

## The President's Radio Address *September 17, 1994*

Good morning. The night before last, I spoke with you about why America's interests compel us to help restore democratic government in Haiti.

For 3 years, the United Nations, the Caribbean community, and the Organization of American States have pursued every diplomatic avenue possible. But the dictators rejected all of our efforts, and their reign of terror, a campaign of murder, rape, and mutilation, gets worse with every passing day. Now we must act.

Our reasons are clear: to stop the horrific atrocities that threaten thousands of men, women, and children in Haiti, here in our own neighborhood; to affirm our determination that we keep our commitments and we expect others to keep their commitments to us; to avert the flow of thousands of more refugees and to secure our borders; and to preserve the stability of democracy in our hemisphere.

Today I'd like to speak with you about the steps we are now taking to ensure that these brutal dictators leave and leave now. The preparations of the extraordinary international coalition we have assembled are proceeding without delay. Even as I speak with you, our Armed Forces, in coordination with personnel from 24 other nations from all around the world, are poised to end the reign of terror that has plagued Haiti since the military coup 3 years ago. I have great pride and confidence in our troops. Our leaders have prepared their mission very, very carefully, and our forces are clearly the finest in the world.

At the same time, it is the responsibility of any American President to pursue every possible alternative to the use of force in order to avoid bloodshed and the loss of American lives. That is why this morning, at my request, President Carter, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Colin Powell, and chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee Senator Sam Nunn left for Haiti. Their mission is to make one last best effort to provide a peaceful, orderly transfer of power, to minimize the loss of life, and to maximize the chances of security for all Haitians and, of course, for our own troops in the coalition force.

On Thursday night, I stated that the Cedras regime's time is up. Their time is up. The remaining question is not whether they will leave but how they will leave. They can go peacefully and increase the chances for a peaceful future and a more stable future for Haiti in the near term, not only for all those whose democracy they stole but for themselves as well. They can do that, or they will be removed by force.

Yesterday leaders of the international coalition gathered at the White House. They come not only from our hemisphere and from our neighborhood here in the Caribbean but also from Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, from countries as diverse as Israel and Poland, Belgium and Bangladesh, countries with problems of their own, economic problems, political problems, even security problems. But each and every one of them believes it's important enough for them to come here to participate, to stand united with us in insisting that the dictators who terrorize Haiti must be removed and that the democratically elected government must be returned to power now.

As Prime Minister Owen Arthur of Barbados stated so eloquently yesterday, "The Haitian people have wished for democracy. They have suffered for it. They have voted for it. And now they are dying for it."

The goals of the international coalition are clear and limited. Once the military regime is removed from power, the coalition will help the democratic government establish basic security. It will begin the process of placing the Haitian police under civilian control and monitor them to help ensure that they respect human rights. Then, in months, not years, the coalition will pass the baton on to the United Nations. The U.N. mission in Haiti will take over and continue to professionalize Haiti's police and military. It will leave Haiti no later than 18 months from now, after elections are held and a new government takes office.

Over time, the coalition countries as well as the international financial institutions will provide Haiti with economic, humanitarian, and technical assistance that the country needs to stay on the democratic track, to put people back to work, and to begin the work of progress.

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They can get assistance from other countries, but we all know that in the end the job of rebuilding Haiti belongs to the Haitian people.

Yesterday at the White House, President Aristide took a long step toward the job of rebuilding, in the spirit of reconciliation. He put it very well when he said, "We say and we will be saying again and again, no to vengeance and no to retaliation; let us embrace peace." President Aristide also reiterated his pledge to transfer power peacefully to a duly elected successor. He said that in the formative years of any democracy, the most important election is not the first one but the second. That's a senti-

ment that should become a staple of civics books in our country and throughout the world.

My fellow Americans, at this very hour, we are taking important steps in the journey back to democracy in Haiti. We still hope to end this journey peacefully. But let me say one last time: The cause is right, the mission is achievable and limited, and we will succeed. The dictators must leave.

Thank you for listening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:06 a.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

## Remarks at the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Dinner *September 17, 1994*

Thank you. Thank you so much, Cardiss Collins, for your introduction, your support, and your two decades in the United States Congress, making you the longest serving African-American woman in the history of the Congress. Congressman Payne, thank you for your leadership here and for so much that you do, but especially for cochairing, along with C. Payne Lucas, our mission to Rwanda to see the fine work done by the United States in that beleaguered land. And thank you, Congressman Mfume, for your brilliant leadership of the Congressional Black Caucus. It has been an honor and a privilege to work with you to move this country forward and to bring this country together.

There are so many distinguished Americans here tonight. But I can't help acknowledging the presence here—and to say I am so glad to see her able to be here tonight—of Rosa Parks. Thank you, ma'am. I also want to say I'm a little jealous that I didn't see the rest of the program, also all the things for the young people, and especially Reverend Flake's sermon this morning. The Vice President came in this morning when we had our meeting, and he said, "You know that verse in Ezekiel about the dry bones?" And I said to him, I said, "Can there be life in these dry bones?" He said, "Yes, that one. Floyd Flake just gave one of the three or four best sermons I ever heard in my entire life about that." So I would like a tape or a transcript next week, if I could.

I want to congratulate you, too, on your message, embracing our youth for a new tomorrow. You know, when I ran for President, I did so out of a sense of obligation to the next generation. I often said in 1992 I did not want my daughter to grow up in a country in which she was part of the first generation of Americans to do worse than her parents and in which her beloved land was coming apart when it ought to be coming together.

The theme song of our campaign was "Don't Stop Thinking About Tomorrow." In order to do that, this country needs a clear mission and a good spirit. Our mission clearly has been to strengthen our economy and to preserve our security, to empower our people to seize the opportunities the future offers, to rebuild our American sense of community, to find strength in all this diversity we have rather than division and weakness, to try to make our Government work for ordinary citizens again, not as a savior but as a sure partner, to try to summon Americans to the idea that we can do better and that we are doing better.

Now, in just a year and a half or so, we have seen over 4 million jobs come into this economy, a 20 percent drop in the African-American unemployment rate. We have seen 3 years of reduction in our terrible national deficit in a row for the first time since Mr. Truman was President of the United States. We have seen investments in new technologies and dra-