

C.I.A. Reportedly Taking a Role in Haiti

By ELAINE SCIOLINO

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 27 — In a move that some lawmakers believe could subvert the democratic process in Haiti, President Clinton has approved a secret contingency plan that authorizes unspecified political activities to neutralize the opponents of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, senior Administration officials said today.

In addition, the \$5 million plan authorizes the Central Intelligence Agency to spend \$1 million on propaganda activities to help ease Father Aristide's return and to use covert means to protect American forces there from hostile military groups, the officials added.

To avoid charges that the United States is interfering, the C.I.A. does not have the authority to undertake political activities on its own, the officials added. But the vague nature of the term "political actions" has alarmed some lawmakers who fear that money could be used to corrupt politics in Haiti.

Administration officials briefed

After all the overt help for Aristide, he may get a little covert help, too.

key lawmakers last Wednesday about Mr. Clinton's order, known as a finding, as required by law. Since then, the C.I.A. has begun to use some of the \$1 million earmarked for propaganda for covert radio broadcasts and to penetrate military groups that might seek to harm American troops.

The officials briefing Congress told lawmakers that one of the goals was to "create a political climate" that would help put into effect the agreement that former President Jimmy Carter reached with Lieut. Gen. Raoul Cédras, Haiti's military leader, on Sept. 18.

Under that agreement, General Cédras and other military leaders must relinquish power after the parliament approves a general amnesty, or by Oct. 15, whichever comes earlier. The Clinton Administration supports an amnesty so that it does not have to forcibly remove the Haitian leaders if they refuse to leave.

A number of lawmakers said they were convinced that under the covert operation, pro-military legislators elected under disputed circumstances could be paid off to step aside, and that the C.I.A. had the authority to pay expenses, provide security or give other incentives to parliamentarians who do not want to vote for amnesty.

"I cannot discuss intelligence matters, but it would not be uncommon for the United States to get involved in some manner in promoting free and fair elections," said Senator Dennis DeConcini, Democrat of Arizona. "To me this could be done in many ways. I would think an open overt way would be the best. The institutions are there."

Senior Administration officials familiar with the Presidential finding insisted that it did not authorize the C.I.A. to bribe officials or try to influence the vote on amnesty.

"We have specifically excluded paying people off or getting involved in the political process in an intrusive way," said one senior Administration official. "We took those activities out. We have done absolutely zero in this domain, and I seriously doubt whether we will pursue this at all."

But a number of Administration officials conceded that there could be circumstances in which the United States might want to take action to stop the military from paralyzing Haitian politics, as it did last year in blocking the Governors Island accord, under which the military was to step down.

"Our concern is that the bad guys are going to bribe people, intimidate people, keep people away from the parliament," said one senior United States official. "On a limited basis, we may have to do things to counter that."

For example, if the United States uncovered a coup plot against Father Aristide, Washington could take measures to thwart it, officials said. And although, on paper at least, payments to deputies are not allowed, officials said they could be offered protection, transportation to and from parliament and other help.

Some lawmakers familiar with the plan also expressed concern about spending \$1 million on C.I.A.-generated propaganda when Washington is already supporting an overt program, including two radio stations that broadcast messages from Father Aristide and the distribution of millions of pro-Aristide leaflets.

Administration officials countered that the covert propaganda program gives the Administration maximum flexibility and provides funds for activities like newspapers.

The secret order renders invalid an earlier \$12 million secret plan to offer Haiti's three top military leaders a comfortable life in exile and to conduct covert activities that might undermine them.

Administration spokesmen officially refused to confirm or deny the existence of the secret programs. "Consistent with this Administration's steadfast practice, we do not comment one way or another on alleged intelligence activities," said Michael McCurry, the State Department spokesman.

As part of the plan, Mr. Clinton authorized the C.I.A. to introduce agents inside Haiti to detect plots to assassinate American soldiers or take them hostage.

In a formal review after the mission in Somalia, where 18 American troops were killed last October while trying to capture a clan leader, the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board concluded that there was not sufficient support by the C.I.A., and that authority for covert operations should be in place whenever American forces were deployed in a potentially hostile environment, senior officials said.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1994

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

a. 30-94

Dory
What's the
deal on this

Fire the Messengers

When a President speaks out of both sides of his mouth with the whole country watching, no press secretary's spin can save him. So it's hardly Dee Dee Myers's fault that even some of Bill Clinton's loyal partisans use phrases like "the last straw" to characterize the President's shotgun marriage to the Haiti strongmen formerly known as thugs. The televised images of the thugs' thugs wielding crowbars in Port-au-Prince may overpower any words emanating from the White House for some time to come.

Just the same, who can doubt that Mr. Clinton has the worst public relations of anyone in politics, Dan Quayle included? The President has done more than a few things right, but such is his low estate that even the foolproof tonic of a growing economy won't lift his poll numbers. When Mr. Clinton isn't busy being his own worst enemy, sending forth mixed messages about Haiti or his numerical definition of universal health care, his inept messengers work overtime seeing to it that the good news is garbled as well.

This is why Mr. Clinton was right to give Leon Panetta the authority to overhaul the White House staff. But instead of ratifying Mr. Panetta's overdue personnel shuffle, Mr. Clinton botched it — so much so that he turned poor Ms. Myers into the human correlative of his Haiti policy.

The pattern of the two flip-flops was identical. The White House signaled Ms. Myers's exile in advance as clearly as it had Gen. Raoul Cédras's. At the last minute, Mr. Clinton was persuaded in an end-run —

Ms. Myers usurping Mr. Panetta as Jimmy Carter had Warren Christopher — to reverse course: Ms. Myers stayed put, as the general did, receiving new respect and, in her case, a promotion. (And even this resolution is provisional, since the White House let it be known that Ms. Myers, unlike the general, will definitely flee by New Year's.)

What prompted the abrupt reprieve was Mr. Clinton's fear that Ms. Myers's departure would look bad for a White House that treats her and other women as second-class citizens. But the President's inability to allow women to flourish in top

will fail to preserve the Administration's waning feminist reputation, any more than the don't-ask-don't-tell compromise placated those who thought Mr. Clinton sold out gays in the military. What the reversal on Ms. Myers has mainly accomplished, besides reinforcing the President's image as a waffler, is to destroy the credibility of the latest White House savior, Mr. Panetta.

The previous savior was David Gergen, engineer of the last press-office upheaval. Mr. Gergen's legacy as a communications guru was summed up in a valedictory interview with Ted Koppel last Friday.

From his perch in the State Department, Mr. Gergen deftly slipped a new knife into whatever remains of Warren Christopher's back by noting that the Secretary had to tear himself away from an Embassy party as the apparently unanticipated Port-au-Prince beatings surfaced on TV. (At least Mr. Christopher, who had attended "Quiz Show" during the Carter-Cédras negotiations, didn't have to be tracked down at "Natural Born Killers.") As for Ms. Myers, Mr. Gergen oozed, "Everybody cares about Dee Dee, everybody loves Dee Dee," in a tone that couldn't have been more patronizing.

The message the departing Mr. Gergen sent was that of an out-to-lunch Administration buffeted by events rather than in charge of them, and of a White House in which every man (and I do mean man) is out for himself.

When the news is this bad, must the Administration always be the first to spread the word? □

Clinton's amateur p.r.

White House jobs, however lamentable, is irrelevant to the crisis in communications at hand.

Administration achievements now happen largely in obscurity (the May signing of the education bill) while its most inept p.r. schemes (the hapless health care bus caravan) unravel in prime time. In my experience, even simple requests for information are beyond the press office's competence. Why promote a key player in this mess just long enough to do more damage during the high-stakes election season?

Surely the transparent tokenism of Ms. Myers's temporary reprieve

Topics of The Times

The Big Nigerian Fiction

Why would Nigeria's military dictators seize the passport of Wole Soyinka, a Nobel laureate in literature and Nigeria's best-known citizen?

It makes little sense. By stopping him at the airport to prevent his attending a conference in Sweden, the junta called fresh attention to Mr. Soyinka's eloquent condemnation of its repressive policies and its jailing of Moshood Abiola, the winner of last year's canceled election.

Plausibly, Nigeria's generals feared Mr. Soyinka's message more than they fear a brief burst of bad publicity. Writing on the opposite page on Aug. 22, the novelist and essayist countered the argument put forward by the junta to justify voiding the elections: that Nigeria would break up if a candidate from the southwest, like Mr. Abiola, ended the north's unbroken grip on power.

In truth, Mr. Soyinka wrote in his Op-Ed article, the voting returns "made it abundantly clear that the so-called gulf between the North and the South was an invention, and that there was a line of division in the North — between the workers, peasants, civil servants, petty traders, students and the unemployed on the one hand, and the parasitic elite and feudal scions on the other."

The big Nigerian fiction, in short, is that the officer corps, mainly from the north, is the guardian of national unity and honor. In trying to silence Mr. Soyinka, these jittery soldiers only manage to confirm the validity of his indictment.

Guilt-Free Leftovers

In some households, the refrigerator is a sort of purgatory where leftovers bide their time in the dark, until mold and fungus pulls them under. Icky, yes. But thoroughly understandable, given that folks of a certain age were raised to believe that wasting even a mouthful was a sin — somewhere people were starving. Guilt is a powerful incentive. Instead of disposing of that last bit of stroganoff, we mummify it in aluminum foil and let it sit until it gets old enough to be thrown away, guilt free.

Dianna Namisniak and her enterprising husband, Lee, have set out to foreclose this therapeutic out. The Namisniaks have just been awarded a patent for an electronic "leftover monitor" that attaches to the refrigerator with magnets. On its face are several rows for tags showing the name and life span of foods. About 60 different magnetic tags come with the device. The tag for ricotta cheese says it should last seven days.

The shopper chooses tags that correspond to the foods, enters the lifetime of the item, then keeps watch. The deluxe model is all electronic — food names and freshness days can be typed in and displayed on a liquid-crystal screen. After five days, a warning light goes on. After seven, the light flashes. If you still don't eat that stroganoff, the monitor keeps counting the days up to 99.

The Namisniaks are on a mission to make the monitor a standard feature of the American kitchen. Imagine, then, coming home to a flashing alarm, signifying that something deep in the refrigerator is approaching 100 days old. No thank you. Some things you just don't want to know.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9.30.94

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SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: September 29, 1994
94 SEP 29 P 3:36

Date of Request: 9/27/1994
Request for: POTUS
Type of Request: Honorary Chairman of Committee
Requestor Name: Mr. John C. Whitehead
Title: Chairman
Organization: United Nations Association of the United
States of America
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017-6104
Contact Tel. #: 212/697-3232
Event Date: 10/24/1995
Event Description: The National Committee for the 50th
anniversary of the United Nations
Notes: The committee is a "private citizen committee
formed to encourage education and involvement
in the anniversary celebration." The other
honorary chairs are Presidents Ford, Carter,
Reagan, and Bush.

Recommendations:

JP 

PL _____

9.29.94

En répondant donnez ce No.
comme référence

Bry



GRAND QUARTIER GENERAL
FORCES ARMÉES D'HAÏTI
PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAÏTI

*Richardson
wants you
to see
this letter*

September 21, 1994.

Honorable Bill RICHARDSON
Chief Deputy Majority Whip
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mister RICHARDSON,

I appreciate your letter of September 19, 1994. I praise the role that you have played as a pioneer into the process that has led to the signature of the September 18 Agreement.

Your visit to our country has opened the door to the U.S. Presidential Mission conducted by former President Jimmy Carter. You have contributed to show the public opinion that Haitian military leaders are men of dialog, conscious of the well-being of the Haitian People.

With my best considerations.

Raoul Cedras
Raoul CEDRAS
Commander in Chief
Armed Forces of Haiti

To Nancy
for POTUS
CUOP/Leon
From bin
Phil
Lader

9-28-94



September 20, 1994

President William Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Mr. President:

The note you sent me about the breakfast at the White House on August 9 was uncommonly generous.

I did my best to speak the truth to you, even at the risk of giving offense and disrupting the tenor of the meeting. I trusted you to be willing to take it. You more than proved you could.

I would not have been surprised if you had shown a good deal more than irritation and resolved never to see that s.o.b. again, as Truman might have.

I congratulate you, too, on Vice President Gore's speech just before going to Cairo, in which he took a clear stand against both an international right to abortion and the use of abortion as a method of family planning. Given the earlier cable traffic, these were good and generous steps forward.

I admire Pope John Paul II for putting up a fight on these issues, but I wish his spokesman had done what John F. Kennedy did when he received two contrary messages from the Soviet leader: Embrace the good interpretation, and ignore the bad. I also wish he hadn't mentioned the Vice President's name.

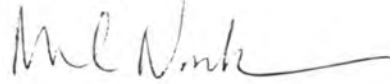
The Vice President served you well by clearing the air. I congratulate you both.

As I said at the breakfast, abortion is the moral problem for this generation that slavery was for Lincoln's. It would be wonderful to see some dramatic steps toward making it more rare.

You could, I think, keep expanding the *principle*, little by little; i.e., abortion for the sake of gender selection should be prohibited. A hundred years from now, historians will regard the current methods of abortion as barbaric, and wonder how we put up with them.

Each president must nudge the people a little. You are in a far better political position to do something than any conservative ever will be.

With respect,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Michael Novak", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Michael Novak

MN/cml