# RCMP Support Haitian National Police (HNP)

RCMP
officer
Graham
Muir,
Commander
of the
UNPOL
mission
in Haiti



By Tim Pelzer

S ince the U.S./Canada/France-backed overthrow of elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide on February 29, 2004, the RCMP have been training and supervising police in Haiti who are killing residents in poor neighbourhoods.

Two RCMP officers have been in charge of the UN Police Mission (UNPOL): David Beer, who came to Haiti directly from Iraq in May 2004, where he was teaching counter-insurgency tactics, and Graham Muir, who replaced Beer as Commissioner in mid-2005

Muir commands a 1,600-strong, UNPOL contingent that includes 100 [later increased to 125] RCMP and Quebec Provincial Police officers, under the mandate of the Brazilian-led UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). It is responsible for training and overseeing the Haitian National Police (HNP). Muir takes part in all high-level, planning and strategy meetings, both military or policing.

According to a University of Miami Law school report, *Haiti: Human Rights Investigation* (2005), the HNP has degenerated into a murderous force under the RCMP-led UNPOL. Arbitrary arrests and extra-judicial murders of suspects and witnesses are routine Haitian police practices, says its author, attorney Thomas Griffin.

Griffin and other investigators spoke with HNP officers who were interviewed under conditions of anonymity because they feared reprisals from fellow police. As Griffin reports:

"Many good officers (i.e., those who refuse bribes, are well trained and refuse orders to commit summary Through the UN Police (UNPOL), which the RCMP has led since the coup, Canada has trained and funded Haiti's police (HNP), which has committed countless crimes, including murder, illegal arrest, torture, rape, drug trafficking and kidnapping. Under RCMP supervision, the HNP has promoted many recruits from Haiti's military, which Aristide had disbanded. UNPOL has accompanied deadly, HNP raids into poor slums and witnessed unprovoked shootings of peaceful, pro-Aristide protesters. Rather than trying to stop or prevent such atrocities, Canada routinely helps cover them up.

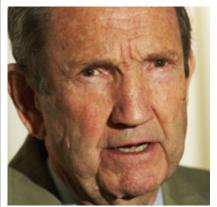
executions) would like to speak out but cannot out of fear for their jobs and their lives."

The unidentified officers had been frustrated since the overthrow of Aristide, because only former soldiers without police training have been promoted to high-command positions. In turn, these officers only promote other, former soldiers. Former soldiers now occupy most municipal, police chief positions.

Police officers also complained that commanders are often corrupt.

Aristide's government disbanded the Haitian military in 1995 because of its brutal history of killing, torture, extortion and coups. Many Haitian military officers graduated from the U.S. School of the Americas, where many of Latin America's most notori-

## Two Views of RCMP Leadership in Haiti

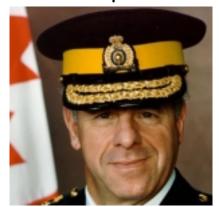


### "Crimes Against Humanity"

The Commission of Inquiry of the International Tribunal on Haiti, led by former U.S. Att. Gen. Ramsey Clark, held its fourth session in Montreal, May 27, 2006. Its 12-member jury convicted two Canadians working for MINU-STAH with crimes against humanity: Police Chiefs *David Beer* and *R. Graham Muir*, the former and current commissioners of UNPOL, MINU-STAH's Police Division in Haiti.

If Haitian courts do not pursue the case, the Tribunal's findings will be presented to the International Criminal Court, in The Hague, Netherlands.

**Source:** "International Tribunal on Haiti's Fourth Session," June 1, 2006. <a href="https://www.ijdh.org">www.ijdh.org</a>



### "Excellent Work"

"I'd like to...pay tribute to Chief Superintendent Dave Beer of the RCMP.... Dave is responsible for all of the international police resources here in Haiti and I want to say, Sir, you are not only doing excellent work, your leadership abilities are highly respected."

# Giuliani Zaccardelli Former-RCMP Commissioner

**Source:** "Speech–Haiti–to Canadian police peacekeepers receiving medals for their outstanding contributions," RCMP website, Feb. 22, 2005.

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ous human rights abusers were trained.

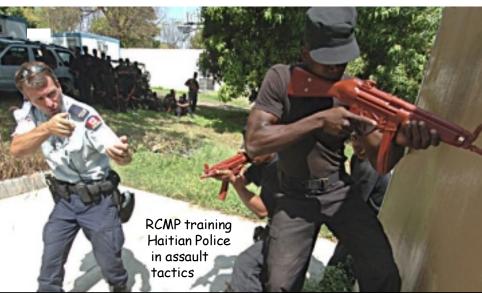
The unidentified officers said that during HNP operations in poor neighbourhoods, their superiors order the killing of suspects as well as witnesses. Former Police Chief Leon Charles ordered officers to suppress opposition demonstrations.

The International Catholic Institute supports the Law School report:

"many of the 5,000 strong [HNP] force have links to the previous military or have been involved in drug rackets, kidnappings, extra-judicial killings or other illegal activities."

Amnesty International said "there are serious problems with the...functioning of the police" and accused HNP officers of summary executions, illegal and arbitrary arrests, torture and rape.

Critics charge that MINU-STAH, whose forces accompany the HNP in raids on poor neighbourhoods, shares responsibility for police abuses.



Graham Muir, the Canadian head of UNPOL, said on September 27, 2005, that "rogue elements within the HNP" are responsible for murder and other human rights violations, but that UNPOL is trying to weed them out.

However, Brian Concannon, of the Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti says MINUSTAH and the RCMP-led UNPOL share responsibility for HNP's murderous direction:

"Some killings are done by rogue elements of the Haitian police. But

many of these rogue elements were intentionally integrated into the force, without public objection from MINUSTAH or UNPOL. Starting in 2004, Gen. Herard Abraham (retired head of Haiti's armed forces) started integrating former soldiers into the force, bypassing regulations for police recruitment and promotion....

Several times, MINUSTAH, including UNPOL officers, watched as the HNP shot into peaceful demonstrations. MINUSTAH provided backup to deadly HNP operations."

Anthony Fenton, co-author of *Canada in Haiti*, said that

"by shifting blame onto 'rogue elements' in the HNP, Muir attempts to deflect the mounting documentation of direct involvement or complicity of UN military and police in countless atrocities. It is far easier to perpetuate racist stereotypes of Haitians as inherently violence prone than to be held accountable for helping to oversee a continuous campaign of repression which began with the arrival of foreign occupiers after the February 29, 2004, coup d'etat."

Muir neglects to mention that HNP recruits, trained and supplied with arms by the U.S., are not vetted—as per the supposed UN mandate—for human rights abuses. Given the obvious desire by Muir, and the Canadian government, to deny accountability for their actions, we have to ask ourselves who the real 'rogue elements' are in Haiti."

**Source:** "Canada: RCMP backs murderous Haitian police force," *People's Weekly World*, May 24, 2006. <www.politicalaffairs.net>

## Coderre: From Sponsorship Scandal to Haiti

By Richard Sanders

hat qualified this smiling Liberal MP (from Bourassa, QC), for his key role as then-Prime Minister Paul Martin's "Special Advisor on Haiti"? With no special knowledge of Haiti, Coderre seemed an unlikely choice when appointed in November 2004.

Was it his work as a life insurance broker, or his stint as a radio host? Or, was it an ability to lie and deceive? The Liberal sponsorship scandal revealed that Coderre had been vice president of Public Relations for Le Groupe Polygone, a Liberal firm that cashed \$40 million in government cheques. Among other things, they pretended to organize major events that never happened, like a \$330,000 hunting and fishing show.<sup>3</sup>

As Anthony Fenton has said: "Coderre was likely chosen for his slick-talking and his natural ability to obfuscate realities in Haiti. He has consistently demonstrated a seem-



"In my role as special advisor for Haiti, I was able to see that the RCMP did a tremendous job at the international level."

Denis Coderre

ingly infinite capacity for deflecting legitimate criticism or debate of Canada's role in subverting Haiti's fledgling democracy."<sup>4</sup>

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# RCMP Covers for Police Atrocities



By Richard Sanders

N Civilian Police (CIVPOL) and UN troops have often stood by and done nothing to stop Haitian National Police (HNP) when they kill innocent people during raids into poor, proAristide neighbourhoods. And, on many occasions (see pages 8-9) during Haiti's coup regime (2004-2006), UN "peacekeepers" were on hand to witness police firing indiscriminately into peaceful, prodemocracy rallies, killing demonstrators.

For instance, at a mass rally on the coup's first anniversary, police

"fired at unarmed demonstrators as the UN stood by.... The UN was close enough to see the police open fire on peaceful demonstrators, yet unexplainably, not close enough to do anything about it."

Besides providing physical cover for these operations, UN forces have stood by their HNP colleagues at media conferences, helping cover their tracks. For example, after a rally in which nine Aristide supporters were shot dead by police, an HNP spokesperson, Gessy Coicou, faced the media with CIVPOL's frontman, Dan Moskaluk, an RCMP officer from BC:

"Coicou...declared that...Lavalas activists who were killed 'were not shot during a demonstration since police authorities had received no notice of a demonstration.' Standing by her side to lend credence to the farce was Canadian UN-Civilian Police spokesperson Dan Moskaluk, who called the march an 'unauthorized,

illegal demonstration.' What Coicou and Moskaluk failed to disclose was that the courier with the official request for the permit to demonstrate... was beaten and arrested by the Haitian police when he tried to deliver it." (emphasis added)

Although quick to tar the protest as "'unauthorized" and "illegal," Moskaluk was completely silent on whether police were authorized to execute peaceful protesters. Nor did he comment on the illegality of the country's Canadian-backed coup regime.

A few weeks earlier, the Swissbased Small Arms Survey reported that the U.S. had broken its arms embargo by providing the HNP with "5,435 military-style weapons, 4,433 handguns and some 1 million assorted rounds of ammunition" worth US\$6.95-million.<sup>3</sup>

This was clearly bad news for prodemocracy advocates being terrorized by the police. And, as human rights groups quickly pointed out, the HNP would likely pass weapons to their friends in the death-squads. The line between the HNP and the paramilitary gangs of masked, former military "men in black" was getting harder to determine. Not only were they conducting joint operations (sometimes under the watchful but complacent eye of UN troops), they were also becoming one:

"The UN mission is well aware of the unacceptable pace of recruitment of former military into the...police, as well as the parallel emergence of death squads within the institution."

But, to make matters even worse, the HNP and their death squads

were operating with complete impunity:
"many top-ranking [police] officers
are members of the former military,
including the chief of police and the
head of the unit charged with investigating police abuses. The unit has
not taken action against any police
officers for rights abuses since
['Prime Minister'] Latortue assumed
office [after the coup]."5

So, how did the Canadian spokesman for the UN's CIVPOL react to news of the influx of U.S. weapons?

"Dan Moskaluk defended the arms transfer as a means of standardizing and keeping track of the police force's weapons.... 'There is a hodgepodge of different [police] weaponry and so one purpose of this is to equip them properly."

With abundant evidence of police atrocities all around, how could Moskaluk still present Haiti's police in such a rosy light? Canada was, afterall, responsible for their training. A clue can be found in something he wrote before embarking on this Haitian adventure:

"For a police officer, it [is a] chance to act as an ambassador for Canadian civilian police values and ethics.... As Canadians we are esteemed for our values and attitudes."

This reveals Moskaluk's thorough indoctrination into the mythos of Canada as a noble peacekeeper. This hopelessly naive self-image is a widespread and profoundly deep-seated Canadian character fault. However, it was a tremendous asset for Moskaluk in his role as the perfect apologist for CIVPOL during their conflicted mission to build Haitian democracy through support for the illegal regime's vicious police force.

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- 4. "UN Accomodates...," Op cit.
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- 7. Media release, "Penticto n RCMP Constable prepares for his second UN tour of duty to Haiti," Sept. 7, 2004.

## Blood on Canadian Hands?



## Yes, says President Aristide

Naomi Klein: Does Canada have blood on its hands in Haiti?

President Jean Bertrand Aristide:

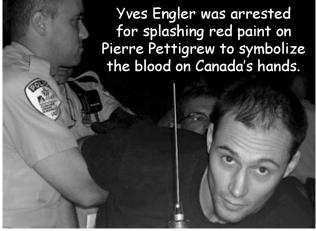
ome people in the Canadian government, yes, they have Haitian blood on their hands....

Up to today, they continue to open fire on the Haitian people demonstrating asking for my return... They keep opening fire on them, to prevent them from having millions of people demonstrating all over the country to ask for my return. So they still kill the Haitian people through those thugs. When members of the UN don't open fire on the people, they have their thugs doing the job for them—through

That's why, unfortunately, we have to say yes, some people in the Canadian government and the Canadian army have Haitian blood on their hands.

the police, former military, convicted drug dealers.

**Source:** Interview. Pretoria, South Africa, June 20, 2005. Haiti Action Montreal, *Rabble News*, June 23, 2005.



Dear Editor,

I have to wonder if Minister Pettigrew's favourite Calvin Klein suit was made by nimble Haitian fingers and, if so, was it assembled before or after former (elected) President Aristide tried to raise the minimum wage from \$1 to \$2 a day—an outrage that provoked the business opposition to unleash terror on the country culminating in an illegal coup. This coup is being propped up by Canadian police and aid money. So, if the suit is Haitian, Pettigrew can relax; it will be as cheap as ever thanks to Canadian generosity.

Dr. Leslie Jermyn, Global Aware Independent Media, Toronto. **Source:** Letter to editor, *Toronto Star*, June 20, 2005.

No, says Minister Pettigrew

When Pettigrew was asked about Haitian police killing unarmed citizens at pro-Aristide rallies, he responded:

**Pettigrew:** You're talking about allegations we do not accept.... You can pretend all kinds of things but what I can tell you is I'm very proud of the Canadian police contribution in the MINUSTAH.... I think the Haitian police is doing its very best in extremely difficult circumstances....

**Question:** So, do you deny the reports in the... Associated *Press*, in *Reuters*..., where journalists have had eyewitness accounts [of] Haitian police killing unarmed protesters?

**Pettigrew:** If they did, I have not heard of that. If you are talking about the Miami University study that is pretending all kinds of things.... I absolutely think that it is propaganda which is absolutely not interesting.

**Source:** Media conference, June 17, 2005. Cited by Greg Farrants, "Aren't those dirty Canadian fingerprints too?" June 24, 2005. <lo>loveandpeaceorelse.blog.ca/2005/06>



Foreign Affairs Minister Pettigrew, had his hands and suit splashed with red paint by Yves Engler, who shouted, "Pettigrew lies, Haitians die." "It's my favourite Calvin Klein," the dapper Pettigrew later quipped. The Toronto Star, June 18, 2005.

## Yes, says activist Yves Engler

By Yves Engler, co-author, Canada in Haiti: Waging War on the Poor Majority (2005).

Canadians may be offended by my action this afternoon. I only ask whether they are offended by the real blood that is being spilled in Haiti every day, with the full support of Pierre Pettigrew and the Canadian government. Pettigrew has said nothing to condemn the overthrow of the democratically-elected government of Haiti [or] the barbaric actions of Haiti's police that Canada is funding and training.

Pettigrew and Canada's government have had plenty of opportunity to learn about the horrors they are supporting. In February, I handed him the University of Miami, Center for Human Rights' report which reveals that Haitian police and paramilitaries "routinely enter [poor areas] to conduct operations which are often murderous attacks."

At almost every major Haitian demonstration calling for the return of their democratically-elected President, Canadian-trained police have shot and killed protesters.

**Source:** Statement written shortly before his arrest. Cited by Greg Farrants, June 24, 2005. <a href="color: blog.ca">- loveandpeaceorelse.blog.ca</a>