

## **CURRENT LEADERS OF THE INSURGENCY**

### **Guy Philippe**

Guy Philippe is a former member of the FAD'H (Haitian Army). During the 1991-94 military regime, he and a number of other officers received training at a US military training facility in Ecuador. This training was intended to create a core of former soldiers that the U.S. could integrate into top leadership positions in the Police National d'Haiti (PNH), that replaced the army.<sup>1</sup> Known in Haiti as "the Ecuadorans", members of this group, including, Philippe, were given many of the top posts in the police, especially the jobs of Commissioners of major cities. The Ecuadorans distinguished themselves by being involved in most of the serious human rights violations of the police, notably the 1999 Carrefour Feuilles massacre, where police under the leadership of one Ecuadoran executed eight suspected gang members.

From 1997 to 1999, Philippe served as police chief for Delmas, a large urban district on the north side of the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area. During his tenure there, the UN/OAS International Civilian Mission learned that dozens of suspected gang members were summarily executed, mainly by police under the command of Inspector Berthony Bazile, Philippe's deputy. The U.S. Embassy has implicated Philippe in drug smuggling during his police career.

Philippe fled Haiti in October 2000 when Haitian authorities discovered him plotting a coup, together with a clique of other police chiefs, many of them Ecuadorans. Since returning to Haiti, Philippe has admitted this plot: he even boasted to journalists that he had almost all the police on his side back then. The Dominican Republic initially sent Philippe and his co-conspirators to Ecuador, but he soon filtered back and installed himself in the Dominican Republic. He immediately began plotting to overthrow the Haitian government, and launched a series of deadly attacks designed to test the police response, terrorize the population and steal heavy weapons.

In the first half of 2001, police sources that had proven reliable in the past reported to the BAI of two trips by Philippe across the border to plan an attack on the Haitian government. On July 28, Philippe's men attacked the Haitian Police Academy and several police stations, killing several police officers, some civilians and stealing weapons. The attackers fled across Haiti's Central Plateau to the Dominican Republic. Haitian authorities notified DR authorities, and requested that the attackers be arrested and returned to Haiti to face justice. At least eight men were arrested, but all were released.

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<sup>1</sup> The US also recruited agents directly through training programs. When the head of the training programs complained, she was fired. Sam Skolnik "Separating Cops, Spies" *Legal Times*, March 1, 1999.

The next few months brought more reports of Philippe's organizing activity, and on December 17, 2001 his teams attacked the National Palace. Armed with an M-2 machine gun bolted to a pickup that trumped everything in the PNH arsenal, the attackers managed to take over the Palace. They seized the Palace security's communications, and announced a coup, threatening to kill any officers who did not join them. The attack was repulsed, and the attackers fled across the border to the Dominican Republic.

Once again Haiti alerted the DR authorities to the attack and to the flight of the attackers. Philippe made his way to Ecuador on December 18, but was returned to the DR by Ecuadoran authorities. He was finally arrested a few days later, but soon released despite a request from Haitian authorities for his return to face justice.

After his release, Philippe continued to plan attacks in Haiti, including a series of hit-and-run raids against police stations on Haiti's Central Plateau. He was arrested again in May 2003, at the border town of Dajabon along with four others, including Paul Arcelin, the representative of the Convergence Democratique in the Dominican Republic, and a fundraiser for the insurgents. All were soon released. The next day, soldiers believed to be under Philippe's command attacked Haiti's main hydroelectric facility at Peligre.

Philippe's activities in the Dominican Republic were well known. According to one journalist, Philippe was required to check in with the DR's investigative police, the DNI, three times per month. Haitian authorities repeatedly complained about the use of Dominican soil to mount an attack against Haiti, and asked that these criminals be returned to Haiti to face justice. Dominican authorities assured Haitian authorities that Mr. Philippe and others were under the surveillance and control of Dominican security forces. President Meija told a journalist we spoke with that "Guy Philippe is under my control," and that President Aristide's concern with Philippe was "an obsession."

We had received unconfirmed reports in the DR that members of a delegation led by Governor Jeb Bush had met with Philippe in the DR at the end of 2003. The French paper *Le Monde*, on April 3, 2004 reported that Ometrias Dion Long, a member of the delegation, had met with some of the plotters during an October delegation led by Jeb Bush. Mr. Long confirmed to *Le Monde* that he met with them again in December, that they were looking for money to buy more guns, and that he intervened on their behalf with highly placed officials in Washington.

After Philippe's band took over the city of Cap Haitien in February, members went from house to house searching for government supporters. They bragged to the press that they executed some of them, and many have been reported missing. Philippe has declared himself the head of Haiti's army, which had been disbanded in 1995. On March 2, he told AP that he would use his new self-ascribed powers to arrest Haiti's prime minister, Yvon Neptune. He has said that the man he most admires is Augusto Pinochet.

## **Paul Arcelin**

Paul Arcelin, 60, is the strongest link between the armed insurgents and Haiti's political opposition. He was the official representative of the U.S.-supported Democratic Convergence opposition coalition in the Dominican Republic. Several sources in the DR, including the journalists and Haitian emigres, reported that Arcelin also was the major fundraiser for the rebels. He told the New York Times he was "an advisor to the Haitian army." He described himself as the "mastermind" of the coup to the Montreal Gazette, stating: "Two years ago, I met (rebel leader) Guy Philippe in Santo Domingo, and we spent 10 to 15 hours a day together, plotting against Aristide.... From time to time we'd cross the border clandestinely through the woods to conspire against Aristide, to meet with the opposition and regional leaders to prepare for Aristide's downfall."

According to the Montreal Gazette, the insurgents "already had huge arm caches around the country - hidden after the army was disbanded by Aristide in 1995. More financial support and weapons came from the opposition, which had been calling on Aristide to step down since parliamentary elections in 2000 that are largely seen as having been rigged. On Feb. 5, the order - whether from Arcelin and Joseph, or from the opposition, Arcelin did not make clear - came to head to the capital, taking cities along the way and convincing about 70 per cent of the outnumbered and outpowered police force to join them."

Arcelin also has significant ties to the U.S. and Canada. He reportedly regularly attended conferences in the Dominican Republic sponsored by the International Republican Institute. In mid-February 2004, he met with Canada's Health Minister Pierre Pettigrew.

Dominican authorities arrested Arcelin on May 6, 2003 in a hotel at the border town of Dajabon, along with Guy Philippe, for plotting against the Haitian state. Although there was an attack the next day on Haiti's Peligre hydro-electric facility, Arcelin and the others were soon released.

## **Louis Jodel Chamblain**

Chamblain was a sergeant in the Haitian army (FAd'H), and a member of the elite Corps des Leopards. He left the army in 1989 or 1990 and reappeared on the scene in 1993 as one of the founders of the Revolutionary Front for Haitian Advancement and Progress (*Front révolutionnaire pour l'avancement et le progrès haïtien*, FRAPH). He was FRAPH's #2 leader, responsible for organizing the group's killings and beatings, while the better known and more media-friendly Emmanuel "Toto" Constant handled media and government relations.

FRAPH was formed during the 1991-94 military regime, and was responsible for numerous human rights violations before the 1994 restoration of democratic governance. Chamblain organized attacks against democracy supporters, issued FRAPH ID cards, and obtained official recognition for FRAPH from the dictatorship. Among the victims of FRAPH under Chamblain's leadership was Haitian Justice

Minister Guy Malary. He was ambushed and machine-gunned to death with his body-guard and a driver on October 14, 1993. According to an October 28, 1993 CIA Intelligence Memorandum: "FRAPH members Jodel Chamblain, Emmanuel Constant, and Gabriel Douzable met with an unidentified military officer on the morning of 14 October to discuss plans to kill Malary." (Emmanuel "Toto" Constant, the leader of FRAPH, is now living freely in Queens, NYC.) .

In September 1995, Chamblain was among seven senior military and FRAPH leaders convicted in absentia and sentenced to forced labour for life for involvement in the September 1993 extrajudicial execution of Antoine Izméry, a well-known pro-democracy activist. In November 2000, Chamblain was convicted in absentia in the Raboteau massacre trial.

In late 1994 or early 1995, Chamblain went into exile to the Dominican Republic in order to avoid prosecution. He was regularly spotted by Haitian expatriots and international journalists in public.

Chamblain is considered the number 2 leader of the insurgents, behind Guy Philippe. He has been photographed wearing a Dominican Army uniform with a Policia National insignia. He is reported to be acting as a "judge" in Cap Haitien, deciding who goes to jail, and who is executed. He has threatened to kill President Aristide if he returns. On March 31, Napela Saintil, the trial judge for the Raboteau massacre case, was severely beaten. Judge Saintil reported that his attackers berated him for his role in convicting Chamblain.

Cable from U.S. State Department to U.S. Embassy in Port-au-Prince, 93PortAuPrince08497 (October 1993), pp. 1-4.

"The FRAPH was established in Mid-September under the leadership of Louis Jodel Chamblain and Emmanuel Constant, both prominent attaché chieftains with close links to military figures like police chief Michel Francois and Duvalierist "old guard" figures like Frank Romain.

Cable from U.S. Mission at the U.N. to State department 95USUNNewYork00224 (January 1995), p. 1-11.

" A former janitor who worked in the National Palace related that Colonel Michel Francois is the leader of the FRAPH party. A former janitor stated Col. Francois is the quote right hand man of Cedras unquote and relays policy to Emmanuel Chamblain (second in command). The former FRAPH migrant indicated Chamblain occasionally travels around outlying FRAPH chapters to quote check up on activities unquote."

(mistake in Chamblain's name in text).

Intelligence Memorandum from CIA Directorate of Intelligence (October 28, 1993), p. 5.  
(sections of this memorandum are blacked out)

BLACKED OUT. In early to mid-October Biarmby and his associated coordinated the murder of Justice Minister Guy Malary, which took place on 14 October, with members of the Revolutionary Front for Haitian Advancement and Progress (FRAPH). BLACKED OUT FRAPH members Jodel Chamblain, Emmanuel Constant, and Gabriel Douzable met with an unidentified military officer on the morning of 14 October to discuss plans to kill Malary.

### **Ernst Ravix**

According to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights report on Haiti, dated 7 September 1988, FAD'H Captain Ernst Ravix, was the military commander of Saint Marc, and head of a paramilitary squad of "sub-proletariat youths" who called themselves the Sans Manman (Motherless Ones). In May 1988, the government of President Manigat tried to reduce contraband and corruption in the port city of Saint Marc, but Ravix, the local Army commander, responded by organising a demonstration against the President in which some three thousand residents marched, chanted, and burned barricades. Manigat removed Ravix from his post, but after Manigat's ouster, he was reinstated by the military dictator, Lt. Gen. Namphy.

Ravix was not heard of again until December 2001 when former FAD'H sergeant, Pierre Richardson, the person captured following the 17 December attack on the National Palace, reportedly confessed that the attack was a coup attempt planned in the Dominican Republic by three former police chiefs- Guy Philippe, Jean-Jacques Nau and Gilbert Dragon - and that it was led by former Captain Ernst Ravix. According to Richardson, Ravix's group withdrew from the National Palace and fled to the Dominican Republic when reinforcements failed to arrive.

According to one Dominican journalist, Ravix developed his band of insurgents independently, and later allied with Philippe. The journalist said Ravix and his men trained for years at 5 in the evening by the Faro, a park on the Santo Domingo waterfront.

### **Jean Tatoune**

Jean Pierre Baptiste, alias "Jean Tatoune", emerged as a local FRAPH leader in Gonaives during the 1991-94 military regime. He was FRAPH's top local thug, working closely with the brutal Capt. Cenafils Castera. On 22 April 1994, he led a force of dozens of soldiers and FRAPH members in an attack on Raboteau, a desperately poor slum area in Gonaives and a stronghold of support for Aristide. Between 10 and 20 people were killed in what became known as the Raboteau massacre.

In 2000, Tatoune was put on trial and sentenced to forced labor for life for his participation in the Raboteau massacre. He was subsequently imprisoned in Gonaives, from where he escaped in August 2002. He took up arms again. He has led numerous terrorist attacks in Gonaives over the last four months, including police killings, destruction of government buildings and attacks against the Raboteau victims who testified in the case against him.

On March 20, the de facto Prime Minister traveled by U.S. helicopter to a ceremony at the Gonaives Place Publique next to the destroyed courthouse. He and Ambassador David Lee, head of the Organization of American States' Special Mission, stood tall on the platform with the fugitive and murderer Jean Tatoune. The Minister called the killers who broke out the Raboteau criminals "freedom fighters." The Ambassador told a journalist "of course we don't agree that violence should be rewarded."

Bernard Gousse, Haiti's de facto minister of justice, told Human Rights Watch that the government might consider giving Jean Tatoune a reduction in sentence if Tatoune turned himself in to the justice authorities. The reduction could be merited, Gousse claimed, because "he's fought against two dictatorships."

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### **PROMINENT CRIMINALS FREED BY THE INSURGENCY**

The insurgency freed all prisoners in the country, several of whom had been convicted of massive human rights violations, or were awaiting trial for massive human rights violations. These include men convicted in the Raboteau Massacre trial and the assassination of Antoine Izmerly, as well as men held for trial in the 1990 Piatre Massacre.

### **Members of the Military High Command**

Jean-Claude Duperval, Carl Dorelien and Hebert Valmond were all members of the military high command during the 1991-1994 de facto dictatorship. Duperval was the Assistant Commander-in-Chief, Dorelien was in charge of personnel and discipline, Valmond was the head of intelligence. All three were convicted in absentia in 2000, in the trial of the April 1994 Raboteau massacre. All were subsequently deported from the United States, and were in the National Penitentiary. All had the right to a new trial, but did not invoke it, apparently calculating that they were more likely to be freed by a coup d'etat than a jury.

### **Prosper Avril**

Former General Prosper Avril was a key member of the notorious Presidential Guard, under both Francois and Jean-Claude Duvalier, where he was reported to be involved in human rights violations and financial and political impropriety. Avril seized power by a coup d'etat in September 1988, until he was deposed by another coup in March 1990.

A U.S. District Court found that Avril's regime engaged in "a systematic pattern of egregious human rights abuses." It found him personally responsible for enough "torture, and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment" to award six of his victims \$41 million in compensation. His victims included opposition politicians, union leaders, scholars, even a doctor trying to practice community rural medicine. Avril's repression was not subtle: three torture victims were paraded on national television with faces grotesquely swollen, limbs bruised and clothing covered with blood. He also suspended thirty-seven articles of the Constitution, and declared a state of siege.

The U.S. started protecting Avril shortly after the 1994 restitution of Haiti's elected authorities. In November, Secretary of State Warren Christopher relayed to the U.S. Ambassador intelligence reports that the "Red Star Organization," under Mr. Avril's leadership, was "planning [a] harassment and assassination campaign directed at the Lavalas Party and Aristide supporters. The campaign is scheduled to commence in early December 1995" (just before the Presidential elections). This information was not shared with the Haitian government.

That same month an assassination attempt was made against prominent Lavalas legislators, and in December the Haitian police team investigating the case sought to arrest Mr. Avril at his home. A U.S. Embassy official admitted that he visited Avril the day before the arrest, and immediately after the Haitian police arrived at Avril's house, U.S. soldiers arrived. They tried to dissuade the Haitian police from making the arrest, and it was only after Haiti's President intervened personally on the police radio that the police were able to enter Avril's house. Although Avril had been spotted on a balcony when the police arrived outside his gate, by the time they entered the premises he had fled to the neighboring residence of the Colombian Ambassador. Police searching Avril's house found several military uniforms, illegal police radios and weapons.

Avril escaped to Israel, but later returned to Haiti, where his international support and feared military capacity deterred further arrest attempts. He founded the CREDDO political party, which has never fielded candidates for elections, but was invited by the U.S. International Republican Institute (IRI) to participate in developing an opposition to Lavalas. IRI brokered a rapprochement between Avril and two of his torture victims, Serge Gilles of PANPRA and Evans Paul of the KID party, as part of the creation of the Haitian Conference of Political Parties (CHPP). Mr. Avril admitted his "moral responsibility," and all three signed the CHPP's Declaration of Principles. No financial settlement was disclosed, but both Serge and Paul subsequently dropped their substantial civil complaints against Avril.

In May 2001, after U.S. soldiers had left the country and while Avril was at a book signing away from his home and guns, the Haitian police finally seized the opportunity to execute Avril's arrest warrant. The successful arrest was greeted with applause by the vast majority of Haitians and by human rights and justice groups in Haiti, the U.S. and Europe. Amnesty International in England asserted that the arrest "could mark a step forward by the Haitian justice system in its struggle against impunity," and that "[t]he gravity of the human rights violations committed during General Avril's period in power, from his 1988 coup d'état to his departure in March 1990, cannot be ignored." France's Committee to Prosecute Duvalier concluded that "the General must be tried." California's Global Exchange added that Avril's arrest "sends a loud message that Haitians have not forgotten the crimes of the past and are ready to take action against criminals like Avril."

On December 9, 2003, the Investigating Magistrate in the case of the Piatre Massacre, a March 1990 attack on poor peasants, formally charged Avril in the case. He was in

prison awaiting the termination of pre-trial proceedings when he escaped soon after President Aristide was kidnapped.

### **Jackson Joanis**

Jackson Joanis was the head of the notorious Anti-Gang police unit in Port-au-Prince, one of the most brutal military units of the 1991-1994 dictatorship. Joanis was accused of personal participation in a wide range of beatings and killings. He was convicted in absentia in the 1993 assassination of businessman Antoine Izmerly, and formally charged in the killing of Fr. Jean-Marie Vincent. He had been deported from the United States, and was in the National Penitentiary.

### **The Raboteau Convicts**

The 2000 trial of the Raboteau massacre has been hailed as Haiti's best criminal prosecution ever. Eleven people convicted at the trial were serving sentences, most of them for murder, and all were released.

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**From: Remarks of Stan Goff, former U.S. Special Forces soldier - Santo Domingo, March 29, 2004**

My military career began with a tour as a parachute infantryman in Vietnam, then progressed through such places as Guatemala, Grenada, El Salvador, Peru, Colombia, Somalia, and finally Haiti.

My last Special Forces detachment, with which I participated in the 1994 invasion of Haiti, was a detachment designated for the Dominican Republic. That team used to train in the Dominican Republic twice a year.

In February 2003, an operation named Jaded Task was to involve over 1,000 United States troops. When there was a public outcry about the size and scope of this alleged training exercise, an exercise that was to be conducted closer to the Dominican-Haitian border than any past US military exercise, the decision was made to scale the operation back to 200 troops. This was represented as a minimal and routine operation.

I can testify that it was anything but routine.

The American troops most often used in the Dominican Republic are Special Forces. Only one Special Forces Group works in the Dominican Republic, and in that group, there are a maximum of six Special Forces teams that are designated for the Dominican Republic, with each team consisting of a maximum of twelve men. This means that if every team was deployed simultaneously to the Dominican Republic, which is unprecedented, there would still be only 72 men. So an operation involving 200 American soldiers is an indication of far more than just those Special Forces teams. It indicates even more than those teams with a logistical support



element. This unusually large American military task force at this particular time raises some very serious questions.

Why was the US sending unusually large contingents of troops along with shipments of new weapons, to operate near the Haitian border, only one year before a right-wing Haitian paramilitary incursion, a paramilitary with past ties to the Central Intelligence Agency and connections to the 1991 coup against this same elected president of Haiti? Why were these paramilitaries, many of them convicted criminals, given refuge here when the United States has been actively trying to cripple and destabilize the Aristide government even before the inauguration in February 2001?

When I was in northeastern Haiti in 1994, my own commanders ordered the release of FRAPH criminals and their financiers, and we received almost daily reports from local people about guns being transported across the Rio Massacre into the Dominican Republic. I was never given a single order to take action against these shipments. Now, ten years later, it appears that these and newer weapons have crossed the border back into Haiti from the Dominican Republic.

All Caribbean nations must ask why, and demand their sovereignty, beginning with the return of a constitutional government to Haiti.

### **Limitations of President Aristide's Movement in the CAR**

Our investigations in the Central African Republic established, President Aristide was forced onto a plane in Port-au-Prince by US officials. He spent almost twenty hours on the plane, during which time he was not told where he was going. He was not allowed to communicate with the outside world, or to leave the plane when it stopped. He was flown to the extremely remote Central African Republic, where he was not allowed to circulate freely or communicate freely.

According to the Washington Post (March 16) President Aristide's account of his kidnapping "was supported by two witnesses present on the evening of Feb. 28 and the morning of Feb. 29. One was Franz Gabriel, a pilot and aide to Aristide; the other was an American security guard.

"I was at the house at 5 a.m. when Moreno came in to tell the president they were going to organize a press conference and be ready to accompany them," said Gabriel, who accompanied Aristide and his wife to Africa and to Jamaica. "We boarded to go to the embassy and we ended up at the airport. That's what Mr. Moreno wanted him to do."

The American security guard, speaking on condition he not be identified, described the U.S. security warning as a subterfuge to lure Aristide away. "That was just bogus. It's a story they fabricated," he said."

Officials of the Central African Republic, including the Minister of Foreign Affairs, confirmed that their country was chosen for President Aristide by France and the U.S., and that no Haitian authority was involved in the decision. They said that the President of Gabon called the President of the CAR, and said that the U.S. and France had asked him to ask the CAR to accept President Aristide. They also confirmed that the President was not free to leave, or to speak freely, and that CAR officials spoke with American and French officials about Aristide on a daily basis. President Aristide was held in the CAR until he agreed to voluntarily restrict his freedoms in Jamaica.