventions that the U.S. were party to, and allusions to the founding tenets of America. Post-Cold War allegations against the U.S. still borrowed heavily from Cold War metaphors. In both periods, it was mainly the Democratic congress members from the House of Representatives who mounted fierce attacks against U.S. Administrations regardless

of the party in power. Civil rights advocates, whose early efforts were seen in the last years of the Cold War, became more visible in the post-Cold War era just like black activism in the body of the Congressional Black Caucus. The CBC resumed from where the black press, now preoccupied with civil rights at home, had left in the pre-Cold War era.

During and after the Cold War, the critics contended that Haitians' economic deprivation was a direct impact of the brutal regime. They backed their arguments quoting from official statements condemning the breach of human rights in Haiti as well as the irreconcilability of the dictators there. The critics' main conclusion was that, persecution of peoples under communist regimes was no different in quality than persecution by non-communist dictatorial governments. They challenged Washington for its selective treatment of refugees, welcoming the Cuban, Indochinese, Vietnamese, Afghani and Iranian people while keeping the Haitians off hand. Inscription on the Statue of Liberty became one of the oft-repeated themes in both periods, calling for the United States to stick to its motto of "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" for all. The U.S. was also depicted as behaving counter to the responsibilities described in various protocols and conventions that it was signatory to. It was repeatedly articulated that international law stipulated admission of refugees who were able to present a credible fear of persecution upon return to their homeland. Critics also mocked Washington for chastising Britain for returning Vietnamese refugees to suffer in their country, while it was doing the same thing for the Haitians. Within this framework, talking about inhumane conditions in refugee detention centers, many attorneys and civil rights activists found similarities with "concentration camps in Siberia." Difficulties that human rights groups faced in order to screen the U.S. detainment facilities were also likened to "evasive

doublespeak of communists." Counter-discourses in both periods also highlighted the racial dimension of refugee policies in which white Cubans, or people from the former Soviet satellites were highly favored in contrast to black Haitians.

In the post-Cold War era, despite occasional remarks of criticism against relaxing restrictions on the inclusion of Haitian refugees as bearing a potential burden on the U.S. health care system, the main critique rested with the U.S. turning its back to its "New World Order" responsibilities and commitments by ignoring the Haitians' plight. New elements of challenge included Haitians' contribution to the U.S. economic vitality and social diversity as "hardworking" and "God-fearing" public officials or businessmen. The case of St. Louis ship, filled with Jewish refugees to seek shelter from the Nazi regime but returned from the U.S. shores was also used abundantly to condemn the time-honored hypocricy of U.S. immigrant policies. The U.S. aid toward Bosnians, Somalians and many others, but not Haitians were underlined. Discrimination on the basis of AIDS diagnosis was more fiercely countered in the post-Cold War era, with the U.S. juxtaposed with dictatorial regimes such as China or Russia, which also barred immigration with respect to AIDS. The U.S. was also pitted against Thailand, Costa Rica and South Africa which lifted bans on such travelers. It was underscored that no Cubans or Hungarians were screened for HIV, but Haitians, whereas the rate of AIDS was higher among many black and Hispanic United States citizens, not to mention Bahaman and Jamaican immigrants. Revealing the non-professionality of investigations, and hesitancy of some federal agencies in coining the relation between the disease and Haiti was also used as a critical method. Lastly, the indefinite detainment of Haitians after the 9/11 was challenged on the ground that the U.S. would lose the war on terrorism if it failed to principles abide the for which it attacked. by was

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

5.1 General overview

This analytical narrative of argumentative exchange between official and oppositional interpretation of events, offered a complementary account of the U.S.-Haitian relations. Despite the changes in domestic and international context, Haiti was almost always depicted by the establishment rhetoric as "needy" or "inferior," requiring caution and guidance, with rare occasions of affirmative portrayals so long as the Republic complied with U.S. policies. In return, counterarguments to the official view of the state of affairs presented invaluable data based upon on-site observations, witness reports, references to international law, and the basic tenets of Americanism like life, liberty and pursuit of happiness for all. Through a web of predicates, presuppositions, comparisons and metaphors, each party fought to have the final say over policymaking on Haiti. The study also showed the variety in perspective and rhetoric even within the establishment or the opposition, while paying due attention to one of the underrated themes in international relations, that is, the role of black Americans in foreign policymaking process.

The U.S. official rhetoric during the subject period began with racial prejudices and inferiority associated with it. Haiti's incapability to raise its economic standards and the incessant domestic turbulence associated with this, are often

attibuted to the colored aspect this republic. Respective U.S. administrations took these notions for granted despite changes in the threat perceptions of Washington. Haiti's non-recognition stemmed from the fear of its setting a precedent for slave insurrection within the U.S. borders in the pre-Civil War period. According to Washington, a "black republic" was nothing other than an anomaly. Haiti's failure in living up to the example of those so-called "high civilizations" naturally set the stage for the benevolent America to intervene in order to deter profit-seeking Europeans from destabilizing the region in the pre-Cold War era. During the Cold War, it was believed that, Haiti's natural incapacity to ameliorate its social and economic conditions might be taken advantage of by communist forces. Lastly, it was Haiti, with all its deficiencies and turmoil, being treated as the scapegoat for almost all the dangers having its mark on the post-Cold War period like drug trafficking, AIDS and terrorism. It was for these reasons that Haitians suffered the harshest restrictions on immigration to the United States. Accordingly, the U.S. Administrations couched any Haitian ruler in favorable terms who could ensure stability in the country, so that foreign intervention or mass immigration could be prevented. Parethetically, the element of race gradually dropped off the official agenda on the eve of the Cold War period. It was the oppositional camp in the Cold War and the post-Cold War periods that countered the U.S. foreign policy behavior as being tainted with racial considerations. In their perspective, the discrimination against Haitians was mainly based on race, especially in the realm of immigration.

The critics contended that Haitians' were a "civilized" nation, having chosen the republican form of government over servitude to foreign powers. After the independence, Haiti was and would have continued to be a competent actor, if it had not been beset by compensation to France and by authoritarian political figures

taking advantage of the power vacuum during Haiti's transition period. According to the critics, economic deprivation was a direct impact of short-term brutal regimes, fuelling instability and insecurity in Haiti. They backed their arguments quoting from official statements admitting the breach of human rights in Haiti as well as the irreconcilability of the dictators there. In the Cold War and post-Cold War periods, the critics' main conclusion was that, persecution of peoples under communist or former communist regimes was no different in quality than persecution by non-communist dictatorial governments. They challenged Washington for its selective treatment of refugees.

As times and threats changed, so did the actors involved, especially in the oppositional camp. It was Federal judiciary action and civil rights advocates that resumed from where black activists had left in the pre-Cold War period. While the black press had formerly fought against the U.S. occupation and exploitation of Haiti, they were preoccupied during the Cold War mostly with issues like civil rights issues or Africa. The Congressional Black Caucus also appeared in the early 1970s to advocate for the cause of Haitians. Congressional critique became more active during the Cold War and the post-Cold War, while it was mainly the Democrats in the House of Representatives that were visible in the debates on U.S-Haitian affairs.

The evidence offered by the opposition through field studies were often shared by the U.S. Embassy in Haiti. Telegrams and policy papers from the Embassy to the Department of State added to the occasional admissions by Washington that, especially the Duvalier regime, incapatitated the Haitian people. Embassy sources from 1963 to 1967 in the Foreign Relations of the United States, Volume XXXII on Dominican Republic, Cuba, Haiti and Guyana portrayed the vicious rule of Duvalier and provided advice on the measures that the U.S. should follow:

Duvalier has made it clear over past year he intends remain in control of Haiti until he dies, that he will use any means to this objective, and will not tolerate any threat to his political control. Latter, of course, based primarily on fear, terrorism and threats even toward his close followers. 597

In the Embassy's view, "Government of Haiti will remain Government of Haiti, that is to say, basically devious and untrustworthy." The foremost intention of Duvalier was believed to be "injection of dollars" into Haiti by the U.S. It was acknowledged that "money would simply go into pockets of regime without benefit to the Haitian people." The proposed plan of action was conveyed in these lines:

The United States is now faced with the prospect that the Duvalier regime will continue to rule Haiti for the foreseeable future. In these circumstances it is in the United States interest to seek to bring about at least a minimum level of mutual accommodation, realizing that room for such accommodation may be very limited and of dubious duration . . . The United States also has an abiding interest in the social and economic welfare of the Haitian people, although past experience shows that effective cooperation with the Duvalier regime in these fields is beset by very great difficulties . . . In any event, the well-being of the Haitian people or lack thereof has an important long-term bearing on the key United States interest of denying Haiti to the Communists . . . 2. If, as a result of the fact that the United States is not prepared to resume immediately bilateral aid to Haiti, Duvalier reverts to his usual tactics of reprisals against United States representatives in Haiti, or attempts to blackmail the United States in the OAS, it should be made clear that the United States will not be intimidated.

It is essential to draw attention to the fact that, both sides portrayed Haiti in line with their respective interests. While the U.S. Administrations made decisions about Haiti sometimes for solely strategic, national security and economic reasons, they reverted to race and prejudice rhetoric to justify their actions. Likewise, the opposition, especially the African American arguments on Haiti carry with them the hope for more rights and freedoms at home if similar rights were attained for other

1964-1968 Vol. XXXII.

⁶⁰⁰ "Policy Paper Prepared in the Embassy in Haiti and the Office of Caribbean Affairs, Department of State," April 23, 1964 in *FRUS*, 1964-1968 Vol. XXXII.

⁵⁹⁷ "Telegram from the Embassy in Haiti to the Department of State," December 18, 1963 in *FRUS*, 1964-1968 Vol. XXXII. Retrieved from http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/johnsonlb/xxxii/44658.htm ⁵⁹⁸ "Telegram from the Embassy in Haiti to the Department of State," February 13, 1964 in *FRUS*,

⁵⁹⁹ "Telegram from the Embassy to the Department of State," October 21, 1965 in *FRUS*, 1964-1968 Vol. XXXII.

immigrants. Their hope was that improvement, particularly in Africa's position, would in turn culminate into these countries' help for better social and political conditions for black Americans.⁶⁰¹

If they supported a restrictionist immigration, they might strengthen doctrines against themselves. Hence, while there were different opinions among the African American community, intellectuals and press (*Age*, *Amsterdam News*) regarding immigrants as they would render them jobless, the dominant view was to welcome them. 602 Black leaders like Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington were critical of curbing immigration, on grounds that the African Americans' plight was not related with the immigrant flow. Again, many in the black community and in the press stood fervently against the 1924 National Origins Act, whose one obscure clause specified that immigration from colonies would be counted as part of the mother country's quota, meaning the exclusion of the growing numbers of black West Indian immigrants. On the other hand, even though most NAACP members in the early 1990s, for example, argued for solidarity with immigrants, many others were against it. Even the black congresswoman from Texas, Barbara Jordan, appointed by Clinton to head the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform had put forth discriminationist arguments. 603

Nevertheless, especially those immigrants having a strong diaspora in the U.S. were welcome by the American blacks. The CBC's two successful campaigns that challenged Washington were the South African and Haitian cases in the 1980s and 1990s respectively. The Rwanda case did not raise due attention on account of

Wendy Theodore. "The Declining Appeal of Diasporic Connections: African American Organising for South Africa, Haiti and Rwanda," *Global Society* 22:2 (April 2008).
 See David J. Hellwig. "Black Leaders and United States Immigration Policy, 1917-1929," *The*

⁶⁰² See David J. Hellwig. "Black Leaders and United States Immigration Policy, 1917-1929," *The Journal of Negro History* 66:2 (Summer 1981), 110,127; Stephen Steinberg. "Immigration, African Americans, and Race Discourse," *New Politics*, 10:3.

⁶⁰³ Jeff Diamond. "African American Attitudes towards United States Immigration Policy," *International Migration Review* 32:2 (Summer 1998), 453-464.

weak diaspora network. In the Haiti case, the CBC made the diasporic call to mobilise African American communities because of similar ancestry. They succeeded in creating a solidarity despite the fact that many African Americans were concerned not only over the economic consequences of Haitian immigrant influx, but also over the political tensions between some Haitian American and African American communities in New York and Florida, for example. On the other hand, unfamiliarity with Rwanda, and the total failure of the U.S. mission to Somalia as well as Rwanda's association with those "irrational" and "tribal" Somalians, led to indifference to this country's plight. In sum, the African Americans did not necessarily campaign for the immigrants' own sake, but especially for the interests of the African American people. 604

In another vein, the U.S. behavior toward other black immigrants, such as those from Africa, strikes another point. The African immigrants often had more impressive education credentials than Caribbean blacks, African Americans, and non-Hispanic whites. Most African students came from former British colonies where English is commonly taught in school. Immigrants from Sub-Saharan countries, in particular from Anglophone Kenya, Nigeria and Ghana, figured prominently in all refugees admitted between 1983 and 2005. Furthermore, the top 11 countries sending immigrants to the U.S. between 1974 and 1995 were mostly African. Of those who were admitted from Africa, the overwhelming majority were from Marxist Ethiopia. Ethiopia once had long standing political ties to the U.S. going back to World War II. During the 1950s and 1960s, the U.S. was the main ally of Ethiopia, providing the U.S. with a major communications base near Asmara in return for U.S. aid. In 1983, while there were 2456 refugees from Africa, the 2209 of

⁶⁰⁴ Theodore. "The Declining Appeal of Diasporic Connections."

⁶⁰⁵Mary Mederios. "Immigration and America's Black Population," *Population Bulletin* (December 2007).

them were Ethiopians. Those next with the most refugees to the U.S. were Sudan, Angola, and Zaire. Sudan and Zaire were close Cold War allies of the U.S., while Angola was a Marxist state against which the U.S. government was covertly supporting civil war.⁶⁰⁶

5.2 Epilogue: Haiti and the Dominican Republic compared

In order to understand fully the United States' approach toward Haiti, one should compare and contrast this country with its light-skinned, and relatively prosperous neighbor, the Dominican Republic. Like Haiti, the Dominican Republic was treated like a U.S. dependency or satellite for most of its existence. It was also occupied twice by the U.S. forces, first between 1916-1924, and then for a brief period in 1965-1966 (Operation Power Pack). In other times though, the United States frequently intervened in the internal affairs of this Caribbean Republic, fearing i) intervention by major European powers seeking repayment for their loans, ii) immigration to the U.S. in the face of authoritarian rule and economic downfall, iii) flourishing of communism in the country, and iv) regional instability triggered by drug trafficking, money laundering and terrorism. Nevertheless, there are also some contrasts between the two cases, which should be elaborated for the purposes of this paper. Despite occasional declarations of disapproval as regards the Dominican state of affairs, this country, having cast its fate with the United States on many important issues, and integrated rather competently with the global economy, ranks comparably higher than Haiti on Washington's favored partners list.

Intervention by and annexation to Haiti has always caused anxiety on the part of the Dominican Republic. Formerly a Spanish colony, this country gained

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⁶⁰⁶ April Gordon. "The New Diaspora-African Immigration to the United States," *Journal of Third World Studies* (Spring 1998), 55-62.

independence in 1821, only to be occupied by Haiti between 1822-1844, which abolished slavery throughout the Republic to the dismay of the United States. In contrast to the black Haiti's independence which caused great anxiety on the part of the United States, the Dominican independence from its Spanish masters was applauded and immediately recognized. The Republic's incorporation into Haiti soon afterwards, further alarmed the American leaders. After the second independence, two self-appointed generals, Pedro Santana and Buenaventura Báez alternated in presidency for the next forty-five years. While both sought foreign protection in order to stave off the Haitian threat and to restore former order and prosperity, Santana looked to Spain while Báez favored the U.S. rule. 607 After the Spanish restoration of power in the Republic between 1861-1865, Báez's third reelection brought in the American card. 608 The President's appeals to his U.S. counterpart Ulysses Grant did not pay, however. In Grant's view, the Civil War had shown the weakness of the Union navy, and the necessity for a base in the Caribbean to make up for this deficiency. Here was the Dominican Republic: a geostrategically profitable country, with a willingness to be incorporated into the United States. President Grant also talked about the fertility of the island along with the strategic and military benefits associated with the prospective annexation. In his words, the Republic would not only facilitate the practice of the Monroe Doctrine, but would also be a giant step toward realizing Manifest Destiny. Grant further mentioned about the Dominican Republic's weakness, and the necessity of U.S. guidance and watchfulness for humanitarian reasons. Finally, he conveyed his belief that, trading

⁶⁰⁷ Howard J. Wiarda and Michael J. Kryzanek. *The Dominican Republic: A Caribbean Crucible* 2nd edition (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), 27-29; Eric Paul Roorda. *The Dictator Next Door: The Good Neighbor Policy and the Trujillo Regime in the Dominican Republic, 1930-1945*, 4th ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 9-10.

Eugenio Matibag. *Haitian-Dominican Counterpoint* (Gordonsville: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 131.

with this republic would cast a blow to the slaveholding Cuba and Brazil, major exporters to the United States. Grant's plans, however, witnessed a great deal of opposition by the Congress, mostly on the need to steer away from a colored, inferior race for the sake of the preponderance of the Anglo-Saxons, or on anti-imperialist grounds. In his last annual adress to the nation, President Grant would admit that he had also thought of this annexation for transferring African Americans there (like Jefferson and Lincoln had thought of Haiti), where they could find a "congenial home," in which their "civil rights would not be disputed."

After the fifth presidency of Báez, a "modernizing dictator" Ulises Heureaux assumed power, under whose role the Dominican Republic thrived. Yet, his autocratic rule soon paved the way toward his assassination, followed by a return of political factionalism and personal rivalries which translated into social upheavals between 1899 and 1906. During this period, the Republic came to the brink of bankruptcy in view of instability, huge debts (to France, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands), and the threat of foreign intervention to collect these. Hence appeared President Theodore Roosevelt's famous corollary (1904) to the Monroe Doctrine: It was the duty of the United States to act as "international police power" in cases of the "impotence" and "wrongdoing" of regional governments which may attract the attention of European warships. This act also coincided with the United States' other interests in the Caribbean, like the Panama Canal. Eventually, the countries made an agreement ratified in 1907, by which the United States sought to alleviate the country's economic burdens through administration of its customs revenues. Along with this began the US presence in the Domican Republic as revenue agents, tax experts and some troops to guard the agents. Even this did not help, since, until 1916,

⁶⁰⁹ Love. Race over Empire, 44-48.

the Republic slided further deep into financial and economic turmoil in the face of presidential rivalries and corruption, culminating into the US intervention, done in the name of such limited goals as "restoring order" and the violated custom management –reminiscient of those reasons enumerated for the Haitian intervention in 1915. 610

Interestingly, the Monroe Doctrine had refused to extend protectorship to Haiti against encroachment by foreign powers, on the grounds that this black country was not recognized by the U.S. On the other hand, the Roosevelt Corollary to this doctrine was announced in the face of Dominican bankruptcy and the prospect of European intervention, which ended up with the U.S. Customs Receivership. In terms of similarities in these two cases, it can be enumerated that both were regarded by President Woodrow Wilson as having African racial traits and both were occupied in the end by the United States. Eventually though, Washington granted the Dominican Republic its independence sooner than they did to Haiti. This behaviour was countered by the critics on the basis of the Dominicans' being relatively lightskinned, and hence closer to the European standards -a factor which stood for their inherent capability to reach to the level of civilization. Haiti was much of a nuisance for the United States compared to the Dominican Republic, an example of which was its hesitation to declare war to Germany (which it finally did in mid-July 1918) in the First World War context, advising simply that diplomatic relations with this country would be broken.

As observed similarly in Haiti, this eight-year occupation led to relative modernization and stability, through which foreign debt was decreased, and public works facilities were improved. Within this framework, it was mostly the U.S. sugar

⁶¹⁰ Wiarda and Kryzanek. *The Dominican Republic*, 30-32; Roorda. *The Dictator Next Door*, 13, 16-17; Jan Knippers Black. *The Dominican Republic: Politics and Development in an Unsovereign State* (Boston: Allen&Unwin, 1986), 21-25.

firms that profited most by expanding their holdings. Simultaneously though, an intense anti-Americanism swept across the whole country. It was only after the end of the First World War that Washington would lose interest in this country, finally withdrawing from the Republic, while leaving a notorious National Guard trained by the U.S. Marines behind to seal the fate of Dominican politics. General Vásquez, accused by the opposition for being the puppet of the United States, would rule for six years after the U.S. forces left the Republic. After Vásquez was toppled, Rafael Trujillo would assume power between 1930-1961, whose rule can be likened to that of Duvaliers' in Haiti. Respective U.S. Administrations did not refrain from cooperating with Trujillo because, no matter how despotic his rule was, he was still able to maintain a degree of order and stability in the country. Throughout his term, Trujillo cultivated close relations with the United States even leading to major economic concessions, as he believed it was only through American power that could save the Republic from ruin. To the advantage of the United States, he crushed all independent trade unions, and appeared as the most fervent anti-Communist in the Western Hemisphere. In the late 1950s, Trujillo's curbing of opposition, the plummeting of sugar prices (main source of foreign revenue), together with his order of Venezuelan President Romulo Betancourt's assassination led to a trade and arms embargo against the Dominican Republic. President John F. Kennedy himself, authorized CIA assistance to a clandestine group preparing to topple Trujillo. Washington also went as far as being involved in his assassination on May 30, 1961.⁶¹¹

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⁶¹¹ Wiarda and Kryzanek. *The Dominican Republic*, 33-37; Eric Thomas Chester. *Rag-Tags, Scum, Riff-Raff, and Commies: The US Intervention in the Dominican Republic*, 1965-1966 (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001), 2; Matibag. *Haitian-Dominican Counterpoint*, 131-137; Black. *The Dominican Republic*, 27-28.

Ironically, the Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt Administrations' Good Neighbor initiatives, which finally translated into policy in 1933, had different implications for Haiti and the Dominican Republic. While it enabled the termination of Haitian occupation in 1934, it led to the ossification of Trujillo's rule in the Dominican Republic in line with the policy of nonintervention in the affairs of America's neighbors –yet, the U.S. custom receivership remained in place. Condoning Trujillo's regime was also against the rules and regulations of the Washington Treaty of 1923, which called for nonrecognition of rulers in Central America, coming to power on illegal means. As the State Department argued in 1930, Trujillo might be recognized "even were the elections palpably fraudulent or the result due to intimidation by the military forces." In January 1931, the official rhetoric applauded Trujillo for the "order being maintained throughout the length and breadth of the country." 613

Washington went as far as overlooking the Haitian massacre, done on the orders on Trujillo in the early October 1937. Not only the Haitians resident in the Dominican Republic as sugar cane workers, but also those living at the border area bore the brunt of Trujillo's hatred toward the neighboring country. In response, the United States expressed its "considerable concern," and the Roosevelt administration declared that it was "ready to help if an invitation is received." When Trujillo accepted the arbitration procedure, President Roosevelt felt relieved (for there was no more need for the U.S. good offices), and even congragulated him publicly. Yet, in the end, Trujillo evaded the arbitration procedures in return for \$750,000 compensation to Haiti for the losses incurred. Trujillo's getting away with impunity raised many critical voices. The main critique rested with the belief that the United

⁶¹² Roorda. The Dictator Next Door, 49-50.

⁶¹³ Roorda. The Dictator Next Door, 59.

States condoned the Trujillo regime so as not to lose an ally in the war against fascism; however, Trujillo was a fascist "neighbor" or "miniature Hitler" himself to be dealt with. 614 Nevertheless, Trujillo's declaration of war on the Axis powers and granting the United States naval bases, positioned him as one of the cherished allies of the United States. 615 His posing as a humanitarian leader for volunteering to accomodate those Jews running from the Nazi regime was widely acclaimed by Franklin Roosevelt, who had begun to show interest in the plight of European refugees in mid-1938. Trujillo also welcomed those refugees running from the Spanish Civil War. His main rationale was to attract light-skinned immigration to replace Haitian and West Indian laborers in his country. He even sought guidance by the U.S. State Department "to facilitate 'neo-white' immigration," and his request was honored. However, this humanitarian initiative proved to be mere rhetoric. 616

The United States also courted the Dominican Republic in the face of Trujillo's occasional winks at an alliance with Germany. In order to forestall such a prospect, Washington not only showered the Republic with economic incentives such as the Lend-Lease agreement (same with Haiti), but also abrogated the U.S. Customs Receivership on grounds that this "stick" or "sore thumb" clashed with the idea of the Good Neighbor policy. The Dominican Republic's location on the Mona Passage was one of the main shipping lanes to the Panama Canal, and was extremely important at the time of war in the face of German submarine activities in the Caribbean. By 1948, Trujillo had amassed a huge deal of armaments and had built the most powerful air force in the region thanks to American aid. This development tipped the scales in favor of the Dominican Republic in its fight against the

 ⁶¹⁴ Roorda. *The Dictator Next Door*, 131-141.
 ⁶¹⁵ Black. *The Dominican Republic*, 112.

⁶¹⁶ Roorda. The Dictator Next Door, 143-146.

neighboring Haiti.⁶¹⁷ Trujillo also granted the United States missile-tracking sites in the Cold War context, and in 1953, the Dominican Republic became the first state in the region to sign a bilateral Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement with the United States. It was also the only country in the region whose voting record paralleled that of the United States. However, these did not prove enough as compensation for his repressive rule.⁶¹⁸

After the infamous Trujillo period, the United States began to put more pressure on the Dominican Republic on democratic reforms. The foremost concern was to prevent another Castro-like coup. In the 1962 elections, Juan Bosch came as the winner from the social-democratic Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD). President Bosch soon proved to be a nuisance for Washington though, as he sought to allow more freedom for the Marxist groups within the framework of his democratic reform program. Gradually criticism mounted against his rule by conservative forces like the church, military, economic elites, and not to mention, the U.S. embassy. Finally, Bosch was deposed in a military coup in 1963. As corruption and repression became unbearable under the rule of the interim three-man civilian junta, some PRD activists took the initiative on April 24, 1965 to restore Bosch to power. This made Washington more than anxious on the prospect of another Communist victory in the Hemisphere, despite the fact that the Dominican Communist groups were weak and disorganized. This led to the second intervention by the U.S. forces on April 28 under President Lyndon Johnson's orders. The President saw the necessity of preventing "another Cuba" in order to be reelected; in hindsight, he was also preparing for the massive buildup of U.S. forces in Vietnam.

⁶¹⁷ Roorda. The Dictator Next Door, 192-194, 205, 211, 227; Black. The Dominican Republic, 36-39.

⁶¹⁸ Black. The Dominican Republic, 112.

In early May of 1965, the number of US troops stationed in the Dominican Republic and in South Vietnam equaled each other. 619

The second Dominican intervention was a benchmark in U.S.-Caribbean relations. The Western Hemisphere was devoid of any U.S. troops between 1934-1965 in line with the Good Neighbor Policy pronounced by President Franklin Roosevelt in 1933. Hence, this set a precedent for other regional countries that Washington always stood on alarm to pounce on its backyard with its massive military capabilities. While it was this policy that had caused the U.S. withdrawal from Haiti, now it was breached at the hands of the Johnson Administration in the Dominican case. The rationale for intervention was initially declared as "protecting American tourists" and "preventing further loss of life" during the popular uprising. It was also articulated that the U.S. was a "neutral force interposed between the two sides" and that the troops would remain there "as a guarantor of civil peace and democratic elections." President Bosch was coined in such terms as "erratic", "egotistical" and "politically unrealiable." ⁶²⁰ In President Johnson's words, before the U.S. military intervention, "1500 innocent people were murdered and shot, and their heads cut off." In fact, most of the American tourists had already returned home long before hostilities exacerbated. Moreover, those murdered people had died mostly at the hands of the junta's air force, supplied with fuel by the U.S. government. On April 30, the official rhetoric assumed an anti-communist tint. President Johnson talked about some signs that "people trained outside the Dominican Republic" were intent to take control of the popular revolt. The State Department also spoke in similar terms, arguing that "chaos and terror in the streets can make a country ripe for a conspiratorial group" of communist militants. It was

⁶¹⁹ Wiarda and Kryzanek. *The Dominican Republic*, 39-44; Chester. *Rag-Tags, Scum, Riff-Raff, and Commies*, 1-3.

⁶²⁰ Chester. Rag-Tags, Scum, Riff-Raff, and Commies, 3-5.

remarked that Third World countries were vulnerable to "demagoguery and to the use of force," and that the United States was ready to come to the aid. This portrait did not reflect the true state of affairs in the Dominican Republic though. According to a CIA report dated April 25, it was contended that the leader of the rebel forces was "a strong anti-Communist."

In 1966, Joaquin Balaguer, a Trujillo puppet, became the new president, to rule for most of the next 30 years, at the end of which international reaction to flawed elections forced him to curtail his term in 1996. His term witnessed an authoritarian rule coupled with economic disasters on account of 1973 and 1979 oil crises, as the Dominican Republic, like Haiti, was totally dependent on oil exports. In time, the United States economic aid was also curtailed especially during the Carter Administration, which criticized the Balaguer rule in the context of human rights. The Dominican Republic gradually steered towards austerity measures offered by the IMF. The country distinguished itself from Haiti in terms of opening to globalization and following the path of Western style liberal market economy; but it also paid dearly for doing so. In the post-Cold War period, the United States saw Balaguer's despotism as very anachronistic in the "New World Order," and pushed him toward relinquishing his power. His successor was Leonel Fernandez Reyna, who ruled between 1996-2000, to be reelected after Hipolito Mejia for a second term in 2004 following a constitutional amendment allowing presidents to serve more than one term. 622

In the post-Cold War era, the Dominican immigrants received a more favorable treatment than the Haitians. However, the INS and the U.S. Coast Guard

⁶²¹ Chester. *Rag-Tags, Scum, Riff-Raff, and Commies*, 253-270; Larman C. Wilson. "The Monroe Doctrine, Cold War Anachronism: Cuba and the Dominican Republic," *The Journal of Politics* 28:2 (May 1966), 337-340.

⁶²² Chester. Rag-Tags, Scum, Riff-Raff, and Commies, 274-282; Black. The Dominican Republic, 115-117.

cooperated with the Dominican Navy and immigration authorities to reduce the smuggling of migrants to Puerto Rico, and thence to the United States. The country stood as a major source especially in trafficking of women. Dominican immigration began in the 1970s, and in the 1990s, about 200,000 Dominican and 75,000 nonimmigrants a year was admitted. In 2002, these numbers were 186,800 and 81,558 for the Dominican Republic and Haiti respectively. In mid-2003, 1970 Dominicans were intercepted, compared to 1045 Haitians. Generally speaking, there was an increase in immigrant admission in 2002 from Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Guyana. It should also be remembered that the United States collaborated with the Dominican Republic in order to forestall Haitian immigration to the United States.

On the other hand, in September 2004, President George W. Bush designated the country as one of the four major drug transit countries in the Caribbean, claiming that 8% of all the cocaine entering the U.S. through the Dominican Republic. The Republic also appears on the list of major money-laundering countries. However, the Dominican Republic has been in close collaboration with the U.S. in order to stem such illegal activities. In 2002, it adopted a tough anti-money-laundering law to combat drug trafficking, corruption and terrorism, while in 2004, it enacted a new Criminal Procedure Code. Last, but not least, despite some progress, the Dominican Republic was still regarded as having a poor human rights record

⁶²³ Philip Martin, Elizabeth Midgley and Michael Teitelbaum. "Migration and Development: Whither the Dominican Republic and Haiti," *International Migration Review* 36:2 (Summer 2002), 576, 586-587.

⁶²⁴ Christopher Mitchell. "The impact of 9/11 on migration relations between the Caribbean and the United States," in Ivelaw Lloyd Griffith, ed. *Caribbean Security in the Age of Terror: Challenge and Change* (Ian Randle Publishers, 2004), 353-356.

Change (Ian Randle Publishers, 2004), 353-356.

625 J. F. Hornbeck. *The Dominican Republic-Central America-United States Free Trade Agreement (DR-CAFTA)*, CRS Report for Congress, The Library of Congress, January 3, 2005, 5-6. CAFTA was signed on May 28, 2004 by the United States, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua. On August 5, 2004, the Dominican Republic joined in, with the Agreement renamed as the DR-CAFTA.

according to the U.S. State Department's Country Report on Human Rights Practices (2004 data). The Report conveyed the continued use of torture and physical abuse, and prison conditions ranging from "poor to harsh." 626

Nevertheless, the Dominican Republic and the United States act harmoniously in many other realms. President Hipolito Mejia (2000-2004) joined in the "coalition of the willing" by participating in the U.S.-led war on Iraq. Accordingly, several hundred Dominican troops were dispatched to help patrol southern Iraq between mid-2003 to mid-2004. In return the George W. Bush spoke very highly of the Dominican Republic, and furnished the country with favors in trade, but not in immigration. The Dominican Republic is the most fortunate beneficiary of U.S. Caribbean Basin Initiative-related programs. The United States has been the country's main trading partner, with a U.S. sugar quota of 180,000 tons (2004 data). The Dominican Republic also signed the Dominican Republic-Central American Free Trade Agreement (DR-CAFTA) in August 2004, hoping to improve access for its exports to the U.S. markets and to encourage new investments in its Free Trade Zones (FTZ). E28

Concisely, despite the similar context in which Haiti and the Dominican Republic were situated, the dissimilarities in the United States' stance toward the two cases are striking. The Dominican Republic's light skin-color and modern behavioral traits are judgmentally juxtaposed with those so-called inferior black Haitians and their voodoo ceremonies. The Dominican Republic, though it was beset with similar problems that Haiti faced, was evaluated by Washington in a more positive light for its relative stability, prosperity, willingness to interlink with the global economy and

⁶²⁶ Hornbeck. The Dominican Republic-Central America-United States Free Trade Agreement, 6.

Mitchell. "The impact of 9/11 on migration relations between the Caribbean and the United States." 362.

⁶²⁸ Hornbeck. The Dominican Republic-Central America-United States Free Trade Agreement, 6.

to act coordinately with the United States on some burning issues. Although it was underlined that the Dominican Republic also needed the U.S. involvement and guidance, it was never deemed as a pathetic actor suffering from insurmountable problems, or deserving constant criticism and correction by Washington. In 2008, this rhetoric and behavior are still in order, in the face of Haiti whirling in poverty and chaos despite the UN presence to alleviate the problems, vis-à-vis the Dominican Republic, gradually thriving through tourism and export revenues by generous U.S. support.

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APPENDIX A

Map of the Caribbean



APPENDIX B

Map of Haiti

