

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

2 April 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. McGeorge Bundy
Special Assistant to the President
The White House

SUBJECT: Haitian Exile Activity Against Duvalier Government

1. You will recall that following conversations between Ambassador Bruce and the President, you asked this Agency to undertake preliminary conversations with Mr. Earl Brennan, the registered representative of a Haitian political party, the Parti Nationale. You will also recall that on 28 February I reported orally to you on the progress of these conversations.

2. Since the initiation of contact with Mr. Brennan on 21 February, there have been eleven meetings in Washington and New York City. Meetings on 21 and 27 March brought us into direct and extended conversation with Mr. Brennan's principals in the Parti Nationale and in activity currently under way to overthrow the Duvalier Government.

3. Because the target date for any effective action against Duvalier will be 15 - 25 May and because the conversations which have taken place indicate that a significant level of organization and planning has taken place among the Haitian exiles represented by Mr. Brennan, it is appropriate and desirable that the facts thus far ascertained be set out for possible use in the determination of a U. S. course of clandestine political action.

4. The Haitian opposition to the "Papa Doc" Duvalier Government has been gathering in numbers since early 1958 -- in New York City, in Caracas, and in San Juan, Puerto Rico. There are individuals or small groups of collateral significance in Montreal, Chicago, Miami, Kingston (Jamaica) and Nassau (Bahamas). The overthrow of the Trujillo Government in the Dominican Republic resulted in the development of an effectively placed action center in Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic).

5. Until the beginning of 1963, Haitian exile activity is principally the story of individual and small group action. Successive attempts to create unity among individuals and alleged party groups (in some instances consisting of no more than a single person) were unsuccessful and, therefore, military and political action privately sponsored against the Duvalier regime since 1958 is a record of successive abortive undertakings.

6. Two elements, however, stand out against the dreary background of past activity.

7. The first is the political party, located in New York, of which Mr. Brennan has been the registered agent since 1959. The Parti Nationale originated in clandestine activity following the political failure of its founder, Clement Jumelle, in the 1957 elections, his subsequent flight into the back country, and his final tragic death from physical privations and complications in 1959. Building on the

myth of Clement Jumelle, a small group survived in New York and eventually came under the leadership of Clement Jumelle's brother, Dr. Gaston Jumelle. The Party in New York consists of a seven-man core group headed by Jumelle, Lionel Paquin, Kessler Clermont (very active with AFL-CIO), Fritz Bonfils, Marcel Bonny, Anna Yaegerhuber, and Dr. Roger Rigaud. The Parti Nationale group established and developed association for joint action with individuals abroad: Caracas, Paul Verna and Guastave Borno; Kingston, Jamaica, John Brouier; Dominican Republic, Pierre Rigaud. The Parti Nationale claims an active underground executive committee in Haiti with which it is in contact via mail and through safe hand intermediaries. These individuals, who have borne the brunt of organizational and softening up activity and will be those called upon to strike the first open blow against Duvalier are: Berthony Madhere, Dr. Georges D. Rigaud, Edouard Maton, Dantes Colimon, Franck Devieux and Jolicourt. (We are in possession of additional names on the organization and party inside the country.)

8. The second noteworthy element in the recent history of Haitian exile activity was the formation of the Union for Democratic Action (UDN) early in 1962 by Pierre Rigaud upon the suggestion of Georges D. Rigaud (inside Haiti) and after coordination and consultation with his brother, Dr. Roger Rigaud, in New York.

9. The UDN was not a political party but an action movement which has attempted to associate Haitians-in-exile without reference to party and it will disappear as soon as Duvalier is overthrown. The UDN has

tried to make itself attractive to all Haitians-in-exile and to conduct specific activity against Duvalier without reference to political credits. The fact is, however, that the action and policy directing group of the UDN is largely derived from the Parti Nationale.

10. UDN coordinators who have been at work now for nearly a year, are the following: in Port-au-Prince - Georges D. Rigaud, Caracas - Borno, Jamaica - Love Leger, Washington - Colonel Robert Pierre Bazile, New York - Roger Rigaud.

11. The anti-Duvalier leaflets which recently were reported in the U. S. press were sponsored by the UDN. The leaflets were printed in Caracas and smuggled into Haiti via the Dominican Republic.

12. Since the beginning of the year 1963 Haitians-in-exile have achieved unprecedented unity of action for a common effort to overthrow the Duvalier Government. The Unity Group includes the former President Paul Magloire; it excludes two erratic and controversial exiles, Louis Dejoie and Daniel Fignole.

13. The elements of agreement grew out of a meeting in New York in mid-January 1963 in which a Haitian-Cuban, Antonio Rodriguez, played an important part. A second meeting of a more restricted group took place in New York in February. An agreement was formalized to make General Leon Cantave the planner and director of the military and

operational activity to be developed against Duvalier. Cantave's authority was accepted by all participants without qualification and he regards his mandate as extending to the period following the arrival of the anti-Duvalier group in the Haitian capital.

14. Under General Cantave's direction, Antonio Rodriguez has undertaken significant organizational and developmental activity in the Caribbean area during February and March 1963 which he reported to Cantave in New York on 25 - 26 March 1963. The "net" of the Rodriguez report is that the unified movement headed by General Cantave has the assurance of covert political and basic physical support from the new Government of the Dominican Republic headed by Juan Bosch.

15. According to Rodriguez's report, the Haitian exiles can count on the following support in the island:

- a. The Dominican Government will permit the establishment of a camp for training and staging on its territory.
- b. The Dominican Government will permit the Haitian exiles to base vessels with crews of their own choice in Dominican ports.
- c. The Dominican Government will permit free access into the Dominican Republic of trainees, recruits, crews and ships associated with the activity.
- d. The Dominican Government will permit free access and entry across the land frontier of members of the anti-Duvalier Government from Haiti.

e. The vessels used against the Duvalier Government will be permitted to fly the Dominican Republic flag.

f. In the event of retreat, participants in the activity will be assured the possibility of entry into the Dominican Republic and will be accorded political asylum.

16. On these assurances, Rodriguez purchased on behalf of the movement for \$22,000 a former coast guard vessel in the Dominican Republic capable of carrying 100 men.

17. There are significant conditions which govern the support to be given by Juan Bosch. They are:

a. The Dominican Republic will not permit overland transit of anti-Duvalier elements across the frontier and into Haiti from the staging area on its territory.

b. The Dominican Republic will not provide any financial assistance to the movement.

c. The Dominican Republic will provide no arms or ammunition. (In other words, the Haitians will have to provide weapons and ammunition for themselves.)

d. Everything done by Rodriguez and the anti-Duvalier elements in the Dominican Republic must be with utmost discretion and secrecy.

18. After reporting to Cantave and securing his new instructions Rodriguez left New York on 26 March. He was to depart Miami for Santo

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Domingo on 30 March. In the Dominican Republic his primary mission will be to organize the training and staging area for Haitian exile forces. General Cantave desires urgently to go to Santo Domingo in order to confirm the elements of agreement reported to him by Rodriguez and to conduct additional on-site inspections he feels necessary in Guadelope and elsewhere before he can be certain of the outcome of the activity he is directing. General Cantave and Roger Rigaud have developed a personal contact over the past quarter with the Cuban exile leader, Manuel Artime.

19. In his talks with us, Mr. Brennan on 3 March formalized his suggestions for U. S. support of the Haitian unity group's activity in a written plan entitled: "Operation Liberation" (attached).

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20. Rodriguez' activity under General Cantave's direction has been financed by a lump sum donation made to General Paul Magloire by a well-known Haitian businessman and political "fixer" of British nationality, O. J. Brandt.

21. Brandt is interested in reinsuring his large holdings with whatever regime follows Duvalier's in the same way he has in every overturn since the Estime Government in 1946. The amount made available by Brandt either in late 1962 or early 1963 was \$45,000. Rodriguez allegedly took the last \$10,000 of the amount with him in order to conduct the activity projected for the immediate future in the Dominican Republic.

Conclusions

22. The following operational conclusions follow from our findings and from the conversations since the initiation of the contact with Mr. Brennan:

a. There is a viable Haitian exile movement which has coalesced in the last quarter and has placed entire responsibility for military and quasi-military action in General Leon Cantave.

b. Cantave's activity and backers do not include all Haitians-in-exile, but it is probably fair to state that it embraces and includes all of those that are of significance, or that have a potential at this time.

c. The group headed by General Cantave has allegedly received very specific assurance of land-side support from the Dominican Republic which greatly enhances its capability for effective action in the near future against Duvalier.

d. If the target date set by Cantave is to be achieved, immediate action and additional sources of financing will be necessary.

e. The courses of action that are open are:

1) Back the Cantave group

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2)

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In other words, reserve the decision on the whole package until Cantave has independently confirmed what Rodriguez reported.

3) We can terminate relations with the group on the assumption that their program is not feasible.

4) We can remain in contact with Mr. Brennan and attempt to draw out additional details as the activity develops on the basis of private sponsorship or such financing as might be forthcoming from ex-President Magloire, personally, or from other sources, like O. J. Brandt, within Haiti.

23. Single copies of this memorandum have been provided only to Mr. John A. McCone and to Mr. Edwin M. Martin.

Withheld under statutory authority of the Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949 (50 U.S.C., section 403g)

Richard Helms
Deputy Director (Plans)

cc: Mr. McCone
Mr. Martin

Attachment