

Statement of Ambassador Luigi R. Einaudi
U.S. Representative
to the Ad-Hoc Meeting of Foreign Ministers on Haiti
Organization of American States
December 13, 1992

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me begin by reiterating the basic principles of United States policy toward Haiti: My government's commitment to the restoration of democracy in Haiti is unwaivering. The violent interruption of the constitutional order must not be allowed to stand. We continue to recognize Jean Bertrand Aristide as the constitutional President of Haiti.

As concerns regional cooperation, we accept the principle of nonintervention, for it is a cornerstone of the origins of the inter-American system. We are proud of the steps taken in recent years, most notably at the Santiago General Assembly, to develop the jurisprudence of democratic solidarity in the hemisphere. Finally, we believe mutual trust and confidence are essential to our cooperation.

Let me now turn to the specific meeting at hand. First, I would like to thank the Secretary General for his report. I think all of us who have followed closely the events in Haiti and his personal efforts to deal with them have no choice but to admire the commitment he has shown. When I had the good privilege, with other members' representatives to accompany him to Haiti in August, I saw a man who was acting in the best tradition of intelligence and facilitation, and I think he showed that again in his report to us today.

Second, I would like to say that I too was moved by the words of the Foreign Minister of Jamaica in his report on the preliminary conclusions of Michael Manley. I think that I -- at least -- am prepared to let those words stand as the best summary of the situation in Haiti that I have had the privilege to hear. And I would particularly note two points that he made: The first that indeed some greater degree of pressure is needed in order to break the comfort level which the de facto authorities have managed to attain for themselves at the expense of the people of Haiti. The second point which I select out is the importance of humanitarian assistance and resources to work on both the basic well-being of the people of Haiti and on the construction of the kind of institutional network that will provide security for all Haitians and for a political settlement.

Thirdly, let me say that my delegation did participate in an extensive and very open committee deliberation on the draft presented to us today and we support that resolution in full.

We also support the amendment presented to us by the delegation of Canada. Secretary Eagleburger regrets not being able to be with us today, but has conveyed these instructions to me in his own hand: We will support the Canadian amendment. And for reasons that I think have been well adduced by the representative of Jamaica.

Fourth, we do not support this measure to undermine or weaken the Organization of American States; quite the opposite. And for those reasons we feel that the suggestion of the Foreign Minister of Chile, which -- if I understood it correctly -- would in effect authorize the Secretary General to "consider entering into contacts" is a suggestion that we welcome as ensuring something which I believe we all support, namely the retention of the initiative while at the same time making very clear that we are keeping all of our options open. That I think is something that is consistent both with the exhaustion of the avenues currently available to this organization and with a solemn warning -- a word that we do use in the draft -- to all those Haitians involved in the tragic crisis in their homeland that in fact we do not intend to fold up and go away; that we intend as the draft resolution before us says, to continue and renew our efforts to seek a solution to the problem.

My next point goes to purpose, which is an issue that has been raised here very clearly. Why should we involve the Security Council? I see two purposes that need to be stated in order to understand where my delegation is coming from. First, there is a need to strengthen the embargo, because it is the failure of the embargo to hold, in particular on petroleum, that undermined the progress that was being made by this organization and its representatives in negotiating a peaceful reversal of the coup d'etat in late 1991 and which was reflected in the outstanding Washington accords of February, which were then unfortunately not implemented by the Haitians themselves.

So we need to strengthen the embargo; that is the first point. And it is one that has been made clearly in this point. The authority of the United Nations would be helpful in that regard. But we are not interested, speaking for the United States, in strengthening the embargo alone. This is a crisis that has already gone on far too long. And we must take into account its humanitarian implications. We believe that it is essential that we strengthen and that we increase humanitarian assistance; that we do this in way that will reach the poor, for example the ability of the poor to grow their own food; to offset the kinds of suffering that the current embargo, as it has been implemented, has largely inflicted on them, while sparing the richer classes and those who have had the ability to sustain power.

Finally, let me make a comment about the OAS and the UN: the regional and the universal. It was I believe the Foreign Minister of Uruguay who said some years ago we do our best work when we harmonize the regional and the universal. There was a time when we believed -- and in fact the United States was one of the chief proponents of the idea -- that we should interpret the UN Charter in such a way as to give exclusive and primary rights to the regional organization; in this case, to the OAS; and that the United Nations should stay out. In many ways, that was interpreted as a sign of United States' desire to assert some form of hegemony within the region. To the extent that that was true, that policy was opposed by other member states. And in fact it has been for some time abandoned by my own government.

What we now face is a need to define new ways of cooperation in which the regional -- which is the neighborhood, which is the people who know and trust each other, and are mandated by history to have to work together -- can when they decide, call upon the global instrument to provide assistance. Not to supplant the regional wisdom, or initiative, or capacity, but to strengthen it and to enable it to work more effectively. I believe this is one such situation.

Thank you very much.