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O 252021Z MAY 94
FM AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4263
INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
DEPTJUS WASHDC IMMEDIATE
JCS WASHDC IMMEDIATE
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SECTION 01 OF 04 PORT AU PRINCE 04348

H PASS TO REPRESENTATIVES JULIAN DIXON, BILL RICHARDSON,
AND JOHN REED

STATE ALSO FOR ARA (ASSISTANT SECRETARY WATSON)
S/SAH (SPECIAL ADVISOR GRAY AND AMBASSADOR DOBBINS)
ARA/HWG (AMBASSADOR LEONARD) AND ARA/CAR

JUSTICE FOR ICITAP/KRISKOVITCH

JCS, USACOM, AND JTF FOR J-3 AND J-5

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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, EAID, UN, VE, FR, CA, HA
SUBJECT: SCENE-SETTER FOR CODEL DIXON

SETTING

1. YOU WILL BE ARRIVING IN HAITI AT A PARTICULARLY
CRITICAL MOMENT FOR HAITIAN DEMOCRACY:

-- PRESIDENT CLINTON'S MAY 8 REMARKS UNVEILED A NEW
POLICY APPROACH ON HAITI WITH (A) THE APPOINTMENT OF THE
HONORABLE BILL GRAY AS HIS AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S
SPECIAL ADVISOR ON HAITI; (B) THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF TOUGHER
SANCTIONS INCLUDING A TOTAL COMMERCIAL EMBARGO

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CHANNEL: 11/1/8

(UNSCR 917); AND (C) IMPROVED MIGRANT REPATRIATION PROCEDURES.

-- THE ILLEGAL ACTION TAKEN ON MAY 11 BY A MINORITY GROUP OF LARGELY ILLEGITIMATE PARLIAMENTARIANS INSTALLED A PROVISIONAL "PRESIDENT" AND UNCONSTITUTIONAL "GOVERNMENT." HAITI NOW HAS IN EFFECT AN ILLEGAL PARALLEL PARLIAMENT AND GOVERNMENT.

-- MAY 21 SAW THE IMPOSITION OF NEW UNITED NATIONS SANCTIONS AND THE STRENGTHENING OF THE EMBARGO.

-- HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS CONTINUE TO INCREASE AT AN ALARMING RATE, BOTH IN THEIR FREQUENCY AND GRAVITY, AND

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THE PRESENT SITUATION IN OUR VIEW IS WORSE THAN THE DARKEST DAYS OF DUVALIER. THE MILITARY IS LARGELY RESPONSIBLE AND THE MAJORITY OF THE VICTIMS ARE ARISTIDE SUPPORTERS.

MAJOR ISSUES

RETURN OF PRESIDENT ARISTIDE

2. THE OVERARCHING ISSUE IN HAITI REMAINS THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY AND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT THROUGH THE RETURN OF PRESIDENT ARISTIDE AND REENGAGEMENT OF THE GOVERNOR'S ISLAND AGREEMENT AND THE PACT OF NEW YORK. THE GOVERNOR'S ISLAND AGREEMENT HAS BEEN ESSENTIALLY STALLED SINCE OCTOBER 1993, WHEN GENERAL CEDRAS RENEGED ON HIS AGREEMENT TO RESIGN AS A NECESSARY PRECURSOR TO THE PHYSICAL RETURN OF PRESIDENT ARISTIDE. THE NEW UN SANCTIONS REGIME IS INTENDED TO FORCE THE MILITARY TO HONOR THEIR COMMITMENTS UNDER THE GOVERNOR'S ISLAND AGREEMENT.

THE UNCONSTITUTIONAL JONASSAINT REGIME

3. CEDRAS AND THE HAITIAN MILITARY SUCCEEDED ON MAY 11 IN PUTTING IN PLACE A NEW UNCONSTITUTIONAL AND ILLEGAL
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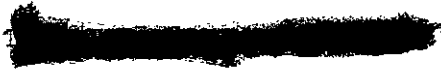
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DE FACTO III REGIME UNDER AN 81-YEAR OLD FORMER SUPREME
COURT CHIEF JUSTICE NAMED JONASSAINT AS "PRESIDENT." THE
U.S. HAS JOINED THE REST OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY
IN REFUSING TO RECOGNIZE THIS FARCICAL ATTEMPT TO REPLACE
PRESIDENT ARISTIDE AND PRIME MINISTER MALVAL AND WE HAVE
MADE OUR CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR ARISTIDE AND MALVAL WELL
KNOWN. WE ARE ENGAGED IN A CONCRETE PROGRAM OF



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FINANCIAL, TECHNICAL AND DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT FOR MALVAL
AND HIS MINISTERS, WITH THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF USAID.

TENSIONS IN THE MILITARY AND POLICE

4. SOME OF OUR INFORMATION INDICATES A SPLIT BETWEEN
ARMED FORCES COMMANDER CEDRAS AND PORT AU PRINCE POLICE
CHIEF MICHEL FRANCOIS RESULTING, IN PART, FROM DE FACTO
PRESIDENT JONASSAINT'S CHOICES FOR CABINET AND DIRECTOR
GENERAL POSITIONS. CONCERN IS ALSO GROWING IN MILITARY
CIRCLES OVER THE ENHANCED SANCTIONS. NEVERTHELESS,
CEDRAS APPEARS TO BE FIRMLY ENTRENCHED WITH NO INTEREST
IN DEPARTING HIS POST, AS CALLED FOR IN THE GOVERNOR'S
ISLAND ACCORD.

IMPACT OF NEW TOUGHER SANCTIONS

5. THE EFFECT OF NEW SANCTIONS AND IMPROVED
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EMBARGO ON THE HAITIAN MILITARY'S
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WILLINGNESS TO HONOR THEIR COMMITMENTS UNDER THE
GOVERNOR'S ISLAND ACCORD REMAINS UNCERTAIN. THE
SANCTIONS WILL LEAD TO THE IMMEDIATE LOSS OF 10,000 JOBS
IN THE ASSEMBLY SECTOR AND WILL GENERATE ADDITIONAL JOB
LOSSES AMONG IMPORT SUBSTITUTION INDUSTRIES. INFLATION
WILL INCREASE AND LIVING STANDARDS WILL DETERIORATE
SIGNIFICANTLY. STILL, THE MILITARY'S INDIFFERENCE TO THE
SUFFERING ENDURED BY THE REST OF HAITIAN SOCIETY MAKE THE
POLITICAL IMPACT OF THE NEW SANCTIONS UNCLEAR AND
UNPREDICTABLE. THE AMBASSADOR HAS BEGUN A SERIES OF
VISITS TO THE LAND BORDER WITH THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC TO
EXAMINE THE EMBARGO'S EFFECT ON IMPORTS AND COMMERCE, AND
TO SYMBOLIZE AND STATE U.S. RESOLVE TO TIGHTEN THE
EMBARGO AND TO INSURE THAT CEDRAS, HIS CHIEF OF STAFF,

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AND POLICE CHIEF FRANCOIS DEPART.

HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

6. IN ORDER TO PROTECT HAITI'S MOST VULNERABLE POPULATION FROM THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF THE SANCTIONS, THE U.S. HAS INCREASED ITS HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM OF FOOD DISTRIBUTION, HEALTH CARE AND JOB CREATION, AND PROMOTED THE DISTRIBUTION OF FUEL TO NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS TO CONTINUE THEIR WORK AMONG THE MOST VULNERABLE POPULATION GROUPS, INCLUDING YOUNG CHILDREN AND PREGNANT WOMEN. USAID'S FEEDING PROGRAM, FOR INSTANCE, WILL INCREASE FROM ABOUT 650,000 RECIPIENTS PER DAY TO MORE THAN ONE MILLION PER DAY, REACHING DIRECTLY MORE THAN ONE OUT OF EVERY SIX

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HAITIANS. OUR MEDICAL PROGRAMS REACH APPROXIMATELY ONE OUT OF THREE HAITIANS. USAID IS WORKING WITH ESTABLISHED NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS ACTIVE IN HAITI, AS WELL AS NEW ORGANIZATIONS, TO INCREASE THE IMPACT OF THESE PROGRAMS.

MIGRATION AND REPATRIATION

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7. THE NUMBER OF HAITIANS ATTEMPTING TO DEPART FOR THE
UNITED STATES BY BOAT HAS INCREASED. S
INCE PRESIDENT
CLINTON ANNOUNCED THE MODIFIED REPATRIATION POLICY ON MAY
8, APPROXIMATELY 1,300 "BOAT PEOPLE" HAVE BEEN
REPATRIATED TO PORT AU PRINCE, ROUGHLY EQUALLING THE
NUMBER REPATRIATED FROM JANUARY THROUGH APRIL OF THIS
YEAR. SCREENING ALL BOAT PEOPLE TO DETERMINE POLITICAL
REFUGEE STATUS BEFORE REPATRIATION HAS NOT YET BEEN
IMPLEMENTED, PENDING COMPLETION OF EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH
OFF-SHORE OR THIRD-COUNTRY PROCESSING CENTERS. RECENTLY,
WE HAVE NOTED A SLIGHT INCREASE IN HIGH PROFILE CASES OF
BOAT PEOPLE RETURNED TO HAITI. IN GENERAL, THESE
INDIVIDUALS ARE ECONOMIC MIGRANTS, HOWEVER DURING TWO
REPATRIATIONS OF PEOPLE FROM THE PORT AU PRINCE AREA
REFUGEE MONITORING OFFICERS IDENTIFIED ABOUT 20 HIGH
PROFILE CASES. THESE PERSONS HAVE BEEN GIVEN THE
OPPORTUNITY TO BE INTERVIEWED AT OUR IN-COUNTRY
FACILITY. SINCE THE INTRODUCTION OF REFINED CRITERIA TO
DETERMINE REFUGEE STATUS, INCLUDING A REFERRAL PROCESS

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INVOLVING CHURCHES AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, THE APPROVAL RATE FOR THOSE PROCESSED IN COUNTRY HAS RISEN FROM SEVEN PERCENT TO ABOUT TWENTY-EIGHT PERCENT.

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HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION

8. THE INTERAMERICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, THE ICM AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AS WELL AS WE HAVE REPORTED THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN HAITI HAS DETERIORATED OVER THE PAST FOUR MONTHS. THE INTERAMERICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, FOLLOWING THEIR VISIT TO HAITI MAY 16 TO MAY 20, NOTED 133 DOCUMENTED CASES OF EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS AND REPORTS OF 210 OTHER SUCH DEATHS BETWEEN FEBRUARY AND MAY OF THIS YEAR. THESE INCLUDE THE APRIL 22 MASSACRE OF APPROXIMATELY 20 PERSONS IN GONAIVES. THE MEASURES WE HAVE TAKEN TO ADDRESS THIS ALARMING SITUATION INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

-- THE AMBASSADOR HAS ISSUED REGULAR PUBLIC CONDEMNATIONS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION;

-- HE HAS ALSO SENT PROTESTS TO GENERAL CEDRAS CONCERNING THE MILITARY HIGH COMMAND'S FAILURE TO PROTECT BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS;

-- ORGANIZED AN INTERAGENCY HMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WITHIN THE MISSION;

-- URGED THE RETURN OF THE FULL COMPLEMENT OF UN/OAS INTERNATIONAL CIVILIAN MISSION (ICM) OBSERVERS;

-- VISITED PERSONALLY THE SCENE OF HUMAN RIGHTS OFFENSES, SUCH AS GONAIVES, TO INVESTIGATE AND DENOUNCE

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CONTINUED VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS;

-- AND PROPOSED A USDOLS ONE MILLION TWO-YEAR HUMAN RIGHTS FUND TO ASSIST THE VICTIMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AND THEIR FAMILIES, PROVIDE LEGAL AID, AND SUPPORT COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES TO FIGHT VIOLENCE.

IN OUR VIEW, THE PERPETRATORS OF THESE CRIMES ARE THE

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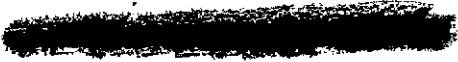
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MILITARY, THE POLICE AND ARMED ATTACHES, INCLUDING THE
NEO-DUVALIERIST GROUP FRAPH.


COMMENT

9. THE PROGRAM THAT WE HAVE SKETCHED OUT FOR YOUR VISIT
WILL INTRODUCE YOU TO THE MOST IMPORTANT ACTORS AND
ISSUES IN HAITI TODAY. WE LOOK FORWARD WITH GREAT
ANTICIPATION TO YOUR VISIT AND TO ANY FURTHER REQUESTS OR
INSTRUCTIONS IN REGARD TO APPOINTMENTS AND ACTIVITIES.
MEANWHILE, KIND REGARDS.

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** 

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