



# THE CARTER CENTER OF EMORY UNIVERSITY

Mission to Haiti #2, February 23-26, 1995

President and Mrs. Jimmy Carter  
Hon. George Price, Former Prime Minister  
of Belize

Senator Sam Nunn  
General Colin Powell  
Mr. Richard Debobes

Dr. Robert Pastor, Ambassador Gordon Streeb

Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government  
The Carter Center, Emory University

## Working Paper Series

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**COUNCIL OF FREELY-ELECTED HEADS OF GOVERNMENT**

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**MISSION TO HAITI  
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**COUNCIL OF FREELY ELECTED HEADS OF GOVERNMENT  
CARTER CENTER, EMORY UNIVERSITY**

**1. Background**

In response to an invitation from Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter led a delegation to Haiti from February 23-26th to assess: (1) plans for the parliamentary and municipal elections scheduled for June 4th; (2) the progress of economic development; and (3) the status of security under the Multinational Force (MNF) and the transfer to the United Nations Mission on March 31.

In addition to President and Mrs. Rosalynn Carter, the members of the delegation included George Price, who is Vice Chairman of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government and former Prime Minister of Belize; Senator Sam Nunn, Ranking Minority Member of the Senate Armed Services Committee; General Colin Powell, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Dr. Robert Pastor, Director of the Latin American Program at the Carter Center and Executive Secretary of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government; Mr. Richard Debobes, Professional Staff Member of the Senate Armed Services Committee; Dr. Gordon Streeb, Director of the Global Development Initiative of the Carter Center, and Dr. David Carroll of the Carter Center's Latin American Program.

The delegation's visit followed two previous missions - one by a Council delegation in December and the other by the negotiating mission of Carter, Nunn, and Powell in September that assured the peaceful return of President Aristide.

In mid-December 1994, after conversations and an exchange of correspondence between Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, former Prime Minister of Jamaica Michael Manley and Dr. Robert Pastor visited Haiti to assess both the progress made in that country since the return of President Aristide on October 15 and whether there was interest in the Council playing a role. Mr. Manley is a member of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, a group of 25 current and former Presidents and Prime Ministers of the Americas, based at the Carter Center of Emory University, and chaired by Jimmy Carter.

Manley and Pastor met with a wide range of leaders in Haiti and found much support for the Council's playing a role in Haiti, particularly because of what it had done in monitoring the electoral process from 1987-1990. President Aristide said he hoped the Council, of which he is a member, would be "partners" and invited President Carter to return to Haiti to discuss this with him. (A copy of the Manley-Pastor report is available from the Carter Center; the Executive Summary of the Report is included as

Appendix # 12 of this report.) President Aristide also extended an invitation to Senator Nunn and General Powell because of their role in assuring the peaceful return of constitutional government to Haiti as a result of their negotiations in September 1994.

The Council's first involvement in Haiti was in October 1987, when President Carter, Prime Minister Price, and Dr. Robert Pastor visited Haiti after the assassination of a Presidential candidate. The purpose of that visit was to help put the elections scheduled for the next month back on track. While that mission succeeded for the moment, Haitian soldiers fired into a crowd of voters on the day of the elections in November 1987, and aborted the elections. After numerous false starts, the elections were rescheduled, and in July 1990, provisional president Ertha Pascal-Trouillot invited President Carter and the Council to monitor the electoral process.

In collaboration with the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government undertook a series of pre-election mediating visits to ensure that the elections would be free, fair, and secure. Representatives of numerous Council members, including Pierre Trudeau of Canada, Erskine Sandiford of Barbados, Michael Manley of Jamaica, and Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela, participated. Carter and Price led a 33-person international delegation to observe the December 16, 1990 elections. After the election, President Aristide invited President Carter, Prime Minister Price, and Dr. Pastor, and Council members Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez and Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley to attend his inauguration on February 7, 1991. Although President Carter offered the Council's continued assistance, President Aristide did not request such assistance.

For the three years since the September 29, 1991 coup against President Aristide, President Carter, Prime Minister Manley, and several members of the Council maintained close contact with President Aristide, who visited the Carter Center often, and with UN and OAS officials, the Bush and Clinton Administrations, and the military leaders in Haiti. In December 1992, after conversations with President Aristide, President Carter and Dr. Pastor met in Atlanta with Manley, who had been asked by the OAS Secretary General to be a Special Envoy on the Haiti issue, with UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and with aides to President-elect Bill Clinton to discuss what the United Nations could do to lend its weight to resolving the crisis. As a result of those meetings, the UN Secretary General energized the UN to play the central role in negotiating a return to constitutional government in Haiti.

Despite this new activity, negotiations dragged on. Finally, on July 31, 1994, the United Nations Security Council approved Resolution 940 declaring that the "situation in Haiti constituted a threat to peace and security in the region," requiring the deployment of a Multinational Force (MNF). After President Clinton

decided that U.S. forces would lead the MNF, he asked President Carter, Senator Nunn, and General Powell to meet with General Raoul Cedras and the Haitian military high command to discuss ways to implement the UN decisions without bloodshed. That mission reached agreement on September 18, 1994, and the MNF arrived the next day. On October 15, 1994, President Aristide was restored to power.

## 2. The February 1995 Mission: Objectives and Overview

On February 23rd, the delegation led by Carter, Price, Nunn, and Powell began its mission to assess the security, development, and electoral situation since President Aristide's return. The group held extensive meetings with President Aristide and members of his Cabinet, the Conseil Electorale Provisoire (CEP), leaders of 18 Haitian political parties, including Port-au-Prince Mayor Evans Paul, Haitian business leaders, leaders of Haiti's human rights and religious community, the working group of the Truth Commission, OAS and UN officials, the UNDP Resident Representative, officials and trainees of the National Police Academy, Major General George Fisher of the U.S.-led Multinational Force (MNF), and U.S. Ambassador William Swing. (A schedule of the delegation's meetings is appendix # 6 to this report.)

Three days before the arrival of the delegation, the Haitian Provisional Elections Council (CEP) announced that the parliamentary and municipal elections would be held on June 4 with a runoff on June 25. This was followed by an announcement on February 21 that President Aristide had ordered the retirement of all 4 Generals and 30 Colonels and Majors.

Compared to the visit in September when President Carter, Senator Nunn, and General Powell negotiated the return of President Aristide, Port-au-Prince had dramatically changed. In place of a tension-filled nation on the brink of an invasion, the team found relaxed people, bustling streets, and an atmosphere of security due to the Multinational Force. The former army headquarters next to the Presidential palace had become the ministry of women's affairs.

In the first briefing, UN and OAS officials provided an overview of the situation in Haiti. The security and human rights situation improved significantly since October 15. The interim police are supervised and under the control of the International Police Monitors.

The Paris Donors' Meeting was a great success. As a result of a good presentation by the government of its Emergency Economic Recovery Program (EERP), donors pledged \$1.2 billion. Haiti's principal development problems are its lack of a civil service and severe environmental degradation. The government is willing to develop a good framework for investment and then let the private sector and non-governmental organizations go forward, but drafting the framework will take time.

The lack of a judicial system poses a continuing problem for Haiti. Even in the few cases that new justices of the peace have been trained and assigned, they often have no one to deliver warrants or make arrests. Law and order, to a great degree, is maintained by the Multinational Force and particularly by U.S. special forces teams in the rural areas, but they visit the more remote communities only rarely. In the best of communities, trials are long delayed, and higher courts do not exist. Hundreds of people have been arrested months ago, sent to prison, never tried, and forgotten. Recently a riot developed in one of the prisons. The U.S. military moved in to restore order and set up a court inside the prison. Three hundred of the 500 prisoners were immediately released because of the minor nature of the charges against them. None had ever been brought before a judge. Increasingly, disputes are arising over ownership of land, with as many as four families holding "official" deeds to the same parcel.

The new Provisional Electoral Council (CEP) has been established, but many of the political parties are skeptical as to whether it will be fair and impartial. UN officials are working closely with the CEP to provide technical assistance in the conduct of the elections. The MNF has provided logistical support to the CEP as it has consulted throughout the country in considering candidates for elections officials for the nine departmental (BEDs) and the 137 subregional Communal Electoral Offices (BECs). The OAS is using its 90 human rights monitors to begin the process of observing the electoral process. It hopes to expand the number of observers to 242 by the time of the election. There will be approximately 14,000 polling stations (BIV's').

Former President Carter asked if the OAS would need more observers, and Ambassador Colin Granderson, Executive Director of the OAS/UN International Civilian Mission (ICM), said that had not been determined. Carter said that if an additional delegation led by the Council of about 30-40 would be useful, they should inform us as soon as possible. He said that the Council would be pleased to work closely with the OAS and UN on election-observing and, perhaps more importantly, on pre-election mediation if this were desired by the two organizations. Mr. Granderson thanked Carter for the offer and promised to get back to him as soon as possible.

The delegation met representatives of human rights organizations and the working group on the Truth Commission. Although the final decree establishing the mandate of the Commission had not yet been completed, the working group hopes that the Truth Commission will be established and functioning soon and will be able to present a report with recommendations to President Aristide before the Presidential elections in December. President Carter indicated his support for the need for the Commission to have a full accounting of human rights violations.

### 3. Political Party leaders, the CEP and Elections

President Carter and delegation members met with leaders of the 18 principal political parties in a large meeting and several smaller meetings in the capital and outside. Representatives from the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) helped arrange these meetings. NDI will be playing a key role in helping the political parties train poll-watchers and in organizing candidate forums to debate issues around the country.

In the meetings with the political leaders, President Carter explained how the Council had monitored the elections in 1990 and while it has not yet decided whether to do so in June or December of 1995, he hoped that the elections would be free and fair. He asked for the parties' views and said that he hoped the parties would all participate.

The parties all welcomed the delegation, and said that the involvement of the Council/Carter Center and the international community monitoring the electoral process would be crucial to ensure its fairness. They indicated that if the elections were fair, they expected to participate. However, most of the party leaders doubted the electoral process would be fair and expressed considerable dissatisfaction with the Provisional Electoral Council (CEP). Many of the leaders viewed the CEP as biased in favor of the president's loyalists and uninterested in working with the parties. They feared a climate of intolerance aimed at them.

The party leaders complained that the CEP was not being responsive to a resolution signed by 15 of the parties at a party summit meeting held on February 9 (see appendix # 9). The resolution requested (1) that the CEP consider using a lottery to select two-thirds of the administrators of the BEDs (9 regions), BECs (137 sub-regions), and BIVs (14,000 voting places), and (2) that the CEP establish a permanent mechanism for consultation and dialogue with the legally registered parties.

The CEP had already rejected the parties' participation in choosing BED, BEC and BIV administrators. No answer had been formally received to their other major demand for a procedure for them to present their requests and grievances to the CEP.

In response to a question from President Carter as to what were the prospects and desirability of organizing coalitions among the 18-50 different political parties, one representative said that he anticipated that coalitions would emerge between the first and the second round of elections. Some leaders expressed concern about security; others of the unequal playing field with regard to financial contributions and advertising. Several expressed the need for a National Dialogue to be hosted by President Aristide and to involve international statesmen as witnesses to ensure that all parties negotiate and accept the electoral rules of the game.



In two separate meetings with CEP members, the delegation discussed the parties' concerns and other electoral issues. One of the CEP's daunting tasks will be recruiting and training 60,000 people to conduct the elections. The CEP Chairman was aware of the concerns of the parties.

A key test of CEP objectivity, and how the parties perceived the CEP, was the appointment of BED officials. The delegation discussed this issue a number of times with the CEP. On February 27, after the delegation's departure, the CEP announced the list of officials. Because of numerous protests, the CEP revised the list, but there remains a high degree of dissatisfaction with the officials chosen and considerable fear that the impartiality of the electoral process could be compromised by these officials.

The CEP Chairman indicated that he had met with numerous party representatives and asked all the parties to appoint a delegate to serve as a liaison with the CEP. The CEP is also drafting a manual for national and international observers, and it intended to invite the Council/Center, but the timing was not certain. He said that party poll-watchers and observers will have full access to every stage of the electoral process.

In response to questions from the delegation about what the CEP would do if there were reports of intimidation of party leaders, or of use of government vehicles or resources by particular parties, CEP Chairman Anselme Remy said that he would expect parties to file a complaint in writing to the CEP, preferably through their delegate. Copies could perhaps be sent to the international observers. The question as to whether there would be deadlines for responding to such complaints was raised, but no decision on that has been made. In response to a question about access to the media, Dr. Remy said that the CEP has no control over the media, but it will ask the government to allocate a certain amount of free radio and television time to the parties.

#### 4. President Aristide and Government Ministers

Altogether, President Carter and delegation members met three times with President Aristide and twice with Prime Minister Smarck Michel with other members of the cabinet present. President Aristide recalled with gratitude the many times that he had been welcomed to the Carter Center, and he thanked President Carter, Senator Nunn, and General Powell for negotiating the agreement with the military. After the meeting, President Aristide told the press: "You are in a country where everyone can see the good of what you did on September 18, 1994 ... What you did permitted a peaceful journey towards democracy, reconciliation... That's why we welcome you and thank you." President Carter praised President Aristide's pursuit of reconciliation.

In the meeting, President Aristide told President Carter: "True reconciliation at this time requires that the President be the referee to ensure that the process is fair for all. I will do my best to remain neutral despite my political roots. It will be a new experience for Haiti for one President to hand over power peacefully to another."

Carter supported President Aristide's position, saying that the opposition parties are more likely to view the electoral process as fair and participate in it if they felt that the government was not lending its support to a particular party or candidate. President Aristide said that was the reason he made the commitment, but "because of my roots, it won't be easy."

President Aristide said: "If we don't move toward vengeance, and if we keep moving toward reconciliation, fair elections, a free market through building bridges between rich and poor, this will help us build a democratic election."

The group consulted with President Aristide for the third time on February 25th before the delegation went to a press conference at the airport. Former President Carter noted that many of the political leaders had discussed with him the idea of a National Dialogue to be convoked by President Aristide and to involve leaders of all the political parties. The purpose would be to encourage all parties to express their views about the electoral process and to address their concerns in a way that would assure the highest possible level of participation in the elections. President Carter mentioned that he and other members of the Council had witnessed such national dialogues in other countries, and they had been necessary and successful. If something like this is done, then the prospect of a boycott by some parties could be diminished. President Aristide said he would consider the idea.

#### 5. Economic Development, Environment, and Education

Economic planning for President Aristide's return to Haiti began in the Spring of 1993 when donor agencies, led by UNDP, prepared the Emergency Economic Recovery Program (EERP). An IDB-led team, drawing on the strategy paper prepared by the Aristide government, updated the EERP in October 1994, and donors pledged nearly \$1.2 billion for its implementation at a meeting of the Consultative Group on Haiti in January 1995. Some \$660 million is intended to be disbursed within the next 12 - 18 months.

Despite the excellent work done by the Minister of Planning, implementation capacity limits the rate of disbursement of funds. Nevertheless, some progress is visible -- a significant increase in immunizations, jobs programs to remove debris in Port-au-Prince and the canal systems, and road rebuilding. Donor coordination under UNDP leadership appears excellent, and units are being established in each ministry to manage the EERP. Sustainability beyond the so-

called "emergency" phase remains problematic. President Aristide expressed particular concern that the pace of job creation must be accelerated to fulfill the expectations of the people.

Only three percent of Haiti's original forests remain, and deforestation continues. This imposes a severe economic burden as farm lands shrink, waterways clog, and each rainstorm exacts a toll in human lives and additional costs of debris removal. There are some positive signs. Although the reforestation program was dramatically reduced in 1991, progress under the USAID-funded Productive Land Use Systems (PLUS) continues in many farming communities under the effective leadership of the Pan American Development Foundation (PADF) and CARE working with local community organizations. One member of the delegation toured a PLUS project area and was impressed with the dedication and initiative of the local communities working under Haitian leadership.

Two factors appear critical to forge a sustainable reforestation program: (1) the Government must lead in establishing a regime to protect forested areas -- by imposing and enforcing restrictions on the cutting of trees and the foraging of livestock, and (2) alternative fuels must be found for the heaviest consumers of wood, namely, bakeries, distilleries and dry cleaning stores. The government should also provide tenure security - for example by leases or grants - to farmers who want to reforest government-owned lands being terraced under the EERP.

The international community should consider pooling donor resources for reforestation. This would ensure a sufficient funds over an extended period to warrant reopening the tree nurseries and training personnel to expand planting of seedlings from the current level of a million to at least ten million a year. The technology and methodology is known. A National Environmental Action Plan may be needed before a major environmental effort, but this is not a prerequisite to multiplying the successes of the PLUS program, and it is a mistake to wait any longer. Similarly, the critical need to increase electrical power generation makes it imperative that reforestation of the slopes around the Peligre Dam, a major source of hydropower, begins immediately to protect it from further siltation.

The delegation was also interested in the program to rebuild the educational system in Haiti. In response to a request from President Carter, President Charles Knapp of the University of Georgia (UGA) sent a team from the University to explore possible institutional linkages. Based on conversations with the Ministers of Education and Agriculture, the University of Georgia, in collaboration with the University of the West Indies, several major donor agencies and the State University of Haiti, is preparing a faculty development program and assistance to the Ministry of Education for operations and planning support. In the meantime, faculty and staff at UGA have donated some 17,000 textbooks for the

University of Haiti campus; the U.S. military has offered to transport the books from Georgia to Port-au-Prince.

Our team offered the help of the Carter Center/Council in the areas of forestry, agriculture, and education. President Aristide said he would welcome help, especially with housing, perhaps by using Habitat for Humanity.

#### 6. The Army, the Police, the MNF, and the UN

When President Aristide was asked about his long term plans for the Haitian army, he replied, "Which army?" It appears that a decision has been made that there will not be an army.

The police training academy is impressive. With 25,000 applicants, and rigorous physical and mention exams, the quality of the students is very high. Their average education is two years of college. Each class of about 400 will receive four months of intensive instruction, including 160 hours in Haitian law. By the time UN forces are scheduled to depart in March 1996, there should be 4,000 graduates. Unless subverted by the political process, they will provide a fine core of young leaders for maintaining peace and justice in the future. The identity and motivations of their commanding officers will be crucial.

The delegation was briefed by MNF Commander Maj. General George Fisher on the overall security situation and the plans for the transition to the UN Mission (UNMIH). The delegation split into two teams to visit units of the US Special Forces and other MNF troops, and to meet with regional party leaders. President Carter and George Price travelled north to Archaie and Cap Haitien, while Senator Nunn and General Powell went west to Les Cayes and Jacmel. The warmth and enthusiasm of the welcome given to the delegation as well as to the MNF was heartwarming.

The delegation was impressed with the superb performance of the multinational forces, and by the indisputable welcome they have received from the Haitian population. The delegation does not anticipate any problems in the transfer on March 31 from the MNF to the UN Mission in Haiti. The size of the force and the ratio of U.S. to other international forces has been gradually declining. By March 31, the overall force will be 6,000 with 2,400 from the United States. The mission of the UNMIH is also expected to expand to include more nation-building. Some political leaders felt that the UNMIH should remain for at least another year after the inauguration of the new President in February 1996 to ensure that the new police force remains non-partisan and professional.

## 7. Conclusion

Although President Aristide could not have been more effusive in his private and public praise during the three meetings with the delegation, the scurrilous graffiti and the anonymous negative comments made by "Presidential aides" left an uncertainty regarding the invitation by President Aristide for the Council to play a continuing role. Undoubtedly, some of President Aristide's supporters resent the agreement of September 18th because it averted the bloody destruction of the Haitian military; others might want to manipulate the elections. We have no indication this is President Aristide's view, but there is doubt about whether he will use his influence to ensure that the election is free and fair and to prevent those who would try to undermine the elections.

The sum total of the delegation's observations is that the MNF has restored security, the democratically elected president is firmly in control, plans are evolving for the election of a parliament, and \$1.2 billion in international support is available. President Aristide publicly insists on both reconciliation and justice for former adversaries, and that is encouraging.

On the other side of the ledger, economic progress is slow, environmental degradation continues apace, the system of justice barely exists, the capability to receive and expend foreign aid is limited, and militants on both sides wait in the wings to exert their influence. In effect, the army has been abolished, and domestic security after United Nations forces withdraw next year is a real question. Senator Nunn noted that "The international community has a one-year plan and a ten-year challenge."

Continued international support will be affected by whether the elections in June and December will be fair and perceived as fair. This will depend on whether the political parties believe that the playing field is equal or skewed in favor of the parties most closely associated with the government. **At the current time, most of the parties do not believe that the electoral playing field is fair. International intermediaries can help mediate genuine concerns with the electoral process, but it is not clear that their efforts will be welcomed. Whether the Council/Carter Center plays a role in the elections will depend on whether: (a) it is invited by President Aristide and the Electoral Council; (b) funding is available; and (c) the OAS decides it needs or wants additional observers as part of a larger mission.**

Since President Aristide's return on October 15th, important progress has been made by Haiti toward a secure and civil society, but there is still a long way to go. The next crucial steps on the road toward a democratic, market-oriented government will be at the elections in June and December and during the months leading up to them. There are grounds for hope but also reasons to be concerned.

COUNCIL OF FREELY ELECTED HEADS OF GOVERNMENT  
CARTER CENTER OF EMORY UNIVERSITY

MISSION TO HAITI, FEBRUARY 23-25, 1995

MEMBERS OF DELEGATION

Hon. Jimmy Carter, Chairman of Council, former U.S. President  
Hon. George Price, Vice Chairman, former Belize Prime Minister  
Mrs. Rosalynn Carter, former First Lady of the United States

Hon. Sam Nunn, U.S. Senator (D-Ga.), Ranking Minority Member,  
Senate Armed Services Committee  
General Colin Powell, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

Dr. Robert Pastor, Executive Secretary of the Council, and Director  
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# NEWS

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
Wed., Feb. 15, 1995

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## CARTER, NUNN, POWELL, PRICE TO VISIT HAITI

ATLANTA, GA....In response to an invitation from Haiti President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, former First Lady Rosalynn Carter, former Prime Minister of Belize George Price, U.S. Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), and former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Colin Powell will travel to Haiti Feb. 23-26. The team will meet with President Aristide and Haitian government officials, political party leaders, representatives of the international community, officials from the Multinational Force and the International Police Monitors, and the lead representatives of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH).

President Carter and Prime Minister Price will travel as members of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, a group of 25 current and former presidents and prime ministers of the Americas, based at The Carter Center in Atlanta, GA. The delegation also will include Dr. Robert Pastor, director of The Carter Center's Latin American and Caribbean Program (LACP) and secretary of the Council; Dr. Gordon Streeb, director of The Carter Center's Global Development Initiative; and Dr. David Carroll, associate director of LACP.

# NEWS FROM THE CARTER CENTER

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"I am pleased that we have been invited back to Haiti by one of our Council members, President Aristide, and I am especially pleased that Sen. Nunn and Gen. Powell are joining George Price and me on this important trip," President Carter said. "During our time in Haiti, we will explore ways in which we might be helpful in reinforcing a free and fair electoral process and gaining more effective support for economic development efforts."

In mid-December, following an exchange of correspondence between President Aristide and former President Carter, a Council team led by former Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley and Dr. Pastor visited Haiti. Their report concluded "that despite severe social, economic, and security problems, Haiti now has the best opportunity in its 200-year history to forge a democracy and construct a free-market economy that will benefit all the nation's people."

According to Gen. David Mead, commander of the Multinational Force, the Sept. 18 "Port-au-Prince Agreement" negotiated by President Carter, Sen. Nunn, and Gen. Powell laid the groundwork to establish the kind of environment that will make democracy possible in Haiti.

"I am keenly interested in the plans for parliamentary elections which were originally to occur in late 1994. Building democracy and developing the economy will require a safe and secure environment," said Sen. Nunn, who serves as ranking minority member of the Senate Armed Services Committee. "I welcome the chance to return to Haiti to assess the election plans and the security



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situation in advance of the turnover to the United Nations Mission in Haiti."

Added Gen. Powell, "I look forward to visiting U.S. and other forces in Haiti. Based on our experience last September, President Carter, Sen. Nunn and I all have an interest in Haiti, and we hope that the democratic process is on track."

The delegation will hold meetings in Port-au-Prince with the Provisional Elections Commission and with U.N. and O.A.S. representatives on the timetable for the parliamentary and municipal elections. They also will consult with leaders of the political parties to ensure that the electoral process will be viewed as fair and that the level of participation will be high. In addition, the delegation will travel outside of the capital to better assess the security situation and prospects for economic development.

The Council has been assisting Haiti on electoral issues since President Carter and Prime Minister Price led an initial delegation to the country in October 1987.

"I was very encouraged to learn of the progress that had been made in Haiti since the restoration of President Aristide, and I believe the negotiations by President Carter, Sen. Nunn, and Gen. Powell contributed greatly to that progress. I also was pleased to learn of the eagerness of Haitians for the Council to play a continuing role in their country," Prime Minister Price said.

In 1990, the Council sent numerous pre-election missions and a large delegation, in cooperation with the National Democratic

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Institute, to observe the December election. The election was a success, but President Aristide was overthrown by a coup in September 1991. For three years, the international community tried to persuade the Haitian military to permit Aristide to return to power, which he finally did on Oct. 15, 1994.

"Haiti is a country on the edge between a tragic history and a hopeful future," Dr. Pastor said. "A visit by a delegation of this stature will be a symbol of the support of the international community for Haitians, who want to make their hopes for a democratic society real."

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Honorable George Price  
Arrival Statement  
February 23, 1995  
Port-au-Prince

My name is George Price. I come here today as Vice Chairman of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, a group of 25 former and current Presidents and Prime Ministers of the Americas dedicated to democracy. President Carter is Chairman of the Council, and President Aristide is one of our members.

I come here also as a man of the democratic Caribbean eager to welcome Haiti as one of its members. I was Premier of my country Belize from the onset of self-government in 1965 to independence in 1981. During this time, Haiti's struggle for independence two hundred years ago was a living inspiration to me and my countrymen. Since independence, I have had the privilege of being elected Prime Minister of my country for two terms.

Seven and one-half years ago, President Carter, Dr. Pastor, and I visited Haiti to support free elections. The military aborted the elections in 1987, but in 1990, we returned with a large delegation to observe the first free election.

I am honored to be asked by the Council's Chairman, President Carter, to join his delegation to Haiti. Like so many of you, I was elated that he and his colleagues Senator Sam Nunn and General Colin Powell were able to persuade Haiti's military leaders last September to step aside and permit your freely elected President to return in peace.

## Arrival.Haiti

Honorable Jimmy Carter  
Arrival Statement  
February 23, 1995  
Port-au-Prince

Thank you, George. On behalf of my wife Rosalynn and my delegation, I want to say how glad I am to return to Haiti. Last September, I was honored to have been chosen with Senator Sam Nunn and General Colin Powell by my President Bill Clinton to contribute to the peaceful return of President Aristide. There is less tension this time and far more excitement and hope.

I understand one person was busy two nights ago writing messages for me on walls throughout Port-au-Prince. I admire his energy and the fact that he seems to have a monopoly on red paint. But his crude words do not diminish Haiti's welcome, nor do they scare me or the people of Haiti. The days when a tiny minority can frighten the people of Haiti by lawless acts of graffiti have passed. Today, Haiti is democratic, and we are here to express our solidarity with those who want Haiti to remain democratic and free.

Let me introduce the rest of our delegation. Besides Prime Minister Price and my wife Rosalynn, they include Dr. Robert Pastor, Executive Secretary of the Council, Mr. Gordon Streeb, the Director of Economic Development at the Carter Center, Dr. David Carroll of the Carter Center's Latin American Program, and Mr. Richard DeBobes, a staff member of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Senator Sam Nunn, leader of the Senate Armed Services Committee and General Colin Powell, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, will join our delegation tomorrow.

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President Aristide invited us to visit Haiti and act, in his words, as "partners" in the struggle to help consolidate democracy in this country. We are eager to help.

First, we want to learn more, and to do so, we will meet with President Aristide, Prime Minister Michel and others from the government, and with leaders of virtually all the political parties, Mr. Remy and the Provisional Election Council, businessmen, officials from the OAS, the UN, and the Multinational Force, and as many Haitians as we can. We will have meetings today in Port-au-Prince. Tomorrow, Prime Minister Price and I will travel to Archaie and Cap Haiten while Senator Nunn and General Powell visit Les Cayes and Jacmel. Our purpose will be to assess the security situation, to talk with the people, and to see how the development effort can be improved and reach all the people.

People of Haiti, you have been patient during these tragic years when your President was in exile. President Aristide has wisely called for national reconciliation as the path toward democracy. For the elections in June to succeed in building a permanent democratic foundation, **all Haitians** need to feel secure and everyone needs to participate.

We would like to withhold our evaluations until our visit has concluded. We will then meet with President Aristide and return here for a press conference to discuss the electoral process, the security situation, and the prospects for economic development. George Price and I will be reporting to the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, and Senator Nunn, General Powell, and

I will offer our ideas to President Clinton.

Democracy requires patience, a spirit of compromise, and respect for one's adversaries. After so many years of persecution and intolerance, it is not easy to find these virtues. We are here to reinforce these traits and to work with Haitians to make sure that the future represents a definitive democratic improvement on the past.

CARTRAN.DOC

Presidential Palace, Port-au-Prince  
Press Conference  
February 23, 1995, 7 P.M.

PRESIDENT JEAN-BERTRAND ARISTIDE: Welcome, President Carter, Mrs. Carter, Prime Minister George Price, members of your delegation. You are in a country where everyone can see the good of what you did on September 18, 1994. Instead of bloodshed, we had a peaceful transition. Under the leadership of President Clinton you came here with Senator Sam Nunn, General Powell, and what you did permitted a peaceful journey towards democracy, reconciliation, peace, and justice. That's why tonight, the prime minister, the government of Haiti, and I welcome you and thank you.

When I had the opportunity to visit you in Atlanta, I was welcomed. When I had the opportunity to spend hours and days with you, that was great. And I remember the first night we met in Atlanta and a wonderful dinner with your wife, and with Bob Pastor. I cannot forget that wonderful night. You can imagine how happy I am today to welcome you to Haiti and to extend our thanks to you for what you did. Feel at home and come back again at any time you wish to be in this country where, on our side, we are doing our best to keep moving with reconciliation, justice and soon food, fellowship and democratic elections. You did that much coming here. You will be happy to see the result of this process which has to be peace, reconciliation, justice, democracy. Thank you.

PRESIDENT CARTER: President Aristide has asked me to respond with a few words. First of all, I want to thank him for the invitation to come back to Haiti. This is my ninth visit to this country. And I think what has happened here in the last few years has been one of the most historic and dramatic demonstrations of democracy that I have ever seen. The election in 1990 brought out a realization of hunger among the people of Haiti for a leader who could truly represent their interests. President Aristide has demonstrated that leadership. The call for political courage has been a loud one for the last three-and-a-half years and President Aristide's return has realized that dream. His joining of the two works, reconciliation and justice, also requires political courage because many of the people in Haiti, even his own most fervent supporters, do not like the word reconciliation.

I came here to respond to his invitation. Senator Nunn and General Powell will be here tomorrow. I'm very happy to be joined by the vice chairman of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, Former Prime Minister George Price. And we are truly grateful for this honor of meeting with President Aristide. Again, I want to thank him for his gracious remarks and his invitation, and particularly for the one for us to return again in the future.

My wife has just said a few minutes ago that the day after the election when the Haitian people were pouring into the streets in almost total exhilaration and celebration was one of the most dramatic and gratifying experiences of her life. And what's happened in Haiti is one of the true demonstrations of what democracy, peace, human rights can mean to a troubled people. I think what President Aristide is doing here is setting an example for many others who will follow him in historic years ahead. So, Mr. President, thank you again for your welcome and for your kind remarks.

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Hotel.Pco

Transcript of Press Conference  
Villa Creole Hotel  
February 25, 1995, 2 P.M.

PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER: General Powell is going to make the first comments, and then he and Sam and I will answer a few questions.

GENERAL COLIN POWELL: I thought I would report on what we have seen in the last few days in respect to the performance of the United States troops and the other multinationals troops. All I can say is that they were enormously impressive in what they have been doing and are doing and will be doing in the months ahead.

The Special Forces teams in the countryside are performing heroically, bringing essential capabilities to the region. Everywhere we went, they told us their mission was to secure a stable environment for the government and people of Haiti so that the people can feel comfortable with their new democracy. They've done that task brilliantly. In addition, they have worked very hard with civil affairs elements and with legal officers from the Judge Advocate General's Office, who have come from the United States to help jump-start the judicial system, which is important for maintain a secure environment. We were very impressed by everything we saw being done by the Multi-National Force in Port-au-Prince as well as outside. So I think that is a real success story.

Based on the briefings we had and what we saw, all three of us agree that there should be no problem with the turnover to the United Nations at the end of March. And I think we should all remember that about half of that U.N. force will be U.S. forces. U.S. forces will continue to patrol the streets. U.S. Special Forces teams will remain in the countryside. And so it will be a rather significant U.S. presence under U.N. authority. The real challenge, of course, is what will happen between now and when U.S. and U.N. forces depart. The key will be for the Haitian government to use the limited time to put in place a well-functioning system of law that will provide security to their people. And of course, I'm sure my colleagues will talk about what has to be done on the economic side as well.

We were impressed by what we saw at the Police Academy. These are wonderful, young Haitians who have volunteered to serve their country. They're being well trained by the Justice Department's ICYTAP program, and they are anxious to get out into the field and use what they have learned as trained policemen in a democracy.

While we were very impressed by what we saw, but a lot of work still needs to be done. The real challenge will occur next year when the U.N. mission ends and the Haitians assume full responsibility for the security of the country.

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SENATOR SAM NUNN: I would summarize my feelings by saying that a lot of good things have happened since September. The Haitians have come a long way, but there is still a very long way to go. When you go out on the streets and you see them full of people and and traffic and food and goods for sale everywhere, you cannot help but feel the different atmosphere. Last September, we felt an atmosphere of fear and terror. So they have already come a long way, but there is a long way to go.

I would agree with what General Powell said about our American military forces and the multinational forces. They've done a superb job. I don't think we could expect anything done as well and professionally as they've done. Every time I'm with them, I'm even more impressed. Their morale is good. They know they are doing something worthwhile. They know they are helping people, and they have a sense of fulfillment which is evident when you talk to them.

The justice system has got to be listed as a top priority, and that is not simply police training, although that's an absolute essential part of it. It is also the courts as General Powell said. The courts have a longer way to go now than the police. There's a real challenge there.

It is also the prisons. We toured a prison that looked like something in the 14th Century. And those of you who were on that tour probably had the same impression. So they have a long way to go. They've made progress in that respect.

In terms of the short-term challenges, President Carter, I'm sure, will speak about the elections. We met with the Provisional Election Council, and it is gratifying they have set a date for the Parliamentary election. We hope that the elections are going to be fair, impartial, transparent and open. That is key in the short term. Also in the short term, it is key to having electricity restored, because that is the absolute prerequisite for job creation and return of industry.

I would add one other thought: what we have here now is a one-year plan for the international community, but about a ten-year challenge. Like General Powell, I believe that the transition to the U.N. will be smooth in the short-term, but we need a longer-term plan to deal with infrastructure and institutions that have not functioned for a long time, if ever, in a way that is conducive to democracy. To build that infrastructure and to build those institutions - the judicial system, the educational system, all parts of a democracy -- is absolutely a prerequisite. One election does not make a democracy. One man does not make a government or a democracy.

This is a long-term challenge for the international community. The international community must stay involved. American military forces will be out, but if anybody believes that the international

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community can simply pull out of here in one year, I think that's the wrong impression. It's going to take a number of years, and the United States certainly cannot do it alone. I think we can participate, but this is a long-term challenge, and I think the last couple of days have verified that.

FORMER PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER: Well, I want to express my complete agreement with what my colleagues have said about the superb performance of the U.S. and international military. They provide the necessary stability in maintaining order here. As agreed between President Clinton and President Aristide, their duties were not to do nation-building. At the end of March, however, the United Nations force will participate to a much greater extent in such activities as improving government systems and helping ensure the security of elections.

It's good to remember what has been accomplished. One is the presentation of Haiti's plan for the future in the Paris Club group, where it was optimistically hoped that \$600 million would be pledged. As you know, almost about twice that much was pledged, based primarily on the quality of the government's presentation.

Another thing that was done was the mandate of the Provisional Election Council. Although we met with 16 or 18 of the political parties that were mainly telling us their problems, there is a hope among some that this election council does have the ability and the wisdom and the confidence to have an honest election. The first test will be the observed or perceived balance of fairness of the election administrators (the BEDs) of the nine provinces. And then of course about 135 or so subregional BEC's. And this will lead up to an extraordinary challenge in a very short period of time. There will be about two-and-a-half million voters. There will be 60,000 people employed by the council to run the election and this will involve at least 18 political parties.

The elections will be a major test of the future of Haiti -- a demonstration of the effectiveness of government and commitment of people to democracy. And then, of course, that will lead up to a possible coalition of parties after the first vote, which will be on the fourth of June. Between then and the runoff on June 25th, some parties might come together to unite their forces and then, of course, this will also be a prelude to the presidential election held at the end of the year. There's a great deal of distrust and dissatisfaction of the election council at this point. That first answer will be this Monday when they reveal the names of the administrators of the BEDs.

We have been well received by President Aristide, who repeats often his appreciation for what has been accomplished here in terms of the transition from war to peace, from totalitarian rule and human rights violations to democracy and freedom. This has been a great tribute to the people of this country.

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Q: President Carter, can you and the others tell me whether you feel that the nation can be secure enough that the U.N. could leave, with its large complement of American troops, in a year, or is there some possibility that the United Nations will have to stay beyond that time?

PRESIDENT CARTER: I think that that can only be addressed as we come toward a year from now and see how stable they are. By then, about 4,000 outstanding young policemen will have been trained. The current trainees range all the way from 18 years old to 36 years old, and these represent a few hundred chosen out of 25,000 applicants. As you heard when you were out there, the average educational level is two years of college, and they're superb physically and otherwise. They will play a major role. That training will continue. And in the meantime, the interim police force will maintain order. But in order for the U.N. to decide to stay a longer period of time, I think cannot be answered now. I think that can only be answered maybe only a year from now.

Q: Did you ask President Aristide to not influence the choice of the voters during the elections? And if the answer is yes, did that have something to do with the relatively chilly reception or the graffiti that's written in red paint on the walls?

PRESIDENT CARTER: Well, as I mentioned in my arrival statement, the graffiti was done ahead of time. What President Aristide said was that he was going to play the role of the referee and that he'd stay neutral.

Q: It wasn't a request?

PRESIDENT CARTER: No. He brought that up by saying that he was going to play the role of a referee in the election. I don't have any request to make of him or the election council.

Q: Would you comment on information that we've heard that in fact there was relatively, and as you indicated, chilly reception from President Aristide, that he was not too pleased, in fact, that you met with all members of the political parties.

PRESIDENT CARTER: That's completely false. I think if you were there at either the first meeting I had with him when he made a statement or last night when he made a statement, it couldn't possibly have been warmer. He was very pleased that we had met with the political parties, and there was no indication at all on the part of President Aristide of any chilliness, only his warm gratitude for what we did last September and for the results.

Q: Just a brief follow-up. Do you have an impression that he believes that the United States is doing all it can as quickly as it can, to help?

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GENERAL POWELL: We, Senator Nunn and I, of course, saw President Aristide last night at dinner for the first time. He was exceptionally warm and gracious, and he was very forthcoming in his praise for what our troops are doing and what our government is doing, and he expressed no disappointment or dissatisfaction.

SENATOR NUNN: We didn't hear a single negative comment from President Aristide in the entire period that we spent with him. He expressed great gratitude to President Carter and General Powell and myself for the role we played in September. His words were about as warm as I've ever heard. So, I don't know where the chilliness comes from, but it certainly wasn't evident in our conversations with President Aristide.

Q: Did he invite you back again?

PRESIDENT CARTER AND SENATOR NUNN: Yes.

PRESIDENT CARTER: He said he hoped we would come often and soon. And the main...the only request he made of us was that he extend his personal invitation to President Clinton to come down here so he could be honored with the Vice-President.

Q: President Carter, in the initial agreement that you reached with President Jonassaint, there was an understanding that the Army would remain as an institution. It hasn't really remained an institution. It's pretty much dismantled. Did you discuss the future of the military and whether the Army in Haiti has a future...?

PRESIDENT CARTER: That was not an agreement between me and Jonassaint. The constitution states that there is an army. My belief -- and this is a totally personal belief -- is that that's a moot question now. There is no army, and whether there will be in the future, I think, would depend on the decisions made by Haitian leaders including, obviously, President Aristide and/or his successor, and the members of the Parliament. But the constitution has certain provisions about the Haitian Army with which I'm really not familiar.

Q: President Carter, do you plan, at this point, to come back in June to monitor the parliamentary elections?

PRESIDENT CARTER: Well that all depends. You know, first of all there's an international group here, mainly the OAS, that will have about 250 monitors. Whether they need us is an open question. The second thing is the election council. Do they want us to come back and what role would we play? And the third thing is the matter is the matter of financing the operation. If we are needed, you know, under those circumstances, we'll certainly do what we can.

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SENATOR NUNN: On that first question, if I could just make one comment following up on President Carter in terms of long term. In my view, the long-term challenge is not primarily security. That will be part of it, but the long-term challenge is rebuilding the infrastructure and building institutions. That's the involvement that's got to take place on a continuing basis internationally.

The security situation, in terms of police training, and so forth, will probably be further along by the end of the U.N. one-year period than any other part of the challenge. It's probably going to be out front. But the prisons, the justice system, the education system, the parliament -- all the institutions and the infrastructure -- that's a long-term proposition and I think the international community has to recognize that at the outset and not pretend they can simply walk away after one year, because if it does, I do not think the job will be done.

Q: Did they ask you not to monitor the election, President Carter?

PRESIDENT CARTER: No.

ROBERT PASTOR: No. Of course not.

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TRANSCRIPT: DEPARTURE PRESS CONFERENCE  
Port-au-Prince, Haiti -- February 25, 1995, 7 P.M.

FORMER PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER: We will open this press conference by having four brief statements. The first one will be by Prime Minister George Price from Belize, who is the vice chairman of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government. This is the council that is composed of 25 of us who have been either presidents or prime ministers of our countries.

PRIME MINISTER PRICE: I have come here to Haiti several times to reinforce the electoral process as Vice Chairman of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government. Our Council is very pleased to have President of Aristide of Haiti as one of its members. Together with Senator Nunn and General Powell, our delegation has come at the invitation of President Aristide to assess the situation and the progress made since the restoration of constitutional government.

President Carter, Senator Nunn, and General Powell are the members of the team which successfully negotiated the return of President Aristide without bloodshed. Haiti, my country Belize, and the Caribbean region are grateful to these three peacemakers who paved the way for the peaceful and secure situation we now have today -- a situation which provides an opportunity to build democracy on the new concept of reconciliation. And one of the principles of reconciliation is dialogue. With God's blessing and the will of the Haitian people and the cooperation of the international community, Haiti will make a successful transition to democracy.

GENERAL POWELL: Thank you very much, Mr. Prime Minister, for your kind words. It's a great pleasure to be back in Haiti to have a chance to see the progress that has been made since the return of President Aristide and the restoration of democracy last October. In these past two days, we had a chance to visit the U.S. and other armed forces representing the multinational forces.

In the countryside, we were particularly impressed by the work of the American Special Forces and the other countries which have provided security in the country. We were very pleased to see the work of the interim police forces. We also had a chance to visit the new police academy where the permanent police force is being trained. Very important work was being done at the academy. We had a chance to talk to some of the young people who were being trained there. We were all deeply impressed by the attitude of the young Haitians as they talked about democracy and wanting to serve their people. We received briefings from the multinational force concerning how they would

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transfer their responsibilities to the United Nations at the end of next month. We believe they have a good plan, and we see no problems with the transfer at that time.

One of the messages that I will be carrying back to the American people and to the administration is a reminder that we still have a lot of work to do. The American armed forces here as part of the United Nations' operations begin work at the end of next month. The United States armed forces are representing a significant part of that United Nations force and will be doing many of the things that they have been doing in the past four or five months.

A lot has to be done in the one year that remains of the United Nations mandate. The key to our ultimate success here will be the ability of the Haitian government, Haitian administration, and a Haitian judiciary to get themselves up and running to begin taking over responsibilities from the United Nations. We leave with a sense of satisfaction and great pleasure over what has been done over the previous months, and the warmth of the reception we received from President Aristide and other Haitian officials and inspired by their work. Thank you very much.

SENATOR SAM NUNN: From our trip here in September to February, I think there's been tremendous progress. There's still a long, long way to go, but great progress has been made.

Riding through the streets here in Haiti, now you see streets full of people, traffic, and goods for sale. You also get the sense that people are not really in terror as they were in 1994. The elections for Parliament have been set, which I think are enormously important because without a parliament you really don't have a democracy. The election council has been appointed and President Carter, I'm sure, will speak to that. And you also have a terrific group of people that General Powell mentioned at the police academy. Our United State forces and the multilateral forces have done a terrific job, and we're very, very proud of them. And also I'm gratified and pleased that President Aristide is reaching out in the spirit of reconciliation to the people who are not necessarily his supporters.

The American people truly support our mission here and support Haiti economically and politically as well as in security matters. It means a lot to the people in the United States that there is reconciliation and the prospect for free and fair elections.

There are a lot of short-term, medium-term and long-term challenges. The justice system includes not just the training of police but also judges and prison administrators. In the short-term, I know that for the people Haiti, the jobs are all-important and you really are not going to be able to get private-sector jobs without electricity, without infrastructure and



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without a commercial code that people can enforce on contractual matters. In the long term, the institutions of Haiti have to be rebuilt and infrastructure has to be rebuilt, and that is going to take more than one year.

I am honored and pleased to be here and I hope that continued progress will be made. It is my hope that the people of Haiti will have reconciliation and also it is my hope that the international community will collectively decide that a long-term plan is needed, not just a one-year plan. One year from now, the security forces may be in better shape than the infrastructure and institutions. Those items are going to take a number of years for rebuilding and a lot of international help.

FORMER PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER: Let me say that our impression of Haiti has been a mixture of achievement and challenge. In the realm of security, there's no doubt that the streets and the homes in Haiti are relatively safe. There will be an important transfer of authority at the end of March to the United Nations from the United States. The challenge is what will happen a year from now when the United Nations forces have gone and Haitians have the responsibility.

In the economic field, again, we have seen both achievement and challenge. The achievement is that the Haitians have presented a plan which resulted in \$ 1.2 billion U.S. dollars in pledges of support. The challenge is how this money is going to be allocated, how it will be spent. In the field of education, forestry, agriculture the responsibility lies with the Haitian government.

In the political field, there have been a number of achievements. The president has been returned to office; the election council has been appointed and some election dates set. The challenge is that many of the opposition political parties do not have great confidence in the election council. We found our discussions with the election council useful.

There is an extremely difficult task preparing for the first vote on June 4th. The future of democracy in this country is up to the Haitian people, based on whether the election is fair, open, transparent. In every case the international community is eager to help the Haitian people, but the responsibility has to be here in Haiti. And now, we would like to answer questions, if you have any.

Q: Why were there so many differences with the Haitian government? What explains their chilly reception? Is it because you asked President Aristide to remain neutral?

PRESIDENT CARTER: Well, I met with President Aristide three times. There were no differences between me and him. We met with the provisional election council twice. We met with the leaders of 18

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political parties. I did not ask President Aristide to be neutral; he told me he would. He said he would play the role of a referee. We had no negative comment between us and President Aristide.

Q: I'm from the Voice of America. I would like to ask President Carter why he asked President Aristide to remain neutral. Do you think this represents President Clinton's policy.

PRESIDENT CARTER: President Aristide told me that he would play the role of a referee. I asked him if this meant that he would stay neutral, and he confirmed that it what he meant and that he would stay neutral within the bounds of political history in his country. It's not our role to recommend what President Aristide does.

Q: Do you think there is a need for greater security given the terrible incident that just occurred in the city.

PRESIDENT CARTER: I'm not familiar with that incident, but I'd say that the security provided by the MNF has been quite good. The crime rate here in Port-au-Prince is less than one-tenth as great as in an average American city. And every evidence is that the Haitian fully support and welcome the American troops.

Q: President Carter. You made a statement about complaints and lack of confidence in the government. What was that about?

PRESIDENT CARTER: The only complaint that I received from the political parties was concerning the future actions of the Elections Council (CEP). They were less than comfortable with the CEP. I conveyed these complaints to the government and the CEP. The main concern that they expressed was the choice of the election administrators of the departments (BEDs) and whether they would be fair in dealing with all political parties and not show favoritism. The president of the election council said he was aware of the concern and that they wanted to hire impartial administrators.

Q: You have said that you were travelling in an unofficial capacity and yet you will report to President Clinton and other U.S. government officials. Don't you see a contradiction there?

PRESIDENT CARTER: No, I don't. I come here as a college professor, representing the Carter Center and the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government. Whenever I go to a foreign country, I always make a report to my President and to the Secretary of State. But [with only one exception - Haiti in September], I always go in a completely unofficial capacity. Obviously, Senator Nunn is part of our legislative branch of government, but General Powell and I are retired and private citizens.

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Q: Why did you ask President Aristide to be neutral?

PRESIDENT CARTER: I did not ask President Aristide to be neutral. He told me he wanted to act as a referee and be neutral. It is not my role or desire to suggest to President Aristide suggestions what his role should be in elections in his country.

Mrs. Rosalynn Carter: I've just wanted to mention how pleased I was to learn of the important role played by so many Haitian women in the new democratic government. I was also pleased to learn that the qualifying fee for women to be candidates for office is half that of men, and I think that will encourage poor women to get into government.

PRESIDENT CARTER: We want to thank all of the people who welcomed us here. Tanya Domi and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs was very important and help, as was General George Fisher of the Multinational Force and U.S. Ambassador Swing and all of the people at the U.S. Embassy and the OAS and UN representatives. Thanks to all of them.

**SCHEDULE OF MEETING**

Appendix # 6

**President and Mrs. Jimmy Carter, Prime Minister George Price,  
Senator Sam Nunn, Gen. Colin Powell, Dr. Robert Pastor**

**Mission to Haiti, February 23-26, 1995**

**Thursday, February 23**

- 1:30pm Arrival of President and Mrs. Carter, former Prime Minister George Price of Belize, Dr. Robert Pastor (Carter Center/Council), and Amb. Gordon Streeb (Carter Center/GDI). [Hereafter Carter Delegation]
- 2:30-3:30pm Carter delegation meet with Colin Granderson, Executive Director (OAS/UN International Civilian Mission), Ian Martin (ICM) Nguyen Dong, Chief of UN Electoral Advisory Unit, and Ross Mountain, UNDP Resident Representative.
- 4:00-5:30pm Carter delegation meet with leaders of 18 political parties sponsored by the National Democratic Institute. See attached list (A)
- 6:00-7:00pm Carter delegation and Richard DeBobes, staff of Senate Armed Services Committee, meet with President Aristide, Prime Minister Smarck Michel, Foreign Minister Claudette Werleigh, Minister of the Presidency Leslie Voltaire, and Ms. Laura Flynn at National Palace.
- 8:00-10:00pm Dinner hosted by U.S. Ambassador William Swing at Residence. See attached list. (B)

**Friday, February 24**

- 7:30-8:45am Carter delegation meet with Dr. Anselme Remy, President of the Conseil Electorale Provisoire (CEP) and other members.
- 9:00-10:00am Carter delegation meets with representatives of Ministries of Education and of Agriculture.
- 10:30am Sen. Nunn and Gen. Powell arrive and join Carter delegation to receive briefing on security, police, and UNMIH transition at Multinational Force (MNF) with Major General Fisher, Amb. Swing, Col. Fulton, Col. Pouillot
- 12:20pm-1:15pm Delegation visit National Police Academy for ICYTAP briefing, and meeting with members of first class of Academy.

- 3:15-5:30pm Carter/Price visits Archaie and Cap Haiten - Special Forces unit, Transition Initiatives reps, CARICOM unit, local political leaders
- Nunn/Powell depart for visits of a similar purpose to: (1) Les Cayes and (2) Jacmel
- 7:30-9:30pm Dinner hosted by President Jean Bertrand Aristide at his Residence, with entire Carter delegation; and Prime Minister Smarck Michel, President of the Supreme Court, President of the CEP, President of the Senate Fermin Jean-Louis, Ambassador William Swing, General George Fisher, Mildred Trouillot, Laura Flynn

**Saturday, February 25**

- 7:15-8:15am Entire delegation meet with Port-au-Prince Mayor Evans Paul
- 7:45-8:15am Nunn/Powell meet with Maj. Gen. Campbell and Civil Affairs officers
- 8:30-9:30am Carter team meet with members of the Working Group of the Truth and Justice Commission and of human rights groups: Necker Dessables (Commission on Justice and Peace), Paul Dejean, et.al, (Plateforme, Haitian Rights Organization), Jean Robert Vaval et. al. (Centre Ecumenique de Droits Haitian), Pierre Esperance et. al. (National Coalition for Haitian Refugees), Jean Gardy Theodore et. al. (National Platform Popular Organizations, PLANOP), Ron Voss (Parish Twinning Program), and Camille Leblanc (Min. of Justice) [Mde. Francoise Boucard was invited but did not attend]
- Nunn/Powell meet with USAID Director Larry Crandall
- 9:30-10:30am Expanded Carter delegation meet with representatives of selected political parties: Rene Theodore (MRN), Marc Bazin (MIDH), and Duly Brutus (PANPRA)
- 10:30-11:15am Carter/Price meet with religious figures: Fr. Jean-Yves Urfrie (Libete), Msgr. Zachee Curacin (Episcopal Bishop), Mr. and Mrs. Edouard Paultre (Protestant Federation). [Msgr. Louis Kebreau, Auxilliary Bishop of Port-au-Prince, invited but did not attend]

Nunn/Powell visit National Penitentiary and U.S. soldiers

11:15-11:30am Carter meets with Min. of Agriculture, Francois Sevrin

11:30-12:15pm Carter delegation meet with representatives of selected political parties: Gerard Pierre Charles (OPL), and Tuneb Delpe (PNDPH), Reinald Bernardin (PNDPH). [The following were invited but did not attend: Rene Preval, Chavannes Jean-Baptiste, Reynald Bernadin]

12:30-1:30pm Expanded Carter delegation visit the CEP and meet with Anselme Remy, CEP President, and with 7 other members of the CEP

2:00-2:45pm Delegation visits GOC University of Haiti. Carter, Nunn, and Powell receive honorary degrees from GOC University.

3:15-3:30pm Carter, Price, Nunn, and Powell give short statements, and Q&A with U.S. press

4:15-5:00pm Expanded Carter delegation meet with President Aristide and Leslie Voltaire at Residence in Tabarre.

5:15-6:00pm Carter, Price, Nunn, Powell and delegation visit U.S. 2nd Brigade at Warrior Base.

6:15-6:45pm Carter, Price, Nunn, and Powell hold press conference at airport.

7:00pm Carter, Nunn, and Powell depart for U.S.

**Sunday, February 26**

6:00-10:00 A.M. Price and remainder of delegation consult on mission report and possible follow-up activities

10:00 A.M. Price and remainder of delegation departs



# NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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■ FAX (202) 939-3166

■ E-Mail 5979039@MCI.MAIL.COM

## LIST OF CONFIRMED PARTICIPANTS TO THE CARTER MEETING

Villa Créole

Thursday, February 23, 1995

### OPL

Mr. Gérard Pierre Charles  
Mr. Paul Denis

### URN

Mr. Evans Nicolas  
Mrs. Emusgathe Aimé

### PNDPH - FNCD

Mr. Tuneb Delpé  
Mr. Jacques Bernadin

### MNP-28

Mr. Déjean Bélizaire  
Mr. Jean André Victor

### MDN

Dr. Hubert de Ronceray  
Mr. Max Carré

### MODEL-PRDH

Mr. Francois Latortue  
Mr. Marc Renaud Bernadin

### MOP

Mr. Ernst Pedro Casséus  
Mr. André Beauplan

### PANPRA

Mr. Serge Gilles  
Mr. Duly Brutus

### KID

Mr. Evans Paul  
Mr. Marc André Paul



KONAKOM

Mr. Micha Gaillard  
Mr. Edmond Mirol

RDNP

Mr. Fritz Benjamin  
Mr. Martial Célestin

PDCH

Mr. Joachim Pierre  
Mr. Jean Robert Sterling

MIDH

Mr. Michel Géhy  
Mr. Jean Robert Symonise

PNT

Mr. Rémy Zamor  
Mr. Frantz Bataille

MKN

Dr. Volvick Rémy Joseph  
Mr. Ludès Molière

ALAH

Mr. Reynold Georges  
Dr. Marie Hélène L.Georges

PAIN

Mr. Louis Déjoie  
Mr. Carnot Duval

MRN

Mr. René Théodore  
Mr. Cinéus Jones



GUEST LIST  
DINNER

In Honor of Former President Jimmy Carter  
On Thursday, February 23, 1995 at 8:00 o'clock  
At the Residence  
Tenue de ville

GUESTS OF HONOR

Former President and Mrs. Jimmy Carter	
The Honorable George Price	Former Prime Minister of Belize
Dr. Robert Pastor	
Ambassador Gordon Streeb	

GOVERNMENT OF HAITI

Prime Minister and Mrs. Smarck Michel	
Dr. Lise Marie Dejean	Minister of Women Affairs
Mr. Anthony Verdier	Minister of the Environment
Ms. Maryse Penette	Secretary of State for Tourism

OFFICIALS OF THE GOVERNMENT

Mr. Leslie Delatour	Governor of the Central Bank
Mr. Jean Edouard Baker	President, Presidential Commission on Growth and Economic Modernization

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Dr. Marie Andree Diouf	Resident Representative, PAHO
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PRIVATE SECTOR

Mr. Guy Cuvilly	General Manager, Bank of Boston
Mr. Edouard Baussan	Unibank
Mr. Fritz Brandt	USMAN

OTHER

Mr. Douglas Brinkley	Author
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U.S. MISSION

General George Fischer	
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HOSTS

Ambassador and Mrs. Swing	
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## RESOLUTION OF PARTY LEADERS SUMMIT

Legally registered parties, signatory of the present Resolution, convened in Summit on February 6 and 9, 1995, conscious of the importance of the forthcoming local, municipal and parliamentary elections wish to fully play their role as legitimate and political actors during the up coming electoral process. They consider the parties as the basis for the flourishing of representative Democracy to be built in Haiti.

Therefore they kindly ask the Provisional Electoral Council to take into consideration the following request:

1- That the Provisional Electoral Council choose by means of lottery two thirds of the administrators of the departemental Electoral Bureaus (BED in french), Communal Electoral Bureaus (BEC) and Registration and Voting Bureaus (BIV) from a list submitted by legally registered political parties in the presence of duly authorized representatives of said parties. The other third remaining shall be chosen in complete independence by the Provisional Electoral Council.

2- That the Provisional Electoral Council establish a permanent mechanism of consultation and dialogue with legally registered political parties.

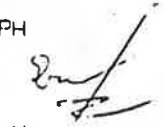
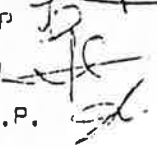
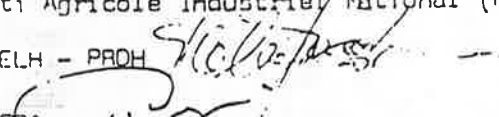
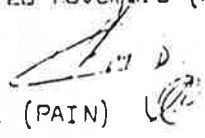
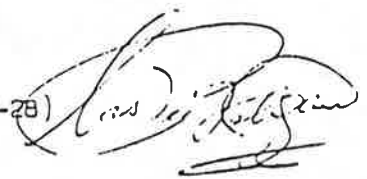
Convinced of the intrinsic value of the present request, the political parties signatory of the present resolution, take the opportunity to express to the Provisional Electoral Council their patriotic salute.

Port-au-Prince, February 9, 1995

Following are the signatures

LISTE DES PARTIS SIGNATAIRES

- Mouvement National Patriotique du 28 Novembre (MNP-28)
- Mouvement Kombite Nationale (MKN)
- Parti Agricole Industriel National (PAIN)
- MOELH - PROH
- PANFOA
- MIDH
- ROPF
- MON
- M.O.P.
- ALAH - Alliance pour la Libération & l'Avancement d'Haïti
- MRN
- PNDPH
- PMT
- P.S.H.
- P.D.C.H.



ELECTORAL CALENDAR HAITI1995 LEGISLATIVE AND GENERAL ELECTIONS

- 21-23 February: Reception of BED (departmental electoral bureaus) candidates' names
- 27 February: Nomination of BED members and publication of BED member lists
- 5-14 March: Recruitment of BEC (communal electoral bureaus) members and DECs (communal section delegates)
- 15 March: Nomination and installation of BECs and DECs
- 11-14 March: Identification of voting sites
- 15-20 March: Recruitment of registration and voting officials
- 16-24 March: Distribution of registration materials
- 26 March - 17 April: Voter registration
- 27 March - 3 April: Candidate filing
- 28 March - 6 April: Challenges to candidates' registration
- 24 April: Publication of candidate lists; campaigning begins
- 2 June: Campaigning ends
- 26 May - 3 June: Distribution of voting materials
- 4 June: First round of elections
- 25 June: Run-off elections, if required



*Emile Jonassaint*  
*Président Provisoire de la République*

September 18, 1994

**AN AGREEMENT REACHED IN PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI**

- 1.- The purpose of this agreement is to foster peace in Haiti, to avoid violence and bloodshed, to promote freedom and democracy, and to forge a sustained and mutually beneficial relationship between the Governments, people, and institutions of Haiti and the United States.
- 2.- To implement this agreement, the Haitian military and police forces will work in close cooperation with the U.S. military Mission. This cooperation, conducted with mutual respect, will last during the transitional period required for insuring vital institutions of the country.
- 3.- In order to personally contribute to the success of this agreement, certain military officers of the Haitian Armed Forces are willing to consent to an early and honorable retirement in accordance with UN Resolutions 917 and 940 when a general amnesty will be voted into law by the Haitian Parliament, or October 15, 1994, whichever is earlier. The parties to this agreement pledge to work with the Haitian Parliament to expedite this action. Their successors will be named according to the Haitian Constitution and existing military law.
- 4.- The military activities of the U.S. Military Mission will be coordinated with the Haitian military high command.

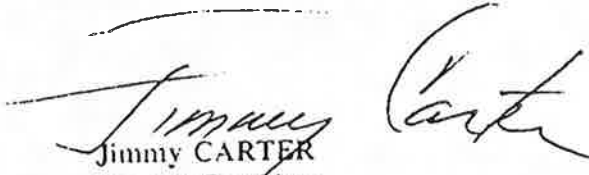
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-2-

- 5.- The economic embargo and the economic sanctions will be lifted without delay in accordance with relevant U.N. Resolutions and the need of the Haitian people will be met as quickly as possible.
- 6.- The forthcoming legislative elections will be held in a free and democratic manner.
- 7.- It is understood that the above agreement is conditioned on the approval of the civilian governments of the United States and Haiti.

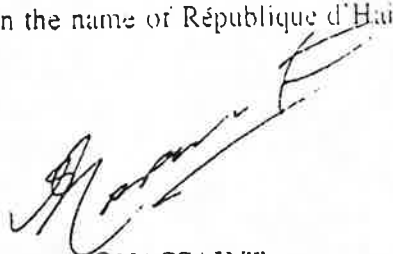
Have signed at the Palais National of Port-au-Prince, Haiti on September 18th 1994, In 191th of the Independance.

in the name of the President of  
the United States of America  
William Jefferson CLINTON



Jimmy CARTER  
Former President  
of the United States of America  
Chief Negotiator of the Presidential  
Mission of the United States of America  
In Haiti

In the name of République d'Haiti



Emile JONASSAINT  
Provisory Presidente  
of République d'Haiti

En répondant donnez ce No.  
comme référence



GRAND QUARTIER GENERAL  
FORCES ARMEES D'HAITI  
PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI

September 20<sup>th</sup>, 1994

President James E. CARTER  
CARTER CENTER  
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. President,

The High Command of the Haitian Armed Forces welcomes the agreement reached in Port-au-Prince on the 18<sup>th</sup> of September 1994. It is grateful to the role played by the Carter Mission, without which such agreement could not have been reached.

So as to assure the strict application of its terms and, consequently, its success, it is highly recommended that a commission be put to place to control its application.

It is only natural that this commission be formed by the architects of this agreement.

In the hope that you share these preoccupations, we await your comments.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Raoul Cedras', written over a horizontal line.

Raoul CEDRAS  
Commander in Chief  
Armed Forces of Haiti

RC/yp

Haiti.Report/January 7, 1995

ASSESSMENT MISSION TO HAITI, DECEMBER 11-14, 1994

HON. MICHAEL MANLEY, FORMER PRIME MINISTER, JAMAICA  
DR. ROBERT PASTOR, CARTER CENTER

COUNCIL OF FREELY-ELECTED HEADS OF GOVERNMENT  
CARTER CENTER, EMORY UNIVERSITY

### Executive Summary

A mission of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government, an informal group of 25 leaders of the Americas, based at the Carter Center of Emory University, visited Haiti from December 11-14, 1994 at the invitation of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. The mission was led by Council member and former Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley and Dr. Robert Pastor, Executive Secretary of the Council and Director of the Carter Center's Latin American and Caribbean Program. The purpose of the mission was to assess the country's political and economic climate and explore whether the Council could assist in democratic consolidation and economic development. The mission met with the President and Prime Minister, leaders from Parliament, political parties, business, the military, and the international community.

The mission concluded that despite severe social, economic, and security problems, Haiti has now the best opportunity in its 200 year history to forge a democracy and construct a free-market economy that will benefit all the nation's people. What makes the current period different and more promising is the invitation that Haitians have extended to the international community to help and the ample support given in response. Although President Aristide was restored to power on October 15th, progress is already evident. Nonetheless, the prospects for consolidating democracy are uncertain and will depend on decisions made in Haiti and the international community during the next 1-5 years.

The military situation is secure and likely to remain so while the Multinational Force (MNF) stays. The transition to UN control in March will be smooth if the UN force remains alert and quick to respond to political violence. The greatest threat to democracy will occur when the international force leaves, particularly if it is before February 1996. The training for the Interim Security Public Force is going well, and most of these forces are being received favorably by the Haitian population. The International Police Academy is ready to begin training its first recruits in early 1995. Understandable concerns by all sides about the present and future security forces remain a continuing source of tension. The Aristide government believes the MNF is not disarming the attaches with sufficient vigor; others, including many Haitian military officers, fear that Aristide is trying to replace the army with his own.



The political situation is complicated and tenuous now and likely to worsen during the course of the year because of (a) the country's profound social and economic divisions; (b) weak institutions; (c) the lack of consensus among the political elite on basic democratic principles; (d) the failure of political leaders to build national parties; and (e) the country's lack of experience in democratic governance.

Due to these factors, administering Parliamentary elections will be very difficult, and indeed, the process of establishing an Elections Commission (EC) was dangerously slow. Much of the mission's time was spent with political leaders trying to overcome mutual suspicions and stimulate a consensus that would facilitate the establishment of an EC. While many opposition leaders are increasingly fearful of President Aristide's popular support, they were willing to accept elections for the Parliament as soon as possible. The mission discussed the need to establish the EC with President Aristide, and he understood the urgency. Within five days of the mission's departure, he established the EC, and the nine members were named. The EC will decide the date for the election based on the amount of time needed to prepare for it. We estimate that elections are unlikely before early April.

A major political challenge during the campaign period will be to work with party leaders to help them to understand that irregularities and delays are more likely due to administrative inadequacies than to government conspiracies. The U.N., which is helping the government organize the elections, is eager for the Council to play a role in keeping the administrative and political process moving and on track.

President Aristide informed the mission that he would establish a Truth Commission (he did so on December 17) to investigate human rights crimes that occurred between the military coup on September 29, 1991 and his return on October 15th.

The economy is beginning to recover with visible new private investments and an increase in the number of new cars. Increased security in the rural areas is also permitting the economy there to re-start. The impact of foreign aid is not yet visible.

Everyone praised the agreement negotiated by Carter, Senator Nunn, and General Powell to facilitate the return to power by the constitutional government. Had the agreement not been reached, according to General Meade, the head of the MNF, thousands of Haitians would have died in the invasion, and the resentment and anger would have made it very difficult, perhaps impossible, to maintain security in the country. All hoped that Carter, Manley, the Council, Nunn, and Powell would help democracy take root. President Aristide told Dr. Pastor on December 14 that "we [the Council/Carter Center and he] are partners" in building democracy, and he wanted Carter and Manley to return soon and often.

Based on an exchange of letters between President Aristide and Carter, the Council mission focused on three areas. The mission recommends that the Council give highest priority to monitoring the electoral process and promoting a national dialogue as the twin vehicles for building a democratic foundation in Haiti. Second, the mission recommends a modest strategy for facilitating development with the help of U.S. universities in the areas of reforestation and education. To provide some momentum in these areas, President Aristide expressed interest in a visit by Carter, Manley, and several others in January. He asked whether a suitable event could be arranged to promote tree-planting and school-building. Third, the mission recommends supporting the efforts of the Truth Commission in a way that will end impunity without generating new tensions.



JIMMY CARTER

October 12, 1994

To President Jean-Bertrand Aristide

As we discussed this morning here are some thoughts about how The Carter Center might be involved in the future of your country. After so long, you will return this week to Haiti, bringing with you the hopes of millions of your people for democracy and justice. No one in history has touched so many of your people as you have, nor enjoyed so much international support as you.

In the past three years, you have spoken many times with me and your other fellow members of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government, which monitored the elections that you won in December 1990, about the causes of the tragic coup d'etat against your government in September 1991. I know you have learned much from that event and from your prior experience in governing, and are now prepared to meet new challenges and opportunities.

You were generous in inviting me, Rosalynn, and Dr. Robert Pastor to you inauguration on February 7, 1991. It was a moving experience for all of us. We were impressed by your speech and your emphasis on national reconciliation. On behalf of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government and The Carter Center, I offered to assist your new government.

In the spirit of the second chance, I would like to reiterate the offer but this time, I am prepared to be more specific. If you think we could be helpful to you or your government, we are prepared to assist with three sets of projects.

1. Elections. As we did four years ago, we would be pleased to work with the Elections Commission and the parties to ensure that the Parliamentary elections in December and future elections are free, fair, and respected by all parties. Our Council members could help mediate problems and build confidence in the democratic system to which you are so dedicated.

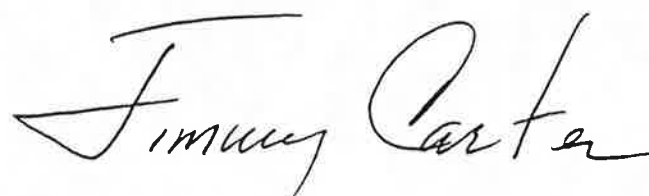
2. Economic Development/Education. You have been correct in placing so much emphasis on education as a pivotal factor in economic development. I have spoken with the President of the University of Georgia, Dr. Charles Knapp, who worked in my Administration, regarding a possible role for the University System of Georgia (including 6 universities and 13 senior colleges) in assisting you in rebuilding the educational infrastructure in Haiti. If you are interested, I would ask Dr. Knapp to organize a small team from the University of Georgia to go to Haiti to work with your educators to prepare a strategy for rebuilding Haiti's institutions of higher education, increasing student and faculty exchanges between Haiti and the United States, and developing a training program to improve and update the skills of administrators, teachers, and professors.

3. Reconciliation and Justice. We had a meeting at The Carter Center to discuss the problem of how to balance the need for justice with the need for reconciliation. I know that you have spent a good deal of time working on this issue as well. The amnesty law goes part of the way to meet some of the concerns. We would be pleased to share with you the findings from our conference on the subject and to provide whatever assistance you believe would be helpful to assure both justice and reconciliation.

These are just three ideas that we would be prepared to pursue as you assume the burdens of office. I would be pleased to discuss these ideas with you, or if it would be more convenient, I could send Dr. Pastor to meet with you.

Michael Manley and other members of the Council have struggled along with you during these difficult years. We all wish you well in the future.

Sincerely,



His Excellency Jean-Bertrand Aristide  
President of the Republic of Haiti  
Port-au-Prince  
c/o Embassy of Haiti  
Washington, D.C.

cc: Michael Manley



Président de la République  
de la République d'Haiti

PRH/LF/042

Port-au-Prince, November 10, 1994

Dear President Carter:

I take this opportunity to thank you once again for all your efforts to support Haitian democracy.

In your letter of October 12, which I received just before leaving Washington, you outlined some areas of interest of the Carter Center in regards to Haiti's future. I write to you now to assure you whatever participation you offer will be welcome.

The restoration of democracy to Haiti could not have been achieved without both the determination of the Haitian people, and the assistance of the international community. In the days and weeks ahead we know Haiti will continue to need support and assistance from abroad as we seek to deepen the roots of our democracy and to build the institutions that will sustain it.

Given the tremendous challenges that Haiti faces after three devastating years, I and my government stand ready to welcome the participation of international groups.

I understand that Bob Pasteur and Michael Manley are considering traveling to Haiti in the near future. I look forward to welcoming them to Haiti and to the Palace. I hope that I may soon welcome you to Haiti as well.

Sincerely,

Jean-Bertrand Aristide

President Jimmy Carter  
The Carter Center  
Atlanta, Georgia 30307

THE  
CARTER CENTER  
OF EMORY UNIVERSITY

February 1, 1995

To Senator Sam Nunn and General Colin Powell

As you know, I asked Michael Manley and Bob Pastor to visit Haiti last December in order to assess the security, political, and economic climate. Their report, which I asked Bob to send to you, describes a country on the edge between hope and history. Because of the agreement that we negotiated, Haiti has an opportunity to fashion a democracy with an economy that could benefit all of its people, but the poverty and repression of the past could undermine those hopes.

Based on their report and because of the very strong invitation that President Aristide and others in Haiti extended to me, Michael, and you, I have decided to return to Haiti on February 23-26. I am writing to ask if you would join us. Let me briefly describe our agenda and if there is any chance that you can go, I will ask Bob Pastor to give you a fuller briefing, perhaps when he is in Washington late next week.

First of all, the process toward Parliamentary and municipal elections is moving so slowly that it could create a serious political and constitutional crisis at the very moment of transition to the UN Force. The United Nations, which is working closest with the Haitian government and electoral authorities, has asked us to help, and we have had a lot of experience in Haiti (in 1987 and 1990) and elsewhere. Secondly, given our negotiations and the growing fears of some about a possible elimination of the Haitian military, we ought to review the security situation and the training of the new police force. Third, President Aristide has given priority to forestry, higher education, and housing and has asked us to find an appropriate way to mobilize his people and the international community in these areas. I would welcome your comments and views as to these issues or any others that you think we should explore.

Frankly, I feel that because of our experience in September, we have a stake in making sure that Haiti succeeds, and according to Michael and Bob's report, there seems overwhelming enthusiasm for us to help. I hope that you can join me on this trip.

Sincerely,

## Latin American and Caribbean Program

### THE COUNCIL OF FREELY ELECTED HEADS OF GOVERNMENT

The Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government is an informal group of 25 current and former heads of government from throughout the Americas. The Council was established in November 1986 at a meeting chaired by former U.S. Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford on "Reinforcing Democracy in the Americas" at the Carter Center. The Council's goals are to reinforce democracy in the Americas, promote multilateral efforts to resolve conflict in the hemisphere, and to advance regional economic cooperation.

The Council has been a pioneer in mediating and observing elections. The Council or its representatives have observed 12 elections in 9 countries: Panama (1989, 1994), Nicaragua (1989-1990), the Dominican Republic (1990), Haiti (1987, 1990), Guyana (1990-1992), Suriname (1991), the United States (1992), Paraguay (1993), and Mexico (1992, 1994). The elections in Nicaragua and Haiti were the first free elections accepted by all parties in the two nations' histories, and in Guyana, the first such elections in 28 years. The Council has worked since the elections to help consolidate democracy in Guyana, Nicaragua, and Panama.

After the agreement negotiated by President Jimmy Carter, Senator Sam Nunn, and General Colin Powell in September 1994 in Haiti, and the return the next month of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the Council sent a mission led by former Prime Minister Michael Manley and Dr. Robert Pastor to assess whether the Council could be helpful there. President Aristide and other Haitian leaders invited the Council to be "partners" in building democracy.

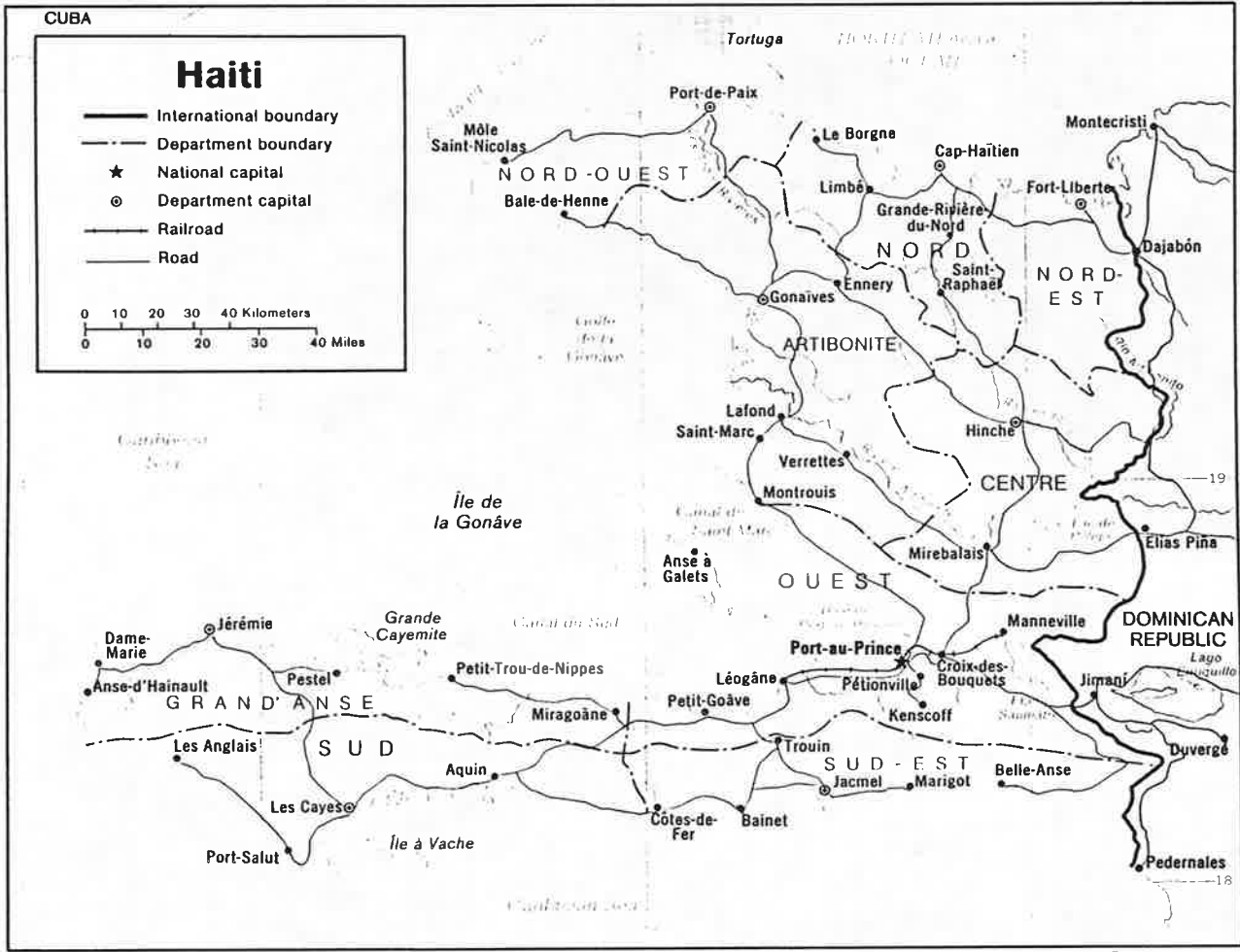
The Council is based at the Latin American and Caribbean Program of the Carter Center of Emory University. Dr. Robert Pastor, Fellow at the Center, is Executive Secretary of the Council; Dr. David Carroll is Associate Director; Dr. Jennifer McCoy, Senior Research Associate; and Ms. Harriette Martin, Administrative Assistant.

#### Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government - Members

Jimmy Carter, Chairman of the Council, former U.S. President (1977-81)  
George Price, Vice-Chairman, former Prime Minister of Belize (1981-84, 1989-1993; Premier, 1965-1981)

Jean-Bertrand Aristide, President of Haiti (1991-present)  
Rafael Caldera, President of Venezuela (1969-1974, 1994-present)  
John Compton, Prime Minister of St. Lucia (1987-present)  
P.J. Patterson, Prime Minister of Jamaica (1992-present)  
Julio Maria Sanguinetti, Uruguayan President (1985-1989, 1995-present)

Raúl Alfonsín, former Argentine President (1983-1989)  
Nicholas Ardito-Barletta, former Panamanian President (1984-1985)  
Oscar Arias Sánchez, former Costa Rican President (1986-1990)  
Patricio Aylwin Azocar, former President of Chile (1990-1994)  
Fernando Belaunde Terry, former Peruvian President (1963-1968, 1980-1985)  
Belisario Betancur, former Colombian President (1982-1986)  
Rodrigo Carazo, former Costa Rican President (1978-1982)  
Vinicio Cerezo, former Guatemalan President (1986-1990)  
Joseph Clark, former Canadian Prime Minister (1979-1980)  
Gerald Ford, former U.S. President (1974-1977)  
Osvaldo Hurtado, former Ecuadoran President (1981-1984)  
Luis Alberto Lacalle, President of Uruguay (1989-1995)  
Alfonso López Michelsen, former Colombian President (1974-1978)  
Michael Manley, former Jamaican Prime Minister (1972-1980, 1988-1992)  
Carlos Andrés Pérez, former Venezuelan President (1974-1979, 1989-1993)  
Erskine Sandiford, former Prime Minister of Barbados (1987-1994)  
Edward Seaga, former Jamaican Prime Minister (1980-1988)  
Pierre Trudeau, former Canadian Prime Minister (1968-1979)



# Still in shambles, Haiti struggles to restore electricity, basic services

By Anne-Marie O'Connor  
STAFF CORRESPONDENT

**P**ort-au-Prince, Haiti — When President Jean-Bertrand Aristide returned from exile four months ago, his biggest concern was for his life. Now it's bringing electricity to his people.

In Haiti's tortured context, that is viewed as progress.

Long the poorest nation in the hemisphere, Haiti is still in shambles. After three years of military rule, it is desperate for foreign assistance in everything from medical care to judicial reform.

Constant blackouts are stalling economic recovery and giving nighttime cover to criminals. Dialing the telephone is like spinning a roulette wheel. Bumper-to-bumper traffic snarls are a daily plague.

Difficult as life is, however, Haiti has made a giant step forward from the terror-filled days when political violence was so widespread that parents stopped sending their children to school.

When former President Jimmy Carter arrives Thursday on a visit to help the Haitians prepare for upcoming elections, he will find much has changed since his dramatic 11th-hour mediation last September that averted a U.S. military invasion and led to the peaceful departure of the dictator.

## Doing rather well'

"They're doing what they can with what they have, and I think they're doing rather well," said Eric Falt, the spokesman for the United Nations mission in Haiti.

The biggest immediate challenge is turning on the lights. The power shortage is worst in Port-au-Prince, home to most factories and big businesses along with the country's sprawling slums.

The democratic government installed by Aristide inherited a power system that had been virtually destroyed by the military regime, which over its three years in power plundered the country of its resources.

Regardless of who is to blame, Haitians now expect the Aristide government to solve the electricity problem, which has become a powerful symbol of the difficulties in providing even the most basic public services.

French technicians are repairing the central power station in Port-au-Prince, and Canada is sending two generators that can be employed until the rainy season reactivates the run-down hydroelectric generator at the Peigre dam, Falt said.

Concern over Aristide's safety remains strong enough that his security advisers keep his public outings to a bare minimum, both to protect him and to preserve the delicate balance of stability in Haiti.

"The last thing we need is for something to happen to Aristide," U.S. Embassy spokesman Stan Schrage said. "Obviously, the inclination is to be as careful as possible."

## U.S. troops 'a deliverance'

Many Haitians credit the U.S. troops, who arrived in September to help restore Aristide, for the country's relative tranquillity. The only blot has been a wave of crime and theft whose recent victims include the sister of an Aristide bodyguard, who was killed during a robbery.

Graffiti on Port-au-Prince walls beg the U.S. military to remain in Haiti indefinitely. Slogans such as "Thank You, Americans" and "Americans, Stay in Haiti" can be seen throughout the capital.

"All Haitians believe in the American troops," said Joseph Ravec, 65, a squatter on municipal land in downtown Port-au-Prince. "Their arrival was a deliverance. Now, Haiti has been granted a second independence."

The U.S. force, originally more than 20,000 troops and Marines, is now fewer than 6,000.

The Pentagon is officially handing over peacekeeping duties March 31 to a 7,000-strong U.N. military and police force, raising fears that army loyalists will creep out of the woodwork and renew political violence. About a third of the U.N. force will be Americans, and a U.S. general will lead them until a new Haitian president is inaugurated in February 1996.

"Most of the people were happy to see the Americans come," said Colin Granderson, head of the U.N. observer group in Haiti. "There is a general fear that if the Americans leave, things will slip back into the past."

Speculation that Aristide would like to remain in office beyond 1996 is dismissed by his friends and advisers.

However, he is seriously considering running for one more nonconsecutive term, which he is permitted by the Haitian Constitution. That would return him to office in February 2001.



# Heading back to Haiti



Associated Press

**Former President Jimmy Carter** waves before boarding a plane today at Hartsfield International Airport, en route to Haiti. Carter, who played a key role in ending military rule in Haiti last fall, is returning for a three-day visit in hopes of bolstering the nation's fragile democracy. **Article, A8.**

# Carter making return visit to Haiti

## Nunn, Powell also to assess progress under Aristide rule

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Former President Jimmy Carter, who played a key role in ending military rule in Haiti last fall, is making a return visit in hopes of bolstering the country's fragile democracy.

Carter left Atlanta today on a commercial flight, accompanied by aide Robert Pastor. Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) and retired Gen. Colin Powell, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, are to join him Friday.

Carter said in a statement he will "explore ways in which we might be helpful in reinforcing a free and fair electoral process." Also on the agenda during his three-day visit is a review of the international aid effort in Haiti.

The next major democratic test for Haiti is scheduled June 4, when the first round of legislative and local elections takes place. Presidential elections are set for December.

Pastor said Carter's main purpose is to assess progress since President Jean-Bertrand Aristide returned to power and possibly to make recommendations for the upcoming elections.

Pastor said tensions in Haiti appear to have diminished since their last visit, and there is no concern about personal safety.

"I'm expecting a very warm welcome by the people of Haiti in a free country that didn't exist when we were there last time," he said.

Carter, Nunn and Powell were instrumental last October in inducing the departure of Haiti's military leadership, leading to the unopposed arrival of the U.S.-led multinational force.

They will meet with Aristide, government officials and political party leaders, among others.



**Jimmy Carter** said he will "assess the progress being made" toward democracy and free elections.

## Carter plans to aid Haiti in elections

### Nunn and Powell due in capital today

By Elizabeth Kurylo  
STAFF WRITER

**Port-au-Prince, Haiti** — Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter said he will assess Haiti's progress toward democracy and free elections during a three-day visit that began Thursday.

Though the visit is unofficial, many in the government in Haiti view Carter as favoring the former military regime and fear an attempt to meddle in parliamentary and local elections scheduled June 4.

U.S. Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) and retired Gen. Colin Powell, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, were scheduled to arrive today.

It is a homecoming of sorts for the Carter team, whose intervention helped lead to the exile of military ruler Raoul Cédras and other leaders of the coup that overthrew the government of elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 1991. Their mission prevented a U.S. invasion, allowing for the peaceful deployment of U.S. and foreign troops in Haiti.

"I'm delighted to come back to Haiti," Carter said at the airport. "This is my ninth visit to this country. We are here at the invitation of President Aristide.

"We are here to assess the progress being made and see if we can be of help in an orderly election process, both for the Parliament on June 4th and for president later on this year."

Last fall, President Clinton had ordered an attack to oust the military and restore Aristide. After the Carter accord, about 20,000 U.S. troops peaceably occupied Haiti on Sept. 19. The mission will be turned over to the United Nations on March 31. Of the 6,000 troops to remain under U.N. command, about 2,400 will be from the United States.

But the Carter agreement allowed the military leaders to go into gilded exile and escape punishment for the bloody overthrow of Aristide and for thousands of deaths for which they share responsibility.

After arriving Thursday on a commercial flight from the United States, Carter's entourage sped away from the airport in a 12-car motorcade, with a U.S. military escort. Military vehicles led the motorcade and brought up the rear.

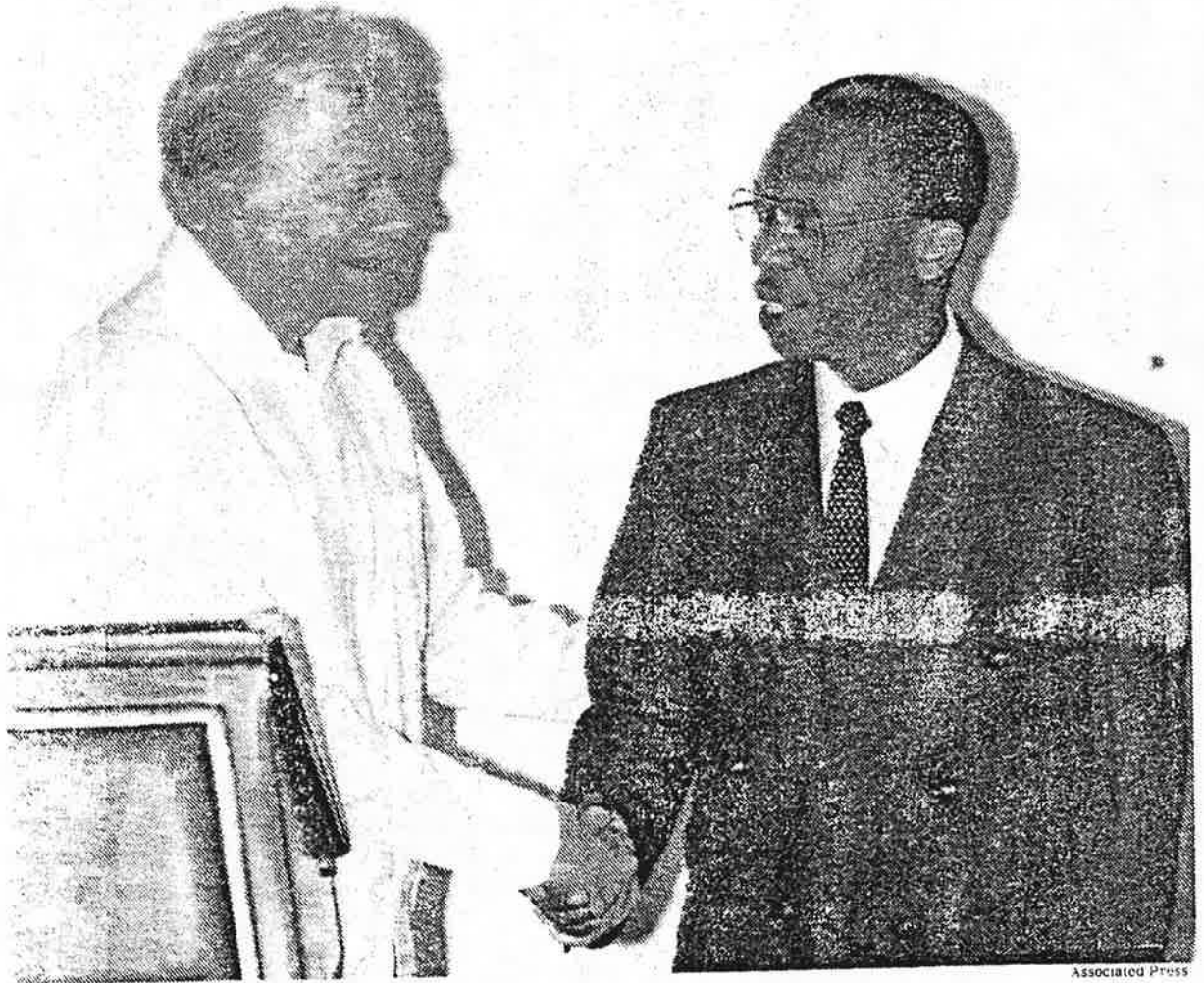
In a bumpy, 30-minute drive to his hotel, Carter saw graffiti that mocked him.

"Carter is not a true Democrat," was spray-painted in French and Creole in red letters across white brick walls along the street. Similar sentiments were on other walls throughout the city.

Carter joked about "a graffiti artist whose red paint has written words of welcome to me."

He grinned widely and called it a "lawless act, apparently by one who is against democracy and freedom but who doesn't represent the people of Haiti who adore those two attributes of human life."

*The Washington Post contributed to this article.*



Former President Jimmy Carter is greeted by the Haitian President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, yesterday.

## CARTER RECEIVED COOLLY IN HAITI

Foes Consider Ex-President  
Too Close to Dictators

By LARRY ROHTER  
Special to The New York Times

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Feb. 23 — Five months after he negotiated an agreement that averted an American invasion and restored President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power, Jimmy Carter returned to the scene of one of his greatest diplomatic triumphs today. But instead of receiving a hero's welcome, he was immediately plunged into the turmoil of Haitian domestic politics.

Invited by Mr. Aristide and scheduled to receive an honorary degree here, Mr. Carter landed here to find the walls of the capital covered with graffiti insulting him and no official representative of the Haitian Government at the airport to greet him. Mr. Carter met tonight with President Aristide, the man he helped restore to power, but was given the impression that some of the Haitian President's staff and supporters were chilly toward him.

Even so, he professed to be undeterred and eager to jump back into the fray in a country he has visited nine times over the last decade. "We are very glad to be back in Haiti, a country obviously dedicated to peace, human rights and democracy," he said upon arriving.

The former President was accompanied by his wife, Rosalynn. Senator Sam Nunn, Democrat of Georgia, and Gen. Colin Powell, who helped Mr. Carter negotiate the departure of Haiti's military dictators and the entry of 20,000 American troops, are to arrive Friday.

Their visit, which is to end Saturday night, comes at a delicate moment and is intended to examine the

*Continued on Page A6, Column 1*

## Carter, on Return Visit to Haiti, Gets a Cool Reception From Some

Continued From Page A1

most contentions issues facing Haiti. The priority, Mr. Carter said, is "to assess the progress being made, and to see if we can be of any help, in an orderly election process."

He said the delegation would also evaluate the security and economic conditions. He stressed that "we are not here in an official capacity," but also said that he would be reporting to President Clinton "and other officials."

On Monday, after months of negotiation and a new electoral code, the Haitian Government announced that elections for more than 2,000 legislative, county and municipal posts will be held on June 4, with a runoff on June 25. Jockeying for political advantage began immediately, and accelerated when it became known that Mr. Carter intended to meet with leaders of 18 different parties.

A day later, Mr. Aristide dismissed all four generals and 39 colonels and majors from the Haitian

Armed Forces. Almost immediately, rumors began circulating that Mr. Carter would attempt to persuade the President to rescind that action.

Some diplomats here described the timing of the military purge as a warning to Mr. Carter not to meddle in Haitian affairs. "He could have announced those changes any time he wanted, but he chose to do so three days before Carter was scheduled to arrive," one diplomat said.

In addition the country has been swept by rumors that sympathizers of the military regime may attempt to disrupt the Carnival celebration this weekend. A decree issued by the Ministries of the Interior, Defense and Justice on Wednesday spoke of efforts to subvert the government, thus increasing the unease among the populace.

The level of tension rose another notch just hours before Mr. Carter's arrival when Franck Romain, a former Mayor of Port-au-Prince and leader of the Tontons Macoute, the militia of the Duvalier family dictatorship, announced that he plans to

seek his old job in the upcoming elections. The Constitution prohibits "architects" of the Duvalier dictatorship from seeking office, but Mr. Romain said he considers the provision invalid.

Early in the week, anti-Carter graffiti in both Creole and English began appearing on walls of buildings here, including the American Embassy, the work of groups of young men who fled any time an American military patrol turned the corner. The slogans in English included obscene insults as well as: "Carter, We Don't Need You" and the ever-popular "Carter Go Home," while the Creole messages spoke of "Carter the fake democrat" and "Carter, lawyer for soldiers and thugs."

According to Haitian radio reports and some of the slogans, the graffiti was largely the work of the left wing of Mr. Aristide's Lavalas movement, which is suspicious of the American role here and of Mr. Carter's intentions. But some diplomats suggested clandestine pro-military groups trying to discredit Mr. Aristide were responsible.

Groups supporting Mr. Aristide were particularly angered by Mr. Carter's decision to invite representatives of right-wing parties, including several that supported the military dictatorship that overthrew Mr. Aristide in September 1991, to meet with him. More than a score of grass-roots organizations issued a statement this week saying that the Carter visit posed a danger to democracy.

In his statement, Mr. Carter jokingly described the graffiti as part of his official welcome. He went on, however, to describe it as "a lawless act, apparently by one who is against democracy and freedom but who doesn't represent the people of Haiti."

Asked last week what he planned to say to Mr. Carter during their meetings, Mr. Aristide replied: "The first thing I will be telling him is 'Thanks, President Carter, for what you did when you came here.'" He said Mr. Carter was responsible for "this peaceful environment which we have" and described his own return to power without bloodshed as "a miracle."

# Nunn, Powell

## get a scare in back-country town

**Supporting democracy:** The U.S. team hears of the needs of an impoverished nation.

**By Elizabeth Kurylo**  
STAFF WRITER

**J**acmel, Haiti — Sam Nunn and Colin Powell were sipping chilled colas and listening to a U.S. military briefing here Friday when a soldier's order interrupted.

"Lock it down now!" he shouted to some children playing outside the Special Forces headquarters, where the U.S. senator from Georgia and the retired chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff were meeting with U.S. military officials.

Immediately, several other soldiers in the room turned, cocked their M-16 rifles and ran to investigate.

"Sir, if you will excuse me, I have to take charge of this situation," said Capt. Daniel Jacobs, who was in the middle of making his report.

"Take off. Take off," Nunn said to him while waving toward the door.

As it turned out, it was only a child waving a toy gun, but with the retired general and prominent U.S. senator in the house, nothing is left to chance.

Powell and Nunn arrived Friday in Haiti to join former President Jimmy Carter on a fact-finding mission. They are trying to assess Haiti's progress toward democracy and whether the country is ready for parliamentary elections June 4.

The team stopped first at the National Police Academy outside Port-au-Prince to learn about how new recruits are being trained. They reviewed a group of about two dozen recruits, handsomely uniformed in white shirts, blue pants and blue caps.

"The future of Haiti and the future of democracy is in your hands," Carter told them. "The eyes of the world will be focused on how you do your duties. We are very proud of you and what you've done."

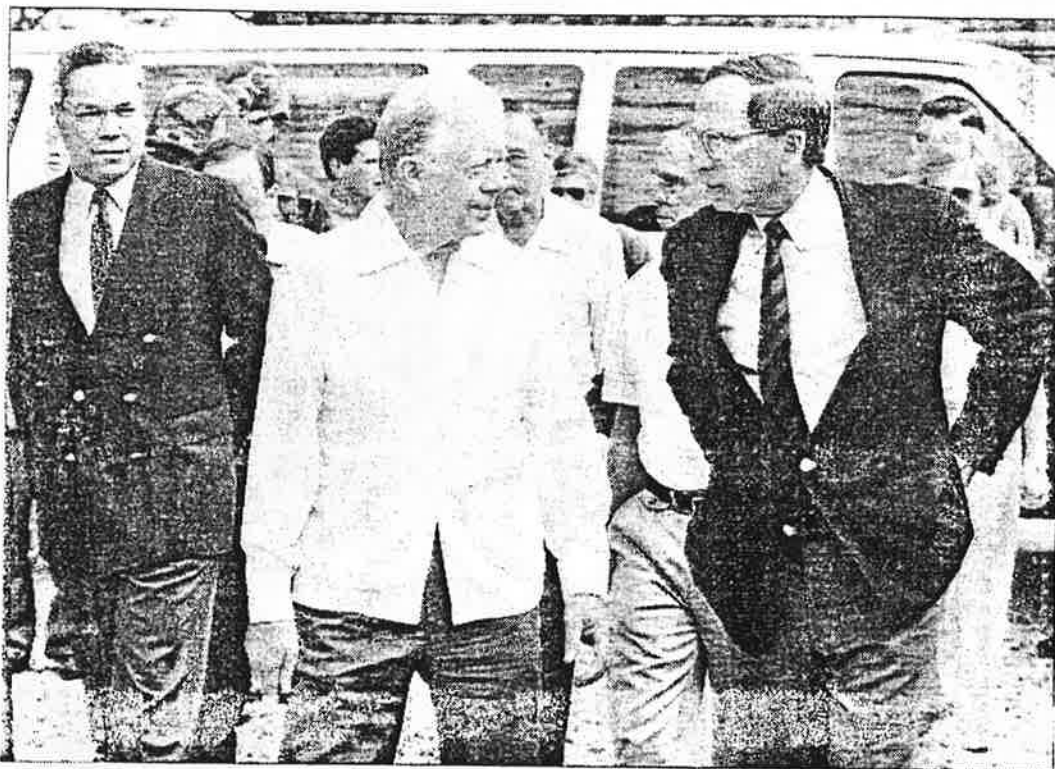
"Merci!" they shouted back in unison.

From there, Carter's team split up to spend the rest of the day exploring remote areas of Haiti by Black Hawk helicopter.

Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, went north to Cap Haitien and Archaie, where they visited U.S. troops and several schools that are being rebuilt.

Nunn and Powell, accompanied by U.S. Ambassador William Swing, traveled south to Les Cayes and Jacmel, where they talked with U.S. military officials and local military leaders. The tropical heat forced them to shed their suit jackets, but they seemed relaxed and inquisitive at the meetings.

Powell crisply saluted the new Haitian police who stood at attention to greet him as he arrived in Jacmel. He and Nunn talked to many of the recruits through an interpreter.



Associated Press

**Heading for a briefing Friday in Port-au-Prince are (from left) retired Gen. Colin Powell, former President Jimmy Carter and Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.).**

At Les Cayes, the 82-year-old mayor asked for Carter.

"I'm sorry, Madame Mayor," Powell said to Gisele Hall, "but you'll have to settle for a senator and an old general."

Nunn chimed in: "We're two former chairmen, but we're both out of jobs."

Nunn, a Democrat, was chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee until the Republicans took control of Congress last fall.

Hall, dressed smartly in a royal blue suit and a double strand of pearls, agreed to tell them about her town's problems as long as they pass the information along to Carter. Nunn and Powell agreed.

In most cases, Carter's team heard stories about how much the Haitians appreciate the U.S. military presence and how badly they need electricity, telephones and clean drinking water.

Much of this was obvious as their motorcade sped through each location, including the capital, Port-au-Prince. There are no street lights, no traffic lights or stop signs, and limited telephone service. It's not uncommon to see children walking with plastic buckets of water poised on their heads.

Jacmel's mayor said Haitians have died in the hospital there because there was no electricity.

The team ended the evening with dinner at the home of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Today they will continue meeting and announce their findings before flying back to the United States.

## U.S. general warns Aristide foes: Cool it

ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Port-au-Prince, Haiti** — An American general warned two right-wing enemies of Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to stop plotting against his democratic government, which U.S. forces reinstated last year.

Brig. Gen. James Hill talked to the two men earlier this month but did not disclose the warnings until Friday.

Haiti's political situation remains fragile, and the U.S. force that reinstated Aristide after a three-year exile is to hand over duties to a 6,000-soldier U.N. force March 31. Hill said the two men were planning to disrupt the government and the multinational force.

The Aristide government is worried about caches of arms, including stolen military equipment, believed to have escaped the U.S. attempt to rid Haiti of weapons that could destabilize the democracy.

Hill, second-in-command of the U.S.-led force, said he summoned Franck Romain, a former Port-au-Prince police chief and mayor, on Feb. 2 and gave him the warning.

"I told Romain that he was conducting actions detrimental to a multinational force," Hill said. "I told him to stop. I said that if he did not, I would take further action and arrest him."

# 'A lot of work' ahead for Haiti

## Carter, Powell, Nunn depart

By Elizabeth Kurylo  
STAFF WRITER

**Port-au-Prince, Haiti** — Jimmy Carter, Sam Nunn and Colin Powell left Haiti on Saturday night, praising the work of the U.S. military, but warning that it will be hard to rebuild the country and foster democracy.

"There's a lot of work to be done," said Powell, a retired general and former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The "real challenge," he said, is for Haiti to build a system of law and order that stays in place after U.N. troops leave next year.

Sen. Nunn (D-Ga.) said Haiti's infrastructure and institutions "have not functioned for a long, long time in a way that is conducive to democracy."

He added that Haiti needs international help to rebuild its police, courts, prisons, schools and government. He urged international groups to go beyond their one-year pledge to help Haiti.

"What we have here now is a one-year

plan and about a 10-year challenge," Nunn said. "I think the international community has to recognize that from the outset, and not pretend it can simply walk away after one year, because if it does, I do not think the job will be done."

The trio predicted a smooth transition from U.S. authority to U.N. leadership at the end of March. They talked to reporters after three days of nonstop meetings, military briefings, tours and toasts.

Among local reporters, there was confusion over what President Jean-Bertrand Aristide meant when he told Carter on Friday night during dinner at his home that he planned to "play referee" during upcoming elections.

According to Carter spokeswoman Carrie Harmon, Aristide said in English, "Because the situation is so fragile, it is good for me to play the referee."

When Carter was asked about the comment just before he flew home with Nunn and Powell aboard an Air Force jet, he replied, "I did not ask Aristide to remain neutral. He initiated the conversation by saying he was going to be in the role of a referee."



# *Carter Offers To Mediate For Haitians*

## *Playing the Broker Among Edgy Parties*

By LARRY ROHTER

Special to The New York Times

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Feb. 24 — Shrugging off attempts to undermine his visit here, former President Jimmy Carter said today that he is willing to serve as an impartial broker among Haiti's fractious political parties and would continue to help carry President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's message to Washington.

It was Mr. Carter's apparent willingness to play the mediator's role that inspired much of the graffiti that greeted him when he arrived here Thursday for a three-day fact-finding visit. But the sun had barely risen this morning than Mr. Carter was preparing for a breakfast meeting with Haiti's electoral commission, which is supervising elections scheduled to be held here on June 4.

"Well, this is what we've done in Nicaragua, in Panama, in Guyana, in other places, but only when needed and when asked," he said during an interview early today when asked about playing the middleman. "We don't want to intrude, but when the time comes, yes, we would do that."

A Haitian political leader who was part of a group of about 30 people that met with Mr. Carter just after his arrival said the session had gone "better than expected," given the degree of discord among the political parties in attendance. "But there is still suspicion of what Carter's real goals are," he added.

Privately, some Aristide supporters have expressed concern that Mr. Carter's true purpose in coming here, five months after negotiating an agreement that averted an American invasion while restoring Mr. Aristide to power, is to unite the anti-Aristide opposition. Mr. Carter said that suspicion, though unfounded, surfaced during his discussions with the political leaders.

"We asked them yesterday if any of the parties would come together in a coalition," he said. "First they took that as a proposal from me," but "I made it clear it was just a question, not a proposal."

This afternoon, Mr. Carter and other members of his delegation set out in American military helicopters to check on conditions in the provinces, where the political and public



Associated Press

Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia, left, Colin L. Powell, the former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and former President Jimmy Carter headed yesterday to

a briefing by the multinational forces providing security in Port-au-Prince. It is their first visit since they persuaded a Haitian junta to step down last fall.

security situation has been much less settled than in the capital. Mr. Carter headed north, to Arcahaie and Cap-Haitien, while Sen. Sam Nunn, Democrat of Georgia, and Gen. Colin L. Powell journeyed to Jacmel and Les Cayes before returning to the capital for a scheduled dinner with Mr. Aristide.

Mr. Carter said he was heartened by the praise of his efforts last year to restore democratic government to Haiti that Mr. Aristide offered after the two men met at the National Palace here on Thursday evening. Despite complaints by some of Mr. Aristide's own supporters and staff about Mr. Carter's presence, the Haitian President "went that second mile to make it clear that he and I were together," Mr. Carter said.

That meeting, he said, left him with the impression that Mr. Aristide foresees no meaningful role in Haitian life for the military that overthrew him in a coup led by Lieut. Gen. Raoul Cédras, on Sept. 30, 1991, and then embarked on three years of brutality and repression.

Since his return to power on Oct. 15, Mr. Aristide has repeatedly deflected suggestions from the Americans that he retain some sort of army, if only one limited in size and duties, and has instead largely dismantled the Haitian armed forces. On Tuesday, for instance, he summarily dismissed all four generals in the Haitian Army and an additional

39 colonels and majors.

"I think President Aristide is going to do everything he possibly can to demonstrate his independence," Mr. Carter said. "Obviously the firing of the generals and colonels is well recognized as not being compatible with American desires."

Mr. Carter said Mr. Aristide had also indicated he would like to see the United Nations peacekeeping force scheduled to replace the American military here next month take a broader role. In the absence of a functioning court system, Mr. Carter said, the Aristide Government is interested in seeing the United Nations force "supplementing the justices of the peace and maybe acting as officials to even deliver warrants and to assist with the administration of justice."

Mr. Carter's visit comes a week after that of an American Congressional delegation, led by Representative Dan Burton, the Indiana Republican who is the new chairman of the Western Hemisphere subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The trip was the first of its type here since the Republicans took control of Congress, and appears to have left the Aristide Government sobered about its relationship with Capitol Hill.

One person who observed that visit closely described the tone of the delegation's encounter with Mr. Aristide as "inquisitorial," while an-

other said the behavior of the American Congressmen, who included three Republicans and an independent, had been "arrogant, even insulting." If nothing else, however, the six-hour visit appeared to have reminded the Haitian Government that it needs friends in Washington, a mission Mr. Carter said he was willing to assume.

"I would naturally play that role to a limited degree," he said. Mr. Carter added that he stays "in fairly good and regular contact" with the new Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich, a fellow Georgian, "on matters concerning both domestic and foreign affairs." Mr. Carter said he will "make a report to Newt and to Bob Dole, both" after he returns to the United States this weekend.

Mr. Carter said he was not surprised that some Aristide supporters dislike the agreement he negotiated last September to end military rule and restore Mr. Aristide to power. There is "anger that their enemies have not been arrested," Mr. Carter said.

But if American troops had invaded Haiti as they did in Panama in 1989, "hundreds, maybe thousands of Haitians would have been killed," Mr. Carter said, and resentment of the American presence would have been substantial.

"There was only one other alternative, and we chose the better of the two," he said.

# Carter Makes Return Visit To Wary Haiti

## Aristide's Government Fears Meddling in Vote

By Douglas Farah  
Washington Post Foreign Service

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Feb. 23—Former president Jimmy Carter, who played a crucial but controversial role in persuading Haiti's military rulers to step down last year, returned today to try to bolster the nation's nascent democratic process under President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

The visit, although unofficial, has triggered anxiety in the Aristide government. Many officials here view Carter as favoring the former military regime and fear an attempt to meddle in parliamentary and local elections scheduled June 4. In recent days, graffiti have been sprayed across much of the downtown area denouncing Carter in vulgar language.

"Carter is a false democrat" and "Carter is a thug" are among the less harsh signs sprayed in red paint around the city, including on the outside gates of the Presidential Palace. A group of 36 organizations, strong allies of Aristide, today denounced the visit, calling Carter a "danger to democracy."

Aristide's supporters fear Carter is here to bolster and unite the badly fractured conservative and centrist opposition to Aristide for the coming elections in an attempt to build a credible alternative to the president's party.

Sen. Sam Nunn, D-Ga., and retired Gen. Colin Powell, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, are scheduled to arrive Friday to accompany Carter. The three came in September and persuaded Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras and other military leaders to step aside, just hours before a U.S. military strike against Haiti was to begin.

President Clinton had ordered the attack to oust the military and restore Aristide. After the Carter accord, some 20,000 U.S. troops occupied Haiti on Sept. 19 in a peaceful environment and suffered no casualties. The mission will be turned over to the United Nations on March 31. Of the 6,000 troops to remain under U.N. command, about 2,400 will be from the United States.

But the Carter agreement allowed the military leaders to go into gilded exile and escape punishment for overthrowing Aristide in a bloody 1991 coup and for thousands of deaths for which they share responsibility. The accord also sought to protect the army from being dismantled. Both points of the agreement deeply angered many in the Aristide camp, who denounced the deal as giving away too much.



Former president Jimmy Carter is greeted upon arrival in Port-au-Prince by U.S. Army Maj. John Loiseau, left, and Maj. Gen. George Fisher, commander of multinational forces in Haiti. REUTERS

In a sign of the tension over the visit, no one from the Aristide government met Carter's delegation at the airport. While Carter said Aristide invited him, two senior Aristide aides said the president had not.

"He said he was coming and so we will invite him to dinner, but we do not know what he is doing here," one Aristide aide said. "We know we have to watch all three of them carefully, because they are tricky, sneaky."

In a brief arrival statement, Carter said he

*"We know we have to watch [Carter, Nunn and Powell] carefully, because they are tricky, sneaky."*

— an Aristide aide

had returned to Haiti for three purposes: to assess progress being made and see what help is needed for the June elections, as well as presidential elections in December; to evaluate Haitian economic development; and to analyze security issues.

Carter said he was aware of the graffiti, "written as words of welcome to me." He called the graffiti "a lawless act, apparently by one who is against democracy and freedom, but who doesn't represent the people of Haiti." Aristide was elected in 1990 with 67 per-

cent of the vote and remains tremendously popular, and his allies are expected to get a large majority in both houses of Parliament in the June election. This would give Aristide a virtually unlimited mandate during his last nine months in office, because he would control all three branches of government.

Many conservatives, who traditionally have held power, risk not being reelected. They already are filing numerous complaints against the electoral process alleging that the Aristide government is blocking their participation and preparing electoral fraud.

Aristide's distrust of Carter has its roots in the 1990 election, at which Carter was a key observer. Senior Aristide aides say Carter tried to throw the election in favor of Marc Bazin, preferred by the United States at the time. They said Carter met with Aristide the night before the election and asked the candidate if he would concede if he lost.

While Carter maintained he met with all the candidates to ask them the same question in hopes of avoiding post-electoral violence, the Aristide camp, which felt certain of its victory, viewed the visit as an attempt to set up a fraudulent defeat of Aristide.

Carter "kept asking the same question, and Aristide kept asking why he was asking," said an Aristide aide who said he attended the meeting. "We knew then he was trying to steal the election for the Americans."

"Do not be fooled. We will be friendly and polite [to Carter], but no one has forgotten that history. And no one has forgotten September, because we know there could have been a much better deal."

# The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1995

## U.S. Exercises Its Influence On Aristide *Security Force Purge Escalates Tensions*

By Douglas Farah  
*Washington Post Foreign Service*

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Feb. 21—A U.S. move to purge Haiti's interim security force of hundreds of men hired without American approval has raised tensions between the United States and the government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to their highest point since the occupation of Haiti began last September, Haitian and U.S. officials said.

The hiring of several hundred men into the security force—which acts as both army and police—without undergoing U.S.-supervised vetting was seen by American officials as an attempt by Aristide to take political control of the military. Senior Haitian officials denied the charge and labeled the U.S. opposition unwarranted meddling. But Aristide has reluctantly agreed to fire the men, the sources said.

Today, teams of U.S., United Nations and Haitian officials began a planned two-week trip to visit every outpost where the interim force is stationed, with a list of mutually agreed-on members supposed to be in each place. Those not on the list—estimated at 300 to 800 men—are to be paid for January, then dismissed. Those who do not go peacefully will be “physically removed, if necessary,” by U.S. troops, a U.S. official said.

The Haitian government proposes  
See HAITI, A20, Col 1

### HAITI, From A1

al to include hundreds of unvetted people in the Interim Public Security Force was unacceptable,” an American official said. “The Haitian government withdrew the proposal after strong objections by the United States.”

U.S. officials said national security adviser Anthony Lake raised the issue directly with Aristide during his visit here last week, and an agreement was finally reached—but not until after relations had frayed.

A senior Haitian official said the United States “always distrusted Aristide and is always willing to give the worst possible interpretation to any move they do not approve of.” The official added that the United States was “always more interested in protecting the army than seeing human rights violators punished.”

But the official said Aristide had no choice but to accept the U.S. demand because the nation remains almost entirely dependent on U.S. financial aid.

The dispute arose as U.S. forces were being trimmed back from 20,000 last September to about 6,000 currently. By April, they are to be down to 2,500 and to be integrated in a 6,000-member U.N. force with a mandate only to maintain, rather than create, secure conditions here. U.S. officials said this was a factor in recent aggressive moves to remove potential threats to security before that handover.

Meanwhile, new and related strains emerged today when Aristide's government announced the forced retirement of 43 senior officers, including the army's only four generals, all colonels and lieutenant colonels, and several majors. The ranking officer is now Maj. Dany Touissant, an ally of Aristide.

Knowledgeable sources said Lake pressed Aristide to dismiss Gen. Pierre Cherubin and Lt. Col. Pierre Neptune, both staunch Aristide allies whom the United States accuses of human rights abuses in the past. The sources said Aristide agreed to dismiss them but also decided to dismiss everyone else in the old army leadership, including many who were friendly to the United States.

While U.S.-Haitian relations remain publicly cordial, the incidents

underscore the distrust that remains between Aristide and the United States and differences over what future role, if any, the army should have in Haiti.

The army, known for its brutality and corruption, overthrew Aristide in September 1991 and held power through a reign of terror until the U.S. troops arrived. Some 3,000 people were killed for political reasons, mostly for supporting Aristide, during that time.

Many in Aristide's government and many Haitians in general favor disbanding the army, because throughout the nation's 200-year history the army has most often served to quash internal dissent, not fight outside enemies. But many U.S. officials want to see a core of the old military retained for the new army, arguing that retraining and “professionalizing” the troops would be more effective than abolishing the institution.

The root of the tension goes back to the beginning of the U.S. occupation, when, faced with the overwhelming U.S. force, the Haitian army virtually collapsed. To help maintain public order, the United States helped form the interim force, about 3,500 men culled from the 7,000-man army, to carry out security duties until a new, civilian police force was trained and on the streets late this year. Of the 3,500 men, 1,500 would be retained to form the new army.

Under the agreement on the interim force, a joint U.S.-Haitian group would review the records of those who would go into the group, to weed out human rights abusers. Those selected were to receive six days of intensive training by U.S., French and Canadian police before being deployed under the supervision of international police monitors.

But in January the government began hiring hundreds of people directly into the force, without vetting them or having them trained. U.S. officials said many of those hired were ineligible because of past human rights abuses and because circumventing the vetting process showed political favoritism.

“We presume they wanted to get people into the force for political reasons,” a U.S. official said. “We made a very strong statement we did not want political favoritism here.”

Sources close to Aristide acknowledged they never liked the force because it was made up of former army members, and they said six days of training was grossly insufficient to retrain the men.

The Washington Times

# Supporters use rumors to divide Aristide and U.S.

## Strategy to radicalize leader seen

By Gus Constantine  
The Washington Times

Followers of Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide are apparently trying to drive a wedge between him and his U.S. supporters to push the president into a more radical position, according to a top official of the Atlanta-based Carter Center.

These people are making it appear as if the United States is pressuring Mr. Aristide to remain neutral during the scheduled June elections, Robert Pastor, director of the Center's Latin American and Caribbean program, said this week.

Mr. Pastor was responding to recent news reports that former President Jimmy Carter, in Haiti last week to help ensure free and fair elections, had asked Mr. Aristide to remain neutral in the campaign.

The request was reported to have irritated the Haitian president, who was said to have responded to the effect that no political leader should be asked to do that.

"Nothing like that happened. Anybody who reported that or who acted as a source for that was obviously not in the same room we were," said Mr. Pastor, who suggested the reports were planted by aides to Mr. Aristide.

Mr. Carter, joined by the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, retired Gen. Colin Powell and Sen. Sam Nunn, Georgia Democrat, returned to Haiti last week to measure the situation as Haiti moves toward parliamentary elections.

The United States, meanwhile, is preparing to wind down its security mission and turn over peace-keeping duties to the United Nations.

"The meeting... was exceptionally warm and positive," Mr. Pastor said.

"It was President Aristide who reaffirmed his pledge of December — to act as a referee during the vote — and who said, 'I will stay neutral despite my political roots,'" Mr. Pastor said.

Mr. Carter, Gen. Powell and Mr. Nunn succeeded last fall in paving

the way for a bloodless transfer of power from the military to Mr. Aristide.

Some observers saw the reports of a troubled mission last week as evidence that the United States and Haiti were drifting apart, while others blamed Mr. Aristide for showing callousness to those who helped restore him to power.

The Carter Center said last week that the delegation was returning to Haiti at the invitation of Mr. Aristide. But when it arrived, there was no one from the president's office to receive the delegates.

A spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in Haiti said it was told that "someone in the president's office simply goofed."

But Mr. Pastor said the lack of a welcoming committee for Carter missions "is not at all unusual." The members of Carter missions "neither ask for nor expect such treatment."

Nevertheless, strains have appeared in the U.S.-Aristide relationship.

On the right, new political groupings have formed, some of them with links to Haiti's former security apparatus, and they are afraid of being abandoned by the United States, which has given them limited shelter in the interests of political pluralism.

In this environment, suspicions run wild. Last week it was reported that the U.S. Embassy, reacting to rumors of plots, called in two rightist leaders, former military chief William Regala and former Port-au-Prince Mayor Franck Romain, and "read the riot act" to them.

Also, Emile Constant, chief of a former paramilitary organization accused of thousands of deaths, who had visited the United States on a visa, was reported back in Haiti.

In Washington, the Council for Hemispheric Affairs reported that Mr. Constant "traveled freely for weeks" in the United States.

"Although Washington belatedly canceled Constant's visit, why was the Haitian terrorist allowed to enter the U.S. in the first place?" asked Larry Birns, the head of COHA.

## Haitians Remember Carter's Role Bitterly

To the Editor:

While it is true former President Jimmy Carter's visit to Haiti produced skepticism and public scorn, it is inaccurate to suggest that the Haitian reaction is due to ingratitude and "the turmoil of Haitian domestic politics" (front page, Feb. 24).

Of greater importance to most Haitians is the role that Mr. Carter played in persuading Gen. Raoul Cédras to step down from Haiti's presidency, averting an invasion. Not only did Mr. Carter not "restore President Aristide to power," he almost ruined any chances for Jean-Bertrand Aristide's return.

The agreement brokered by Mr. Carter provided for "certain military officers" to retire honorably, without leaving Haiti, thereby allowing the junta to remain in Haiti, which would have undermined any democratic recovery. The agreement also called for a "general amnesty" to be voted by the Parliament, which would have presumably covered all acts by all wrongdoers against government and civilians.

Finally, the agreement was signed by the de facto President, Emile Jonassaint, thus recognizing and legitimizing an illegal regime denounced by the United States and the United Nations. The agreement made no mention of President Aristide and included no stipulations concerning his return to Haiti.

Conceivably, the Carter agreement could have had President Aristide returning to Haiti with the military junta and its thugs still at large, enjoying a full amnesty for the thousands of killings, rapes and torture committed against Haitians, and either still maintaining security in Haiti or receiving government pensions paid by the Aristide Government, whichever they preferred.

Obviously President Aristide could not return under such conditions.

If anything, the Carter agreement undermined prior agreements, including the Governors Island accord, and weakened the prospects for President Aristide's return.

The agreement became void once televised military violence in Haiti forced the United States to adopt a harder line with the Haitian Army. Only then was President Aristide able to return. But for this change of circumstances, President Aristide might well still be in Washington.

To many Haitians who recall Mr. Carter's praise of Mrs. Cédras, and Gen. Colin Powell's calling General Cédras "a man of honor," the Carter agreement was not heroism but treachery.

AHPALY J. G. CORADIN  
Policy Advocate, National  
Coalition for Haitian Refugees  
New York, Feb. 24, 1995

## In Haiti, Carter Won Praise on Accord

To the Editor:

When former President Carter, Senator Sam Nunn and Gen. Colin L. Powell completed negotiations in Haiti on Sept. 18, 1994, most people applauded, but some were skeptical that the agreement would assure the return of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and the departure of Haiti's military leaders.

Now that the agreement has achieved all its objectives, the criticism of Ahpaly J. G. Coradin (letter, March 1) seems illogical if not bizarre. He criticizes the agreement for not requiring the military leaders to leave Haiti (though they did), for calling for an amnesty (which was approved) and for not mentioning President Aristide (though that was the point of the agreement).

Mr. Coradin writes that the Carter agreement undermined the Governors Island accord and the United Nations resolutions, even though it devised a formula for implementing them by inverting the sequence of steps from what was contemplated under Governors Island — starting

with the landing of the troops, which achieved all objectives.

Writing from New York, he claims to speak for all Haitians in castigating the negotiators and calling the agreement "treachery." In contrast, President Aristide, who does speak for Haiti, praised Messrs. Carter, Nunn and Powell on Feb. 23:

"You are in a country where you can see the good of what you accomplished on Sept. 18, 1994 — instead of bloodshed, we had a peaceful transition. Under the leadership of President Clinton, you came here and led us peacefully toward democracy and reconciliation. That's why the Prime Minister, the Government of Haiti and I... extend our thanks."

When President Clinton authorized Mr. Carter to sign the agreement, the only alternative was a violent invasion. Is Mr. Coradin suggesting that he would have preferred the killing of American soldiers and thousands of Haitians instead of the agreement?

ROBERT PASTOR  
Fellow, Carter Center  
Atlanta, March 2, 1995

## To Some Haitians' Chagrin, Carter May 'Referee' June Election

By LARRY ROHTER  
Special to The New York Times

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Feb. 25 — Former President Jimmy Carter ended a fact-finding mission to Haiti this evening in much the same manner as he began it three days ago: surrounded by controversy about what role he intends to play in the country's domestic politics and upcoming elections.

That controversy was underscored by a dispute arising from talks between Mr. Carter and President Jean-Bertrand Aristide concerning elections, scheduled for June

4, to contest more than 2,000 legislative and municipal positions. What each man said in private was not quite clear, but the outcome dismayed some of Mr. Aristide's most ardent supporters and awakened nationalist sentiment among other Haitians.

Directing his remarks to Mr. Carter, who was standing by his side at a dinner the Haitian President gave for the American delegation, Mr. Aristide said on Friday night that because "we want to have free, fair and democratic elections" Mr. Carter had agreed to play the role of "a referee" in the campaign.

Mr. Aristide said that he himself would act as "the President of every citizen, every candidate, every political party, creating the space where we can meet together" and refrain from playing a partisan role.

That unexpected pledge unnerved Mr. Aristide's political allies, who had hoped to ride his coattails to victory and did not want to see him stand aloof from the electoral process. But it also seemed to fan resentment of Mr. Carter and his activities here even among those whose political fortunes are not directly tied to Mr. Aristide.

"You can't tell the president of a

country, even an occupied country like this one, that he has to remain neutral in an election," a prominent businessman said this afternoon, expressing the view that seemed to prevail among Haiti's political class. "It is just arrogant."

At a news conference at the hotel where he was staying, Mr. Carter said this afternoon that he had not pressured Mr. Aristide in any way to limit his role in the election campaign. "He brought up the subject," Mr. Carter said, adding that "I don't have any requests to make" on that or any other score.

Mr. Carter arrived here on Thurs-

day and was confronted by graffiti that condemned him as "a false democrat" and urged him, sometimes in obscene terms, to return home. The graffiti appears to have been the work of the grass-roots groups that are part of Mr. Aristide's governing coalition. They feared that Mr. Carter might try to unify the opposition to Mr. Aristide and weaken his position.

If Mr. Aristide himself had any reservations about Mr. Carter's interest in the elections or other issues here, he did not express them. "We didn't hear a single negative comment from President Aristide," Mr. Carter said, adding that he thought "we've been well received" by the Haitian leader.

Just five months ago, the former American President led a diplomatic delegation that averted an American military invasion of Haiti and signed an agreement that led to Mr. Aristide's return to power on Oct. 15. He was accompanied on both that mission and this one by Senator Sam Nunn, the Democrat of Georgia, and Colin Powell, the retired Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

All three men were awarded honorary degrees this afternoon by the Groupe Ollivier Collaborateur University. In a brief ceremony, Fritz-Emmanuel Ollivier, rector of the university, cited them for the "praiseworthy efforts they have taken for the defense of democracy, human rights and peace among nations."

# Aides of Aristide Read Carter Team's Visit as Benefiting Plotters

By Douglas Farah  
Washington Post Foreign Service

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Feb. 25— Former president Jimmy Carter's three-day visit here strained relations with the government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and underscored vast differences that remain between Haitians and Americans over the future of Haitian democracy.

Senior government officials said they were appalled and outraged when Carter—who was accompanied by Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) and retired Gen. Colin Powell, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—asked Aristide to remain "neutral" in legislative and municipal elections scheduled June 4. Although Carter was on an unofficial visit, he is widely viewed in Haiti as part of the official U.S. foreign policy apparatus.

Carter, Nunn and Powell, who returned this evening to the United States, helped bring an end to three years of military rule here when they negotiated in September to bring Aristide back from exile. In negotiating the terms for the return of Haiti's only freely elected president, they held talks with the military rulers who ousted him, reaching an agreement that allowed them to go into exile. Aristide's return, made possible by the presence of 20,000 U.S. troops, largely pa-

pered over the philosophical and political rifts that have always existed between Aristide and the United States. But the strains are reemerging.

Haitian authorities described Carter's comments as an attempt to undercut the president's party, which is widely expected to do well in the elections, by forging a rightist alliance against Aristide. They were also outraged that Carter met with political groups that supported the bloody 1991 coup that ousted Aristide.

The Carter-led delegation said its purpose was to help ensure that the elections will be fair and that all political parties have a chance to participate. According to Duly Brutus, a right-wing politician who helped organize Carter's visit, Carter encouraged Haiti's 17 opposition parties to reorganize and consolidate into a few viable alliances.

In a news conference before takeoff, Carter said he and Aristide had spoken about Aristide's role in the elections, and said Aristide had agreed "play the role of a referee" and "stay neutral within the bounds of the nation's history."

All three visitors said Aristide had been warm and gracious. Powell said he did not hear "a single negative comment." Carter said his reception "could not possibly have been warmer."

While U.S. policy in general has given

great weight to political parties, no matter how small and fragmented, most Haitians' first experience with open elections gave them little feel for party politics. Aristide won 67 percent of the vote in the 1990 elections despite having virtually no party structure.

To Aristide supporters, who remember deep-seated U.S. distrust of Aristide since before he was elected on a populist, leftist platform, Carter's comments smacked of meddling in Haitian politics in an effort to protect old U.S. allies who perhaps could not win a free election.

Through the years, the United States has made little secret that it would welcome another power center to counterbalance Aristide. For some, it was the army, now discredited and disbanded; for others, it is Haiti's political parties.

"Unfortunately for the United States, if you accept the principle of one man, one vote, then you accept the results, even if you do not like them," an independent political analyst said. "And the people who felt the clubs on their backs for three years of army rule will not vote against Aristide, and that is tough for the United States to swallow."

For some Aristide supporters who were forced into exile or saw friends and family killed during the coup and the subsequent wave of repression, meeting with and giving

legitimacy to parties that supported the military is tantamount to betrayal.

"People who supported the coup don't have a chance of getting elected, period. That is a fact," a senior government official said. "We could go to Washington and say the U.S. system is not fair because there are no Nazis in the Congress, or that it would be more democratic if the Ku Klux Klan was represented. For us, those who supported the coup are like the Nazis. We see them not as enemies of Aristide, but as enemies of the democratic process."

Another senior official asked if Carter had remained neutral in the midterm elections when he was president, as he asked Aristide to do.

"It is bizarre and mad to ask a president not to get involved politically," said an official. "It is terrible, terrible, and it is arrogant. Did Reagan campaign for Bush? Did Carter campaign for the Democrats?"

Carter's visit came as old suspicions were rekindled. Last week, the United States acknowledged that Emanuel Constant, the leader of the paramilitary Front for the Advancement and Progress of Haiti (FRAPH) who is charged with murder here and is widely suspected of helping plan much of the repression under the military, has slipped into the United States.

U.S. Embassy spokesman Stan Schragger

said Constant was admitted "by mistake." Constant was not arrested after the U.S. invasion because he agreed to collaborate with the Americans, according to U.S. officials, and provided valuable intelligence.

The United States has taken stronger measures against other known enemies of Aristide here. In early February, Brig. Gen. James C. Hill, second in command of the U.S. force in Haiti, called in Franck Romain and retired general Williams Regala, prominent supporters of the repressive Duvalier government, to warn them to stop plotting.

According to knowledgeable U.S. and Haitian sources, Romain, a former police chief and mayor of Port-au-Prince, had organized an armed gang to begin creating trouble and was seeking to assassinate Aristide. Regala, former deputy commander of the army, was implicated in a separate plot.

"It was a monologue, not a dialogue with the general, and they were told individually that if they so much as looked funny, they would be arrested," a knowledgeable official said. "They were photographed, fingerprinted and treated as suspects."

Human rights groups blame Romain for an attack on Aristide's slum parish in September 1988 in which thugs hacked or shot to death scores of people. He recently announced he is running for mayor of Port-au-Prince in the June elections.

NEWS  
ANALYSIS



# The Miami Herald

TUESDAY, MARCH 7, 1995

## Haiti: Groping for democracy through opaque politics

**L**AST MONTH, Haiti's President Jean-Bertrand Aristide welcomed, with effusive praise, former President Carter, U.S. Sen. Sam Nunn, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, retired Gen. Colin Powell, and former Prime Minister George Price of Belize. At the same time, unnamed Aristide aides allegedly were trashing the visitors. Some reports from Haiti highlighted the "aides' " criticism and described Carter's reception as "chilly."

Why would Aristide's supporters criticize the person who had persuaded Haiti's military to permit Aristide to return without bloodshed? The



**ROBERT PASTOR**

*Robert A. Pastor is a professor of political science at Atlanta's Emory University and director of the Latin American and Caribbean Program at the Carter Center. He was an adviser to the Carter-Nunn-Powell team that visited Haiti last month.*

answer resides in the obscurity of Haiti's pre-democratic politics and in the classic patterns exhibited by poor countries in awkward transitions.

Political parties in such countries are usually quite suspicious of each other, the government, and the elections commission. Whether a free, fair election can occur often depends on whether distrust can be reduced and confidence in the electoral process enhanced. The electoral process is always on a knife-edge, with opposing parties threatening to boycott the election unless the playing field is made more equal and the governing party dismissing the opposition's complaints. In successful transitions, such

as Nicaragua (1989-90) and Guyana (1990-92), international interlocutors — like Carter's team, or from the Organization of American States, or the United Nations — were able to mediate electoral disputes among leaders not on speaking terms.

Haiti's June 4 parliamentary and municipal elections will be precarious. There are at least 18, perhaps as many as 50, political parties, most built around a personality. Some associated with Aristide's Lavalas movement believe that coup supporters and Aristide's opponents should be excluded from the electoral process. Some are angry that the Carter-Nunn-Powell agreement prevented U.S. soldiers from destroying the army. Some, who had been anti-American, have problems dealing with the current dependence on U.S. forces.

Parties opposed to the Aristide government are convinced that Aristide's supporters are trying to clear a path for his re-election and a new authori-

tarianism. They fear the electoral machinery will be tilted against them.

With great political courage, President Aristide has insisted on reconciliation and denied that he will seek another term. He thanked the Carter team for permitting a peaceful transition. He invited the Carter Center's Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, a group of 25 hemispheric leaders, to be "partners" in the democratic process.

In a private meeting, Aristide described his reconciliation policy and repeated what he had told me in mid-December: "True reconciliation now means that the president has to be the referee. I will do my best to stay neutral, despite my political roots. It will be a new, but necessary experience for Haiti to have a peaceful transfer of power from one president to another."

Aristide's aides were reportedly "appalled and outraged when Carter asked Aristide to remain neutral" in the elections, but Carter never made

such a request. These aides were apparently trying to distort Carter's message of support for free elections as a tactic to compel Aristide to support their candidates.

As Nunn opined: "A lot of progress has been made in Haiti since September, but there's still a very long way to go." The security situation is stable, and the training of a permanent police force has begun. The government has an economic plan that elicited pledges of \$1.2 billion from international donors. But the key to sustainable development is elections viewed as free and fair by all parties. That won't happen unless Aristide convinces both his supporters and opponents of the need for reconciliation and an inclusive electoral process.

Those who give greater weight to irresponsible comments by anonymous aides and phantom scribblers of graffiti are not helping those at the political center of Haiti, who are groping toward democracy.