

MAR 31 1994

For Six Month Period Ending _____
(Insert date)

Name of Registrant Williams & Connolly

Registration No.

4225 dip

Business Address of Registrant The Edward Bennett Williams Building
725 12th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005
I-REGISTRANT

1. Has there been a change in the information previously furnished in connection with the following:

(a) If an individual:

- (1) Residence address Yes No
- (2) Citizenship Yes No
- (3) Occupation Yes No

(b) If an organization:

- (1) Name Yes No
- (2) Ownership or control Yes No
- (3) Branch offices Yes No

2. Explain fully all changes, if any, indicated in item 1.

IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4, and 5.

3. Have any persons ceased acting as partners, officers, directors or similar officials of the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Position
Victoria Radd	Partner
Sarah H. Duggin	Partner

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 Date Connection Ended
 November 1993
 February 1994

4. Have any persons become partners, officers, directors or similar officials during this 6 month reporting period?
 Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Residence Address</i>	<i>Citizenship</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Date Assumed</i>
John D. Cline	4704 Davenport N.W. Washington, D.C. 20016	USA	Partner	Jan. 1, '94
See Attachment I for add'l				

5. Has any person named in Item 4 rendered services directly in furtherance of the interests of any foreign principal? names
 Yes No

If yes, identify each such person and describe his services.

6. Have any employees or individuals other than officials, who have filed a short form registration statement, terminated their employment or connection with the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Position or connection</i>	<i>Date terminated</i>

7. During this 6 month reporting period, have any persons been hired as employees or in any other capacity by the registrant who rendered services to the registrant directly in furtherance of the interests of any foreign principal in other than a clerical or secretarial, or in a related or similar capacity? Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Residence Address</i>	<i>Position or connection</i>	<i>Date connection began</i>

II—FOREIGN PRINCIPAL

8. Has your connection with any foreign principal ended during this 6 month reporting period? Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name of foreign principal
Robert Malval

Date of Termination
March 1994

9. Have you acquired any new foreign principal¹ during this 6 month reporting period? Yes No

If yes, furnish following information:

Name and address of foreign principal

Date acquired

10. In addition to those named in Items 8 and 9, if any, list the foreign principals¹ whom you continued to represent during the 6 month reporting period.

The Government of Bolivia
Gregory Mevs of Haiti

III—ACTIVITIES

11. During this 6 month reporting period, have you engaged in any activities for or rendered any services to any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9, and 10 of this statement? Yes No

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and services:

Please see Attachment II

¹The term "foreign principal" includes, in addition to those defined in section 1(b) of the Act, an individual or organization any of whose activities are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in major part by a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization or foreign individual. (See Rule 100(a)(9)).
A registrant who represents more than one foreign principal is required to list in the statements he files under the Act only those foreign principals for whom he is not entitled to claim exemption under Section 3 of the Act. (See Rule 208.)

12. During this 6 month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity² as defined below?
Yes No

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates, places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter.

Please see Attachment III

13. In addition to the above described activities, if any, have you engaged in activity on your own behalf which benefits any or all of your foreign principals? Yes No

If yes, describe fully.

²The term "political activities" means the dissemination of political propaganda and any other activity which the person engaging therein believes will, or which he intends to, prevail upon, indoctrinate, convert, induce, persuade, or in any other way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting, or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to the political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

IV—FINANCIAL INFORMATION

14. (a) RECEIPTS—MONIES

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received from any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9 and 10 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal, any contributions, income or money either as compensation or otherwise? Yes No

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies.³

<i>Date</i>	<i>From Whom</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Amount</i>
January 15, 1994	Gregory Mevs	Payment for fees and expenses incurred in course of representation	\$34,319.

Total \$34,319.33

(b) RECEIPTS—THINGS OF VALUE

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received any thing of value⁴ other than money from any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9 and 10 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal? Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

<i>Name of foreign principal</i>	<i>Date received</i>	<i>Description of thing of value</i>	<i>Purpose</i>
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³A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, money, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fund raising campaign. See Rule 201(e).
⁴Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

15. (a) **DISBURSEMENTS—MONIES**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you

(1) disbursed or expended monies in connection with activity on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9 and 10 of this statement? Yes No

(2) transmitted monies to any such foreign principal? Yes No

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies, including monies transmitted, if any, to each foreign principal.

<i>Date</i>	<i>To Whom</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Amount</i>
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Total

15. (b) DISBURSEMENTS—THINGS OF VALUE

During this 6 month reporting period, have you disposed of anything of value⁵ other than money in furtherance of or in connection with activities on behalf of any foreign principal named in items 8, 9 and 10 of this statement?

Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

<i>Date disposed</i>	<i>Name of person to whom given</i>	<i>On behalf of what foreign principal</i>	<i>Description of thing of value</i>	<i>Purpose</i>
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(c) DISBURSEMENTS—POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

During this 6 month reporting period, have you from your own funds and on your own behalf either directly or through any other person, made any contributions of money or other things of value⁵ in connection with an election to any political office, or in connection with any primary election, convention, or caucus held to select candidates for political office?

Yes No NOTE: The registrant law firm does not make political contributions and never has.

If yes, furnish the following information:

Gregory B. Craig made the following political contributions:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Amount or thing of value</i>	<i>Name of political organization</i>	<i>Name of candidate</i>
December 7, 1993	\$1000	Committee to Re-Elect Edward M. Kennedy	
December 7, 1993	\$ 100	Moorehead for Maryland	Jim Moorehead

Sven Erik Holmes made the following political contributions:

1994: Dan Webber for Congress	\$700	Dave McCurdy for Senate	\$250
Mike Synar for Congress	100	Kathy Patterson for City Council	50

V—POLITICAL PROPAGANDA

(Section 1(j) of the Act defines "political propaganda" as including any oral, visual, graphic, written, pictorial, or other communication or expression by any person (1) which is reasonably adapted to, or which the person disseminating the same believes will, or which he intends to, prevail upon, indoctrinate, convert, induce, or in any other way influence a recipient or any section of the public within the United States with reference to the political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party or with reference to the foreign policies of the United States or promote in the United States racial, religious, or social dissensions, or (2) which advocates, advises, instigates, or promotes any racial, social, political, or religious disorder, civil riot, or other conflict involving the use of force or violence in any other American republic or the overthrow of any government or political subdivision of any other American republic by any means involving the use of force or violence.)

16. During this 6 month reporting period, did you prepare, disseminate or cause to be disseminated any political propaganda as defined above? Yes No

IF YES, RESPOND TO THE REMAINING ITEMS IN THIS SECTION V.

17. Identify each such foreign principal.

⁵Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

18. During this 6 month reporting period, has any foreign principal established a budget or allocated a specified sum of money to finance your activities in preparing or disseminating political propaganda? Yes No

If yes, identify each such foreign principal, specify amount, and indicate for what period of time.

19. During this 6 month reporting period, did your activities in preparing, disseminating or causing the dissemination of political propaganda include the use of any of the following:

- Radio or TV broadcasts
- Magazine or newspaper articles
- Motion picture films
- Letters or telegrams
- Advertising campaigns
- Press releases
- Pamphlets or other publications
- Lectures or speeches
- Other (specify) _____

20. During this 6 month reporting period, did you disseminate or cause to be disseminated political propaganda among any of the following groups:

- Public Officials
- Newspapers
- Libraries
- Legislators
- Editors
- Educational institutions
- Government agencies
- Civic groups or associations
- Nationality groups
- Other (specify) _____

21. What language was used in this political propaganda:

- English
- Other (specify) _____

22. Did you file with the Registration Section, U.S. Department of Justice, two copies of each item of political propaganda material disseminated or caused to be disseminated during this 6 month reporting period? Yes No

23. Did you label each item of such political propaganda material with the statement required by Section 4(b) of the Act? Yes No

24. Did you file with the Registration Section, U.S. Department of Justice, a Dissemination Report for each item of such political propaganda material as required by Rule 401 under the Act? Yes No

VI-EXHIBITS AND ATTACHMENTS

25. EXHIBITS A AND B

(a) Have you filed for each of the newly acquired foreign principals in Item 9 the following:

- Exhibit A⁶ Yes No
- Exhibit B⁷ Yes No

If no, please attach the required exhibit.

(b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreign principal whom you represented during this six month period? Yes No

If yes, have you filed an amendment to these exhibits? Yes No

If no, please attach the required amendment.

⁶The Exhibit A, which is filed on Form CRM-157 (Formerly OBD-67) sets forth the information required to be disclosed concerning each foreign principal.

⁷The Exhibit B, which is filed on Form CRM-155 (Formerly OBD-65) sets forth the information concerning the agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal.

26. EXHIBIT C

If you have previously filed an Exhibit C⁸, state whether any changes therein have occurred during this 6 month reporting period. Yes No

Not applicable

If yes, have you filed an amendment to the Exhibit C? Yes No

If no, please attach the required amendment.

27. SHORT FORM REGISTRATION STATEMENT

Have short form registration statements been filed by all of the persons named in Items 5 and 7 of the supplemental statement? Yes No

If no, list names of persons who have not filed the required statement.

The undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) that he has (they have) read the information set forth in this registration statement and the attached exhibits and that he is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make(s) no representation as to the truth or accuracy of the information contained in attached Short Form Registration Statement, if any, insofar as such information is not within his (their) personal knowledge.

(Type or print name under each signature)

(Both copies of this statement shall be signed and sworn to before a notary public or other person authorized to administer oaths by the agent, if the registrant is an individual, or by a majority of those partners, officers, directors or persons performing similar functions who are in the United States, if the registrant is an organization.)

Vincent J. Fuller
Vincent J. Fuller

John W. Vardaman
John W. Vardaman

Paul Martin Wolff

Brendan V. Sullivan, Jr.
Brendan V. Sullivan, Jr.

Subscribed and sworn to before me at Wash., DC

Steven Urbanczyk
Steven Urbanczyk

this 1st day of August, 1994

Kathy S. Sussman
Kathy S. Sussman

Notary Public, District of Columbia

My Commission Expires September 14, 1994

⁸The Exhibit C, for which no printed form is provided, consists of a true copy of the charter, articles of incorporation, association, constitution, and bylaws of a registrant that is an organization. (A waiver of the requirement to file an Exhibit C may be obtained for good cause upon written application to the Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, Internal Security Section, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530.)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
REGISTRATION UNIT
CRIMINAL DIVISION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

NOTICE

Please answer the following questions and return this sheet in triplicate with your supplemental statement:

1. Is your answer to Item 16 of Section V (Political Propaganda - page 7 of Form CRM-154, formerly Form OBD-64-- Supplemental Statement):

Yes _____ or No _____

(If your answer to question 1 is "yes" do not answer question 2 of this form.)

2. Do you disseminate any material in connection with your registration:

Yes ✓ _____ or No _____

(If your answer to question 2 is "yes" please forward for our review copies of all such material including: films, film catalogs, posters, brochures, press releases, etc. which you have disseminated during the past six months.)

Gregory B. Craig
Signature

27 July 1994
Date

Gregory B. Craig

Please type or print name of signatory on the line above

Partner

Title

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ATTACHMENT I

Question No. 4

Have any persons become partners . . . during this six month reporting period?

Answer: Yes

If yes furnish the following information:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Residence</u>	<u>Citizenship</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Date</u>
John D. Cline	4704 Davenport N.W. Washington, D.C. 20016	USA	Partner	Jan. 1'94
Eva M. Esber	206 North Granada Street Arlington, Virginia 22203	USA	Partner	Jan. 1'94
Stephen D. Raber	7713 Radnor Road Bethesda, Maryland 20817	USA	Partner	Jan. 1'94

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ATTACHMENT II

Question No. 11:

During this six month reporting period, have you engaged in any activities for or rendered any services to any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9, 10 of this statement?

Answer: Yes

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and services:

The Government of Bolivia

The registrant continues to represent the Government of Bolivia before Congress and various Executive Branch departments and agencies as requested and instructed by the Ambassador. It has rendered advice to Bolivia on specific projects of interest, as requested by the Ambassador. The law firm continues to represent the Bolivian Air Force in litigation before the D. C. Court of Appeals and the Second Circuit Court of Appeals and also represents the Central Bank of Bolivia in a matter also in litigation. In these matter, the law firm is serving purely in its capacity as legal counsel and has engaged in no activities required to be reported under FARA.

Gregory Mevs

During this reporting period, the registrant represented Mr. Mevs and the members of the Mevs family before various Executive Branch departments, primarily the Department of State and the National Security Council, and in connection with congressional activities related to the crisis in Haiti. The registrant continues to advise Mr. Mevs and the members of his family as to ways that they can best contribute -- in the United States as well as in Haiti -- to a resolution of the crisis and a restoration of democracy in that country.

Robert Malval

Pursuant to the Governor's Island Agreement of July 1993, President Jean Bertrand Aristide designated Mr. Robert Malval to serve as Prime Minister of Haiti. This law firm represented Mr. Malval pro bono and advised him as to contacts with members of the Executive Branch and with respect contacts with the Congress.

ATTACHMENT III

Question No. 12:

During this six month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity as defined below?

Answer: Yes

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity . . .

Activity of Gregory B. Craig on behalf of the
Government of Bolivia during September 1993-March 1994.

October 1, 1993

Telcon with Tim Rieser of the Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Operations about past, present and future aid levels to Bolivia.

Telcon with Ambassador Robert Gelbard about past, present and future aid levels to Bolivia and about his assessment of the future of U.S. government's anti-coca campaign.

Activity of Gregory B. Craig on behalf of
Prime Minister Robert Malval of Haiti during September 1993-March 1994

1993

28 October 1993

Telcon with Ambassador Alec Watson, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Western Hemispheric Affairs about Malval's security and his plans for the future.

Telcon with Ambassador Lawrence Pezzullo, the Secretary's Special Envoy to Haiti, about recent developments in Haiti, about Malval's personal security and about Malval's plans for the future.

28 October 1993 (Continued)

Telcon with Deputy Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Sandy Berger, about recent developments in Haiti, about U.S. policy towards Haiti, about Malval's personal security and about Malval's plans for the

10 November 1993

Telcon with Deborah DeMoss, a member of the minority staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, about an upcoming trip to Haiti by two minority staffers.

Telcon with Christopher J Walker, a member of the minority staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, about an upcoming trip to Haiti by two minority staffers.

17 November 1993

In Congressman Kennedy's office, a meeting with Congressman Joe Kennedy and his staff adviser, Bill Spencer, about Prime Minister Malval's plans to achieve an end to the crisis in Haiti and a restoration of democracy.

18 November 1993

Meeting with Ambassador Lawrence Pezzullo at his office in the Department of State to discuss plans for Prime Minister Malval's trip to the United States.

23 November 1993

Meeting with Deputy Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Sandy Berger, and the NSC Staff Director, Nancy Soderberg, about Prime Minister Malval's plans to achieve an end to the crisis in Haiti, about Mr. Malval's personal security and that of the members of his family, and about his trip to the United States.

24 November 1993

Meeting with Ambassador Pezzullo -- in Pezzullo's office -- and with Michael Kozak to discuss various initiatives aimed at ending the crisis in Haiti.

28 November 1993

Meeting with Ambassador William Swing in Port-au-Prince at the residence to discuss ways that Robert Malval could be of greatest assistance to the effort to resolve the crisis.

30 November 1993

Meeting with Ambassador William Swing at his office to discuss ways that Robert Malval could advance the cause of democracy in Haiti during his upcoming trip to the United States.

2 December 1993

Meetings at the Department of State -- with members of Haiti Working Group and Bureau of Western Hemispheric Affairs -- about the Malval Plan.

3 December 1993

Meeting with Senator Richard Lugar and Senator Sam Nunn -- and advisers -- to discuss Robert Malval's plan to achieve a restoration of democracy in Haiti.

7 December 1993

Telcon with Ambassador Pezzullo about Prime Minister Malval's meetings with President Aristide and about Malval's proposed meeting with President Clinton.

8 December 1993

Meeting with Pezzullo, Swing, Kozak at the Department of State (Pezzullo's office) to discuss future of the Malval Plan.

30 December 1993

Meeting with Pezzullo and Kozak re Malval's trip in Europe and return to Haiti.

Activities of Gregory B. Craig on behalf of
Gregory Mevs of Haiti during September 1993-March 1994

1994

3 January 1994

Telcons with Lawrence Pezzullo and Michael Kozak re efforts to convene a national conference in Haiti.

4 January 1994

Telcon with Jerry Tinker, Staff Director, Senate Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Policy re the case of Patrice Lissade.

7 January 1994

Telcon with Lawrence Pezzullo and Michael Kozak about developments in Port-au-Prince and efforts to convene a National Conference.

13 January 1994

Telcon with Janice O'Connell of Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff about the proposed conference in Miami convened by President Aristide.

19 January 1994

Telcons with Lawrence Pezzullo and Michael Kozak re Miami conference and potential participation and involvement of Mevs. Also discussed issue of OFAC licenses.

27 January 1994

Telcon with Lawrence Pezzullo about recent developments in Haiti, about Mevs' efforts to organize a national conference, and about possible meeting with Fritz Mevs, Sr.

28 January 1994

Telcon with Lawrence Pezzullo about meeting with Mr. Mevs at Mr. Pezzullo's office.

28 January 1994 (continued)

Telcon with Randy Scheunemann of Senator Dole's office about recent developments in Haiti.

Meeting with Ambassador Pezzullo and Michael Kozak in Pezzullo's office with Gregory Mevs and Fritz Mevs, Sr. about efforts to achieve a resolution of the crisis in Haiti.

Meeting with Randy Scheunemann in Senator Dole's office about recent developments in Haiti.

7 March 1994

Telcon with Michael Kozak about recent developments in Haiti.

Activities of Sven Erik Holmes on behalf of
Prime Minister Robert Malval of Haiti during September
1993-March 1994

18 November 1993

Meeting with Ambassador Pezzullo to discuss Prime Minister Malval's visit to Washington, D.C.

23 November 1993

Telephone conversation with Ambassador Pezzullo about trip to Haiti to prepare for Prime Minister Malval's trip to Washington, D.C.

24 November 1993

Meeting with Lawrence Pezzullo and Michael Kozak re GBC/SEH trip to Haiti.

28 November 1993

Meeting with Ambassador Bill Swing at Ambassador's residence in Port-au-Prince re Malval trip to Washington, D.C.

1 December 1993

Meeting with Nancy Soderberg and Sandy Berger in Soderberg's office re status of Haiti situation and Prime Minister Malval's trip to Washington, D.C.

2 December 1993

Telephone conversation with Gare Smith/Greg Craig re possible Malval visit with Senator Kennedy.

Telephone conversation with Lawrence Pezzullo reporting about trip to Haiti.

3 December 1993

Telephone conversation with Lawrence Pezzullo re Malval trip.

4 December 1993

Telephone conversation with Pezzullo re Malval trip.

8 December 1993

Telephone conversation with Pezzullo and Kozak re Malval trip.

30 December 1994

Meeting with Pezzullo. Telephone conversation with Kozak.
Subject: Malval's return to Haiti. National conference.

Activities of Sven Erik Holmes on behalf of
Gregory Mevs and the Mevs Family of Haiti
September 1993-March 1994.

18 January 1994

Telephone call with Michael Kozak re Miami conference.

19 January 1994

Telephone call with Kozak and Pezzullo re Mevs' participation in Miami conference.

25 January 1994

Conference with Ambassador Pezzullo re National Conference in Haiti.

28 January 1994

Meeting with Pezzullo, Kozak at Pezzullo's office with Fritz Mevs, Sr. and Gregory Mevs.

Meeting with Randy Scheunemann of Senator Dole's office.

23 February 1994

Meeting with Mike Kozak re Parliamentary initiative.

LAW OFFICES
WILLIAMS & CONNOLLY

725 TWELFTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005
(202) 434-5000

EDWARD BENNETT WILLIAMS (1920-1988)
PAUL R. CONNOLLY (1922-1978)

GREGORY B. CRAIG
(202) 434-5506
FAX (202) 434-5760

October 28, 1993

URGENT-CONFIDENTIAL
BY FACSIMILE - BY HAND

Ambassador Lawrence Pezzullo
Special Advisor to Haiti
The Department of State - Rm. 4906
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Ambassador Pezzullo:

I spoke with the Prime Minister, his personal staff and with Fritz Mevs last night.

Resignation is on the Prime Minister's mind. They believe that, if nothing new or promising is forthcoming in the next day or so, the Prime Minister will resign over the week-end. He has consulted with his father about the matter.

To me, he seemed defeated and exhausted. He said: "The Accords are dead. We are cornered. I feel as if I am playing soccer in a long, dark tunnel at midnight with a black ball."

The purpose of this letter is to make a suggestion. The President should invite Prime Minister Malval to Washington, D.C. to meet with him in the Oval Office to discuss the next steps. The fact of that invitation should be announced -- if possible -- tomorrow (Friday). The date of the meeting can be worked out later if need be. It would be good, of course, if the meeting could occur early next week.

Such an announcement and such meeting would buck up the Prime Minister personally as well as politically.

Warmest best wishes,

G. Craig / GBC
Gregory B. Craig

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WILLIAMS & CONNOLLY

725 TWELFTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005
(202) 434-5000

EDWARD BENNETT WILLIAMS (1920-1988)
PAUL R. CONNOLLY (1922-1978)

GREGORY B. CRAIG
(202) 434-5506
FAX (202) 434-5760

October 28, 1993

URGENT-CONFIDENTIAL
BY FACSIMILE - BY HAND

Ambassador Alexander Watson
Assistant Secretary of State
for Western Hemispheric Affairs
The Department of State - Sixth Floor
Washington, D.C.

Dear Alex:

To follow up on our telephone conversation yesterday, I spoke further with the Prime Minister's personal staff and with Fritz Mevs last night.


Resignation is on the Prime Minister's mind. They believe that, if nothing new or promising is forthcoming in the next day or so, the Prime Minister will resign over the week-end. He has consulted with his father about the matter.

To me, he seemed defeated and exhausted. He said: "The Accords are dead. We are cornered. I feel as if I am playing soccer in a long, dark tunnel at midnight with a black ball."

The purpose of this letter is to make a suggestion. The President should invite Prime Minister Malval to Washington, D.C. to meet with him in the Oval Office to discuss the next steps. The fact of that invitation should be announced -- if possible -- tomorrow (Friday). The date of the meeting can be worked out later if need be. It would be good, of course, if the meeting could occur early next week.

Such an announcement and such meeting would buck up the Prime Minister personally as well as politically.

Warmest best wishes,


Gregory B. Craig

LAW OFFICES
WILLIAMS & CONNOLLY

725 TWELFTH STREET, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

(202) 434-5000

FAX (202) 434-5029

EDWARD BENNETT WILLIAMS (1920-1988)
PAUL R. CONNOLLY (1922-1978)

VINCENT J. FULLER
RAYMOND W. BERGAN
JEREMIAH C. COLLINS
ROBERT L. WEINBERG
DAVID POVICH
STEVEN M. UMIN
JOHN W. VARDAMAN
PAUL MARTIN WOLFF
J. ALAN GALBRAITH
JOHN G. KESTER
WILLIAM E. MCDANIELS
BRENDAN V. SULLIVAN, JR.
AUBREY M. DANIEL, III
RICHARD M. COOPER
GERALD A. FEFFER
ROBERT P. WATKINS
JERRY L. SHULMAN
LAWRENCE LUCCHINO
LEWIS H. FERGUSON, III
ROBERT B. BARNETT

DAVID E. KENDALL
GREGORY B. CRAIG
JOHN J. BUCKLEY, JR.
TERRENCE O'DONNELL
DOUGLAS R. MARVIN
JOHN K. VILLA
BARRY S. SIMON
KEVIN T. BAINE
STEPHEN L. URBANCZYK
PHILIP J. WARD
FREDERICK WHITTEN PETERS
JAMES A. BRUTON, III
PETER J. KAHN
JUDITH A. MILLER
LON S. BABBY
MICHAEL S. SUNDERMEYER
JAMES T. FULLER, III
DAVID D. AUFHAUSER
BRUCE R. GENDERSON
CAROLYN H. WILLIAMS

F. LANE HEARD III
STEVEN R. KUNY
GERSON A. ZWEIFACH
SARAH HELENE DUGGIN
PAUL MOGIN
HOWARD W. GUTMAN
NANCY F. PREISS
RICHARD S. HOFFMAN
PAULA MICHELE ELLISON
STEVEN A. STEINBACH
MARK S. LEVINSTEIN
MARY G. CLARK
VICTORIA L. RADD
DANIEL F. KATZ
NICOLE K. SELIGMAN
ROBERT M. KRASNE
KATHLEEN L. BEGGS
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January 20, 1994

BY FACSIMILE

The Honorable Lawrence Pezzullo
Special Emissary on Haiti
The Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

In our conversation yesterday with Mr. Michael Kozak, we were informed that representatives of the Four Friends would be meeting today and tomorrow to discuss ways to strengthen the sanctions regime against Haiti in light of the Haitian military's continued intransigence and resistance to the restoration of democracy inside that country. He went on to say that the issue of terminating -- by not renewing -- licenses previously issued by the Office of Foreign Assets Control ("OFAC") would inevitably be addressed, and he invited us to submit whatever information -- facts, arguments or both -- we considered pertinent to this issue.

As you are aware, this law firm represents the Mevs family of Haiti and, in that capacity, is a registered agent of the Mevs under the Foreign Agent Registration Act ("FARA").

Since our conversations yesterday, we have talked with a number of individuals in Haiti including Mr. Gregory Mevs; Dr. Reginald Boulos, a practicing physician in Haiti who manages St. Catherine's Hospital and the Center for Development and Health ("CDS") -- largely funded by AID -- in Cite de Soleil; Mr. Jean Baker, the President of the Haitian Manufacturer's Association; and Mr. Rony DesRoche, a member of the Federation of Protestant Churches of Haiti which is, as you know, the umbrella organization for all the Protestant churches in Haiti.

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The information contained in this letter is based in large part upon our conversations with these individuals.

The arguments against terminating the OFAC licenses are economic, political and moral. Economically, we believe the impact will be adverse and substantial and, most significantly, it will be permanent. Politically, we believe the result will be counterproductive to the aims and objectives of U.S. policy in Haiti. Morally, we believe the human suffering that will inevitably result from this action cannot be justified by any reasonable expectation that this action will -- either directly or indirectly -- change for the better the wrongful behavior of the entrenched interests in Haiti and thereby hasten an end to the crisis.

The adverse economic impact of terminating the OFAC licenses will be both substantial and permanent.

1.

Hundreds of thousands of Haitian citizens will suffer if the OFAC licenses are terminated. It has been estimated that as many as 350,000 Haitians rely for their livelihood upon the jobs that are sustained by the economic activity that takes place as a result of the OFAC licenses which permit imports and exports. Terminating these licenses will force this population to turn to international relief organizations to meet their basic human needs.

Between 10,000 and 15,000 jobs are involved in the "assembly" sector of the Haitian economy. At the moment, that sector depends almost entirely upon OFAC licenses to function. In addition, there are another 20,000 jobs in agribusiness and handicrafts, which also depend upon OFAC licenses to function.

As you might expect, the population at risk if these 30-35,000 jobs are eliminated is much, much larger than the number of jobs at risk. Individuals familiar with the Haitian economy estimate that approximately ten Haitians rely on the income from each job to live -- which, when extrapolated, means that approximately 350,000 Haitians rely for their livelihood upon the 35,000 jobs which will be eliminated if the licenses are terminated. The human suffering within the Haitian population that will result will be immediate, demonstrable and wide-spread.

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2.

If these jobs are eliminated and these sectors of the Haitian economy are forced to close down, they will never be revived. The damage done to the Haitian economy by terminating the OFAC licenses will not be temporary or transitory, it will be permanent.

Those sectors of the Haitian economy that depend upon the OFAC licenses to continue to function are either solely owned by Americans or jointly owned by Americans with Haitian partners. In either case, the jobs are heavily dependent upon American investment. There can be no dispute that if this nucleus of economic activity in Haiti is destroyed, it will never be revived. If the American investors lose their economic stake in Haiti and are driven away from Haiti, they will never return. Therefore, as a result of terminating these licenses, the Haitian economy will suffer irreparable damage.

3.

Driving American business interests out of Haiti -- which is effectively what will be accomplished by terminating the OFAC licenses -- will make it much more difficult to re-build the Haitian economy once the present political crisis is resolved. The American presence in the Haitian economy has been important, not only as a direct source of investment in Haiti and employment for Haitians, but also as an example to other investors of why they should consider Haiti as a place to conduct business. The American businessmen have been key in persuading other investors to come to Haiti. The absence of the American presence -- both as an efficient and vibrant economic force at the core of the Haitian economy and as an entrepreneurial magnet attracting other investors to Haiti and thereby helping to expand the Haitian economy -- will have a devastating effect on any long-term hopes of rebuilding the country after the crisis is resolved.

The political impact of terminating the OFAC licenses will be counterproductive to -- and will undermine -- the effort aimed at restoring democratic government and the rule of law to Haiti.

1.

To the extent that the objectives of U.S. policy depend upon the establishment and empowerment of a political "center" in Haiti, terminating the OFAC licenses undermines that goal and

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will, in fact, achieve the opposite. Terminating these licenses is nothing short of an economic attack on the political center of Haiti -- just at the very moment that the center is trying -- with some success -- to become galvanized as a meaningful and effective movement inside Haitian society. Terminating these licenses at this moment will not only weaken this newly emerging center, it will drive progressive political forces and productive economic participants out of the country. Such an exodus of human resources will only weaken the forces of moderation and common sense and thereby serve to strengthen the extremes.

One of the most devastating consequences of the Duvalier years was the exodus of the Haitian intellectual, professional and business elites. That exodus deprived Haiti of an enlightened and progressive class of leaders, the loss of which Haiti still suffers today. Terminating the OFAC licenses will simply reinforce and strengthen the already existing pressures on those same elites to leave the country.

2.

The American business community inside Haiti has played an enormously positive and productive rôle in attempting to resolve the crisis. Individually, and as a group, the Americans have been much more independent and much more engaged -- in being able to speak candidly and pressure the extremes -- than their Haitian counterparts. If the OFAC licenses are terminated, those American businessmen will no longer have any stake or interest in working to resolve the crisis, they will walk away from the problem, and Haitian democracy will be the loser.

3.

No longer is there any need to apply pressure to the Haitian economic classes to secure their support and participation in the effort to restore democracy to Haiti. Important elements of those classes are more involved and engaged now in efforts aimed at resolving the crisis than they have been at any other comparable period of time in the nation's history. That these efforts have not, to date, been successful is more attributable to the intractability of the military as an institution in Haiti than to the unwillingness of the economic classes to become engaged or to work for an end to the crisis.

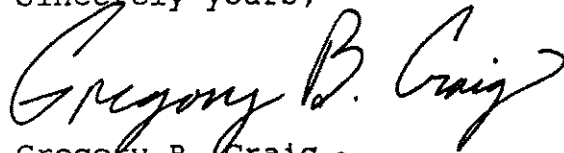
Rather than weakening these elements by further undermining their economic viability -- which would directly result from terminating the OFAC licenses -- these individuals

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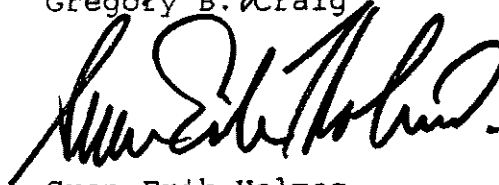
and entities should be strengthened and encouraged to be even more vigorous and active in their efforts. Terminating the OFAC licenses can be expected to drive the Haitian business community in one of two directions -- back into its customary posture of passivity and detachment, or out of the country.

For all these reasons -- economic, political and moral -- we urge the government of the United States to conclude that no good purpose will be served by terminating the OFAC licenses, but rather, many bad effects -- inconsistent with both U.S. values and U.S. policy objectives -- will inevitably result from such an action.

Sincerely yours,



Gregory B. Craig



Sven Erik Holmes

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February 1, 1994

BY HAND

The Honorable Lawrence Pezzullo
Haiti Working Group
The Department of State - Room 4906
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

First let us thank you for your willingness -- on such short notice -- to meet with the Mevs family on Friday. For their part, the Mevs found the meeting to be very productive and instructive. Over the next days and weeks, the Mevs will be working hard to achieve a resolution to the crisis in Haiti along the lines that you and Mike Kozak suggested during the meeting. More precisely, they will be directing their energy in the following ways:

To continue their past efforts aimed at defining and building a democratic center in Haiti; and

To continue in their efforts to persuade various elements in Haiti to take certain steps aimed at resolving the crisis.

On this second point, it would be extremely helpful to know -- as precisely as is possible -- what actions should be taken in the confidence that, once taken, the economic sanctions will be suspended. As you recall, we have discussed this same point on prior occasions and during our meeting on Friday. Each time, you have referred us to the Aide Memoir that the Four Friends prepared and delivered to the military leadership of Haiti.

We have reviewed that document carefully and would like to raise two concerns:

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- (1) Some tasks assigned to the military -- which appear to be pre-conditions for lifting sanctions -- have no direct relationship to the Governors Island Accord and, more importantly, are unlikely to occur in Haiti in the near term -- e.g., instituting and enforcing a strict gun control regime in Haiti; and
- (2) There is broad and imprecise language in the document that gives enormous discretion to the Four Friends on the question of lifting sanctions -- e.g., "[The sanctions will remain in force] until the Haitian military has taken all necessary action within its capacities to bring about the fulfillment of the Governors Island Agreement;" "Create the proper environment for . . ."

For these reasons, we believe it would be useful if you could in somewhat more precise detail confirm the position of the United States government on this issue.

Based on the Aide Memoir as well as other conversations and communications, it is our understanding that the United States government will support lifting the economic sanctions against Haiti in response to the following announcements and actions:

The military announces:

- (1) that it supports the enactment of legislation creating a new civilian police force and extending a general amnesty;
- (2) that it will guarantee the personal safety and security of all members of Parliament, that it will not engage in acts or bribery or intimidation, and that it will allow the Parliament to function and enact the legislation described in the preceding paragraph;
- (3) that it will permit and facilitate the presence of international observers to assure the free and unimpeded functioning of the Parliament, and that it will work to protect the safety and security of those observers; ^{*1}

^{*1} It is understood that, should the Parliament enact the legislation described in Paragraph (1), the pre-conditions set forth in Paragraphs (1), (2) and (3) will be considered to have been satisfied.

February 1, 1994

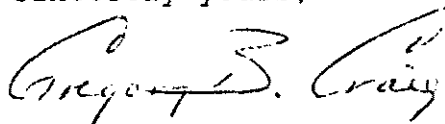
- (4) that the current Chief of Police will accept reassignment upon the creation of a new civilian police force and the appointment and ratification by the Parliament of a new Chief of Police;
- (5) that, upon the creation of a civilian police force and the designation of a new Chief of Police, a technical training mission from the United States will be welcomed to Haiti for the purpose of helping to establish a police academy and to train police officers; and
- (6) that, when an interim government has determined that the conditions are right, it will support the return of President Aristide to serve out his term of office, and that it will guarantee his security.

In addition to the Haitian military making the above commitments, General Raoul Cedras must retire as Commander-in-Chief of the military, effective upon the nomination and ratification by the Parliament of his successor.

In our view, it would be enormously helpful to the process inside Haiti if you would be willing to confirm in writing -- if possible -- that what we have outlined above is, in fact, an accurate statement of United States policy on this issue.

Thank you again for your hard work and for your many courtesies.

Sincerely yours,



Gregory B. Craig



Sven Erik Holmes

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April 20, 1994

BY FACSIMILE (213) 237-7679

The Editor
Letters to The Editor
The Los Angeles Times
Times Mirror Square
Los Angeles, California 90053

Re: Article on Haiti in April 14, 1994 Edition

Dear Editor:

In his article entitled "Supporters of '91 Coup May Have 'Hatched' American Haiti Policy," Kenneth Freed reports that Fritz Mevs and his family "backed the September 1991 coup that overthrew Aristide and has since provided financial support to the military regime." That report is false.

The Mevs had no advance knowledge of the coup, did not participate in the coup and did not support the coup when it occurred -- either financially, politically, rhetorically or in any other way. In fact, at the time the coup occurred, the Mevs family had a good working relationship with President Aristide and with the members of his cabinet.

Since September 1991, the Mevs have worked hard to end the crisis in Haiti. They have worked with American policy makers, with representatives of the international community, with human rights advocates and with all parties to the crisis in an effort to achieve a restoration of democratic government in Haiti and the return of the democratically elected President of Haiti.

The February meetings at the home of Fritz Mevs involved individuals from a broad cross-section of Haitian society, including both supporters of President Aristide as well as conservative Parliamentarians identified with the Haitian

WILLIAMS & CONNOLLY

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military. The purpose of those meetings was to follow up on Prime Minister Malval's proposal to organize a National Conference aimed at bringing the parties together and achieving a resolution of the impasse.

The Mevs had no role in designing or drafting the plan that a delegation of Haitian Parliamentarians subsequently proposed in Washington, D.C. In fact, that plan was first put forward at the international conference convened by President Aristide in Miami.

Very truly yours,



Gregory B. Craig



Sven Erik Holmes

Counsel for the Mevs Family