

REMARKS ON THE SITUATION IN HAITI  
OF AMBASSADOR LUIGI R. EINAUDI  
U.S. PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE OAS  
OAS PERMANENT COUNCIL REGULAR SESSION  
FEBRUARY 11, 1993

Mr. Chairman:

The resolution of the Haitian crisis on a basis of democracy and development, with the return of President Aristide to the exercise of his constitutional powers, is one of the high foreign policy priorities of the Administration of President Clinton.

I have nothing but words of admiration and congratulations for the Secretary General for his report today, for his Special Envoy, Mr. Caputo, and for the actions announced to us today also, by the Ambassador of Bolivia.

Clearly, after four meetings of the Foreign Ministers, and after I don't know how many debates in these chambers, we are moving to a new phase. One from frustration to achievement; from the isolation of Haiti and of its de facto authorities, to the engagement on our part in Haiti's democratization and development to ensure the return of President Aristide.

I only have two points to make. The first is that though our goal is clear, and our path has been outlined, in a broad sense, in the terms of reference in the agreement between the Special Envoy and the de facto authorities -- terms of reference which, as the Secretary General has properly noted, begin with helping to ensure respect in Haiti of human rights, prescribed by the Haitian Constitution, but include such challenging concepts as alleviating the economic situation, negotiating a comprehensive political solution, supporting institutional reform -- that it is quite clear that the challenge in front of us is, again as the Secretary General has properly said, a long-term one as well as a massive one, and one that we must meet with a combination of speed now, to ensure momentum, and also patience, to ensure that what is done is done well, and done in a way that does not tear the already fragile fabric of Haitian society.

I was speaking with Ambassador Fernando Gonzalez Guyer of Uruguay, who reminded me once when I misquoted Machado in these chambers, of the correct phrase, "caminante, no hay camino; se hace camino al andar" -- "walker, there is no path; the path is made by going." This is a time when we must go, and we must go very carefully. I feel that we are very lucky and fortunate that we have, not only our Secretary General, but also Mr. Colin Granderson of Trinidad on the ground as the head of the OAS civilian mission.

This all brings me to my second point. The Secretary General has already made a powerful and eloquent statement of the need for resources -- for what here in the United States we often call "burdensharing."

I note that a preliminary decision appears to have been made in the United Nations to support their portion of the civilian mission through the Regular Fund of the United Nations, which is an organization that has a more extensive quota base, and more extensive experience than this Organization in undertaking these kinds of special responsibilities.

It seems to me that we must be aware that we are, as members of the Organization of American States, at something of a turning point in the revitalization and renovation of the OAS as we have worked for it over these past years. We need to see whether we have special abilities to contribute to the international order, and whether we have the capacity to apply those abilities in a way that carries them through and makes them effective.

Again, the Secretary General said it for all of us in his statement a minute ago, when he talked about peaceful political effort. He has before said that what we are trying here is something quite dramatic -- it is the peaceful reversal of a coup d'etat. We are not talking about helmets, blue or otherwise. We are talking about practical cooperation in support of human rights, in support of the rule of law, in support of the kinds of development that make it possible to achieve progress peacefully.

If that is the case, it seems to me that there is really a very important need for us to mobilize a shared basis of financial support for this solution, for this special effort. All must contribute.

We have in the case of Haiti, I believe at the initiative of CARICOM -- this was before my time as Ambassador here -- a special fund to which all member states contributed something of their quota to help with the case of Haiti. I do not know what the specific answer will be today. I have instructed my delegation to take the issue up in the appropriate forum, the Committee on Administration and Budget, but it seems to me that however we deal with this issue, we must attempt to deal with it together and with great seriousness.

Let me note, for example, one small part of this, the report which we considered earlier today of the General Secretariat of the implementation of the resolution on the obligations of member states to pay their quota assessments. I note that the United States finally is reported as "on schedule"

in its payments with regards not only to its assessed quota, but the completion of payments of arrears. I note parenthetically that all indications I have, as the new United States Administration determines and reaffirms its policies, is that the United States will continue the renewed efforts to meet and pay its quotas and arrearages.

I note that in this report, Haiti is mentioned as not having held discussions on establishing a schedule of payments. We all know the difficulties that Haiti has faced. We also are aware that, while President Aristide was in power in Haiti, Haiti was not only meeting its payments, but paying its arrears on the basis of a schedule. I hope that as we move to this new phase of engagement, and not just in the case of the OAS, but also, and very importantly from the standpoint of development and the contributions that the international financial institutions can make, that it will be possible for Haiti itself to become eligible by making contributions to its debts to those international financial institutions.

In a sense, if I may be allowed, for me, for the United States, to sit here and preach at our colleagues from Haiti under these circumstances, shows an element of perhaps poor taste, or absurdity, in the sense that Haiti is a desperately poor country, and has been through desperate circumstances because of the tragic coup d'etat there.

Symbolically, therefore, this underscores the need for all of us in the Organization to attempt to find a way to show our commitment to the renewal of the OAS and our commitment very specifically to the success of the civilian mission that has begun now, and most importantly, to the achievement of our goal: the restoration of democracy in Haiti, the return of President Aristide to his legitimate constitutional powers in Haiti, and the creation of a situation of stability in which rights and opportunities are reasonably respected.

We should not treat this moment as just another moment. We should, in fact, treat it as the start of a new phase, as a critical turning point which, if we do not act, could yet easily fail and degenerate again into the one thing that this Organization has sought to avoid -- violence and useless suffering. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.