

● PSF Haiti

1933-34, 1944

PALAIS NATIONAL  
PORT-AU-PRINCE

PSF Haiti |

6 Mai 1933

Excellence,

A son retour de Washington et dès la présentation de ses nouvelles lettres de créance, votre distingué Ministre Plénipotentiaire, Monsieur Norman Armour, m'a fait la surprise de me remettre votre aimable lettre particulière, dont il m'est si agréable de vous remercier.

C'est avec une touchante précision du souvenir que vous avez bien voulu me rappeler votre voyage de 1917 en Haïti, nos entretiens d'alors et cette inoubliable visite à la Citadelle Laferrière, à une époque lointaine où il eut été bien difficile au Sous-Secrétaire de la Marine des Etats-Unis et au Ministre de l'Intérieur haïtien de prévoir leur commun destin.

Son Excellence

Francklin D. Roosevelt

Président des Etats-Unis.

De par la volonté du peuple, et sans doute, pour accomplir les impénétrables desseins de la Providence, vous voici le Chef de la plus grande Démocratie d'un monde en plein développement matériel et moral. Les plus fermes espoirs de l'humanité souffrante sont fondés sur votre large conception du bien commun, votre énergie connue, votre esprit de décision et de justice et votre sens aigu des réalisations utiles.

Et me voici, de mon côté, le Chef constitutionnel de la nation haïtienne, chargé d'orienter les destinées de notre cher petit pays à travers tous les écueils semés sous nos pas en ces temps particulièrement difficiles. J'ai la conviction profonde que, animés de notre indéfectible bonne volonté, nous parviendrons à vaincre les difficultés et à créer enfin, au moins dans notre hémisphère, une entente mutuelle aboutissant à un état de choses qui répondra à notre besoin de confiance réciproque et à notre commun idéal d'un panaméricanisme fait de sympathie agissante et d'aide mutuelle, en pleine conscience de la solidarité de nos intérêts continentaux.

C'est dans ces sentiments que je vous remercie cordialement des vœux sincères que vous m'avez exprimés pour la prospérité de mon pays. Et c'est avec une très vive satisfaction que, dans l'espoir de trouver une solution heureuse aux problèmes pendants entre nos deux Gouvernements, je note l'assurance donnée par Votre Excellence, que je peux compter à cet effet sur l'entière coopération de votre Gouvernement.

Je suis et demeure, mon cher Monsieur le Président,

Votre bon ami,

*Stivovitch*

PALAIS NATIONAL  
PORT-AU-PRINCE

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*Haiti*

Son Excellence

Francklin Roosevelt

Président des Etats-Unis

*Miss Lett*

*TSE  
Haiti*



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to  
DP 123 Ar 52/237

May 23, 1933

My dear Mr. Howe:

With reference to the autographed letter addressed by the President on March 18, 1933, to Mr. Stenio Vincent, President of Haiti, I enclose a copy of a despatch of May 11 received from Mr. Norman Armour, American Minister at Port au Prince, transmitting the original, with copies and translations, of a personal letter from President Vincent to the President.

The original letter is enclosed with the request that it be placed before the President. A copy and translation for your files are likewise transmitted.

Sincerely yours,

*Franklin D. Roosevelt*

Enclosures:  
As stated.

The Honorable

Louis McH. Howe,

Secretary to the President,

The White House.

**Department of State**

BUREAU | ..... DP .....  
DIVISION |

**ENCLOSURE**

TO

Letter drafted .....

ADDRESSED TO

The Honorable .....  
Louis McH. Howe  
Secretary to the President

Port au Prince, May 11, 1933.

No. 48

Subject: Transmitting Personal Letter from President  
Vincent to President Roosevelt.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,  
Washington.

Sir:

With reference to my despatch No. 24 of April 22,  
reporting that I had called on President Vincent to  
present to him my letter of credence, as well as a per-  
sonal letter addressed to him by the President, I now  
1/2/ have the honor to forward the original and copies and  
3/ translation of a personal letter from President Vincent  
to President Roosevelt.

Respectfully yours,

NORMAN ARMOUR.

Enclosures:

- 1/ Original of letter from  
President Vincent to  
President Roosevelt, dated  
May 6, 1933.
- 2/ Copy of President Vincent's letter.
- 3/ Translation of President Vincent's letter.

A true copy of  
the signed ori-  
ginal. *AA*

800.1  
GAD/LKF



PALAIS NATIONAL  
Port-au-Prince

Enclosure No. 2 to  
Despatch No. 48  
of May 11, 1933  
from the Legation at  
Port-au-Prince, Haiti.

6 Mai 1933

Excellence,

A son retour de Washington et dès la présentation de ses nouvelles lettres de créance, votre distingué Ministre Plénipotentiaire, Monsieur Norman Armour, m'a fait la surprise de me remettre votre aimable lettre particulière, dont il m'est si agréable de vous remercier.

C'est avec une touchante précision du souvenir que vous avez bien voulu me rappeler votre voyage de 1917 en Haiti, nos entretiens d'alors et cette inoubliable visite à la Citadelle Laferrière, à une époque lointaine où il eut été bien difficile au Sous-Secrétaire de la Marine des Etats-Unis et au Ministre de l'Intérieur haïtien de prévoir leur commun destin.

De par la volonté du peuple, et sans doute, pour accomplir les impénétrables desseins de la Providence, voici le Chef de la plus grande Démocratie d'un monde en plein désarroi matériel et moral. Les plus fermes espoirs de l'humanité souffrante sont fondés sur votre large conception du bien commun, votre énergie connue, votre esprit de décision et de justice et votre sens aigu des réalisations utiles.

Et me voici, de mon côté, le Chef constitutionnel de la nation haïtienne, chargé d'orienter les destinées de notre cher petit pays à travers tous les écueils semés sous nos pas en ces temps particulièrement difficiles. J'ai la conviction profonde que, animés de notre indéfectible bonne volonté, nous parviendrons à vaincre les difficultés et à

Son Excellence

Francklin D. Roosevelt

Président des Etats-Unis.

créer enfin, au moins dans notre hémisphère, une entente mutuelle aboutissant à un état de choses qui répondra à notre besoin de confiance réciproque et à notre commun idéal d'un panaméricanisme fait de sympathie agissante et d'aide mutuelle, en pleine conscience de la solidarité de nos intérêts continentaux.

C'est dans ces sentiments que je vous remercie cordialement des vœux sincères que vous m'avez exprimés pour la prospérité de mon pays. Et c'est avec une très vive satisfaction que, dans l'espoir de trouver une solution heureuse aux problèmes pendants entre nos deux Gouvernements, je note l'assurance donnée par Votre Excellence, que je peux compter à cet effet sur l'entière coopération de votre Gouvernement.

Je suis et demeure, mon cher Monsieur le Président,

Votre bon ami,

STENIO VINCENT

A true copy of  
the signed original.  
*SV*

PS/F Haiti

Enclosure No. 3 to  
Despatch No. 48  
of May 11, 1933  
from the Legation at  
Port-au-Prince Haiti

NATIONAL PALACE

Port-au-Prince

May 6, 1933

Excellency,

Following his return from Washington and upon the presentation of his new letter of credence, your distinguished Minister Plenipotentiary, Mr. Norman Armour, surprised me by transmitting to me your kind personal letter, for which I am indeed happy to thank you.

It is with a touching accuracy of memory that you were kind enough to recall your voyage to Haiti in 1917, our conversations at that time and that unforgettable visit to the Citadel Laferrière, at a time when it would have been difficult for the Under-Secretary of the Navy of the United States and the Haitian Minister of the Interior to foresee their common destiny.

By the will of the people, and doubtless to accomplish the impenetrable designs of Providence, you are now the Head of the greatest Democracy in a world which is in a state of utter material and moral disorder. The most fervent hopes of a suffering humanity are founded on your broad conception of the common weal, your well-known energy, your spirit of decision and justice, and your clear understanding of useful accomplishments.

And I, on my side, am now the constitutional Head of the Haitian nation with the obligation of guiding the destiny of our small but cherished country through the pitfalls which line our path in these particularly diffi-

His Excellency

Franklin D. Roosevelt

President of the United States.

cult times. I have the firm conviction that, animated by our unfailing goodwill, we may be able to overcome our difficulties and eventually to create, at least in our hemisphere, a mutual understanding leading to a state of affairs which will be in harmony with our need of reciprocal confidence and our common ideal of a Pan-Americanism built on active sympathy and mutual aid, with a full realization of the solidarity of our continental interests.

It is in this spirit that I thank you cordially for the sincere wishes which you have expressed to me for the prosperity of my country and it is with a very lively satisfaction, in the hope of finding a happy solution to the problems now pending between our two governments, that I have noted the assurance given by Your Excellency that for this purpose I can count on the entire cooperation of your Government.

I am and remain, my dear Mr. President,

Your good friend,

(Signed) STENIO VINCENT

A true copy of  
the signed original.  
SP

PSF Haiti

*Read & Returned  
by the President. Aug. 7<sup>th</sup>*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON



*File  
MB*

August 3, 1933.

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878.00*

My dear Mr. President:

Minister Armour in Haiti has just cabled that he has reached agreement with the Haitian Government on the text of two executive agreements, one covering Haitianization of the Garde by October 1, 1934, and withdrawal of the Marine Brigade within thirty days thereafter, and the other providing for appropriate measures of financial control until the retirement of the outstanding bonds. I enclose herewith copies of the two agreements.

This is the result of months of patient negotiations. Last April Secretary Hull gave his approval to the general principles underlying the administration's policy towards Haiti. In brief this policy looked to putting an end to the special relations between Haiti and the United States at the earliest possible moment consistent with the obligations of

The President,  
The White House.

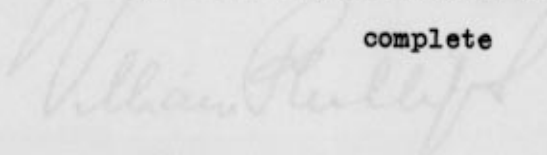
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both governments. These special relations, as you know, fall under two general heads: First, the training of the Haitian Constabulary (Garde) by American Marine officers and the presence in Haiti of a Marine brigade which has given moral support to the American officers in the Garde. Second, the fact that third parties purchased bonds of the Haitian Government in reliance on treaty obligations assumed by both Haiti and the United States to provide adequate financial control in Haiti during the life of the bonds. Under the first point we proposed to withdraw all American forces from Haiti at as early a date as could be done with proper regard for the training of the constabulary. Under the second point we proposed to reach an agreement with the Haitians, as required by the Protocol of 1919 signed by the two governments, in order to provide satisfactory measures of financial control after the expiration in 1936 of the present treaty, so that adequate provision should be made for the servicing of the bonds. This control would automatically come to an end when the bonds had been redeemed, estimated to be about 1944. At Mr. Hull's request this general plan was taken up with Senator Pittman and Senator King, both of whom expressed

complete



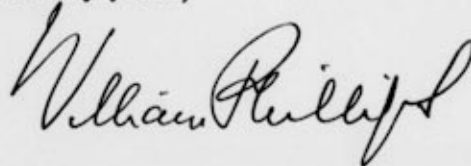
complete approval.

The present agreements embody the principles above outlined and take the form of executive agreements rather than of a treaty, since they provide merely for carrying out the provisions of a treaty previously ratified by both governments and hence do not themselves require ratification.

I am highly gratified at the successful outcome of these negotiations. The early withdrawal of our forces from Haiti will greatly enhance the prestige of this Government throughout Latin America. It will be a signal example of practical application of your policy of the "good neighbor". Mr. Armour reports that action in the matter is urgent as President Vincent of Haiti desires to publish the accords following the solution of certain political difficulties in Haiti which it is hoped will be reached within the next day or so.

May I have your approval of instructions to the Minister authorizing him to sign the agreements? We shall arrange to make the agreements public simultaneously with similar action in Haiti.

Faithfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "William Phillips". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name.

OK  
PSF Haiti

DRAFT OF AGREEMENT FOR THE HAITIANIZATION OF THE GARDE  
AND THE EVACUATION OF THE MARINE BRIGADE.

The undersigned plenipotentiaries, duly authorized by their respective Governments, have agreed upon the following Accord:

Article I. The American officers now serving with the Garde d'Haiti will be replaced in such a manner that by October 1, 1934, the Garde shall be completely commanded by Haitian officers.

Article II. On October 1, 1934, the Garde, under complete command of Haitian officers, will be turned over to a Colonel in active service whom the President of the Republic shall designate as Commandant.

Article III. The promotions to be effected until the complete Haitianization of the Garde will be made after examinations held in the presence of the representative of the Government of Haiti in conformity with Article X of the Treaty of September 16, 1915.

Article IV. To complete the instruction, training and discipline of the Garde the President of Haiti, may, if he considers it desirable, request the President of the United States to designate a Military Mission of not more than seven members among the American officers who have served in Haiti. The powers to be granted to this Mission will be determined by a decree of the President of Haiti. The services of this Mission shall terminate at the request of either party to the treaty upon sixty days' notice given by either party.

Article V. The withdrawal of the Marine Brigade of the United States and the American Scientific Mission established by the Accord of August 5, 1931, shall commence

on



on October 1, 1934, and shall be completed within thirty days.

Article VI. The Government of Haiti, in order to preserve public order, assumes the obligation of maintaining strict discipline in the Garde and of applying for this purpose the present regulations of the Garde d'Haiti.

It will enact a statute which will fix the conditions of appointment, promotion and retirement in the Garde. It will also take all legislative measures recognized as necessary to guarantee public peace and security.

LAST DRAFT OF HAITIAN FINANCIAL AGREEMENT REDRAFTED  
IN THE DEPARTMENT.

Until the expiration of the Treaty of September 16, 1915, and in order to provide for the financial control envisaged in Article VIII of the Protocol of October 3, 1919, the undersigned plenipotentiaries, duly authorized by their respective Governments, have agreed upon the following accord:

Article I. On January first, 1934, the services of the Financial Adviser-General Receiver and of the Deputy General Receiver shall cease. As their successors, in fulfillment of the obligations and guarantees undertaken in order to obtain the loan issued in accord with the Protocol of October 3, 1919, there shall be a Fiscal Representative and a Deputy Fiscal Representative, appointed by the President of the Republic upon nomination of the President of the United States, who shall exercise the powers hereinafter conferred.

Article II. As the Customs Revenues constitute the principal pledge to the holders of the bonds of the 1922 loan, the Fiscal Representative will have under his direction, until the complete amortization or the prior refunding of the loan under reference, the Customs Service and the application of the laws relative thereto. He shall inspect the activities of the Internal Revenue Service and make appropriate recommendations for its proper operation; he shall be in charge of the existing Service of Payment, reserve being made of the provisions of Article VI hereafter; he shall maintain adequate records of receipts and disbursements which records shall be open to inspection and  
verification

verification by the appropriate authorities; and he shall submit monthly reports of his activities to the Secretary of State for Finance and the Secretary of State of the United States.

In order properly to carry out his duties, the Fiscal Representative shall have such employees and assistants as may appear necessary. The number of Americans so employed shall not exceed eighteen. The President of Haiti, upon the presentation which will be made to him by the Secretary of State for Finance, will commission on the date of January 1, 1934, the employees occupying positions of authority and trust in the service of the fiscal representative and recommended by the latter. Thereafter, any position which may become vacant among the commissioned employees shall be filled by examination, the form and procedure of which shall be determined by an accord between the Secretary of State for Finance and the Fiscal Representative. The successful competitor in such examination shall be recommended for the vacancy and will be commissioned by the President of Haiti. Such commissioned employees may be suspended without pay by the Fiscal Representative, on charges filed with the Secretary of State for Finance and such employee or assistant shall not be reinstated unless the charges shall have been disproved to the satisfaction of the Secretary of State for Finance, and of the Fiscal Representative. Pending the hearing of the charges made, the Fiscal Representative, after a report to the Secretary of State for Finance, may fill the vacancy provisionally, if necessary, until the charges have been disproved or a new commission issued.

Article III. The salaries of the Fiscal Representative and of the Deputy Fiscal Representative shall be made  
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the subject of an accord between the two Governments. These salaries, together with the expenses of the activities of the Fiscal Representative but excluding the expenses of the Internal Revenue Inspection Service, may not exceed five per centum of customs receipts except by agreement between the two Governments.

Article IV. The Internal Revenue Service, the personnel of which shall be exclusively Haitian, shall be placed in charge of a Haitian Director under the Secretary of State for Finance.

Nevertheless if the Fiscal Representative should notify the Secretary of State for Finance and the Director General of Internal Revenue in writing that there is reason to suppose any officer or employee of the Internal Revenue Service is inefficient, or that his action is not correct, such officer or employee shall be suspended, and not reinstated unless the charges shall have been disproved to the satisfaction of the Secretary of State for Finance.

The expenses of the Internal Revenue Service shall be paid from the funds set aside for this purpose by the National Bank of the Republic of Haiti in accordance with schedules of payments agreed upon between the Secretary of State for Finance and the Fiscal Representative. These expenses shall not exceed ten per centum of internal revenue receipts, and the expenses of the Internal Revenue Inspection Service shall not exceed five per centum of internal revenue receipts. Any sums not required by the Internal Revenue Inspection Service within this allowance shall be made available to the Internal Revenue Service.

Article V.

Article V. On and after ~~October~~ <sup>January</sup> 1, 1934, all monies received by the Haitian Government shall be deposited in the National Bank of the Republic of Haiti to the credit of the Haitian Government with the exception of the five per centum of customs revenues foreseen in Article III above and the amounts needed for payments connected with execution of the loan contracts, which amounts shall be credited to the Fiscal Representative. The National Bank of the Republic of Haiti also shall set aside preferentially each month to the credit of the Fiscal Representative the amounts provided in Article IV above for the expenses of the Internal Revenue Service and of the Internal Revenue Inspection Service.

In order to assure the maintenance of public order, the monthly allocation for the Garde d'Haiti will be set aside preferentially by the National Bank of the Republic of Haiti for the exclusive use of the Garde from the funds thereafter remaining.

Article VI. All payments of Government funds shall continue to be made by checks prepared by the Service of Payments. The existing arrangement, as agreed upon between the two Governments on August 5, 1931, shall continue to govern this service except that all checks henceforth will be signed by the Secretary of State for Finance, or his delegate, reserve being made in the case of those checks drawn against the funds deposited at the National Bank of the Republic of Haiti to the credit of the Fiscal Representative, which checks shall be signed only by the latter.

Article VII. Each year, by January 31st at the latest,  
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the Fiscal Representative shall present a detailed estimate of receipts for the following fiscal year. Except by special agreement, the budget of the Republic shall not exceed the amount of probable ways and means which the Secretary of State for Finance and the Fiscal Representative shall have agreed upon.

Article VIII. The Haitian Government may authorize any appropriations whatsoever if unobligated funds are available or foreseen to cover such appropriations after setting up such reserves as may appear to the Secretary of State for Finance and the Fiscal Representative to be necessary.

Article IX. In case of a probable budgetary deficit, expenditures must be brought to the level of ways and means, either by reducing expenditures or by the creation of new receipts. In every case, it will not be possible without the accord of the Fiscal Representative to cover a deficit by calling upon the reserve funds of the Government.

Article X. There shall be included annually in the budget of the Republic the amounts necessary for the regular service of the funded debt and other contractual obligations, as well as two lump sums representing five per centum of customs and five per centum of internal revenues, respectively, for the payment of the expenses of the Fiscal Representative, including the customs service, and those of the Internal Revenue Inspection Service, and finally a lump sum representing ten per centum of internal revenue receipts for the payment of the expenses of the Internal Revenue Service. The balance may be apportioned by the Haitian Government between the budgets of the various departments as it may see fit. If the  
revenues

revenues received in any month shall be insufficient to meet the full debt service and expenses of collection, the Government will make available the amount required to make up the difference.

Article XI. Without the accord of the Fiscal Representative no new financial obligation will be assumed unless the ordinary revenues of the Republic, after defraying the expenses of the Government, shall be adequate to assure the final discharge of such obligations.

Article XII. The Government will not dispose of its investments except with the accord of the Fiscal Representative.

Article XIII. In the event of its enactment, the project of law governing the financial administration of the Republic which already has been submitted to the Legislative Body shall be the organic act of the Republic so far as concerns the administration of government finances.

Article XIV. The Government of Haiti agrees not to reduce the tariff nor to modify the taxes and internal revenues in such a manner as to reduce the total amount thereof without the accord of the Fiscal Representative.

Article XV. The customhouses of the Republic will have an exclusively Haitian personnel. The title of Director shall be reestablished in lieu of that of Collector. However, inspectors of the Customs Service may be assigned, either temporarily or permanently, to oversee the operation and the strict application of the customs laws.

Article XVI. In case of payment under protest of customs duties or internal revenue taxes, and where

restitution

restitution of such payment is requested, a written claim shall be presented to the competent service within a time limit of thirty working days beginning with the date on which the duties or taxes were paid. If the decision is not accepted, the matter shall be presented to a commission composed of a representative of the Secretary of State for Finance and a representative of the Fiscal Representative.

If there should still be failure to reach an agreement, the claim for restitution shall be decided by legal proceedings, but the State may not be liable for any compensatory or punitive damages.

Article XVII. In view of the fact that under normal conditions the operation of the sinking fund will result in retirement of the outstanding series of the loan authorized by the law of June 20, 1922, approximately by the year 1944, and inasmuch as any further issue of the loan would necessarily extend the operation of this agreement, to a period beyond that year, which extension is contrary to the desire of both Governments, it is hereby agreed by both Governments that the loan shall be considered closed and that no additional series shall be issued thereunder.

Article XVIII. In case there should appear to be occasion for judicial proceeding against the Fiscal Representative or his American assistants, the two Governments, in order to avoid possible misunderstanding, agree to examine each case impartially and to agree upon the legal action which might be appropriate.

Article XIX. The Haitian Government, upon the signature of the present agreement, will issue irrevocable instructions to the National Bank of the Republic of Haiti in order that there may be full and complete execution of

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the clauses herein respecting the deposit and disbursement of the funds of the Government.

Article XX. The Haitian Government reserves the right to retire the bonds issued in accord with the Protocol of October 3, 1919, in advance of their due date; and the Government of the United States will not invoke the provisions of Article VI of the Protocol as an obstacle to such retirement before the expiration of the period of fifteen years fixed therein, provided that the Haitian Government is able to make an arrangement for this purpose satisfactory to the holders of the outstanding bonds.

In this case the provisions of this accord shall automatically become null and void and of no effect upon the completion of the funding operation.

The Haitian Government in order to hasten the maturity of the loan of 1922 may continue as rapidly as its resources will permit, to buy on the open market bonds of the several series of the said loan.

Article XXI. Any controversy which may arise between the two Governments on the subject of the clauses of the present accord shall be submitted to arbitration in case it cannot be settled through diplomatic channels, in accordance with the Arbitration Treaty of January 7, 1909, between the two countries.

PSF Haiti



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

November 28, 1933

*P.F.  
Haiti*

My dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing a letter, with translation, addressed to you by President Vincent of Haiti, regarding the financial part of the Agreement between the two countries signed on August 7, last. I also enclose a suggested reply for you to make to President Vincent. If you approve of this and will sign it and return it to me, I will see that it is delivered to President Vincent through our Minister, Mr. Armour, at Port au Prince.

For your information, the background of this matter seems to be about as follows:

The Agreement of August 7 was received with general approval in Haiti, and even the opponents of President Vincent felt that Haiti had obtained more than she could have reasonably expected. However, a few "die-hards" hostile to President Vincent have recently begun a campaign against the Agreement in an effort to discredit the President. They seem to have made use of organizations

The President, in

The White House.

in this country, such as the American Civil Liberties Union. This organization has written us two letters criticizing the Agreement and asking that we abandon forthwith all measures of financial administration in Haiti. We are advised in confidence that President Vincent believes that his enemies, including the former Haitian Minister in Washington, M. Bellegarde, put the Civil Liberties Union up to writing this letter. The opponents of President Vincent in Haiti are now making it embarrassing for him by pointing out that American organizations are trying to do more for Haiti than President Vincent himself had sought to do. It is apparently because of these attacks, and not because he actually expects to accomplish anything further, that President Vincent has felt it necessary to send this letter to you.

I have recently replied to the American Civil Liberties Union, setting forth the views of our Government in some detail. A copy of my reply is attached as an enclosure to go with your letter to President Vincent. I think that we should stand on the Agreement of August 7, last. As you will recall, it resulted from a long period of difficult and patient negotiations with Haiti. It is very favorable to Haiti and, in my opinion, goes as far

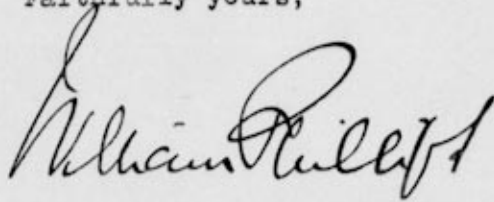
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in the way of relaxing financial administration as we can go if we are to have a decent regard for the obligations towards the bondholders we have assumed under existing agreements between the two countries. In my judgment, we are under an unescapable obligation to carry out the Treaty of 1915 and the Protocol of 1919, and we have made appropriate provision to that end in the Agreement of August 7, 1933. Except for this obligation, upon which the bondholders are entitled to insist, we would, of course, be only too glad to discontinue forthwith our connection with Haiti's financial administration. This obligation does not run in favor of any bank or particular group of Haitian creditors, but to a large number of holders of Haitian bonds who acquired them relying upon the good faith of the United States Government to carry out the provisions of existing agreements. It would certainly be most welcome from our point of view if the Haitians could work out a refunding arrangement, with agreement of the bondholders, which would result in our withdrawing from any part in the administration of Haitian finances. Under Article XXVI of the Agreement of August 7 last, Haiti, with the approval of the United States, reserved the right to retire the bonds before their due date,

provided

provided she could make an arrangement for this purpose  
satisfactory to the bondholders.

Faithfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "William R. Kelly". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name.

Enclosures:

Letter, with translation,  
from President Vincent;  
Suggested reply with  
enclosure.

TRANSLATION

Port-au-Prince,  
November 16, 1933.

To His Excellency  
President Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
The White House,  
WASHINGTON

Mr. President:

Following the signature of our agreement of August 7 last, it seemed to me to be opportune and I still think it useful to write to Your Excellency a special letter with respect to that significant event, the importance of which cannot be exaggerated in view of its significance and scope and also because of the hope it arouses and the promise which it implies, the fulfillment of which it is reasonable to expect in the near future.

It was, at the same time, an occasion - and I seize the opportunity with great pleasure - to render merited homage to the distinguished plenipotentiary of Your Excellency: It is, indeed, only justice, in view of the tact and the uprightness of Mr. Norman Armour, in view of all the qualities of the man which have so well served the diplomat during the delicate negotiations which ended in the result for which our two Governments may well congratulate themselves.

For

For its part the Haitian Government animated, as Your Excellency is well aware, by a sincere desire to maintain with the Government of the United States relations of peace and friendship based on equity, gave a most striking proof of its good will, of its loyalty, of its scrupulous respect for international engagements, of its firm resolve to execute them in good faith, not only those which it inherited from preceding governments but its own. This is the exact significance of the financial provisions of the agreement of August 7 which, although they are in conformity with the stipulations of the protocol of 1919 and of the loan contract of 1922, are, nevertheless, of a nature, as indeed were these previous engagements themselves, to infringe the essential attributes of the sovereignty of a friendly nation.

Is this disparagement of a member of the great Pan-American family, after all, really necessary?

It is now the glory of Your Excellency to have inaugurated in our hemisphere the highest policy which could be conceived and the most intelligent one to be put into effect by the Chief of the greatest and most powerful State of the Americas: A policy tending to create an atmosphere of solidarity and security as between the American peoples, to bring them together in grouping and conciliating their interests in such a manner as to make

the

the ensemble of the American States a sort of international unit based on the political sovereignty of the nations and the precise realization of their responsibilities to each other.

What a splendid policy this new policy of good will is! After having contributed to the leveling of many difficulties and to the facilitating of the return of our principal public services, by assuring the complete liberation of our territory on October 1, 1934, it justifies our desire to resume our complete sovereignty as rapidly as possible.

Following and in consequence of the official acts which occurred in 1919 and 1922, our agreement of August 7 recognizes that what remains of the financial control, which the United States have exercised in our country, is based upon the guarantee of the interest and of the amortization of the loan of 1922.

The Republic of Haiti, in spite of the unprecedented crisis which still holds the world in its grip and from which it has suffered terribly, as have the other countries, not only has regularly met its engagements but has even paid several years of amortization in advance. It is, perhaps, the only country which has done this and such conduct with respect to the creditors proves that the latter need have no serious fear with regard to the perfect regularity of the service of the Haitian debt in  
the



the future.

The United States holds, under the Platt Amendment, the right to intervene in Cuba, and despite the development of an evidently dangerous political situation in that interesting neighboring country, we remark that it is its view that the situation in Cuba is a Cuban problem the solution of which should only be found by means of Cuban methods. This fine and generous attitude of the Government of the United States has made the most favorable impression on the Haitian people, as well as on the other members of the Pan American Union, and it is profoundly instructive.

The Haitian Government has faithfully adhered to its program of freeing itself without any conflict with the United States from the exceptional regime established by the treaty of 1915 and the subsequent agreements. It is permissible for it to envisage and it hopes, with a legitimate conviction, that, on its side, the Government of the United States wishing to give a new proof of its desire henceforth to be a good neighbor of all the American States, will be able to renounce a useless financial control in Haiti by a spontaneous act which would be the most eloquent affirmation of a common will towards friendship, towards better understanding, towards inter-American

economic

-5-

economic cooperation and collaboration for the wellbeing  
respectively of the nations of the three Americas.

It is with this comforting hope, Mr. President, that  
I have the pleasure of renewing to Your Excellency the  
assurances of my strong and constant friendship.

(Signed) Stenio Vincent

(President of Haiti).

LE PRÉSIDENT  
DE LA  
RÉPUBLIQUE D'HAÏTI

Port-au-Prince, le 16 Novembre 1933

Monsieur le Président,

Dès la signature de notre Accord du 7 août dernier, il m'avait paru opportun et il me semble encore utile d'écrire à votre Excellence une lettre particulière au sujet de cet événement considérable, dont l'importance ne saurait être exagérée, vu sa signification et sa portée aussi bien que l'espoir qu'il suscite et la promesse qu'il implique et dont il est raisonnablement possible d'attendre l'heureuse réalisation dans un proche avenir.

C'était en même temps l'occasion - et je la saisis avec un vif plaisir - de rendre au distingué plénipotentiaire de votre Excellence un hommage mérité: ce n'est d'ailleurs que justice due au tact, à la droiture de Monsieur Norman Armour, à toutes les qualités de l'homme qui ont si bien servi le diplomate au cours des délicates négociations qui aboutirent au résultat dont il est permis à nos deux Gouvernements de se féliciter.

A Son Excellence  
le Président Franklin D. ROOSEVELT  
Maison Blanche  
WASHINGTON

Pour sa part, le Gouvernement haïtien, animé, Votre excellence le sait bien, du sincère désir d'entretenir avec le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis des rapports de paix et d'amitié basés sur l'équité, a donné la preuve la plus éclatante de sa bonne volonté, de sa loyauté, de son scrupuleux respect des engagements internationaux, de sa ferme résolution de les exécuter de bonne foi, et ceux qu'il a hérités des Gouvernements précédents et les siens propres. Tel est le sens exact de l'Accord du 7 Août dans ses dispositions financières qui, du fait qu'elles sont conformes aux stipulations du protocole de 1919 et du contrat d'emprunt de 1922, n'en sont pas moins de nature, comme le sont d'ailleurs ces engagements antérieurs eux-mêmes, à porter atteinte à des attributs essentiels de la souveraineté d'une nation amie.

Cet amoindrissement d'un membre de la grande famille panaméricaine, est-il, après tout, bien nécessaire ?

C'est d'ores et déjà la gloire de Votre Excellence d'avoir inauguré dans notre hémisphère la plus haute politique qui pût être conçue et la plus clairvoyante à mettre en pratique par le Chef de la plus grande et de



la plus puissante Nation des Amériques: politique tendant à créer une atmosphère de solidarité et de sécurité entre les peuples américains, à les rapprocher les uns des autres en groupant et en conciliant leurs intérêts, de manière à faire de l'ensemble des Etats américains une sorte d'unité internationale basée sur la souveraineté politique des peuples et la conscience précise de leurs responsabilités les uns envers les autres.

Quelle plus belle politique, en action, que cette nouvelle politique de bon vouloir ? Après avoir contribué à aplanir bien des difficultés et facilité la reprise du contrôle de nos principaux Services publics, en assurant la libération complète de notre territoire à partir du 1er octobre 1934, elle justifie notre désir de reprendre aussi rapidement que possible notre complète souveraineté.

A la suite et en conséquence des actes officiels intervenus en 1919 et 1922, notre accord du 7 Août reconnaît que ce qui reste du contrôle financier, que les Etats-Unis ont entendu exercer dans notre pays, se fonde sur la garantie des intérêts et de l'amortissement de l'emprunt de 1922.

La République d'Haïti, malgré la crise sans précédent qui étroit encore le monde et dont elle a terriblement souffert comme tous les autres pays, non seulement a fait régulièrement face à ses engagements, mais a même payé d'avance plusieurs annuités. Elle est peut-être le seul pays agissant de la sorte, et une telle conduite à l'égard des créanciers atteste qu'ils ne pourraient avoir de crainte sérieuse sur la parfaite régularité du service de la dette haïtienne dans l'avenir.

Les Etats-Unis tiennent de l'Amendement Platt le droit d'intervenir à Cuba, et, malgré le développement d'une situation politique évidemment précaire dans cet intéressant pays voisin, nous constatons que leur avis est que la situation à Cuba demeure un problème cubain dont la solution ne doit être apportée qu'au moyen des seules méthodes cubaines. Cette belle et généreuse attitude du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis a produit la meilleure impression sur le peuple haïtien comme sur les autres membres de l'Union Panaméricaine, et elle est d'un profond enseignement.

LE PRÉSIDENT  
DE LA  
RÉPUBLIQUE D'HAÏTI



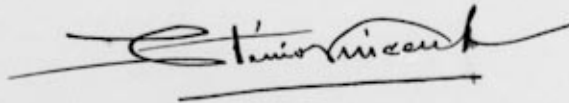
Port-au-Prince, le

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Le Gouvernement haïtien est resté fidèle à son programme de se dégager sans aucun heurt avec les Etats-Unis du régime exceptionnel établi par le traité de 1915 et les accords subséquents. Il lui est bien permis d'envisager, et il espère avec une légitime conviction, que, de son côté, le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, voulant donner une nouvelle preuve de son désir de vivre désormais en bon voisin avec tous les Etats de l'Amérique, pourrait renoncer à un inutile contrôle financier en Haïti, dans un geste spontané qui serait l'affirmation la plus éloquente d'une volonté commune d'amitié, de meilleure compréhension, de collaboration et de coopération économique interaméricaine pour le bien-être respectif des peuples des trois Amériques.

C'est dans cet espoir réconfortant, Monsieur le Président, que j'ai la satisfaction de renouveler à Votre Excellence les assurances de ma vive et constante amitié.





P.F.

LE PRÉSIDENT DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE D'HAÏTI

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A Son Excellence

Le Président Franklin D. ROOSEVELT

Maison Blanche

WASHINGTON



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE CHIEF CLERK

*file*

To: Translation Bureau for  
IMMEDIATE TRANSLATION and transmis-  
sion to Miss Le Hand, The White House.

**FROM THE PRESIDENT  
FOR PROMPT ATTENTION**

DELY

State Dept -

Please send  
translation -

M. L.

PS F Haiti



Port-au-Prince, le

3 Septembre  
1934

Le Président  
de la  
République d'Haiti

Mon cher Monsieur le Président,

C'est avec le plus grand plaisir que j'accuse réception à Votre Excellence de son amical Message du 13 Août dernier, Message par lequel Elle a bien voulu envoyer au Peuple Haitien ainsi qu'à moi-même, les vœux qu'Elle forme pour nous à l'occasion des fêtes du 21 Août qui marquent, comme Elle le dit si bien, le commencement d'une ère nouvelle pour Haiti.

Ce sera, parmi les grandes oeuvres de votre fructueuse et sage administration, l'une des plus belles que d'avoir aussi généreusement travaillé à faire régner la paix morale dans tout cet hémisphère par une saine pratique de

Son Excellence Franklin D. Roosevelt

Président des Etats-Unis

la justice internationale et du respect mutuel, dans les rapports des peuples, petits ou grands, qui se partagent la souveraineté des deux Amériques. Et entre les multiples satisfactions morales qu'auront rapportées à votre Grand Pays, votre administration désintéressée et énergique, la plus précieuse sera, sans doute, l'amitié confiante et la reconnaissance indéfectible de ses voisins.

Le Peuple Haitien s'en réjouit d'ores et déjà, et son Gouvernement avec lui. J'ai la certitude que, grâce à la noble politique inaugurée par Votre Excellence et qui a rasséréiné l'atmosphère des deux Amériques, ce qui subsiste de la participation des Etats-Unis d'Amérique aux affaires intérieures d'Haiti cessera bientôt. Et ce sera désormais, sous l'égide des relations économiques et commerciales

mutuellement satisfaisantes, l'ère de l'amitié et de la confiance entre nos deux Pays.

Je remercie bien sincèrement Votre Excellence du souvenir qu'Elle a gardé de la réception que mon Gouvernement et le Peuple Haitien lui ont faite au Cap-Haitien, et de sa bienveillante appréciation de ce qui a été fait pour lui rendre agréables les trop courts moments qu'Elle a bien voulu passer dans ce Pays qui l'a placée déjà, et avec justice, au nombre de ses bienfaiteurs.

C'est avec empressement que je saisis cette occasion pour vous renouveler, Monsieur le Président, les assurances de ma plus haute considération, ainsi que les vœux sincères que je forme tant en mon nom qu'en celui du Gouvernement et du Peuple Haitiens, pour votre bonheur personnel et pour la prospérité

de la Grande Nation Américaine.

Cordialement vôtre

Sténio Vincent



*Présidence de la République*

Son Excellence Franklin D. ROOSEVELT

Président des Etats-Unis

Maison Blanche

WASHINGTON D.C.

PSF Haiti

(Translation)

THE PRESIDENT OF  
THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI

Port-au-Prince,

September 3, 1934.

My dear Mr. President:

It is with the greatest pleasure that I acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's friendly message of August 13th last, a message by which you were good enough to transmit to the Haitian people, as well as to myself, the good wishes which you felt toward us on the occasion of the festivities of August 21st which marked, as you have so well said, the opening of a new era for Haiti.

It will be one of the finest among the great works of your wise and fruitful administration to have so magnanimously labored to bring about the reign of moral peace throughout this hemisphere by a sound application of international justice and mutual respect in the relations of the nations, large or small, which share the sovereignty of the two Americas. And doubtless, of the manifold satisfactions of the spirit which your disinterested and energetic administration will have brought

His Excellency

Franklin D. Roosevelt,

President of the United States.



brought to your great country, the most precious will be the friendly trust and unfailing gratitude of its neighbors.

The people of Haiti rejoice in this already, and their Government rejoices with them. I feel certain that, thanks to the noble policy inaugurated by Your Excellency, which has driven the clouds from the atmosphere of the two Americas, what remains of the participation of the United States of America in the domestic affairs of Haiti will soon disappear. And from then on there will be, under the aegis of mutually satisfactory economic and commercial relations, an era of friendship and of confidence between our two countries.

I thank Your Excellency very sincerely for your remembrance of the reception which my Government and the Haitian people gave you at Cap-Haitien, and for your kind appreciation of what was done to render agreeable to you the moments, all too brief, that you were good enough to pass in this country which has already - and justly - numbered you with its benefactors.

It is with cordiality that I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration, as well as my

sincere

-3-

sincere good wishes, - both in my own name and in that of the Haitian people and their Government - for your personal happiness and the prosperity of the great American nation.

Cordially yours,

(Signed) Stenio Vincent.

TR: JWP: IMS

Palais National, Port-au-Prince, le 17 Février 1944.

Le Président  
de la  
République

Mon cher Président et bien Cher Ami,

Il me paraît urgent et impérieux de vous faire savoir les raisons de l'attitude que je suis forcé de prendre à l'occasion de l'invitation que j'ai reçue de Monsieur le Président Trujillo de le rencontrer sur notre commune frontière.

Il me semble indiqué que vous sachiez qu'en dehors des insultes gratuites autorisées par le Gouvernement Dominicain contre mon Pays et mes concitoyens, il est fait usage à l'Université de Santo-Domingo d'un Traité de "Droit International Public Américain" écrit par Carlos Sanchez y Sanchez, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit et à la Faculté de Philosophie, et aussi Professeur de Droit International Public Américain, nouvellement nommé Ambassadeur à Buenos-Ayres, -Traité qui contient, à la page 103 et suivantes de l'édition 1943, dite "Edition du Centenaire de la République", volume XXVI, au chapitre spécial "Le cas dominico-haitien et le Mandat international", un enseignement qui semble être un critérium pour les Dominicains et qui préconise de placer le Peuple Haitien sous mandat, en même temps que la déportation massive de nos concitoyens. (Voir ANNEXE 1 de cette lettre).

Son Excellence

Honorable Franklin D. ROOSEVELT,  
Président des Etats-Unis d'Amérique,  
Maison Blanche,  
Washington, D. C.

Je sais tout l'intérêt qu'en la circonstance, vous personnellement et le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis portez à une entente entre le Président Trujillo et moi, et à une union entre les deux peuples qui se partagent la souveraineté de notre île. Et je comprends très bien les nobles sentiments qui vous animent.

Persuadé, cependant, que vous vous trouvez dans l'ignorance des dernières correspondances échangées au sujet de l'invitation qui m'a été faite par le Président Trujillo, je crois que rien ne peut être plus utile que de vous envoyer, sous ce couvert, copie de cette invitation et de la réponse que j'y ai faite, en même temps que copie de ma lettre du 11 février à l'Ambassadeur des Etats-Unis, Monsieur John C. White qui, agissant officieusement et amicalement au nom de son Gouvernement, s'était intéressé à la question.

Je n'ai rien à ajouter à ces documents, si ce n'est pour vous dire, mon cher Président et bien Cher Ami, que mon Gouvernement tout entier et moi-même, malgré l'ardent désir que nous nourrissons d'être toujours agréables et à Vous et au Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, pensons intimement que nous nous trouverons aussitôt devant un très grand problème intérieur, si le Président de la République d'Haiti devait se rendre à une entrevue quelconque sur la frontière avec le Président Trujillo. En l'espèce, je serais seul à confronter la situation, car mon Cabinet tout entier se serait démis aussitôt que cette entrevue serait définitivement arrêtée, -comme

du

du reste, je l'ai écrit à l'Ambassadeur White dans une lettre dont copie est annexée à la présente. Les violences matérielles et la violence continue des écrits, pratiquées en République Dominicaine contre le Peuple Haitien, ont fini par provoquer chez nos concitoyens une incubation dont seul le temps pourra atténuer les effets. Me rendre sur la frontière, ces temps-ci, pour rencontrer le Président Trujillo équivaudrait pour moi à la plus pitoyable des déchéances. J'aurais perdu tout respect du Peuple Haitien et toute autorité sur lui. Je serais fatalement acculé à la démission et mon Pays serait tombé dans un désordre politique, dont Dieu seul peut deviner les conséquences.

Ceci dit, permettez, mon cher Président, que je vous mette sous les yeux certains faits qui ne manqueront pas de vous intéresser:

Il est avéré que, durant l'année qui vient de s'écouler, le Président Trujillo a tenté d'établir en Haiti un réseau d'espionnage par des Consuls qu'il nomma en des endroits incroyables où il n'y avait aucun résident dominicain, -tels que Jérémie, les Cayes, Hinche, Gressier, Fond-Parisien et Anses-à-Pitres. La nomination de ces Consuls avait pour but, dans les deux premières villes, Jérémie et les Cayes, de contrôler les activités de la Société Haitiano-Américaine de Développement Agricole la "S.H.A.D.A " qui produit du sisal et du caoutchouc pour les besoins de guerre. Aussitôt l'établissement des Consuls en ces villes, la plus fielleuse campagne fut inaugurée dans la presse dominicaine contre le Gouvernement

nement Haitien qui aurait permis l'installation de la S.H.A.D.A, accusée de ruiner le paysan haitien et de le réduire en esclavage. Ce même paysan qui avait été massacré par les Dominicains à un moment donné et dont il est dit dans un Manuel de Droit qu'il doit en masse être déporté hors du Continent Américain. Aux autres endroits, le rôle des Consuls était de maintenir un état de panique dans l'esprit des populations paysannes.

Le résultat de toutes ces activités était d'arriver à jeter le trouble en Haïti, pour créer un désordre qui ne pourrait être que favorable au plan qu'il est dans l'impossibilité de réaliser, du fait de mon attitude loyale envers les Alliés.

Je refusai de donner l'Exequatur aux nouveaux Consuls nommés qui durent laisser les lieux. Le Gouvernement Dominicain, alors, les nomma presque tous Attachés à la Légation Dominicaine à Port-au-Prince. Ici, ils peuvent moins exercer leurs activités nocives.

J'attire, mon cher Président et bien Cher Ami, votre attention d'une façon toute particulière sur ce que projette le Président Trujillo contre mon Pays et moi, et qui coïncide de façon troublante avec ce qui se passe en d'autres points du Continent, tels la Bolivie, la Colombie et d'autres pays.

Dans l'invitation du Président Trujillo, vous noterez une allusion à une certaine lettre, en date du 1er Novembre 1943. C'est une lettre dans laquelle M. Trujillo a cru de bonne guerre-, sans que rien ne justifiât une telle attitude-, de me menacer de la révélation de certaines confidences que je lui  
aurais

aurais faites, avant ma Présidence, croyant par ainsi pouvoir me contraindre à marcher dans son sillage.

Je ne vous apprends rien, mon cher Président, en vous disant que la haine et la hargne du Président Trujillo contre ma personne datent de la déclaration de guerre d'Haiti contre le Japon, en raison même des termes dont j'avais usé en prenant cette position. A cette époque, se trouvant à New York, le Président Trujillo, qui n'était que Généralissime, ne s'étant pas encore fait réélire, m'adressa le câblogramme suivant en clair:

"PPXZ27 NEW YORK 25 13TH 1H30PM

LE 13 DECEMBRE 1941

"PRESIDENT LESCOT PORT-AU-PRINCE"

"OUR FRIENDSHIP MOVES ME TO ADVISE YOU TO BE ON  
"THE ALERT AND TO TAKE PRECAUTIONS FOR YOUR PERSONAL  
"SECURITY"

(S): GENERALISIMO TRUJILLO"

dont le contenu, si j'étais un lâche, eut dû me porter à mettre une sourdine à la juste indignation qu'avait provoquée en moi la traîtrise de l'attaque japonaise contre les Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Le lendemain il me faisait confirmer son avertissement dans un câblogramme codé au Ministre Dominicain à Port-au-Prince de l'époque, M. Ramon Rodriguez. Jamais je n'ai répondu au câblogramme que m'avait adressé le Président Trujillo, ni à la communication qu'il m'avait faite par l'intermédiaire du Ministre Dominicain. Contrairement à l'attente du Généralissime -trois jours plus tard,- c'est en des termes plus forts, qu'au nom de mon Pays, je déclarais la guerre à l'Allemagne et à l'Italie.

Si,

Si, aujourd'hui, cette attitude prise librement, à un moment très grave, doit être la raison des violences du Président Trujillo contre mon Pays et ma personne, j'accepte d'être la victime de mon intransigeance.

Chacun sait que le Président Trujillo est un spécialiste de la mise en scène, soit pour effrayer, soit pour faire accroire à son grand coeur et à sa haute importance. N'a-t-il pas eu, il y a déjà deux ans, dans un interview accordé à Monsieur Reynolds Packard, Représentant de la United Press, à laisser entendre que je lui devais Cinquante Mille dollars, -valeur qu'il m'aurait prêtée lors de ma campagne présidentielle. Cet odieux mensonge avait, à l'époque même, inquiété mes amis qui s'empressèrent de me faire l'offre de m'aider à rembourser M. Trujillo. Je les en dissuadai et, ainsi je fis avorter cette tentative d'escroquerie. La vérité est bien différente de ce qu'avait avancé M. Trujillo au Représentant de la United Press. Et, la voici: Lors de ma campagne présidentielle, en 1941, M. Esteban Prieto, citoyen dominicain, Consul Japonais, résidant à Ciudad Trujillo voyagea à Port-au-Prince et sollicita de moi une audience qui ne lui fut pas accordée. Alors, il me fit offrir, pour m'aider dans ma campagne, Deux Cent Mille dollars, dont Cent Mille en cash et Cent Mille payables après mon élection. La proposition du Consul Japonais, que je refusai net, me fut transmise par Monsieur le Sénateur Joseph Raphael Noel, ancien Ministre d'Haiti à Ciudad Trujillo. On essaya, dans cette affaire, de gagner mon fils, l'actuel Secrétaire d'Etat



d'Etat des Relations Extérieures, qui éconduisit le Consul Japonais, avec son offre.

Il est peut-être nécessaire, mon cher Président, de vous signaler le passage suivant de ma lettre du 11 février à l'Ambassadeur White:

"Je crois qu'il est aussi de mon devoir de vous faire part en toute loyauté, -et ceci confidentiellement autant pour vous que pour votre Gouvernement-, de certaine réflexion émise au cours du Conseil de Cabinet tenu hier après-midi. Il s'est dit qu'une démarche de cette nature, appuyée par la haute bienveillance du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique revêtait un caractère d'exceptionnelle responsabilité, du fait que la vie même du Président de la République d'Haiti pouvait se trouver exposée, car un accident est parfois bien vite arrivé."

Je réalise très bien que l'attitude haïtienne est un obstacle qui se dresse contre l'embauchage, en Haïti, des ouvriers agricoles par les Dominicains et que, peut-être, le désir de cette entrevue manifesté par le Président Trujillo est motivé par la nécessité qui se présente actuellement pour la République Dominicaine d'avoir des coupeurs haïtiens de canne-à-sucre.

Ne voulant point que la position par nous adoptée soit un handicap à l'effort agricole de la République Dominicaine, en vue de la production de denrées nécessaires aux pays alliés, tel le sucre, je crois devoir faire la proposition suivante:-

Le Gouvernement Haïtien est décidé à permettre l'embauchage des ouvriers agricoles haïtiens

en

en vue d'aider les industries américaines installées en République Dominicaine. Pour ce, le Gouvernement Haitien traiterait directement avec les Représentants des Etats-Unis, -afin de garantir les dits ouvriers contre les mauvais traitements dont ils sont trop souvent les malheureuses victimes, de même contre la violation coutumière des clauses de leurs contrats d'engagement, -vu l'impossibilité dans laquelle nous nous trouvons de protéger les vies haitiennes en République Dominicaine.

Cette attitude du Gouvernement Haitien est inspirée par la violence des écrits dominicains contre nos nationaux, -violence qui nous ramène naturellement à l'esprit les malheureux incidents qui ne durent pas de longtemps, et qui nous commande de nous assurer de toute la protection du Gouvernement Américain pour la vie de nos ouvriers agricoles et la stricte observance des clauses de leurs contrats d'embau-chage.

Du fait de la surexcitation qui se manifeste dans les esprits, de l'autre côté de notre frontière, nous avons lieu de craindre la possibilité de la reproduction de la triste situation de 1937.

La pression que compte faire sur moi le Président Trujillo, d'après ce qui m'en est revenu, par la publication des confidences dont je vous ai parlé plus haut, me laisse totalement indifférent. Ce triste chantage ne peut atteindre que ma personne, si toutefois cette atteinte est possible. Tant pis, pourvu que dans cette triste conjoncture, plus triste encore pour celui qui l'a provoquée, soient sauvés la vie de mes concitoyens et la dignité de mon Pays.

Une

Une rencontre avec le Président Trujillo, pour tirer au clair cette pénible situation existant entre la République d'Haiti et lui, ne serait possible, à mon avis, que si elle devait avoir lieu à Washington où vous nous auriez invité à venir, le Président Trujillo et moi, de façon officielle, après les Fêtes du Centenaire de l'Indépendance Dominicaine. En votre haute présence, tout ce qu'il y aurait à dire serait dit une fois pour toutes.

Cependant, je ne crois pas inutile de vous faire remarquer, mon cher Président, qu'en moins de trois ans, j'ai eu à rencontrer le Président Trujillo par deux fois.

Une fois au Cap-Haitien où nous avons passé la journée entière dans la plus grande cordialité; et une autre fois sur la frontière, à Villa Elias Piña en territoire dominicain où nous avons déjeuné ensemble, après quoi nous sommes allés à Belladère, en territoire haïtien. Durant toute la journée, à cette seconde entrevue, il a régné une atmosphère d'indiscutable sympathie.

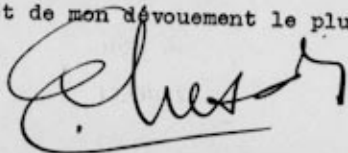
Et c'est peu de temps après qu'ont commencé les attaques les plus brutales contre le Peuple Haïtien.

J'espère, mon cher Président et bien Cher Ami que la relation de cette situation fort pénible pour moi et que je n'ai en rien créée, au moment où je me consacre avec tant d'ardeur à la participation de mon Pays à la cause sainte de la coopération totale et sincère avec les Nations Unies, et particulièrement avec votre grand Pays, ne constituera pas pour Vous un trop grand souci.

Je

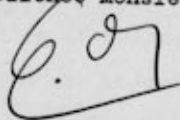
Je m'en veux de vous troubler en ces heures où votre esprit est dominé par les grands problèmes de la guerre, et je m'excuse d'abuser, en cette circonstance, de la bonté que vous m'avez toujours témoignée.

Je suis heureux de pouvoir saisir cette occasion de vous réitérer, mon cher Président et bien Cher Ami, l'assurance de mon indéfectible amitié et de mon dévouement le plus grand.



P.S.- Je vous prie de trouver, annexées à la présente, les pièces suivantes:-

- ANNEXE 1 - Extrait du Traité de "Droit International Public Américain.
- ANNEXE 2 - Lettre d'invitation du Président Trujillo, en date du 9 février 1944.
- ANNEXE 3 - Réponse du Président Lescot à l'invitation du Président Trujillo, en date du 12 février 1944.
- ANNEXE 4 - Lettre, en date du 11 février 1944, du Président Lescot à l'Ambassadeur des Etats-Unis d'Amérique à Port-au-Prince, Son Excellence Monsieur J. C. White.



A N N E X E 1

TRAITE DE DROIT INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC AMERICAIN  
de M. Carlos Sanchez y Sanchez  
Edition 1943  
Edition du Centenaire de la République  
Volume XXVI

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CHAPITRE SPECIAL

\*\*\*

LE CAS DOMINICO-HAITIEN ET LE MANDAT INTERNATIONAL

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LES ORIGINES BIOLOGIQUES DU PROBLEME  
(Page 103 et suiv.)

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"Voyons cet aspect du problème. Il faut commencer par  
"considérer que l'indice social rudimentaire du bas peuple  
"de nos voisins, l'infime standard de vie de ses classes  
"inférieures et montagnardes qui les porte à se multiplier  
"en une progression menaçante, leur conformisme avec un é-  
"tat social dépourvu d'idéal, les inclinant à la paresse,  
"puisque seul l'idéal stimule l'homme et le lance à la re-  
"cherche de nouveaux destins. L'absence d'une classe moyenne  
"aggrave le problème et prouve irrécusablement que le maté-  
"riel grégaire est d'une boue qui ne peut être modelée.

"Haiti a une brillante classe supérieure, et son action  
"dans le monde de la pensée et dans le secteur social mérite  
"tous mes respects. Ce n'est pas à cette classe que je me  
"réfère, et je désire l'affirmer. Je me réfère à cette clas-  
"se infime qui est d'une majorité écrasante et qui paraît  
"sans rédemption, si vrai qu'il a été impossible à la classe  
"supérieure de créer avec elle cette classe moyenne si néces-  
"saire au développement harmonieux des peuples.

"Toute fin est un but à réaliser et garde dans son sein  
"un souffle vital. Nos voisins du peuple n'ont qu'une seule  
"fin: vivre avec le moindre effort possible, comme des  
"bouées à la dérive. Ce moindre effort, le plus souvent,  
"pousse leurs classes les plus basses, qui sont précisément

"celles des régions frontières, à rechercher la complicité  
"de la nuit et la faveur de l'attaque brusquée pour jouir  
"du travail du voisin laborieux. Le voisin se défend et le  
"choc surgit. Pourtant l'intensité du problème ne réside  
"point en cela; elle réside en ce que l'unique distraction  
"de ces êtres des sous-couches sociales est de se multiplier.  
"Et, ils se multiplient, en effet, avec la force expansive  
"de la vapeur qui fait éclater la chaudière. Et, ils écla-  
"tent par la frontière; ils la violent, parce qu'à le faire  
"les obligent la loi du nombre et une indiscutable inclina-  
"tion à la rapacité. Ils débordent comme une grande marée.  
"Que faire? Devons-nous supporter cette poussée corruptrice  
"avec la même dangereuse indifférence de nos ancêtres qui  
"supportèrent l'avance de la tribu de la Tortue? Sommes-  
"nous obligés à rabaisser notre indice ethnique, notre pa-  
"tron moral et notre civilisation supérieure? Il n'y a pas  
"de loi, ni divine, ni humaine, qui nous oblige à recevoir  
"sur notre sol un détritus social. Nous les dominicains,  
"nous ne sommes pas obligés de résoudre les problèmes d'Hai-  
"ti. Alors, nous devons avouer que nous sommes en face d'un  
"problème panaméricain. Notre intention a toujours été la  
"meilleure; cela, l'histoire le démontre. Nous avons tou-  
"jours voulu aborder le problème avec sympathie et un réel  
"sentiment de pitié pour nos voisins. Mais, quand la vague  
"croîtra, que ferons-nous? Que nous conseille-t-on de faire?  
"Pour l'Etat voisin lui-même le problème est aigre, parce  
"que, nous le supposons, il désirerait épurer sa race, mal-  
"gré ses affirmations constitutionnelles, et, comme c'est  
"logique, bannir un paupérisme si extrême le plus loin  
"possible. Si ses gouvernants mettent de côté des raisons  
"sentimentales et cette espèce de comédie internationale  
"qu'exposent au soleil ceux qui exploitent le chauvinisme,

"et se dédient, avec une résolution efficace, à raisonner  
"le problème, ils verront que cet élément de si basse ex-  
"traction raciale et psychique n'est qu'un obstacle à leur  
"progrès national. Quelle doit être, donc, la solution?

"Le Mandat International, unique solution possible.-

"L'institution de Mandat International fut établie par le  
"Pacte de la Société des Nations, à la fin de la dernière  
"Grande Guerre. Ses dispositions tendent à préserver, à  
"garantir et à diriger la vie des peuples qui n'ont aucune  
"ou peu de préparation pour le gouvernement propre. Jus-  
"qu'aux tribus sauvages, groupes humains de conditions pri-  
"mitives, entrent dans les limites de ses prévoyantes régle-  
"mentations. Nous pourrions donc, dans le cadre de l'orga-  
"nisation panaméricaine et au moyen d'une convention inter-  
"nationale, leur chercher une patrie à ces éléments haitiens  
"qui vivent encore dans des conditions de tribu, et leur  
"chercher cette patrie dans une région du globe, propice au  
"développement de leur mode de vie. Et, si leur bas niveau  
"mental est incapable de créer une nouvelle Libéria, ils  
"pourraient, placés sous un mandat international qui doit  
"s'inspirer de l'article 22 du Pacte cité et que doit néces-  
"sairement exercer Haiti, et conseillés par un organisme  
"international, vivre comme des êtres humains, résignés à  
"leur destinée en s'améliorant selon un rythme de "tempo  
"lento", mais éloignés de la fatalité tragique qui anime  
"le bruit des armes et des coups de feu dans le milieu du  
"Continent Américain. Ainsi, nous aurons tous gagné, eux  
"les premiers, et ainsi sera gagnée la paix américaine.  
"Pour cela, je le répète, il faut assainir le milieu, si  
"l'on veut préserver la structure de notre "jus gentium  
"paxis".

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Ciudad Trujillo,  
District de Santo-Domingo,  
9 Février 1944.

Mon cher Président Lescot,

Encore qu'à cette date je n'aie pas eu le plaisir de recevoir une réponse à ma lettre du 1er Novembre de l'année dernière, je désire vous écrire de nouveau à l'occasion de la très prochaine célébration du Premier Centenaire de la République.

J'estime que l'un des devoirs primordiaux des Présidents des deux pays, le vôtre et le mien, est de provoquer, patronner et encourager une politique de bonne compréhension, et de promouvoir un rapprochement effectif entre les deux peuples.

Je pense, de même, que la célébration du Centenaire de la République, loin d'être un motif de ressentiment, doit nous porter à jeter un voile sur les questions historiques du passé et nous inciter à une nouvelle vie de cordialité, tant en ce qui a trait à nos deux gouvernements qu'en ce qui se rapporte à nos peuples respectifs.

C'est pourquoi, mon cher Président Lescot, saisissant une occasion aussi exceptionnelle, je vous envoie la plus cordiale invitation pour une entrevue sur la frontière, afin que, conjointement, nous proclamions l'existence d'une amitié ferme entre dominicains et haïtiens, et célébrions la paix régnante, qui doit être la norme permanente de nos relations. Un des résultats les plus importants de cette entrevue, dans l'ordre spirituel, doit être l'érection d'un monument chrétien que je propose d'ériger en un lieu approprié de la

ligne



ligne frontalière, comme un symbole de la paix qui règne heureusement entre nos deux pays.

Je vous prie de voir, tant dans l'invitation que je vous adresse, que dans la proposition d'ériger ce monument, de nouveaux témoignages de ce que, toujours, j'ai vu dans la paix et dans la cordialité la fin la meilleure des relations entre la République Dominicaine et Haïti.

Je suis sûr de vous avoir offert une nouvelle preuve des sentiments sincères qui m'animent, et je crois que si vous vous sentez inspiré de ces mêmes sentiments, vous comprendrez qu'aucune autre pensée ne me fait agir que celle que toujours existe la meilleure amitié entre nos deux gouvernements et entre nos deux peuples, surtout au moment où nous nous évertuons à offrir notre aide la meilleure à la cause des nations alliées et à la solidarité continentale.

Je vous salue avec toute ma considération,

(S): Rafael L. Trujillo

Son Excellence  
Monsieur Elie Lescot,  
Président de la République d'Haïti,  
Palais National,  
Port-au-Prince.

LE PRESIDENT  
de la  
REPUBLIQUE

ANNEXE 3

Palais National, Port-au-Prince, le 12/2/44.

Mon cher Président Trujillo,

C'est avec l'intérêt que vous devez deviner que j'ai pris connaissance de Votre lettre du 9 février en cours, dans laquelle, à l'occasion de la célébration prochaine du Centenaire de l'Indépendance de la République Dominicaine, vous me conviez à patronner et à encourager une politique de bonne compréhension et d'effectif rapprochement entre nos deux peuples.

J'ai particulièrement noté que, pour donner un signe tangible de l'harmonie qui règne entre les peuples haïtien et dominicain, vous eussiez désiré qu'il y eût entre nous une entrevue sur notre commune frontière; après quoi nos deux gouvernements eussent pu ériger à la ligne de démarcation de notre souveraineté nationale un monument commémoratif de l'entente et de la paix qui règnent entre nos deux pays.

Une telle démarche part certes d'un excellent naturel et souligne sans nul doute le désir qui vous anime de maintenir et de renforcer les relations amicales qui, à ma connaissance, n'ont jamais cessé d'exister entre nos gouvernements.

Mieux que personne vous savez que le Gouvernement que j'ai l'honneur de présider a toujours été mû

Son Excellence

Monsieur Rafael L. TRUJILLO,

Président de la République Dominicaine,

Ciudad Trujillo, R.D.

par des sentiments d'une sympathie non équivoque envers le Gouvernement et le Peuple Dominicains, -se tenant par ainsi dans la ligne d'une tradition déjà vieille et d'une politique fortement basée sur l'union et la coopération continentales qui sont tellement indispensables à notre Hémisphère, en cette période de guerre, et qui se révéleront tellement utiles dans l'après-guerre.

Cependant, cette attitude amicale qui nous permettait de supputer à juste titre une atmosphère de compréhension sympathique, dont je me plaisais à croire qu'elle contribuerait largement à notre développement harmonieux sur une île dont nos deux peuples partagent la souveraineté, ne nous a valu, depuis déjà des mois comme vous le savez, que les attaques les plus méchantes et les plus outrageantes de la Presse et de la Radio dominicaines.

Quelque grandes qu'aient été les blessures faites en nos coeurs par cette campagne, nous avons toujours voulu ignorer ces assauts que rien ne pouvait justifier. Mais il ne demeure pas moins vrai, -et cela, vous le concevez aisément-, qu'une incubation s'est opérée dans notre peuple par suite de ces inutiles attaques que seul le temps devra pouvoir faire oublier. Ces blessures ont été malheureusement rouvertes par la révélation d'un cours de Droit International, officiellement professé à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Santo-Domingo.

Nous sommes tous deux, vous et moi, conducteurs de peuples. Et pour ma part, la Charte Constitutionnelle de mon Pays fait de moi la personnification

cation

cation même de la Nation Haïtienne, dont je dois sentir les battements du coeur et en tenir compte. C'est pour nos peuples, dont nous sommes, vous et moi, les premiers mandataires, que nous administrons.

Aurais-je été personnellement l'objet d'attaques les plus violentes et les plus dures qui tendraient à jeter le discrédit le plus total sur ma personne; ces malveillances auraient-elles été propagée aux quatre coins du monde, je me crois une âme assez chrétienne pour ignorer et pardonner de pareils actes, qui n'auraient la prétention que de diminuer ma seule personne... Mais, le destin veut que je sois actuellement le Chef d'une Nation dans laquelle je n'intègre intimement; et à ce compte, toutes ses douleurs, comme toutes ses gloires, sont profondément miennes.

Aussi bien devons-nous, -je le pense sincèrement-, laisser faire le temps, avant de manifester une nouvelle fois cette sympathie qui n'a jamais cessé d'exister entre nous et les Gouvernements que nous présidons. Et s'il m'est permis à mon tour de vous faire une invitation, c'est celle de nous entendre à convier nos deux peuples à bâtir, d'abord dans le coeur de tous, le monument de cette amitié fraternelle qui ne peut être que profitable à notre progrès et nous permettre de tenir une place digne et enviable dans la grande famille américaine.

C'est le but vers lequel nous devons aller sans défaillance pour le plus grand bien et le plus grand bonheur de nos collectivités.

Je veux saisir cette opportunité d'envoyer

mes

mes meilleurs vœux à la Nation Dominicaine à l'occasion de la célébration du Premier Centenaire de Son Indépendance.

Laissez-moi vous assurer une nouvelle fois, mon cher Président Trujillo, de toute ma considération.

(S): E. LESCOT

11 Février 1944.

Mon cher Ambassadeur,

Après l'intéressante conversation que j'eus le plaisir d'avoir avec vous en mon Cabinet, hier, au sujet de l'invitation que j'ai reçue du Président Trujillo, -invitation dont vous aviez déjà eu copie, je crois bon de vous marquer combien j'étais disposé à faire plaisir au Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique qui, par votre haute entremise, a bien voulu s'intéresser à la suite que je comptais y donner.

Uniquement mû, comme vous le savez, par le désir de manifester encore et toujours ma bonne volonté personnelle, en vue d'éviter toute friction avec le Gouvernement du Président Trujillo et de contribuer à garantir toujours une paix si nécessaire à notre Continent, j'avais bien voulu répondre favorablement à la démarche qui était faite auprès de moi.

Néanmoins, en une circonstance aussi grave et importante pour la dignité haïtienne qui est mise en jeu depuis quelque temps déjà par les écrits les plus violents contre mes concitoyens, il s'est avéré pour moi indispensable, comme vous le comprendrez bien, j'en suis sûr, d'avoir la complète et totale adhésion de mon Gouvernement.

Son Excellence

Monsieur J. Campbell WHITE,

Ambassadeur des Etats-Unis d'Amérique,

Ambassade des Etats-Unis d'Amérique,

Port-au-Prince.

Or donc, au cours d'un Conseil de Gouvernement, tenu hier à 4 heures de l'après-midi, j'ai fait part à tous les Secrétaires d'Etat et Sous-Secrétaires d'Etat réunis de l'invitation que j'avais eu l'honneur de recevoir. Tous ces hauts fonctionnaires, avec la modération la plus grande et la plus saine logique, ont émis une opinion identique et unanime, -à savoir que le Chef de l'Etat, personnification même de la Nation, selon la lettre de l'Article 31 de notre Charte Constitutionnelle, se trouve atteint par toutes les injures faites à la Nation Haïtienne et qu'en dehors de toutes les violences publiées dans la Presse dominicaine et diffusées par la Radio contre le Peuple Haïtien, il a été récemment révélé à ce même Peuple Haïtien l'enseignement outrageant professé à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Santo-Domingo et contenu dans un Manuel de Droit publié précisément aux Editions du Centenaire, -enseignement qui semble former un critérium pour les Dominicains et selon lequel le Peuple Haïtien devrait être placé sous mandat, tandis qu'une déportation en masse de nos concitoyens est préconisée dans ces cours.

Le Gouvernement Dominicain, pour autant que nous le sachions, n'a jamais désapprouvé un tel enseignement. Il serait donc pour le moins étrange que le Président de la République, personnification intégrale de la Nation Haïtienne si brutalement attaquée, donnât, par une quelconque manifestation personnelle, le témoignage qu'on sollicite de Lui.

En agissant comme on l'espère je me trouverais immédiatement en face d'une crise de Cabinet, car  
tous

tous les Secrétaires d'Etat et les Sous-Secrétaires d'Etat n'ont pas manqué de me laisser à entendre qu'ils préféreraient démissionner, si le Chef du Gouvernement Haïtien devait accepter à répondre à une invitation de cette nature, -c'est-à-dire se rendre à une entrevue sur la frontière pour une quelconque manifestation. Et je ne voudrais pas être responsable de la réaction qui pourrait se produire, comme du reste je ne porte pas la responsabilité de la réaction déjà produite dans notre Peuple.

Pour ma part, voulant éviter toute complication qui pourrait intervenir et dans le Gouvernement et dans le Pays, en ces temps où précisément la paix publique ne doit, sous aucun prétexte, se trouver exposée à être troublée, je crois devoir vous manifester dans une lettre, au lieu de vous les exposer verbalement au cours d'une entrevue, les raisons de l'attitude que je suis amené à prendre.

Cependant, le Cabinet Ministériel tout entier m'a suggéré, -et je suis pleinement d'accord avec lui-, dans un but de conciliation, en face de la démarche du Président Trujillo, que je fasse comprendre au Chef de l'Etat Dominicain, dans une réponse courtoise, qu'il serait davantage nécessaire, dans l'intérêt même des deux Nations qui se partagent la souveraineté de l'île, qu'une fin soit mise à la publication périodique des écrits malheureux de la Presse Dominicaine contre Haïti et le Peuple Haïtien, ainsi qu'aux émissions de même nature de la Radio Dominicaine. Le seul moyen d'arriver à créer le climat de confiance qui puisse permettre que soit érigé un monument



ment d'abord dans le coeur des Haïtiens et des Dominicains, avant qu'il ne soit concrétisé en une oeuvre d'art à placer sur notre commune frontière.

Je crois qu'il est aussi de mon devoir de vous faire part en toute loyauté, -et ceci confidentiellement autant pour vous que pour votre Gouvernement-, de certaine réflexion émise au cours du Conseil de Cabinet tenu hier après-midi. Il s'est dit qu'une démarche de cette nature, appuyée par la haute bienveillance du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique revêtait un caractère d'exceptionnelle responsabilité, du fait que la vie même du Président de la République d'Haïti pouvait se trouver exposée, car un accident est parfois bien vite arrivé.

Devant ces faits dont la gravité ne saurait vous échapper, et qui me mettent dans une position délicate vis-à-vis et du Peuple Haïtien et de mon Gouvernement, vous comprendrez l'attitude que j'adopte. Et je suis certain que le Gouvernement du Peuple noble et fier des Etats-Unis d'Amérique comprendra aisément l'attitude de dignité que le Gouvernement Haïtien a décidé de prendre en l'occurrence.

Puisque déjà copie vous a été donnée de l'invitation qui m'a été faite, je ne manquerai pas de vous envoyer copie de la réponse que j'aurai faite au Président Trujillo.

Avant de terminer, je veux assurer le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique qu'en retour d'une attitude conciliante et amicale du Peuple Dominicain, contre lequel ni mon Gouvernement ni le Peuple Haïtien

ne nourrissent aucun sentiment de rancœur ou de jalousie, je prends solennellement l'engagement le plus formel qu'aucun acte de provocation n'aura lieu sur le territoire haïtien contre le peuple ou le Gouvernement Dominicain.

D'autre part, le Gouvernement Haïtien renouvelle l'assurance qu'il ne permettra pas, sur le territoire haïtien, des actes provoqués soit par des exilés dominicains, soit par tous autres individus, contre la paix publique en République Dominicaine.

En outre le Gouvernement Haïtien réaffirme sa volonté de ne pas donner asile à des individus ennemis du Gouvernement Dominicain, et qui se trouvent à l'étranger, -et ce, en vue de donner la plus grande quiétude au Gouvernement Dominicain.

Je saisis cette occasion de vous renouveler, mon cher Ambassadeur, les assurances de mes sentiments les plus cordiaux.

(S) E. ESCOT



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

March 3, 1944

LETTER TO PRESIDENT LESCOT.

With reference to my memorandum of February 26 to you transmitting a proposed letter to President Trujillo, a lengthy communication referring to some of the same issues has now been received from President Lescot of Haiti. This letter with four annexes is enclosed herewith together with translations.

M. Lescot covers a number of subjects including obnoxious comments on the Haitian people appearing in a semi-official Dominican publication; his unwillingness to meet President Trujillo at the border; the unusual activities of Dominican consuls in Haiti; the possibility of migration of Haitian sugar laborers to the Dominican Republic; and his own willingness to come to Washington to confer with Presidents Roosevelt and Trujillo. One of the documents to which President Lescot refers, namely an earlier letter addressed to him by President Trujillo on November 1, 1943, was sent to you under cover of my memorandum of February 17, 1944. *(attached)*

If you approve and sign the enclosed letter I shall have it delivered to President Lescot. In general, this reply follows lines parallel to the Trujillo letter which was recently submitted to you for signature.

Enclosures:

As described above.



*file confidential*



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON  
February 17, 1944

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I am informed by Mr. Charles W. Taussig, the Chairman of the United States Delegation to the Dominican centennial celebration (to be held from February 22 to March 3, 1944) that in a conversation with a day or two ago, you expressed a desire to see a letter sent by President Trujillo last November 1 to President Lescot of Haiti. There is attached a copy of the letter, in translation, which was made available to our Ambassador in the Dominican Republic, Mr. Warren.

As you will readily recognize, this communication deals with the particularly delicate relationships between the two Presidents and it has been treated in this Department in the most confidential manner.

Enclosure:

Copy of letter from  
President Trujillo  
to President Lescot.

DECLASSIFIED  
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-78  
By J. Schauble Date **FEB 9 1972**

~~SECRET~~

Ciudad Trujillo,

District of Santo Domingo,

November 1st, 1943.

Translation:

His Excellency Elie Lescot,  
The President of Haiti,  
Port-au-Prince.

My dear President and friend:

On reading the speech made by you at the end of May on the occasion of "Flag and University Day", I felt like writing you to express how terribly surprised I was at the hidden offenses and serious threats set forth therein against me, against my Government and against the Dominican people.

I considered, however, that the hatred thus impressed on the minds of the Haitian students had been a mere resort intended to gain political goodwill, and not a real expression of the sentiments of the man who had treated me fraternally and sworn to me an "ever-lasting friendship".

How, I wondered, was it possible to conciliate on a sincere plane this openly hostile attitude with the brotherly affection that the old and dear friend Lescot had said he felt for me? How could one harmonize these offenses and threats with all the phrases of affection and profound gratitude which he professed to have had for me, without any reserves, in all of his letters?

How could the man in whom an absolute confidence was placed and to whom he had gone on different occasions, looking for the solution of serious and perturbing problems, be today the object of offensive criticism?

I confess,

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED

~~SECRET~~

I confess, dear President and friend, that I gave the matter what the Americans call "the benefit of the doubt", and as between new insult and sworn good-friendship, I gave the advantage to the latter.

My faith in the old friend was, however, shaken again on reading another speech: the one made by you on September sixth, on the occasion of celebrating the 41st anniversary of the death of the Haitian hero Killick.

If the oration of May 18th was a veiled attack on the "noble friend" and the Government which had given you constant and generous protection, the speech of the sixth of last month was almost a war cry and a surprising revelation of hatred which has seemingly caused you to turn your back on a friendship which, in so far as I am concerned, has always been maintained unaltered.

I then made the resolution to write you sometime to express my regrets for this radical change of attitude and to point out the contradiction existing between your recent past, so full of affection and admiration towards me and my executive accomplishments, and your present, so unjustifiably hostile to my person, to my Government and to my people.

I now take advantage of your return to Port-au-Prince after your trip to Canada and to the United States of America, which I sincerely hope afforded you restorative repose, to write you the letter I had in mind. Excuse me, dear President and friend, if my spontaneous desire to clear up a situation which I have regretted on account of our old friendship and the supreme duty imposed upon us by the seriousness of the moment, has led me to make this letter extraordinarily lengthy.

Let

Let me now make a brief resumé of this situation.

In the speech of May 18th, which, permit me to repeat with absolute frankness, was a regrettable implantation of hatred in the minds and in the hearts of the Haitian youth, you seem to have forgotten the strong ties of friendship and gratitude, and expressed in my regard and that of the Dominican people phrases which hardly hide a mortifying intention of offense. So badly hidden was this allusion, that the Haitian press, when commenting on this speech, believed it served the purpose which supposedly had inspired it, by bitterly criticising everything Dominican.

There is no need, dear President and friend, of reproducing here such unhappy expressions, which have been converted in Haiti into banners of rancor and dangerous threat, and which have created over there a popular state of mind which contrasts, fortunately, with the one I have maintained here for the good of the normal relations existing between our two countries as well as for the good of the united effort which in benefit of the democratic cause our two Governments are carrying out.

In the speech made by you on September sixth for the purpose of rendering homage of admiration to the glory of Hammerton Killick, the regrettable threat of May 18th was categorically reaffirmed. In the final paragraphs of that speech there are expressions which would have alarmed Dominican patriotism, and with good reason, had I not taken care to avoid the popular reaction which would have justly corresponded to what that patriotism could have accepted as an act of gratuitous provocation.

Now

Now that I have informed you, dear President and friend, of the bad impression those speeches made on me, I invite you cordially, in the name of our friendship, to calmly reflect on the situation which they have created, and to give me, if you consider it pertinent, the reasons which have induced you to assume this new attitude of estrangement towards me and my political policy.

I invite you, in the same cordial spirit, to point out in any of my speeches one single example of personal attack on you or any expression tending to awaken in the Dominican public the slightest intention of impairing the territorial integrity of Haiti.

In my speeches I have defended our project to Dominicanize our frontiers, so badly interpreted by the superficial observers of your country, and I have defended and will continue to defend it because it is inspired by a high patriotic duty.

The work being carried out does not imply any danger whatsoever for Haiti; it will rather contribute to avoid in the future any incidents which might create problems similar to those which you and I helped to solve, in a satisfactory manner, in the year 1937. If well examined, this work of bringing civilization and the national spirit to the frontier regions, victims of the negligence of previous governments, is a most important contribution, if not in accomplishments, at least in incentives, favoring a vast expanse of Haitian territory.

Haiti



Haiti can in no way be hurt by the fact that we are constructing, all along the frontier lines, cities, small towns, hospitals, markets, maternity wards, agricultural colonies, schools, churches, electric plants, dispensaries, aqueducts and other establishments which are not only exponents of progress, but also works of peace and cultural expansion.

The work of Dominicanizing our frontiers which I am carrying out is so peaceful and full of noble christian aspiration, that I must declare, dear President Lescot, that I would celebrate most sincerely your undertaking on the Haitian side of the border an accomplishment of similar importance and with an identical purpose of peace and civilization.

It is certain that some Dominican writers have commented frequently on this work of rehabilitation and that to sustain it they have given reasons which may have hurt the patriotic susceptibility of many Haitians. But you will understand, dear President and friend, that these reasons stem from undeniable historical facts and that it is impossible to ignore the teachings of the past when one wants to construct a sound present, liberated, precisely, from the afflictions, the uncertainties and the exposure to tragic contingencies of that past.

You know that we have not been invaders. History, while proclaiming this fact, shows that quite to the contrary Haiti has, since it became independent in the year 1804, initiated against us a series of acts of bloody aggression which culminated in 1822 with the Boyer invasion. This invasion destroyed the Independent State created by Dr. José Nuñez de Cáceres in November of the year 1821.

Our

Our Republic was definitely established on February 27th of the year 1844, and in March of that same year Dominican territory was invaded by President Herard. In 1845 President Pierrot repeated the cruel act of invasion. In 1849 President Soulouque invaded us again, and presently, having assumed the title of Emperor, violated in a most reprehensible manner between 1851 and 1854 the truce imposed by three mediating powers: England, France and the United States of America. Even in 1855 and 1856 Emperor Faustino still persisted in his determination to invade.

You also know that the Dominican Republic has never had territorial ambitions and that to the contrary, it has renounced lands which legitimately belonged to it in order that necessary conciliatory negotiations should not come to naught.

The aforesaid, dear President Lescot, is what we might call the official aspect of the question. I now wish to dwell upon the facts which bear directly on our friendship and which is, therefore, the personal part of this letter.

I beg you not to consider the citations I am going to make as a demonstration of indiscrete resentment, but rather as a helpful evocation of the friendly background as a basis for my discontentment and complaint.

At the time when your change of attitude towards me was most evident, I examined my private files and selected those letters in which you set forth clearly your warm affection, your gratitude and your admiration towards me and towards my work of government.

This

This correspondence begins on March 16th, 1937, on the eve of your departure from Ciudad Trujillo for Washington. In a letter of that same date you told me the following:

"Great and good friend: Allow me to express once more my gratitude for the thoughtful attention your kind heart has inspired. You have guessed my anxiety on account of a difficult economic situation on the eve of such an unexpected departure. When and how can I ever reciprocate the innumerable attentions which I have enjoyed since my arrival in this country which you have made so dear to me? God will permit me (I do so pray) to demonstrate some day my gratitude towards you and yours. My family as well as myself are indebted to your generosity and your insuperable kindness."

What a change of heart I find you have had, my dear President, since writing that letter of expressive gratitude!

On the 22nd of August of that same year you addressed me another letter from Port-au-Prince full of recognition. From that letter I extract the following paragraphs:

"I am now very near you, but circumstances prevent me from going over to greet you and renew personally my friendship and my recognition.

"Five months have elapsed since I left Ciudad Trujillo, and I have not wished, for reasons you may well imagine, to carry on a correspondence with you or any one else in the Dominican Republic, with the exception of my wife and son; I am strictly  
watched,

watched, but in spite of it all you must know that the heart of your friend has not changed, nor can it ever change, come what may.

"Since the 12th of this month I am in Haiti. All sorts of pretexts have been made to prevent me from making a visit to Ciudad Trujillo, due to the fear which the Government has of our friendship.

"On the 13th of next month my family is leaving the Dominican Republic for the United States via Port-au-Prince. Henry, my son, your young protégé, must also travel with them, etc."

In this same letter you proclaim yourself to be my faithful friend and swear that you will never be able to forget my friendship and the good that I have done you.

Another service rendered you moved you to write me from New York, under date of February 7th, 1938, a long letter which starts as follows:

"Great and good friend: (\*) I have just settled the troublesome debts in which the bad faith of one of my countrymen had entangled me. I owe this to the ever-increasing generosity of your noble heart, because you have wanted to put an end to a simple affair which from the beginning could have been easily arranged, but directly as you desired.

"I do not know how to express my gratitude for your inexhaustible generosity towards me, a proof

"I have instructed General to collect an amount of \$1000.00 which he will pay personally to settle my share

---

(\*) Querido y Gran Amigo, hermano mío:

Dear and great friend, my brother:

of which you have given me recently. Thanks,  
brother of mine."

This letter you sign as Williams, for reasons we  
both know.

Between this letter and the next one I am going to  
cite, more than one year elapses, full of anxiety for  
you. Your presidential aspirations are shattered by  
Vincent's intentions to continue in power and you send  
me through Mr. Andrés Pastoriza, Dominican Minister in  
Washington, photostatic copies of all letters addressed  
you by the Haitian Chief Executive, as well as other  
important documents, amongst which there is a letter from  
a high official in the State Department at Washington.

This delivery of confidential documents is an authen-  
tic proof of the confidence you had placed in me and of  
the decisive value you attributed to the cooperation you  
had solicited from me and I had offered to give you in  
the honest good faith of a friend.

On April 11th, 1939, you make, in a long and interest-  
ing letter, this statement:

"The time has come for me to take advantage  
of the offers you have not ceased to make me, rela-  
tive to facilitating my coming into the Presidency  
of the Republic."

In other paragraphs of this important document you  
tell me:

"I have instructed Gerard to solicit an audience,  
in order that he may go personally to submit my plans  
to you and obtain, by reason of our fraternal amity,  
the economic as well as all other support which may

be

be indispensable to my success. I know that I can count on you in the most absolute manner just as you can count on me. Faithfulness and Loyalty unto death is your emblem, and mine as well."

I do not hide from you, dear President Lescot, that I have felt profoundly bitter on rereading those paragraphs, and especially when comparing them with the veiled threats you make against me in your speeches of May 18th and September 6th.

In that same letter you severely criticize President Vincent, who, as you say, hates and envies me, and has repaid with ingratitude all the services I have rendered and all the political good I have done him.

On commenting the reluctance of President Vincent to assume an attitude of frank collaboration with the United States of America, collaboration which I have upheld and shall continue to maintain on a high plane of solidarity, you make the following statement:

"That is the attitude which with the patriotism and unquestionable perspicacity of a great statesman you have foresightedly taken, looking towards the security and development of your country."

I beg you, dear President Lescot, to consult your conscience and tell me if I am not right in feeling the way I do about the attitude you have taken lately.

Another letter of yours dated April 11th, 1940, written in Washington, shows your impatience and your desire that I should help you to precipitate the events which would favor your rising to the Presidency of the Republic.

I would

I would like to reproduce in extenso this interesting document, but the fear that this letter may become too tiresome induces me to transcribe only the most outstanding paragraphs.

You state in that document:

"I have promised you to go to Port-au-Prince, but you know very well that I will not leave before receiving a communication or advice from you, which I requested some time ago, either through Pastoriza or through my son, who tells me that he has transmitted to Santanita all the communications I have addressed to you.

"There is one thing certain, and that is that in the face of such a situation I cannot remain indifferent, as this would only tend to favor my adversaries, and on the other hand, it behooves me to make a trip in order to start a presidential campaign for which your support is indispensable. In consequence, I only count on you, my dear and well-beloved friend.

"One thing is sure: Vincent makes no decisions unless impelled by fear or interest. It is indispensable to increase without loss of time the fear which Calixte's permanency in the Dominican Republic inspires in him. Without making any armed movement, it would be convenient for Calixte, with many individuals on horseback, to ride from time to time on the Dajabon and Comendador borders; to find a way to make this known to the Haitian authorities in order that Vincent be informed of the fact. Calixte should appear

appear very busy during these days. Any agitation which Calixte may appear to promote will strengthen my position with Vincent, as I am reputed to be the only man capable of preventing an uprising on the part of Calixte, due to the fraternal friendship known to exist between you and me.

"A serious agitation on the frontier at this moment could bring about Vincent's resignation, and if I have money at my disposal I could win over the Senators and Representatives. In the present state of affairs, it seems to me this would be the easiest way to the Presidency. I hope to receive your opinion regarding this plan, my dear and well-beloved friend, within the shortest time possible. Your news will reassure me.

"On the other hand, I am carrying out another plan here to gradually eliminate the French Clergy from my country, which is the main source of dissidence between our two countries. You are well informed on this subject.

"Do me the favor, my dear and well-beloved friend, of letting me know your opinion as soon as possible by cable in code to Pastoriza. The development of events worries me and I repeat that only from you do I expect the indispensable support."

To remind you more precisely, dear friend, of all that you expected from me with regards to your Presidential aspirations, I transcribe the text of the letter which, shortly afterwards, you wrote to your son Gerard.

Well



Well you know how and why this document came into my possession, and you also know that I always refused to support the armed movement you planned, among other things, because I felt such a movement against the Government you represented in Washington as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotenciary, might prove detrimental to your reputation and prejudicial to your presidential aspirations.

The letter reads as follows:

"If you cannot see my Great Friend, advise him through Santanita that the moment is decisive, that Vincent is preparing a coup d'état. He does not want to understand that he should leave the presidency. If he sees that it is not possible for him to remain in power, he is capable of favoring a military coup d'état with Major Armand as president. My decision not to go to Haiti bothers him. His plan was to keep me in Haiti in order to eliminate me, just as he does with all Haitians he thinks could succeed him in the presidency. The United States are completely opposed to Vincent's remaining in the presidency; Armand is not liked either, and that is why they have taken away from Vincent all means of propaganda or of action: Sale of rifles on time, refused; construction of a hotel; postponed indefinitely; visit of American catholic dignitaries, also postponed indefinitely; and up to now no one can tell what will be decided with regard to the moratorium. The State Department is informed of the statement made by me to Vincent relative to succeeding him in

the

the presidency at the end of his constitutional period, and approves this statement. Everything that happens in Haiti is followed here with great interest. Nevertheless I do not count on the Americans for any direct assistance. I only count on my Friend. I shall remain firm here until Vincent makes some move to keep himself in power through some coup d'état. In such a case I would resign with a great deal of publicity, and make known to the public by means of the press and the radio the 'shamelessness' of the man, using the compromising correspondence which I have had with him. I would explain the moral impossibility of continuing to serve such a dishonorable government. I want my Friend to know that I have the most complete and absolute confidence in the promises he has made me, and confirm I count only on God and on him. I would like to know if my Friend is in agreement with the plan submitted to act in the manner indicated, and should the necessity arise, proceed immediately with all my family to the Dominican Republic to organize without delay and in a CLANDESTINE manner an armed movement.

"It would seem advisable that Vincent be worried by unsettled conditions along the borders or by any other means. This would perhaps oblige him to come to terms.

"Abel Leger has been recalled by Vincent and is returning to Haiti with all his family. It seems that he will be another candidate that Vincent wants

to

to throw into the ring to complicate matters and to establish himself as referee so as to come out winner in the game."

It is befitting, President and friend, to evoke at this point an event which evidences to just what degree you have been able to count on me and how much I have wished to please and help you in your moments of anxiety. Only due to the intimate nature of this letter and because I am moved to write it by the same cordial spirit of always, do I permit myself to remind you of such a delicate matter.

I refer to the loan I made you to enable you to reimburse the Haitian Government the sum of \$31,250.00 which that Government had delivered to you for the purchase of a certain quantity of rifles.

Your situation at the end of September 1940 was tragic. The request for reimbursement of that amount was desperately urgent. You then came to me and, as on other occasions, found me ready to help you on the basis of true friendship.

In a letter you wrote to the Dominican Minister in Washington, you refer clearly to this delicate matter. The letter is dated September 20th and says textually:

"My dear Pastoriza: I am sending you for the 'Jefe', (Chief), copy of the letter sent yesterday to Port-au-Prince, which I consider very important, as it refers to the suggestion of which you are aware.

"In the report attached to the letter, I have removed the names of certain persons, so that in

Port-au-Prince

Port-au-Prince no one will be able to know who has given the information contained in the report.

"As I would like to send the check you know of by air-mail today and which they have asked me for by cable, I beg you, my dear friend, to do everything possible to let me have it, because the bank closes at two o'clock in the afternoon. I spoke with the 'Jefe' yesterday, and told him the wonderful thing he has done for me, saving me from the most dangerous situation affecting my future in which I have ever found myself."

Later, on October 16th of the same year, you wrote me a long letter in which you informed me of the formula accepted by Vincent to ensure you the Presidency of the Republic. In that letter you also refer, with sentiments of gratitude, to the new proof of friendship which I had just given you. You said:

"Should circumstances not permit me to express verbally my appreciation for the fraternal service you have rendered me, I want to herein reiterate my thanks; and upon reading the correspondence exchanged with regards to the affair you know of, you will appreciate the value I have given to your precious help, which, I repeat, saved my life. Read, I beg of you, in order: (1) the letter dated September 24th, 1940, from Mr. De la Rue; (2) that of September 26th from the Haitian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the Secretary for Finance; (3) my letter of September 27th to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs; (4) the letter dated September 30th from the Secretary

for

for Foreign Affairs; and finally, the letter dated October 14th which I addressed two days ago to Mr. Sumner Welles. I await the epilogue of this affair which will show me to what degree my country has been placed under the dictatorial yoke of Mr. Sidney De la Rue. I will keep you informed as to the results of this affair.

"I am sending you herewith a facsimile of a letter dated October 5th from President Vincent, which is the answer to the communication which I addressed him relative to the interest you had in knowing whom he would select to succeed him as President of Haiti."

Shortly afterward your great dream came true: you were President of the Republic of Haiti.

In October of 1941 I had the opportunity of giving you another proof of friendship and showing you, once more, my disposition to solve in harmony any differences which might arise between our two governments.

For some time past the stock farmers of the Dominican northern frontier regions had been victims of thefts similar to those which caused the regrettable incidents of 1937.

With a view to avoiding further friction, I requested you to send your son Gerard to Dajabon to verify the facts. In the meeting held in that town the situation was clearly established, and your Government gave a communiqué to the press which set forth the truth and fully justified the state of alarm in which the Dominican proprietors lived in those regions.

Four days later, during our interviews in Elias Piffa and Belladère, I reaffirmed my conciliatory disposition of old. On that occasion I had the pleasure of offering you fifty mules for the use of the Haitian Guard on border patrol.

I still have the letter which you wrote me to express your thanks for the "magnificent present", as well as the clippings from the Haitian press which commented so favorably with regard to this gift.

Pardon me, dear President Lescot, for trying your patience in so lengthy a letter, but I needed to have the echo of a past full of fraternal affection reach you, and in consequence, favored thereby, point out the inconveniences which have been caused by your placing yourself so far from the real cordial center of our old relationship.

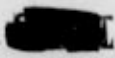
I would like, dear President and friend, to close this letter with an invitation made in the name of that past which has spoken so eloquently in the documents reproduced. I invite you, dear President and friend, to return to the plane of harmony and good understanding which you abandoned to the detriment of our traditional friendship and the good relations of our two Governments.

On this plane you will find me, as always, with open arms and disposed to celebrate, with legitimate satisfaction, the return of the friend to the ways of comprehension and of solidarity.

With cordial greetings,

RAFAEL L. TRUJILLO

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED



1  
Signed original of this letter sent to  
Hon. E. R. Stettinius, Jr., for forwarding.  
hms

Haiti Files  
-44

March 4, 1944

My dear President Lescot:

I am deeply grateful to you for Your Excellency's thoughtful letter of February 17 which dealt in part with the proposed meeting with President Trujillo on the Haitian-Dominican frontier for the purpose of dedicating a Peace Monument.

I must with all frankness tell you that I hoped such a meeting would take place. It was consequently with the keenest regret that I learned the unfortunate degree of discord which has arisen in Haitian-Dominican relations to the extent that you were unwilling to meet President Trujillo at this time.

The common interests of Haiti and the Dominican Republic and the wholehearted collaboration of both of them in the common war effort impose upon their leaders the need for composing their differences in that spirit of mutual conciliation, which is the essence of the happy relations existing between the American republics. We have all subscribed to a system of public law which requires the peaceful settlement of disputes in this hemisphere. A ruthless enemy, who scorns that principle, is seeking to destroy us. We have an inescapable duty in this regard to our respective countries and to our fellow American republics.

The military threat to this hemisphere has happily diminished, and the combined might of the United Nations is pressing ever more heavily upon the Axis aggressors. The climax of our armed operations is approaching. In possible disunity among the United Nations the guilty Axis leaders see the only possible

escape

His Excellency  
Elie Lescot,  
President of Haiti,  
Port-au-Prince,  
Haiti.

escape from the consequences of their crime, and they have done everything possible to foment such disunity. They must not succeed.

I feel confident that I can count on you, my dear Mr. President, to do everything in your power to advance the cause of friendly relations between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Please be assured of my friendly and continued interest in the matter, and feel free to call upon me as I feel free to call upon you, for whatever assistance can be rendered in strengthening the peaceful ties between our three countries. I am making the same observation to President Trujillo who, I feel certain, will share the viewpoint which both you and I maintain in this matter.

In concluding, may I thank you for your suggestion regarding the manner in which it might be possible to supply Haitian labor to aid Dominican agricultural production for the war effort. I have referred this suggestion to the pertinent United States officials for the careful study which it merits.

With cordial good wishes for your personal well-being, and for that of the Haitian people, I am, my dear Mr. President,

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT



TRANSLATION

National Palace, Port-au-Prince,  
February 17, 1944.

THE PRESIDENT  
OF THE REPUBLIC

My dear President and very dear Friend,

It appears to me urgent and imperious to inform you of the reasons for the attitude which I am forced to take in connection with the invitation which I have received from President Trujillo to meet him on our common frontier.

It seems to me that you should know that aside from the gratuitous insults authorized by the Dominican Government against my country and my fellow-citizens, there is used in the University of Santo Domingo a Treatise on "American Public International Law" written by Carlos Sanchez y Sanchez, Professor in the Law Faculty and the Faculty of Philosophy, and also Professor of American Public International Law, recently appointed Ambassador at Buenos Aires, a Treatise which contains, at pages 103 ff. of the 1943 edition, called "Edition of the Centennial of the Republic", volume XXVI, in the special chapter "The Dominican-Haitian case and the International Mandate" a teaching which seems to be a criterion for the Dominicans  
and

His Excellency

Franklin D. Roosevelt,

President of the United States of America,

White House, Washington, D. C.

and which advocates placing the Haitian people under mandate, at the same time as the deportation en masse of our fellow-citizens. (See ANNEX 1 of this letter.)

I know how much interest, under the circumstances, you personally and the Government of the United States take in an understanding between President Trujillo and me, and a union between the two peoples which share the sovereignty of our island. And I understand clearly the noble sentiments by which you are moved.

Convinced, however, that you are in ignorance of the most recent correspondence exchanged on the subject of the invitation which was given me by President Trujillo, I believe that nothing can be more useful than to send you, under this cover, copy of that invitation and my reply to it, at the same time sending a copy of my letter of February 11 to the Ambassador of the United States, Mr. John C. White, who, acting in an unofficial and friendly capacity in the name of his Government, had interested himself in the question.

I have nothing to add to those documents, unless it is to tell you, my dear President and very Dear Friend, that my Government as a whole and myself, in spite of the ardent desire that we cherish to be always agreeable both to you and to the Government of the United States, think confidentially that we shall at once find ourselves facing a very great domestic problem, if the President of the Republic of Haiti were to attend any interview on the frontier with President Trujillo. In this matter, I would be alone to face the situation, for my Cabinet in its entirety would turn in their resignations as soon as such interview were definitely agreed upon, as, moreover, I

wrote

wrote to Ambassador White in the letter a copy of which is annexed to this. The material acts of violence and the continual violence of writings, practiced in the Dominican Republic against the Haitian People, have finally provoked in our fellow-citizens an incubation the effects of which can be attenuated only by time. For me to go to the frontier, in times like these to meet President Trujillo, would be equivalent to the most pitiful failure. I would lose all respect from the Haitian people and all authority over it. I would fatally be pushed back to a resignation and my country would fall into political disorder of which God alone could divine the consequences.

Having said this, permit me, dear President, to place before your eyes certain facts which will not fail to interest you.

It is averred that, during the year which has just passed, President Trujillo has tried to establish in Haiti a spy system by Consuls whom he appointed in incredible places where there was no Dominican resident - such as Jérémie, Les Cayes, Hinche, Gressier, Fond-Parisien and Anse-à-Pitres. The appointment of the said Consuls was for the purpose, in the first two mentioned, Jérémie and Les Cayes, to check up on the activities of the Haitian-American Company for Agricultural Development, the "S.H.A.D.A." which produces sisal and rubber for war needs. Immediately upon the establishment of the Consuls in these cities, the most bitter campaign was inaugurated in the Dominican press against the Haitian Government which was said to have permitted the installation of the S.H.A.D.A., accused of ruining the Haitian peasant and of  
reducing

reducing him to slavery. This same peasant who had been massacred by the Dominicans at a given moment and concerning whom it is said in a Law Manual that he should be deported en masse from the American Continent. In the other places the rôle of the Consuls was to maintain a state of panic in the mind of the peasant populations.

The result of all these activities was to succeed in causing confusion in Haiti, to create disorder which could not but be favorable to the plan which it finds it impossible to carry out, because of my loyal attitude toward the Allies.

I refused to grant the Exequatur to the new Consuls appointed, who had to leave. The Dominican Government then appointed them almost all Attachés at the Dominican Legation at Port-au-Prince. Here they can exercise their harmful activities less.

I call your attention, my dear President and very Dear Friend, very particularly to what President Trujillo is planning against my country and me, and which coincides in a disturbing way with what is happening in other points of the Continent, such as Bolivia, Colombia and other countries.

In the invitation from President Trujillo, you will note an allusion to a certain letter, dated November 1, 1943. It is a letter in which President Trujillo deemed it fair warfare - without there being anything to justify such an attitude - to threaten me with the revelation of certain confidences which I was said to have made to him, before my Presidency, thinking in this way to constrain me to follow in his steps.

I tell

I tell you nothing you do not know, dear President, when I tell you that the hatred and rancor of President Trujillo against me personally date from the declaration of war of Haiti against Japan, due especially to the expressions I had used in taking that position. At that time General Trujillo being at New York, being then only Generalissimo, not having yet obtained his reelection, sent me the following cablegram in plain language:

"PPXZ27 NEW YORK 25 13TH 1.30 P.M.

"December 13, 1941.

"President Lescot Port-au-Prince.

"Our friendship moves me to advise you to be on the alert and to take precautions for your personal security."

"(S) Generalissimo Trujillo."

the contents of which if I were a coward, would have led me to place a damper on the just indignation which had been caused in me by the treachery of the Japanese attack against the United States of America. The following day he confirmed his warning to me in a cablegram in code to the Dominican Minister at Port-au-Prince, then Mr. Ramon Rodriguez. I have never replied to the cablegram sent to me by President Trujillo, nor to the communication which he had made to me through the Dominican Minister. Contrary to the expectation of the Generalissimo, three days later, it was in stronger terms that I declared war in the name of my country, on Germany and Italy.

If, today, this attitude, freely taken, at a very grave moment is to be the reason for the violences of

President

President Trujillo against my Country and me, I accept being the victim of my uncompromising attitude.

Everybody knows that President Trujillo is a specialist in stage effects, either to frighten, or to cause belief in his big heart and high importance. Did he not have, two years ago, in an interview granted to Mr. Reynolds Packard, Representative of the United Press, to imply that I owed him \$50,000 - an amount he was said to have loaned me at the time of my presidential campaign. This odious lie had, at the same time, disturbed my friends, who hastened to offer to help me to reimburse Mr. Trujillo. I dissuaded them, and thus caused this swindling attempt to be abortive. The truth is quite different from what Mr. Trujillo had put forth to the representative of the United Press. And, here it is: at the time of my presidential campaign, in 1941, Mr. Esteban Prieto, a Dominican citizen, Japanese Consul, residing at Ciudad Trujillo, traveled to Port-au-Prince and requested of me an audience which was not accorded him. Then he had the offer made to me, to aid me in my campaign, of \$200,000, of which \$100,000 was to be in cash and \$100,000 payable after my election. The proposal of the Japanese Consul, which I refused pointedly, was transmitted to me by Senator Joseph Raphael Noel, former Minister of Haiti at Ciudad Trujillo. In this business they tried to win over my son, the present Secretary of State for Foreign Relations, who showed the Japanese Consul, with his offer, the door.

It is necessary, perhaps, my dear President, to point out to you the following passage from my letter of

February 11,

February 11, to Ambassador White:

"I believe it is also my duty to inform you in all sincerity - and this confidentially both as regards you and your Government - of certain reflections expressed in the course of the Cabinet Council held yesterday afternoon. It was said that a step of this kind, supported by the high benevolence of the Government of the United States of America, took on a character of exceptional responsibility, from the fact that the very life of the President of the Republic of Haiti might be exposed, for an accident can so easily happen."

I realize very well that the Haitian attitude is an obstacle which arises against the employment, in Haiti, of agricultural workers by the Dominicans and that, perhaps, the desire for this interview manifested by President Trujillo is due to the necessity which presents itself at present for the Dominican Republic to have Haitian sugar cane cutters.

Not at all desiring that the position taken by us should be a handicap to the agricultural effort of the Dominican Republic, with a view to the production of goods necessary to the Allied countries, such as sugar, I feel that I should make the following proposal:

The Haitian Government is decided to permit the hiring of Haitian farm workers with a view to aiding the American industries installed in the Dominican Republic. For this, the Haitian Government would treat directly with the Representatives of the United States, in order to  
guarantee

guarantee the said workers against the ill treatment of which they have so often been the unfortunate victims, as well as against the customary violation of the clauses of their contracts of employment, in view of the impossibility in which we find ourselves to protect the lives of Haitians in the Dominican Republic.

This attitude of the Haitian Government is inspired by the violence of the Haitian writings against our nationals - violence which takes back our minds naturally to the unfortunate incidents not so long past, which commands us to assure ourselves of all the protection of the American Government for the life of our agricultural workers and the strict observance of the clauses of their contracts of employment.

Because of the excitement which is manifested in the minds on the other side of our frontier, we have grounds to fear the possibility of the repetition of the sad situation of 1937.

The pressure which President Trujillo expects to exert on me, according to what I have heard, by the publication of the confidences of which I told you above, leaves me entirely indifferent. This poor blackmail can only attack my person, even if such an attack is possible. It is too bad, if only in this gloomy state of affairs, more gloomy even for the one who provoked it, the lives of my fellow-citizens and the dignity of my country be saved.

A meeting with President Trujillo, to clarify this painful situation existing between the Republic of Haiti and



and him would not be possible, in my opinion, unless it were to take place in Washington to which you would have invited President Trujillo and me to come, after the Centennial Celebrations of Dominican Independence. In your high presence, all that there would be to say would be said once and for all.

However, I do not believe it useless to point out to you, my dear President, that in less than three years I have twice met President Trujillo.

Once at Cap Haitien where we spent the entire day in the greatest cordiality; and again on the frontier, at Villa Elias Pina, in Dominican territory where we lunched together, after which we went to Belladere, in Haitian territory. Throughout the day, at the second interview there reigned an atmosphere of undeniable good fellowship.

And it was shortly after that that the most brutal attacks began against the Haitian people.

I hope, my dear President and very Dear Friend that the relation of this situation very painful for me and which I did nothing to create, at the moment when I am devoting myself with so much ardor to the share of my country in the sacred cause of total and sincere cooperation with the United Nations and particularly with your great country, will not constitute too great a care for you.

I am angry with myself for troubling you at this hour when your mind is dominated by the great problems of the war, and I beg pardon for taking advantage, under these circumstances of the kindness which you have always shown

shown to me.

I am happy to be able to avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, my dear President and very Dear Friend, the assurances of my unfailing friendship and my greatest devotion.

(S) ELIE LESCOT

P.S. I beg you to find, herewith, the following documents:

Annex I - Extract from the treatise on "American Public International Law".

Annex II - Letter of invitation from President Trujillo under date of February 9, 1944.

Annex III - Reply of President Lescot to the invitation from President Trujillo, under date of February 12, 1944.

Annex IV - Letter, dated February 11, 1944, from President Lescot to the Ambassador of the United States of America at Port-au-Prince, His Excellency J. C. White.

(s) E.L.

ANNEX I.

Extract from

Course of American International Public Law

By

Carlos Sanchez y Sanchez

1943 Edition

Publications of the Centennial of the

Republic. Vol. XXVI.

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Special Chapter

The Dominican-Haitian Case and an International  
Mandate.

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The Biological Origins of the Problem

(Page 103 and following)

Let us look at this aspect of the problem. We must begin by considering that the rudimentary social index of the lower orders among our neighbors, the extremely low standard of living of their lower classes, mountain-dwellers, which leads them to multiply in a menacing progression, their conformability to a social condition without ideals, inclines them to laziness, since ideals alone stimulate man and start him in pursuit of new destinies. The absence of a middle class renders the problem more serious and proves irrefutably that the gregarious material is formed of a clay which cannot be modeled.

Haiti has a brilliant upper class and its activity in the world of thought and in the social field deserves all my respect. It is not to this class that I am referring and I wish to affirm this. I am referring to that

lowest

lowest class which is an overwhelming majority and which appears so truly insusceptible of redemption that it has been impossible for the upper class to create from it that middle class which is so necessary to the harmonious development of nations.

Every purpose is an aim to be attained and guards within its bosom the breath of life. The common people in our neighbor State have but one single purpose; to live with the least effort possible, like buoys adrift. This least effort, usually, impels their lowest classes--which are, specifically, those of the border districts--to seek the cover of night and the advantage of sudden attack in order to enjoy the fruits of the labor of an industrious neighbor. The neighbor defends himself and a clash ensues. The seriousness of the problem, however, does not consist in this; it consists in the fact that the sole amusement of these creatures of the social sub-strata is to propagate. And they propagate, in fact, with the expansive force of the steam which bursts the boiler. And they burst over the border; they infringe it because the law of numbers and an indisputable tendency to rapacity forces them to do so. They overflow like a great tide. What is to be done? Are we to submit to this corrupting pressure with the same dangerous indifference as our ancestors who submitted to the advance of the tribe from the Tortugas? Are we obliged to lower our ethnic index, our moral pattern and our superior civilization? There is no social refuse on our soil. We Dominicans are not obliged to solve the problems of Haiti. We must therefore admit that we are faced with a vital problem which attains the proportions of a Pan American problem. We have always had the best intentions: history proves this. We have always tried to approach the problem with sympathy and a real sentiment of pity for our neighbors. But when the wave increases in volume, what shall we do? What are we advised to do? For the neighboring State itself the problem is bitter because -- we suppose -- it would like to purify its race in spite of its constitutional affirmations and, as is logical, banish such extreme pauperism as far as possible. If its rulers set aside sentimental reasons and that sort of international comedy openly displayed by those who exploit chauvinism and who devote themselves, with effectual resolution, to arguing the problem, they will see that this element of such low racial and psychic extraction is only an obstacle to their national progress. What, then, is to be the solution?

An

An International Mandate is the only possible solution. The institution of the International Mandate was established by the Covenant of the League of Nations at the end of the last World War. Its provisions are intended to preserve, guarantee and govern the life of the peoples which have little or no preparation for self-government. Even savage tribes, human groups in primitive conditions, are included within the limits of its far-sighted regulations. We could therefore, within the framework of the Pan American organization and by means of an international convention, seek a country for those Haitian elements which are still living under tribal conditions, and seek this country for them in a region of the globe propitious to the development of their way of life. And, if their low mental level is incapable of creating a new Liberia, they could, placed under an international mandate, which must be based on Article 22 of the said Covenant and which Haiti must of course administer, and advised by an international organization, live like human beings, resigned to their destinies while bettering themselves in a "tempo lento" rhythm but removed from the tragic fatality which inspires the clash of arms and the noise of shots in the middle of the American Continent. Thus we shall all have gained -- they first of all -- and thus will American peace be won. Therefore, I repeat, the atmosphere must be purified if we wish to preserve the structure of our jus gentium pacis.

TRANSLATION: Letter of Invitation from President Lescot.  
ANNEX II

Presidential Palace  
Dominican Republic

Ciudad Trujillo,  
District of Santo-Domingo,  
February 9, 1944.

My dear President Lescot:

Although up to this date I have not had the pleasure of receiving a reply to my letter of November 1st of last year, I wish to write you again since within a few days we shall celebrate the first centennial of the Republic.

I believe that one of the primary duties of the Presidents of both countries, of yours and mine, is to encourage, sponsor and foster a policy of mutual understanding and to promote effective friendly relations between both peoples.

I consider likewise that the celebration of the centennial of the Republic, far from serving as a cause for resentment, should prompt us to forget the historical questions of the past and inspire us to a new life of cordiality not only in that which relates to both Governments but in matters concerning our respective peoples.

For that reason my dear President Lescot, I take advantage of such an appropriate occasion to extend to you a most cordial invitation to hold a meeting at the frontier so that we may jointly proclaim that a firm friendship exists between Dominicans and Haitians and may celebrate the prevailing peace which should be the permanent basis of our relations. One of the outstanding results of that interview, in the spiritual field, should be that we raise a Christian monument which I suggest be erected at an appropriate place on the boundary as a symbol of the peace which happily exists between our two countries. I beg you to see in the invitation which I extended to you as well as in the proposal to erect that monument new evidence that I have always seen in peace and cordiality the best goal in the relations between the Dominican Republic and Haiti.

I am sure that I have offered you a new indication of the sincere intentions which guide me and I am confident that if you are inspired by those same sentiments, you

will

will understand that I am not motivated by any other desires than that there should always exist the best friendship between our two peoples particularly now that we are engaged in offering all possible aid to the cause of the Allied Nations and to continental solidarity.

I greet you with all consideration.

/s/ Rafael L. Trujillo

His Excellency  
Elie Lescot,  
President of the Republic of Haiti,  
National Palace,  
Port-au-Prince.

TRANSLATION: Reply Letter of President Lescot.

ANNEX III

The President of  
The Republic.

National Palace,  
Port-au-Prince.  
February 12, 1944.

My dear President Trujillo:

It is with the interest which you must have anticipated that I have taken note of your letter of February 9 of this year in which on the occasion of the forthcoming celebration of the Centenary of the Independence of the Dominican Republic, you invite me to support and encourage a policy of good understanding and effective rapprochement between our two peoples.

I have particularly noted that in order to give a tangible sign of the harmony which exists between the Haitian and Dominican peoples, you would like to have an interview take place between us on our common frontier after which our two Governments might erect on the demarcation line of our national territory a monument commemorative of the understanding and peace which exists between our two countries.

Such a step has surely a natural excellence and underlines without any doubt the desire which you have to maintain and reinforce the friendly relations which to my knowledge have never ceased to exist between our Governments.

Better than anyone, you know that the Government over which I have the honor to preside has always been moved by sentiments of an unequivocal sympathy towards the Dominican Government and people, keeping itself thus in line with an already old tradition and with a policy strongly based on the continental union and cooperation which are so indispensable to our hemisphere in this war period and which will prove so useful in the postwar.

However, this friendly attitude which should permit us rightly to count on an atmosphere of sympathetic understanding which I was pleased to believe would contribute largely to our harmonious development on an island whose territory is shared by our two peoples has not availed us for some months already, as you know, in avoiding the most mischievous and outrageous attacks of the Dominican press and radio.

However

His Excellency  
Rafael L. Trujillo,  
President of the Dominican Republic,  
Ciudad Trujillo, D.R.



However great have been the wounds made in our hearts by this campaign, we have always wished to ignore these attacks which nothing could justify. But it remains no less true, and that you will easily understand, that a feeling has taken place in our people following these useless attacks which only time can erase. These wounds have unfortunately been reopened by the disclosure of a course in international law officially taught at the law school of the University of Santo Domingo.

We are both, you and I leaders of peoples. And for my part, the constitutional charter of my country makes me the very personification of the Haitian nation whose heartbeats I must feel and take into account. It is on behalf of our peoples of whom we are, you and I, the first magistrates that we govern.

Had I personally been the object of the strongest and most violent attacks which would have thrown the most complete discredit on my person, had these evidences of ill-will been spread to the four corners of the world, I believe myself a sufficiently Christian soul to ignore and forgive such acts which would only have the purpose of detracting from my person alone but destiny wills that I be the Chief of a nation in which I am intimately integrated and for this reason all its sufferings as all its glories are profoundly mine.

Thus indeed should we--I sincerely think--let time pass before manifesting again this sympathy which has never ceased to exist between us and the Governments over which we preside. And if I am allowed in my turn to extend to you an invitation, it is because we agree to invite our two peoples to feel first in the hearts of all the monument of his fraternal friendship which can only be beneficial to our progress and permit us to have a worthy and enviable peace in the great American family.

It is the goal towards which we must proceed without deviation for the greatest good and the greatest happiness of our communities.

I wish to take this opportunity to send my best wishes to the Dominican nation on the occasion of the celebration of the first centenary of its independence.

Permit me to assure you again, my dear President Trujillo, of all my consideration.

/s/ E. Lescot

ANNEX IV.

TRANSLATION: LETTER TO AMBASSADOR WHITE

February 11, 1944.

My dear Ambassador:

After the interesting conversation which I had the pleasure of holding with you in my office yesterday on the subject of the invitation which I have received from President Trujillo - an invitation of which you already had a copy - I consider it proper to emphasize how much I was disposed to please the Government of the United States of America, which through you has been so good as to take an interest in the subsequent course which I thought to give it.

Solely inspired, as you know, by the desire to show again and always my personal good-will with a view to avoiding all conflict with the Government of President Trujillo and always to contribute towards guaranteeing the peace so necessary to our continent, I was willing to answer favorably to the initiative which had been made to me. Nevertheless, in circumstances so grave and serious for Haitian dignity which for some time has been involved by the most violent writings against my fellow citizens, I considered it indispensable for me, as you well, I am sure, understand, to have the complete and full adhesion of my Government.

Therefore, in the course of a council of the Government held yesterday at 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon, I informed all the Secretaries and Under-Secretaries of State assembled, of the invitation which I had had the honor to receive. All these high officials with the greatest moderation and with the most sane logic gave an identical and unanimous opinion, - namely - all the

His Excellency

Mr. J. Campbell White,

Ambassador of the United States of America,

Embassy of the United States of America,

Port-au-Prince.

insults addressed to the Haitian nation, are an affront against the Chief of State, who, according to the text of Article 31 of our Constitutional Charter, is the personification itself of the nation. Apart from all the violent statements published in the Dominican press against the Haitian people and broadcast by radio, there has recently been revealed to this same Haitian people the outrageous teachings professed at the Faculty of Law of the University of Santo Domingo and contained in a Law Manual published in the editions of the Centennial themselves - teachings which seem to form a criterion for the Dominicans and according to which the Haitian people should be placed under a mandate, a mass deportation of our fellow citizens being also predicated therein.

The Dominican Government, as far as we know, has never disapproved of such teachings. It would, therefore, be at least strange were the President of the Republic, who is an integral personification of the Haitian Nation thus brutally attacked, to give by any personal manifestation the approval (témoignage) demanded of him.

In acting in the manner hoped for I would immediately find myself faced with a Cabinet crisis, as all the Secretaries of State and all the Under Secretaries of State did not fail to give me to understand that, not wishing to be responsible for the reaction which might be produced, they would prefer to resign, if the Chief of the Haitian Government should respond to an invitation of this nature - that is to say, to proceed to an interview on the frontier for any demonstration whatsoever. I myself also would not wish to be responsible for this possible reaction, even as I have no responsibility for the reaction already produced among our people.

For my part, wishing to avoid all complications which might occur both in the Government and in the country at this time when the public peace does not find itself exposed to disturbances on any pretext, I think I should indicate to you in a letter, instead of exposing to you verbally in the course of an interview, the reasons for the attitude which I have been led to take.

However, the Cabinet of Ministers in its entirety has suggested—and I am fully in accord with it — that, with a view to conciliation, having in mind the step taken by President Trujillo, I should communicate to the Dominican Chief of State in a courteous answer that it would be more than ever necessary, in the interest of the two nations which share the sovereignty of the island, that there should be an end to the periodic publication of unfortunate writings in the Dominican press against Haiti and the Haitian people, as also to the broadcasts of the same nature of the Dominican radio. This is the only means of attaining an atmosphere of confidence, such as would permit the erection of a monument, in the heart of the Haitians and the Dominicans in the first place, prior to its concretization in a work of art to be placed on our common frontier.

I also think it my duty to inform you in all loyalty, - and this is confidential for you as for your Government, - of a certain opinion emitted in the course of the Cabinet meeting held yesterday afternoon. It was said that a step of this nature supported by the high benevolence of the Government of the United States of America bore an exceptionally responsible character, in view of the fact that the life itself of the President of the Republic of Haiti might be jeopardized, because an accident sometimes happens very quickly.

In the face of these facts, the gravity of which cannot escape you, and which place me in a delicate position in the face of the Haitian people and of my Government, you will understand the attitude which I am adopting: and I am certain that the Government of the noble and proud people of the United States of America will easily understand the dignified attitude upon which the Haitian Government has decided in connection with this occurrence.

As you have already received a copy of the invitation which has been made to me, I will not fail to send you a copy of the answer which I shall make to President Trujillo.

In conclusion, I wish to assure the Government of the United States of America that, in return for a conciliatory and friendly attitude on the part of the Dominican people, against which neither my Government nor the Haitian people cherish any sentiment of rancor or of jealousy, I take the most solemn and formal engagement that no act of provocation shall take place on Haitian territory against the Dominican people or Government.

Further, the Haitian Government renews the assurance that it will not permit acts provoked either by Dominican exiles or by any other individuals against the public order (lit. peace) in the Dominican Republic, to take place on Haitian territory.

The Haitian Government also reaffirms its determination that, with a view to assuring the maximum tranquillity to the Dominican Government, it will not give asylum to individuals, enemies of the Dominican Government resident abroad.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, my dear Ambassador, the assurances of my most cordial sentiments.

E. LESCOT

T-370

*Haiti folder, 1-44*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 19, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY  
FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F.D.R.

Memo, 9-14 to Miss Tully from Mr. Summerlin,  
enclosing Letter to the President, 9-9-44 from  
Pres. Lescot (in French).

September 14, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TULLY:

The Ambassador of Haiti called at the Department this morning with the attached communication from President Lescot addressed to President Roosevelt. Ambassador Liautaud asked especially that the letter be forwarded as quickly as possible to Quebec as it pertains to matters now under discussion there.

George T. Summerlin  
Chief of Protocol

Enclosure:

Sealed communication.