

TRINITY COLLEGE HAITI PROGRAM

Haiti's Independent Path 1804-2003
Routes, Relationships & Reflections

Symposium Report
May, 2003

On January 15, 2003, the Trinity College Haiti Program held a symposium entitled: *Haiti's Independent Path – 1804-2003: Routes, Relationships & Reflections*. The day-long event was held in the Main Hall of Trinity College in Washington, D.C.

On January 1, 2004, Haiti will mark its 200th anniversary of independence. With that bicentennial almost upon us, the Trinity College Haiti Program determined that January 2003, one year before the bicentennial, would be an appropriate time to provide a framework for reflections on the road traveled by Haiti toward its independence, and the route traversed by the country following independence. These reflections, linked with issues confronting the well being of the country today, would then serve as a springboard for further reflections and discussion throughout the pre-bicentennial year.

In that regard, invited speakers took particular care to reflect on the current status of relationships among key political actors within Haiti, as well as on the state of relationships between Haiti and various nations and international bodies organizations engaged with Haiti today. Throughout the day, attention was placed on contributions that Haiti – and Haitians – have made to the well being to the United States. This theme was particularly evident toward the end of the day when the Trinity College Haiti Program unveiled its new, research-based web-site www.Haiti-USA.org

Three panels and a featured luncheon speaker explored the symposium themes. The unveiling of the website followed. Here in is a narrative summary of the day's presentations and discussions, developed from rapporteur notes. Following this summary is the symposium program and short biographies of the panelists and luncheon speaker.

Panel One: Independence & Freedom: Reaction and Response

Panelists were asked to address issues concerning reactions and response to Haiti's independence and freedom, from three perspectives: the United States as a whole, African-Americans in the United States, and France.

Gerï Benoit Preval: Moderator, President and Director General of Women Entrepreneurs

The path to independence was not an easy one and the task was enormous – death, murders, battles but also commitment, places and names like Toussaint Louverture are all a part of it. On the route to freedom, alliances were made and broken but the goal always remained the same -- freedom for all. Freedom is never given and almost always taken in the most radical way.

As a French colony, Haiti was wealthy and prosperous. Most of the riches, however, were exported to France. During the War of Independence, the means for generating wealth were destroyed. Farmland was burned to deter re-colonization.

The greater task turned out to be not the fight for freedom, but rather consolidating independence and achieving international recognition. French recognition of Haiti's independence that did not come until 1825, following an indemnity payment by Haiti to the government of France of 150 million francs, an enormous sum for the newly independent nation.

The debt was repaid with borrowed funds, and a vicious cycle of borrowing and refinancing from foreign lenders that foreclosed opportunities for real economic growth was established.

Reflections on the independence and freedom of Haiti should address the relationship of Haitians with the others, both known enemies and so-called friends who abandoned the country on the even of First Summit of the Americas, which took place in 1826 in Panama. The reflections must also address the relationships of Haitians with one another. These reflections should all assess the impact of the sense of humiliation that confronted Haiti following its great achievement and that not only cast a shadow over the pride and self-esteem of the country and her people, but also disallowed opportunities for economic development and physical rebuilding.

Alfred Hunt, State University of New York/Purchase, author of *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean*

The Caribbean, a most neglected aspect of the Age of Discovery and the subsequent history of the Americas, was at one point in time both economically and strategically important. With the native people decimated by disease, new people were imported as the backbone of flourishing economies and societies in the Caribbean that were artificial from the very beginning.

There is a tendency in American history to look from East to West and to be blind when looking from the South—be it from Hispanic, Afro-Caribbean or white Southern perspectives. Then came the “Second Age of Discovery in the United States” that has brought the Civil Rights Movement and a rise in black social esteem and assertion.

At least in part on account of this second discovery age, today, people in the United States are slowly becoming aware of what is going on in the Caribbean. Ironically, however, North Americans were far more aware of events in the Caribbean during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. As Thomas Jefferson observed in reference to late 18th century economic relationships between the West Indies and the U. S., “Nature has connected the United States and these (Caribbean) islands by the strong link of mutual necessity.”

The Haitian Revolution was the only successful slave revolt in history, having a most profound influence on American history. Basically, the Haitian revolution was the spillover of the French Revolution into the New World, the difference being that race and slavery were superimposed on class warfare.

Early, usually sensationalized, accounts of the events in Haiti were of great interest to U.S. slaveholders. Both the events in Haiti, and their re-telling in the U.S., cultivated the fear of a slave revolution on U.S. soil. The whites of all classes and free people of color who fled the embattled French colony (sometimes with their slaves) for Cuba, the United States and France reinforced the drastic implications for U.S. slaveholders.

Over time many of these refugees gravitated to New Orleans, which became the “Creole Capital of North America.” Haiti’s influence is apparent on Louisiana in many ways, such as architecture, music, voodoo and the octoroon culture. The American south is sometimes referred to as the Northern extremity of Caribbean culture. Louisiana certainly reinforces this image.

Haiti has been viewed by some as increasing the gap between pro- and anti-slavery forces in the United States and, as such contributing to the genesis of the American Civil War. Southern states, fearful of the influence of people and ideas from the Caribbean, especially Haiti, passed laws to curtail the influx both of refugees and of publications from the West Indies. From viewing events in Haiti, many Southerners had concluded that the freedom of slaves would lead to their own massacre. This fear of Haiti helped to institutionalize racism in the United States.

Most American historians will still advocate that Eli Whitney’s famous invention of the cotton gin was the major factor in causing the American Civil War. In my opinion, however, the hardened Southern reaction to what was termed, “The Horrors of St. Domingo,” depicted in political speeches, newspaper editorials and pro-slavery pamphlets for sixty years, was one of the primary reasons why Southerners found abolition of slavery, even more than 50 years following the Haitian revolution, impossible to contemplate.

Early 19th century racial theory depicted African slaves as “incapable of civilization.” Southerners viewed the events in Haiti as proof that “cultural deterioration” was the historical lesson of freedom of Blacks. In essence, to free the slaves would guarantee death to whites and the destruction of civilization, as it was known.

Christian Girault, National Center for Scientific Research, Paris, France

The loss of its richest overseas colony, Saint-Domingue, was a big shock for France. In the reactionary setting of the first half of the 19th Century, the old colonial power wanted to make the rebels “pay” for their perceived misdeeds and wanted to punish the new nation. Later the official standing of the French Republic was corrected but, curiously enough, no “compensation” was offered to the Haitian people. It is symptomatic that the history of these tragic accounts never was integrated in the collective memory of the French.

The emergence of Toussaint Louverture as a military, but more importantly, as a political leader of the people of Saint-Domingue represented the birth of a neo-colonial order where free men of all origins were to remain under the rule of the French Republic, but with a great level of autonomy. The Constitution proposed by Toussaint Louverture, now governor of the colony, in 1801 is the embodiment of this concept. The subsequent capture of Toussaint Louverture by the French forces sent by Bonaparte in 1802 made it clear to the colony's freedom fighters that anything short of independence was unacceptable.

It is hard to believe that France did not officially recognize Haiti until 1825, without speaking of the terms imposed for this recognition. In France, racial prejudice and propaganda spread out by the former planters shaped the attitudes of the time. The demands of ex-colonists who had been requesting indemnities for their losses for years blocked any sensible debate on the question of Saint-Domingue.

It was not until the arrival of the Counter Revolutionary French King Charles X that the matter of Haiti's recognition was resolved. The royal ordinance of 1825 required the former French colony to pay 150 million francs as an indemnity for the lost properties of the French state and citizens. The humiliations contained in this ordinance were countless. The document never once mentioned the name of the new nation, preferring to refer to it as the "French part of Saint-Domingue." Additionally, the document was not a signed treaty, but rather was written as an order from a monarch to his subjects. It was presented in Port-au-Prince in July 1825 by a war squadron led by the Baron of Mackau, who was not a diplomat, but a military officer. Eventually, the ordinance was accepted by President Boyer of Haiti and approved by the Haitian senate, thus linking Haiti to its old colonial power by a painful debt.

The French monarch in essence mortgaged the future of Haiti with the exorbitant repayment of 150 million francs. Even though this amount was later reduced to 60 million francs, it was beyond the capacity for the new nation, born of a devastating war of independence, to lose this amount of revenue without suffering damaging repercussions. The debt would not be completely paid off until 1886. In the meantime, Haiti was forced to spend revenue on external debt payments rather than the important domestic investments necessary for a country at that stage of development.

It was common at the time for Haiti to be shunned by other powers: The Holy See did not recognize the country until 1860 and the U.S. waited until 1862 to recognize the second free republic of the Western Hemisphere. France, however, as the former colonial power had a special responsibility towards Haiti. Rather than face up to this responsibility, France punished Haiti, and thus retarded its development by decades.

Leon Pamphile, Author of *Haitians and African Americans: A Heritage of Tragedy and Hope*

Man can live about forty days without food, about three days without water, about eight minutes without air...but only for one second without hope.

- Hal Lindsay

The historical relationship between Haitians and African Americans is that of hope. The Haitian revolution cast a glimmer of hope for African Americans oppressed by slavery in the U.S. The African American response was to strive to gain their own freedom and improve their economic condition. Yet they also had a few suggestions for their Haitian comrades.

African Americans sought to emulate the Haitians in their own quest for freedom and self-determination. It was evident in new endeavors to establish mutual benefit orders and religious institutions for the promotion of self-help, and in the creation of Freedom's Journal. The African Methodist Episcopal Church was also impacted by the independence of Haiti, as described by Bishop Payne, historian of the A.M.E. Church, that like Haiti in their national affairs, the A.M.E. Church in its ecclesiastical affairs also sought to demonstrate the ability of the Negro for self-government.

Leaders arose promoting rebellion and insurrection and called to the slaves to rise up and fight for their lives and liberties. The rhetoric was matched by exploits sought to reenact the events of San Domingo in South Carolina. These events served to refute the ideology of Southern whites of Black docility. Haiti was vindication of the capacity of the Negro for self-government and freedom. As the leader of the Haitian Revolution, Toussaint Louverture became one of the greatest freedom fighters of all time. African Americans held Louverture as a great Black strategist who vanquished the myth of Black inferiority.

On a socio-economic level, African Americans saw Haiti's independence as an opportunity to improve their economic condition. They turned to Haiti as an escape from the slavery and second class citizenship that characterized their lives in the United States. Haitian leaders encouraged the Diaspora to move to Haiti in order to increase the workforce and facilitate the production of cotton and tobacco. African Americans, at the time, embraced the idea of immigration to Haiti in lieu of immigration to Africa.

Between 1824 and 1827, thirteen thousand African Americans immigrated to Haiti. Haiti became the ideal place for the establishment of a Black nationality; a place where Blacks were fully equipped to function as citizens.

African Americans were dreaming big. It was their belief that the development of solid cultural institutions would lead to greatness for the African American and add to Haitian advancement. Although Haiti promised land to African Americans wishing to immigrate, at a great price, they were soon to find that Haiti was not all it was purported

to be. However, many African Americans remained and established social, religious, and educational institutions that are still serving the Haitian people.

The euphoria that followed on the heels of the Haitian Revolution did not obscure the fact that there was indeed room for improvement. The differences between the French-assimilated Haitians and their Anglo-Saxon-indoctrinated counterparts, was emphasized by their approaches to the issue of liberation. Some African American leaders sought liberation of the slaves while preserving American liberty, while others saw education as the key to freedom. African Americans viewed the political instability in Haiti as counterproductive to the issue of Negro self-government and Black class recognition in the United States.

Political instability, religion and education were viewed by African Americans as factors impeding Haiti's success as a nation. It was believed that Catholicism, the official religion of Haiti, was just one of many vices left over by their masters and should be replaced with Protestantism, the argument being that without the Christian religion internal corruption could not be curtailed.

Both peoples struggled to elevate the Black race. African Americans believed that education was the answer and promoted successful agriculture as a means to self-actualization for Haiti. African Americans had reservations about certain aspects of Haiti's culture and its development as a nation, but to this day remain faithful in their defense of Haiti's self-determination.

Luncheon Speaker: Alex Dupuy: Who's Afraid of Democracy in Haiti? A Critical Reflection

No summary of Dr. Dupuy's remarks is included in this report since his presentation is published separately as Number Seven in the Haiti Program's *Haiti Papers* series.

Panel Two: Haiti on the Eve of 200 Years of Independence: Reflections

Panelists were asked to examine relationships between Haiti and a number of international actors on the eve of the bicentennial of its independence. Those actors include neighboring Caribbean states, the Organization of American States, the Haitian Diaspora in the United States, and – within Haiti – relationships among political actors.

Michael Dash New York University

Haiti's relations with the Caribbean range from the positively bad relationship it has with its nearest neighbor, the Dominican Republic, to the negatively good interaction it has had with the Commonwealth Caribbean. After the coup against Aristide in 1991, Jamaica was the only country in the anglophone Caribbean to welcome Haitian refugees. The Dominican Republic meanwhile made headlines by using Haitian child labor and the

use of military force to create a situation of virtual slavery for the Haitian migrant workers on its sugar plantations.

The Dominican Republic sees Haiti as more African than Latin American and therefore inferior while Haitians look down on Dominicans as harboring unreasonable pretensions to a grand European past. In the former British colonies, fears of the “Haitian ramshackle” abound and Jamaican newspapers are filled with references to the Haitianization of the country. Even those who wax lyrical over Haiti’s epic, revolutionary past show little interest in the neocolonial state that it spawned. From the Haitian standpoint, a proud revolutionary history has equally made many Haitians scornful of their Caribbean neighbors, who lost their colonial status only in the 1960s.

The relations described above were intensified by the Duvalierist hermit state between 1957 and 1971. The end of the Duvalier dynasty in 1986 and the dramatic demonstration of people power that preceded it caught the Caribbean by surprise. The event signaled the beginning of Jamaican engagement with its neighbor, as the Jamaican Minister of Education was sent to Port-au-Prince to negotiate the departure of Baby Doc. Aside from this intervention however, CARICOM as a whole stayed away from a situation that it deemed too complicated to get involved in. When Leslie Manigat was elected in 1987, CARICOM split violently over the issue for recognition of the new government. Barbados denounced the election as army-rigged while the Prime Minister of Dominica, Eugenia Charles, declared: “It was better to have bad elections than none at all.”

Despite some talk of re-establishing a diplomatic presence on the island in the late 1980s, the indecisiveness continued through Aristide’s election and the coup that followed it in 1991. A diplomatic effort was necessary, but the only response was an economic embargo that created greater hardship for the Haitian masses and that was flagrantly breached with the complicity of the Dominican Republic. The subsequent exodus from Haiti was ignored by all Caribbean countries except Jamaica.

The trend continued in 1994, when a UN sanctioned, US led intervention ousted the country’s military leaders. The region’s involvement was secondary to leadership that was eventually provided by the White House. To this day CARICOM does not have diplomatic representation in Haiti and CARICOM leaders have returned to their favored calls for greater international involvement in sustaining democracy in that country without themselves having a coherent and forceful policy on Haiti. For instance, their efforts to unblock the millions of dollars in aid to Haiti frozen because of 2000 election irregularities were to no avail.

One event may change the nature of relations between Haiti and its regional neighbors. In 1997, Haiti was granted full membership status in CARICOM and in 2002, the Haitian parliament gave their assent to full membership in the community. While the current political stalemate in Haiti has cast a cloud over further progress on its integration in the grouping, Haiti and existing CARICOM members all stand to gain from Haiti’s inclusion. Haiti is arguably a test case for rethinking the Caribbean in terms of a new

supranational entity and moving beyond the sub-national cocoons that have bedeviled Caribbean integration in the past. A regional identity would also help Haiti escape two centuries of isolation.

Robert Fatton, University of Virginia and author of *Haiti's Predatory Republic: The Unending Transition to Democracy*

Haitian politics have historically been characterized by *la politique du ventre*, the politics of the belly, which is a form of governability based on the acquisition of personal wealth through the conquest of state offices. Thus, the tragedy of Haiti's systemic foundation is that it literally eats the decency and humanity of perfectly honest men and women, transforming them into "*grands mangeurs*," big eaters—a rapacious species of office holders who devour public resources for their exclusive private gains. Historically, emancipation has assumed the form of personal gain or fulfillment to the detriment of any collective purposeful action.

It is true that the fall of the Duvalier dictatorship opened up a new period of electoralism and the political space for struggling for more accountable democratic structures. Electoralism, however, also created the terrain for rigged elections and thus the fraudulent control of public office with which to acquire the prebendary sinecures of power. The pursuit of public office is indeed the ticket to individual wealth and patronage. Not surprisingly, the Lavalas cadres have suffered a similar fate to those of their predecessors, succumbing to Haiti's history.

The question, however, is whether Haitians are condemned to be inevitable victims of their own history. In spite of constraining political and economic structures, there is no reason to believe that there is no alternative to the current crisis. The collapse of the Duvalier dictatorship clearly demonstrated that Haitians were capable of trespassing rigid boundaries and moving toward new horizons. Haitian politics cannot be understood without emphasizing the centrality of class, how human beings organize to defend and promote their corporate interests. The island's class structure is based on an extremely weak and indeed devastated economic foundation. Haiti's process of democratization has thus been carried out without both a classical bourgeoisie and a large working class, the two classes whose struggles and compromises have generated liberal democracy itself.

The absence of these two fundamental actors has meant that Haiti constitutes a predatory democracy: a system of governance based on a criminalized zero-sum game of power dominated by intense processes of class formation where factions of the petite bourgeoisie fight for political supremacy, where elected officials at the highest level are controlled by opaque private forces, where elections are held regularly and are usually fraudulent, and where public administrators claim to save the constitution by continuously violating its spirit and its laws. Haiti's predatory democracy, however, has spaces of freedom, and the rituals of electoralism have regularly imposed limitations on its most authoritarian tendencies.

The danger is that the current impasse will deteriorate into open violent conflict between *Lavalas* and the opposition. In the absence of a compromise it is likely that the war of words will escalate into a “low-intensity” civil war. It is clear that *Lavalas*’ control of the state apparatus gives it immense advantages: it can dispense favors and jobs to important segments of the opposition. Hence, a strategy of selective inclusion can perhaps neutralize the opposition; it is probably Aristide’s preferred alternative. A type of reconciliation based on the cooptation of critical members of the opposition is therefore possible. The key assumption behind this scenario is that the ideology and program of both the opposition and *Lavalas* differ little, making possible a pact based on the prebendary redistribution of state resources.

Thus, at the moment, the issue is not a deepening of democratic practice, but rather a historic “*arrangement*” between the competing blocs of the Haitian political class. It would grant international legitimacy to Aristide’s rule and thus enhance prospects for foreign investments and aid, making Haiti’s integration into world markets more productive.

There are other major incentives that may compel Aristide into accepting this strategic arrangement and indeed go beyond it. An accommodation would not only free the \$500 million promised in international aid, but it would also smooth relations with Washington and the Bush administration and thus minimize the Republican Party’s strong antagonism to his rule and persona. Moreover, Aristide needs new allies to cut his ties with his troublesome and violent *Chimères*, who may have played a useful role in consolidating *Fanmi Lavalas*’ power, but have become progressively more autonomous and are no longer a pliable instrument in Aristide’s arsenal. Thus, the danger is that, having begun as a mere political instrument in the struggle for power, the *Chimères* are now becoming a power unto themselves.

Aristide’s problem is how to reach a pact with his adversaries without undermining and indeed ending his own presidency. While Aristide has refused to step down, he has accepted reluctantly to hold new legislative and local elections under the supervision of an autonomous electoral council and under the surveillance of international observers. Aristide’s profound desire to legitimize his presidency both at home and abroad and to acquire badly needed foreign assistance leave him with very little choice.

A solution to Haiti’s current impasse has to face the reality that the contending parties distrust each other utterly. The events of December 17, 2001 when violence erupted in the National Palace and the more recent waves of anti-Aristide and pro-Aristide protests have contributed to a situation of reciprocal siege. The opposition’s capacity to generate sizable mass demonstrations against the *Lavalas* regime has emboldened it to the point that it is now infused with a false sense of euphoria while recent events have confirmed *Lavalas*’ continued capacity to mobilize its supporters and unleash its *Chimères* against opponents.

The country is thus close to the abyss. Unless the fear of mutual destruction compels the major actors into forging a historic compromise, Haiti could easily descend into a civil war. Dangerous miscalculations on both sides of the political divide are quite possible and are likely to have unpredictable and dangerous consequences. As a result, instead of being a triumphant celebration, 2004 may well be a year of continuing crisis.

Sandra Honore, Organization of American States

Haiti is plagued by shrinking bilateral aid, rising inflation, a stagnant economy, and social and political polarization. The OAS renewed relations with Haiti in August of 2002. In September of 2002, Permanent Council Resolution 822 was passed, providing for a credible provisional government, reparations to be paid to victims, investigation of political assassinations, the formation of an electoral council and resources of the international community to help strengthen democracy in Haiti.

Continued unrest in Haiti has led to questions of the political will of President Aristide to make good on his promises to the international community. Dramatic expressions of discontent by various segments of the population have resulted in an expansion of the mission's mandate to include disarmament. It is increasingly evident that the mission to Haiti will not be able to continue its work if it is not given the support it requires. The Episcopal Conference has called on the international community to be "patient with Haiti." However, there are elements in Haiti that make the work of the mission exceedingly difficult.

The security climate is cause for great concern. Since November there has been increased polarization in the country and OAS interventions have been frustrated by violence. Yet, all sides have voiced a commitment to elections.

With regard to the OAS' position, there are continued efforts being made towards resolution of the political stalemate. The OAS is an international organization bound by its charter to strengthen democracy in Haiti. The mission has collaborated with the Caribbean community and will continue to work in the country, but the responsibility for progress is shared across Haiti.

Michel Laguerre, University of California at Berkeley

Diasporic lobbying implies three different processes: (1) the willingness of diasporan activists to engage in politics in the hostland on behalf of the homeland (whether to help, undermine, or consolidate the political regime of the homeland), (2) the interaction of diasporans with hostland political actors and institutions, and (3) the interaction of diasporans with homeland political actors and institutions, directly or indirectly and as individuals or a group. This interaction is induced sometimes as the result of an initiative by the hostland and is undertaken on its behalf to convey its views

to the homeland regime. These three sets of processes form the content of diasporic engagement and the infrastructure that maintains and channels this activity.

Diasporic lobbyists integrate three political communities in an integrated transnation, provide specific services to each, relate to each differently, and occupy a unique position that cannot be filled by any other agency. They operate in three different political spheres at once. Through their services, the homeland gets political access to U.S. officials; the diaspora gets its voices heard through its lobbyists; and the US government gets its messages transmitted to the homeland government when regular diplomatic channels fail to accomplish the same.

Lobbyists affect and carve a transnational niche inside American politics. This field of political activity impacts the diasporic community because of the type of leadership it provides; it impacts American politics because of the pressure it exerts on elected officials and is a source of policy formations and points of contact between the homeland and the hostland; and it impacts the homeland directly through interactions with homeland political actors and institutions and indirectly through their political activities in the hostland. While diasporic lobbying is one form of transnational lobbying, not all transnational lobbying is diasporic.

The transnationalization of the lobbying process insinuates that the content and ideological orientation of the lobbying process may originate in the homeland, the hostland or any other diasporic site. However such a transnational landscape enhances but does not eliminate more traditional forms of local lobbying. Transnationality implies here that lobbying in any site of the circuit can impact the others.

While transnationality helps to unite groups of individuals of the same ideological persuasion, it also enhances the possibility for group division and ideological plurality. A pro or anti government lobby group may generate its opposite with a transnational agenda and praxis. Transnational rival blocs are outcomes of the transnationalization of the diasporic lobbying process as each opposing block expands itself across borders to enhance the success of its agenda.

Panel Three: Haiti and the USA: Linked by History and Community

Five panelists participated in the unveiling of the new research-based web site created by the Trinity College Haiti Program. The site, www.Haiti-USA.org, examines relationships between Haiti and the United States, focusing on contributions made by Haiti – and Haitians – to the well being of the United States in two periods: historical and contemporary.

The historical period concentrates on the revolutionary and post-revolutionary period. It traces Haitian contributions to the U.S. War of Independence, U.S. responses to Haiti's independence, the impact of the migration of refugees from Haiti to the United

States and other topics. Special sections examine the images of Toussaint Louverture and Haitian political caricatures

The contemporary period examines the breadth and depth of Haitian immigration to the United States, tracing its evolution since the 1960s, identifying issues confronting the Diaspora and how it is overcoming them, and highlighting successful Haitian-American personalities and professionals. A special section offers in-depth reports of five the Haitian Diaspora in five U.S. cities: Atlanta, Boston, Delray Beach, Detroit, and Washington DC.

The site also features extensive links to other resources, an historical chronology, and a country overview/profile. Participating in the third panel were:

- ***Dr. Fritz Daguillard***, *Historical Consultant*
- ***Marlene Dorfeuille***, *Research Consultant for Washington DC*
- ***Jérôme Lebleu***, *Trinity College Haiti Program Coordinator, Historical Section Writer and Lead Researcher/Writer for the Atlanta, Boston and Delray Beach sections*
- ***Bob Maguire***, *Trinity College Haiti Program Director, Lead Researcher for Detroit, and Website Editor/Writer*
- ***Paul Schiavone***, *Website Designer and Technician, Emergent Probabilities, Inc.*

Closure

Upon completion of the third panel, symposium organizers thanked all panelists for their valuable contributions, thanked all present for their participation, and invited everyone to adjourn to the Rose Parlor for a post-symposium reception, as well as to note the end of the three-part symposia series that commenced with the first symposium in March, 2002.

APPENDIX A:
Symposium Agenda

HAITI'S INDEPENDENT PATH - 1804 – 2003
Routes, Relationships & Reflections

TRINITY COLLEGE HAITI PROGRAM
Washington, DC

Wednesday, January 15, 2003

Program

9:30 **Registration/Coffee**

9:50 **Welcome: Bob Maguire, Director, Trinity College Haiti Program**

Morning Program

10:00 - 12:00 **Independence & Freedom: Reaction and Response**
Moderator: Geri Benoit Preval

Speakers:

- **Alfred Hunt**, State University of New York/Purchase, “*A Slumbering Volcano: U.S. Response to Independent Haiti*”
- **Christian Girault**, National Center for Scientific Research, Paris, “*The Pariah State: French Response to Haiti*”
- **Leon Pamphile**, Author and Executive Director, Functional Literacy Ministry of Haiti, “*Tragedy and Hope: African-American Response to Independent Haiti*”

Buffet Lunch

Noon – 1:30 **Who is Afraid of Democracy in Haiti? A Critical Reflection**

Featured Speaker:

- **Alex Dupuy**, Wesleyan University

Afternoon Program

1:30 – 4:30

Haiti On the Eve of 200 Years of Independence: Reflections

Moderator: Bob Maguire

Speakers:

- **Michael Dash**, New York University, “*Haiti and the Caribbean*”
- **Robert Fatton**, University of Virginia, “*Haiti's Predatory Democracy & the Vicissitudes of a Historic Compromise*”
- **Sandra Honore** Organization of American States, “*Achieving Shared Interests*”
- **Michel Laguerre**, University of California at Berkeley, “*A Transnational Community*”

4:30 – 5:15

Haiti and the USA: Linked by History and Community

Unveiling of the Trinity College Haiti Program Educational Website

Participants:

- **Fritz Daguillard**, Consultant
- **Marlene Dorfeuille**, Consultant
- **Jerome Lebleu**, Trinity College Haiti Program
- **Bob Maguire**, Trinity College Haiti Program
- **Paul Schiavone**, Consultant

5:15 – 6:00

Closing Reception

APPENDIX B:
Speaker Biographies

Alfred Hunt, State University of New York at Purchase

Trained in American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin, and for many years the Dean of the College at SUNY, Purchase, Alfred is an American historian who also teaches in a unique Purchase Overseas Program in Spain, is the author of "Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America," and currently is working on a manuscript entitled "The Gilded Graveyard: The Caribbean in American History."

Christian Girault, Center for Research and Documentation on Latin America, Paris

Dr. Girault is currently a researcher, at the Center for Research and Documentation on Latin America (CREDAL), at Paris-based National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS). Prior to that he was Director of Research on Caribbean Geography and International Relations at the CNRS as well as a Senior Associate Member of the Latin America Center at St. Antony's College in Oxford. He holds a doctorate in geography from McGill University in Montreal and has presented his research worldwide.

Leon Pamphile, the Functional Literacy Ministry, Pittsburgh

Leon D. Pamphile is the founder and Executive Director of the Functional Literacy Ministry, a 501(3) organization that has been providing literacy, education and health care in Haiti over the past twenty years. He is the author of La Croix Et Le Glaive: L'eglise Catholique Sous L'occupation Americaine, winner of the 1990 book prize from the Historical and Geographical Society of Haiti, L' Education En Haiti Sous L'occupation Americaine, and of Haitians And African Americans: A Heritage Of Tragedy And Hope.

Alex Dupuy, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT

Dr. Dupuy is the Chair of the Sociology Program at Wesleyan University. He has taught at Wesleyan since 1982, rising to the rank of full Professor in 1992. He has written two books on Haiti, 1989's Haiti in the World Economy: Class, Race, and Underdevelopment Since 1700 and 1997's Haiti in the New World Order: The Limits of the Democratic Revolution. He has published over 30 articles on Haiti and the Caribbean in professional journals and edited anthologies, including a recent report for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees titled "Haiti: Social Crisis and Population Displacement."

Michael Dash, New York University

J. Michael Dash, born in Trinidad, has taught in the Caribbean, Africa and the US. He has worked extensively on Haitian literature and French Caribbean writers, especially Edouard Glissant, whose works, *The Ripening* (1985) and *Caribbean Discourse* (1989) he has translated into English. After 21 years at the University of the West Indies, Jamaica where he was Professor of Francophone Literature and Chair of Modern Languages, he is now Professor of French at New York University and Director of the Africana Studies Program. His publications include *Literature and Ideology in Haiti*

(1981), *Haiti and the United States* (1988), *Edouard Glissant* (1995). His most recent translation is *The Drifting of Spirits* (1999) by Gisèle Pineau. His most recent books are The Other America: Caribbean Literature in a New World Context (1998), Libete: A Haiti Anthology (1999) with Charles Arthur. He has participated in numerous CARICOM and Caribbean Conference of Churches missions to Haiti and his most recent book on Haiti is Culture and Customs of Haiti (2001).

Robert Fatton, University of Virginia

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