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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 2, 1986

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NATIONAL SECURITY DECISION
DIRECTIVE NUMBER 220

HAITI (C)

The flight of Jean-Claude Duvalier from Haiti has created an opportunity to break the pattern of Haitian history -- which has alternated between periods of political instability and periods of dictatorial rule -- and to set Haiti on a path toward a true democracy. Heretofore, because of Haiti's reputation for dictatorial and corrupt government our objectives in Haiti were necessarily confined to easing human suffering with humanitarian assistance, forestalling further erosion of a severely damaged agricultural base, and promoting political reform. The collapse of the Duvalier government has now made it possible for us to endorse much more ambitious goals for Haiti and to devote greater resources to the pursuit of those goals. (C)

Our near-term goals in Haiti must be to support and to stabilize the National Council of Government, to stabilize the Haitian economy now suffering from critical financial and material shortfalls, to ensure that security forces are able to maintain order and avert threats to the government, and to achieve the transition to a genuine and respected democracy. Our longer-term goals must be to achieve installation of a democratically elected government and the implementation of legal and policy reforms in Haiti and the stimulation of foreign private investment to promote economic development on the basis of free enterprise principles. Achieving these goals would reduce pressures for illegal emigration from Haiti. (S)

Haiti's change of government does not guarantee that we can succeed in achieving our goals, but it does provide an opening -- the first in nearly three decades -- that must be seized. In order to take advantage of this opportunity, the following steps will be taken to further our immediate and longer-term goals in Haiti: (U)

- Having publicly welcomed the installation of Haiti's new government and its initial steps to respect human rights and release political prisoners, and having certified Haiti as eligible for renewed U.S. assistance, every effort should be made to manifest support and encouragement for the new

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by J. Saunders, National Security Council

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government in its declared objective of a transition to democratic government, including appropriate visits by senior officials and encouragement of Congressional visits. (U)

- While the removal of objectionable Duvalierist officials from the Haitian National Council of Government and the Cabinet has eliminated an impediment to effective U.S. assistance and a focal point for criticism of the new government, the Department of State and the Ambassador should continue to press, as appropriate, for the removal of other objectionable figures whose presence in the government impedes our own or other countries' assistance efforts or the consolidation of popular support for the new government. (S)
- The Agency for International Development, under the foreign policy guidance of the Department of State, will complete and submit an assessment of Haiti's need for short-term economic support, identifying the deadlines for decisions on resource commitments. All relevant agencies will consider sympathetically and expeditiously identified requirements for near-term food and Economic Support Fund assistance in light of the unique opportunity provided by the end of Duvalier's rule. In particular, every effort should be made to fully cover Haiti's commercial imports of wheat and vegetable oil on a concessional basis over the next twelve months, maintaining commercial sales to whatever extent possible. Resumption of normal commercial sales will be sought as soon as possible. Haiti's PI-480 Title III program will be continued through the remainder of the current multi-year commitment, subject to continued satisfactory performance by the Government of Haiti in implementing agreed policy reforms. Subject to conditions prevailing in Haiti at the time of its expiration, this agreement should be sympathetically considered for extension. (C)
- The Department of State and the Agency for International Development (within the framework of the Caribbean Consultative Group) will continue to coordinate and follow up on demarches to other countries -- particularly Canada, our European Allies, Japan, and such oil-producing states as Venezuela, Ecuador, Mexico, and Trinidad and Tobago -- urging near-term economic assistance for Haiti, particularly with regard to concessionary oil supplies. (C)
- The Departments of Treasury and State and the Agency for International Development will work in concert to encourage multilateral lending institutions to respond sympathetically to Haiti's short-and longer-term financing needs. (C)

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The Departments of State and Commerce and the United States Trade Representative's office will develop a coordinated plan of action to inform the business community of the United States Government's efforts to help Haiti stabilize its government in the wake of the Duvalier downfall and the plans of the Haitian Government, once completely formulated, to achieve a transition to a democratic government. Such an effort is needed in order to reassure current or potential investors that a clear USG plan of action has been formulated to ensure Haiti's progress towards a stable, responsible elected government and to avert a potential flight of foreign investment capital or cancellation of pending investment plans. The Immigration and Naturalization Service, with the cooperation of the Department of State and other appropriate agencies, will develop and implement a public information program to encourage the return to Haiti of talented Haitian exiles in the United States. The Department of State will also seek to engage, as appropriate, the resources needed to avert labor problems on the island in a manner that facilitates the development of a free and responsible labor movement. In addition, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation will organize and lead, at the earliest feasible time, an investment mission to Haiti to promote new U.S. investment projects there. (C)

- The Department of Defense, in coordination with the Department of State, will be prepared to entertain sympathetically and expeditiously, to the extent possible under law, requests for assistance from the Haitian government for crowd control and other equipment to ensure maintenance of public order. The Departments of Defense and State will also coordinate the development of a longer-term program of support for the Haitian Armed Forces in light of the challenge they face in maintaining public order and security in the wake of the dissolution of the Volunteers for National Security. (S)

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-- The Department of Justice, through the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, will provide timely information to the Government of Haiti concerning the return of exiles in the United States and, in particular, will maintain careful monitoring of those exiles with a history of violent activity so that the provisions of the Neutrality Act are fully enforced.

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The Immigration and Naturalization Service will also provide technical assistance and training to the Government of Haiti in devising an appropriate screening system for returning exiles, and in monitoring legitimate travel and travel documentation. (S)

- In view of the continuing importance of maintaining the Haitian Migrant Interdiction Operation, the Department of State and the Ambassador will take all necessary steps to insure the continuing cooperation of the Haitian Government with the operation of this program. (C)
- Since clear progress toward democracy is critical to sustaining support for Haiti's new government, the Department of State and the Ambassador will exert all possible influence on the government of Haiti to formulate and announce a definite program leading to democratic elections for a new constitutional government, including the enactment of a new constitution and necessary legislation governing the formation of political parties and the conduct of elections. The Agency for International Development will be prepared to support with technical and limited financial assistance the preparation and conduct of such elections as the political program and election calendar emerge. (S)
- The Department of State will continue to coordinate and follow up on demarches to other countries -- particularly other Caribbean democracies -- and appropriate international organizations urging them to lend their support to creating in Haiti the necessary political institutions and civic education required to support democratic government. (C)
- The Department of State and the U.S. Information Agency will encourage the Inter-American Foundation, the National Endowment for Democracy and, through it, its constituent institutes to undertake all appropriate initiatives to help build the basis for a democratic government in Haiti. (C)
- The U.S. Information Agency will increase its broadcast and informational activities, including the AMPARTS program, targeted on Haiti to further civic education efforts, promote greater understanding of democracy and its requirements, and support a market oriented economy. USIA will also devote special attention to making International Visitor grants available to promising Haitians with leadership potential in political or economic life, and will initiate a training program for Haitian officials with responsibilities for public information. (C)
- The Department of State will work actively to encourage Congressional interest in and support for Administration efforts to promote democratic government and a market-

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oriented economic development in Haiti, particularly by encouraging Congressional delegation visits and constructive initiatives in Congress. (C)

- In view of the importance of ensuring that a program for transition to a new constitutional government in Haiti through democratic elections is fully carried out, the Department of State will develop and submit a plan for possible actions that may be required to avert a range of future threats to the implementation of such a political program. (S)
- Haiti now has a unique opportunity to dismantle a statist economic system and to mold its "revolution" into one that promotes economic freedom as a path to development. In light of this opportunity, the National Security Council will chair a special interagency group, including designated representatives from the Departments of State and Treasury, the Agency for International Development, U.S. Information Agency and other appropriate agencies to develop a series of initiatives with respect to the U.S. and foreign business communities, the Haitian government, and cognizant U.S. government agencies designed to foster a market-oriented approach to Haiti's long-term economic development. (C)

Ronald Reagan

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