Diaspora as Detour: Haitian émigrés during the Duvalier years, 1950s-1980s

By

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
(History)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

2019

Date of final oral examination: 04/23/2019

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the History and Afro-American Studies Departments at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

I am especially grateful to my Dissertation Committee Members. Brenda Gayle Plummer, I have learned a lot from you. Thank you for your attention to details and for asking vexing questions while encouraging me to remain true to my project. Freida High W.Tesfagiorgis, thank you for being an ally and a friend in this process. Your mentorship has been invaluable from beginning to end. Cindy I-Fen Cheng, thank you for your guidance during some of the most challenging times on this journey. Pablo Gómez, thank you for pushing me to find compelling ways to tell the entangled histories of the Caribbean and North America. Michael Thornton, I really benefitted from our conversations throughout the years. Thank you for sharing your vision.

I give my sincere gratitude to the professors and mentors who encouraged me during this graduate school process including Franco Scarano, Jim Sweet, Suzanne Desan, Laird Boswell, Leonora Neville, Nan Enstad, Charles Kim, Henry Drewal, Christina Greene, Christy Clark-Pujara, Sandra Adell, and Alexander Shasko. I am deeply grateful to Crawford Young for sharing his knowledge of Postcolonial Africa, and Shelly Chan for our conversations on diaspora.

Guillermina De Ferrari, thank you for your friendship and for introducing me to Caribbean thought. Your kind words, advice, and deep knowledge of the Caribbean helped me through this journey.

I would like to give special thanks to Leslie Abadie and Dolores Liamba for their support and for taking care of the necessary details with such efficiency.

I am grateful for generous funding, fellowships and grants provided by the Department of History, the Graduate School, LACIS, and the Society for Caribbean Studies.

So many people supported my project in Paris, Port-au-Prince, and Montreal. I am grateful to Adele Torrance and Alexandre Coutelle at the UNESCO archives in Paris, Patrick Tardieu in Port-au-Prince, Frantz Voltaire at the CIDIHCA, Caroline Sigouin, Philip Lichti, and Stéphane Martelly at Concordia University, Martin Couture at the Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec, and the Caribbean Pioneer Women of Canada in Montreal. Special thanks goes to the members of Devoir de Mémoire in Port-au-Prince, including Guylène Salès, Sylvie Bajeux, and Franck Dominique Simon. I will never forget your warm welcome.

I could not have completed this project without the help and support of Max Manigat and Marie-José Bouchereau. Papi Maks, thank your sharing your story, teaching me about Haitian culture, your endless encouragements, and for your warm heart. Marie-José, it all started in Quito! I owe you an immeasurable debt. Thank you for welcoming me into your home, your family, and your community. Thank you for your joie de vivre, and all the laughters.

Throughout the course of my research and writing, I had the support of incredible colleagues. Special thanks to So Yeon Bae, Adela Cedillo, Vaneesa Cook, Geneviève Dorais, Duygu Eriten,

Francis Gourrier, Jillian Jacklin, Doria Johnson, Monica Ledesma, Isaac Lee, Andrew Shaeffer, and Megan Stanton. I am especially grateful to Alberto Ortiz and Anthony Medrano. Robert Yves Figueroa, thank you for our exchanges over the years. Kenbe, pa lage!

Sean Mills, Chantalle Verna, Millery Polyné, Saje Mathieu, Regine O. Jackson, Danielle Legros George, Hadassah St Hubert, Grace Sanders, and Pedro Monaville, thanks for your intellectual input.

I am forever grateful my family, the "double s." Thank you for seeing me through the ups and downs of this long graduate school process. You know I could not have made it without you.

ABSTRACT

Diaspora as Detour: Haitian émigrés during the Duvalier years, 1950s-1980s, explores the migration of middle-class Haitian exiles to Africa and North America during the dictatorships of François and Jean-Claude Duvalier (1957-1986), and advances a better understanding of the African Diaspora in the Americas during the era of the global Cold War. It examines how Haitians in exile sought opportunities to create a national space outside the nation while waiting for the oppressive regime to collapse. They partook in many cultural and political practices to recast their relationship with their homeland and challenge issues of race and representation across national boundaries. I analyze such practices as Glissantian detours, or strategies to come to terms with the impossibility of return inherent to our understanding of diaspora, which in this project is defined as a political practice that simultaneously signals dissimilarity and fluidity, black internationalism, as well as the politics of return.

I argue that Haitian émigrés refashioned themselves within a diasporic imaginary shaped by memory, displacement, the rejection of the dictatorship, racism, and the global Cold War context that fostered their dispersal. Heightened mobility forced the continual negotiation of new identities while émigrés inhabited new racialized spaces, mobilized national and racial belonging, diasporic connections, and invoked the return to the homeland. Besides, my research highlights the significance of black internationalism as Haitians worked with locals of African descent across ethnic and class lines to challenge racial discrimination despite linguistic differences and diverse historical trajectories. The contribution of Haitians to the making of black internationalism has often been restricted to the Haitian revolution in African Diaspora historiography. It also tends to display an Afro-Saxon bias that overshadows non-Anglophones' contribution to a black diasporic dialogue. Going against the grain, my project intervenes in that scholarship by showing that as actors of Africa's decolonization processes and activists in North America, Haitians played a significant role in fashioning the black diaspora beyond 1804.

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CHAPTER I
"ROOTED NOMADS" IN THE GREAT WHITE NORTH

Ton soir
est tendre
dans ma nuit de Paris j'ai toutes les rues
de Port-au-Prince
au ras de mes fenêtres.
Gérald Bloncourt, *Dialogue au bout des vagues*[1]

Introduction: Race, and (Non)Place

Look, a Negro! In francophone Saint-Boniface (Manitoba), it was the gaze of her classmates gauging her black body while the teacher brought their attention to some version of the ethnographic tableau of *Specimens of Various Races of Mankind*, inherited from a century-old belief in polygenesis. Conjuring up the picture in the textbook, *nomade enracinée* Marie-José Bouchereau, a Haitian-born émigré uprooted from privileged suburban Pétionville to Manhattan, Manitoba and Quebec, remembers: "it was the ugliest picture of a black person. And all eyes were on me."[2] Then, about four or five years later, she experienced yet another Fanon-esque moment as a crowd gathered around her father's car in Saint Casimir, a small town in the Portneuf regional county municipality of Quebec. They could not take their eyes off the little black girl as she was waiting for her father who had stepped out to run an errand. Once again, Marie-José's body was a spectacle. It was out of place; she did not belong there. But Marie-José was no pioneer. The hypervisibility of her body was symptomatic of something else. Presumably, she was walking in the footsteps of Afro-descended trappeurs, settlers, slaves, engagés, refugees, artisans, cultivators, railroad workers, transient workers (such as porters or entertainers), and domestic workers who left their imprint in Canadian history. But did they?

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[1] "*Your evening is tender, in my Parisian night I have every street of Port-au-Prince skimming my windows*." Gérard Bloncourt was, with Jacques Stéphane Alexis and René Depestre, a founding member of revolutionary Marxist surrealist student newspaper *La Ruche*, and played an important role in the 1946 revolution before being expelled from Haiti. He has lived in exile in Paris ever since.

[2] Interview with the author, January 2015.

Marie-José's experience speaks to the invisibility of Afro-descendants in the Canadian space. As George Elliot Clarke suggests, "The perpetual, white denial of Canada's own history of slavery, segregation, and anti-black discrimination accents black invisibility." [3] On the one hand, Afro-descendants have been either miscounted or merely excluded from official records. On the other hand, the two solitudes resorted to immigration policies that sought to project and maintain a white Canadian identity, and, in the case of Quebec, to preserve the "French race." Within this context, Marie-José's alien body did not belong to the Canadian imaginary built on the British/French dichotomy that silenced the legacy of First Nations, Asians, and Afro-descendants. Furthermore, Quebec's dominant narrative has traditionally dismissed what was not relevant to the issue of political sovereignty.[4]

At stake here is also the one dimensional and alienating understanding of blackness that white Canada imposes on Afro-descendants. Jamaican-born scholar Yvonne Brown, "schooled to be a citizen of Great Britain and The Colonies," discusses "the continuing awareness of race, but as distinguished by white and non-white" that characterizes the "reality of Canada" she discovered in 1969:

> Whereas in Jamaica I had had a certain position as a coloured person, as I moved through the cultural experiences of Canadian society I became aware that I was in a new position: I was non- white, and I was black. The discovery that black

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[3] George Elliot Clarke, *Odyssey's home: Mapping African-Canadian literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 35.

[4] The problem of the dismissal of Afro-Canadian in the shaping of Canadian nationhood has been largely addressed. See, for example Daniel Gay, *Les Noirs du Québec*, 1629-1900, (Sillery (Québec): Les éditions du Septentrion, 2004), Dorothy W. Williams, *The Road to Now: A History of Blacks in Montreal*, Sheldon Eric Alister Taylor, *Darkening the complexion of Canadian society*, Charmaine Nelson, *Ebony Roots, Northern Soil: perspectives on blackness in Canada* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), Naomi Pabst "Mama, I'm walking to Canada: Black Geopolitics and Invisible Empires", Yvonne Brown, Sarah-Jane Mathieu, *North of the Color Line: Migration and Black Resistance in Canada, 1870-1955* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2010).

> people held such very low status in the Canadian multi-cultural mosaic was what I was least prepared for. The benign image I had of Canada as an open society was tarnished by the shock of falsehoods revealed. I understood that now I was associated with the black underclass, people deemed unsuitable to be Canadians. In fact, I had had social blackness bestowed upon me and I have had to navigate and negotiate my citizenship rights and privileges through these external lenses.[5]

Brown's experience is typical of the black diaspora as it exemplifies the refashioning of one's identity brought about by movement. But beyond an essentialist identity that buries the self, diaspora allows for multi-dimensional identities in dialogue, not necessarily in opposition to one another.[6]

Moreover, exilic wandering *en solo* suggests the difficulty to keep "home" alive from a diasporic standpoint. This issue is two-fold. On the one hand, the heterogeneity of Afro-Canada gives way to what George Elliott Clarke calls "poly-consciousness" or multiple categories of belonging informed not only by one's racial and national (Canada) identity, but also by regional location, language, religion, and ethnicity.[7] On the other hand, the silencing of African Canadian narratives in the collective imaginary means that memory cannot readily function as a point of anchorage or cement for the formation of a diasporic consciousness. If place and movement constantly reframe diasporic identities and categories of belonging, for historian Tina Campt, memory is also constitutive of diasporic identity and community. She argues that:

> The direct and inherited memories of diaspora define and sustain both a sense of relation to real and imagined homelands as well as among and between communities separated spatially. This complex role of memory as an act of remembrance and commemoration engages strategic forms of forgetting

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[5] Yvonne Brown, "A Journey to Multiple Sites of Memory to find and locate the Black Self in the New World African and British Diasporas," in *Multiple lenses: voices from the diaspora located in Canada*, ed. David Divine (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007),152.

[6] Michelle Wright, *Becoming Black: creating identity in the African diaspora* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 12.

[7] Clarke, 40.

> institutionally from without as well as individually and collectively within specific communities. [8]

In that sense, the institutional erasure of the African presence in Canada broke the links between past and present, prevented "the old ones to carry the spirit of all those who came before," thus challenging the "complex networks of relation forged across national, spatial, and temporary boundaries."[9]

Finally, Marie-José's experience is also a commentary on the scarcity of Haitians in North America before the rise of Duvalierism (though her father's travel history shows the extraordinary mobility of upper-class Haitians). This chapter will read her experience as a young émigré in a small town setting against that of others who were older, less isolated in urban Montreal, and eager to perform an identity whose goal was to challenge the pervading negative images of blacks as outsiders or as belonging to the bottom of Canadian society. It will also contrast her narrative with that of other Afro-Caribbean women whose mobility was both made possible and restricted because of their race, gender and class.

How can we frame a diasporic discourse in a space where multiple layers of black diasporic consciousness are built over time, either side by side or obliterating one another, made and unmade through other markers such as ethnicity, gender, class, and language? Here, diasporic consciousness does not only refer to the longing for one re-imagined homeland. It also refers to the possibility to engage with diverse historical trajectories, spatial re/locations and cultural belongings. In sum, the heterogeneity of diaspora must take into account not only the longing for multiple homelands, but also the multiple categories of belonging that re-rootings necessarily create. The rooted nomad metaphor speaks to that complexity. Marie-José's identity, much like Haiti's identity, was continuously reworked both inside and outside of the Haitian national space. In the 1940s and the 1950s, Haiti's heads of state strove to position their nation within a black internationalist narrative. Even though she grew up during those years, once transplanted, Marie-José identified with new formulation(s) of Haitianness.

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[8] Tina Campt, "Diaspora Space, Ethnographic Space: Writing History Between the Lines," in *Globalization and Race: Transformations in the Cultural Production of Blackness*, ed. Kamari Marxine Clarke and Deborah Thomas (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 96.

[99] Ibid.

By weaving the experience of Haitian transplants into a larger African Canadian narrative, this chapter seeks to examine how the intersection of race, place, class, ethnicity, gender, and (lack of) memory cast them into an in-betweenness that actually characterizes diaspora. Marie-José's route as a *nomade enracinée* shows both how uprooting and re-rooting in exilic racially hierarchized places reinforces a fluidity that is constantly renegotiated geographically. It also reflected how home is, in scholar Andrea Davis' words, "where the present in any historical moment is forced to actively engage the past to reconcile multiple and often conflicting historical experiences."[10]

Exilic Wandering: From Pétionville to Saint Boniface (Winnipeg, Manitoba)

Marie-José Bouchereau was born in Port-au-Prince on March 29th, 1944. Her father, Pierre Bouchereau, was a lawyer from a well-to-do Port-au-Prince family. Her mother, Mila Louis, was from Baradère, a small coastal town in the south west of Haiti. She came from a family of cultivators. Mila's father, Fabien Louis, died when she was quite young. The oldest of five siblings, she ventured to Port-au-Prince to work and support her family. After a while, she had saved enough money to send for her siblings and her mother, Angélina Angélique, to the capital. There she met and married Pierre.

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[10] Andrea Davis, "A Feminist Exploration in African Canadian Literature," in *Multiple lenses: voices from the diaspora located in Canada,* 252.

The late 19th century U.S. economic hold on the Caribbean region triggered an important external migration movement, but it was during the U.S. occupation of Haiti (1915-1934) that domestic migration from rural to urban areas accelerated as the administrative center and economic power became centralized in Port-au-Prince. By the 1950s, about 50% of the capital population had been born elsewhere.[11] Foreign corporations expropriated lands for monoculture plantations for exportation, a tradition (met with strong local opposition) that continued under Élie Lescot. Pierre and Mila very successfully produced and sold *mamba* (peanut butter) and *cola champagne* (soda). However, Pierre was an intellectual and soon left the mamba business to go to the U.S. and pursue other projects. He studied law because he came from a family of lawyers, and as the eldest of four siblings it was his duty to espouse the tradition. But it was not his true calling and neither was business, though records show that he sailed or flew from Port-au-Prince to New York or Baltimore several times in the 1940s as a "colored" or "West Indian merchant" who spoke both French and English.[12]

Why Pierre chose to leave for the US and what he did there remain unclear, though emigration was not uncommon in the Bouchereau family, as one of Pierre's brothers, Georges, had a law practice in the Belgian Congo. But Marie-José remembers African American male and female visitors who would engage in lively debates with her father at their house in Pétionville, a suburb in the hills of Port-au-Prince that an outsider described in 1962 as "a resort town garlanded with flowers with its luxury, hotels and dramatic views."[13] Founded by Jean-Pierre Boyer in 1831, Pétionville was, at the turn of the 20th century, mostly a resort town, especially since President Légitime (1888-9) scheduled the summer break in August and September. From then on, upper-class families drove up there during the summer, along with the sick who were prescribed a rest cure in the cool climate that Pétionville offered. During the occupation, however, two schools were built under Borno, electric lighting was introduced under StenioVincent, and architect Franck Jeanton built the picturesque Place D'armes. In the 1940s, under Dumarsais Estimé's administration, a Military Academy as well as many hotels and beautiful mansions were built too. By the time Marie-José was born, Pétionville had turned into a bedroom community.

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[11] Mats Lundahl, *Peasants and Poverty: A Study of Haiti* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1979), 629.

[12] New York Passenger lists

[13] Kennedy Earl, *New Pittsburgh Courier* Aug 4, 1962, 18.

Were the Bouchereaus' guests convinced by presidents Dumarsais Estimé's and Paul Magloire's aggressive tourist campaign? During the 1940s-50s, wealthy whites and black North Americans visited Haiti to buy naïve paintings (the famous Centre D'Art was created in 1944) and enjoy Vodou shows. Americans and Europeans who bought, collected and displayed these artifacts could simultaneously demonstrate their presumed knowledge, mastery, and possession of the "real Haitian spirit."[14] On January 8, 1947, Montreal daily newspaper *La Presse* discussed the Haitian war of independence, the "great history of Haiti," the "progressist and democratic Estimé's government," and warned its readers against the "lies" told in the US media. According to *La Presse*, Haiti, "the Pearl of the Antilles," that "helped Bolivar to free Latin America and fought in Savannah," was the perfect tourist destination. In 1949, Estimé spent four million dollars on the six-month Exposition Pavilion that included a Tourist Palace (for exhibits of handicrafts and industrial art), the Pavilion of Haitian Provinces, the Pavilion of Fine Arts and an open-air auditorium. Haitian playwright Joseph Yves Médard, born in 1938, remembers: "as kids, we would see African Americans, Cubans, and Dominicans singing together. We discovered black America in Haiti."[15] Estimé's goals were to modernize the nation and to project the image of progress to the world. He found an ally in NAACP Executive Walter White who sought to change US views of Haiti as a "poverty-stricken, illiterate, hopelessly backward country whose people are little removed from the jungle and practically all of whom practice voodoo" in order to improve Haiti/US relations and to promote Haiti's advancement.[16] He targeted all the available media (television, radio, and print media) to build up a successful tourist industry with the support of Estimé and Magloire and the help of the Haitian Ministry of Tourism (founded in 1928) and the New York City Haiti Tourist Information Bureau (1951). This operation proved quite successful as Haiti went from attracting 17,708 tourists in 1951 to over 65,766 in 1956. For Magloire, who in 1955 asserted that "the Haitian people want to affect a closer bond between their nation and the American of color," Walter White's mission was much welcome.[17]

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[14] Karen Richman

The Bouchereau's African American guests could also have been pilots or businessmen, or educators. In the 1940s, while a growing number of Haitians received fellowships to further their education at US universities—a legacy of the occupation—American experts, including guests as famous as civil rights activist W. E. B. Du Bois, were flown to Haiti to train Haitian teachers.[18]

In his memoirs, former pilot and Tuskegee alumnus Raymond Cassagnol remembers that in 1946, "an idealist black American who was friends with Fred Hutchinson, Jimmy Plinton, and

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[15] Joseph Yves Médard, interview by Grace Sanders and Lise Gautheret, May 2001, CODHS.

[16] Polyné, *From Douglass to Duvalier*, 131.

[17] *Chicago Defender*, Feb.12, 1955.

[18] Chantalle F. Verna, *Haiti and the Uses of America: Post-US. Occupation Promises*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2017), 113.

Perry Young," had gathered the necessary financial capital to create the "Haitian Liberian International Airline" in Port-au-Prince.[19] Hutchinson, an air pilot, and Plinton and Young, Cassagnol's teachers at Tuskegee, all supported the idealist's project "because of Haiti's past."[20] However, the airline never saw the light of day, because members of the government demanded a generous amount of money to deliver a permit. In 1947, they nevertheless established a small pilot school in Port-au-Prince.[21]

Mila grew very close to Pierre's family. Since her husband was travelling on a regular basis and she was working full time, their daughter Marie-José would spend most of her time with her aunt Marie, her three daughters and other cousins. Before Mila passed away at the age of twenty eight, she entrusted Marie with her little girl. Marie-José and her cousins lived in the same neighborhood, went to the same private day school of Sainte Rose de Lima (commonly referred to as Lalue), attended Papa Justin's summer school session, played jacks and marbles together in the backyard full of flowers, kenep, mango, cherry and soursop trees. Every summer, they drove up to mountainous Kenskoff, an administrative division situated south west of Port-au-Prince. Pierre's father, retired lawyer Papa Paul, had a few properties there. Kenscoff became a summer resort in 1932, after the opening of the motor road. The cool temperatures and its location (only a 45 minutes' drive from the capital) were assets that attracted well-to-do families to the region. For Marie-José and her cousins, going there was a big deal. In 1934, journalist Esther Hyman described her trip to Kenscoff:

> The beauty of the drive was indescribable. We ascended through folded mountains, that tumbled like the giant breakers of an enormous ocean, and formed

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[19] Raymond Cassagnol, *Mémoires d'un Révolutionnaire*, (Coconut Creek, FL: Educa Vision Inc., 2003), 55. Some Haitian trainees joined the US Army African American military pilots who fought in World War II. Verna, *Haiti and the Uses of America*, 105.

[20] Ibid., 55.

[21] Ibid., 56.

> a magic pattern of light and shade. Then the road twisted to show us the plain lying enfolded by the blue Caribbean far beneath. Mountains guarded the horizon; treeless mountains, with little foliage to mar the contours. The weather changed. We felt cool breezes on cheeks that had been scorched by the hot atmosphere of the city.[22]

The summer break lasted from July to October. Everything had to be packed in the cars, “including the maids.”[23] As city people, the Bouchereaus would have mostly witnessed “only crowded hotels, the streets full of well-dressed people and luxurious cars, the beautiful villas and gardens.”[24] However, Kenscoff, with its 15,000 inhabitants, though an administrative center with an important number of civil servants, was charming but profoundly rural, and the city people would have encountered a few barefoot female cultivators busy selling their fruit and vegetables to *Madan Sara* (resellers) on their way up.[25] In the mid-1940s, the newly founded *Société Haïtienne de Transport en Commun* (Haitian society of public transportation) provided up to eight buses connecting Port-au-Prince to Pétionville. The 1934 closing down of the popular market in Carrefour (Port-au-Prince) put Kenscoff market where “the breeze brought spices” at the forefront of commercial activities.[26] In the early 1950s, Kenscoff also became the center Atherton Lee’s lucrative floral business, sending orchids and gladiolus *en route* to the US, Cuba, the Bahamas, The Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico.[27] To be sure, the Bouchereaus’ experience of Kenscoff eloquently differed from that of African-American painter William

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[22] Esther Hyman, “Kenscoff,” *The West Indian Review*, December 1934, V.1, No. 4, 40.

[23] There were 730 personal vehicles in Port-au-Prince in the 1940s. George Corvington, Port-au-Prince au cours des ans 7 : *la ville contemporaine 1934-1950* (Port-au-Prince : H. Deschamps, 1991),164.

[24] Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain, *The Household in Kenscoff*, (Jamaica W.I. : Institute of Social and Economic Research, University College of the West Indies, 1961),193.

[25] Comhaire-Sylvain, *Les montagnards de la region de Kenscoff (Rép. D’Haïti) : une societé Kongo au-delà des mers* (Bandundu, Zaïre : CEEBA, 1984),11.

[26] Lorna Goodison, “Kenskoff,” in *Seclected Poems*, (Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press, 1992), 25.

[27] Corvington, *Port-au-Prince au cours des ans 7*, 131

Edouard Scott. In the 1920s and the 1930s, Harlem or Paris may have competed for the title of the exotic and prolific "capital of the black world," and may have been in vogue during the Jazz Age, but it was Haiti, which in Stuart Hall's words was "in some ways the symbolic island of black culture" that turned up as the perfect locus to fully explore an imagined "authentic blackness." Other African-American artists were inspired by the tumultuous history of the "first black republic," but while Augusta Savage, Jacob Lawrence, and Beaufort Delaney looked at Haiti from afar, others such as Aaron Douglas, Richmond Barthé (commissioned by Magloire in 1952 to carve statues of Toussaint Louverture and Jean-Jacques Dessalines for the 150th anniversary of Haitian independence), and William Edward Scott actually travelled there.

For the Bouchereaus, Kenscoff was a break from city life, but not a radical one. As Hyman described, "when the plain is scorched and burned by the summer sun, many of the inhabitants of the city come up to the hills, bringing their families and servants, and at such time itinerant merchants bring supplies."[28] The kids played outside all day. On Sundays, everyone dressed to the nines to have dinner at Papa Paul's. They ate *poule pays* and *corossol* ice cream. Marie-José was with her own maid, Marie-Marthe, who had tended to her since she was born. She was a petite woman in her early forties who did not have any children of her own. Communication with the maids was in *Kreyól,* since they did not speak French, but children were forbidden to speak *Kréyol* to their parents or between them, whether at home or at school, even during recess. "If you speak *Kréyol*," Marie told them, "you will become Ti-Bosse's children." Ti-Bosse (little hump) was a hunchback who sold a variety of items to privileged vacationing families in a nearby street. No kid wanted to have a hump like Ti-Bosse, so they obeyed the French-only rule. Officially, children were told that speaking *Kréyol* would spoil their French. Unofficially, French being a status symbol amongst the ruling classes, they had to delegitimize the language spoken by the masses to subsist as such. *Kréyol*, like the rural space, thus belonged to the *peyi andeyó* (the outside country), a space inhabited by a decidedly different socio-economic class that Haitian sociologist Laënnec Hurbon describes as a "diaspora within Haiti."[29]

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[28] Hyman, 40.

In those times, Marie-José remembers, kids mostly socialized with other family members. They did not play with classmates outside the confines of Lalue, but families were so big that it was not an issue. Marie-José and Marie's three daughters were like sisters. She was heartbroken when her father unexpectedly came from New York for a short visit and placed her in the trust of Papa Paul. From there she went to live at Aunt Anna's house, then at Aunt Julie's in Port-au-Prince with Marie-Marthe and her U.S. imported mahogany doll house always in tow. A few months later, her father returned from New York once again. This time, he took his daughter to the wharf of the Haitian capital. It was not until her grandfather asked her to hold him tight that she understood she was leaving Haiti with a father she hardly knew. They boarded *The Helicon* on April 9, 1952, just three weeks after her eigth birthday.[30] Twelve days later, they were in Manhattan.

Marie-José's life as a New Yorker was short-lived. From the window of their quaint two-bedroom apartment at 142nd and St Nicholas Avenue, Marie-José watched kids play in a park with envy. She did not speak English. At the Catholic school she attended upon her arrival, the other children believed she was just plain dumb. The teachers ignored her: she was the only black kid. Their apartment was on the third floor and she had never lived that high. She was scared of the overwhelming big city noises, especially loud sirens. The stench of the relentless city made her sick to her stomach. Although he would sometimes take her to see some Haitian friends he knew from Port-au-Prince, her father was gone all day. Finally, Papa Paul told his son about a Roman Catholic domestic science boarding school that opened in 1938 on Aulneau street in Winnipeg, Manitoba. It was run by the Oblate Missionary Sisters of Mary Immaculate. In September of the same year, Marie-José and her father took the train from New York to Winnipeg. It was a week-long trip. Once his daughter was settled, Pierre travelled back to New York.

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[29] Laënnec Hurbon, *Pour une sociologie d'Haïti au XXIe siècle : La démocratie introuvable* (Paris : Karthala, 2001), 40.

[30] Passenger lists to New York

Earlier that year, the Sisters had celebrated the golden anniversary of the first Manitoba-founded Roman Catholic order, and special services were planned for the order's mother house on Aulneau street.[31] Marie-José stayed in Saint Boniface for two years. Her life there was different from her US experience as she was able to make many friends and the Sisters were kind to her. Teaching methods were different from what she was used to at Lalue where the ability to memorize endless pages of texts was the key to scholarly success. Moreover, she had not been exposed to adequate schooling in New York. With time and effort, she was able to catch up with her classmates. Because her family was so far away, she only traveled back to New York for Christmas and for the summer break, spending most weekends and shorter breaks with the Oblate Sisters. In Saint Boniface, Marie-José was the only foreign student, the only student of Haitian origin and, like in New York, the only black student as well. This is hardly surprising, given that Canada was doing everything they could to limit the growth of non-white populations by discouraging immigration "in every possible way short of making a regulation which would establish a colour line."[32] Furthermore, the few Haitians who decided to study in Canada (like president Élie Lescot's daughter Andrée) generally chose the Quebec province.

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[31] *Winnipeg Free Press*, March 17, 1952.

With Marie-Marthe in Port-au-Prince, it was Sister Lucienne who was in charge of Marie-José's afro-textured hair, until she finally decided to cut it very short out of convenience, a move that did not bode well with her student's father at all. Marie wrote to her niece on a regular basis. She also sent dresses imported from France, thus helping her keeping alive the memory of her former life. Her father did not write much but sent her little presents quite often. One summer, Pierre sent a brief letter to her daughter: she would be introduced to Maman Colette, his new girlfriend from Saint Lucia. Colette, whom Marie-José describes as a slender g*riffe,* took no interest in her step-daughter who was still left to her own devices most of the time. The following summer, Maman Colette was gone.

From Pétionville to Quebec City.

In the winter of 1958, Pierre took a vacation trip to Canada. He booked a hotel room in Old Quebec, the historical "Old World style" neighborhood of Quebec City, the capital of the province of Quebec. One particularly snowy night, Madeleine Trottier dropped her brother François, who was quite sickly, in a nursing home after celebrating the holiday season with their family in Saint Casimir. Quebecker Madeleine and Francois Trottier were two of the grand-children of carpenter Joseph-Léandre Trottier who founded the successful Trottier Foundries in the 1860s. Madeleine and her other brother, Jean-Luc, were now in charge of the family business. A savvy business woman in her forties, Madeleine had never married and had always lived by herself in a house on the opposite side of the foundry. Because of the snow-storm, she was unable to drive back to her hometown and opted to spend the night in Old Quebec. She got a room in the same hotel Pierre was staying, and the rest is history. Pierre returned to New York for a few months before relocating to Saint Casimir and marrying Madeleine. When the summer came, he sent for Marie-José, whom he had flown back to Aunt Anna and other family members in Pétionville after two years at the Oblates boarding school.

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[32] Memorandum to Hon. Mr. Crerar, Ottawa, April 17, 1942 (5850-6-4-533). Twenty years earlier, a ban on black immigration was voted (order-in-council PC 1911-1324), which denotes a long-lasting tradition of racist discrimination practices in Canada.

Marie-José's four Haitian years in Pétionville had little to do with the first eight years she had spent there. Gone was the insouciance of the sweet Kenscoff summers. Her cousins had forgotten about her, and studying at Lalue was hard: she felt as though she no longer belonged there. Furthermore, the Haitian capital was rapidly changing, as rural migration increased, thus fostering the extension of most neighborhoods. Pétionville was still home to upper-class families. In 1955, architect Emile Villedrouin gifted the suburb with its first apartment complex on place Saint Pierre.[33] However, Marie-José had flown into what has been referred to as a "golden age" for Haiti, a period characterized by the outpouring of North American tourists (triggering the sprout of many luxurious hotels) and the massive amount of foreign aid that enabled Paul Magloire to build new roads and lavishly celebrate the sesquicentennial of Haitian independence.[34] As far as the Haitian economy was concerned, things were not as rosy as some émigrés remember. Dismal coffee crops, the highly destructive hurricane Hazel, a gigantic budgetary deficit, public and external debts point to a different conclusion. The stability and prosperity of the 1950s was nothing more than a mirage, as "persecution, a more vigilant US foreign policy, and a debilitating political and economic system contributed to the resurgence of a new and more confused form of radicalism, and ultimately to the near anarchic battle for power in the presidential campaign of 1956-1957."[35] Duvalier's rise to power and the climate of fear that permeated the capital early on consequently drove Pierre to rethink his daughter's immediate future in Haiti.

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[33] Corvington, 82.

[34] Laurent Dubois, *Haiti: the aftershock of history*, (New York: Picador/Metropolitan Books, 2013), 316.

In Saint Casimir, a village located about an hour and a half away from Quebec boasting a population of 2,650 in 1956, Marie-José did not exactly blend in.[36] She was a spectacle, *la petite noire du village*, (the village little black girl), subjected to the gaze of the village dwellers, and so was her "very light-skinned, personable, educated, and highly cultured" father. Pierre, who had opened a private psychology practice in Quebec City, first commuted to Saint Casimir two or three times a week, and then only on Fridays or Saturdays. On Sunday nights, Madeleine went to Quebec City with him for two or three days, leaving Marie-José by herself. Then, Pierre stopped coming to Saint Casimir altogether. At the end of their short (two or three years) romance, Madeleine insisted on keeping her step-daughter with her. She had a house built in Quebec City in 1961, and both moved there shortly after. Pierre, on the other hand, moved back to New York. For a while.

Blackness in Motion

> *But just as I reached the other side, the attitudes, the glances of the other fixed me there, in a sense in which a chemical solution is fixed by a dye. I was indignant; I demanded an explanation. Nothing happened. I burst apart. Now the fragments have been put together by another self.*[37]

Naomi Pabst defines diaspora as "a cartography that takes blackness to be a local and global phenomenon, influenced, indeed constituted, by long-standing interactions of dwelling and movement."[38] As we have seen, some ideas of global blackness easily circulated in Haiti during Marie-José's childhood, from Estimé's indigenist stance to Magloire's extravagant celebration of Haiti's emergence as the first black republic. In that sense, blackness was conflated with nationalism by resorting to a certain brand of essentialism eagerly embraced, re-enforced, and circulated by many outsiders, and that nonetheless co-existed with staunch francophilia characterized by a manifest distantiation with the *peyi andeyó*. The movements of Haitian émigrés to and from Haiti, Central and North America, Europe and Africa highlight the diverse articulation and negotiation of black identities from within as well as from without. However, the brand of blackness that the Canadian gaze circumscribed Marie-José to *fix her there, in a sense in which a chemical solution is fixed by a dye*. Her ethnicity did not matter; Haiti was not clearly rooted in the Canadian popular imagination, despite a few articles here and there about natural disasters, tourism, sisal woven hats, mahogany trays crafted by "Natives," or the banning of Vodou.[39] Though there were some established relationships between Quebec and Haiti in the first half of the 20th century, these connections were made through exchanges between intellectuals such as Dantès Bellegarde who believed that Quebec and Haiti shared the same identity through language and religion. It is important to note that Bellegarde's stance on Haitian identity emerged in the context of the US occupation of Haiti during which the Marines exhibited racist and condescending attitudes towards Haitians regardless of their social class.[40]

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[35] Matthew J. Smith, *Red & Black in Haiti: radicalism*, conflict, and political change, 1934-1957, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 150.

[36] G. Robert Tessier, *Histoire civile de Saint Casimir de Portneuf,* (Saint Casimir, Québec : Société d'histoire et de généalogie de Saint-Casimir, 2012), 40.

[37] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skins, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1968), 109.

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[38] Naomi Pabst, "Mama, I'm walking to Canada": Black Geopolitics and Invisible Empires," in *Globalization and Race: Transformations in the Cultural Production of Blackness,* ed. Kamari Maxine Clarke and Deborah Thomas (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 116.

[39] For writer Gary Klang, who arrived in Montreal in 1973, "Back then, people hardly knew where Haiti even was." Gary Klang, interview by Withese Estimable and Caroline Kunzle on July 5th 2011, COHDS, Concordia University.

[40] For an analysis of US Marines' attitudes towards during the occupation, see Mary Renda, *Taking Haiti: military occupation and the culture of U.S. imperialism, 1915-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001). For a diplomatic history of Haitian-US relations see Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Haiti and the United States: The Psychological Moment* (Athens: the University of Georgia Press, 1992).

The Quebec-Haiti connection was also strengthened by the presence of French-Canadian missionaries who gradually took the place of the French and Belgian clergy after the US occupation of Haiti.[41] Many French Canadian clergymen arrived under Élie Lescot, which the population frowned upon as these North American newcomers somehow reminded them of the US occupiers.[42] Quebec's interest in Latin America and the Caribbean during the first half of the 20th century could also be seen through the emergence of organizations such as the Canadian Haitian or Quebecker Brazilian friendship clubs, and, particularly after WWII, the arrival of Latin American and Caribbean students at the Universities of Laval and Montreal.[43]

In the 1930s, many Haitian students chose Canada over France, the traditional destination for the Haitian elite social and educational rite of passage. One of these students, Philippe Cantave, eager to strengthen the bonds between Haiti and Quebec, organized a cruise sponsored by the travel agency Canada Voyage in 1937. Among the travelers were bishop Cyrille Gagnon, president of the University of Laval, and Jules Massé, president of the Société du Bon Parler Français, an organization whose goal was to promote the French language. Both Canadian and Haitian elites considered preserving their French cultural heritage against US hegemony was their duty. Abbot Gringas, who visited Haiti the following year, founded the Canada-Haiti committee to reinforce the cultural and spiritual bonds between the two nations.[44] President Lescot visited Canada in 1943, but it was under Magloire that official diplomatic relations were sealed with the nomination of Jacques Léger, the first Haitian ambassador in Canada. However, when Cap Haitian native Vély Leroy landed in Montréal in 1954 at the age of seventeen to attend the École des Hautes Études Commerciales (later renamed HEC Montreal), he was first mistaken for African American, and later, because of phonetical slippage, for Hawaiian. Gone was the idea of the *Perle des Antilles* praised in *La Presse* seven years earlier. In Montréal, the presence of mostly African American railroad workers and porters and the images of U.S. civil rights struggles disseminated by the media situated blackness within a U.S. framework. In Saint Casimir, there were no railroad or well-travelled clergymen to circulate either conceptualizations of blackness.

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[41] Bellegarde also wanted to establish a commercial relationship with Quebec.

[42] Lucien Smarth in *Les Chemins de la mémoire : Haïti avant Duvalier* directed by Frantz Voltaire, (Productions CIDIHCA, 2002), VHS. According to Smarth, there were about 350 French Canadian clergymen in Haiti in the 40s (and about 103 Haitian-born clergymen).

[43] Daniel Gay, "La présence du Québec en Amérique Latine," *Politique* 7 (1985) :38.

[44] Lyonel Icart, "Haïti-en-Québec," *Ethnologies 28 (2006) :* 47.

Movement and dwelling had also destroyed Marie-José's ethnicity from within. *And she burst apart*. Reflecting on her teenage years in Quebec City, she states: "It was always the same thing. I was the only one. Then I didn't know who I was, I had forgotten my culture. And my creole was gone." Interestingly, the forbidden language associated with the "diaspora within Haiti" had turned into a class-neutral identity marker. In true diaspora fashion, to alleviate the alienation fostered by involuntary displacement and cultural isolation, she was re-imagining her lost and distant homeland as an inclusive and homogeneous space fixed in time, an image that differed from that of older Haitians who strove to perform a French identity untainted by any sort of Antillean accent to gain acceptance into white Quebecker circles. While aware of Duvalier's violent repressive regime, Marie-José, overwhelmed with nostalgia, envied the cousins she had left behind and would soon be forced to join her in exile.

If Haitianness only translated to (African American) blackness for some Quebeckers in the 1950s and the 1960s, for Haitians, it was a question of high educational and economic capital that, for Leroy, could be projected through a perfect mastery of the French language to "avoid being mistaken for a Black American" and to "impress those who believed in black inferiority."[45] In Montreal, Leroy lived in Saint Antoine, a working-class neighborhood that, despite a majority of white residents (mostly Quebeckers and Irish Catholics in the 1950s), was dubbed "the Montreal Negro district" since 1897, because discriminatory housing practices and the lack of economic mobility that prevailed for Afro-descendants kept them from moving outside that neighborhood for a long time while several waves of white residents would come and go to more desirable areas.[46]

Black Montreal mostly grew after WWI, but at the turn of the 20th century, the Canadian Pacific Railroad provided job opportunities that fostered the creation of twenty railroad boarding houses. They were located on Saint Antoine, Craig street and Saint David's lane for the burgeoning black communities that became "citizens between trains."[47] The majority of the railroad workers were from the United States and the Anglophone Caribbean, while a few were from rural Ontario and Nova Scotia.[48] The headquarters for employment of the Canadian Pacific were in Montreal and each Spring, labor bureaus in NYC, Philadelphia and southern black colleges selected candidates who were then housed in Saint Antoine. Some went back to the US in the summer, while others chose to reside permanently in the city, a situation that did not satisfy immigration officials.[49] Porters worked on an average of sixteen days per month. Trips across Canada (to Vancouver) lasted five nights and four days. Although railroad workers constituted the majority of the Montreal black community, about ten percent were carpenters, electricians, masons, road workers, car washers, and plant watchmen. Those who worked as Red cap porters were only paid in tips. These semi-skilled and unskilled workers could hardly make ends meet.[50]

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[45] Vély Leroy, "Au Pays des Souvenirs," in *Ces Québécois venus d'Haïti: Contribution de la communauté haïtienne à l'édification du Québec moderne,* edited by Samuel Pierre, (Montréal : Presses Internationales Polytechnique, 2007), 13.

[46] Dorothy W. Williams, *The Road to Now: A history of blacks in Montreal,* (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1997), 71.

[47] Israel, 26. For a study of black porters in Canada, see Sarah-Jane Mathieu, *North of the Color Line: Migration and Black Resistance in Canada, 1870-1955* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

[48] Wilfred Emmerson Israel, "Montreal Negro Community" (master's thesis, McGill University, 1928), 69.

[49] Memorandum Crerar

The (United) Church was the "focal point of the community where everyone met and socialized," but many clubs and associations flourished to cement the growing black community, by providing financial and spiritual support in times of crisis, racial advancement, labor issues, or leisure. These organizations sometimes operated across ethnic (and racial) lines. Some of them, like the Eastern and Western were short lived. Others, such as the U.N.I.A. (mostly supported by Anglophone Afro-Caribbean) that held meetings every Sunday afternoon at the Chatham street hall, and mixed picnics and dances with political and educational activities, still exist today. Some, like the Phyllis Wheatley club (1925) and the Colored Women's club (1902) had a gender-based membership. Both initially proposed leisure activities such as quilting and embroidery, however, the latter became more of a mutual aid society and turned to offering help with burials and repatriating bodies to the Caribbean and New York.[51] Bermuda-born Mrs. Packwood, who migrated from Bermuda in 1910 when she was eleven, was an active member of the Coloured Women's club. She remembers how the Club helped ill-prepared newcomers cope with cold Canadian winters, paid for hospital beds for those who could not, and visited patients on a weekly basis. During WWI, the Club worked with the Red Cross, giving money and warm handmade clothes.[52]

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[50] Israel, 77.

[51] Ibid., 178.

[52] Ann Packwood interviewed by Barbara Roberts, "Black Montrealers: A Piece of the Multicultural Mosaic," Concordia Archives.

Black Montrealers were also connected with a larger black community through newspapers. American “race papers” such as the *Chicago Defender*, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the *Guardian,* the *Negro World, Crisis,* the *Oddfellows Journal,* the *Inter-State Tattler* and the *Amsterdam News* were all available for sale in barbershops. In 1934, Mrs. Packwood’s husband Edward and their friend William Trott, launched the Pan-Africanist paper *The Free Lance: Afro-Canadian Weekly* that was “the People’s Advocate,” an “Inspiration for every Home, and “dedicated to the cause of social justice, racial understanding, national progress, world peace.”[53] It was Montreal’s first black newspaper, and it was read “from coast to coast.”[54]

Pharmacist Edward Packwood was born in Guiana, and came to Canada in 1926 to further his education and open a business. He soon understood that Canadian racism would prevent him from such a venture, and so he was compelled to try his hand at different jobs, including porter, a barber, and a tour organizer. Packwood also quickly realized that black Montrealers lacked a paper to inform themselves on issues that were of real concern to them, and to voice their opinions.[55] Though it lasted four years due to lack of adequate funding, *The Free Lance* was “at the forefront of the struggle for the rights and dignity of Africans whether they lived in the Motherland or abroad.”[56]

The great depression of the 1930s changed the ethnic make-up of Black Montreal. On the one hand, African Americans left for the American urban North, or returned to the rural South where many were from. On the other hand, African Canadians from the Maritimes came to live and work there. Overtime, a westward residential movement occurred as housing conditions declined, and absentee landlords yielded land in the Saint Antoine district to big businesses.[57] The few black residents who had a higher financial capital, for some developed during and after World War II, settled in white neighborhoods.[58] Nevertheless, by the mid-1960s, more than 90% of Black Montrealers still lived and worked in Saint Antoine.[59]

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[53] *The Free Lance* June 11, 1938.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Leo W. Bertley, “Afro-Can Remembers: Mr. Edward Packwood and the Free Lance,” *The AFRO-CAN*, March 1982.

[56] Ibid.

More demographic changes in the black community took place in the 1960s due to the expropriation of residential properties and the eviction of thousands in preparation for the 1967 World's Fair.[60] The growing number of Anglophone Afro-Caribbean who arrived in Montreal after a change in immigration policies settled all over the city. From then on, Afro-descended populations were spread out in Montreal along class (instead of racial or national) lines. Leroy, who had never imagined Canada as having a *présence africaine,* discovered the existence of working-class African Canadians in downtown Montreal and dismissed their friendly greetings as a forced and artificial byproduct of the US civil rights movement (which suggests that he could not imagine that civil rights issues were also at stake in Montreal). He, too, put them in a one-dimensional category of belonging, even though these long-standing residents were American, Afro-Caribbean, and Canadian in origin. In fact, African Canadians offered him a space to reinforce an identity based on language and class that was in opposition to theirs and that underscored his thirst for acceptance into white Montreal society.[61] Leroy's attitude towards the black working classes was also embraced by students and professionals from the Anglophone Caribbean who were afraid that white Canadians would put them in the same racial (and therefore, social) category. As explained by a Barbadian professional, “When I came here the social class differences really affected me […] In Barbados I was middle-class, and I never thought of myself as Negro distinct from White. I was really shocked when I was first identified and singled out as Negro and then relegated to the lower class of society.”[62] The response to that imposed new category of belonging was active distantiation from what they perceived as the lower classes. Unbeknownst to Leroy, since 1917, an accrued number of Anglophone Afro-Caribbean students had been attending McGill University, mostly to study Medicine and Agriculture. However, language and space were powerful filters that kept him from understanding nuances among English-speaking blacks.[63]

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[57] Dorothy W. Williams, *The Road to Now,* 82.

[58] Ibid., 99.

[59] Dorothy W. Williams, "Sankofa: recovering Montreal heterogenous black print serials" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2006), 20.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Leroy, "Au pays des souvenirs," 13.

Leroy believes he was the only Haitian student at HEC in the 1950s, but there was a more substantial number of Haitians attending post-secondary private religious schools such as Loyola, Mont-Saint-Louis, Brébeuf, and Bourget (in the Quebec town of Rigaud, a hundred miles away from Montreal). Very few attended the University of Montreal, and most studied agronomy at the Institut agricole d’Oka. By the late 1950s and beginning of the 1960s (which marked the start of the oppressive Duvalier regime), the Haitian student body became more diverse in terms of fields of study. According to Leroy, they favored optometry, civil engineering, law, social sciences, and microbiology.[64] In addition, Leroy met a handful of Haitian interns and nurses in Montreal hospitals. This Haitian youth gathered in downtown jazz venues. In 1960, Carlo d'Orleans Juste opened Le Perchoir d'Haïti on Metcalfe street. It was a vibrant bar restaurant where one could have a taste of Haitian food and dance to the big band and Cuban style music of artists such as singer and saxophonist Guy Durosier, singer and organist Fritz Pereira, and Alphonso Chico Simon from the trio Caprices d'Haïti, as well as pianist Nono Lamy, singer Jo Trouillot, and Kesner Hall.

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[62] Don Handelman, “West Indian Associations in Montreal” (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1964), 40.

[63] Israel, 96.

[64] Vély Leroy, 19.

Le Perchoir d'Haïti was also the hub of poets and writers in exile such as former members of Haïti Littéraire Anthony Phelps, Serge Legagneur, Émile Ollivier, Gérad Étienne, Roland Morisseau, and René Philoctète.[65] On Mondays, they organized *les Lundis du Perchoir* for poetry readings. They were soon joined by Quebecker nationalist and radical intellectuals who had embraced a "metaphorical blackness."[66] As they fashioned themselves as *Nègres Blancs d'Amérique*, they were oblivious to racism against people of color in Quebec. Racial tensions culminated during the Sir George Williams affair in February 1969, when students occupied the university's computer center to "expose the depths of racism perpetuated within the institution and, as such, was part of the American struggle for Black Studies and black student self-determination."[67] Quebecker nationalists found commonalities between their plight as racialized colonial subjects in a British Canadian dominated space where they were told to "speak white" instead of French, and the plight of black colonial subjects described by French Caribbean intellectuals Frantz Fanon and Aimé Césaire. Quebecker nationalists' discourse echoed Third

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[65] Frantz Voltaire and Stanley Péan, " Contribution des artistes haïtiens dans le secteur culturel canadien, " in *Ces Québécois venus d'Haïti,* 348-9. In Haiti, these writers were part of the universalist collective *Haiti Littéraire* that refused to limit their art to the themes dictated by Duvalier's Indigénisme.

[66] Sean Mills, *A Place in the Sun: Haiti, Haitians, and the Remaking of Quebec,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), 83.

[67] Ronald W. Walters, *Pan-Africanism in the African Diaspora: An Analysis of Modern Afrocentric Political Movements* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State, 1993), 302. For more on the Sir George Williams Affair, see David Austin, "All roads led to Montreal: Black Power, the Caribbean, and the Black Radical Tradition in Canada," *Journal of African American History* 92, no. 4, 2007.

World decolonization theory, and Haitian intellectuals supported their claims to independence. However, they were aware that their own plight as exiles expressed in their works was, in Quebec literature, lost in translation. [68]

Somewhat different types of gatherings took place in the Côte-des-Neiges neighborhood during the same period. In her documentary "Memory Forgotten—A Generation Sacrificed: Haiti-Montreal, Exiles Remember," film director Martine Duviella asked her mother and other exiles about life in Montreal in the 1960s. Sitting at the café Brûlerie Saint Denis, a group of elderly Haitians reminisced about their early days as exiles in Montréal: "We lived in Côte-des-Neiges. Just like everyone else then. Many of us were academics. Many of us had met in Haiti. We were intellectuals who were opposed to, you know. Who were plotting against Duvalier first, and then who wanted to rebuild Haiti." Another adds: "For me, we were a *calenda*. The way slaves in Haiti would get together on Saturday nights to dance, we'd get together here with friends to talk. We'd talk about everything: politics, women, jokes, we'd discuss books, gossip."[69] Though this particular group met on Fridays only to talk, the Côte-des-Neiges neighborhood, home of many intellectuals in exile, also headquarered political meetings. Many belonged to the PEP (Party of Popular Understanding). Among these exiles was Martine's father, Jacques.

In 1957, Duviella, Jean-Claude Cambronne and Émile Ollivier founded La Ligue de Jeunesse Populaire (the popular Youth league) in Port-au-Prince. With Jacques Alexis as a mentor, they sought to improve living conditions in Haiti. However, under Duvalier, meetings of more than three people were prohibited. In 1960, Jacques and Jean-Claude were arrested and jailed at the dreaded Fort Dimanche. A few weeks later, a strike led by students forced Duvalier to free some political prisoners. After two months at Fort Dimanche, Jacques and Jean-Claude were “free” again. Under close Makout surveillance, both left for Canada in 1966. Jacques was soon followed by his wife Claudette, a member of the People’s National Liberation Party he had met at a friend’s house after his liberation.

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[68] For more on the interactions between Quebecker nationalists and Haitian intellectuals, see Sean Mills, *A Place in the Sun.*

[69] *A Memory Forgotten—A Generation Sacrificed: Haiti-Montreal, Exiles Remember*, DVD, directed by Martine Duviella (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada, 2009).

The Duviella’s narrative mirrors that of the writers at Le Perchoir d’Haïti, but the similarities end there. Canada did not welcome them with open arms: they were thrown in jail upon their arrival. Claudette recalls: “We left Haiti. We thought our troubles with Duvalier were behind us. We were wrong. They caught up with us in Canada. We were thrown in jail. Jacques was interrogated. To find what? What did they want to know? A question that kept coming back, Jacques told me, was who is supporting you? Who are your supporters? Is it China? The USSR? Cuba?” When Canadian immigration officers decided to send them back to Haiti, they asked to seek refuge elsewhere. They were then told that the Canadian government had a very good relationship with Haiti and that “we don’t accept troublemakers, we don’t accept communists.” Fortunately for them, one of their friends was friends with René Lévesque, then minister of the government of Quebec. They were allowed to stay in Montreal.

The history of the Haitian presence in Quebec emphasizes a rupture (in terms of economic and educational capital) between those who emigrated under Papa Doc and those who emigrated under Baby Doc. However, this rupture does not factor in émigrés such as Pierre Bouchereau who moved between places, and others who lived in various locations before settling down (sometimes temporarily) in Quebec. Though it is difficult to evaluate the total number of Haitians in Quebec prior to 1970, sociologist Paul Dejean’s assertion that there were very few

Haitians in Canada in the 1950s (he estimates their number at forty) must be taken with a grain of salt. He further points out that most resided in Quebec and were either academics or professionals.[70] However, it appears that the number of non-immigrant visa holders (such as students) was not necessarily accounted for in that small figure. Besides, Dejean admits that "since no reliable data exist concerning the number of Haitians settled here before 1965, the only means of calculation is to proceed with various cross-cuttings."[71]

For Leroy, coming to Canada even as a student in the mid-1950s was no easy endeavor. During the 1940s and 1950s, only 4.5% of incoming immigrants were from Asia, Africa, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.[72] Leroy's admission to the country was made possible thanks to the sponsorship of a Montreal family he had been corresponding with from Haiti. Giving in to their tenacity, the head of the École nonetheless threatened to expel Leroy "*au premier échec*" (at the first hint of failure). Upon his graduation in 1957, Leroy, who soon found out that potential Canadian employers were unimpressed by the degree and awards granted by the prestigious business school, went on to pursue a Ph.D. in economics at Michigan State University.[73] This time, Leroy fully understood that the color of his skin would supersede a U.S. diploma. Indeed, while trying not to ruffle the feathers of nations with whom they entertained lucrative business relations, Canada wanted to contain the immigration of non-whites.[74] The

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[70] Paul Dejean, *The Haitians in Quebec: a sociological profile*, (Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1980). Dejean estimates the Haitian population at forty, while Dorothy W. Williams evaluates it at a "few hundreds."

[71] Ibid., 9.

[72] Hérard Jadotte, "Haitian Immigration to Quebec," *Journal of Black Studies 7,* no.4 (June 1977): 488.

[73] Though there were few Haitians in the U.S. at this point, American universities such as Columbia or Fisk had boasted a fair number of Haitian students since the occupation.

[74] For instance, to avoid antagonizing Caribbean people (Anglophone), the Departmental Advisory Committee on Immigration suggested the creation of the "exceptional merit" category. Agnes Calliste, "Canada's Immigration Policy and Domestics from the Caribbean: The Second Domestic Scheme," in Vorst, J. et al, eds., *Race, Class, Gender: Bonds and Barriers* (Toronto: Garamond Press 1991), 145.

1952 Immigration Act allowed for exclusion on the account of "nationality, citizenship, ethnic origin, occupation, geographical area or origin and probable inability to become readily assimilated." With the help of a second white Canadian sponsor who offered him a lectureship at the Institute of Applied Economy (affiliated with the École des Hautes Études Commerciales) and supported his immigrant application, Leroy was able to settle down in Montreal, which was "a privilege."[75] On February 1,1962, new regulations stipulated that "any unsponsored immigrant who had the requisite education, skill, or other qualifications were to be considered suitable for admission, irrespective of colour, race or national origin, provided they had a specific job waiting for them in Canada or were able to support themselves until they found employment." This was a step towards the end of discriminatory immigration policies. In 1967, the Department of Immigration established the point system. Points were allocated to each of many categories (age, education, employment opportunities in Canada, French or English fluency) to make immigrant selection more transparent. Leroy suggests that before the late 1960s, many would-be Haitian immigrants resorted to another type of sponsorship, braving a deeply-rooted taboo: interracial marriage with a Canadian citizen, an option that, he says, was not as readily available to his female counterparts.[76] Non-student Afro-descended males emigrating from the Anglophone Caribbean during those years could be sponsored by fiancées who had entered Canada through the West Indian domestic scheme. No such option was available to Haitian nationals.

Some Cracks in the Wall: Canadian Gendered "Misguided Generosity"

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[75] In 1947, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King rebuked criticism of discriminatory immigration policies by explaining that migrating to Canada was not a fundamental human right, but a privilege. Linda Carty, "African Canadian Women and the State: Labor only, please," in *We're rooted here and they can't pull us up: Essays in African Canadian Women's history*, ed. Peggy Bristow (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 214.

[76] Vély Leroy, 18

The "various cross-cuttings" mentioned by Dejean never acknowledges the seemingly very few Haitian domestics who came to Canada before the liberalization of their immigration policies. Studies of post WWII Afro-Caribbean immigration understandably focus mostly on the West Indian domestic scheme. The participation of Haitian women in such labor schemes not only challenges the perception of pre-1970 émigrés as only academics and professionals, but also thrusts these women into a larger narrative that highlights Canada discriminatory immigration policies driven by "the demand of employers for cheap unskilled labor and the state's desire to exclude blacks as permanent settlers."[77] However, the lack of traces documenting the whereabouts of these women at the end of their contracts is disheartening.

Before Canada enacted more tolerant immigration laws in the late 1960s, domestic schemes provided carefully selected Caribbean women with the opportunity to migrate to Montreal or Toronto: in fact, between 1955 and 1961, 44% of the 4,219 Caribbean immigrants who entered Canada were domestics.[78] These schemes also "reinforced the racial, class and gender stereotypes about black women being inherently suited to domestic work." [79] In September 1910, 16 women from Guadeloupe arrived in Quebec (mainly in Quebec City, Montreal, and Trois Rivières) through the first Caribbean domestic scheme. The Department of Immigration response to their presence in the Great White North is indicative of the racialized and gendered immigration policies that were to curtail further immigration of people deemed unsuitable to their nation-building project. In fact, only fifty-eight additional women arrived in Montreal seven months later before the program was shut down. For the Department of

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[77] Agnès Calliste, "Race, Gender, and Canadian Immigration Policy: Blacks from the Caribbean, 1900-1932" *Journal of Canadian Studies28, no.* (Winter 1993-94):131.

[78] Ibid., 136. It is unclear whether these figures include Haitian domestics as well.

[79] Sheldon Eric Alister Taylor, "Darkening the complexion of Canadian society Black activism: policy making and black immigration from the Caribbean to Canada 1940s-1960s" (Ph.D. diss University of Toronto, 1994), 225.

Immigration, these women, though in high demand, were simply "physically and morally unfit" for Canada.

For Quebec wealthy families, these women were, indeed, quite suitable for *domestic work*, which reflects the long legacy (entrenched in slavery) of black subordinate status. On the one hand, given the discriminatory housing and employment policies inherent to the region, they were less likely to quit in order to find better employment opportunities elsewhere like European domestics, even though domestic work implied "low pay, low status, isolation, long hours, lack of independence and respect."[80] On the other hand, their wages were also cut in half.

Furthermore, their performance as domestics was understood as that of an ideal black mammy. For these families, black domestics were hard-working, "knew their place," and were good with children. However, despite high demand and good reviews, the scheme was discontinued because these women represented a threat to Canadian society. While European domestics were viewed as likely good wives and mothers, black domestics were considered immoral and likely to "become single parents and eventually public charges," which illustrated the pervasiveness of the clichés defining black motherhood. The 1910 Immigration Act prohibited the entry of "any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirement of Canada or of immigrants of any specified class, occupation or character," but the need for cheap labor, especially during WWI, called for tailored interpretations of these policies. Many Afro-Caribbeans filled in for defense job industries. Wartime provided factory jobs for black women while white women took up more skilled jobs. When the war ended, so did black women's foray outside domestic work. Undesirable Guadeloupean women (some of whom had given birth to illegitimate children) were eventually deported.[81]

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[80] Ibid., 140.

Blacks' "undesirable character" and perceived inability to assimilate into Canadian society was still a valid enough argument to restrict black immigration forty years later.[82] In January 1955, Canada's Director of Immigration had declared that "coloured British subjects" could not "assimilate readily and pretty much vegetate to a slow standard of living" and letting them in "would be an act of misguided generosity."[83] However, as in 1911, most employers were satisfied with their domestics.

A second and now well-studied domestic scheme that hired women from the Anglophone Caribbean took place between 1955 and 1965 as a last resort because of Canadians' need for domestics, the state's failure to attract European workers, and Britain's inability to deal with an increasing number of migrants from the Caribbean.[84] Though domestics were recruited from Trinidad, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St Kitts, St Vincent, Montserrat, British Guiana, and Barbados, most came from Jamaica. The employer-sponsored program stipulated that women had to be between eighteen and thirty five, have an eighth-grade education (later reduced to five, but many were actually teachers or nurses), be single and in good health.[85] After a year, domestics were free to pursue a different career path or further their studies. They could also send for close family members or fiancés if they married within thirty days of their arrival.[86] Pre-selected women (mostly from the middle and lower middle class) were to take a special training course before Canadian agents could make their final decision. Most domestics worked in Toronto and Montreal, despite government officials' desire to send them to more remote locations in order to prevent the formation of racial enclaves and fulfill the need for domestics in less populous areas.[87] By 1965, 2,690 Caribbean women had migrated under the scheme.[88]

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[81] Ibid., 143.

[82] Director of Immigration wrote in 1942 that "the immigration of coloured people, for example from the West Indies, is controlled by P.C.695 of March, 1931, as amended in April, 1937. This regulation provides for the admission of British subjects from Great Britain, Northern Ireland, the Free State, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the United States of America, who are British subjects by reason of birth or naturalization in one or other of the countries named. This Order was designed to shut off immigration from other parts of the Empire from which immigrants might come who are not wanted." Memorandum Hon. Mr. Crerar, Ottawa, April 17, 1942 5850-6-4-533.

[83] LAC, RG 76, Vol. 830, File 552-1-644, the Director of Immigration to the Deputy Minister, January 14, 1955.

[84] For a fictional account of the experience of the domestics who came under the scheme, see Austin Clarke's trilogy *The Meeting Point* (1967), *Storm of Fortune* (1973) and *The Bigger Light* (1975).

Domestics and/or former domestics' testimonies show a myriad of experiences. Some said they were treated like family members. Born in Saint Ann parish, Jamaica, Phyllis Pinnock was one of the first seventy five Jamaican domestics who came to Canada through the domestic scheme on December 2nd, 1955. She went to school until she was eighteen and then worked at a weaving center in Claremont. When the center closed down, she started working as a nanny for an American geologist. When she found out about the scheme in a newspaper ad, she discussed it with her parents and sent an application to the ministry. She remembers that "there were eight inches of snow on the ground and no winter boots." The domestics landed in Montreal, stayed at a hostel for several days before taking the train to their final destination, Ottawa. Pinnock's boss came to pick her up. She was provided with a winter wardrobe, including a fur coat, and "they treated her like a daughter." Daisy May Gordon, who also worked for a family in Ottawa, shared dinner with them at the same table.[89]

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[85] Initially, Canada planned to offer one year contracts with the possibility to renew for an additional year. Critics of the program drew a parallel with indentured servitude and domestics were subsequently granted landed migrant status. Calliste contends that this change of heart was also due to the fact that officials believed that black domestics were unlikely to leave domestic service, and thus the racial order would go undisturbed.

[86] Frances Henry, "The West Indian Domestic Scheme in Canada," *Social and Economic Studies* 17, no.1 (March 1968): 83.

[87] Marilyn Barber, *Immigrant domestic servants in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Studies Association, 1991), 24.

[88] Ibid., 23.

Others remember the poor treatment, isolation, racism, and the stigma attached to the domestic experience. Interviewed by Egbert Gaye in 2005 for the 50th anniversary of the scheme, Antonia Sealy, a Barbadian Canadian who was placed with a Toronto family in 1961 described the program as "indentured labor conditions" in which the Canadian government was complicit.

> We shouldn't celebrate a scheme that brought so many women from the West Indies to Canada and kept many of them under domination and subordination by Canadian families. We were brought to a racist country that had no intentions of integrating us into society or to make us full citizens with equality of rights. In essence what they wanted was to keep us trapped doing house work for wealthy Canadians […] Personally, I regret making the decision to come on that scheme. I had a comfortable life in Barbados and a good job in the public service, but I was young and I wanted to travel and seek other opportunities. Had I known better I would have waited and sought out a commonwealth scholarship.[90]

A study supervised by sociologist Frances Henry at McGill University in 1965 indicates that many women were ill-prepared for Canadian life. Driven by the desire to see the world and by the prospect of upward mobility impossible to achieve at home, they "had built up glorified expectations visualizing a country of great wealth, where work and life would be easier and where it would be simple to advance financially." Placed in Montreal families, they found the French-English pluralism difficult to navigate and they described Montrealers as "unfriendly, ignorant and prejudiced."[91] Furthermore, stories about the difficulty to overcome racial barriers to find suitable employment and housing at the end of the one-year period abound. 72% of the women in Henry's study said they were planning on returning home.

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[89] *Ottawa's Black Pioneers: The West Indian Domestic Scheme*, filmed and edited by Garmamie, 2012.

[90] Egbert Gaye, "Revisiting the West Indian Domestic Scheme; I should never have come," *Montreal Community Contact* 15, no. 6 (April 2005).

[91] Henry, 83.

Even though some domestics such as Pinnock built strong communities through their church, their local YWCA, and met weekly with other Caribbean domestics located in Ottawa, others, such as those interviewed by Henry in Montreal, complained of having no group to identify with and spoke of the difficulty to keep "home" alive due the absence of an Afro-Caribbean community to interact with. They did not interact with the old black population in Montreal, "many of American descent."[92]

Moreover, there was no distinct Afro-Caribbean neighborhood. Rather, communities were spread out along social lines. Up until 1962, an Afro-Caribbean association welcomed incoming domestics, showed them around and told them what to expect from their employers. After the dissolution of the association, domestics could only rely on themselves, unless they had friendship networks to count on. In the 1960s, Canada boasted "several thousand Caribbean students at any one time," most of whom were, however, attached to the social hierarchies inherited from their homeland, eager to distinguish themselves from the black underclass just like Vély Leroy. They therefore refused to interact with domestics.[93] Afro-Caribbean students created their own student clubs and social circles, usually along national (and class) lines, seemingly oblivious to the fact that movement and dwelling had refashioned Caribbean women's social identity, many of whom experienced downward mobility by migrating under the scheme, just like men some decades earlier when "In Quebec, all trained black lawyers and doctors were porters except a few."[94] As one student put it "Students say that domestics are domestics, even if they are something else. Some domestics are really nurses, teachers, and stenos, and some go to school here; but, to some students this doesn't make any difference."[95]

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[92] Ibid., 86.

[93] James W. St. G. Walker, *The West Indians in Canada*, (Toronto: Canadian Historical Association, 1984), 10.

[94] Oral history, Montreal Studies, "Little Burgundy: 1840-1980," Concordia University Archives.

Had Pierre Bouchereau and his wife Madeleine tried to bring Marie-Marthe to Saint Casimir, they would have hit a wall, as attempting to bring domestics from places other than Europe and the British Caribbean was not for the faint of heart. In 1947, Montreal Vicaire Jean Toussaint wrote to the Prime Minister of Canada to inquire about the possibility of hiring "a few little Haitians of the middle-class" to make up for the shortage of domestics in Canada. The government's reply was unequivocal:

> According to the Canadian Immigration Act, no person can be admitted into Canada unless she is included in the categories provided by the law. British subjects and American citizens are in a special category an, now, the government has made arrangements to admit a determined number of European displaced persons. Apart from those two classes, it is necessary, to be admitted into Canada, that the applicants have either relatives of a determined degree residing in Canada or that they have qualifications to fill determined positions. Farmers, agricultural workers, miners, lumbermen or settlers are at present the only workers who may be admitted. The young girls who wish to be admitted into Canada as servants are not comprised in these categories. Consequently, there is no way at present of admitting them, according to the law.[96]

Philippe Cantave, then consul general for Haiti in Canada, made a similar request to the director of immigration, with the intent of bringing in a hundred domestics on a one-year contract, but his request could not "be favourably considered."[97]

A decade later, the position of the immigration department had not yet sunk in. Unemployment Insurance Commission employee Maurice Carmel sent a letter to Françoise Marchand, liaison officer in the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. He informed her that the Haitian wife of "a prominent Joliette resident" had recently brought back a domestic from the Caribbean. Consequently, many others wanted Afro-Caribbean domestic help, especially since domestic workers were usually sent to the largest urban centers, leaving small towns such as Joliette in the cold. In short, Carmel was, like others before him, pushing for the opportunity to obtain a small group of colored domestic servants from the Caribbean, *who* [could] *speak French."*[98]

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[95] Handelman, 44.

[96] G.J. Matte to Rvd. Father Jean Toussaint, Ottawa, October 17, 1947 (Movement of domestics from Haiti, 553-36-560 vol 1265, LAC).

[97] Philippe Cantave to Mr. A. L. Jolliffe, Ottawa, April 12, 1948, and A.L. Jolliffe to Cantave, May 5, 1948.

By then, the West Indian domestic scheme favoring Anglophone domestics was in place. Like Maurice Carmel, individual potential employers (many of whom visited the British Caribbean as tourists) had petitioned the Department of Immigration for Caribbean labor, but unlike in the Haitian case, they were seconded by the governments of over-populated Barbados and Jamaica. They also had the support of Britain that needed to be relieved from the increasing number of Afro-Caribbean who migrated to the metropole.[99] The response from the Department of Immigration about Haitian domestics did not budge.

In the early 1960s, the department was "under pressure to admit immigrants from Haiti in spite of the lack of security screening facilities in that country," including "French-speaking domestics destined to prominent families in the Province of Quebec, but others involve well-qualified persons who are in Canada as non-immigrants or who have some strong connection with this country, i.e., they may have friends or relatives here or may actually have attended school in Canada."[100] In fact, it appears that several applications were approved by 1965 because they were highly recommended by the Canadian Embassy in Port-au-Prince, and also because they were requested by "sponsors" who "in each case appear to be influential people."[101] These cases did not set a precedent as internal correspondence between immigration official indicates that the majority were indeed turned down. For non-domestics, the British and American Embassies and the (Canadian) Archbishop of Port-au-Prince were also to weigh in on the reputation of would-be immigrants before a favorable decision could be made.[102]

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[98] Maurice Carmel to Françoise Marchand, Joliette, June 11, 1956, emphasis mine.

[99] Taylor, "Darkening the Complexion of Canada," 224.

[100] A/Chief, Admissions Division "Stage B waiver for immigrants from Haiti, October 16, 1963.

The testimony of Monique Dauphin, who was born in the Artibonite region in Haiti but who later came to the capital, offers some insight into the experience of Haitian domestics. She came to Canada after the liberalization of Canadian immigration laws and at a time when Duvalier's regime was well established, forcing her to flee. In the late 1960s, twenty-two-year-old Dauphin was a graduate of Lalue and the Élie Dubois School (a girl's school in Port-au-Prince where students were trained as homemakers or teachers) with teaching experience. A nun she knew had heard about the possibility to enter Canada as a domestic and encouraged her to apply. A self-proclaimed feminist who resented an education that taught her how to bake cookies, mend men's clothes, clean the toilet and wooden floors on all fours while wearing a perfectly ironed pleated skirt, she welcomed the opportunity to leave Haiti, "even as a domestic," for Duvalier was sitting firmly on his throne, his Macoutes were parading on Champs de Mars, and people were disappearing. Everything (passport, visa and other paperwork) was paid for by her employer, the upper-class woman who had selected her. Dauphin arrived in Montreal at around 10 pm on October 25th, 1969 with 50 dollars and a lined coat stuffed with newspapers to fight the cold Canadian autumnal weather. What followed was a terrifying experience. To her dismay, there was no one to welcome her. She had a piece of paper with the contact information of the immigration center located in Westmont, but she did not know how to use a payphone, nor did she know the exact address. Luckily for her, a sympathetic passer-by called the center, and then hailed a cab for her. At the immigration center, she met people from all over the world and familiarized herself with Canadian food. A week later, she began working for her employer who lived in the bourgeois Outremont neighborhood. Dauphin found out she was a diabetic divorcée whom her husband had left for a younger woman of Haitian descent. “She was a real aristocrat,” she recalls, “since her highness could not open her mouth and utter my name when I was standing next to her. She needed to ring her bell to summon her slave.” Maybe Dauphin’s employer had read the article published in *La Presse* in 1968 about the high potential of Haitian domestic workers. The article, in a tone similar to that of Jean Toussaint who, in 1947, wrote about securing “little Haitian maids” for Quebecker families, depicted Haitian women as desperate and backward creatures “being used to a hard life,” and “only too pleased to adjust to our way of life, which is bound to appeal to them.”[103] Dauphin worked there for eight months, with a weekly salary of forty five dollars, the bulk of which she sent home. She would gladly have quit, had her family not needed the remittance. [104]

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[101] Memorandum, Section Head, non-immigrant control (employer sponsored domestics) November 25, 1965.

[102] Ibid.

Race and gender definitely configured Dauphin’s experience in Canada. The liberalization of Canadian immigration laws in 1967 and Quebec’s need for French-speaking educators and professionals to achieve the Quiet Revolution (a period characterized by a cultural transformation, the secularization and modernization of Quebec society, the creation of Quebec’s Welfare State, and the development of the women’s liberation movement), attracted a sensible number of Haitian nationals, many of whom were coming from the U.S., Europe, or West

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[103] “Vous pouvez avoir une aide-ménagère haïtienne,” *La Presse*, Junw 22, 1968.

[104] Monique Dauphin interviewed by Stéphane Martelly and Marita Arnold on November 11, 2010. COHDS, Concordia University.

Africa. This narrative tends to obscure the fact that the desire for French-speaking black domestics was by no mean obsolete by the early 1970s, as exemplified by Quebec's attempt to start a francophone movement of domestics from the French Caribbean, as it was "not likely that we would find a source of French-speaking domestics other than in this area of the West Indies." [105] The movement would be inscribed in the French government BUMIDOM operation and therefore the domestics' fare to Canada would be paid for and France would "ensure that they had some landing money on arrival."[106] Ironically, Canadian new immigration policy forbade an official reenactment of previous domestic schemes, but Quebec immigration services found it "necessary to ensure that immigration of colored people from any country represents a reasonably fair cross-section of the population as we do not wish to perpetuate misconceptions regarding black people being specially, or, only, suited for menial work."[107] Not only did Guadeloupe and Martinique have domestic training schools sponsored by the French government that provided their students with skills (such as cooking "along French precepts," sewing, mending clothes, doing laundry, serving at tables, knowledge of dietary notions, pediatrics and "sanitary methods of looking after infants and young children") suitable to a Canadian public, but their students also interacted with Canadian tourists regularly by working in tourist venues.[108] According to French law, education was mandatory from ages six to sixteen, thus guaranteeing the quality of the domestics who would still undergo medical exams, literacy tests, and had to demonstrate working knowledge of a second language. There was no marked shift from previous racial biases, as these domestics were meant to work only temporarily in Canada and were subjected to the same scrutiny regarding morality. Indeed, females from the French Islands were now deemed morally acceptable. As noted by an immigration official "these girls do not present the problem of Jamaican domestics and we are told that illegitimate children is not a problem with them."[109]

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[105] Maurice Mitchell, Meeting on Francophone Immigration, May 24, 1973, 7.

[106] The B.U.M.I.D.O.M., or Office for the development of oversea department migrations, was created by the French government in 1962 and operated from 1963 to 1981. Officially, its goal was to supply continental France with a cheap labor force to do menial jobs and alleviate the overpopulated islands. Over 70,000 French Afro-Caribbean were displaced under that program.

[107] Ibid.

[108] G.M. Mitchell to Mr. J.S. Cross, March 13, 1973

In sum, like their counterparts at the turn of the 20th century, these French-speaking Afro-Caribbean domestics were considered cheap labor (the French government was expected to foot the bill), and *outsiders* not meant to play any significant role in Quebec's Quiet Revolution, unlike the intellectuals from the acceptable and visible black space *Le Perchoir d'Haïti*. However, their narrative informs us about the ways in which Quebec conceptualized itself nationally and racially while its radical elements used the rhetoric of notable anti-colonialist Francophone Afro-Caribbeans such as Fanon, Césaire or Glissant to construct their own narrative as a racialized, and colonized people.[110] Although for these radicals their nation stood at the periphery, Quebec's attitude towards racially marginalized groups put them on equal footing with imperial France, i.e., at the center.

Epilogue: The Limits of Citizenship

In July 1971, a Haitian flag was burned at World's fair Expo' 67. The offender, Philippe Filsaime, reported to the police station on July 28 and was charged with arson. Defense lawyer Mr. Bernard Merger suggested that Filsaime be released on a $50 bail since "the flag only cost 50 cents." Filsaime's highly political gesture underscored his disgust with the Haitian dictatorship, as Haiti's presence at the fair went unchallenged by the organizing country. Before July 28, Filsaime's friends' and family's homes had been ransacked and searched thoroughly without a warrant by the police. Filsaime's father and brother were searched, "questioned and intimidated" at their home in Montreal North. They were told by Sergeant Detective Michael Allord that "Dictator Papa Doc had sent an official note to Ottawa asking that Filsaime be extradited and that Ottawa was putting pressure on Quebec authorities to have him sent back as soon as he was captured."[111]

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[109] Ibid., 2.

[110] For a discussion of radical intellectuals in Quebec in the 1960s, see Sean Mills, *The Empire Within: postcolonial thought and political activism in sixties Montreal* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 2010).

The Canadian World's Fair Expo' 67 afforded a space to protest Canada's lack of support for the victims of the Duvalier dictatorship, but it has also been praised for cementing Haiti-Quebec relations, and for stimulating Haitian immigration. The Haitian pavilion (named "Haiti, Land of the Sun"), displayed positive images of the Caribbean nation as a paradise island, which in turn cast Quebec as a welcoming space for Haitians.[112] Like the world fairs organized before in Europe and North America, Expo' 67 strove to imagine a new vision of the world through the playful display of technological progress, cultural artifacts, and food. As citizens of the world, visitors were granted a passport to stroll through this creative version of the globe. In this utopian understanding of world citizenship, social anarchist Paul Goodman then urged "young people to tear up their passports when travelling abroad so as to promote real international understanding."[113]

In the early 1970s, Marie-José tore up her Haitian passport alright. After graduating from a nursing program in Montreal, she had been backpacking across Europe with a Canadian friend.

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[111] "Philippe Filsaime surrenders to Police," *Uhuru*, vol 1 no 3 July 31, 1969.

[112] Voltaire and Péan, 349.

[113] Rhona Richman Kenneally and Johanne Sloan, introduction to *Expo 67: Not just a Souvenir*, eds. Rhona Richman Kenneally, Johanne Sloan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 2.

European attitudes towards Haiti were less than engaging. On more than one occasion, she was delayed or detained at customs while her friend could move about freely. By then, people knew about Haiti, and her passport was "stamped with infamy."[114] Though some media were sympathetic to Jean-Claude Duvalier, people had heard of Duvalier *père*. The first boat of Haitian refugees had reached the shores of Florida in September 1963.[115] None of its twenty five occupants were granted political asylum. Refugees sailing on the second boat that made it to the US ten years later faced the same fate. They were considered economic, not political refugees.

By he early 1980s, Haitians traveling from Asia, Africa, and North, Central and South America to spend the holiday season with their families were kept from France unless they were business men or "honorably well-known important people."[116] Enamored with Spain that ranked very high on her Grand Tour, Marie-José enrolled at the University of Madrid and earned a B. A. in Spanish studies. When she finally came back to Montreal four years later, Haiti had taken quite a visible place in the Canadian imagination as well as in Montreal space, fostering the creation of La Maison d'Haïti in 1972, a socio-cultural center whose goal was to ease newly arrived Haitians (coming increasingly from the *peyi andeyò*) into Canadian life.

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[114] Paul Dejean, "Les Boat People d'Haiti," *Le Devoir,* October 4, 1979.

[115] Alex Steppick, *Pride against Prejudice: Haitians in the United States*, (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1998), 5.

[116] René A. St-Louis, "La France et la Diaspora Haïtienne, " *Terre et Liberté,* no 1, vol 1, Mars 1981, 10.

CHAPTER II

A DIFFERENT KIND OF BLACK: HAITIAN BLACK INTERNATIONALISM IN THE CONGO

When I started writing my letter of intent for the Lumumba feature film we were planning on making, I realized that I was in fact writing about a totally different story-the story of the Haitians who went to work in Congo, and of how a newly independent African country asked for help from the people of Haiti, a proud and militant country that for nearly two hundred years had been the only one in the world. The history of how the huge and rich Congo had looked to the small Haiti for help is in some ways an absurd story, the work of a Machiavellian mind. The Belgians had all just fled, and so they sought to bring in black doctors, teachers, engineers, and agronomist from Haiti to replace the European ones that had suddenly left. This endeavor could have failed miserably, but the Haitians were well received and integrated.

Raoul Peck, on his documentary *Lumumba: The death of the prophet*, 1992.[1]

Introduction: They speak French and they are Negro

In 1962, *New York Times* journalist Richard Eder published an article about Haitians seeking jobs in Africa. He asserted that "one reason for this large and in some ways crippling exodus to Africa is the fact that the Haitians fulfill two politically invaluable requirements: They speak French and they are Negro." [2] Like Peck, he surmised that the color of their skin made them suitable candidates to help the newly independent African nation and downplayed the role of Duvalier's repression as an important push factor. Unlike Peck, he acknowledged the lack of job opportunities for teachers and professionals in Haiti.

Haitian-born film director Raoul Peck joined his family in Kinshasa when he was eight years old. His understanding of this historical moment—as if David had helped a weakened Goliath—needs to be complicated, especially since David was, in fact, the hegemon in this narrative. So how did these Haitians experience post-independence Africa? To what extent (and by whom) were they "well-received and integrated"? Most importantly, can we frame this diasporic moment within a black internationalist discourse?

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[1] Raoul Peck, *Stolen images: Lumumba and the early films of Raoul Peck*, trans. Catherine Temerson (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2012), 112.

[2] Richard Eder, "Trained Haitians Seek Jobs Abroad: Seeing Little Future at Home, They Turn to Africa," *New York Times*, October 7, 1962.

This chapter studies the story of the Haitian educated elite in West Africa (and more specifically the former Belgian Congo). It examines their involvement in the ONUC (United Nations Operations in the Congo) as technical assistants and their interactions with the Congolese and UN officials. Most significantly, it offers insight into a transnational relationship that extends the concepts framing black diaspora scholarship, complicating our understanding of the phenomenon, not only because of the power relations between the Congolese and Haitians, but also because the diaspora's center, rather than being the symbolic but no longer fictitious Africa, was displaced in this case to New World Haiti. But what happens when the transplanted finally gets to return and the longing for the mythical *Ginen* can be materialized? I argue that for some Haitians, the inevitable *décalage* that separated them from the Congolese not only in terms of time and space but also due to their privileged positioning could be transcended by embracing a diasporic identity that could not be reduced to a direct response to racial oppression.[3]

In 1991, scholar William Saffran, in an essay published in the newly formed journal *Diaspor*a, explained the significance of alienation from the host land, as well as the notion of "homeland" as the heart of diaspora, in terms of collective mythology, idealization of return and ongoing commitment.[4] However, in the case of Haitian exiles, the dream of return highlighted by Saffran takes on multilayered meanings. In fact, their experience was twofold. On the one hand, their involvement in the decolonization process in Africa inscribed their experience within the history of black internationalism. On the other hand, state-sponsored violence, and the strong belief in the alienation from the host land (Haiti) turned nation-state as temporary, placed these exiles in an in-between space that nonetheless reaffirmed diaspora as both process and condition.[5] Indeed, their diasporic experience was continuously reworked through movement and determined by processes that delineated its very existence in a global context. In fact, the diasporic practice of Haitian exiles pointed at the fulfillment of the dream of return through a commitment to two homelands: Africa and Haiti. What's more, their racialization and ethnicization (re)defined by local and global contexts shaped by racism and imperialism significantly impacted their migratory experience.

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[3] Here I am borrowing Brent Hayes Edwards' concept of *décalage* that refers to the untranslatable differences inherent to diaspora.

[4] William Saffran," Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1 (1991): 83-99.

The literature on the Haitian experience in post-independence Africa (and more specifically Congo-Kinshasa) is slim. *Les Haïtiens au Congo*, written by legal scholar Camille Kuyu, is a short introductory narrative that provides a few facts about the Congo and the conditions that brought Haitian professionals and teachers to the former Belgian colony.[6] Kuyu's book highlights important issues such as the ancestral and intellectual connections between the two nations; but because of its narrative form, it does not tackle the kind of historical questions that a more substantial work necessarily would. However, the value of *Les Haïtiens au Congo* lies in the testimonies from the Haitian experts as well as the Congolese who were in contact with them. Poet, essayist, and author Danielle Legros Georges' essay, "From Port-au-Prince to Kinshasa: A Haitian Journey from the Americas to Africa," connects her family narrative with the larger themes of displacement, transnationalism, and identity intertwined with the history of

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[5] For a discussion of diaspora as process and condition, see Tiffany Ruby Patterson and Robin G. Kelley, "Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World," *African Studies Review* 43, no. 1 (2000): 11-45.

[6] Camille Kuyu, *Les Haïtiens au Congo*, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006).

Haiti and post-independent Congo.[7] Intended as an introduction to the Haitian-Congolese narrative, Legros Georges relies on oral interviews as well as the testimonies found in Kuyu's book. Finally, Regine O. Jackson's article "The Failure of Categories: Haitians in the United Nations Organizations in the Congo, 1960-64" considers the Haitian African experience as the doorway to new frameworks to theorize about the migration of Haitians to post-colonial Africa within the larger narrative of black internationalism.[8]

My analysis is based on memoirs and testimonies from technical assistants as well as the UNESCO collection of Maurice Dartigue's papers that include both official reports and personal correspondence. Dartigue worked for the UNESCO department of education as the director of the African Division. As such, he received many letters from fellow Haitians writing from Haiti, North America, France or Mexico asking to work within the UN. Using oral interviews as well as the testimonies provided in Kuyu's book, I examine Haitian émigrés as active participants in a larger black diasporic context, and as mythical returnees as well. The Congo and other newly independent African countries that employed Haitian experts, operated both as diasporic switching points and sites of black internationalism. Because these countries were indeed temporary spaces for many Haitians, this narrative offers a stimulating contrast to the Canadian experience as far as black alterity and the negotiation of identity (diasporic v. national) are concerned.[9]

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[7] Danielle Legros George, "From Port-au-Prince to Kinshasa: A Haitian Journey from the Americas to Africa" in Kendahl Radcliffe, Jennifer Scott, and Anja Werner, eds. *Anywhere but here: Black Intellectuals in the Atlantic World and Beyond*, (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2014) 229-254.

[8] Regine O. Jackson, "The Failures of Categories: Haitians in the United Nations Organizations in the Congo, 1960-64," *Journal of Haitian Studies 20,* no.1 (2015): 34-64.

[9] It is important to note that given the departure of foreign doctors, the Congo also needed health experts. Haitian WHO "malariologist" Dr. Athemas Bellerive underscored the seriousness of the situation in a country where there was "not a single Congolese doctor." Jackson, 41. However, the sources I am examining here mainly deal with education experts.

Haitians in the ONUC: Background and Mission

> *The climate of insecurity is so intense that we are facing a state of panic, and everyone is running for their lives. However, we can hear the strangest rumors, for instance, that Manceau Louis had been eaten up by a boa constrictor and Lemoine by a lion, that some Haitians have mysteriously disappeared, and are believed to have been captured and devoured by cannibals. It seems that these rumors are the best kind of propaganda that can be put out for the Congo.*
> (Letter from Port-au-Prince sent to Maurice Dartigue in 1962)

In the early 1960s, feminist and political activist Ghislaine Rey Charlier, a Jeremie native, was not about to be eaten up by Duvalier's cannibals. Luckily for her, she was on a list that had been approved by the President to obtain a *visa de sortie* (exit visa). A.B., who left in 1964, remembers: "you had to make the names go down. If you wanted to leave, you had to put your name on a list at the Ministry of the Interior. The list was then sent to the Palais where they had to give their approval. It was simple. Then they'd call you to say 'your name went down the list.' You needed a visa to leave the country." Asked how he was able to leave despite being closely watched by the government, he replied: "In this kind of regime, there are always some strange things happening, some loopholes because you know some people, or money that is given to so and so to make your name go down. All of this was orchestrated by Duvalier supporters to extort money from people. It was corruption at its best."[10]

Rey Charlier had many friends living abroad and could opt to escape to Mexico City or Paris. Walking by the visible and invisible snakes and lions that oversaw Port-au-Prince Airport (renamed François Duvalier International Airport in 1965), Rey Charlier boarded a plane for France on July 5, 1960, where she stayed with a group of friends she described as "a very wealthy bourgeois, a gay man, a Jewish mother and an anarchist."[11] With no credentials except for her upper- class upbringing, finding a job proved daunting. After working as a domestic for a scientist couple, she flew to Leopoldville, "where the Belgians still believed they owned the country," to reunite with a former classmate she had met at the Lalue school in Port-au-Prince. Mrs. Bouchereau, wife of Marie-José's uncle Georges Bouchereau, fondly remembered Rey Charlier as a very bright student. Georges, a lawyer, needed a secretary at the time, but since his wife's friend could not type, he hired her as an English translator. Even though she did not stay long (she moved to Montreal in 1963), she felt quite at home in Leopoldville as she lived amongst an increasingly large number of fellow Haitians.

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[10] A.B., interview by Stéphane Martelly, July 2 2010, Histoires de Vie de Montreal, COHDS, Concordia University.

Most of the Haitians Rey Charlier met in Leopoldville arrived during a time of acute post-independence struggles. On June 30, 1960, the former Belgian Congo became a sovereign nation. However, Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, representative of the radical nationalists who advocated for the inclusion of the Congolese masses in political and economic affairs, quickly faced a nationwide conflict initiated by the West that led to the mutiny of Congolese armed forces, the secession of the province of Katanga, and his assassination. What became known as the Congo Crisis illustrated the West's success in eliminating a radical nationalist leadership and replacing it with a moderate one that would facilitate their interests in the region. As historian Georges Ngonzola-Ntalaja explains, the mutiny was triggered by General Emile Janssens of the colonial army who insisted that the Belgians would remain in control and that the Congolese troops would not be promoted as promised by Lumumba. The mineral-rich (copper) province of Katanga was "geographically and economically an integral part of the multinational corporate empire established in Southern Africa before the First World War under British hegemony."[12] The Belgian miners who settled in that region aimed at creating a colonial settler system like those established by the British in South Africa and Rhodesia. In fact, getting rid of Lumumba enabled Western powers to establish a neo-colonial government that put the Congo in the clutches of the trusts and holding companies that had dominated it for decades.[13] Finally, the West officially justified Lumumba's assassination by invoking Cold War imperatives. Indeed, faced with the UN's lukewarm effort to help him solve the crisis that plagued the new nation, Lumumba had demanded military support from the Soviet Union. In fact, for Ngonzola-Ntalaja, "Lumumba's fall and assassination were the result of a vast conspiracy involving US, Belgian and UN officials on the one hand, and his Congolese political enemies on the other."[14]

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[11] Ghislaine Rey Charlier, interview by Stéphane Martelly and Grace Sanders, November 5, 2010, COHDS, Concordia University.

During the Congo Crisis, The UN declared a state of emergency, and on July 25 of the same year, created the ONUC (United Nations Operations in the Congo) to lead the new nation out of its catastrophic situation. An agreement with the UN and the UNESCO enabled the Congolese government to hire technical assistants to make up for the lack of administrative structure—the insufficient number of teachers, physicians, sanitary engineers, and civil servants caused by the Belgians' departure.[15] In terms of education, the Belgian regime had been characterized by a lack of adequate schooling. Congolese only had access to primary education;

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[12] Georges Ngonzola-Ntalaja, *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: A People's History* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2002*)*, 99.

[13] Ludo De Witte, *The Assassination of Lumumba*, trans. Ann Wright and Renée Fenby (London: Verso, 2001), xxi.

[14] Ngonzola-Ntalaja, *The Congo From Leopold to Kabila*, 107. American interests in Africa in general and in the Congo in particular lied in bountifulness of natural resources. Consequently, their strategy was to support vital ties between Europe and Africa to have access to these resources. For more on American stronghold in Africa, see George White Jr., *Holding the Line: Race, Racism, and American Foreign Policy toward Africa, 1953-1961* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers INC, 2005).

[15] According to Erik S. Packam, in June 1960, there were only 16 African graduates, but the Congolese had access to primary education and manual training to work on Belgian plantations and industries. *Success or Failure*: *The UN Intervention in the Congo After Independence* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 1998), 7.

it was not until 1954 that they could attend high school.[16] This demonstrated the Belgians' desire to create and maintain a large working-class and a dismal middle-class of so-called *évolués*.[17]

Colonial ideologists had long understood the need to stratify the colonial society in a way that benefited the colonial powers, and westernizing the youth through education was, they believed, the surest way to ensure their dominance with the assistance of a newly formed *élite indigène* or *colonat noir* who would emulate them, by "agreeing with the principles and ideals of western education,"gain support from the masses, and yet who knew their place.[18] To that end, the colonial educational system created a few skilled subjects defined by their level of education, steady income, work ethic, and their impeccable character.[19] In the colonial lexicon, members of this black urban elite were known as *évolués* or blacks who, "proud of the poor scholarly knowledge that filled their lacking brain, were tempted to believe they were equals with whites and able to replace them."[20] However, this class of "intellectual workers," skilled or semi-skilled workers, supervisors, self-employed craftsmen or businessmen, and professionals represented only about 0.8% of the Congolese population in 1958.[21]

There is a long legacy of Caribbean administrators hired by colonial powers to work in the African colonies. Recently, historian Véronique Hélénon shed light on the complex relationship between Africans, Caribbean people, and the colonial power that saw a potential for French- speaking blacks to rule over their "uncivilized" cousins.[22] As far as Haiti was concerned, Max H. Dorsinville, who started his work with the UN in the 1940s, and began to supervise the ONUC military forces in 1963, was deeply invested in the decolonization processes in Togo, Cameroun, Somalia, Tanganyika, Burundi/Ruanda and the Congo. However, after the rise of Duvalier, the hiring of Haitian specialists, and more specifically teachers, was facilitated by former Minister of Education Maurice Dartigue, who started working for the UN in the late 1940s, after the overthrow of President Elie Lescot sent him into exile in the US.

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[16] Gary Fullerton, *L'UNESCO au Congo* (Paris: UNESCO, 1964), 42.

[17] In fact, the Belgian Congo had the third largest number of wage-earners in Africa. Georges Ngonzola-Ntalaja, *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila,* 5.

[18] Jean-Marie Mutamba-Makombo, *Le Congo Belge: de l'émergence des évolués à l'indépendance* (PhD diss, Paris, 1978), 187.

[19] Elikia M'Bokolo, *La formation de la bourgeoisie zaïroise* (1945-1980): *Eléments pour une recherche* (Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales Centre d'études africaines, 1981), 13.

[20] Mutamba-Makombo, 77.

[21] Charles Tshimanga, *Jeunesse, Formation et Société au Congo/Kinshasa, 1890-1960* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001), 20. "Intellectual workers were those who had benefited from four years of schooling beyond primary education. In 1958, they represented only 0.15% of the population, and half of them resided in Leopoldville.

Staff for field posts in educational planning and administration were to be filled by college-educated experts "able to work in English, French or Spanish, and preferably between 35 and 60 years of age." [23] In terms of skills and experience, Jean Guiton, Acting Director of the Department of Education established the following categories:

- Persons with experience of educational planning, at the national or regional level
- Persons with substantial experience —say five years or more—as educational administrators, at the national or regional level
- Persons experienced in the national and international financing of education
- Statisticians who have made a special study of educational statistics
- Persons with teaching experience and good practical experience in any of the areas listed above.[24]

In addition to these categories, Guiton mandated the Department of Social Sciences to hire economists and sociologists experienced in "the place and problems of education in economic development."[25] The goals were to ensure the proper functioning of existing institutions, the training of civil servants, school inspectors and teachers. Initially recruited for 4-12 weeks, successful educators switched locations after up to a year. Beginning in 1964, newcomers were hired directly by the Congolese government through more informal networks. Even though the program ended by the mid-70s, some Haitians continued to choose the Congo as a second home, despite the socio-political turmoil (e.g., ethnic tensions, the rise of Mobutu) that prompted earlier settlers to leave once again.

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[22] Véronique Hélénon, *French Caribbeans in Africa: Diasporic Connections and Colonial Administration, 1880-1939* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

[23] J.Guiton, Memo Edplan/62/01, 2 October 1962.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

Recruiting technical assistants during the crisis was no small affair. The first group of teachers hired in the early months of 1961 was recruited from 11 different countries such as Haiti (29), Argentina (1), Canada (5), China (7), Spain (10), France (3), Greece (1), Italy (1), Lebanon (5), Mexico (1) and Norway (1). Most of the recruits were male. In fact, official reports stipulate that female candidates would only be considered if the Department could not reach the projected number of 250 teachers.[26] They also mention that several sections of the UNESCO were utterly opposed to the hiring of female technical assistants.

In January, Pio Carlo Terenzio, chief of the UNESCO mission, personally greeted the twenty-nine Haitians specialists at Orly airport in Paris. This event was immortalized by photographers and reporters. The Haitians, who were "in good spirits," received yellow fever shots at the Pasteur Institute before attending a cocktail party thrown in their honor. Even the Haitian Ambassador in Paris was invited. Set to fly to Leopoldville the following day, they stayed at the stylish Hôtel D'Orsay. This five-star treatment left some unimpressed.[27] Indeed, a letter to the head of the Department of Education indicates that only forty-two teachers landed in the Congo on February 9, twenty-one of which were from Haiti. According to Terenzio, the media portrayal of the Congolese political situation was so horrifying that no amount of champagne and *amuse-bouches* was substantial enough to keep the terrified teachers from breaking their commitment at the last minute.[28] Indeed, a number of violent conflicts between UN troops and the ANC (National Congolese Army), the ANC and Lumumbists, and the ANC and the local population had broken out throughout the country, which had been divided into four different governments.[29] Then, on January 17, Lumumba was assassinated. UN military officials subsequently suggested that teachers should only be hired for the areas where UN troops were stationed.

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[26] There were Haitian women working within the ONUC, but Dartigue's list of 10 potential Haitian candidates included only one woman, Jeanne Sylvain, a former UN social work expert in Bolivia. Haitian men were usually hired first, and their wives joined them afterwards. Max H. Dorsinville's wife founded Le Cercle des femmes de Léopoldville in 1961. Members of Le Cerle visited hospitals and bring them supplies. Le Cercle was funded through donations. Dorsinville, *L'ombre de Duvalier*, Montreal, Qc: Les Editions du CIDIHCA, 2007, 360-1.

[27] Terenzio to Dartigue, February 28th 1961.

In the summer of 1961, the Congolese minister of education Cléophas Bizala toured the US, France, Belgium, Lebanon and Haiti amongst other countries to recruit additional teachers. In a letter sent to Dartigue in 1962, Bizala asserted the success of his recruiting mission: he secured over 400 Belgian teachers, as well as teachers from Lebanon and well over 100 from Port-au-Prince. The high number of Haitian recruits coincided with the deteriorating economic and social climate of the Haitian capital, where the regime of terror instigated by Duvalier was such that “nobody wanted to stay in Haiti anymore.” As a matter of fact, those who could secure employment could not live on the meager salary they received, and had to deal with overcrowded classrooms (75-80 students), much dated textbooks imported from France, and ill-equipped facilities to study physics and chemistry. Furthermore, when teaching literature, history or civic education, they had to watch themselves very carefully since their students or colleagues could misinterpret or report their every word in order to send them to Fort Dimanche.[30] Some students—whose parents were known Macoutes—even placed a gun on their desk to intimidate their teachers and obtain an A in the class.[31] In addition, those who had joined teachers unions (the UNIH or the UNMES) to ask for educational reforms, better wages, and better working conditions were not safe under such a political regime.[32]

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[28] P.C. Terenzio to Maurice Dartigue, February 28 1961.

[29] Paul-Henry Gendebien, *L’intervention des Nations Unies au Congo: 1960-1964* (Paris: Mouton et cie, 1967) 93, Esther Dartigue, *An Outstanding Haitian, Maurice Dartigue*: *The contribution of Maurice Dartigue in the Field of Education in Haiti, the UN and the Unesco* (New York: Vantage Press, 1994), 179, Eric S. Packham, *Freedom and Anarchy* (Commack NY: Nova Science Publishers, 1996), 90.

However, some of the Haitian recruits coming from the US, Canada or France were not directly threatened by the dictatorship, but wanted to benefit from an African experience. For instance, art historian Michel Lerebours was completing his dissertation in Paris when he opted to be involved in the Congo from 1962 to 1967 to teach art history in Leopoldville/Kinshasa. Not only did he meet a plethora of local artists, but he also enjoyed a booming art scene where the diverse visual language symbolized the Congolese artists' desire to depart from traditional art.[33] In fact, the late 1960s witnessed the emergence of a new generation of self-taught painters seemingly oblivious to colonial and post-colonial history and unaware of the debates that animated Western art. Rather, they took interest in the figurative depiction of daily life, not unlike the so-called Haitian primitive artists whose works had been internationally acclaimed since the mid-1940s.[34]

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[30] Emile Crespin quoted in André Bellamy, "Figure de l'émigration: Une entrevue d'André Bellamy avec Emile Crespin," *Collectif Paroles*, 37.

[31] Interview with Mrs. G.S. who was a high school student during the first years of the Duvalier dictatorship, Port-au-Prince, July 2015.

[32] The UNIH was the national union of Haitian elementary education teachers, and the UNMES was the national union of secondary education teachers.

[33] Michel Lerebours, e-mail message to author, August 29, 2013.

[34] André Stas "Les peintres populaires congolais dans le Zaïre de Mobutu, " in *Léopoldville-Liège, Liège-Kinshasa: Les collections Africaines de l'Université de Liège* (Liège : Editions de l'ULG, 2007), 53-54.

In November 1962, Maurice Dartigue received a short missive from Washington DC. Its author, friend and mentor Allan Hulsizer (and former US director of rural education during the occupation), first stated that “the picture here of Haiti is quite bleak!” before inquiring about the “many Haitians in the Congo and in other parts of the world active in promoting the arts of peace but no one knows about them or what they are doing.” More specifically, he wanted to hear about “those who have come through Damien with US graduate education.”[35]

Did Hulsizer want to rehabilitate the image of Haiti and highlight its intellectual capital? What about the significance of US graduate education? As discussed in chapter one, before the US occupation of Haiti, well-to-do Haitian families traditionally sent their offspring off to France to complete their scholarly and social education. This practice was usually encouraged (through scholarships) by the Haitian government, though some heads of state supported the development of local schools. During and after the occupation, some American universities such as Columbia or Fisk (as well as the Rockfeller Foundation) offered scholarships to promising Haitian students. Furthermore, in 1924, US occupation officials opened the Central School of Agriculture at Damien, a “large domain several miles north of Port-au-Prince offered by the Haitian government.”[36] Damien was fully equipped with modern farm machinery and a library full of books on agricultural and industrial technology. The goal of the School of Agriculture was to train “teachers, technicians, inspectors and other professionals of both sexes, to be employed in public service, and for the training of agricultural technicians to direct private enterprises in developing the country’s agricultural resources.”[37] Allan Hulsizer, then US director of rural education, founded the Farm school of Chatard, "the only rural post primary boarding school in Haiti."[38] Students who attended Chatard went on to study at Damien.

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[35] Hulsizer to Dartigue, November 7, 1962.

[36] Esther Dartigue, *An Outstanding Haitian*,2.

[37] Leon Pamphile, *Clash of Cultures: American’s educational strategies in occupied Haiti, 1915-1934* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2008),77.

Even though some Haitians continued to send their children to France for their education, the cultural and educational takeover by the US military marked a shift in the way education was imagined. As historian Chantalle Verna recently argued, the US involvement in Haitian education allowed for the emergence of a socially mobile professional class that was not necessarily born into the light-skinned elite or the black bourgeoisie.[39] Nevertheless, there certainly was a push against the US desire to promote a vocational school system at the expense of literacy or general education, not unlike what was prescribed for the education of Southern blacks in the US. On the one hand, US occupation officials were convinced that Blacks could not process any formal education. On the other hand, people such as High Commissioner Russell (mistakenly)believed that the masses exposed to vocational or agricultural training would be less likely to agitate for social and political rights.[40] In 1923, the US military consulted Robert Moton from the Tuskegee Institute to help with the creation of vocational schools; a move frowned upon by the African American elite whose stance against the US occupation was well-known.[41]

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[38] Esther Dartigue, 4. Dartigue was appointed as first director of Chatard in 1928.

[39] See Chantalle Verna, *Haiti and the Uses of America: Post-U.S. Occupation Promises*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2017).

[40] Pamphile, "America's policy making in Haitian education," *The Journal of Negro Education* 41, no. 1 (Winter 1985): 103. It is important to note that in their African colonies, British colonial policy makers looked to the US South as they believed that blacks in rural poverty faced conditions similar to those of blacks living in Africa. They believed in industrial training for Africans, but also that they "should be trained in such necessities of actual life as health, hygiene, the making of a home, the earning of a livelihood, and civic knowledge and spirit." Though the emphasis on vocational training could be interpreted, during the Progressive era, as the embodiment of the "Yankee pedagogical theory" of thrift, morality and dignity earned through hard work, let us keep in mind that the whole enterprise was not just economic or social upflift, but a way to maintain the colonial order. Charles H. Lyons, *To wash an Aethiop White: British ideas about Black African Educability 1530-1960* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1970), 152-3.

[41] Pamphile, *Haitians and African Americans: A heritage of tragedy and hope* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001),124.

Higher education was set aside, as Americans were not eager to promote training in the professions and occupations.[42] In 1927, the US military took control of the Medical School, and granted post-graduate Rockefeller fellowships "for foreign study."[43]

Dartigue himself, who came from an upper-class family in Les Cayes (his father was at some point Minister of Agriculture and Public Works), was a Damien graduate who also benefited from two US scholarships to study at Columbia's Teachers' College in 1927 and in 1930.[44] Before his appointment at the UN in the 1940s, he was the director of rural education during the last years of the occupation. Dartigue underscored the problems faced by nations such as Haiti that were weighed down by their colonial past. The educational system mirrored that of the metropole, relied heavily on clergymen, favored a small percentage of the population and privileged the liberal arts and sciences.[45] He believed that collaboration with the US (with whom he shared paternalistic views) was necessary for the evolution of the Haitian school system and firmly supported the emphasis on vocational and agricultural training.[46] It is important to note that such an emphasis coincided not so incidentally with US interests in investment opportunities agricultural development in Haiti, which required an easy access to a well-trained, low-cost workforce on the ground.[47] Nevertheless, for Dartigue, Haiti should not produce "candidates for a public function," but instead support "pratical training" designed for social, political, and economic amelioration of the country."[48]

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[42] Pamphile, *Clash of Cultures*,115.

[43] Ibid., 116.

[44] Esther Dartigue, *An Outstanding Haitian*, 3-4, and Pamphile, *Clash of cultures: American Educational Strategies in Occupied Haiti*, 115.

[45] Chantalle Verna, "Maurice Dartigue, Educational Reform, and Intellectual Cooperation with the United States as a Strategy for Haitian National Development, 1934-46," *Journal of Haitian Studies* 13, no. 2(2007): 25.

[46] Ibid., 25.

[47] Pamphile, "America's policy making in Haitian education 1915-1934," *Journal of Negro Education* 54 (1985): 102.

It took Dartigue a month to write back to Hulsizer. His lengthy response provides us with much information about the high-quality credentials of these technical assistants, as well as the scope of their work in the Congo and elsewhere. For instance, Max Rigaud, a Damien and Columbia graduate, was chief expert in technical and vocational education and helped the UN create a school for public works engineers. René Lemoine, who was working with Rigaud as a vocational education teacher, studied at Hampton, was an ILO (International Labor Organization) and UNESCO fellowship recipient. He "went on study trips to the US and France," and had also taught at J.B Damier, a vocational school located in Port-au-Prince. Abélard Désenclos, the chief advisor to the Provincial Ministry of Education of Kivu Province, was a graduate of Damien who also graduated with a B. A. from Columbia and a M.S. in Education from Cornell in 1945. He founded the *Association des Anciens Etudiants Haïtiens d'Universités Américaines* in 1949 to "establish contacts with American colleges and universities and to found an institute for the teaching of French and social science to American students who want to study in Haiti."[49] In July and August of 1962, he participated in the creation of a pilot course for potential Congolese primary school supervisors and primary school teachers. This course taught them better teaching methods and how to design inexpensive teaching materials.[50] In addition to these top-notch specimens were Garvey Laurent, Deputy Regional Representative of the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations) in Ghana, Dr. Bellerive, the Chief Mission of WHO (World Health Organization), and Dr. Yvonne Sylvain. The three of them, Dartigue notes, did “post-graduate work in the States” (Laurent also graduated from Damien).

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[48] Verna, *Haiti and the Uses of America*, 59.

[49] *Cornell Alumni News 52*, June 1, 1950, no. 17, 465.

[50] Dartigue to Hulsizer, 3.

Dartigue’s stellar assessment of highly performing Haitian specialists needs to be nuanced, for not all Haitians were dedicated to their mission. Ludovic Bourand, a Haitian specialist working for the Provincial Ministry of Education in Luluabourg, wrote that on June 25, 1961, around 1 a.m., three armed Congolese men broke into Yvon Perron’s house and tried to drag him outside. Perron was quick enough to flee through the back door and ask the UN Ghanaian contingent and Blue Helmets for help. As it turned out, Perron had had an affair with a young Congolese woman, and the three men were out for revenge.[51] The Haitian expert was subsequently transferred to Leopoldville. Désenclos also reported the hiring of “a number of Haitians who were not competent but who just wanted to get a job and get out of Haiti.”[52] Dartigue and others certainly resented these teachers for tarnishing an otherwise seemingly impeccable cohort.

Hulsizer’s inquiry about the performance of Haitians in Africa was rooted in an unambiguous racist climate. Despite the educational capital and availability of the Haitians, they did not necessarily receive a warm welcome by ONUC officials. A confidential note Dartigue sent to Jean Guiton discusses an official document signed by the latter in which he expressed the necessity to hire “the most highly qualified experts in advanced Member States.”[53] The slur did not escape Dartigue, who, though always quick to underline the Western education of highly ranked Haitian specialists as a guarantee of respectability, denounced a discriminatory effort typical of the most blatant form of racism.[54] Furthermore, as suggested by Rey Charlier's comment, the Belgians were not quite ready to let go. When, on the 20th of September 1960, the United Nations General Assembly asked all governments to channel their technical and economic assistance to the Congo through the United Nations, Belgium refused to step in. In fact, the Belgians thwarted the UN efforts by attempting to take control of the Congolese economic and administrative apparatus and by boycotting the help of foreign aid specialists.[55] Between 1960 and 1964, Belgium still boasted the highest number of UNESCO-hired teachers.[56] Haitian educator Jean Malan remembers that "[The Belgians] gave us a hard time, persecuted us, created major problems for us. Their power was being diminished with the Haitian presence."[57] For Belgian chief of mission for the office of African Affairs, Matthieu Moffarts, "In a country where races, mentalities, social and economic life are so different from one place to another, the experience of the Belgian expert was vital."[58] In short, Moffarts believed that the Belgians would be more efficient than any other foreign specialists because they knew the field and the people better than anyone else.

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[51] Bourand to Dartigue, June 26, 1961.

[52] Désenclos to Dartigue.

[53] J. Guiton, Memo Edplan/62/01, October 2, 1962, emphasis mine.

Inevitably, tensions between the colonizers and the Haitians tinted their experience in the Congo and other transitioning African nations. Even though some were praised for their work in the field, their skills, credentials, and performance were constantly questioned "on account of their being colored."[59] Dartigue's wife Esther also asserted that "some darker Haitian teachers sent to the provinces met with opposition. Supposedly they were not needed and supposedly some were not qualified. Eventually they were accepted, though reluctantly."[60] For many, settling down, being assigned to a specific position and even getting paid proved quite difficult. Moreover, relationships with other foreign teachers, and sometimes fellow Haitians, were also challenging. Emile Crespin's venture in Kenge (Kwango Province) exemplifies the latter challenge. Crespin was born in Port-au-Prince in 1925 and started his teaching career in 1950. In 1959, he won a summer fellowship to take education classes at the University of Southern California. A year later, he went on to study school administration in Brazil with the support of a UN fellowship. Back in Haiti, Crespin managed a couple of high schools before being appointed head of secondary education in 1963. For Crespin, it was high time to reform a system that valued intense *bachotage* (memorization) over critical thinking to pass the *bac* (high school qualifying exams). It was also high time to make sure students did not have prior access to exam prompts or that proctors and graders were not corrupt. Unfortunately for him, the reforms he implemented to properly organize the bac meant that only 26% of the students passed the exam. As a result, Crespin's life was in danger. He quickly fled the country with his wife, leaving their two school-age children behind. In the Congo, the Crespins were not exactly well-received or well-integrated. In Haitian circles, he could hear people whisper "the enemy is among us" behind his back. They could not imagine that he had fled from a highly competitive government salary, government-paid car, full tanks of gas, and personal driver to work for the ONUC. To them, he could be nothing but a spy, and everyone avoided any contact with him. Everyone except fellow Haitian Max Manigat, who welcomed him with open arms.[61]

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[54] Dartigue to Guiton, October 9, 1962.

[55] Marion Coulon to Dartigue, December 13, 1961.

[56] There were indeed 220 Belgian teachers, compared to 136 from Haiti, 96 from France and 93 from Lebanon. Unesco archives.

[57] Jean Malan quoted in Danielle Legros Georges, "From Port-au-Prince to Kinshasa: a Haitian Journey from the Americas to Africa," in *Anywhere but here: Black Intellectuals in the Atlantic World and Beyond*, ed. Kendahl Radcliffe, Jennifer Scott, and Anja Werner (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2015), 237.

[58] Moffarts to Terenzio, December 1st, 1960.

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[59] Dartigue discusses this point in reference to a technical assistant named Saint Louis in a letter to Hulsizer.

[60] Esther Dartigue, 185-6.

A Different Shade of Négritude

The fear of the Congolese cannibals did not deter history teacher Max Manigat who left Port-au-Prince for the Congo on January 15, 1964. A native of Cap Haitian, he caught a last glimpse of the streets of the capital which he would not see again until well after the collapse of the Duvalier dictatorship in 1986. The constant intimidation, harassment, arrests, and executions perpetrated by the Macoutes fostered an atmosphere of constant fear. His older brother, Charles, had been tortured in Cap Haitian. His younger brother had to hide for months because of a student strike. Like many Haitian students, teachers, professors and professionals who represented a threat for President Duvalier, Manigat, with his name on a short list of people to be arrested for “subversive activities,” fled the repressive atmosphere of Haiti to take roots in a seemingly safer environment. His sister Huguette was already in Leopoldville with her two small children and her husband Luc Timothé, who worked there as a judge. A couple of months before his departure, Manigat’s good friend Emmanuel Lafond helped him obtain a teaching contract in the Congo.

With his mind filled with the writings of Francophone intellectuals Léopold Senghor, Birago Diop, Frantz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, and with an admiration for the political activism of Lumumba, Nkrumah or Sekou Touré, Manigat was ready to go to what he considered the land of his ancestors.[62] Furthermore, the murkiness surrounding Lumumba’s murder had turned the former leader into a "Pan-African icon of unequal combat against predatory imperialism."[63] According to Haitian historian Jean-Claude Martineau, Patrice Lumumba's anticolonial stance appealed to Haitians because of their own historical trajectory. He argues that "we could express our admiration of a progressive personality such as Lumumba where we couldn't of Fidel Castro, for example, given Duvalier's anti-Castro and pro-American stance."[64] Like Max H. Dorsinville, who believed that Haiti was the beacon of Africanity that had to shine again for Africa, Manigat and many others partook in the long post-colonial project.

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[61] Emile Crespin quoted in André Bellamy, “Figure de l’émigration: Une entrevue d’André Bellamy avec Emile Crespin,” *Collectif Paroles*, 38.

[62] Max Manigat, unpublished interview with Danielle Georges, July 31st, 2008 and Max Manigat, unpublished notes.

Ironically, Duvalier himself had supported identification with Africa and the larger anti-colonial movement. *Noirisme*, the black nationalist ideology that he used to establish his socio-political agenda, not only acknowledged the Haitian people's African heritage, but also preached a kind of liberation theology that acknowledged Haiti's connections with the black diaspora, and placed its tradition of anticolonial and antiracist resistance at its core. In 1958, Duvalier sent a Haitian delegation to Monrovia to celebrate the 111th anniversary of Liberian independence, and also appointed in Dakar the first Haitian ambassador in sub-Saharan Africa.[65] While the regime took a pro-US and anti-communist stance, its media clearly criticized racial relations in the US such as the "Little Rock Tragedy," a stance that, Millery Polyné argues, illustrated Duvalier's convenient use of the US race problem to exert some pressure on US administrations.[66] Duvalier's Pan-Africanism was further marketed through symbols such as the prominent public placement of a statue of a fugitive slave rebel named the *Marron Inconnu*, the visit of Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie (who might have been made aware of the Griots' manifesto against

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[63] Crawford Young, *The Postcolonial State in Africa Fifty years of Independence, 1960-2010 (*Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 18.

[64] Jean-Claude Martineau quoted in Danielle Legros Georges, "From Port-au-Prince to Kinshasa,"235.

[65] Haïti, *Revue Diplomatique 1*, no. 5 (September 1958).

[66] *Présence,* Jan. 58, 16., and Polyné, *From Douglass to Duvalier*, 205.

Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia), or the three days-long wake for Martin Luther King, Jr. following his assassination in 1968.[67]

In the "invitation to Négritude" section of the student monthly magazine *Présence* created in 1958, poet Jean Max Beauge published *Le nègre cent pour cent* (the hundred per cent black man):

Il vous salue le nègre fanatique	The fanatic black man is greeting you
Qui sortit des entrailles de la mère africaine	He who came out of his African mother's flesh
Le nègre cent pour cent	The 100% black man
Qui jure de travailler pour la gloire du nègre	Who swears to work for the glory of blacks
Convaincu que sa race égale bien les autres	Convinced that his race is equal to other races
Celui qui est né sur un sol nègre	He who was born on a black soil
Qui s'est allaité d'un lait nègre	He who was breastfed with black milk
Qui respire un air nègre	He who breathes black air
Qui est fier d'être nègre.	He who is proud to be black

Pushing Négritude to an extreme by glorifying Afro-descendants of "pure stock," *Le nègre cent pour cent* conveyed the new regime's agenda. On the other hand, this poem also expresses a pro-active commitment to Pan-Africanist ideas and racial uplift. In 1964, Senegal's first President Leopold Sédar Senghor, dubbed as one of the Fathers of Négritude, urged Haiti to participate in the First World Festival of Black Arts (FESMAN) organized by the UNESCO, the government of Senegal and the Society of African Culture to "illustrate Négritude" and celebrate the black cultures of Africa and its diaspora.[68] From April 1-24, 1966, visual artists, writers, musicians and dancers from forty-five African, European, West Indian and North and South American countries turned Dakar into the quintessential black capital. As far as Haiti was concerned, the festival welcomed the African premiere of Césaire's *La Tragédie du Roi*

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[67] David Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 235.

[68] René Piquion, *Apothéose* (Port-au-Prince, Haiti : Editions Henri Deschamps, 1967), 36.

Christophe, and Léonce Viaud, president of the Haitian Delegation, offered Senghor the Haitian Independence Proclamation engraved on a bronze plaque on behalf of Papa Doc.[69]

The relationship between Haiti and Africa was not as seamless as Duvalier's embrace of Négritude or Manigat's intellectual curiosity might have one believe. The history of Haiti's cultural and political engagement with Africa is manifold. The rise of diasporic thought was, as Winston James argues, "overdetermined by racists and imperialist provocation between 1880 and the 1930s." Indeed, Haitian intellectual Anténor Firmin's incisive rebuttal to Arthur de Gobineau's "Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines" in 1885 was a direct response to trendy pseudo-sciences and European imperial projects, as were Benito Sylvain's Pan-African organizing efforts. Firmin understood that Gobineau's claim of the "negroid variety" being driven by desire and sensation and as lacking intelligence was part of the European colonial project. While refuting the concept of racial hierarchy and the fixity of the races, Firmin argued that blacks were as capable of progress as the rest of humanity and that access to education was crucial.

Firmin's belief in racial equality and his own foray into French intellectual circles motivated fellow Haitian Bénito Sylvain to participate in the Pan-African dialogue with African American intellectual and civil rights activist W.E.B. Du Bois, Firmin himself, and Ethiopian Emperor Menelik. On July 23rd, 1900, Sylvain was part of the first Pan-African conference organized by Trinidadian Henry Sylvester Williams, where he had planned to start a conversation about Firmin's work.

Haiti was also a participant in the debates that animated groups such as the NAACP, the International League of Darker Peoples, The Hamitic League, and the UNIA on the eve of the

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[69] Ibid., 94. For a comprehensive study of the FESMAN, see David Murphy, ed.,*The First World Festival of Negro Arts, Dakar 1966 : Context and Legacies* (Liverpool : Liverpool University Press, 2016).

Paris Peace Conference following the Allies' victory in 1919. At the heart of those debates was racial discrimination, anti-imperialism and the right to self-determination, which was a pressing concern for the former German colonies, occupied Haiti and disillusioned US blacks. W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey (UNIA) and A. Philip Randolph (editor of *The Messenger*) agreed on the need to provide African colonies with educated Western and Eastern blacks as their leaders, which mirrored Martin Delany's "Africa for the Africans" message and echoed Sylvain's idea that it was the black diaspora's duty to civilize Africans. Despite much preparation, including Du Bois' "Memorandum on the Future of Africa" presented during a NAACP board of directors meeting on November 11, 1918, nineteen-year-old Haitian UNIA commissioner Eliezer Cadet ended up being the only black American at the conference.[70]

US President Wilson had refused to include blacks among US delegates, fearing that they would underline unsightly aspects of US domestic policies. Also, none of the nine black delegates subsequently elected by various black organizations under the leadership of William Monroe Trotter (editor of *The Boston Guardian*) were able to secure a passport.[71] Cadet was a Haitian immigrant working in West Virginia. Described as a "young man with untroubled eyes and a face in which a smile seemed permanently trapped," Cadet went from occasional reader of the UNIA paper the *Negro World* to interpreter to primary negotiator.[72] Even though the existence of Haitian Garveyites might seem oxymoronic given the strong nationalist stance among Haitians, historian Brenda Gayle Plummer argues that the US occupation of Haiti fostered an interest in the UNIA because of its strong anti-imperialist and anti-colonial message.[73] Unsurprisingly, Cadet hardly influenced the leaders of the stronger states and Pan-African concerns went largely unaddressed, prompting Du Bois to organize a Pan-African Congress with support from various sources, including controversial figure Blaise Diagne and the independent black nations Liberia, Haiti, and Ethiopia. However, the Congress was not approved by the French, the British, or the US governments, though they clearly acknowledged that it presented little threat to the prevailing world (or racial) order.[74]

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[70] Clarence G. Contee, "Du Bois, The NAACP, and The Pan-African Congress of 1919," *The Journal of Negro History* 57, no.1 (1972):15, Robert A. Hill, 426.

[71] Ruth Simms Hamilton, "Transnational Politics: A Note on Black Americans and the Paris Peace Conference of 1919," *in Routes of Passage: Rethinking the African Diaspora* ed. Ruth Simms Hamilton (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2007), 225.

[72] Colin Grant, *A Negro With a Hat: The Rise and Fall of Marcus Garvey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 172.

The American intervention (1915-1934) was the watershed that forced the Haitian elite to examine their European identity, thus prompting a cultural revolution that questioned its relationship with the masses. Stuart Hall argues that questions of identity are "always questions about representation," always interrogate the creation of tradition, and usually involve the "silencing of something in order to allow something else to speak."[75] In the case of Haiti, it was the silencing of Creole, Vodou, and rural folklore, in favor of the French language, Catholicism, and French culture. It was the silencing of the culture of the powerless in favor of the culture of the have-it-all. However, the disdain of the elite for the Africanisms that evoked the violent rupture with Africa and its subsequent cultural transformations did not suppress these creolized responses since the very structure of the society prevented any socio-cultural assimilation. Othering the masses enabled the ruling class to reaffirm its cultural, political and socio-economic superiority.

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[73] Brenda Gayle Plummer, "Garveyism in Haiti During the US Occupation," *The Journal of Haitian Studies 21* (2015): 79.

[74] Contee, 24-25.

[75] Stuart Hall, "Negotiating Caribbean Identities," in *New Caribbean Thought: A Reader*, ed. Brian Meeks and Folke Lindahl (Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2001), 27.

Jean Price-Mars, the father of Haitian Indigénisme, whose work was honored more than thirty years later at the FESMAN, worked to retrieve the African personality, drawing "upon traditional customs and imagery, including Vodou in constructing resonant depictions of a people unified in nationhood." [76] Though his ideology was clearly a product of the occupation, a product that offered a psychological buffer to counter the American Other whose racist and imperialist attitudes trampled on Haitian pride, it still resonated with the colonial experience of other francophones of African descent. However, it is important to note that Négritude and Indigénisme developed somewhat independently of each other. Though the term itself was coined by Césaire, the Négritude concept emerged from animated discussions on race and colonialism at the Jane and Paulette Nardal's literary and artistic salon in Paris, and can be traced to an array of significant works.[77] In the 1930s, these Martinican sisters welcomed black intellectuals from around the globe, including Langston Hughes, Alain Locke, Jean Toomer, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen, Senghor, and Price-Mars himself. *La Revue du Monde Noir*, a short-lived paper founded by Paulette Nardal and Haitian Dr. Léo Sajous during the same period, not only advocated for the study of Africa's rich culture and civilizations (while supporting cultural assimilation), but also sought to "create a moral and intellectual bond between blacks throughout the world without distinction of nationality."[78]

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[76] James A. Arnold, *Modernism and Negritude: The Poetry and Poetics of Aimé Césaire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 24.

[77] The Nardal sisters wrote for *La Depêche Africaine* from 1928 to 1932. They penned essays on race and colonialism. In the essay "L'Internationalisme Noir," published in February 1928, Jane sketched the concept of black internationalism, which she saw as a form of racial solidarity transcending national origin, ethnicity, religion, and customs.

[78] Robert P. Smith, Jr., "Black like that: Paulette Nardal and the Negritude Salon," *CLA Journal* 45, no.1 (2001): 58.

In French colonial discourse (and practice), ideologues and administrators supposed that colonies would, in due course, politically, socially, and culturally become one with the mother country. This was based on the belief that all men were equal but that European civilization was superior, and the assumption that local cultures could be erased.

Interestingly, Césaire, who came to Paris in 1931, was not aware of the cultural flurry that was taking place in Haiti when he was writing the seminal *Notebook of a Return to the Native Land* (nor did he know about the Afro-Cuban movement), and admitted to Haitian writer René Depestre that he did not discover Mars's work until 1944 (even though the manuscript was published in France).[79] In fact, Césaire had no taste for the Nardals' salon, or for *La Revue du Monde Noir*. He found the salon "too bourgeois, too *mulatto*, and too Catholic," and the *Revue* "superficial" for it "served to preserve the status quo while exhibiting the relative prestige and the advantages of a colored elite."[80] In short, Césaire's intellectual framework (driven by class awareness and a strong rejection of cultural assimilation) differed from that of other key intellectuals mapping Négritude as a "theory of black cultural importance and autonomy" who had certainly taken notice of Price-Mars' desire to rehabilitate Africa as the center of the black diaspora.[81]

However, as historian David Lowenthal notes, memories of Africa were simply metaphors, and "identification with Africa is inversely proportional to its relevance in everyday West-Indian life. It is the light-skinned cosmopolite who is most conscious of Africa, not the folk in rural backwaters where speech, folklore, religion, and social organization most bespeak that past." This makes sense if one acknowledges that it is indeed the minority in power who needed to build a nation on imagined unaltered cultural ties, or, at least, to project the image of such a

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To that effect, education, entirely based on the French system, was seen as a crucial tool. Priscilla Blakemore, "Assimilation and Association in French Educational Policy and Practice: Senegal, 1903-1939," in Vincent M. Battle and Charles H. Lyons, eds., *Essays in the History of African Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1970), 86-87.

[79] Arnold, 25.

[80] Ibid., 11.

[81] Janet Vaillant, *Black, French, and African: A Life of Léopold Sédar Senghor* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 1.

nation.[82] Nevertheless, Indigénisme, the Haitian version of Négritude, played more than a metaphoric role in Haitian cultural and socio-political history. First tinged with Marxism in the mid-thirties under the leadership of writer and activist Jacques Roumain, the Indigénist movement took a strong anti-government stance by opposing bourgeois standards, religious traditions and imperialism. In 1929, the ideology also appealed to a group of young non-elite thinkers "The Griots" (Lorimer Denis, Louis Diaquoi and François Duvalier), who were staunch supporters of Vodou as "the spiritual expression of the Haitian majority" and the revalorization of Haitian history, yet who ardently opposed the light-skinned elites thus establishing the basis of an ideology that connected dark skin with authenticity.[83]

For Duvalier, Vodou was necessary to create a "Haitian way of thinking and in strengthening the nation's soul."[84] In his hands, Noirisme became essential to gather popular support, as he believed that political power rightfully belonged to the black majority. According to historian Millery Polyné, it confirmed two principles: "that dark-skinned Haitians should wield state power and that the black petty bourgeoisie is the natural representative of the masses."[85] Duvalier's Noirisme put forth the political undertones that Indigénisme lacked by misrepresenting colorism and consequently stereotyping the fabric of the political elite. Actually, Noirisme supporters presented a simplistic national hierarchy with the light-skinned Haitians at the top and the dark-skinned Haitians at the bottom, discarding nuances of class, political power, and economic status.[86]All in all, the Africanization of the Haitian culture only served as a smoke screen that, by legitimizing Noirist power, did not produce any lasting significant political, economic, and social changes.

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[82] David Lowenthal, "Black Power in the Caribbean Context," *Economic Geography* 48, no. 1 (June 1972): 126.

[83] Julie S. Heath, "Representing Haiti; Vodou and the Nationalism in the Writings of François Duvalier and Jean-Bertrand Aristide," *Midwestern Folklore* 25, no. 1 (1999): 26.

[84] Ibid., 27.

[85] Millery Polyné, *From Douglass to Duvalier: US African Americans, Haiti, and Pan Americanism, 1870-1964* (Gainsville: University Press of Florida, 2010), 192.

The cultural Africanization of Haiti illustrates Stuart Hall's assertion that no African diaspora of the New World has been able to find "a place in modern history without the symbolic return to Africa."[87]Positive images of an imagined African past were a rebuttal to US vivid representation of Haiti as a backward and barbaric nation during the occupation, and also an expression of a nascent cultural nationalism found in other diasporic communities. Négritude, as the transnational version of Haitian Indigénisme, engaged black intellectuals and artists in a transcultural conversation about the motherland, dislocation, colonialism, and resistance.

"Imitators", "Mundelé" and "Disreputable People" in Racialized Spaces

Manigat did not read Price-Mars' works well until after he left the Congo. The dominant image of Africa among educated Haitians was that of a space of anthropophagy, backwardness, wild beasts, and baka. It was the world of *Tintin in the Congo*, where Haitians disappeared, like the space created by the Macoutes. However, going to Africa changed ingrained perceptions of the African space. Historian Frantz Voltaire, who travelled to Africa in the 1970s, remembers being surprised by the highly urbanized so-called jungle, as opposed to the Haitian capital that lacked working infrastructure. Indeed, fed by popular images of Africa produced by the West, Haitians had little knowledge of African realities.

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[86] Noirisme, or the belief that blacks should hold the power in Haiti because they were the guarantors of Haitian Independence (the black legend of the past), and because they represented the majority of the Haitian people prevailed throughout the 19th century. Interestingly, in 1867, light-skinned Northern populist general Sylvain Salnave gained popular support by appealing to the impoverished black urban masses who believed he was dark-skinned as well (no photograph circulated then). David Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour, and National Independence in* Haiti, 108, and Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Haiti and the United States: The Psychological Moment* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 58.

[87] Stuart Hall, "Negotiating Caribbean Identities," *New Left Review* 209 (1995):9.

Raoul Peck came to this realization while making his second full-length feature and deeply personal documentary *Lumumba, Death of a Prophet*. Discussing the "alienation" that kept him from seeing Lumumba as a "sympathetic character," Peck explains that:

> I couldn't warm up to him, and the reasons for my alienation eluded me. Then I realized that everything I had learned about Lumumba came from the same sources-journalists or politicians from the West who had covered the crisis in the Congo. For them, it was a fearful, traumatic, and arrogant confrontation and they had responded by investing their understanding of Lumumba with all the usual, often racist, clichés. I had been contaminated by those clichés. The underlying racism of the world's biggest newspapers, of the *New York Times*, of *Le Monde*, was naïve in a way. It represented how the world saw Africa, not in political terms, but in primitive, one-dimensional, tribalistic terms.[88]

Peck followed his parents to Leopoldville in the early 1960s. His father Hébert was an agronomist hired by the UN while his mother Gisèle worked as a secretary to the mayor. Both worked in the Congo for twenty-five years, staying through the many changes and upheavals that characterized the Congo's shift from a colony to an independent state. Because of Gisèle's position, the Pecks had front row seats to witness post-independence developments. In his thought-provoking documentary, Peck reflects on the historical erasure of Lumumba's legacy, the memorialization of colonialism, paternalism and racism, as well as the enduring tensions between Africa and the West. To articulate discursive silences, Peck's texts and images move back and forth between past and present, the ex-colony and its metropole, questioning the role of social, cultural and political forces in the creation of absence.[89]

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[88] Raoul Peck, *Stolen Images,* 112.

[89] For an in-depth analysis of *Lumumba, Death of a Prophet*, see Burlin Barr, "Raoul Peck's 'Lumumba' and Lumumba: La mort du prophète:" On Cultural Amnesia and Historical Erasure," *African Studies Review 54*, no. 1 (April 2011): 85-116.

Peck does not position himself as scholar of the Congo crisis and colonialism. However, the repetitive "my mother told me" that introduces the history of European colonialism and the brutal Belgian rule does not merely indicate a subjective understanding of history. Rather, a diasporic filiation is established as young Peck is exposed to the history of Africa as told by his mother, whose ancestors were colonial subjects themselves. Peck positions himself as a story-teller, heir to an ancestral tradition. By narrating the tale of "the giant who fell in the night" and juxtaposing intimate photographs and super 8 footage of his family life in Leopoldville, the film maker clearly claims this African history as his own, and as that of Haiti, more broadly. Interestingly, in his anachronistic display of images and poetical texts, Duvalier is eloquently absent.[90] Peck's history is one of dislocation, but it is rooted in a black diasporic context informed by a common past and crossing paths.[91] Describing the connection between the homeland and the motherland, Peck states in his documentary that Haitians and Congolese were "separated by two hundred years of separate destinies."[92]

The award-winning documentary opens with the footage of men and women moving about in contemporary snowy Brussels, drawing a direct line between the (former) colony and its metropole. Before the title sequence appears on the screen, a close-up of the metaphorical street sign "Place des Martyrs" as well as the line of questioning presented with the voice-over "Should the prophet be brought back to life? Should he be allowed to speak once again? One last time? Or should we let the wet snow of the Grand-Place wash away the last traces of an absent memory"? set the tone of the documentary. But then, following the title, the viewer is taken to

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[90] Peck uses some of the texts of Brazaville Congolese poet Henri Lopes. Jeanne Garanne, "Orality in the City" Mweze Ngangura's La vie est belle and Raoul Peck's Lumumba: La mort du prophet," *L'Esprit Créateur* 41, no. 3 (Fall 2001): 151-162.

[91] Hébert Peck's move to the Congo followed his imprisonment under Duvalier. Jackson, 46.

[92] Raoul Peck, *Lumumba, The Death of a Prophet*. Paris: Velvet Film, 1992.

1960’s Haiti through a black and white photograph of schoolchildren dressed in white. The camera then focuses on a young boy holding a book with both hands: it is Peck, *still* in Haiti. The class picture is immediately followed by super 8 footage of 1960’s Leopoldville. The viewer glimpses a hectic and highly urbanized space laden with tall skyscrapers, large boulevards, European cars, and a gigantic statue of King Leopold. The next images are still images of Peck and his family. First, a typical frontal studio portrait showing a very serious-looking Peck sporting a pressed white shirt and a black bowtie. He is holding a book with his two hands, thus displaying codes of the Haitian bourgeoisie. Then, amateur outside shots of the whole family, looking happy and at ease in their new environment, his parents captured laughing together, and then smiling at work. Hébert is sitting at his desk in his office, while Gisèle is sitting behind a large typewriter. Referring to Haitian experts working within the ONUC, the voice-over explains that they were “housed in one of those neighborhoods of abandoned villas in which the new Congolese middle-class had also moved.” The next image shows Peck and one of his brothers posing with two *white* children. In short, while he asserts some spatial intimacy with the Congolese, Peck acknowledges his privileged status in this new post-colonial era.

In the Congo, the Haitian newcomers were referred to as *Mundele* (meaning white in Lingala), as the Congolese constructed their identity in opposition to their own within a post-colonial context. Indeed, if Haitians’ images of Africa were informed by the West, so were those of the local population. Haitian teachers had to deconstruct internalized conceptions of blacks’ inherent inferiority taught generally by years of European disruption and specifically by Belgian authorities. While Belgian administrators asserted that the Congolese could never succeed as substitutes for highly skilled European employees because of their “lack of general knowledge, technical skills, reasoning, common sense, and judgement as well as their inability to be in managerial positions," experts like René Lemoine understood (and reported) the inadequacy of colonial education.[93]

However, a hierarchy between Congolese and Haitians did exist. Because of their lighter skin, some Haitians believed that they were superior to the locals. Furthermore, as Peck observed, incoming Haitians established themselves in the houses formerly occupied by the Belgians, in openly segregated sections of Congolese cities.[94] Frantz Fanon perfectly described this unmasked domination as two sectors at odds with one another. The colonist's sector is "a sector built to last, all stone and steel. It's a sector of lights and paved roads, where the trash cans constantly overflow with strange and wonderful garbage, undreamed-of leftovers….the colonized's sector …is a disreputable place inhabited by disreputable people."[95] Upon his arrival, Manigat noted:

> I first noticed that the capital city of *Léopoldville* had a "white" section were the colonial administrators lived with their families and a "black" section called the "*reol"*. The Haitian teachers lived in the white section. A lot more was different: the people, the administration under the control of the United Nations, the languages, the market places, the restaurants, the sparsely stocked supermarkets in the white section of the city, etc.[96]

Urban African spaces bore the historical traces of colonial power, and the hypervisibility of this symbol inscribed it in the African imagination. Though *de jure* residential segregation was outlawed in 1959, Congolese were not allowed in white stores and white public accommodations, and they were also kept from white areas after dark.[97]

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[93] René Lemoine, "Rapport final sur la mission effectuée dans la période du 13 février 1961 au 31 décembre 1968," 10 December 1968.

[94] Hélénon describes the same urban segregated landscape in colonial spaces (*French Caribbeans in Africa*,111).

[95] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 4.

[96] Manigat, interview with Danielle Legros George, 2008.

[97] Tshimanga, 152, and Legros Georges, *From Port-au-Prince to Kinshasa*, 236.

Colonial cities were understood as a political, cultural, and economic white spaces where the locals (clerks and domestic workers) necessary to the colonial administration were seen as temporary guests or rural migrants.[98] Haitian anthropologist Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain studied this phenomenon in Leopoldville while doing fieldwork on local Congolese women twice, first during World War II (August 1943 to December 1945) and then in 1965, after the independence. In 1945, she noted that each Congolese owned a booklet indicating their name, where they were from, and their address. It also indicated whether they were up-to-date with their shots. These booklets were kept at the *Archives du Service de l'Administration de la Population Noire* (Archives of the Office of the Management of the Black Population).

The Congolese had to register at the office of the Black Population no later than three days after their arrival in the city. They had to bring a photograph of themselves, and the office took their finger prints, wrote down their occupation and the name of their employer. To go to Leopoldville, visit family in the rural areas or to leave for thirty days or more, the Congolese needed a *passeport de mutation* with the address they were leaving from, their destination, and the length of stay. The Office of the Black Population had to be notified of any change of address. Furthermore, the Congolese needed a pass granted by that office to circulate in the *ville européenne* (European space) between 9p.m. and 4.30a.m. or in the *cité indigène* (African space) between 10p.m. and 4 a.m. Comhaire-Sylvain noticed that women (with the exception of concubines) hardly ever applied for these passes because few of them ever had any contact with Europeans. Non-law-abiding Congolese could end up with a fine or in jail. When Comhaire-Sylvain returned in 1965, the movements of the Congolese were still policed and circumscribed by the office of the Black Population. [99]

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[98] Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, "Villes coloniales et histoire des Africains," *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'Histoire* 20 (Oct-Dec 1988): 63.

The presence of (black) Haitians in white spaces did not obliterate how and why these spaces were initially produced. They were produced not only to preserve the racial order, but also to police black bodies.[100] As Nicholas Mirzoeff suggests, "such visuality separates and segregates those it visualizes to prevent them from cohering as political subjects, such as the workers, the people, or the (decolonized) nation. …it makes this separated classification seem right and hence aesthetic."[101] While Haitians might have visually disrupted the traditional power distribution established by the former colonial powers, their presence underscored colonial continuity for the locals whose color-blindness was indicative of their assessment of race and power structures.

According to Faustin Kindela, a Congolese man who had Haitian teachers in Kikwit (Leopoldville Province), local teachers looked up to Haitians because "they lived at the Plateau, went on vacation to the US and made lots of money." Highlighting their economic status rather than their educational capital, for Kindela, Haitians were "like white people."[102] This powerful symbol of authority and colonial power that was inscribed in the Congolese urban landscape suggested tensions between the newly emancipated Congolese and a "different kind of black" newcomer who could not only navigate the colonial codes (thanks to their western and cosmopolitan education), but who also walked in the oppressor's shoes. The discursive mutation of Haitians into Mundele in a (post-)colonial environment is quite telling. For Fanon, in the colonial space, "the economic infrastructure is also a superstructure. The cause is effect: You are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich."[103] Indeed, through mobility (travel abroad), housing and accessories (cars, domestic workers), these different kinds of blacks displayed all the signifiers of colonial superiority. Their status as *évolués* was reinforced by the colonial power's fleeting affected partiality. Reports by Belgian Principals cast some teachers as *sujet d'élite* (a term synonymous with *évolués*) and "outstanding," while a report by a Belgian priest, head of summer schools in the Equateur Province, states that "the Haitian teachers he saw in the schools were very good and if they could bring their wives to the Congo, they would be a very good example for the Congolese."[104]

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[99] Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain, *Femmes de Kinshasa hier et aujourd'hui* (Paris: Mouton & CO, 1968), 15 and 71.

[100] The colonial administration (and missionaries) even had a say in how Congolese women could do their hair. They kept an African-American hairdresser from settling down in Leopoldville for fear that local women would "waste" their wages on relaxers. After the independence, Congolese mothers were told to give their school-age girls a buzz cut for "hygienic reasons" while school-age European girls could keep their hair long. Comhaire-Sylvain, 22 and 117.

[101] Nicholas Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look: A counterhistory of visuality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 3.

[102] Faustin Kindela in Kuyu, 110.

In fact, the former colonizer realized that the Westernized Haitian could serve as a marketing ploy to facilitate or reinforce the assimilation (and control) of the Congolese population. This marked distinction between their civilized selves and the disreputable Congolese coexisted with Haitians' discursive desire to uplift the race by leading Africa out of its "darkness," through a racial collaboration that was nonetheless informed by traditional Western ideas about civilization and, for some, the dream of return. In fact, their Haitian identity was constructed in opposition to that of the "motherland." The construction of cultural, social and political (self-) representation(s) played a role in how these elements were nurtured and internalized to produce dissimilarity. This is crucial to our understanding of the Haitian experience in the Congo and the recursive transformations of identity triggered by African independence on the one hand, and Haitian dislocation on the other hand.

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[103] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 5.

[104] Dartigue to Hulsizer. In the colonial lexicon, "sujet d'élite" usually referred to clerks, school teachers, supervisors, nurses and nurses' aides. In short, it was synonymous with évolués. Tshimanga, 63.

Manigat reports that few Haitians attempted to learn Congolese languages. Moreover, he remembers that"[The Belgians] warned us against too much familiarity with the Congolese for they were not reliable."[105] Manigat was hired as a French and English teacher, but he was also responsible for making his students sing the Congolese national anthem before classes began in the morning, a practice the Belgians hated.[106]

Scholar Regine O. Jackson has addressed the criticism triggered by Haitians privileged positioning in a global context governed by racism, imperialism, and Cold War politics in which they were perceived as pawns of the UN, masquerading as Pan-African activists. For instance, scholar Manthia Diawara questions some Haitians' decision (including Peck's family) to stay in the Congo after the murder of Lumumba or the rise of Mobutu.[107] Though Diawara's denunciation of Haitian obliviousness to, or rather, lack of political and cultural understanding is quite valid, personal accounts as well as archival documents can compellingly nuance this narrative.[108]

First, a number of accounts of Haitian teachers and their African students and colleagues point at solidarity (and social interactions in black spaces) between the two groups in face of former colonial powers and UN officials' racism. Congolese born scholar Aliko Songolo, who attended segregated schools under the Belgian administration, remembers how his Haitian teachers interacted with whites as equals, which visibly challenged the notion of black inferiority in a place where, as Lumumba pointed out in his independence speech, “Who will forget that a Black was addressed as “tu,” not as a friend, but because the polite “vous” was reserved for Whites only.”[109] As UN employees, Haitians also received a family allowance in addition to their salary and were “entitled to appropriate accommodation suitably furnished and equipped; or, in the absence of such accommodation, but in large towns only, adequate housing allowance.”[110] However, reports and testimonies indicate that even though Haitians’ salaries were above that of the Congolese, it was below that of the whites.[111] The first cohort of Haitian teachers complained about their “miserable” salaries early on, as other teachers received some sort of financial compensation in addition to their regular paycheck.

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[105] Manigat, interview with author, July 2013

[106] Manigat, interview with Danielle Legros Georges, 2008

[107] Regine O. Jackson, "The Failure of Categories,"48.

[108] Manigat explained the lack of access to newspapers in distant Congolese province, as well as the Belgians' and the Congolese's reluctance to discuss politics.

Second, the decision to migrate, to leave or to stay in Africa was a personal one that cannot be generalized to a group that such criticism defines as homogenous. As I mentioned above, many Haitians chose Africa as a last resort to escape Duvalier or to support their families, but this common narrative did not apply to all of them. Some were already making a living outside of Haiti when they left for Africa. Finally, some Haitians’ efforts to build schools, establish literacy or art programs on their own dime and time speaks to a long-standing tradition that has put heirs of the glorious Revolution at the heart of Pan-African discourses since 1804 as well as to a tradition of Caribbean migrations.[112]

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[109] Aliko Songolo, interview with author, Madison, 2014, and Lumumba quoted in De Witte, *The Assassination of Lumumba*, 2.

[110] Provisional conditions of employment and service of the normal-school, secondary and technical teachers to be recruited by UNESCO for the schools of the Republic of the Congo, Article 14 and 15.

[111] Camille Kuyu, *Les Haïtiens au Congo*, 159.

[112] Cf, Monique Therese Tardieu’s school for special needs children in Cameroon, established in 1978. Tardieu was already working in Canada when she made the decision to establish that school.

For Fanon, the colonial "ruling species is first and foremost the outsider from elsewhere, different from the indigenous population, the others."[113] However, in spite of their structural participation in the (post-)colonial oppressive framework, the diasporic connection with the Congolese worked towards smoothing out the Haitians' outsider status in some instances.

The Congo was not the only place where tensions emerged. A.B., a math teacher and former member of the Haitian Communist Party, had to leave Haiti with his wife and his child in 1964 after the Macoutes arrested two of his friends. He spent four years in Chad in "a political violence he didn't like. He had left Duvalier, and found himself in a country where there was the same type of violence, but in Chad, he was closer to the perpetrators than he was to the victims. As a foreigner, he was in a privileged position."[114]

In his account of his career as a diplomat in Liberia and Senegal, Roger Dorsinville (Max H. Dorsinville's brother) explains that he foolishly approached Africa as if he were a superior older brother who could provide the experience of 150 years of independence.[115] Reflecting on the arrogance displayed by a faction of the diaspora eager to reproduce the Haitian social hierarchy, he also expresseed his hatred of the "imitators," namely "people like us, Third-World elite, detached from original cultures, who have unsuccessfully absorbed the civilized virtues of the West." He goes on to write "they were a reflection of him, which was nothing to be proud of." The imitators, *évolués*, or *Mundele Ndombe* ("Europeans with a black skin") had internalized the colonial discourse that considered the masses as primitive, savage, backward, and uneducated. In the pétition des évolués de Luluabourg published in March 1944, the black urban elite asked for "a special status, or at least government special protection from some conditions that could only apply to the ignorant and backward masses."[116] *Évolués* perceived Europeans both as a social and cultural model to embrace, and as a power from whom they could obtain a few privileges. Though they recognized the exploitative and abusive ways of the colonial system, they believed it was a fair price to pay for their acquisition of western civilization.[117]

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[113] Fanon, 5.

[114] A.B., interview by Stéphane Martelly, July 2 2010, Histoire de Vie Montréal, COHDS, Concordia University.

[115] Roger Dorsinville, *Marche Arrière II* (Port-au-Prince, Haiti : Editions des Antilles, 1990), 115.

All in all, Dorsinville acknowledged a symmetry between Haitians and their African "cousins" in a motherland suffering from a colonial legacy that could only engender disembodied beings. The diasporic connection was not built on the commonality of origins, but rather, on the experience of assimilation into Western culture. In that particular case, the *décalage* between the "*évolué*" and the so-called untamed savage was not the product of temporal and spatial ruptures. Rather, it was the product of the alienation stemming from imperialist cultural repression (what Césaire referred to as madness). On the other hand, news of the massacres perpetrated by Duvalier caused some damages to the image of Haiti as a model of black success. For Dorsinville, the hard- working Haitian who strove to perform well in front of white officials was now held as a cautionary tale to the nascent African nations who were told to "hold on tight to Mariane's hand," i.e, not to cut the umbilical cord with the former masters. Dorsinville could also spot the diasporic cracks triggered by a common past that differentiated between those who stayed and those (the enslaved) who were taken away. In short, for him, the Return was made impossible by the *décalage* between two colonial subjectivities**.**

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[116] The petition was drafted following the mutiny of the black troops of the Force Publique (Congolese army) on February 20th, 1944 in Luluabourg. They wanted better treatments and better wages. M'Bokolo, 13, and Tshimanga, 137.

[117] M'Bokolo, 13. The mindset of the Congolese bourgeoisie was not that different under Mobutu. Though they partook in an African nationalism de façade, they heavily relied on European support and partnerships for personal gain. Tshimanga, 294-5.

Max Manigat spent most of his time outside of Leopoldville (he spent his summers and Christmas there), which was quite an isolating experience. He wrote: “I had very little social life in the different places I worked. If there were other Haitians we visited each other, celebrated Christmas and Haitian Independence Day, on January 1st.” He also noted a few cultural differences between the Congolese and the Haitians:

> The concept of the extended family and tribal solidarity doesn’t exist in Haiti. I was very baffled when my sixteen-year-old first boy, Pierre, introduced me to his son who was thirty-two. I demanded that he told me the truth; he never wavered from his word. I knew afterward that the older guy was his nephew but Pierre could not accept the idea.
>
> Discussion of sex is not taboo; a female student dozing off in class was reprimanded by Professor Maurice A. Sixto; she explained in front of all her classmates that professor …, a Haitian colleague, had kept her awake all night. A girl in my class asked me, in front of her classmates, permission to leave because she just had her period. Mothers will entrust their young daughters to men with whom they will spend to night. I found their notion of morals very puzzling; one day a Congolese will invoke Christianity, the other tribal customs.[118]

Other cultural aspects distinguished Haitian from Congolese society. Maryse Chapoteau, quoted in Legros Georges’ essay, was surprised by the ease with which the Congolese urban poor spoke French. Unlike in Haiti, French literacy did not operate as a class marker in the Congo. In addition, domestic tasks (including childcare) were performed by male servants sometimes no older than twelve-year-old, a colonial legacy that stemmed from the fear of miscegenation, but that European housewives explained away by arguing that males were simply better suited for such tasks.[119]

Despite the challenges brought up by the discontinuities inherent to a diasporic narrative, it is necessary to highlight the centrality of the African experience for Manigat (who learned Kikongo, Butembo, Bukavu and Swahili during his five years stay in various Congolese provinces) and Dorsinville in the articulation of their diasporic identity. Both embraced their encounter with the motherland and their inclusion within African rural spaces as “long lost brothers.” Both channeled these memories into fictional and non-fictional literary productions, as a performative Return. For instance, Manigat’s *Mots Créoles Du Nord D’Haiti* and *Pwovèb ayisyen-Pwovèb afriken: pitit ak papa* retrace the linguistic and folkloric filiation between African and Haitian words and sayings. Dorsinville, who discusses his transformative experience in rural Liberia in *Marche Arrière II*, where he explores a less obviously westernized way of life, wrote three novels set in rural Africa.

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[118] Manigat, Interview with Danielle Legros Georges, 2008.

[119] Danielle Legros Georges, 238, and Comhaire-Sylvain, 32.

For Fanon, the colonizer defines “the centers of resistance around which a people’s will to survive becomes organized. It is the white man who creates the Negro. But it is the Negro who creates negritude.”[120] However, both writers not only articulated their identity on diasporic terms, but they were also able to *décaler* (unwedge) the *décalage* by creating a narrative that transcended Négritude as a reaction to Western imperialism. They achieved this through the political act of rooting the reclaiming of their African heritage in a reaction to their raw lived experience of that still symbolic but no longer mythical or romanticized *Afrik Ginen.* In other words, inhabiting Africa overwrote any previous essentialist understanding of the motherland.

Epilogue: How can one be Haitian?

Technical assistant René Victor flew back to Port-au-Prince from Kinshasa in 1967. He wrote to Dartigue:

> Everyone in Haiti wants to know about the Congo. In the streets, I am an object of curiosity and I am assailed with questions. It reminds me of this passage from *The Persian Letters*: “Oh! Oh! Is he Persian? What a most extraordinary thing! How can one be Persian?” All in all, it’s Africa as a whole that Haiti is interested in.[121]

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[120] Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism,* (New York: Grove Press, 1965), 47.

[121] René Victor to Maurice Dartigue, October 8 1967.

In this satirical letter, Montesquieu denounced French frivolity and ethnocentrism. The narrator, Rica, describes the frenzy surrounding him upon his arrival in Paris. He describes how people who "have never left their rooms" assessed his Persian identity displayed through his Persian garb. There are obvious differences between Rica and Victor, but the comparison is nonetheless interesting. Rica was, indeed, an exotic foreigner whereas Victor was an *enfant du pays* who had only left for a few years. But he had "re-routed" his self and become *dyaspora,* and, most importantly, he had survived the lions, boa constrictors, and cannibals that plagued the Dark Continent. He had overcome the dissonances produced by his diasporic experience and he had *returned*.

In a place where the press and other media were shut down and most intellectuals had left, his presence offered a window into the outside world that was no longer readily available otherwise.[122] However, like many Haitians who had temporarily settled elsewhere, Victor expressed his desire to leave again, preferably traveling to Alger or Rwanda this time: returning was not, in fact, a viable option. For many émigrés, going back to Haiti under Duvalier meant "physical or spiritual death."[123] In 1971, Julien Béranger, came back to Haiti to visit his parents after spending ten years in the Congo. Three days after his arrival, he went to the police to take care of his exit visa and was immediately thrown in jail. The next day, he was escorted to the airport and flown to

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[122] *La Phalange*, the last paper to resist Duvalier's influence, was closed down in 1962. Wien Weibert Arthus, "L'aide internationale ne peut pas marcher: évaluation des relations Américano-haïtiennes au regard de l'Alliance pour le Progrès, 1961-1963" *Journal of Haitian Studies* 17 (Spring 2011), 162.

[123] A.B. interview with Stéphane Martelly

New York. Only then was Béranger able to contact his relative in Haiti to let them know, being as vague as possible to ensure their safety, that he had left the country.[124]

Manigat, torn between a dismissive Congolese government and the endurance of the Duvalier regime, left Africa for good in 1969 and took root in New York City. A.B. left Chad for Abitibi (Québec) in 1968. Rey Charlier settled in Montreal in 1963. The Congolese experiment affirms our understanding of diaspora as ongoing processes produced by the lived experience of Afro-descended people fostered by a post-colonial context and not by similarities based on the memory of a common past.

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[124] Expulsés d'Haïti, *Haiti Observateur*, 27 aout-3 septembre, 1971.

CHAPTER III
BORN IN EXILE: THE HAITIAN DIASPORIC PRESS

Lé manké gid, pèp la gayé[1]

Introduction: Young, Unsophisticated, and Awkward

In 1983, historian Claude Moïse described the Haitian press "born in exile" as follows:

> The Haitian press is what it is. It is the product of a given society, in the historical context that we know. It is sickly, often shapeless, but engaged or analytical at times, and with ups and downs. Young, unsophisticated, and awkward, this press is in a unique position amongst the mainstream papers produced in more logistically and technologically developed sites (such as North America). The Haitian press struggles with its beginnings, its survival, and its backwardness. It is not easy to foresee which direction it will take. There will not be a single orientation since there is not a single press. It is possible that it will not follow a straight line, and that the shock waves from events in Haiti will still be felt within the diaspora, thus prompting the constant necessity to capture these events. It can blossom thanks to the strength of the communities it springs from, and thanks to the skills of their men and women (journalists).[2]

As diverse as the Haitian diasporic press may have been, Duvalier's shadow visibly loomed over exilic spaces. The papers that emerged during the dictatorship were tinged with some sort of nationalistic fever, and unequivocally condemned the tyrant.[3] Considering the climate of oppression and violence in which people were regularly disappeared, the decline of the economy and the relative indifference of the international community to Haiti's situation, it is hardly surprising that anti-Duvalier groups exiled in New York, Montreal, Europe and Latin America relentlessly voiced their disgust for the dictatorship, and called to action in their corresponding papers that were divided along traditional political lines.[4] Some papers such as *Haiti Libre*, *Ralliement*, interim president Daniel Fignolé's *Construction*, or Jeune Haiti's *Lambi* were vehicles for competing political factions eager to depose François Duvalier. They also provided a platform for those ready to take the lead after the demise they all longed for. Information about the Haitian political situation relayed in these papers could not necessarily be characterized as reliable, but rather as opinion pieces substantiated by rumors from the presidential palace, compiled and published by staunch *camoquins* (name given to those who actively opposed the Duvaliers).[5]

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[1] "Without a guide, the people loses itself." This is the motto of the weekly New York based *Haiti-Observateur*.

[2] Claude Moïse, "La presse en diaspora, produit de la diaspora." *Collectif Paroles*, no. 23 (Mai-Juin 83): 7.

[3] Claude Moïse, "La presse haïtienne en diaspora: situations et responsabilités," *Collectif Paroles* (mai-juin 1983): 4.

[4] Underground papers such as condemned the dictatorship early on.

Though the long fight against the dictatorship strongly animated most publications, it was not their only concern. Overtime, the difficulties that the second and third waves of Haitian newcomers encountered in the host countries (immigrant status, racism, sexism, and discrimination issues) forced the contributors to grant more space to local matters such as racial discrimination. This trend exemplified the shift from a community in exile who just wanted to transform their homeland to a community of transplants who needed to survive. Nevertheless, the papers continued to feed the diaspora's unrelenting interest in the homeland.

As Claude Moïse suggests, though rudimentary, this Haitian press was as diverse in tone, style and content as it was unique even as compared to other non-mainstream papers. Linguistically speaking, French was the primary language. Most Canada-produced papers were written in French, though some added poems or cartoons in Creole. In the U.S., *Haïti Observateur* (whose print run tripled three months after it was first published) mixed French, English and Creole from its beginnings in 1971. *Sèl*, produced by Haitian Catholic priests in exile in New York City, was written in French and Creole.

A diasporic press

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[5] Frantz Voltaire, "Une brève histoire de la presse haïtienne de la diaspora," *Conjonction* 225 (2013): 19. Journalists would purposefully publish false information to disrupt the Haitian government.

In this chapter, I use the term “diasporic” as opposed to “immigrant/ethnic,” or even “alternative.” Given their peculiar context, as I wrote earlier, the papers produced by Haitians in forced or self-imposed exile that emerged during the dictatorship did not fit into a single mold. First, they could not be readily categorized as “immigrant press.” In his seminal book *The Immigrant Press and Its Control*, sociologist Robert Park analyzes “foreign-language newspapers that catered to the newly arrived immigrants trying to maintain contact and understanding between the home countries and their scattered members in every part of the United States of America.” Furthermore, Park discusses the hybrid nature of such papers, clearly tinged with nationalism and nostalgia, but also providing an “amalgam of news about the homeland and their local U.S. community,” the latter facilitating assimilation into U.S. society and culture. Park also predicted the inevitable downfall of the immigrant press because of the ubiquity of mainstream media. Though Park published his study in 1922, many scholars replicated his findings.[6] Haitian papers were certainly tinged with nostalgia, but the language was not necessarily “foreign” nor was assimilation their end goal.

Lara Putnam’s study of the circum-Caribbean/transatlantic black press provides a framework that is more in tune with the object of this chapter. She argues that the black press created a public sphere or “a set of physical or mediated spaces where people can gather and share information, debate opinions, and tease out their political interests and social needs with other participants."[7] Her understanding of the black press "allows us to recognize the vital functioning-as-a-whole of distant, linked spaces."[8] In that sense, the term "diasporic" perfectly embodies the Haitian papers by highlighting the connections with the distant homeland as well as within and among distant diasporic spaces, even though the diaspora was not the sole center of distribution.[9] Papers produced in Quebec and the U.S. widely circulated outside these spatial boundaries, within a Haitian diasporic public sphere they helped identify. They were also sold in Paris and mailed or brought to Haitians worldwide, including those still residing in Haiti. News about Haitian Montrealers was published in the New York papers and vice versa. Though the papers I discuss in this chapter were mainly produced in Canada (except for *Haiti-Observateur* and *Haiti Demain*), I claim that place did not, in fact, really matter, not only because of the acute literal and figurative mobility of the contributors and their readership, but also because the knowledge they produced was ultimately concerned with a transnationally defined Haiti.

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[6] See, for instance, Carl Heinz Knoche, *The German Immigrant Press in Milwaukee* (New York: Arno Press, 1980), or the more recent Robert M. Zecker, *Race and America’s Immigrant Press: How the Slovaks were Taught to Think like White People* (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011). Scholar Leara D. Rhodes contends that “ethnic presses have historically helped with immigrant assimilation into American culture, but they have focused primarily on creating old world community in the new world through language maintenance, cultural emphasis, religion and political discussion.” *The Ethnic Press: Shaping the American Dream* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 3.

The creation of this Haitian diasporic public sphere (and knowledge production) was a form of Detour. Cut off from their homeland, intellectuals in exile used writing to re-create one. Looking at *Le Lambi, Terre et Liberté, Nouvelle Optique, Collectif Paroles, La voix de l'entente, Haiti Demain, La Port-de-Paisienne*, *Etincelles*, *En Avant!*, *Haïti Presse*, *La Nouvelle Haiti Tribune*, *La Résistance Haïtienne*, and *Haiti Observateur*, this chapter argues that producing and writing for these papers was an act of resistance against Duvalier, acculturation, and racism. It also examines how the Haitian educated elite used those papers as a tool to "guide" the diaspora so that it did not lose its Haitian identity, even as they became more rooted transplants than temporary exiles. Essays exploring Haiti's past and suggesting solutions for its then social and political conditions, as well as essays and poems celebrating the homeland, were an integral part of this process. The diasporic press was entrenched in a new reality, a new environment, and the diaspora was its sounding-board. In sum, delineating a Haitian diasporic public sphere made concrete the impossible desire to recreate Haiti outside its borders as a nation to which one could symbolically return. On the one hand, the press had to focus on Haiti's political and economic situation to push for democratic and institutional reforms from the outside, but on the other hand, one of the underlying concerns of the Haitian educated elite was the fragmentation of the Haitian population abroad.

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[7] Lara Putnam, *Radical Moves: Caribbean Migrants and the Politics of Race in the Jazz Age* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2013), 151.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Michel Laguerre, *Diasporic Citizenship Haitian Americans in Transnational America* (New York: St Martin Press,1998),129.

In addition, this chapter investigates how some papers, such as *Kombe*, also emphasized a transnational black diasporic community through reports on the U.S. freedom movement, decolonization processes in Africa, the Apartheid, and collaborations with African Canadians and African Americans against racism and discrimination. It also investigates black Canadian community papers such as *Uhuru* and *the Afro Can.* Though not Haitian, these papers deserve our attention. They had Haitian contributors, and they discussed issues specifically pertaining to the Haitian community. Finally, their focus on local and global racial issues, and their overt pan-African stance inscribed them in a tradition of transnational black print culture heralded by black internationalist papers during the interwar period. Though interest in black issues certainly was a long-standing tradition for Haitian intellectuals, it might have signaled that they were there to stay as part of the larger North American black community.

The Politics of Anti-Duvalier Resistance Under Papa Doc

The first diasporic papers and pamphlets were published by anti-Duvalier groups from the traditional opposition headquartered in Canada and the U.S. During the early years of the regime, political exiles took many actions against Duvalier, and "every politician who could gather a few friends in his living room was a self-appointed 'leader.'"[10] Former head of state General Paul Eugène Magloire and interim president Daniel Fignolé as well as former presidential election contender Louis Déjoie organized meetings, public demonstrations, and anti-establishment radio programs. Their goal was not to galvanize a diasporic community against Duvalier. Rather, they strove to rally members of their respective exclusive social and political circles to support their own presidential bids. These presidential hopefuls did not suggest a possible alternative to Duvalierism, nor did they try to appeal to the Haitian people. The absence of consensus was characteristic of the opposition in the diaspora, a condition that strengthened Duvalier's position as head of the state. [11]

For the opposition, New York was just a lay-over on the journey back to Haiti. Living in a small, damp, and sparsely furnished apartment in Brooklyn with his wife and his children, Fignolé believed that Duvalier would not last, and that he would soon return to power.[12] With his organization, the M.O.P. (Movement of Peasant Workers), he published the paper *Construction*. Magloire, who had settled in a large hotel suite on the East side of Manhattan, just knew that he "still had many friends" in Haiti who would put him back in power as well.[13] In the Upper-West side of Manhattan, Déjoie, who viewed himself as the most popular of all the candidates with "the best organization inside and outside Haiti to fight Duvalier," was ready to become the next president of Haiti.[14] Finally, Dr. Gaston Jumelle, who had lost three of his brothers to Duvalier, considered himself as the legitimate heir to their political party. For historian Lyonel Paquin, who was living in New York during that period and had firsthand experience of these social circles, these politicians "were more concerned with their own images than burying their differences."[15] He argued that "our leaders, instead of fighting Duvalier, were building a list of their enemies in exile to prevent them from returning to Haiti when the new regime assumed power. While people were dying in Haiti, the so-called political leaders were busy organizing phantom governments in New York. Everybody hypnotized themselves into believing that they were solving Haiti's problem by the magic of oratory."[16]

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[10] Lyonel Paquin, *The Haitians: Class and Color Politics* (New York: Multi-Type, 1983), 199.

[11] Lyonel Paquin, 198.

[12] Lyonel Paquin, 155-6.

[13] Lyonel Paquin, 157.

[14] Lyonel Paquin, 162.

When Duvalier proclaimed himself president for life in 1964, the traditional opposition attempted to consolidate their action. Magloire's supporters created the Haitian Coalition of Democratic Forces. This New-York based non-militaristic organization had a weekly radio broadcast on Radio Vonvon that also aired in Haiti, and a weekly newsletter (*Le Combattant Haïtien*).[17] The Coalition was backed by Haitian professionals and liberal whites and sought to "link principles of democracy with a human rights discourse."[18] Through Radio Vonvon and *Le Combattant*, they wanted to "promote a new society" that would encourage the "massive integration of the Haitian people in national life" so that "knowledge, political responsibility and start-up economic development" could be extended to rural Haiti.[19] Furthermore, thanks to a network of informants living in many parts of the country, the media provided the exiled community with "names and places and dates," which greatly annoyed the regime.[20] For scholar Millery Polyné, "one of the goals of Radio Vonvon was to disseminate information with enough details so as to demonstrate that Haitians abroad had a network of spies that could rival the Haitian state and inevitably weaken Duvalier's authoritarian power with the masses."[21] In sum, they wanted Duvalier to know that the opposition was alive and well in New York, Montreal, and elsewhere. Like the exiled former members of the Haitian Army FARH (Haitian Revolutionary Armed Forces), or the transnational organization Jeune Haiti, the Haitian Coalition sought the support of the U.S. State Department but they did not necessarily advocate for a more hands-on approach to anti-Duvalier resistance.

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[15] Paquin, 198.

[16] Paquin, 199.

[17] Julien Jumelle, "L'opposition politique dans l'émigration haïtienne," *Sel* 10, 1973, 41.

[18] Millery Polyné, "Democracy as Human Right: Raymond Joseph, Despotic Haiti, and the Translation of a Rights Discourse, 1965-1969," *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 5 (1) (2013): 2.

[19] Polyné, " Democracy as Human Right,"2.

Direct resistance against Duvalier included guerilla warfare and invasions launched from Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, and the U.S. as early as 1958.[22] One such invasion was launched on August 5, 1964 in Petite Rivière de Dame Marie, a western coastal town, by Max and Jacques Armand, Gérald Brierre, Mirko Chandler, Louis Drouin Jr., Charles Forbin, Jean Gerdès, Réginald Jourdan, Yvan Laraque, Marcel Numa, Roland Rigaud, Guslé Villedrouin and Jacques Wadestrandt. They were a group of thirteen young exiles based in New York, eleven of whom had been trained at "the Farm," a U.S. Central Intelligence Agency facility in Virginia. Famously referred to as "the Thirteen," they were from Jeune Haiti that brought together hundreds of young intellectuals and professionals from Haiti and its diaspora, including members of the Haitian Progressist and Revolutionary Association (GPRH) and the Haitian domestic forces (FHI).[23] They wanted to build a new Haiti by freeing the country from Duvalier's tyranny, and promoting social and economic change, which, they believed, could only succeed with the full collaboration of the Haitian people. In their political newspaper, *Lambi,* Jeune Haiti argued that education and work would lead to freedom. Though Jeune Haiti stated that they were not an anti-communist movement, they did not support communist ideas either. In the writings they left behind, they asserted that neither communism, nor capitalism or socialism would benefit Haiti. In their new Haiti, Haitians would embrace a practical political system that took Haitian realities into account.[24]

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[20] Ibid., 7.

[21] Ibid., 7.

[22] Writer René Depestres hosted a daily radio show in Havana. In 1961, communist writer Jacques Stephen Alexis landed in the northern region of the country to oust Duvalier. He was executed in April 1961.

The Thirteen initially sailed to Dame Marie to back-up DR based fellow Jeune Haiti members led by Fred Baptiste who were engaged in guerilla warfare in the Southeast department.[25] The Thirteen intended to open a second front to wear out Duvalier's army. They planned to secure the city of Jeremie from a small landing field to get supplies and back-ups, but their project faced many setbacks from the start.[26] First, it appears that they landed too far from their target area, making it impossible to establish their base. Then, shortly after they landed in the Grand'Anse department, the devastating hurricane Cleo hit the region. Furthermore, the assistance they expected never came, and they lost their radio transmitter.[27] Father Jean-Baptiste

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[23] Frantz Voltaire, ed., *Mourir pour Haïti: La résistance à la dictature en 1964* (Montreal: Les Editions du CIDIHCA, 2015), 41, and Bernard Diedrich, *Le prix du sang: la résistance du people haïtien à la tyrannie* (Port-au-Prince, Haiti: Henri Deschamps, 2006), 311.

[24] Ralph Allen, "Les 13 de Jeune Haiti: qui étaient-ils? Que voulaient-ils?" Conference lors de la commemoration à Jérémie des 50 ans du débarquement des 13 à Petite- Rivière de Dame Marie, Août 2014. www.haitiluttecontre-impunite.org.

[25] For an account of Fred Baptiste operation, see *Mourir pour Haïti*, Cassagnol, *Mémoires d'un Révolutionnaire*.

[26] Diedrich, *The Murderers among us: History of Repression and Rebellion in Haiti under Dr. François Duvalier, 1962-1971* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2011), 123.

[27] It is important to note that Jeune Haiti was infiltrated by Macoutes, as the government had some information about the Thirteen, along with documents such as Alien cards and passports left in New York. In addition, some local "friends" and former acquaintances leaked their plans to the regime. Albert Chassagne, *Bain de Sang en Haiti: Les Macoutes Opèrent á Jeremie* (New York: Cohen Offset Printing, 1977), 9.

Georges, who had taken them to Grand'Anse on the *Johnny Express*, was supposed to go back to New York and bring weapons and back-ups. However, on September 1, he was stopped in Miami and charged with "conspiring to export munitions of war for revolutionary purposes."[28] Kennedy, fearing that Duvalier's oppressive regime would, like Batista's, throw Haiti in the arms of communism, supported dissidents, but after his assassination, the U.S. state department was no longer willing to encourage military action against the dictator.[29]

None of the Thirteen survived. For three months, they fought against the 3,000 troops sent by the regime. Laraque was killed on August 12. His decomposed body was tied to a chair and put on display in Port-au-Prince. Behind it stood a sign that read "leader of the stateless people killed in Grand'Anse."[30] Drouin and Numa were captured alive and executed on November 12 in front of hundreds of people (many were bused in from outside of the capital to watch) including radio, print, and television reporters as well as children, whose schools were shut down for the occasion.[31]

In the early 1970s, there was a shift in anti-Duvalier protest. Leftist organizations such as PUCH, Voie Démocratique (Democratic Path), the Jean-Jacques Acaau Brigade, and the Haitian

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[28] Diedrich, *Murderers among us*, 135.

[29] Mourir pour Haiti, 44. Duvalier would use communism to put pressure on Kennedy, as the latter needed the Haitian support within organizations such as the OEA. Duvalier's vote was particularly crucial to exclude Cuba from the OEA during the Punta del Este conference in 1962. Wien Webert Arthus, "Les Relations Internationales d'Haïti de 1957 à 1971: La politique étrangère de François Duvalier," *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin* 35 (2012): 164.

[30] Execution de Marcel Numa et Louis Drouin Jr, 12 novembre 1964, Devoir de mémoire-Haiti.

[31] Edwidge Danticat, *Create Dangerously: the immigrant artist at work* (New York: Vintage Books, 2010), 1. Duvalier's wrath was incommensurable. As many of the 13 were originally from Jeremie, he ordered the massacre of their families. In one night, about 80 people (including infants), were slaughtered. Because of a rumor that listed Daniel Sansaricq (he was a student in Mexico City at the time) amongst the Thirteen, the Sansaricq family, also residing in Jeremie, was decimated as well. Gérard Pierre Charles, *Radiographie d'une dictature: Haiti et Duvalier* (Montreal: Editions Nouvelle Optique, 1973), 54.

Liberation Movement (MHL), entered the arena of anti-Duvalier resistance.[32] They surfaced in Montreal, Europe, and Latin America among students and intellectuals who still had strong ties with *camoquins* involved in the underground resistance in Haiti in the mid-1960s.[33] Many of these groups had their own papers.[34] François Duvalier's transfer of power to his son Jean-Claude (then twenty years old), on January 2, 1971, his death in April 1971, and the heightened emigration movement energized anti-Duvalierism.[35] Though in no way homogeneous, these Marxist-Leninist groups used meetings, colloquia, newsletters, leaflets, radio programs, and plays to protest Duvalier, fascism, capitalism, and imperialism.

La Résistance Haïtienne (Haitian Resistance) was created in New York in 1970 and had a chapter in Montreal. It brought together members of the traditional opposition and leftist groups, and it did not support any candidate for a chimerical presidential campaign.[36] Rather, they welcomed anyone who could physically, financially or spiritually fight the dictatorship. [37] On January 16, 1971, La Résistance Haïtienne (Haitian resistance) organized a huge demonstration against Duvalier in front of the U.N. headquarters in New York. Another protest was organized in Washington D.C. in March, and demonstrators simultaneously gathered in Montreal and in Paris to show that they did not accept the choices the political situation in Haiti warranted: dying in exile, ashamed to be Haitian, or dying in silence in Haiti.[38] From 1971 to 1973, they published a monthly newspaper of the same name entirely in French. As the letters they received (and published) from Kinshasa, Copenhagen, Paris, Santo Domingo, Port-au-Prince, Montreal, Mexico, Conakry, Miami, or New York indicate, the paper was circulated widely in Haiti and its exilic spaces where readers eagerly relished news from their homeland. Mainly dedicated to Haiti and anti-Duvalierism—there were a few pieces on Vietnam and on Angela Davis—*La Résistance Haïtienne* demanded the liberation of political prisoners, the disarmament and dissolution of the Macoutes, freedom of the press, and the exiles' right to return to Haiti.

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[32] There were about twenty groups in New York by the late 1970s. Carole Charles, "Haitian Life in New York and the Haitian-American Left," in Paul Buhle and Dan Georgakas, eds. *The immigrant Left in the United States* (Albany: State University Press, 1966), 295.

[33] Carole Charles, "Haitian Life in New York and the Haitian-American Left," in *The Immigrant Left in the United States*, edited by Paul Buhle and Dan Georgakas (Albany: SUNY Press 1996), 294.

[34] For a comprehensive list of such papers, see Dorothy W. Williams, "Sankofa: recovering Montreal heterogenous black print materials," (PhD diss, McGill University, 2006).

[35] Jumelle, 45

[36] Many members of the Résistance came from the Coalition Haïtienne. Leara D. Rhodes, "Haiti's exiled press: Development and continuance," (PhD diss, Temple University, 1990), 83.

[37] *La Résistance Haïtienne* 1, April 1971.

Transnational anti-Duvalier resistance turns left

The Haitian diasporic press of the 1970s and the early 1980s, continued to be a vehicle for the ideologies held by a plethora of different factions within the opposition. According to Edward Said, "much of the exile's life is taken up with compensating for disorienting loss by creating a new world to rule. It is not surprising that so many exiles seem to be novelists, chess players, political activists, and intellectuals. Each of these occupations requires a minimal investment in objects and places a great premium on mobility and skill."[39] As such, the act of writing was a way out of homelessness, a way to build a new home from paper, and it provided Haitian intellectuals with a platform to redefine the Haitian sphere as a dynamic and global space where information about Haiti was accessible, and where debates about the state and the future of the nation could take place. Journals such as *Nouvelle Optique* (1971-1973), *Etincelle* (1982-85), *Terre et Liberté* (1981-85), and *Collectif Paroles* (1979-1987), exemplified that trend. In

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[38] *La Résistance Haïtienne* 1, April 1971.

[39] Edward W. Said, *Reflections on Exile and other essays*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 181.

Montreal, the short-lived *Nouvelle Optique* was a leftist quarterly journal that focused on Haitian and Caribbean studies.[40] Young poets (Serge Legagneur, Georges Castera, Alix Renaud) and academics not only interrogated the roots of social inequalities in Haiti, but also analyzed and historicized current and past political or economic setbacks. The "progressive patriots" of *Collectif Paroles*, not unlike *Nouvelle Optique*, wanted to define a new society and restore Haiti's dignity.

Two weekly newspapers also emerged during that period, namely *Haiti-Observateur* and, a decade later, left-oriented *Haiti Progrès*. *Haiti-Observateur*, founded by Raymond and Leopold Joseph in 1971, presented eclectic viewpoints within the opposition. As the "first newspaper produced in and by the diaspora," it focused on human rights and politics.[41]

Nouvelle Optique

For two years, Hérard Jadotte, Colette Pasquis and Jean-Richard Laforest sat down to discuss the editorial line of *Nouvelle Optique* that eventually came out in Montreal in January 1971. The editorial board had decided that the magazine would provide Haitian scholars with a space to examine "Haiti's social sciences, politics, economy, culture, and literary production," in order to enable Haiti to "break its silence" and "move away from insularity." Speaking up against the dictatorship, illiteracy, and the presence of state-sponsored authors and ideologues who supported the status-quo, *Nouvelle Optique* emphasized the ubiquity of activists preparing a "non-utopian" (i.e. non-escapist) trajectory for Haiti. In *Nouvelle Optique*, intellectuals from the diaspora discussed topics as various as the revolution of 1946, or the history of the business bourgeoisie from the independence to the U.S. occupation. Though its headquarters were in Quebec, the journal was a transnational endeavor. Among the correspondents for *Nouvelle Optique* were Roger Dorsinville (then exiled in Senegal), and Mexico-based historians Benoît Brennus Joachim and Suzy Castor.

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[40] Only nine issues were published between 1971 and 1973, but Jadotte created a publishing House of the same name.

[41] Michel Laguerre, *Diasporic Citizenship*, 133.

Originally from Aquin, a port city in southern Haiti, Suzy Castor attended high school in Port-au-Prince. She then studied social sciences at the École Normale Supérieure. As a student, Castor's time was split between the capital and the province where her family still resided. In 1959, Castor left for Mexico City to study Latin American history at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) because she sensed that she "knew too little about it." Not immediately threatened by the regime, Castor only became an exile when she was joined by her then fiancé, economist, sociologist and political activist Gérard Pierre Charles. After earning an M.A. and a Ph.D. in Latin American history in 1968, she taught at UNAM until the fall of Duvalier in 1986.

There were very few Haitians in Mexico in the early 1960s. According to Castor, Latin America did not fare very high in the Haitian imaginary as a host country, and the salaries were too unsubstantial for remittances unlike Canada, the U.S., France or West Africa. Therefore, most Haitians stationed there were students and professors who had joined the diverse exiled communities in Mexico City. Castor remembers her first Mexican years as a period of intense anti-Duvalier activism. "Haiti was under our skin," she recalls. "We were discovering Latin America, and at the same time, the dangers that loomed over our country."[42] This awareness quickly turned student discussions into full political engagement that consisted of analyzing the Haitian situation, the mechanisms of the dictatorial regime, the strength of the opposition, and informing the public at the global level about the violence and repression that characterized the Duvalier era.

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[42] Interview with the author, July 2015.

In Haiti, Castor was a member of the Party of Popular Understanding (PEP) a leftist group founded in 1959 that advocated for a national and anti-imperialist democratic revolution under the leadership of Jacques Stephen Alexis. In 1968, the PEP and the PUDA (United Democratic Haitian Party) merged into the PUCH (Unified Party of Haitian Communists). With a membership of students, intellectuals, some blue collar and farm workers, and the unemployed, its goal was to overthrow the dictatorship through guerilla warfare and to implement national revolutionary changes at the social, economic and political level. The following year, the Duvalier government voted on the infamous Anti-communist law, thanks to which they mercilessly harassed, jailed, tortured and slaughtered their opponents. In April 1969, members of the PUCH were arrested and killed in Port-au-Prince, Petionville, and Cap-Haitian. Their corpses were subsequently displayed at Fort Dimanche.[43]

As historian Brenda Gayle Plummer notes, following the massacre, “U.S. authorities repaid Papa Doc’s ideological conformity when they licensed the export of an F-51 fighter.”[44] Another sure sign of the restored relationship—tense under Kennedy, neglected under Johnson—between Duvalier and the U.S. was the July visit of New York governor Nelson Rockefeller, and new U.S. ambassador Clinton Knox’s call for additional financial assistance to Haiti. The failure of the PUCH to overthrow Duvalier and U.S. commitment to the dictatorship did not deter Castor’s activism. Over the course of her twenty-six-year-long exile, she travelled to the U.S.,

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[43] Ferguson, *Papa Doc*, 55.

[44] Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Haiti and The United States*, 195

Canada, Barbados and Eastern Europe to expose the Duvalier regime and to call for social and political changes.

It is not surprising that the staunch activist contributed to *Nouvelle Optique*. Castor discussed the occupation of Haiti in the very first issue of the magazine. Her essay linked the rise of Duvalier and Haiti's structural problems to U.S. imperialism. She argued that the Haitian economy became completely dependent on North America, which led to the distortion of consumer habits among the members of the bourgeoisie and the middle-class. She further explained that the so-called modernization of the Caribbean nation did not foster any substantial economic development. Rather, she wrote, it increased social inequalities. Furthermore, the political empowerment of light-skinned elite with the promotion of Sudre Dartiguenave, Louis Borno, Eugène Roy and Sténio Vincent, gave rise to the revolution of 1946, the rise of Dumarsais Estimé, and the formation of a black bourgeoisie. The tensions between the light-skinned elite and the black bourgeoisie fed Duvalier's noirist ideology. After the occupation, the U.S. trained Garde d'Haïti played a significant role in Haitian politics. All in all, Castor posited that the U.S. occupation failed to solve a crisis at the institutional level by modernizing the bureaucracy, the Garde d'Haïti, urban development, and the political system because the crisis was stemming from deep-seated social and economic issues that dated back to the post-slavery era, in spite of what the post-WWII mirage had led many to believe, the nation needed more serious structural changes. [45]

Haiti-Observateur

Raymond Joseph immigrated to Chicago from 1954 to 1959 to study at the Moody's Bible Institute. There he translated the Bible to Creole, which was published in 1960 by the

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[45] *Nouvelle Optique, 1971.*

American Bible Society in New York.[46] Joseph also earned a B.A. in social anthropology at Wheaton College during that period. After two years under the Duvalier dictatorship, he returned to the U.S. to pursue a M.A. in anthropology at the University of Chicago. Joseph began his career in journalism in Les Cayes with the Protestant Mission. In the mid-1960s, he was the Secretary-General of the Haitian Coalition, and he also worked at Radio Vonvon and on *Le Combattant Haïtien*. From 1970 to 1984, he worked for the *Wall Street Journal*.[47] Joseph and his brother and partner launched *Haiti-Observateur* that same year with $3,000 worth of savings.[48]

When it emerged in 1971, *Haiti-Observateur* was to "fill an extensive and persistent gap," and guide the Haitian people. Léopold and Raymond Joseph believed that "Haitians, at least once a week, should be in touch with what's going on in their community, which, by the way, is international since their dispersion throughout the world in the past fourteen years."[49] Like *Nouvelle Optique*, and many papers during that era, most of the articles that appeared in *Haiti-Observateur* focused on Haiti. Not unlike some of Montreal's papers, it afforded an advertising space for Haitian businesses and performers which enabled readers to keep up with cultural events. Mainly written in French, with a few columns in Creole and in English, *Haiti-Observateur* also appealed to those who were born in the U.S. or who had come to the U.S. at an early age. In the mid-1980s, the Joseph brothers expanded the English section and started to work on an English cartoon for Haitian American children.[50] Finally, like most diasporic papers,

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[46] Raymond Joseph, *For whom the dogs spy: Haiti from the Duvalier Dictatorships to the Earthquake, Four presidents, and Beyond,* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2014), 62.

[47] Laguerre, *Diasporic Citizenship*, 131-2.

[48] Rhodes, "Haiti's exiled press," 151.

[49] *Haiti Observateur.*

[50] Rhodes, "Haiti's exiled press," 151.

Haiti-Observateur was distributed both in Haiti and its diaspora. The gossip/rumors surrounding Duvalier and his entourage (also found in other more partisan opposition papers) were probably meant to undermine the regime, though these tidbits seemed annoying and pointless to some readers. [51]

Haiti-Observateur's stance against Duvalier was crystal clear. As a "supermarket of ideas," it published a wide range of viewpoints stemming from the opposition, bringing a measure of cohesiveness among dissidents. [52] For instance, while left-leaning contributors identified imperialism as the cause of Haitian underdevelopment, New-York-based exiled journalist Lysias Verret (who later moved to Montreal) focused on class structures, and the political question in Haiti. In "The Genesis of Our Misfortunes" published in 1972, Verret explained how debates about *la question de couleur* (the color question) overshadowed pressing issues such as education, sanitation, hygiene, healthcare, agriculture, and urbanism. On the other hand, one of the editorial columns "Haiti's enemies" lamented U.S. support of Baby Doc. However, its efforts to reach a broad Haitian American audience, and its weekly format meant that its content was also less specialized. Most journalists had little to no formal training. In contrast, more specialized papers such as left-oriented *Etincelles* and *Collectif Paroles* (much like *Nouvelle Optique*) published well-researched essays written by academics, poets, and novelists.

The Haitian diasporic papers' anti-imperialist discourse intensified around 1973 with the patriotic action movement that consisted of internationalizing anti-Duvalier resistance (like Castor did) and highlighting the U.S.'s complicit role in the longevity of the dictatorship.[53] At the World Congress for International Women’s Year held in Berlin in 1975, Anita Blanchard describing herself as “a peasant who went through Duvalier’s prison system,” told her audience about her five-year nightmare as she and her mother and friends who visited them that day were arrested, jailed and tortured because her brother was accused of holding communist beliefs. She vividly depicted the horrific detention conditions in overcrowded cells where prisoners took turns sleeping and where women gave birth without any medical assistance whatsoever. Blanchard was only freed because a group of dissidents kidnapped U.S. Ambassador Clinton Knox in exchange for political prisoners. She asked her audience to support the citizens of Haiti who were still rotting in Fort Dimanche’s hell.

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[51] Jumelle, 45

[52] Laguerre, *Diasporic citizenship*, 130.

[53] Cary Hector and Yves Flavien, "22 ans plus tard," *Collectif Paroles*, 1979.

The performances of the revolutionary theater company Kouidor, and weekly radio programs such as *L’Heure Haitienne* (N.Y.C.) or *Combite Flamboyant* (Montreal) also supported the movement. In New York, the Comité de Mobilisation des Patriotes Haïtiens de New York (organizing committee of Haitian patriots of New York) gathered at St. Gregory Church in Manhattan to protest U.S. imperialism. In *Présence Haitienne* (1975), poet Paul Laraque urged “our American brothers, black and white, Native American, Chicano, and Puerto-Rican” to form an “invincible alliance” including exploited people of all races to protest “local and international macoutism.”[54]

The patriotic action movement galvanized students and activists throughout the diaspora within groups such as RFDH (Assembly of the Haitian Democratic Forces), UFAP (Organization of Patriotic Haitian Women), Montreal based CHAP (Haitian Committee of Patriotic Action) or Paris based APH (Haitian Patriotic Action) that organized meetings and handed out leaflets. Other leftist groups such as the Movement for the Development of Patriotic Mobilization published its own paper, *En Avant!* (1975-78). The paper not only discussed the oppression of the Haitian people under Duvalier, but also the plight of Haitian factory workers in New York and Port-au-Prince, refugees in Miami, cane cutters in the Dominican Republic, and the Canadian government witch hunt targeting "Haitians and revolutionaries from the Third World" subjected to "arbitrary detention, deportation, and intimidation." [55]

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[54] Paul Laraque, “Pour une alternative de gauche,” *Présence Haïtienne*, Août 1975

The CHAP also highlighted how distorted representations of Haiti further increased North American economic interests in the region and were detrimental to its social and economic development and to anti-Duvalier resistance. A heated argument with Canadian Claude Michel, president of the tourist agency Club Horizons du Monde, was published in *Nouvelle Optique*. The CHAP condemned American, Canadian, and French business investors who claimed "they had nothing to do with politics," and who not only portrayed Haiti as a paradise island where they encountered "friendly and helpful" government officials, but also claimed that their money helped the Haitian people.[56] Such propaganda yielded some (lukewarm) results. In the later years of François Duvalier's reign and the early years of Jean-Claude's rule, tourism increased. American businessman Mike Maclaney, who owned the only casino in Haiti, was planning on opening a second one in Cap Haitian, and in early 1971, Duvalier was wining and dining Gilbert Trigano, CEO of Club Med, one of the world's most successful tourism businesses, to negotiate the opening of the Haitian Club Méditerranée.[57] Moreover, Haiti became the "world's capital of divorce" when Duvalier adopted new legislation that enabled estranged couples to divorce in no more than five minutes for a $400 to $500 fee (in addition to airfare).[58]

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[55] En Avant!

[56] *Nouvelle Optique*.

[57] Sapène, 140.

[58] *La Résistance Haïtienne*, 1 Décembre 1971

However, by 1972, the number of tourists had only reached the figures of the late 1950s, before the brutality of the Duvalier regime became widely publicized. Haiti welcomed only 2.8% of the tourists who visited the Caribbean, and among them were many “excursionists,” or tourists who only stepped out of their cruiseships for a few hours. Overall, the tourism industry, with activities mainly confined to Port-au-Prince, only employed 1% of the local population for very low wages. Therefore, though these investments may have looked like the Duvaliers had the economic interests of the Haitian people in mind, in reality, the population hardly (if at all) benefited from these projects. In fact, in some instances, they led to the displacement of dwellers whose blatant poverty made wealthy tourists uncomfortable.

Luckner Cambronne, Minister of the Interior under Papa Doc, found more lucrative ways to use the Haitian poor. In concert with Austrian biochemist Werner A. Thill and stockebroker Joseph B. Gorinstein, who owned the Hemo Caribbean Company, Cambronne sold Haitian blood plasma to the U.S., Germany, and Switzerland. Located in a poor neighborhood in the capital, the company drew blood from hundreds of famished candidates for $3 a liter until Jean-Claude Duvalier decided it could tarnish Haiti’s reputation. While Cambronne was earning a well-suited nickname (“the vampire”), other government officials partook in another scandalous activity: selling Haitian corpses to U.S. and Canadian pharmaceutical laboratories and medical schools.

Many Haitian diasporic papers, including *Haitian-Observateur*, denounced the role the U.S. played in these scandals. The Joseph brothers noted how the U.S. government was rallying around Jean-Claude Duvalier by stating that “all’s fine in Haiti,” and planning to arm Duvalier’s newest U.S. trained militia, the Leopards, since after all, “tourists will never see them,” and only Haitians were harassed and brutalized. Furthermore, they reported that “foreigners have been given ‘carte blanche’ to operate everything: gambling casinos, beach resorts, manufacturing plants and even governmental agencies."[59] Like Suzy Castor and the CHAP, the editors of *Haiti-Observateur* wanted to expose the dictatorship and what they perceived as one-sided relationships between Haiti and those who had economic interests in the region.

This renewed faith in Haiti was based on several factors. On the one hand, by the end of the 1960s, Duvalier *père* did his best to mask the oppressive nature of his regime and present the veneer of political stability. To that effect, his militia was careful to target "activists" as opposed to randomly brutalizing the population and extorting money to the light-skinned elite. Curfews became a thing of the past. Those with comfortable means could go dancing at exclusive clubs again and go on shopping sprees abroad. Sport superstars Pelé and Muhammad Ali visited the country, while C.O.R.E leader Roy Innis—whose hairstyle defied Duvalier's ban on Afros and beards—vowed to change Haiti's image in the U.S. to promote investments.[60] The Macoutes no longer executed their victims in plain view in the streets. This new climate, paired with the fact that workers' strikes or unionization were a no-go, did actually attract tourists, economic aid, exiles, and foreign investors. It became more apparent after Papa Doc's passing with *Jean-Claudisme*, defined by Plummer as "an attempt at modernization," meant to "modify some of the more infernal aspects of the family tyranny without actually ending repression."[61]

The veneer of "liberalization" became even more necessary by the mid-1970s, as anti-communism was no longer enough to warrant continued economic assistance. Under Jimmy Carter, Duvalier had to demonstrate an interest for human rights. During a visit to Port-au-Prince in 1977, U.S. permanent representative at the U.N. Andrew Young made it clear that Congress

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[59] *Haiti-Observateur*, 27 Aout-3 Sept 1971.

[60] Sapène, 33-34, Haiti-Observateur, 31 dec-7 jan 1972

[61] Brenda Gaye Plummer, *Haiti and the United States*, 195.

"has ordered us to spend American tax money where it contributes to human freedom and development."[62] From then on, Baby Doc offered a series of symbolic gestures (such as allowing some criticism of his regime in the local media and allowing some trade unions to organize) to show the world how much the regime had changed.[63] The impact of international economic assistance was heavily discussed in the diasporic press. Between 1972 and 1981, Haiti received $584 million in development assistance.[64] In *Etincelles*, Frantz Voltaire concluded that international financial assistance dismantled the Haitian peasantry by paving the way for the incursion of foreign capital, which in turn triggered the expropriation of land, the mass emigration of peasants, and food shortage.[65]

In an effort to showcase his "new" Haiti, Duvalier summoned the Haitian educated elite scattered around the world to forget about the past and enjoy the "Duvalierist peace." The new president-for-life needed them to support the so-called economic revolution he wanted to set into motion. He promised to pardon political prisoners and political exiles, since "love can forgive everything" and "forgiveness is the greatest example of bravery."[66] However, obtaining a visa for Haiti was not that simple for all in the diaspora. As mentioned in Chapter Two, many people experienced body searches, harassment, intimidation, torture and incarceration upon landing. In fact, love was quite unforgiving when it came to dissidents. Many aspiring returnees would soon find out that “pitit tig, se tig” (the apple doesn’t fall far from the tree).[67] Despite that climate, a significant number of technicians and professionals came back to assume administrative and managerial positions in the industrial sector, claiming that “the son was not like his father.”[68] The return of these prodigal sons further polarized the opposition. The contributors of the leftist paper *La voix de l’entente*, believed that “nostalgia for the country, the sunshine, the laid-back way of life with a string of domestic workers, and the financial capital accumulated during years of exile made them burry the horrors of the regime at the bottom of their minds in order to conjure up the idyllic images from the patriotic song *Haïti Chérie*.”[69]

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[62] Ferguson, *Papa Doc,* 67.

[63] Ferguson, *Papa Doc,* 68.

[64] Plummer, *Haiti and the United States,* 195.

[65] Frantz Voltaire, "L'aide internationale aux pays du Tiers-Monde, A quoi ça sert: L'aide canadienne à Haiti," *Etincelles*, Oct. 82.

[66] Sapène, 36.

For foreign investors, Haiti, like Jamaica, Puerto Rico or Mexico, could provide cheap manual labor for light-assembly re-export industries. In addition, they benefited from tax breaks for a period of five years (and only had to pay the full income tax after ten years) and were not required to pay tariff duties on imports. In Port-au-Prince, from the 1960s to the late 1970s, the number of workers in the assembly industry increased from10, 000 to 40,000. By 1975, Haiti was manufacturing 90% of the world’s baseballs and 95% of all the baseballs and softballs consumed in the U.S. Haiti also produced underwear, jeans, dresses, and blouses; textile was the largest element of its assembly industry. Workers assembled electric and electronic products for companies such as IBM and Motorola. In terms of economic development, the assembly industry was not a success for the Haitian people, as it was completely dependent on U.S. markets, and the low wages ($1.5 to $2 a day) did not enable workers to afford better living conditions than those in other sectors. While the population in Port-au-Prince went from 134,

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[67] Ibid., 42-43.

[68] Schiller, DeWind, Brutus, Charles, Fouron, and Thomas “All in the same boat? Unity and Diversity in Haitian Organizing in New York,” *Center for migration studies 7 (1989):* 175, and *Haiti Presse*, 1974.

[69] *La voix de l’entente*, Juillet 1974.

117 to 448, 807 in 1971 (and this figure had almost doubled by the early 1980s), the industrial sector only created about 35,000 jobs.[70] In sum, the light-assembly industry did not even begin to make a dent in the social and economic inequalities that plagued the capital. Rather, it became an incentive for emigration.

Collectif Paroles

As the patriotic action movement ran out of steam in the late 1970s, and the left became further fragmented, a group of intellectuals from Haiti and its diaspora founded the journal *Collectif Paroles* (that started as a publishing house) as a response to a need felt within Haiti and its diaspora to again define a new and inclusive Haiti. Max Manigat, who had settled in New York with his wife Nicole after spending five years in the Congo, was one of the contributors to the cultural and political bi-monthly journal established by friends such as political scientist Cary Hector, novelist Emile Ollivier and historian Claude Moïse, who all lived in Montreal.[71] Manigat's mother and two of his brothers had left Haiti for Montreal as well. The editorial board and the contributors' backgrounds, diverse experiences of exile and movement between different diasporic spaces, made for a rich and well-researched content that addressed "the Haitian question" inside and outside Haiti through a political, cultural, historical, and social lens. The journal published essays on Duvalier, labor migrations, the refugee crisis, Haitian enclaves, art, music and literature. It also published book reviews. *Collectif Paroles* emerged at a time when Duvalier's liberalization-democratization program gave room to voices of dissent in the domestic

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[70] Michelle Labelle, Serge Larose and Victor Piché, "Émigration et immigration: les Haïtiens au Québec," Sociologie et Societés 15 no.2 (1983): 77.

[71] Cary Hector also contributed to *Nouvelle Optique.*

Haitian press, which made a dialogue between domestic and diasporic journalism possible until November 28, 1980.[72]

Indeed, on November 28, 1980, after Reagan rose to power, Baby Doc, who, up until then, had been more lenient with the media than his father (as financial assistance was, under Carter, contingent upon his respect of human rights), proceeded to jailing four hundred teachers, writers, doctors, medical students, politicians, human rights activists and journalists.[73] At Fort Dessalines, they were "simply asked their names, stripped to their underpants—men and women alike—and led in handcuffs to tiny cells."[74] Among those arrested were Grégoire Eugène, editor of the weekly *Fraternité* and leader of the Christian Socialist Party, Elsie Colon Etheart and Marc Garcia of Radio Metropole, Joseph L'enfantin and Lafontant Joseph of the Haitian League for Human Rights, gynecologist Nicole Magloire, Michele Montas, editor-in-chief at the journal *Conjonction* and partner of journalist, political activist and director of Radio Haiti-Inter Jean Dominique, and finally, Richard Brisson, the station manager (he also hosted cultural radio shows), along with several staff members.[75] Journalists Jackson and Liliane Pierre Paul, and two of their brothers, Max and Tony, were also apprehended at their home. The Macoutes trashed the station, and aggressively searched for Dominique whom they were supposed to kill on sight. He managed to take refuge at the Venezuelan embassy for a couple of months before fleeing to New York.[76]

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[72] In fact, some journalists (like Compere Filo) had been harassed and jailed up to two months before.

[73] "Haiti attributes Arrests to a Communist Plot," *The New York Times*, December 2, 1980.

[74] "4 Haitians recount arrests in roundups: Seized by Soldiers at Night, they were first jailed and then put on a plane for New York." *The New York Times*, December 5, 1980.

[75] Nicole Magloire, who was not involved in politics and who was not a journalist, had returned to Haiti in 1979 after 15 years in exile. Like many Haitians, she initially believed in Duvalier's "détente." She put her arrest down to personal retaliation from highly ranked officials. *Collectif Paroles*, Décembre 1980.

[76] Jonathan Demme, *The Agronomist*, 2005.

Officially, those arrested (and those who went into hiding) had been "stirring up trouble and were communists-inspired."[77] Unofficially, the Haitian government feared they would keep "friendly foreign governments from aiding the Haitian people" by overtly condemning political and economic repression and by calling out the dictator's and his entourage's kleptocratic ways during the December 8 meeting of international banking and aid organizations.[78] Furthermore, some of those detained had made public Haiti's latest "national disgrace," namely the Cayo Lobos affair, by publicly speaking out and getting involved with the plight of impoverished Haitian refugees.[79] Other "disgraces" included the auctioning of braceros to the Dominican Republic and the rumored scheduled deportation of 25,000 Haitians from the Bahamas.[80]

Eventually, some of the detained, including Eugène and Montas, were flown to New York. Forced into exile, their passports were stamped "good only for exit." The chain in the transmission of reliable information about the political and social situation in Haiti that was made possible in the mid-1970s with the emergence of an independent press was thus broken.

Transitioning communities

In May 1983, the University of Quebec at Montreal hosted a colloquium on the Haitian press abroad, attracting over fifty journalists from Boston, Miami, New York, and Montreal. One of the speakers, exiled journalist Jackson Pierre Paul asked the following: "How can we discuss a Haitian press that is severed from its reality, its environment, its place and its sounding-board without naming the void that has a name but remains without one, i.e., the object, Haiti, the

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[77] "Haiti Facing Economic Crisis, Arrests Major Critics: Stirring Up Trouble, 'A National Shame,'" *The New York Times*, December 1, 1980.

[78] "4 Haitians recount arrests in roundups."

[79] Cayo Lobos

[80] "Les déportés du 28 novembre et la situation politique," *Collectif Paroles*, Décembre 1980.

'elsewhere?' Pierre Paul, who wanted to keep informing Haitians about what was really happening in Haiti, argued that attempting to create a national press outside the nation was not feasible given the lack of access to reliable sources in Haiti.

The first papers born in exile were short-lived, and decidedly nationalistic. They were the organs of specific factions, produced with only Haiti in mind, by exiles who believed that the dictatorship would not subsist and that they would soon return home. After 1965, as emigration intensified, enduring Haitian enclaves became ubiquitous. The outcome was two-fold. First, it fostered a proliferation of papers that circulated both in Haiti and in diasporic spaces. Second, some papers began to cater to the needs of a community that was transitioning from a community in exile to a community of transplants. In some ways, these papers were still about Haiti. But "Haiti" had moved to new spaces. Some editors made it their mission to keep a fragmented Haiti whole, or to "guide" its diaspora.

By the late 1970s, diasporic papers' readership comprised newcomers from the Haitian urban lower-middle class (craftsmen, tailors, seamstresses, shop keepers, rural teachers, and the offspring of well-off small farmers) and the urban working class (assembly factory workers).[81] In North America, they mainly worked in factories, and in the service industry.[82] Like Manigat, these newcomers had transnational families and moved from one diasporic space to another (even temporarily) if the latter offered better employment, benefits or a better environment.[83] Many Haitians living in Quebec saw New York as a suburb of Montreal.[84] Middle-class Haitians living in New York sent their children to Montreal so that they could benefit from a good French education. A divorcee female factory worker residing in Montreal would send her child to her sister living in New York.[85] Working mothers often sent for their parents to help with chores and child rearing, or sent their young children to Haiti until they reached school age.[86] Starting in 1965, Miami became another important destination or layover for exiles and other refugees who settled in Lemon City. This historical subdivision became known first as Little Port-au-Prince then as Little Haiti by the mid-1970s. Because of the continuous movement of diasporic subjects, and the understanding that they addressed a changing Haitian diasporic public sphere, the papers produced pieces by, about, and for diverse diasporic communities. As such, they played an important role in linking distant (and not so distant) diasporic spaces.

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[81] Serge Larose, "Transnationalité et réseaux migratoires: entre le Québec, les États-Unis et Haïti," *Cahiers de recherche sociologique* 2 no.2 (1984):119.

[82] Larose, "Transnationalité et réseaux migratoires,"123.

[83] By 1984, most North American Haitian enclaves were in New-York (300,000), Miami (70,000), Boston and Chicago (30,000) and Montreal (30,000). Larose, 118, and Labelle, Larose and Piché, 87.

[84] Larose, 135.

Haïti Presse

In February 1978, a group of Haitians who wanted to "assist the Haitian community in Quebec facing acculturation as vulnerable workers dealing with hostility, racism and xenophobia on the streets, at the factory, and at home on a daily basis" put together the bi-monthly newspaper *Haïti Presse: Le journal des Haïtiens au Quebec*. They did not start with much, but overtime they found premises, typists, secretaries, a phone, and a delivery service. *Haïti Presse* had a close relationship with independent journalists in Haiti, as evidenced by op-eds authored by Radio-Haiti Inter journalist Jean Dominique. Without neglecting news about Haiti, Duvalier, its U.S. refugees, and its DR bound labor force, *Haïti Presse* focused on Quebec's Haitian enclave by promoting community organizations such as Maison d'Haïti, la Maisonnée, le Bureau de la Communauté Chrétienne des Haïtiens de Montréal, Beau Sourire daycare, Project 80, or the Haitian community clinic. These organizations provided social, health, and cultural services. The newspaper also informed its readership about health issues such as ear infections and sickle cell anemia, offered legal advice on immigration and unemployment benefits, and advertised businesses such as "La Belle Créole" where Haitians could buy products for Afro-textured hair, or Casa Dei Frutti and Marché Créole where they could buy exotic fruits. In addition, the paper addressed the question of Quebec sovereignty and its possible impact on Haitian immigrants, as they feared that mounting nationalism would further marginalize newcomers.

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[85] While the first Duvalier's emigres settled in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Queens, later arrivals lived in Nyack, Spring Valley, Newark, Jersey City, and East Orange.

[86] Larose, 124. Children were also sent to Haiti for behavioral problems. Emerson Douyon, "Les jeunes haïtiens et la justice des mineurs au Québec," *Collectif Paroles*, Oct-Nov 1981.

La Port-au-Paisienne

A prime example of the regionalist trend that emerged in Montreal in the late 1970s, Joseph St. Martin Israël's *La Port-au-Paisienne* was the newsletter of a home association. In Montreal, Toronto or New York, middle-class Haitians formed hometown associations and clubs such as Club Primevère that organized dances or *bals* and other cultural events. Hometown associations such as Solidarité Jacmélienne collected funds for specific community projects in Haiti. They were often geographically motivated; Club Primevère catered to Capois (Haitians from Cap-Haitian), while *La Port-au-Paisienne* was concerned with Haitians from the Northwest region (Port-de-Paix, Bassin-Bleu, Mole St. Nicolas, Jean Rabel, St Louis, Chansolme, and Anse à Foleur). Members met to draw up plans to "transform, embellish, and develop local areas."[87] The newsletter reported development projects, deaths and births of Northwestern Haitians in Haiti and the diaspora, and other news items relevant to that exclusive community, such as the ordeal of Port-de-Paix native Eldia Tiphaine, who was dragged to a fitting room by a robber at a store in Montreal in April 1984.[88]

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[87] *La Port-de-Paisienne*, Avril-Mai, 1984.

Le Lambi

Equally concerned with preserving a sense of Haitianness, Fernand Philippe Auguste launched the independent bi-monthly magazine *Le Lambi* (not to be confused with Jeune Haiti's *Lambi*) in Montreal in 1979 to "give a voice to uprooted Haitians." For its founders, it was the "ideal weapon to save [Haitian] cultural identity," as "the danger of assimilation threatened half a million Haitians living in North America."[89] To that effect, besides Haiti, refugees, Duvalier, African and Latin American politics, *Le Lambi* discussed Quebec's sovereignty, Haitian youth, aging, leisure, and gave practical advice about how to survive displacement.

Talking about Haiti with one's children was an effort at consolidating Haitian identity.[90] Soeurette Mathieu's "Answers to my son" did just that. Using a Q&A format where an imaginary child asked questions about daily life in the homeland, the column described local fruit, street markets, or life without reliable access to electricity. On the other hand, *Le Lambi* warned the community about the well-being of its elders. The column "Growing old in Montreal" narrated the issues facing aging Haitians in industrialized countries. While in Haiti they were active members of the society, in their new environment, retiring after having worked for thirty to forty years made them feel useless. Social isolation was another issue, as older Haitians no longer lived within an extended family compound. As mentioned earlier, diasporic

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[88] *La Port-de-Paisienne*, Avril-Mai 1984.

[89] *Le Lambi,* Mars-Avril 1979.

[90] In contrast, a journal like *Collectif Paroles* that also discussed the Haitian youth, offered a sociological analysis to their readers. Sociologist Emerson Douyon wrote about the cultural and generational conflicts that migration inevitably creates, as well as the inner identity crisis (and possible rejection of Haitian culture and Creole) the youth had to deal with.

Haitians sent for their mother or other female relatives to look after their children.[91] Unprepared older (and sometimes illiterate) Haitians had trouble adapting to their new mechanical and ritualized lives and participating in fun activities besides watching TV. The magazine urged Haitians to ensure the physical and mental health of their parents, and to encourage them to participate in activities such as basketry, embroidery, weaving, and visiting community organizations. [92] Finally, a recurring theme in some diasporic papers was the changing role of women within the family unit and its possible disruptive effects as Haitian women turned into a "new breed." In *Le Lambi*, a contributor found the "contamination of Haitian women by easy access to money" regrettable. [93]

The diasporic press underscores how the Haitian intelligentsia was committed to combating the deep-rooted marginalization of people of color. Yolène Jumelle (whose father was killed by Duvalier in the late 1950s) was a sociologist, legal expert, journalist, and co-founder of *Haïti Presse.* Born in Port-au-Prince in 1944, she moved to Montreal in 1971 after she was jailed and tortured by the dictatorial regime. An advocate for both women and people of African descent in Canada, she co-founded La Maisonnée in 1979 to help new immigrants, and the Research Center on Race Relations (CRARR) in 1983 to fight racial discrimination in Montreal and in Canada as a whole. In 1984, she became the vice-president of the Congress of Black Women of Canada (CBWC), a non-profit organization founded by Kay Livingstone in 1973 under the auspices of the Canadian Negro Women's Association. CBWC aimed at "improving the lives of black women and their families in their local and national communities" through programs and events dedicated to child development, education, health, housing, pension, racism, sexism and human rights.[94] In *Haiti Presse*, Jumelle spoke about the exploitation of Haitian women at work and at home because of their race and gender. She also called out most feminist movements for excluding black women. Indeed, no black female speaker was invited at the conference on women in Quebec held in May 1979, which anchored the notion that the Quebecker woman was white, Catholic, and francophone.

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[91] In Quebec, by 1977, over 80% of the newcomers were sponsored, and mostly female. Françoise Morin, "Entre visibilité et invisibilité: les aléas identitaires des Haïtiens de New York et Montréal," *Revue européene de migrations internationales* 9 (1993): 153.

[92] *Le Lambi,* Mars-Avril 1981.

[93] Ibid.

Several diasporic papers from the late 1970s and the early 1980s also addressed daily racism, discriminatory practices (notably in housing and the taxi industry), and police brutality in the receiving countries. For instance, in Quebec, the Belanger street incident garnered much attention. On June 19, 1979, a group of Haitian boys were playing soccer at a park when the Montreal Urban Community police (C.U.M.) asked them to leave. The boys ran off to the nearby Chez Marlène Restaurant where the police resorted to beatings, insults, and arrests while yelling that "if they didn't like it, they should go back home to Fort Dimanche" under the baffled eyes of Haitian and white local patrons. What had prompted the police to target the Haitian youth in the first place? As it turned out, a group of white locals who wanted to play in the park as well *by themselves* called 911 to (re)claim that particular space.[95] Organizations such as the Human Rights League, Afro Canada, the June 20 Committee as well as the local media spoke against police brutality and called out the C.U.M. police, to no avail. [96]

Mobilization against anti-black racism through the press also existed at the grassroots level, as seen with *Le Collectif des Chauffeurs de Taxi Noirs* (Black Cab Drivers Collective).

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[94] CBWC Ontario Region http://www.cbwc-ontario.com/about-us/

[95] *Haïti Presse*, Juin 1979.

[96] *Haïti Presse*, Juillet-Aout 1979.

Haitian cab drivers were at the receiving end of increasing racial tensions, and diasporic papers frequently wrote about this phenomenon. The wife of a former driver remembers how her husband once drove to a customer's house to pick them up. Upon opening the door, the customer asked him to leave because "he had asked for a cab driver, not a dog." [97]In June 1982, twenty black cab drivers employed by SOS taxis were laid-off. The company manager argued that he could not compete with companies such as Expo-Taxi that only hired white drivers, or that honored customers' requests for white drivers. Black drivers reported that "at taxi stands customers routinely bypass black drivers who are first in line," that they will "walk a full block in order to get into a cab driver driven by a white," and that dispatchers will "not give them the longer trip or will change their instructions when they hear their accented voice answering on the radio."[98] In addition, they were harassed by the police. Haitian taxi drivers began bringing up these discriminatory practices as early as 1974.[99]

Le Collectif des Chauffeurs de Taxi Noirs aimed at fighting against the smear campaign directed at them, as white cab drivers routinely warned customers against "dirty, smelly, and sketchy" black drivers.[100] Besides providing legal information about the industry and the hazards of the job itself, it documented instances of racism and work discrimination against black drivers, as white-owned cab companies claimed that black drivers were "bad for business."[101] It was not a case of ethno-racism, as non-Haitian black drivers reported similar issues. When white customers contacted the call center, they made it clear that they did not want a *black* cab driver.

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[97] *Haiti-Quebec*, directed by Tahani Rached, Office National du Film du Canada, 1985.

[98] *Afro-Can*, "In taxi industry: more racism in Montreal," July 1982.

[99] *Haiti Demain*, "Montreal: un taxi mais pas de chauffeur noir," Fevrier 1983.
[100] Haiti Quebec, 1985.

[101] *Afro-Can*, July 1982.

While this might have been a semantic shift in which “Haitian” became a signifier for “black,” just like “Jamaican” came to mean “black” in Toronto, the fact that Haitian cab drivers identified as *Noirs* not only points at a survival strategy of inclusiveness, but also indicates a sense of belonging to the larger black Montrealer community.

Building a Home Beyond Words

According to Said, “most people are principally aware of one culture, one setting, one home; exiles are aware of at least two, and this plurality of vision gives rise to an awareness of simultaneous dimensions, an awareness that—to borrow a phrase from music—is contrapuntal.”[102] As I demonstrated in Chapters One and Two, the experience of displacement forced Haitian exiles to confront black alterities in transformative ways by fighting for social justice and joining forces against racism while they internationalized anti-Duvalier discourse. Besides writing, in the U.S., some Haitians joined African American organizations and participated in the civil rights movement alongside other people of Caribbean origins.[103] Intellectuals such as Serge Paul-Emile in Colorado, Max Manigat and Franck Laraque in New York were very active in creating and developing black studies programs. At C.U.N.Y, Laraque pushed for classes such as “Race and Class in the Caribbean,” or “Malcolm X: His Life, Leadership and Legacy.” In addition, he encouraged Haitian students to learn about the history, language and culture of Haiti. Under his guidance, courses about the Haitian Revolution and Caribbean literature were added to the black studies curriculum. [104]

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[102] Said, 186.

[103] Glick, “All in the same boat,”171.

[104] Max Manigat, “Ochan pou Frank-Kouraj,” *Haïti Liberté* 45 (2011): 25-30.

As for Suzy Castor, her Mexican experience and displaced black subjectivity enabled her to transcend her nationalist self-understanding by "leaving the island and entering a global dialogue" and to accept the multiple positionings of her black diasporic identity. This was made possible by her encounter with African American visual artist and activist Elizabeth Catlett.

Born in 1915 in Washington, D.C., Catlett decided to become a visual artist during her high school years. In 1931, she won a scholarship to attend the Carnegie Institute of technology in Pittsburgh, but was denied admission because she was black. She went on to attend Howard University from 1931 to 1935 where she studied African aesthetics, took classes with key Harlem Renaissance artists such as James A. Porter and Lois Mailou Jones. She also became familiar with the works of Mexican muralists such as Diego Rivera. Furthermore, the university Gallery gave Catlett access to artworks from black artists, European and American modernists as well as African sculptures that would greatly influence her visual language. Upon graduation, Catlett taught in the North Carolina public school system for two years before earning an M.F.A. at the University of Iowa where she worked with regionalist Grant Wood.

Catlett's pre-Mexican years were tinged both with bitter experiences with institutional racism and rich artistic encounters that would inform the content of her work. Besides her commitment to creative excellence, Catlett proved a staunch activist very early on. While in high school, she demonstrated against lynching. At Howard, she was a member of the National Student League, an anti-war and anti-fascist group. In Durham, she campaigned for equal pay for African American teachers and at Dillard (where she taught after graduating from Iowa) she challenged segregation, police brutality and the college curriculum.[105] In the summer of 1941, Catlett studied ceramics at the Art Institute of Chicago and met her first husband Charles White.

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[105] Samella Lewis, *The Art of Elizabeth Catlett*, (Claremont, CA: Handcraft Studios, 1984), 15.

A member of the Communist Party, Charles was also a key figure of the Chicago Renaissance, a period during which many African Americans understood that their plight was rooted in both class oppression and racial oppression. This revelation was reflected in the images Chicago artists produced for social change. After she resigned from Dillard, Catlett went on to study printmaking and teach art in New York. She taught ceramics at the Marxist-based Jefferson School and at the George Washington Carver School, where she "gained a greater understanding of the realities of life for many African Americans less fortunate than herself."[106] Catlett first went to Mexico in 1946 thanks to a Julius Rosenwald Foundation fellowship. She settled there for good in 1947 after divorcing White and marrying Mexican artist Francisco Mora.

Scholar Schreiber suggests that the Mexican experience of African Americans was quite different from that of the whites. First, exiled African Americans were familiar with some aspects of Mexican culture. During the 1920s and the 1930s, a number of Mexican artists travelled to the U.S. to create or exhibit their work. The Mexican concept of "aiding uneducated, impoverished peasants by depicting their revolutionary past," specifically spoke to black artists who believed in the didactic power of the arts. Second, in Mexico City, black artists such as Catlett were part of a collective through the Taller de Gráfica Popular where they worked alongside Mexican artists. Finally, though they were privileged as U.S. citizens, interactions between Mexicans and African Americans showed a degree of intimacy that was absent from the white American experience.

On the other hand, exiles from both races were closely watched by the U.S. government and the Dirección Federal de Seguridad (Mexican secret police) that would arrest and illegally deport exiles back to the U.S, which prompted some Americans to ditch their tourist visas to apply for a more permanent status.[107] Article 33 of the Mexican constitution prohibited non-citizens from partaking in political activities of any kind. Despite her decision to stay clear of any political groups, Catlett was first interrogated at the U.S. embassy in 1955 to disclose her political activities and associates (the Taller de Gráfica Popular was perceived as a "Communist Front Organization" and its artists were not allowed in the U.S.) and arrested and detained for a few days in 1958 following a national mobilization of railroad workers that had led to the deportation of many Americans. Catlett finally decided to file for Mexican citizenship, which kept her from entering the U.S. for ten years. During that period, she also became the first woman to head the department of sculpture at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM).

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[106] Melanie Herzog, *Elizabeth Catlett: An American Artist in Mexico,* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 36.

Catlett is known and celebrated because the centrality of the topics of social justice, racial and gender oppression in her work made her a crucial contributor to the Black Arts movement, "the aesthetic and spiritual sister of the Black Power Concept." [108] Of interest for us here is how Catlett social and political engagement transcended national boundaries, and how the fluidity of her displaced black diasporic identity and multiple positionings shaped by her Mexican experience compared with that of Suzy Castor, another black woman in exile. Historian Milléry Polyné points out that "in contrast with earlier decades, fewer U.S. blacks visited Haiti and reported news concerning Haitian politics during the late 1950s through the 1960s."[109] He attributes this change to a "shift in their international political focus and a failure among U.S. African American intellectuals to address human rights issues when faced with intraracial violence abroad."[110] Even though Catlett's engagement with U.S. racial issues was indeed at the core of her work and criticism, being in exile in Latin America led her to not only adopt transnational aesthetics but also a transnational consciousness. Castor describes her interactions with Catlett as a "complete communion." She added:

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[107] The DFS, modeled after the FBI, also watched Mexicans who were part of or associated with members of left-wing organizations.

[108] Larry Neal, "The Black Arts Movement," *The Drama Review* 12 (Summer 1968): 29.

[109] Polyné, From Douglass to Duvalier, 186.

> We would see each other, we would talk, and we would exchange so many ideas. I remember her studio. She had so much energy, yet she was so complex. There was an ideological solidarity, her struggle was ours, a struggle to set oneself free, we were on the same page, it was not the other one's struggle.[111]

Castor argues that "leaving the island" literally made her leave the island metaphorically through her political and social engagement. In other words, she adopted a double consciousness, both social *and* racial, that led her to simultaneously support anti-Duvalier resistance, the U.S. civil rights movement, and the African liberation movement. As Polyné suggests, "Haitian exiles were needed to disseminate news about the Duvalierist state, to articulate an interventionist vision of inter-American affairs and to challenge a prevailing U.S. African American silence on Duvalier's regime."[112] During a key note address she delivered at the Third Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Negro Artists in 1961, Catlett urged African American artists to thwart racial exclusion from American museums and galleries by organizing all-black exhibitions, to create images to "express racial identity, communicate with the black community, and participate in struggles for social, political, and economic equality, and, I must stress out, to exhibit their works in Latin America, Africa, and Asia." She went on to explain that the Teachers Federation of Black Africa enjoyed her *Against Discrimination in the United States* series because their national culture had been destroyed under French colonialism in order to achieve complete domination and that they did not understand the meaning of the artworks that inspired European modernism and were now exhibited in other countries, but were now striving to promote their own artists and own museums. Although Catlett's works or words did not necessarily directly address the Haitian plight, the evolution of her artworks with its black power rhetoric, was definitely inscribed in a global conversation about class and race.

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[110] Ibid., 186.

[111] Interview with the author, June 2015.

[112] Polyné, *From Douglass to Duvalier*, 196.

Transnational black print culture

Such conversations were certainly happening in some Canadian black papers—whether Haitian or not— that were paying allegiance to a didactical pan-African discourse in line with the culture of the 1960s and the 1970s with black power and black pride at its core. In the U.S. black youth civil rights organizations such as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) had an internationalist side. They spoke out against Vietnam and supported African Liberation. The Black Panther Party was anti-imperialist and also supported developing countries' push for independence. Stokely Carmichael, who moved to Guinea with his wife, the South African singer Miriam Makeba and co-founded the All-African People's Revolutionary Party with Kwame Nkrumah, articulated the connections between the African American condition and that of the colonized when he stated that "Black Power, to us, means that Black people see themselves as a part of a new force, sometimes called the Third World; that we see our struggle as closely related to liberation struggles around the world. We must hook up with these struggles."[113]

In Montreal, the Haitian diasporic journal *Kombe* proposed to discuss "everything about the black world," in the early 1970s. Its founder, Gérard Roger St Victor, wanted to create an inclusive black intellectual community as he invited “the Africans, Africanists, Antilleans, and Noirists who were interested in solving the black world’s problems” to contribute to the journal. *Kombe* also promised to introduce its readership to everything about their Canadian, American, and Latin American “black brothers” out of solidarity. This was in many ways similar to what occurred during the inter-war period, when at the intersection of the Negritude, Indigenist, and New Negro movements, a prolific black print culture emerged to ground a new black internationalist discourse. In fact, *La Revue du Monde Noir, The Negro World, The Negro Worker*, or *La Dépêche Africaine* were “spaces of independent thinking, alternative modes of expression and dissemination, articulating transnational groups of black intellectuals into collectives and conversations.”[114] In the wake of the Sir George Williams affair and the Congress of Black Writers, Montreal witnessed the emergence of community organizations and institutions that promoted the social growth and empowerment of its black community.[115] Community papers such as *Uhuru* (1969-1970) and the *Black Voice* (1972-1974) focused on local matters relevant to black Montrealers, and on black issues at a global level.

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[113] Stokely Carmichael, *Stokely Speaks* (New York: Vintage/Random House, 1971), 97.

Brenda Dash, Leroy Butchers, and Hugo Ford were the founders of the bi-monthly Uhuru, a newspaper that was, according to a reader, “a most powerful de-brainwashing agent.”[116] By its 12th edition, *Uhuru,* which means freedom in Swahili, had a circulation of 3,000 per issue and 200 subscribers, and was the “most widely read and most relevant to the needs of Montreal’s 15,000 black residents.”[117] Besides reporting facts and events pertaining to the black community in Montreal, Canada, and abroad, through a black perspective, the paper was set to "develop a level of consciousness based on a unified acceptance of the politics of Pan-Africanism that is the belief in Oneness of an African people of the continent and scattered abroad, and the commitment of these people to the struggle for common advancement, self-determination and total freedom." [118] As such, *Uhuru* published articles about black Canadian history, police brutality, police harassment, "the motherland" (or the "Continent"), the Sir George Williams affair, the Filsaime incident, and constantly called for the unity of people of African descent regardless of national or ethnic origins. In addition, it promoted black militancy as a way to reassert black manhood.

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[114] Brent Hayes Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*, 265.

[115] David Austin, *Fear of a Black nation: Race, Sex, and Security in Sixties Montreal,* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2013), 178.

[116] *Uhuru,* Oct 14, 1969.

[117] *Uhuru,* Dec 8 1969.

As the "letters to the editor" columns indicate, *Uhuru* circulated in various black diasporic spaces and enjoyed a certain amount of success outside of Montreal:

> Dear Sirs, I recently received a copy of Uhuru from a beautiful black sister in Montreal. I would like to express to you my feelings about Uhuru after reading the first issue. I must say that it is a highly interesting paper. The intellectual level is exceedingly high and must be a tribute to the black community in Montreal. Unlike many black publications it is not a mindless diatribe against the white power structure. It deals more substantively with the fundamental problems affecting our communities all over the world. I especially liked the way the articles take a definite position based upon a black perspective. [..] I only hope that the black community in the States will try to move in the same direction that your newspaper does. Papers like this point to the universality of being black. [119]
>
> Yours in the struggle, Philip N. Lee (U.S.A.)
>
> *To the Editors of Uhuru*
>
> *As a sister, I would like to congratulate the editors and writers for issuing an EXCELLENT BLACK PAPER. Some of the articles lets one know what is going on in your city and in AFRICA.*
>
> *Most of them makes one aware of his "BLACKNESS" and his heritage. It also informs one of the "international struggle" for the LIBERATION OF BLACK POWER. The editorials are really deep.*
>
> *You are indeed serving the BLACK COMMUNITY OF MONTREAL AS WELL AS OTHER BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.*

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[118] *Uhuru*, Dec 8 1969.

[119] *Uhuru*, July 31, 1969.

Mary.[120]

While many of the original black internationalist papers were translated in several languages to reach the widest possible black diasporic audience, *Kombe* was written solely in French. Some articles and ads featured in *Uhuru* spoke to the nascent Haitian community, but the paper was mostly in English, and the letters to the editor sent from abroad were from readers located in the U.S. or in the Anglophone Caribbean.[121] Of course, given the mobility of Haitians, one cannot assume that the language used was an insurmountable hurdle. However, while these papers claimed an internationalist voice, they were not designed to reach the black diaspora as a whole, or they simply did not have the networks, logistics, or the finances that would have supported such an enterprise.

Though *Uhuru* and the *Black Voice* were short-lived, by the early 1980s, the Negro Community Center had created a new bi-monthly community newspaper, *Afro-Can Communications* (*Afro-Can*) in 1981.[122] Despite the wide range of more recent organizations, The Negro Community Center, which provided space for twenty-two organizations, still held a very active role amongst black Montrealers. Besides producing the *Afro-Can,* it ran programs for seniors, youth, and the young in Little Burgundy and Côte-des-Neiges, organized dances and stage shows, offered special immigration assistance and free legal advice, housed the Marcus Garvey Institute, hosted lecture series with black scholars and activists such as Kathleen Cleaver, and spoke out against the Apartheid, and anti-black racism at home and abroad.[123] Like their predecessors, the newspaper had to address police harassment and police brutality, discrimination in housing and in the taxi industry. In addition, they tackled black representation in the media (or lack thereof), and supported a campaign against racist textbooks.[124] With the column “Afro Can Remembers,” readers could learn about Haitian revolutionary leader Jean Jacques Dessalines, or Matthew Alexander Henson and the discovery of the North Pole. The “Black foreign report” series talked about black activity around the world. According to its editor, Leo Bertley, the *Afro-Can* was read across Canada, the U.S., the Caribbean, Africa, Britain and France.

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[120] *Uhuru*, Oct 14, 1969.

[121] It is important to note that Uhuru published a column on how to respond to police harassment in French. *Uhuru,* Oct 14, 1969.

[122] *Afro-Can became a monthly newspaper down the road.*

By the 1980s, the Montreal Haitian enclave was substantial enough to imagine them as an immigrant community anchored in the social and political fabric of the city. The *Afro-Can* reached out to them, not only by publishing articles about their community in Canada and the U.S., but also by including a French version of their editorials, and articles and poems by Haitian contributors such as Enoch Cajuste or Dr. Frantz Douyon, a founding member of the Montreal chapter of Haitian doctors abroad who joined the Negro Community Center board of directors in April 1983. Douyon had come to Montreal in 1965, and specialized in pediatrics and nephrology. In a column (published in English only), he criticized the Red Cross’s decision to turn down Haitian blood donors because of AIDS, prompting the public to further marginalize Haitians on a global scale. The *Afro-Can* also supported Haitian refugees and the anti-Duvalier struggle.

In their Oct/Nov 1982 issue, they interviewed Henri Alphonse of *Haiti Demain*, as he was one of the activists who had started a hunger strike to support the political prisoners detained in Duvalier’s cells, and to protest the construction of hydro-electric dams that jeopardized the livelihood of some 60,000 peasants. Alphonse considered his action through a black diasporic lens. He stated: “I would like the readers of the *Afro-Can* to know that the struggle for the liberation of Haiti is not being waged in isolation, but must be viewed as part of the wider Third World struggle. It is also imperative that the entire Black community, Anglophone as well as francophone, unite to fight the racism that exists right here in Canada.” He finished by asking “all members of the Black community to protest in whatever way they can against the Reagan administration’s racist treatment of the Haitian people.”[125] All in all, Alphonse’s intervention demonstrated that diasporic Haitian communities were very much constitutive agents of the social and political North American landscape.

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[123] *Afro-Can*, March 1984.

[124] *Afro-Can*, Jan 1982.

Epilogue: Freedom Fighters

The shift toward integration into their new environment was not incompatible with the dream of return. In the 1980s, Haitian diasporic papers, along with other media outlets, continued to rally against the dictatorship, and to support the so-called boat people. They regularly reported the different stages of the crisis that was playing out on Floridian and Bahamian shores, at detention camps, in local courtrooms, at the White House, and at the Palais National. However, in 1982, for exiled actor, poet, radio station manager, and journalist Richard Brisson, something had to give.

On January 14, 1982, Bernard Sansaricq, a Miami gas-station owner who was the leader of the Haitian National Popular Party (PPNH), and his army of rebels were apprehended by US Coast Guards in international waters for violating U.S. neutrality laws.[126] As reported in various papers at the time, Sansaricq, launched from Turks and Caicos, had captured the island of Tortuga (the island off Haiti's northern coast) in an attempt to overthrow Jean-Claude Duvalier.[127] It was Sansaricq's third attempt at taking down the dictatorship. He considered himself a freedom fighter. Freed on a $400,000 bond, he declared "I will still try and I keep on trying because I want to see democracy restored to my country of birth. Nothing could keep me away from Haiti, nothing could keep me away from fighting for freedom."[128]

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[125] *Afro-Can*, Oct-Nov 1982.

[126] “Revolutionary eyes, (Haitian rebel Bernard Sansaricq), *Sepia* 31 (1982):38.

The PPNH (founded in the early 1980s), was a group inspired by Jeune Haiti. Their goal was to invade and take control of Haiti by force. Sansaricq wanted his group to stand out as an organization that could actually walk the walk. Most of Sansaricq's rebels were residents of the U.S. and Canada, but there were also several foreigners with a military background who joined to overthrow the dictatorship.[129] For Anthony Cantave, Consul general for Haiti in the Bahamas, "maybe they [were]tired of living," as "everybody is behind Duvalier."[130]

From 1972 to 1980, Brisson hosted cultural programs on Radio-Haiti Inter. Imprisoned at Caserne Dessalines, tortured, and sent into exile in the U.S. after the crackdown of the independent press in 1980, he was one the freedom fighters who responded to "freedom fighter" Bernard Sansaricq's call to arms. He had planned to use his radio experience to mobilize the Haitian people by broadcasting prerecorded speeches, slogans, and revolutionary songs from a radio station in Port-de-Paix.[131] Described by fellow Radio Haiti host Michéle Montas as a contemplative and mischievous music and theater lover, Brisson never felt at home in the U.S.

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[127] *The New York Times*, Jan 1982.

[128] "Revolutionary Eyes,"38.

[129] Bernard Sansaricq, *Le parcours d'un combattant,* (San José, Costa Rica: Editorial Mirambell, 2015), 74.

[130] *Miami Herald*, Jan 10, 1982.

[131] Sansaricq, 111.

He was summarily executed by the Macoutes alongside fellow freedom fighters Robert Mathurin and Louis Célestin. He was thirty-one years old.[132]

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[132] "Spesyal Richard Brisson," Radio Haiti Archive RL10059-RR-0503_01

CHAPTER IV

Interpreting Exile: Maroons, Slave Ships, and Diasporic Memory

Introduction: Bearing Witness

In *Haitian Corner*, Raoul Peck tells the story of the Haitian diaspora, this time focusing on the realities of exile.[1] Peck's first feature film follows a Haitian poet exiled in New York as he tracks and eventually faces the Macoute who tortured him in prison. In the opening scene, actors are made to utter the words of real life exiles Denise Prophete and Laurette Badette who were jailed and tortured under the Duvalier regime, and whom Peck interviewed for his film.[2] *Haitian Corner* is about bearing witness not only to the horrors of the dictatorship, but also to the ways in which it continued to haunt its victims beyond the sea. For Peck, it is "all about asserting our Haitian identity. As Creoles, imposing the language, and as a class, struggling to exist in the American melting pot. It is a way of saying, "We Exist!" The mood is one of defiance."[3] Similarly, Haitian diasporic literature has provided a plethora of works that delineate the experience of exile, and writers such as Émile Ollivier, Louis-Philippe Dalembert, Dany Lafferière and Edwige Danticat have helped put Haiti and its diaspora on the map with nuanced poetic narratives of exile and survival.[4]

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[1] *Haitian Corner*, directed by Raoul Peck (Velvet film, 1988).

[2] Raoul Peck, *Stolen Images: Lumumba and the early films of Raoul Peck* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2012), 15.

[3] Raoul Peck, *Stolen Images*, 15.

[4] See, for instance, Émile Olliver, *Passages* (Montreal: Le Serpent à Plumes Éditions, 1994); Louis-Philippe Dalembert, *L'île du bout des rêves* (Paris: Bibliophane-Daniel Radford, 2003); Dany Lafferière, *Pays sans chapeau* (Montreal: Lanctôt Éditeur, 1996), *L'énigme du retour* (Montreal: Boréal, 2009), *Comment faire l'amour à un nègre sans se fatigue* (Quebec City: Lanctôt Éditeur, 1985); Edwidge Danticat, *Krik? Krak!* (New York: Soho Press, 1995), *Breath, Eyes, Memory* (London: Abacus, 1996), *The Farming of Bones* (London: Abacus, 2000), *The Dew Breaker* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004).

Between March 18, 1980 and August 1982, “wandering black”[5] journalist and author Jean-Claude Charles investigated an issue he contended nobody cared about, namely the experience of Haitian refugees incarcerated in internment camps in New York, Florida, the Bahamas, and Puerto Rico. In 1982, the images he captured were broadcast on the French TV channel Antenne 2 as a three-part documentary depicting the consequences of U.S. inhumane and discriminatory immigration policies.[6] In an essay published that year which is, much like Raoul Peck’s work, something in between a report and an artistic creation, *De si jolies petites plages* (such beautiful beaches), Charles introduced Haiti as his “mother,” with whom he entertained a complex relationship.[7] Reflecting on his trajectory from Port-au-Prince to Guadalajara, New York and Paris, he bore witness to his “backward exile,” wandering, diasporic spaces and places, and expatriation as “modern-day marronage.”[8]

Chapter One showed that the institutional silencing of the African presence in the history of Quebec challenged diaspora formation. In this chapter, I examine Haitian exiles’ strategic use of the diasporic memory of slavery to interpret the refugee crisis, mobilize a movement to stop the incarceration and deportation of refugees, and bear witness to their exilic experience. In their diasporic imaginary, the makeshift boats that brought thousands of Haitians to Florida were *négriers* (slave ships), and the journey from northern Haiti was akin to the Middle Passage. Another parallel could be drawn between the plantation space and detention centers where surveillance was key and where authorities disregarded kinship by keeping wives and husbands apart and by snatching minors away from their relatives. [9] Such a historically (and culturally) potent lexicon reinforced continuities and connections amongst people of African descent in the Americas, and enabled Haitian exiles to re-imagine, translate and globalize their story without any *décalage*. African-American newspapers such as the *New York Amsterdam News* resorted to a similar imagery to foster black solidarity. African-American activists underscored the similarities between the treatment of domestic blacks and that of black refugees. On the other hand, this lexicon enabled exiles to produce a counter-archive that challenged the negative images exacerbated by Duvalier, the visibility of impoverished refugees, and the AIDS crisis that flooded the media as blatant and obscene poverty became the new trope to define Haiti. While the slavery lexicon spoke specifically to the experience of the so-called boat people, Jean-Claude Charles' reference to the rebel ex-slaves who lived on the margins of the plantation complex—a form of detour—encompassed all Haitian exiles regardless of class and destination.

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[5] See Yanick Jean-Pierre Lahens, “Manhattan Blues’ de Jean-Claude Charles ou quand l’exil devient errance,” *Conjonction* 169 (1986):9-12; Jean-Claude Charles, “ L’enracinerrance,” *Boutures* (2001): 37-41.

[6] *Entre Dieu et le Président, Les Lois de l’Hospitalité,* and *Les enfants de Millbrook* directed by José Berzosa (Antenne 2, 1982).

[7] Jean-Claude Charles, *De si jolies petites plages* (Paris: Stock, 1982), 18.

[8] Ibid., 15.

Background to the Refugee Crisis

On March 14, 1974, Haitian refugee Turenne Déville became a "cause célèbre" for Haitian political asylum supporters who protested the U.S. discriminatory treatment of Haitian immigrants. Déville had petitioned for asylum, but his request was denied after a twenty-minute interview. A few hours before being deported back to Haiti, Déville hung himself in the Miami jail where he was incarcerated. Déville's trajectory was a common one. Before landing on the shores of Florida in a makeshift sailboat, he had been threatened and jailed by the Macoutes in Haiti and had then escaped to Nassau where Haitians were unwanted and marginalized.

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[9] Jean-Claude Icart, *Négriers d'eux-mêmes: Essai sur les boat people haïtiens en Floride* (Montreal: Les Éditions du CIDIHCA, 1987).

Describing his plight as a prisoner in Haiti with no access to food, water, or medical assistance, Déville stated: “I can’t go back. If the regime falls today, I’m ready to go back; otherwise, I’ll not go back there. If the United States refuse to help me, send me to Africa.”[10]

As we have seen in Chapter Three, Jean-Claude Duvalier’s liberalization program and increased U.S. financial and military support coincided with the exodus of thousands of Haitians who chose to escape in rickety sailboats as their homeland sank deeper into poverty and macoutism. However, the U.S. state saw them as a disruptive force and traditionally denied their claims for asylum. Between 1970 and 1980, only twenty-five out the 50,000 requests for asylum were granted.[11] Upon arrival, refugees were detained and deported without due process, or they were coerced into “voluntary” return. In 1978, the INS announced that more than 170 refugees who came between August and September voluntarily agreed to return to Haiti. They had no hearings or legal representation and were told that “President Carter didn’t want them to come here, that Jean-Claude Duvalier was angry at them, that they would not have the right to work in the United States, and that they had the choice of going back to Haiti or spending their life in jail.”[12] Indeed, those released on a $500 bond were denied work authorizations, thus forcing them to rely on relatives and local organizations to survive.

From the 1970s on, the rationale was that Haitian were only fleeing from poverty, making them “illegal aliens” instead of asylum seekers. Haitian refugee advocates quickly protested the double standard the “black boat people” were subjected to. While Haitians were denied asylum, tens of thousands of refugees fleeing a left-wing regime were let into the U.S., demonstrating how foreign policy overrode humanitarian claims. Despite reports depicting gross human rights violations—including arrests without charges, jailing without trial, torture in prison, and summary execution—from organizations such as Amnesty International, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights, and the OAS, the close relationship with the Duvaliers, who branded themselves as staunch anti-Communists kept the U.S. from publicly condemning their regime as oppressive, and acknowledging Haitian emigration as a political statement.[13]

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[10] Testimony of the Deceased, by Turenne Déville, March 23, 1974 American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born records, 1964-1992, University of Miami Special Collections ASM0212

[11] Alex Stepick. *Pride against Prejudice: Haitians in the United States* (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon,1998), 101.

[12] American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born records 1964-1992, University of Miami Special Collections ASM0212

Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) officials feared that more immigrants would come from the Caribbean and Latin America if they did not limit the arrival of the Haitian boats. However, the INS policies were selective. While Haitians were portrayed as rural, poor, illiterate, unskilled black economic immigrants unfit for the national labor market, and subsequently denied political asylum, Cubans were welcomed with open arms as de facto political refugees. This "open arms, open heart policy" was embodied by the substantial federal financial support provided to assist the 270,000 refugees who arrived daily on U.S. sponsored "Freedom Flights" between 1965 and 1973 and the 1966 Cuban Adjustment Act that granted Cuban refugees automatic permanent residence after a year spent in the United States.[14] In 1974, State Department officials even concluded after a visit to Haiti that there was no "systematic political repression" going on.[15]

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[13] Gilburt Loescher and John Scanlan, "Human Rights, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Haitian Refugees," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 26, no. 3 (1984):313-356.

[14] In 1960, Eisenhower allocated $1 million in emergency relief for Cubans in Miami. Up until the arrival of the Mariel Cubans in 1980, federal appropriations for the Cuban Refugee Program reached 1.4 billion dollars, with peak spending happening in the 1970s. David M. Reimers, *Still the Golden Door: the third world comes to America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 160.

[15] "Quandary of the Haitian Refugees," *Wall Street Journal*, May 23, 1974.

In the meantime, Baby Doc was denying that any human rights violation was occurring in Haiti. In 1977, he pledged his commitment to human rights by putting some reforms in place and by releasing some political prisoners to placate the "humanitarian" Carter administration. When the Reagan administration sought to further deter immigrants from coming to the U.S. in the early 1980s with his interdiction program, the Haitian government publicly announced that returned refugees had nothing to fear.[16] When asked what happened to refugees who were returned to Haiti, Duvalier claimed that "the refugees who come back are welcomed by the Red Cross, which gives them the necessary care and then takes them to their hometown, where they resume their normal lives. We put buses at their disposal and give them a little pocket money for the trip home."[17] However, according to a former Macoute, Duvalier "simultaneously gave orders in secret to the military and the Macoutes that returning deportees from the United States and other countries should always be arrested. Everyone who leaves illegally and then returns is put in jail. The order is still standing and has never been revoked."[18] An archivist in the Bureau of the Grand Quartier-General of the Haitian army who was filing confidential documents from Security Forces officials, such as Chief of Secret Police Luc Désir from 1971 to 1975 stated that he was "able to read a message concerning a group of Haitians deported from the United States and arriving in Haiti labeled as Communists. This message contained the order to send them to Fort Dimanche to be executed and it was signed by Luc Désir." Former Macoute Daniel

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[16] This program consisted in intercepting Haitian boats on the high seas. The Coast guard had to "return the vessel and its passengers to the country from which it came, when there is reason to believe that an offense is being committed against the United States immigration laws." Bill Ong Hing, *Defining America through Immigration Policy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 247.

[17] "Duvalier: I can't stop boat people alone," *La Nouvelle Haiti Tribune*, 9/16 Juillet 1981, reprinted from Miami News, 1981.

[18] Stepick, "Haitian Exodus: Flight from Terror and Poverty," in Barry B. Levine, ed., *The Caribbean Exodus* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1987), 147.

Voltaire explained that "once we were given this order, we knew that this was the way to get promoted, generally further our careers, and to get cash bonuses. If you denounced someone to your superiors or to the Service Detective you often get promotions and money because this means that you are doing your job well."[19] Duvalier claimed he was indeed doing whatever he could to keep Haitians from leaving the country, by firing officials, investigating "soldiers steeped in the traffic," and passing "a law against the organizers of the boat trips." He told the U.S. government that he wanted "to have our citizens back, but on condition they give us the means of giving work to these people. We've proposed certain agro-industrial and industrial projects to U.S. officials, not only with the aim of repatriation, but also to keep those who intend to go to the United States."[20]

Jean-Claude Charles: Expatriation as modern day marronage

I was born in Port-au-Prince in 1949, escaped to Guadalajara one morning in August 1970, and never went back to my country. An emotional storm is taking over this script. So long, grey Paris, heavy clouds and damp streets, and hello big tropical sun! Like a ghost, I haunt my exile through the same crazy roads while I slowly puff on my pipe. My first words on my first notebook: a name, followed by an address and a phone number. Then, some fragment of "German Autumn" by Swedish writer Stig Dagerman: "analyzing the political ideas of a starving man without analyzing his hunger at the same time is blackmail." I like quotes. Word and silence savers. I'll get back to this. I always do.
I am yearning to get as close to Haiti as possible, even though the atmosphere in France is still breathable. Maybe the final step is to take the flight from San Juan to Port-au-Prince, just like that. What for?
Hailstones are hitting the window, falling on the carpet, and melting just as fast. I can see palm trees. Me, I'm crazy about my mother, this piece of island between Cuba and Puerto Rico.
This longing is not nationalism. I'm not talking about going back to the homeland. The pain is deeper. If I knew how deep, I would not write another word. Travelling is asceticism. I am tormented by the land I grew up in, but as a multicultural writer, my only homeland are words. I have no other goal than to shed light on an unknown space and unknown exile.[21]

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[19] Haitian Refugee Center vs. Benjamin Civiletti, 503 F. supp. 442 (S.D. FL. 1980), 532.

[20] "Duvalier, I can't stop boat people alone," *La Nouvelle Haiti Tribune*.

[21] Jean-Claude Charles, *De si jolies petites plages*, (Paris: Editions Stock, 1982), 18-19.

One of the characteristics of exiled intellectual Jean-Claude Charles' texts was the fact that they were crafted on the move, away from any sedentary national space.[22] Besides, he used his own wandering experience to interpret that of the "boat people." As such, he imagined a diasporic space of resistance and solidarity to restore the dignity and humanity jeopardized in the perilous journeying from Tortuga Island to the confines of the detention centers. During his months-long investigation, Charles met with like-minded Haitian activists such as priest Gérard Jean Juste in Miami and professor Jean-Claude Bajeux in Juana Diaz, PR. Though they came from much different backgrounds than the new refugees, the first comers knew all too well about repression at home and the alienation of displacement. They were two sides of the same tragedy. As Charles wrote in his essay, "our background, social class, personal itineraries and histories are not identical or interchangeable. Refusing tragedy is not a reliable common ground. We know refusal does not put an end to it, to the madness of power, and to death. I say "we" out of solitude."[23]

Charles described Haitian emigration as marronage. Such an understanding of the Haitian condition enabled him to connect to new refugees across class lines. It also prompted a connection to blacks in the Americas by summoning the diasporic memory of slavery and resistance. His work called attention to the peculiar fate of a heterogeneous black wandering class that mapped its way across the Caribbean, Europe, Africa, and North America, sowing the words and images of their struggle in order to take a stand against the destructive Haitian government and its supporters. In sum, the trajectory of refugees from the high seas and the narratives that bore witness to the re-mapping of these black spaces, characterized by the overlap of violence and journeying, underscored the reality and the visibility of black resistance.

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[22] Charles, "L'enracinerrance," 37.

[23] Charles, *De si jolies petites plages,* 16.

One of the spaces that Charles visited in the early 1980s was the Krome Avenue Detention center in Florida.[24] In 1982, there were approximately 2,177 Haitians detained at seventeen overcrowded and ill-equipped jails or prison-like locations at military sites for as long at eight months.[25] André, a twenty-eight-year-old man who flew from Port-au-Prince to Miami, was immediately placed in the custody of the INS upon landing, as unbeknownst to him, his visa was in fact a false document.[26] He was asked to choose between voluntary return and waiting for a hearing before an immigration judge. Then, to his dismay, he was sent to Krome Avenue Detention Center "with other moun ki pa vin avion" (people who did not come by plane). Had André stayed at the Skyways Motel on Le Jeune road in Miami like other Haitians with invalid U.S. visas who left Haiti with Air Florida, Eastern and Dominica, and remained in the custody of airlines security at the request of the INS for up to five days, he may have received a visit from three so-called refugees' advocates. Captain, a forty-five-year-old Cuban with light brown and gray hair, Francisco Barinco, a thirty-one-year-old tall light-skinned Haitian with a full head of hair, a mustache and a beard, and Yvon Julmice, a dark skinned Haitian wearing "a lot of gold jewelry around his neck and resembling Idi Amin in appearance," claimed they could secure an early release from INS custody for $40 to $500. Haitians fleeing Duvalier by plane were justifiably considered better off than those who left by boat, as they could spend about $2000 for their passport, exit visa and travel agent's fees.[27] At the airport, the motel or a large mansion, Captain, Francisco and Yvon collected their victims' money, airline tickets, and names of relatives they later contacted for more money. [28] In the 1980s, the fate of the Haitians who Paul Dejean called "air boat people" was considerably different from that of those who had fled the regime by plane over a decade ago, and who had been able to carve a niche in the U.S. without being bothered by the INS authorities.[29] At the overcrowded and emblematic Krome Avenue Detention Center, a former Nike missile base located at the edge of the Everglades in Miami, where "mosquitos, snakes, and other creatures of the swamp abound in the surrounding wilderness,"[30] André could see:

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[24] *Les Lois de L'hospitalité,* directed by José Berzosa (Antenne 2, 1982).

[25] "Refugees or prisoners?" *Newsweek,* Feb 2, 1982, and *Les Lois de l'hospitalité*.

[26] According to a survey conducted between 1983 and 1984, 20% of Haitian immigrants came by plane. Stepick, "The refugees nobody wants: Haitians in Miami," in Guillermi J. Grenier and Alex Stepick III, eds. *Miami Now: Immigration Ethnicity, and Social Change,* (Gainsville: University of Florida Press, 1992), 59.

> Three rows of chain-link fence, each topped with razor-sharp concertina wire, surround the compound. Armed guards patrol the perimeter. The buildings inside recall the camp's military mission—bunkers, hangars and barracks converted now to dorms and a cafeteria. Sanitary facilities are primitive: a row of pungent portable toilets lines one of the fences, while indoors the refugees struggle with low water pressure in the camp's few showers and bathrooms. In an outburst of candor last fall, Krome's camp commandant, Cecilio Ruiz of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), told a newspaper that he had even "seen people showering in the urinals."[31]

Krome Avenue South Detention Center was initially used to detain Haitian refugees. When it closed in October 1980, refugees were moved to Krome Avenue North Detention Center, a facility that housed approximately 1,200 detainees with a maximum capacity of 550.[32]

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[27] Cuban Haitian Task Force Collection, University of Miami archives

[28] Ibid.

[29] Paul Dejean, "Les boat people de l'air," *Le Devoir,*30 October 1979.

[30] "Inside a Haitian Refugee Camp," *New York Amsterdam News*, Dec 12, 1981.

[31] "Refugees or Prisoners?"

[32] "Refugees from Haiti arrive in New York from a Miami camp," *New York Times*, July 20, 1981.

André probably observed many environmental and safety hazards, such as an electric line strung between two tents that was at head level and could be easily touched, an outdated soda-acid fire extinguisher, undersized and inadequate shower and clothes washing facilities, poorly maintained camp toilets, a lack of heat in the tents, and lack of water. In addition, bacteriological analyses of the well water showed a low concentration of fecal coliform bacteria.[33] Near the gate, he would have seen "freshly washed clothes dry on the chicken wire fence, women squat on the ground with plastic buckets or garbage can lids, rubbing their few articles of clothing with soap and water." The only available phone was regularly out of service, which made it quite difficult to contact lawyers and family. When it worked, detainees could use it between 8am and 8pm, except during meal times, as those running the camp believed refugees should eat instead of talking on the phone. The thousand-bed dormitory was under construction. André joined the men in "a two-story concrete dormitory where the bunk beds and cots are jammed together in the most crowded living conditions imaginable." [34] In the dining hall, there were many tables and only a few chairs. Refugees sat on milk crates instead. Like most detainees, André would have eaten very little food. As some of them stated:

> The food here is not good. We cannot eat it. There are many people who get sick because of this. 56 people went to the doctor. There are women here with children. Children cannot eat the same food as adults. It does not taste good and there is not enough of it. We cannot eat youn ti kras pan (crust of bread) and dried meat for lunch every day. The juice they give us tastes bad. We have potato chips and crackers. The food isn't fit for us. Many people would rather go hungry than get sick from eating it."[35]

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[33] Cuban Haitian Task Force Collection.

[34] "Inside a Haitian Refugee Camp," *New York Amsterdam News*, Dec 12, 1981.

[35] Cuban Haitian Task Force Collection.

Men and women (and husbands and wives) lived in separated quarters. As for refugee children or “unaccompanied minors,” their experience revealed a dysfunctional and inefficient system which manufactured quite a few hurdles for the children, their relatives, and voluntary agencies between their arrival in detention centers—where they were separated from Haitian adults—and their release. One of the issues was that U.S. law did not recognize fictive kinship. Indeed, the Haitian concept of extended family goes beyond blood ties. Children have “cultural” fathers, mothers, aunts, uncles, and godparents who are adults they grow up around. Adults and children from the same village or neighborhood back home are considered kin. In essence, “unaccompanied minors,” were, for the most part, in good company, until they were detained in different quarters or different camps because the western conception of family differed from the Haitian one.

Krome authorities would only sign children out to mothers, fathers, or adoptive parents. Ivy Goldstsein, Volunteer in Service to America (VISTA) under the sponsorship of the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami, looked into the resettlement process and rightfully asked “what if parents were found, and with the children not in foster homes but legally adopted, would real Haitian parents or families do?” He reported that “the excuse of the cultural difference of extended family has been used (therefore, anybody could ascertain to being a ‘cousin,’ thus other persons might sign for children), but this appears to be poor when one is speaking of sisters and brothers, aunts and uncles, and grandparents.”[36] In many instances, blood relatives were kept from reuniting with the detainees. Families would wait for entire days to be entrusted with their relatives. The mother of an 11-year-old detainee, who lived in New York, had never been contacted. The sister of an unaccompanied minor whose cousin was an interpreter at Krome tried to sign out her 16-year-old brother in October and November 1980, to no avail. Goldstein was told he would be released to adoptive parents instead.

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[36] Ivy Goldstein, “Specific Incidents relating to children at Krome South and North,” October 31, 1980.

Eddy, Mireille, and Jean-Baptiste were some of the minors interviewed by Jean-Claude Charles in January 1981. They were part of the cohort of 103 minors waiting (indefinitely) for resettlement at the 1,500-acre Hope Farm campus of Greer-Woodycrest Children's Services located near Millbrook, NY. The program had started in December 1980 under a $1.6 million contract with the Federal Office of Refugee Resettlement.[37] The facility, established in 1834, had been closed "for lack of referrals" until the arrival of the Haitians.[38] Two teens—most minors were between fifteen and seventeen years old— shared a "comfortably sized room furnished with beds and dressers" in "cheerful and airy" cottages.[39] The residents had access to a television area, a kitchen, and a large room with chairs, tables, and cozy sofas. But the teens were not happy to be there.

Eddy and Mireille wanted to go live and work in Brooklyn (they had relatives there), and Jean-Baptiste, a folk painter, wanted to get brushes and paint. Instead, they attended a work-study program, five days a week for three hours to learn English and the basics of U.S. culture. The two ESL teachers hired by the facility worked with Haitian teachers' aides. In addition, the program entailed vocational training in painting, and carpentry.[40] The residents received a $2 weekly allowance and were given the opportunity to work up to three hours a day, five days a week in the kitchen, the infirmary or the yard, racking the "never ending supply of leaves" for $1 an hour. The teens could deposit and withdraw their wages from the Greer Woodycrest's "bank."[41] Mireille was working as a teacher's aide for $15 a week and sent her savings (up to $200) to her family in Haiti.[42]

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[37] "For Haitian children, a bittersweet new life," *New York Times*, Oct 17, 1981.

[38] "Haitian children in limbo at upstate camp," *New York Amsterdam News*, Feb 28, 1981.

[39] Citizens' Committee for Children of New York, Ny, 24.

[40] Citizens' Committee for Children of New York, NY, *Unaccompanied refugee minors: policies and programs*, April 1981, 24.

The Hope Farm Campus had a gymnasium, a swimming pool, a large playing area, and a soccer field. The Haitian minors, who were "not very coordinated for basketball," were not allowed to leave the center by themselves, but went on supervised shopping trips and excursions for roller skating and movies. They also took "educational" trips with one of the teachers. For instance, the teenagers went to a supermarket to learn how to compare prices, and to learn about the kinds of jobs they would be able to do. The conditions were undeniably better than at places like Krome, however, in Mireille's words, "Millbrook is a prison."[43] The president of the Citizen's Committee for Children of New York pointed at the failure of a program whose primary goal was to allow refugees "to live normal lives, to become acquainted with American society and to prosper, as they surely cannot in segregated institutions."[44] Marie Poitier, chairman of the Haitian Refugee Center CCSA's steering committee, stated, "but it might be better for the children to be a little dirty and live with their real families."[45] However, the refugees could not be reunited with their families or released into foster care until an agreement was signed between federal and state officials about federal reimbursement for placement costs.[46]

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[41] Citizens' Committee, 24.

[42] Charles, *De si jolies petites plages*, and *Les enfants de Millbrook*.

[43] *De si jolies petites plages*, 74.

[44] Jake C. Miller, *The Plight of Haitian Refugees*, 136-137

[45] "For Haitian children, a bittersweet new life," *New York Times*, Oct 17, 1981

[46] "Haitian children in limbo at upstate camp"

Jean-Claude Charles saw Millbrook as a prison with well-meaning paternalistic jailers who had no cultural understanding of the population they were responsible for. For Grace Sum, the program director, the detainees "had everything they needed to be happy." In fact, Charles saw the program through a Foucauldian lens and demonstrated in his work how the staff tried its best to mold the refugees to behave in accordance with what they perceived as acceptable American adolescent behavior. What they failed to understand was that depending on their background, the very concepts of childhood and teenagehood did not mean a thing in the sending society. Eddy and Jean-Baptiste had been providing for their families back home long before they landed at Millbrook. Making a perfect bed at 7 am everyday most likely felt like a ludicrous chore for them, but the program director believed that discipline (and punishment) was at the core of a successful acculturation. They had to adhere to a strict schedule but "they had no understanding of time," and failed to clean up their rooms, take a break, or eat as scheduled. They had "no understanding of the value of money" and wanted to call their relatives anytime, even though they were repeatedly told that it was cheaper on Sundays. They had to be told how to spend their earnings the "right" way. Those like Jean-Baptiste who did not behave (he wanted to waste money on brushes and paint) were not allowed to earn money. Grace Sum did not seem to have developed the empathy necessary to consider the trauma that such migrations produce, cultural (and geographical) differences, and homesickness, but she acknowledged signs of sadness and depression.

At Krome, as at the other camps, there was nothing to do all day but wait. On television there were soaps in a language refugees did not understand, and there were a couple of tables on the men's side dedicated to dominos. The living conditions at other camps such as Fort Allen, Puerto Rico, were just as bad. Unsurprisingly, protests became commonplace at the camps. On

December 27, 1981, in the afternoon, three hundred Little Haiti dwellers “stormed a gate at the facility, called Krome North, hurling stones and bottles,” according to INS spokesman Beverley McFarland.[47] Angry chants of “liberté, liberté” (freedom, freedom) could be heard. Over a hundred men fled the camp during the first confrontation between guards and outsiders. The police were called in and dispersed the demonstrators with tear gas and clubs. About ten arrests were made.[48]

The event took place as the Haitian detainees had ended a hunger strikes that started on Christmas’ Eve to protest their inhumane detention. It was one of the largest and most virulent demonstration in the U.S.[49] In September, detainees had demonstrated against conditions at the camp after INS officials tried to take away the leaders of a hunger strike. They threw rocks and food and some fled through the barbed-wire-topped fence. INS officials had contract guards crush the demonstration with tear gas. According to Verne Jervis, a spokesman for the INS in Washington, “the unusual thing this time was that everyone appeared to be involved, including the women.”120 detainees—including the 25 to 30 “instigators of the disturbance”—were subsequently transferred to a medium security prison in Otisville, NY. At Otisville, the Haitians were incarcerated in a separated cell block, away from drug offenders and bank robbers. As such, they had no access to the recreation area.[50]

Father Gérard Jean Juste, or “Gerry,” director of the Haitian Refugee Center Inc. (HRC) in Miami and leader of the refugee association Konbit Libèté, was one of many first comers who tackled the refugee crisis head-on. For him, 1,200 people from the Haitian community had come to Krome to peacefully support the detainees that December.[51] He said the "disturbance had not been planned, but that it began after the demonstrators heard reports that some of the detainees had fainted from hunger."[52] Born in 1946 in Cavaillon, in the Sud Department of Haiti, political and social activist Jean Juste left his country at nineteen to attend the Saint Joseph seminary in New Brunswick after Duvalier turned against the members of the Catholic Church who did not support his regime. When he came back, he was arrested. "I refused to take an oath that I will obey Duvalier," he said. "That's one of the reasons why I was arrested in Haiti. Once you refuse to support Duvalier, you do not receive any salary from the government. I didn't accept any salary. I chose to live on my own personal funds."[53] Jean Juste believed that "we need to help the people to rise up against the government and enjoy their rights. And if the Church can't be a fire starter in Haiti, then the Church is failing its mission of liberating the people." In 1971, he was ordained by an exiled Haitian bishop in New York. He became the first Haitian priest to be ordained in the U.S. Jean Juste settled down in Miami in 1977 after teaching English in the Bostonian Haitian community. He was in his early 30s.

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[47] “Immigration says over 100 fled from Haitian camp,” *New York Times*, 29 Dec, 1981.

[48] “Le Noël des Réfugiés Haïtiens,”*La Nouvelle Haiti Tribune*, Dec 29- Jan 6, 1982.

[49] “The Haitian Chant: Liberté,” *Newsweek*, January 11, 1982.

[50] U.S. Transfers 120 Haitians to Prison in New York State, *New York Times*, Sept 5, 1981.

Jean Juste was very vocal about his support for the boat people and his disapproval of Duvalier and U.S. immigration policy. Like most new refugee advocates, he understood that race played a key role in the way they were handled. As a fervent admirer of Martin Luther King Jr., he taught his philosophy of nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience to the members of Kombit Libètè. He told them to "sit where the police ask you not to, talk between yourselves, pray, sing, after inviting the media. Don't break anything, don't use violence, just don't obey. Until they arrest you. Judges will have a hard time finding anything to charge you with."[54] During a conference sponsored by the Coalition for Haitian Asylum in Oakland, CA, Jean Juste stated that "this is the first time in history that boat people have come to these shores for asylum; at the present time America has no room for Black people, which is their 'escape-goat'. If you're white, you're right, if you're brown, stick around, but if you're black, get back."[55]

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[51] Here I am focusing on organizations in Miami and Puerto Rico, but there were Haitian-led organizations everywhere in the diaspora.

[52] "Immigration says over 100 fled from Haitian camp."

[53] *Entre Dieu et le president*, directed by José Berzosa (Antenne 2, 1982).

The priest, who once found an 8-year-old girl, Rosalène Dorsinvil, "sobbing hysterically alone in a cell," during a routine visit to the West Palm Beach City Jail where she had been jailed for two weeks, also criticized the detention of Haitian minors.[56] Even though Jean Juste received many letters of support, especially from the African-American community, he also received many death threats. In addition, he lost the support of the National Council of Churches in September 1980, officially due to "incompetence and insubordination" according to Mary Poitier and Christian Community Agency (CCSA) administrator Mary Smith Boyle.[57] The CCSA cut the electricity to the Center and discontinued other services, forcing Jean Juste to vacate the premises. The priest described the CCSA as a "paternal organization which tried to do everything for Haitians instead of encouraging them to help themselves." Jean Juste noted that the CCSA only had one Haitian on their board and decision-making did not involve any Haitians.[58] Members of the center's steering committee, the center's attorneys, the local chapters of the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Rep. Shirley Chisholm, Del. Walter Fauntroy, and the Haitian community protested the CCSA's decision. Two months later, Jean Juste opened the Haitian Refugee Center Inc. with the financial support of the Ford Foundation.[59] The center was staffed with two lawyers, a deputy director, a receptionist, two paralegals and many volunteers. Only the deputy director and the receptionist were paid. Though the firing of Jean Juste created some tensions between the first HRC and other Haitian agencies, the center continued to offer immigration and legal services, emergency food and clothing, acculturation programs, political advocacy, and even creole classes for non-creole speakers.[60] When the transfer of refugees to Fort Allen became a reality, the HRC CCSA worked day and night to find relatives and housing in South Florida.

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[54] Charles, *De si jolies petites plages*, 119.

[55] "Miami Priest Aids Haitian Refugees," *New Pittsburgh Courier*, Apr 24, 1982.

[56] "Priest discovers 8-year-old child of Haitian refugee jailed for two weeks by immigration authorities," Press release, Rescue Committee for Haitian Refugees, December 4, 1978.

[57] Yetta Deckelbaum, "Little Haiti, the evolution of a community," (PhD diss, Florida Atlantic University, 1983), 62.

[58] Meeting with Father Jean Juste, 1/6/81, letter to Silvia Gonzales, HHS.

Like the Haitian Refugee Center established in 1974 (with the National Council of Churches), Jean Juste's center helped with legal issues relating to Haitian entrants and refugees, and sometimes provided food and clothing as well. In addition, the center also worked as an advocacy organization "concerned with the protection of the refugees/entrants' civil and legal rights and organizes rallies and demonstrations on refugees/entrants' behalf in conjunction with other Haitian organizations on a national and international basis." Besides that, the center dealt with the adaptation of immigrants to U.S. society, and held conferences and meetings to discuss their "spiritual and moral welfare." Resettlement, which fell under the responsibility of the ORR, was a big issue with the immigrant community. The HRC provided temporary housing for those whose sponsorships fell through and spoke out against out-of-state resettlement.[61]

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[59] Stepick, "Haitians in Miami," in *Miami Now*, 71. The first center was then referred to as Haitian Refugee Center CCSA (Christian Community Service Agency).

[60] Cuban Haitian Task Force Collection.

[61] "Meeting with Father Jean Juste, Haitian Refugee Center, Inc., 1/6/81, Department of Health and Human Services.

The HRC criticized the treatment of unaccompanied minors at home but was equally invested in child welfare within the Haitian community, where children were left unsupervised or in the care of slightly older siblings. In January 1981, the HRC Inc. submitted a proposal to the Cuban Haitian Task Force (CHTF) for a childcare outreach program to relieve the parents or guardians who earned salaries below the minimum wage, who were exploited by unscrupulous landlords, and whose status prevented them from receiving social and health services at little to no cost. The idea was to provide training sessions for parents as well as day care providers "to improve standards of day care within the homes, to increase the parents and /or guardians knowledge of basic child rearing principles, to increase the adults knowledge of social, health and day care services within the community, and to have services for children become more accessible to the Haitian community."[62] While immigrants with refugees status received Aid to Families with Dependent Children and general assistance from the State Department of Social Justice, the temporary entrant status afforded to Haitians did not grant them access to these social services.

Up until 1981, there were up to forty organizations helping the new immigrants, besides the two HRCs, including the Solidarity Haitian Action Relief Program (SHARP), the Haitian American Voter Education Center (HAVEC), the Haitian American Community Association of Dade County (HACAD), Haitian Relief Services, the Haitian refugee project in America, Inc., the Pierre Toussaint Haitian Catholic Center, and the Haitian Mental Health Center. SHARP members sought sponsors (especially amongst African Americans) for refugees detained at Robert F. Kennedy federal prison in West Virginia. Joseph B. Léandre, director of operation at

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[62] Haitian Refugee Center Inc., "acculturation/outreach proposal for Haitian children," January 12, 1981.

SHARP, was a Haitian artist who had lived in the U.S. for eighteen years. He strove to raise funds for a Children's Relief Center based in Miami. The center offered health screening, language introduction, amusement, and recreation "to help release the tension and fear Haitians are experiencing."[63]

Jacques Despinosse, one of the founders of HAVEC, was a naturalized citizen born in Haiti, and a registered voter since 1974 who firmly believed in the power of the ballot. Despinosse believed that "if the Haitian community was well-organized, we would never have Haitians locked up at Krome."[64] On February 12, 1981, HAVEC issued a statement about the Reagan administration's racist handling of the black refugees:

> The maltreatment exercised toward our Haitian brothers and sisters concerned all of us Black Americans. THIS IS A SLAP IN OUR FACE. While the doors of U.S.A. have always been open to refugees around the world, we find them closed for Black boat people, the Haitians. Should acceptation or exclusion of refugees be based on SKIN COLOR? We, concerned citizens, say no. "EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER THE LAW FOR ALL."
>
> We are right now demanding that discriminatory tactics be stopped. This is a Black issue. All of us Black Americans, here and around the Nation, must completely stand up and demand justice for Haitians. We urge all of you and those who believed in equal justice to send letters and telegrams to the White House demanding President Reagan to rescind that racist order issued by Hugh K. O' Brien of the Detention and Deportation Division of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Washington, D.C.
>
> Grant Refugee Status to Black Boat People, the Haitians.

The HACAD was founded in 1974 by a group of Haitians and Haitian Americans from New York to provide social services such as information, referral, case advocacy, counseling, education, and employment to the Haitian community. In 1977, various grants from the campaign for Human Development, the United Way, the Methodist Church and Church World

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[63] "Haitian refugees in W. Va.," *New Pittsburgh Courier*, August 8, 1981.

[64] Jack C Miller, *The plight of Haitian refugees*, 174.

Service made it possible for the HACAD to have paid staff. In late 1979, they started a clinic that could function thanks to Haitian professionals who volunteered some of their time. In April 1980, they opened a new clinic with funds from Health and Human Services. HACAD was the only voluntary agency primarily dedicated to offering social services to the Haitian community. They were part of the Haitian Coalition alongside with the Community Action Agency, the HRC, and the Haitian Mental Health Center that organized the resettlement of Haitian entrants at the start of the Haitian influx in 1980 before the CHTF (and later the ORR) took over. Ultimately, Haitian community agencies were ignored in favor of the Black Social Workers of South Florida for the resettlement process.[65]

There were many tensions between the CHTF and voluntary agencies. Rulx Jean Barte, then director of the HACAD, denounced the lack of continuity in the staff, and the lack of follow-up, as correspondence was left unanswered and requests unaddressed. He added that "the Task Force only contacts Haitian agencies and the community when it has a problem it cannot solve or when there is a crisis."[66] Father Dardouze of the Pierre Toussaint Haitian Catholic Center noted that the CHTF had no Haitian in a position of authority, and that the relationship between the Haitian community and the force "could use some improvement."[67] The Center, named after "the first black saint and a philanthropist in New York City," offered a mass in creole on Sundays at 9 am and a 4pm, provided English classes. Dardouze conducted services with two American priests, Father Wenski (who learned creole in rural Haiti) and Father Marcel Peloquin. The center also participated in housing relocation and vocational training.[68]

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[65] The Black Social Worker of South Florida was a chapter of the National Association of Black Social Workers (NABSW) which was created in San Francisco in 1968. NABSW was built on several goals; they sought to "unite Black people regardless of status to work toward relationships directed toward their mutual survival," "play a supportive role in assisting groups, offering expertise in the planning needed or asked for by groups," and to "embody a code of ethics relevant to Black people." Joyce M. Bell, *The Black Power Movement and American Social Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 119-120.

[66] Letter to Silvia Gonzales, Meeting with Rulx Jean Barte, 1/6/81 HHS.

[67]Cuban and Haitian Task Force Collection.

Finally, Claude Charles, director of the Haitian services at the Haitian Mental Health Center, believed that Haitians should be included at the policy-making level. He complained about the "paternal, neocolonial, and racist nature" of the CHTF. He claimed that the CHTF "had done everything possible to demonstrate that some services his organization rendered to the community previously were being conducted under false pretenses and that the personnel were incompetent." One such service, helping Haitians to secure social security numbers, was stopped. In addition, Charles was barred from Krome, even though refugees "would have benefited from his center in the camps as they were undoubtedly suffering mentally and physically from their boat voyages and because of the poor conditions within the camps."

The HMHC was part of the Community Mental Health Center ethnic community teams created in 1974, assisting the Haitian, Puerto Rican, Cuban, African American, West Indian, and white American communities. It worked on an anthropological social psychiatric approach to mental health and embraced both community-based work and clinical care delivery. The HMHC worked with Krome refugees to "alleviate the traumatic hardships endured by new comers, situational discomfort resulting from lack of proper communication about the conditions of staying at the camp, broader stress related to the difficulties of adjustment to a new way of life." To that effect, the HMHC organized group counseling, large orientation sessions, distribution of clothes, toilet articles, and recreational materials such as dominoes, cards, checkers, or card tables. They also provided pens, writing paper and envelopes, pick-up and delivery mail services, and they mobilized a network to find the addresses of relatives.

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[68] Deckelbaum, "Little Haiti," 72.

In Juana Diaz, PR, Fort Allen detainees received much support, notably from the Puerto Rican people, who marched in San Juan to protest their treatment, donated clothing, and offered to sponsor them while their asylum applications were pending.[69] They also received support from the Inter-Regional Council for Haitian Refugees whose headquarters were in San Juan, and the Toussaint L'Ouverture Center in Ponce. The Inter-Regional Council for Haitian Refugees was founded in May 1981 in Geneva to coordinate the activities of the main refugees' organizations in New York, Montréal, Paris, Miami, or Nassau. They advocated against the transfer of Haitian refugees to Puerto Rico, raised public awareness of the inhumane treatment they were subjected to, and provided moral, material and legal support to the detainees. Despite the camp director's refusal to grant him access to the detainees, Jean-Claude Bajeux, general director of the Inter-Regional council, and his management team, helped to connect the refugees with their families, provided them with clothes and other personal necessities, and, most importantly, legal advice.

Jean-Claude Bajeux was a professor of Caribbean literature at the University of Puerto Rico whose relatives were disappeared by Duvalier in 1964. As a fervent supporter of human rights, he created and managed the Ecumenical Center for Human Rights in the Dominican Republic to support Haitian refugees before being deported in May 1980. His wife Sylvie Bajeux Wadestrandt, whose family was also wiped out by Duvalier during the Jeremie massacre, was arrested three months after she took over the management of the center. She was a member of the Inter-Regional Council steering committee. Other members included sociologist Laennec Hurbon (also in charge of the L'Ouverture Center in Ponce), sociologist at the National Center for Scientific Research, and Paul Latortue, professor of economics at the University of Puerto Rico.

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[69] "Miserable holidays await Fort Allen Haitians," *New York Amsterdam News*, Dec 26, 1982, and Lafontant Gerdes, *Fuerte Allen: la diaspora haitiana* (Río Piedras, PR: Editorial Plaza Mayor, 1996), 99.

All members of the Center were very active on the international scene, speaking on behalf of the refugees. Starting in October 1981, on radio Coquí, Bajeux, Hurbon, and Latortue presented a radio program for the refugees in Spanish and creole. Refugees eagerly tuned in to hear news about Haiti, the diaspora, and U.S. immigration policies.[70] These refugee advocates also raised awareness of the detention conditions through the diasporic press. In *Collectif Paroles,* Jean-Claude Bajeux also used the maroon metaphor to interpret the plight of the new refugees. He wrote in a column titled "The Punishment of the Maroons" that Fort Allen aimed at "wearing down a people to force them to return to their own space, namely the colonial plantation managed by an overseer-for-life, Jean-Claude Duvalier."[71]

Jean-Claude Charles wrote that exilic spaces were marked by the bareness of the walls. This was a symbol of wandering, of settling down in temporariness, and of waiting. But the camps, as lay-overs on the refugees' journey, were marked by mutinies, hunger strikes, and suicides. Female detainees sang in creole, plaited each other's hair, and waited. Men played soccer, dominos, and waited. They worried about their relatives back home and complained they could not send them any money. For some of them, the voices on the cassettes, symbols of exile, connected them to Haiti, and helped them survive. But on those cassettes, or in their letters, the recurrent message "We'll pray for you, do not come back," turned these infernal waiting rooms into symbols of collective solitude.[72]

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[70] Lafontant Gerdes, 112-113.

[71] Jean-Claude Bajeux,"Le Châtiment des Marrons,"*Collectif Paroles,* 1982.

[72] *Les enfants de Millbrook.*

“Brothers and sisters caught in an involuntary African diaspora”

African-American civil rights activists were at the forefront of the fight for Haitian refugees from the beginning, and underlined the racial component of U.S. immigration policy. Most significantly, they appealed to black unity by highlighting commonalities in the global black experience. For instance, Harris Frank from the *New York Amsterdam News* appealed to diasporic memory by comparing Haitian refugees to Dred Scott.[73] It was an association of Black Baptist churches that welcomed and helped the refugees who arrived in December 1972. With other Protestant churches, they later made a plea to the National Council of Churches to fund the Haitian Refugee Center in 1974.[74] The Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) had been focused on foreign policy issues since 1971, especially in African issues (Southern Africa), and gradually developed an interest in Haiti and Haitian refugees as well as other Caribbean issues. [75] For them, the refugee policy towards Haitians was “tainted with race, class, or ideological prejudice.”

They became especially active in the effort to change Haiti policy through speeches, letters, and protests and also sought the cooperation of black churches to sponsor Haitian refugees. On June 21, 1974 Representative Shirley Chisholm (NY) spoke at a public rally held in Brooklyn where Haitian refugees gave “first-hand reports on the repressive conditions in the Caribbean country and their fight to gain resident status as political refugees in the same manner as thousands of Cubans who fled from their homeland since the Castro regime."[76] In 1975, the CBC requested a memorandum in concert with the South Florida congressional delegation for a congressional inquiry "into miscarriage of justice in asylum denial to Haitian refugees."[77] In 1976, Chisholm and Delegate Water Fauntroy (DC) founded the Congressional Black Caucus Task Force on Haitian Refugees to advocate for "humane treatment and equal justice" for Haitian refugees.[78]

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[73] “Dred Scott and the Haitian refugees: Sacrifical lambs in the name of freedom,” *New York Amsterdam News*, Jul 21, 1931.

[74] Stepick, *“The Refugees nobody wants,”* 60.

[75] For more on African Americans and U.S. foreign policy, See Raymond W. Copson, *The Congressional Black Caucus and Foreign Policy: 1971-1995*, Congressional Research Service: the Library of Congress, January 18, 1996, Alvin B. Tillery Jr.,*Between homeland and motherland: Africa, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Black Leadership in America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), Brenda Gayle Plummer, *In Search of Power: African Americans in the Era of Decolonization, 1956-1974* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

In 1980, Florida faced a significant asylum crisis. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, between 50,000 and 70,000 Haitians arrived by boat in Miami, and between 5,000 and 10,000 flew in from Haiti. Haitian arrivals attained its highest level in March and April 1980 and coincided with the arrival of about 125,000 Cuban refugees sailing from the port of Mariel. The treatment of Haitians compared to that of Cubans (though many indicated they had left for economic reasons) and Southeast Asians did not go unnoticed by Haitian advocates nor the media. Nationwide protests pushed for "equal treatment" of Haitians refugees.[79] The case of the Mariel Cubans was a complex one. Although the U.S. previously admitted refugees from communist counties without documentation or processing, the 1980 Refugee Act signed by president Carter on March 20 was based on the U.N.'s 1951 Convention and the 1968 Protocol on Refugees. Refugees were no longer defined as people fleeing a communist regime, but as "a person who is unable to return to, or avail himself of, the protection of his country of origin and is subject to persecution, or has a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion, and is unable, or unwilling, to return to his or her country of nationality or residence."

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[76] Rally for Haitian Refugees, *New York Amsterdam News*, June 15, 1974.

[77] American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born records 1964-1992, University of Miami Archives.

[78] Raymond W. Copson, *The Congressional Black Caucus and Foreign Policy*,13.

[79] Bryan O. Walsh, "The Boat People of South Florida," 420.

The CBC fought hard to have Haitian refugees included into the Refugee Act and finally obtained a change in the geographic and ideological definition of refugee. They considered the fate of Haitian refugees important since foreign policy issues directed at the black diaspora were of particular interest to black voters. Fauntroy stated that "the caucus' Guidelines for Black Voter's Evaluation of Presidential Candidates includes support to "change the U.S. immigration system, which has discriminated against the Haitian boat people while favoring those from Southeast Asia."[80] While meeting with the Caribbean Action Lobby as Caucus Chairman in 1982, he said that "Black Americans and people from the island nations of the Caribbean are brothers and sisters caught in an involuntary African diaspora…We are cousins in the African family. We here in American are a valuable constituency for black people wherever they may be."[81] The Caucus chairman had previously highlighted the idea of unity as keynote speaker at a Haitian rally attended by about 900 exiles (including former Haitian President Paul Magloire) in Manhattan's Upper West side.[82]

The NAACP was another champion of the Haitian cause. The organization issued several statements on behalf of the refugees and participated in a march on Washington on December 12, 1981 to protest the "unjust treatment" of refugees. At a press conference attended by Haitian leaders Jean Dupuy, head of the Haitian Neighborhood Center in Manhattan, Father Antoine Adrien, and Guy Sansaricq, coordinator of the Haitian ministry for the Diocese of Brooklyn,

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[80] "Black Boat People: A Test for Carter," *Los Angeles Times*, Feb 27, 1980.

[81] Congressional record, October 1, 1982 p. E4601-E4602.

[82] "Haitian refugees rally hits Duvaliers 'opressed' rule," *New York Amsterdam News*, Oct 1, 1977.

Yvon Rosemond, coordinator of the Committee for Defense of Haitian Refugees, NAACP Deputy Executive Director Charles Smith stated that they had "set into motion additional steps to support the cause of the Haitian refugees from detention centers and prison:"

> 1. The NAACP Legal Department designing a new strategy to seek release of the refugees from detention centers and prisons
> 2. Activating the large network of NAACP branches nearest the centers to monitor all activities and provide as much comfort to the refugees as possible.
> 3. Urging all branches to send telegrams and letters to President Reagan urging him to release the refugees before Christmas.[83]

In addition, executive director Ben Hooks wrote a letter to President Reagan in which he condemned his administration's policy towards Haitian refugees who were "singled out for special and harsh treatment unlike any other refugee and in spite of the fact that we have welcomed and supported more than half million refugees from elsewhere in the past two years."[84]

Carolyn Fowler, an Associate professor of Black Literature at Atlanta University, wrote in a letter to the *Pittsburgh Courier* that "as black people, we have a special knowledge and a special, historical interest in responding. We are perhaps in a special position to act." She asked the readers to write the INS, their congressman or congresswoman, to "establish in your church, civic or social club a task force to oversee government treatment of the Haitian detainees, and to provide support service to them."[85] Finding sponsors for the refugees became especially important in the summer of 1982 when 3,500 Haitians from Miami, New York and Puerto Rico were paroled while their cases were pending.[86] Finally, Rev. Jesse Jackson, leader of Operation PUSH, organized a march of 1,000 people on April 19, 1980 to a hotel in Miami where the government was detaining sixty Haitian women and children. In 1982, he met with Pope John Paul II for twenty minutes to discuss the situation of the 2,500 Haitian refugees held in "concentration camps" in Florida.[87]

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[83] "Haitian leaders, NAACP join protest moves over refugees," *The Crisis*, December 1981.

[84] Benjamin Hooks, "Letter to President Ronald Reagan," Nov. 25, 1981, quoted in Jake C. Miller, *The plight of Haitian refugees*, 96.

The Boat Motif

On February 23rd, 1981, many Haitians gathered in the woods at the water's edge where small boats docked awaiting their human cargo. The small boat designated to carry Louités and 150 others to a "mother ship" somewhere offshore was so crowded that many had to stand. One half hour out to sea, it began to take water. Everyone was afraid and scanned the horizon for "the mill" or mother ship that was not there. Louitès said he was very anxious and hoped that they had not missed the "mill" because they would all die on the small boat. He said, "it was about two hours later, my mind was still wondering about our present situation; the others were complaining, crying and asking to return to Haiti if the "mill" could not be located. The captain finally offered the only explanation for not having located the mothership: 'There was never a mothership nor will there be one. We are on our way to Miami.' Whoever was content with this decision could continue the voyage, whoever was not content, could go overboard immediately. The captain said that he and his men did not want to hear one word from anyone; they wanted total silence. People had no choice but to listen to him otherwise they would be thrown overboard."

Everyone became concerned with reaching Miami. They made a short stop in Cuba, but were not allowed to go ashore. They were given some food and water by the Cuban guards and then continued their voyage.

The rest of the voyage was as troublesome and uncertain as its beginning. The tossing of the sea, lack of food and water, and anxiety about reaching Miami, made it extremely difficult to keep the group calm and under control. Some persons were dying of hunger; some were voluntarily jumping overboard because they could no longer endure the pressure. Others were thrown overboard by the captain and his men because their behavior disturbed or excited others. Some persons became possessed by their loua (Voodoo gods) and were thrown overboard. One possessed man was so strong and violent that the captain hacked him onto

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[85] "Haitian refugees urgently need your concern and help," *New Pittsburgh Courier*, Jun 19, 1982.

[86] David M. Reimers, *Still the golden door: the third world comes to America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 198.

[87] "Jesse Jackson sees Pope about Haitian refugees," *New York Times*, February 26, 1982.

pieces with a machete and threw them to the fishes. Another possessed woman was told to sit next to one of the captain's men; she did so and was tossed into the sea. Everyone who witnessed this incident felt it was unjust as she had been seated quietly during most of the voyage. Her possession resulted directly from the roughness of the voyage and she would have calmed down. Like everyone else, however, she was at the mercy of the captain.
Louitès said he wondered when it would be his turn to die. "I realized, he said, in order to stay alive, I had to pretend that I did not see what was going on- at least until I got to Miami. Too many were dying already. Other young men who protested were thrown overboard. Those who remained were part of the captain's force. The Bible I carried with me is what helped me make it through. I read about and saw movies about the slaves' transport from Africa to the islands and America. I always thought that was atrocious and often wondered how could human beings subject others to such inhumane treatment. I am sorry to say that what we went through was probably identical to what happened in the 16th century and may have the same impact on us it had on the slaves. I hope we don't go crazy after that experience."
The boat, named "Accolade" (Embrace), finally reached the shores of Miami on March 10th. The time spent at sea was rather brief in comparison to other Haitian refugees, but surely the horrible experience greatly surpassed others' voyage. One woman died as she set foot on the beach. To the others; their problems had ended. "We were now in the dream land, America, the land of opportunity, the land of freedom and security." [88]

In his narrative, Louitès powerfully invited the collective memory of the slave ship and the Middle Passage, thus emphasizing the vulnerability of black bodies and their traumatic dispersal, the violence of the crossing, and the uncertain outcome. Over the course of her fieldwork amongst Haitian refugees in Florida, anthropologist Rose-Marie Cassagnol Chierici noted that "drawing of boats often appear in the migrant camps, on doors, on walls, in pictures that the migrant draws." In Vodou cosmology, boats are vévé (symbols) that represent Agwé, a Haitian *lwa* or spirit. He is the master of the sea, the protector of navigation and shipping. Chierici found out that homesick refugees sometimes stood on these vévé in the hope that Agwé would take them back home.[89]

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[88] Interview with Louitès, Lee Weinstein's report, Cuban Haitian Task Force, May 14, 1981.

[89] Rose-Marie Cassagnol Chierici, *Demele "Making it:" Migration and adaption among Haitian boat people in the United States*, (New York: AMS Press, Inc.,1991), 137.

Jean-Claude Charles had a similar experience when he visited the Hope Farm campus of Greer-Woodycrest Children's Services located near Millbrook, NY, where many of the teenagers' art works produced during painting classes represented "sailboats with tattered sails afloat on the blue sea."[90] Images of boats and crossings constantly haunted conversations about the migration experience. Though these rituals were necessary to thank Agwé for the safe passage to the Florida shores to overcome the terror of displacement, and to reconstruct a shattered self, they also marked refugee centers as part of a spiritual Caribbean space of transformation and resistance, and gave refugees a sense of cultural identity. As noted by scholars Terry Rey and Alex Stepick, "immigrant Haitian art serves to ground identity, inspire feelings of worthiness, and provide refuge and solace."[91]Along the same lines, an oft-cited enslaved African funerary ritual witnessed by ex-slave Charles Ball included a miniature canoe and a little paddle whose goal was to bring him back home. The canoe necessarily recalled the Middle Passage experience, but also transcended it as it had the potency to symbolically resurect the homeland.

As a reference to multilateral journeys not only to and from the old worlds but also in between diasporic spaces, and as a spiritual evocation of surviving rites and beliefs, the ship's potency as a marker of trauma, dislocation and instability can also be read as a womb in which resistance is nurtured. The multilayered visualities of the boat motif, that has been revisited over and over again in black diaspora visual art, speak to the ways in which the Atlantic journey is memorialized. Paul Gilroy's concept of the ship as "living, micro-cultural, micro-political sin motion," or a vehicle of "ideas and activists" helps us to read Haitian exiles' artistic production as a visual counter-archive that documents suffering and resistance against displacement, violence, and negative representations. In sum, the boat motif was twofold. On the one hand, it provided comfort and familiarity to the refugees—old and new—as it reconnected them with their homeland. On the other hand, the motif (which, as a slave ship, was a recurring image in abolitionist propaganda and represented slavery in popular visual culture) translated the Haitian experience into a relatable visual language.[92]

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[90] "For Haitian children, a bittersweet new life," *New York Times,* Oct 17, 1981.

[91] Terry Rey and Alex Stepick, "Visual culture and Visual Piety in Little Haiti: the Sea, the Tree, and the Refugee," in Paul DiMaggio and Patricia Fernández-Kelly, eds., *Art in the Lives of Immigrant Communities in the United States* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 229.

Exiled Haitian-American artist Babette Wainwright resorted to that diasporic memory with her piece *Lowtides* (Figure 1). Raised in the Haitian middle-class, and sent into exile in New York as a teen in the late 1970s, Wainwright claims her work represents the culture of the "real Haitian people" and her cultural past is central to her artistic expression. In addition, she focuses on Haitian women, who, in Haitian culture, hold the matrifocal society together. Her work speaks of "transformation, both spiritual and cultural," and as a "language which is both personal and universal."[93] *Lowtides* represents a makeshift boat that is crowded with faceless bandana-wearing women who strikingly betray a sense of individuality. All the women stand erect, but movement is conveyed through the position of their arms. Some are looking down at the imagined water while others are looking ahead. Despite the ominous endless sea, the seeming precariousness of that transient object, the dense togetherness of these women keeps them moving. For art historian Bolaji Campbell, Wainwright's work represents the Middle Passage; it is emblematic of the infamous journey across the Atlantic.

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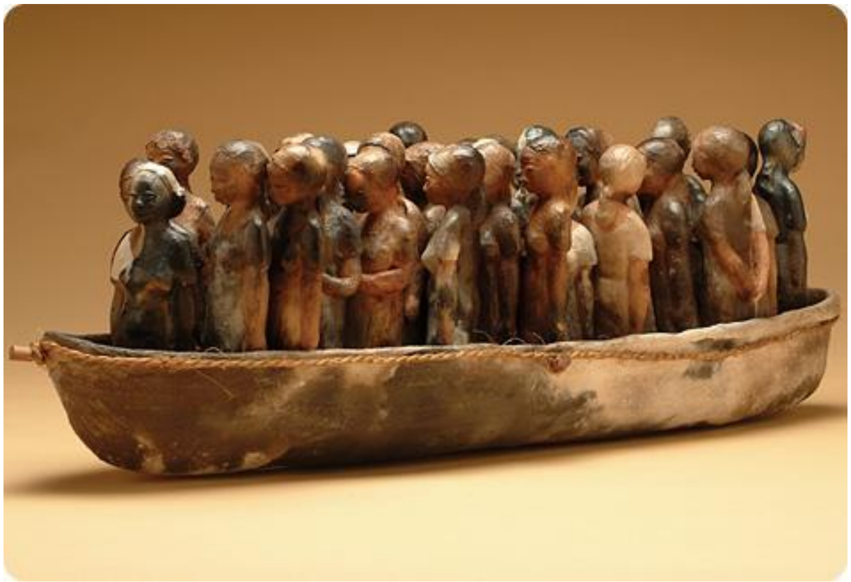
[92] Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780-1865* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 14.

[93] Babette Wainwright quoted in Bolaji Campbell, "Of Story-Telling and the Slippery Medium of Clay: Babette Wainwright's Image of the Woman at the Diasporic Crossroads,"*African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 1 (January 2008):59.

Wainwright's artwork can be read in a more specific context, that of the Haitian journey to the Florida shores. For Wainwright, the work is "a metaphor of the exodus for the oppressed and the persecuted throughout history. It is about a people's courage to risk death on unpredictable oceans in the pursuit of survival and dignity."[94] The title of the piece is meaningful, as it denotes the trash left behind when water leaves the shores; as a child, Wainwright used to love walking on the beach to discover the "treasures" offered by the sea. The dichotomy between both images of trash and treasures is telling of Wainwright's effort to subvert the representation of the "boat people" both a home and abroad.

- 

(Figure 1. Babette Wainwright, *Lowtides*, 2001, Winthrop University. Image downloaded from https://www.winthrop.edu/virtualtour/art-tour-low-tides.aspx).

Epilogue: "The Phrase"

> *I call it "the Phrase" and it comes up almost anytime Haiti is mentioned in the news: the Poorest Nation in the Western Hemisphere. These seven words represent a classic example of something absolutely true and absolutely meaningless at the same time [...]*

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[94] Ibid., 63.

> *The Phrase is a box, a metaphorical prison. If Haiti is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, that fact is supposed to place everything in context. Why we have such suicidal politics. Why we have such selfish politicians. Why we suffer so much misery. Why our people brave death on the high seas to wash up on the shores of Florida.*[95]

The refugee crisis highlighted diasporic solidarities between Haitians and between African Americans and Haitians. Most importantly, it acknowledged a pact among a heterogeneous class of modern-day maroons, namely Haitian first and new comers who found themselves holding hands in diasporic spaces of resistance. For some, as we have seen in Chapter Three, it strengthened the resolve to topple Duvalier. For others, such tragedies confirmed that temporary refuges were not so temporary, that Haiti had to be re-created beyond its borders somehow, that they were sentenced to embrace multiple identities, and to learn to live with the shame and the grief caused by the very public spectacle of death, misery, humiliation, and involuntary dispersals.

Transitioning from the camps to new urban (and at times hostile) spaces proved quite challenging for many exiles/immigrants, especially those with liminal citizenship. As the Haitian saying goes, behind mountains were more mountains. “Krome Haitians” and Haitian entrants experienced prejudice and discrimination from white and black Americans as well as Cubans.[96] They also experienced social isolation. Unemployment was over 60%, wages were low, and work was mainly part time and temporary.[97] Furthermore, a report from the New Horizon Health Center in Miami indicated that many entrants coming back to South Florida from other parts of the country stayed in overcrowded housing. This led to destructive psychological behaviors such as increase in family violence, breakdowns in family relationships, and withdrawals from school. The report also revealed an “increase in alcoholism in males as the preferred method of coping with stress resulting from the threat of deportation, increased numbers of individuals experiencing depression and anxiety as a result of the threat of family separation, and deterioration in the health status-malnutrition was seen as a number one problem for the entrants.” Moreover, immigrants had to overcome the trauma of the journey at sea and incarceration.

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[95] Joel Dreyfuss, “A cage of words,” in Edwidge Danticat, ed. *The Butterfly’s Way: Voices from the Haitian Dyaspora in the United States* (New York: Soho, 2001), 57.

[96] “Krome Haitians” refers to immigrants who were detained at Krome and other detention centers.

[97] Alex Stepick, “Haitians released from Krome: Their Prospects for Adaptation and Integration in South Florida (Dialogue #24),” 1984. *LACC Occasional papers series. Dialogues* (1980-1994).

In addition, all Haitians, regardless of immigrant status or citizenship, found themselves in yet another metaphorical prison. Not only were they portrayed as poor, uneducated, and unskilled peasants, they were also accused of being disease-ridden. They were accused of spreading tuberculosis in the late 1970s. In the early 1980s, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) claimed that Haitians, homosexuals, heroin addicts, and hemophiliacs (the 4 Hs) transmitted the acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS). Many Haitians lost their jobs or became unemployable. The CDC did not remove Haitians from the list until the mid-80s, but by then the damage had been done.

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Kombe
La Nouvelle Haiti Tribune
La Port-de-Paisienne

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Le Devoir
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