

**CENTER FOR
STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (CSIS)**

**MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT
GOALS IN HAITI**

WELCOME:

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SPEAKERS:

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H. ANDREW SCHWARTZ: Good afternoon and welcome to the Center for Strategic and International Studies. My name is Andrew Schwartz. I'm our vice president for external relations here at CSIS and I am – excuse me – so proud to have our panel here with us. We've launched this terrific partnership with the University of Miami, the Knight School of Communication, and I'd like to particularly acknowledge Dean Sam Grogg, who is here with us from the University of Miami school of communication. (Applause.)

Sam and his colleagues have really made this possible, and we are about to embark on quite a journey, because this journey that we're going to go on with the University of Miami is going to explore the Millennium Development Goals, some of the most important things happening in the world today.

We're going to look at all of the Millennium Development Goals, and we're going to kick this series off with a discussion about Haiti. It couldn't be any more timely. Haiti is a perfect case to discuss some of the millennium challenges and the goals, and we have with us here our moderator, Mariam Nawabi, who is going to be moderating this entire series. And with that, I'd like to turn it over to Mariam, who is going to tell us more about our distinguished panel. Thank you so much for coming.

MARIAM NAWABI: Thank you very much, Andrew. I want to welcome everyone to the first session of CSIS and the University of Miami's Global Challenges series. The series is going to provide insights on the most pressing global issues of our time, using the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals as a prism to look at some of these issues.

What's really unique about the series is that it's a partnership with the University of Miami's Knight Center for Media, and through that we will be capturing the information in the series, and it will be available on the Web so that not only the people in this room can access the information, but scholars, students and others who are not here in Washington today.

Today's session is going to focus on Haiti, and as we know, it's a country that sits close to the United States in the Caribbean that presents a lot of promise when it comes to tourism, agribusiness, but that given some of its political, economic and security challenges, has some issues to address internally in order to be able to meet its Millennium Development Goals. Today CSIS and the University of Miami are pleased to introduce this distinguished panel.

Before I introduce our special guests, I just want to provide a brief summary of what the U.N. Millennium Development Goals actually are. Basically, in September of 2000, the United Nations had a conference and decided that, you know, we really need some benchmarks in terms of looking at poverty in the world. And there are eight indicators that were looked at and decided upon by the U.N. General Assembly where the world's richest countries could assist the world's poorest countries in lifting them, alleviating them out of poverty, but with specific benchmarks that could be measured over time.

Some of the challenges, of course, is measuring these things in various countries, that – some that have good information, some that don't. And with the population growth, as time progresses, you're meeting some of the challenges, but the population keeps growing, so your problem keeps growing. And so that's where we've been. We've been progress, taking steps forward and then taking some steps back.

Some countries, such as China and India, have actually made greater progress; some in the sub-Saharan Africa region unfortunately have not made as much progress. And some people are saying this has a lot to do with governance, that in countries where there's better governance, then these indicators are moving ahead better because they're able to absorb the assistance. And in other countries, where obviously it's not – they're still caught in political turmoil and are not able to fully capture the assistance.

Although the Millennium Development Goals provide for these shared benchmarks and goals, unfortunately, in the last year, with the global trade crisis and credit crisis that affected the U.S. economy, this has presented additional challenges for meeting these goals. And the goals are set for 2015; that's when these indicators were set to be looked at and hopefully to be met, and every few years, the U.N. takes a relook at the goals and where countries are on the index. So that's just a broad kind of perspective, just to give you context, because we're going to be discussing some of the issues with respect to the MDGs, as we'll say for short.

I want to introduce our distinguished panelists. From my right, beginning, Dr. Barth Green. He's professor and chairman of the Department of Neurological Surgery and professor of orthopedics and rehabilitation at the University of Miami's Miller School of Medicine. He is also involved, outside of that, if that wasn't enough, in two very substantial projects: One is the Miami Project to Cure Paralysis, and his love of Haiti has also led him to start Project Medishare, which is a network of U.S. medical professionals who are seeking to rebuild Haiti's medical infrastructure. And he's also the director of the Center for Haitian Studies, and he's based in Miami, so we're very lucky to have him here today to share some of his perspectives of what he's been doing.

On my left is Johanna Mendelson Forman. She's actually here, a senior associate with the Center for Strategic and International Studies. I think she's worked in every major institute that's dealt with development, including the U.S. Agency for International Development, the World Bank, and here with CSIS analyzing these issues fiord governments and providing policy perspectives. She also is an adjunct at American University and Georgetown University.

And on the far left is Ambassador Raymond Joseph. He is Haiti's ambassador to the United States. His background really began with journalism, something that I'm learning more about. My background is actually in law, and I've actually just been getting involved in journalism recently. But he started one of the largest papers in the Diaspora, called "The Haiti Observateur". It's still one of the most widely read newspapers in the Diaspora. He was a column – a writer with the Wall Street Journal, writing for the financial section in the '70s and '80s, and he was involved in some of Haiti's democratic reform and was asked in 2004 to be Haiti's ambassador here in Washington.

So that is our distinguished panel. What we'll be doing is kind of having a conversation here. You're all part of this, and we'll have a lot of time for question and answer, so we'd like to open the floor after for questions. But we won't be having any speeches because we want this to be really a dialogue and engaging for you.

Johanna, I want to start with you. I want to ask, taking a look at Haiti, what are the most important Millennium Development Goals that Haiti is seeking to meet?

JOHANNA MENDELSON FORMAN: Well, the most obvious one is the reduction to companies, and like all companies –

AMBASSADOR RAYMOND JOSEPH: Is your mike on?

MS. NAWABI: Let's turn it on. There we go. Okay.

MS. MENDELSON FORMAN: I'll start again. Is that better?

MS. NAWABI: Yeah.

MS. MENDELSON FORMAN: Obviously, the most important one, the reduction of poverty, is still a challenge. I don't think it's an elusive challenge, and there was progress made, but as you referenced earlier, Haiti suffered some tremendous blows. It suffered the tragedy of four natural disasters that hit at the same time, it suffered the economic blow of a recession globally that started in late 2008, and before that, it suffered the consequence of food insecurity, which also affected Haiti's ability to move forward. All of these aside, however, I do think that there is an opportunity looking forward to still go towards these goals in 2015.

I think when you gave the introduction about the Millennium Development Goals, I guess as an old creature of the U.N., I think these benchmarks are important because they set goals and objectives not only for the countries that are the beneficiaries of aid but also for the countries that donate aid. And in Haiti's case, I just think that the most important factor for Haiti's ability to move ahead is its neighborhood. Haiti lives in a very peaceful neighborhood, unlike other countries that have suffered this kind of conflict. It has great support from its donor states, from the United States, from Canada, from Brazil on the security end. And I think it puts it in an advantaged position as we look towards achieving some of these goals.

MS. NAWABI: Ambassador, last April, Haiti laid out its development priorities in a major donor conference here in Washington and more than \$320 million was pledged. Obviously, Haiti is still dependent on foreign assistance. Can you let us know whether that assistance has been realized in Haiti, or are you still waiting for donor contributions?

AMB. JOSEPH: Well, unfortunately, \$324 million were pledged back in April. Up to now, I would say about 25 percent of it has been dispersed, and I think that's the big problem of Haiti. And a lot of the money dispersed was dispersed in the third quarter, so the government of

Haiti, although it had all these pledges, didn't have the money in time. Also, there's some organizations that came through much faster than others, for example, IADB –

MS. NAWABI: The inter-development –

AMB. JOSEPH: The Inter-American Development Bank came through with its \$25 million, but others for some reasons have been dragging their feet, and I think that's the major point for Haiti. Sure, as Johanna has said, we are living in a peaceful neighborhood and we have friends in Brazil, we have friends in America, we have friends in Canada. However, we have to see the funds, because only the pledges will help Haiti.

MS. NAWABI: Why do you think that there's been delays in the money that hasn't yet been distributed?

AMB. JOSEPH: For some – in some cases, for example, European Union, there's some problems internally. Other people said, well, the Haitian government didn't do certain things. We're still going through this. I think a conference will have to be called, and for us to know why these funds have not been dispersed in time, because I think that would have really helped us, even in the problems we have had recently.

MS. NAWABI: In some countries, the aid is allocated through foreign contractors. In Haiti's case, is this money to be allocated directly to the Haitian government or are you also dealing with foreign contractors and organizations?

AMB. JOSEPH: One thing that has been happening since I got here is that most of the funds going through Haiti were going through NGOs, nongovernmental agencies. We've been fighting for direct support to the government, and in April, for the first time, we had some pledges for budget support. But even for budget support, it didn't come through on time.

MS. NAWABI: Turning to an NGO that's working in Haiti, Project Medishare, could you, Dr. Green, provide us some perspective on what Project Medishare has done in Haiti and what kind of cooperation does your NGO have with the government, if that's a point the ambassador is raising as being important?

BARTH GREEN: Yeah. Let me just comment, without sounding, you know, Project Medishare, that as an outsider with great respect for the dignity and the Haitian government and as a country, the people, I think the major challenge getting these pledges paid lies in the area of security. I think that's a big issue, and it's never been better. I think it's well-documented that all the kidnappings and violence are so decreased that actually, Doctors with Borders are pulling out of there because they're in the wrong place, they've decided, and turning over their medical programs to the Ministry of Health, which is a good sign. And I think the travel restrictions are limited.

Infrastructure has been another challenge, and I think road-building has been spectacular. There's major commitments for hydroelectric plants and solar power and electrical power, and I

think those things, along with the stability of the government, have been challenges, but I think it's the right time. It's a window of opportunity.

Project Medishare is very unique as an NGO. There are literally thousands of NGOs in Haiti that have their own agenda that's not always the same agenda of the government, the same strategic plan. So we work under the government's strategic plan. We're not political; we – our agenda is to serve their plan, so in different areas, we work in the north, in the plateau, in the south, but every place we work, we work with the government officials who are the professionals, who are committed career-wise, and we work with their plans.

So I think that's important, and I think President Clinton, just this last week, asked Denis O'Brien, who is the CEO of Digicel, a major player in philanthropy and in Haiti, to try and get the NGOs to get their act together and work under and with the government's strategic plan. And I think that'll make a tremendous difference, putting this tremendous energy and these tremendous resources all in the same focus and pathway.

AMB. JOSEPH: I would like to add something to what you said here. I have brought an article here that appeared – it's a Reuters News Agency small item that was blown into a big headline by the New York Post with a big ship. Somebody can take this and pass – I have a few copies. You can share it. I think this little story here explains what the hope for Haiti is, and at the same time, it shows how Haiti's not-too distant past is pulling it back.

In the fourth paragraph of this five-paragraph news item, here, you talk about the largest ship that's being launched that's going to be going from Haiti, going from the Port Everglades, and it's arriving in Haiti December 1st. It has 6300 guests on board, 2300 crew, and all that. In that fourth paragraph, it says it will be going to La'Badie, Haiti, but La'Badie is spelled B-A-D-E-E. That's why I'm talking about Haiti's past. Yes, it's a great hope for us, but what was La'Badie spelled D-E-E? Because in the past, Royal Caribbean did not want people to know that they were going to Haiti, which was a violent place. So nobody knew that they were in Haiti. They were in Labadee, D-E. (Laughter.)

Since we got here in 2004, we tried to correct this with the Royal Caribbean, and they did agree it's La'Badie, D-I-E, hyphen, Haiti. So now –

MS. NAWABI: Ambassador –

AMB. JOSEPH: So now we're coming back to this. You see, we have to go forget what happened in the past. We're not longer – we're no longer Labadee, D-E-E-, we're La'Badie, D-I-E, Haiti.

MS. NAWABI: Ambassador, you raise a very important point, and that is the importance of foreign investment. If we look at other post-conflict countries, it's not the donor money that really makes – that creates the jobs for the people and creates the industry, it's the private sector. And Johanna, I want to pick on that point, because you have seen this from many perspectives, from development agencies and also from what the private sector's been doing. Interestingly,

President Clinton was appointed as U.N. special envoy to Haiti, and his specific task has been to try to promote foreign direct investment in the country.

And just this past September, there – a donor, private donor conference, that was held, 125 companies attended and they had a trade mission to Haiti. This was unprecedented, the first time such a large number of companies are going to Haiti to look for investment opportunities. Johanna, we talked about the NGO sector, and obviously, NGOs have a role to play in the government and the private sector. What do you think the government of Haiti can be doing to promote more investment to create the jobs they need?

MS. MENDELSON FORMAN: I think there are two levels of development challenges that we face. One is the problem that President Clinton, as the special envoy, is addressing. There has to be investment in Haiti, and his work, which was very successful, they had a great conference, lots of investors, builds on some of the intellectual work that was done by Paul Collier, a well-known economist who wrote a book about the poorest people in the world, “The Bottom Billion”. And that plan laid out a very specific strategy with the government of Haiti of how to address public-private partnerships, public investment. In fact, the issue that the ambassador addressed about La’Badie is one of them. There’s actually a request for a proposal to develop more tourism and craft-related jobs.

But I think you have to take things in incremental steps. There’s the short-term, immediate need of the alleviation of some of the misery that people face, and I think misery and poverty go together, and we have to deal with those. And there’s that short-term strategy which needs to be dealt with in partnership between the government of Haiti and the multilateral and bilateral donors. That has always been an agenda.

But I think it’s very hard to mesh some of the private-sector initiatives, which are extraordinarily important, with them. And the examples that Dr. Collier gave about the need to focus on job creation, because there’s going to be a tsunami of youth that are unemployed in not only the urban areas but in the urban areas, is urgent, and he addressed creating export zones, he addressed the need for dealing with special terms for electricity generation so people would have an incentive there.

But in talking about the Millennium Development Goals, Haiti has been very lucky, because the United States Congress passed two pieces of legislation which I know our ambassador was very much involved with, HOPE I and HOPE II, which gives Haiti tremendous access to duty-free trade with the United States. It is a great gift, and I think President Clinton’s expertise and the people he brought with precisely to build on that. So we have to talk at two levels.

MS. NAWABI: Ambassador, have you seen any progress from HOPE I and II?

AMB. JOSEPH: Yes, well, I wanted to also say, answering to your question, what I saw, the thing that the Haitian government has to do to get investment. When I got here in 2004, in Haiti, we had a police force of 2500, and for a population of eight-and-a-half million. New York City happens to have eight-and-a-half million people, and they have a police force of 45,000,

plus all the other security forces around. So the Haitians must be very peaceful, because they didn't kill each other. Only 2500.

Now, since then – and that's why we have the problem of security. That's why you heard about Cité Soleil. In fact, Cité Soleil became synonymous with Haiti. You had somebody got kidnapped and ended in Cité Soleil. The next paragraph in this story, Haiti is the most violent country in the world. So the Haitian government had to address security. We have addressed that, and to –

MS. NAWABI: How has that been addressed?

AMB. JOSEPH: Today, we have 10,000 policemen and policewomen throughout Haiti, and before President Préval's term is up in February, 2011, we will be reaching 14,000. And I recently went to Haiti on vacation, and I wanted to gauge security, so I went out at night – that wasn't official. I was not in an official car, I was with my friend in a taxi, and weekends, Friday, Saturday, I saw people out in the streets two, three in the morning.

And I will use a statistic that was used here in April, it's not mine, whereas in December, 2007, when the Diaspora comes to Haiti with a lot of money, that's when you have a lot of kidnappings, they had 278 kidnappings reported. In December, 2008, we had eight. And those eight were quickly caught. Why? Because the government worked out with the police and the security forces a new system of zeroing in on the kidnappers because the police now works with the telephone companies, the cellular companies.

MS. NAWABI: Ambassador, doesn't the United Nations still have peacekeepers in Haiti, how many do you have there and what's their role?

AMB. JOSEPH: The United Nations has about 9,000 police – really, soldiers and police: the police contingent about 2,000 of them. But when I went there in August, mid-August, what I saw, it's the Haitian National Police manning the post who are in front and the United Nations forces in the background, and I think this is very good. So the Haitian police is owning the security of the country.

MS. NAWABI: So do you foresee the U.N. peacekeepers being able to withdraw completely after a period of time?

AMB. JOSEPH: Well, you know, since 2000 – since 1994, the U.N. has sent about six missions to Haiti. This time, they just renewed for another year, just about the 15th of October. I expect the United Nations to be there to help us with the coming elections, but I think Haiti – Haitians themselves can provide security.

Don't forget that in 1990, December 1990, there were elections in Haiti, and if you read the literature of Haiti, it will say there were the most democratic elections. Do you know who provided the security? The Haitian armed forces of the time. There was not United Nations. But you know how the Haitian army got corrupted and went into coups. And what happened? They threw out the bathwater with the baby. They destroyed the armed forces, totally. And

there was a vacuum. And in the vacuum, the gangs came in. That's why the United Nations had to come out. So now, by building our own force again, this time not an army, but a police force, eventually the Haitians who gave security for the elections of 1990 will be able to give not only election security for elections but security for their own country.

MS. NAWABI: Johanna, as an expert in that region, do you agree with that assessment?

MS. MENDELSON FORMAN: Well, I think that the ambassador is right that the United Nations has provided a security force that has enabled a lot of the other state functions to happen, including the rebuilding of the police force, which since 2004 has developed again. There was a building of the force the first time from 1994 to the end of 2003, which unfortunately was not a great success.

But I think we also have to look at Haiti as both an urban and a rural phenomena. Most of the population lives in the rural area, and as you said, Ambassador, just referring to La'Badie, most of the country is pretty quiet, self-policing. There's not a lot of crime around the country. It's isolated this poor infrastructure so that you have that safety net outside of the urban areas. It's really the three major urban centers – Port au Prince, Cap-Haitien and perhaps Gonaïves that need this kind of policing, and the other areas are less so. But I think you can't distinguish between security and development, because the enabling environment has to be secure, and that's what the U.N. has done.

And I might also say that the interesting part about security in Haiti right now is it is a Latin-American project. The security forces have come from countries of the Latin-American region, led by the government of Brazil, and I think that marks another change for the better of a region taking the ownership of the country itself and working with the government of Haiti to ensure that there is greater stability and security. That didn't happen the first time, and I think we're at a different stage.

MS. NAWABI: Dr. Green, as someone who's traveled to Haiti, you just mentioned that you have seen security improve, and I want to get your take on, having traveled there, what improvements that you've seen in the general infrastructure, and then with the medical infrastructure.

DR. GREEN: As far as the violence and crime, it's just dramatic. And I go there fairly frequently, a couple of times a month sometimes, and every time I go I feel more comfortable. And we don't – you don't need guards or armored cars, you don't have to worry about this anymore. It's a totally different environment, and what the U.N. should do – this is just my opinion – is exactly what the ambassador suggested. We don't need soldiers, we don't need armies. What we need is skilled police training for the Haitian police force, which are really a whole new generation of very proud and honest and well-trained individuals. I'm amazed at the uniforms, the vehicles they're driving, and I remember the day when there was 12 officers and 12 bullets in the back of a pick-up truck. It's a dramatic change. So I think that's there.

As far as the other opportunities, to be able to drive where I work in the isolated plateau in half the time in one year, the road-building is remarkable, and the country's going to be connected by highways very quickly, in the next two years. It'll change the whole infrastructure.

MS. NAWABI: Are there a lot of Haitian companies carrying out this work or are they doing it in partnership with foreign companies?

DR. GREEN: They're foreign contractors hiring Haitian contractors. So the Italians are responsible for Mirebalais to Hinche and then there's another group from Hinche to Cap-Haitien. But to go across the country now will be a few hours, and it used to be a six or seven-hour trip. And it's just dramatic, and the Brazilians are bringing in hydroelectric plants, solar energy is coming up all of the country. Education is changing – everything is so positive, and it's just an exciting time. I get goose bumps every time I go there to see the change from the month before.

And I think it's a reflection of the commitment of the Haitian people, too, for opportunities. Education is treasured. Art, music, education are the jewels of Haiti, and I think people are grasping that and really taking advantage of it. We're working with the Earth Institute developing a millennium village in the plateau as an example of economic bottoms-up development, with agriculture and sanitation and education and all the economic – microfinance – all the good things that have happened in Africa are now being reproduced in Haiti. But it's a Haitian millennium village, not an African.

MS. NAWABI: The U.N. secretary-general has wanted Haiti to be an example of how progress can be made in reaching the Millennium Development Goals. What do you think are some of the reasons why Haiti could be a good example?

DR. GREEN: Well, Haiti is 9 million people who are basically spiritual, religious, honest, hard-working people. And it can just – it's so – it's an hour from Miami and it's an hour from other countries, and it's – there's so much talent in the arts and music and everywhere and craftsmanship. They used to be the best builders of baseball bats and boats and so many different things, and now, all those factories are available, the tax incentive is there and the security is there, the infrastructure is being completed, it's just – you know, companies are beginning to say, I want to go back to Haiti.

MS. NAWABI: Ambassador, I want to ask you about this issue of the importance of a people to a country. Haiti has had a large segment of diaspora, especially in the United States. You've been a member of that diaspora. Do you see diaspora returning to Haiti now with this progress, and what role do you see the diaspora having?

AMB. JOSEPH: Well, this is one of our biggest problems. If you look at the statistics of the Inter-American Development Banks, recent statistics tell you that 83 percent of Haitian professionals are abroad in the diaspora. And I do not see Haiti really making it as it should unless we can convince some of these professionals to come back.

MS. NAWABI: Has the government been doing anything to try to bring them back?

AMB. JOSEPH: The government is working now, and IDB itself – Inter-American Development Bank – has a program whereby we are enticing them. Because of the salary structure in Haiti being so low, you cannot really ask some of these people to leave their positions abroad to come to Haiti, but now we are trying to find ways of how to subsidize their salaries so that we can appeal to them.

But with the security of the country becoming what it is now, a lot of them are coming back, and I think that was a very good plan that the Haitian government had. It says, the first thing we are going to do is to attract a Creole tourist. Do you know what Creole tourists are? These are the Haitians who have made it abroad, who are doing very well, and who would go out to the Dominican Republic, to Jamaica, elsewhere, on vacation.

But we made a conscious effort to work on the security to appeal to them first, and what's happening now? They start coming. You know, at one point, we only had American Airlines flying to Haiti. Now we have Spirit Airlines, we have Delta, we have Air France, and they're all full. And I would say about 80 to 90 percent of the people who are coming now are the Creole tourists. Now, these are coming back to the United States, going to Canada, going elsewhere and saying, yes, the country is ready for us.

MS. NAWABI: Johanna, I want to pick up – you've mentioned all these youth that are going to be coming into the job market. I think there was a New York Times article that mentioned 900,000 within five years, so you have this large diaspora coming back, looking for opportunity. What can the government and the U.N. do so there is not a divide between the people who are there and those who are coming back?

MS. MENDELSON FORMAN: I think that's an excellent question, and it gets to a point that I wanted to bring back to your Millennium Development Goals. I think we've talked about some really positive achievements and the opportunity and the hope that exists, but there's a clock that's also ticking, and these 900,000 youth are part of that clock. Population growth continues to create a tremendous pressure on the land.

The land has another problem, part of the Millennium Development Goals, it is deforested, 98 percent of the country is deforested in Haiti, in comparison to its neighbor in the Dominican Republic, where you still have 58 percent of the trees covering it. There – so there are really important issues that need to be addressed, as the ambassador and Dr. Green have said, that have to be addressed now. And how do you create jobs? Well, in the U.N. plan, which was partly developed in conjunction with the government of Haiti, you have to create some of these industrial zones that will employ people.

That doesn't take into account youth living in the rural area, but you also need to create jobs in the rural area, and that can be done both with short-term expectations, such as the construction and small projects which have to continue in the interim, but I think as the doctor mentioned, you have to really reach out for education. In that Millennium Development Goal, Haiti is still in a very desperate situation. Most children of school age are still not starting school at the normal age of entry of five. There's a delay, and that's why there are so many older children in school. There's a problem of access to education.

The benefit, when you mentioned Denis O'Brien and Digicel, is that there is the opportunity to do distance learning with the access ability of cell phones. There is a great cell phone penetration in Haiti. So I think we have to deal with these pressure issues that you're mentioning that could disrupt what I think is a hopeful vision, and that's where the MDGs are so important.

MS. NAWABI: Last question for the ambassador before we take questions from the audience, Ambassador, you mentioned all these improvements that have been seen in Haiti and also the increased security and government progress, but just this past Friday, your prime minister was ousted by a vote from the senate – from the same party, I believe. How do you think that that's going to affect the perception of security and stability in Haiti?

AMB. JOSEPH: Well, I knew that question was coming. (Laughter.)

MS. NAWABI: It's recent news.

AMB. JOSEPH: Recent news. You know, what happened on this weekend, it's really – it hurts us, a lot of us. I know a lot of us did not want to see this happen, not at this time when in a year we're going to have elections, and so forth. However, I would say that what happened in retrospect shows that Haiti has matured.

MS. NAWABI: And how does it show that?

AMB. JOSEPH: It has matured that – don't forget, last year after the food riots, we had a change of prime minister, and while the prime minister fell, the ministries continued to work. If it were in the past, all the ministers would have left. The president of the country would have been on his plane out of the country. No, that's not what happened. Yes, they had some wrangling discussions for four months before we find another prime minister. But things were smooth. This time again, the prime minister left, four or five days now. Have you heard any riots in Haiti? No riots in Haiti.

And very quickly, the president came up with a new prime minister, and if what I've heard is correct, this new prime minister is going to be presented to the parliament, to the senate, within two days. And who is the new prime minister designate? The new prime minister designate is the minister of planning, and the minister of planning happens to be the one who prepared the plan that was presented to the international community last April. So what I see here – yes, I did not want to see a change of prime ministers. But if there is a change of prime minister, is a change in continuity. So – and in all this, we see the stability in Haiti, political stability that we did not see in the past. I'm telling you, this is a big change.

MS. NAWABI: Well, since it took 18 months, I believe, to appoint the last prime minister, within a few days, if there's this change, that is definitely progress. (Laughter.)

AMB. JOSEPH: It was not 18 months; it was four months.

MS. NAWABI: Four months.

AMB. JOSEPH: Four months. But it's a big progress. But not only that only in a few days, but the person that was chosen is as if to say to the international community, to say to everybody, look, don't worry, it's not going to change what's happening here. The fellow who prepared the plan that the prime minister was there, was working on, is the same fellow who is going to continue it.

MS. NAWABI: And most importantly, with no violence.

AMB. JOSEPH: Well, you know – (laughter) – ask the good doctor here.

MS. NAWABI: So now we'll open up the floor for questions. Please, if you'd like to ask a question, raise your hand, I'll acknowledge you, come up to one of the microphones and just state your name and organization. In the back? And please, address your question to one of the panelists, please.

Q: Okay. I have a company called Tours to Haiti, and our inaugural trip will start in December. And as Mr. Joseph knows, I've been working on it for quite awhile. My name is Patrick Smythe, and I've been doing work in Haiti since 2001. I wanted to ask, Ray, what do you think would bring regular people back? I mean, I go down there – I've been down there 22 times, I've never been afraid, the people are wonderful, as you said, and what do you think would change the western perspective on safety, security, just going back and just hanging out?

AMB. JOSEPH: Mr. Smyth, when was the last time you were in Haiti?

Q: In August. I go –

AMB. JOSEPH: In August of this year.

Q: No, in October. I just came back last weekend. (Laughter.) You go too many times, you forget.

AMB. JOSEPH: How many regular people did you see on your flight this time?

Q: There were not that many – I'd say one or two – (inaudible, cross talk).

MS. NAWABI: Can you define regular people as opposed to –

AMB. JOSEPH: Did you find regular people? As opposed to when you used to go before, did you see any change in the people that came?

Q: I have to be honest and say no. I mean, I know that there's always been diaspora going, there's always been full planes. I also find that they're very expensive plane trips, which is totally different than the rest of the Caribbean. So I want to ask –

AMB. JOSEPH: Well, I find – I'll tell you one thing –

MS. NAWABI: Well, thank you for your question; we'll let the ambassador finish answering.

AMB. JOSEPH: Okay. Now, I – as I said – I'd passed out story here from the New York Post. I'm not doing any propaganda here or for the New York Post. But they happened to have had this story. I said, that's beginning – you're going to see more people like that. When they come in with 6300 tourists and it's going to be something regular every week.

It's happening in the north of Haiti to begin with. But for that to happen what the government has decided to do is to build the roads, as you said, from La'Badie so the people don't stay only on the beach. Now, they're going to go into Cap-Haitien and go to Milot and go to the city there. When they go back to the ship and come back to the U.S. and start telling people, look, they don't really have a beautiful beach. These people have all the sites that we can visit, then you'll see that picking up.

Don't forget, in the 1940s, '50s and early '60s, the two major destinations for tourists in the Caribbean were Cuba, number one; Haiti, number two. And we know what happened. In 1957, a dictator of the right came into office in Haiti. In January 1, '59 the barbudos came into Havana. And the tourists discovered all the other islands. I see those two countries, Cuba and Haiti, regaining their (possessions/positions ?).

MS. NAWABI: Thank you, any other questions? Can you please come up to the microphone?

AMB. JOSEPH: Ambassador Preeg, Ambassador Preeg.

Q: If the microphone could come down to me – Ernie Preeg, representing the Haiti Democracy Project. But I've been dealing with Haiti for a long time. In fact, I have to say, I'm very happy to be here today because I've written two books on Haiti: The first, "Haiti and the New Caribbean Economic Order", published by the University of Miami. The second, the "Haitian Dilemma", published by CSIS – sort of fitting.

But I have a follow-up question on private-sector job creation for the ambassador because I do think this is central. And the background is that, in the 1980s, Haiti was way out in front of Dominican Republic, Central America and others ahead. Despite all the political downsides, it had 200 companies and full employment center – now, it's the opposite. The investors, they always – every investor looks at all the places before he makes the decision. It's more attractive – for a number of reasons – in D.R., in Central America and elsewhere.

And then, what are the problems? And the two that I see – one, you responded to, crime. There's been great improvement. And people don't realize it yet but that's been dealt with. But the other is, it's corruption related to doing business in Haiti. And it goes from investment policy, of getting legal establishment that can take, longest in Haiti, a year or two where people keep coming out – they're going to expedite but you got to help them out, getting imports in –

the same thing at customs. And the legal procedures for resolving disputes. These are three critical areas and these other – D.R., Central America – you have free trade investment agreements now, which deal with those three issues.

MS. NAWABI: So your question is about the corruption issues for the ambassador?

Q: About these three specific investment-related issues that are related to corruption but where Haiti is now way behind the DR and the other countries. What is the government of Haiti doing about it?

MS. NAWABI: Thank you.

AMB. JOSEPH: Well, you know, one thing that Ambassador Preeg didn't tell you, also, he was ambassador of the United States to Haiti. And he dealt with these issues. He is a hands-on man. First of all, I'll take the last one first. On corruption – you know the Haitian government has formed an anti-corruption unit that has been working quite well and some people have been jailed for corruption. And the other part about businesses taking 278 days, I remember, to establish in Haiti. We've brought it down, now, to two months. We're still not happy. There is Ambassador Lamont (ph), who is working on this unit where we have a one-stop shop.

What brought the corruption is that you had to go to about 12 ministries and agencies before you establish your business in Haiti. That's been dealt with. We're still not there. But I think we are progressing on that. As far as the companies that left Haiti, you have to know that after Jean-Claude Duvalier fled Haiti in 1986 there was a movement against foreigners because – especially U.S. – because the U.S. had, for a long time, supported the dictatorship in Haiti.

So a lot of the companies were also associated with the United States. And I don't know whether you remember, there was a movement of liberation theology and there was a priest who came in with a famous phrase, capitalism is mortal sin. When the American companies heard that, they picked up and left. For example, all the baseballs batted in the majors used to be sewn in Haiti. Well, they went to Honduras.

Now, with Honduras having its own problems, some of them have been calling us and trying to find out when they come back. (Laughter.) So we are addressing this. And I'm not patting myself on the back. When I came here in 2004, I came with a slogan, even a program. And my slogan was, Haiti is open for business.

And I tried to work with Congress and Joanna mentioned it with big effort, we got HOPE I passed by the Republican Congress and then, now, we have HOPE II passed by the Democratic Congress. And HOPE II is for 10 years preferential treatment for products, especially in apparel and textiles, from Haiti coming to the United States.

Recently, HOPE Act was expanded to give Brazil access to the Haitian market. So Brazilian products, certain products from Brazil being manufactured in Haiti, would be coming to the United States also. I think in the next two or three years you'll see a big different and

Haiti will be regaining its position that he has lost. I don't know whether we'll catch up with the Dominican Republic that quickly, but you know, don't forget, Haitians were first in this hemisphere after the United States. And we had helped the United States become what it is.

MS. NAWABI: Thank you.

Q: Thank you.

MS. NAWABI: Do we have any questions for the other panelists? Please.

Q: Thank you. Ashley Chandler, CSIS. I'd want to thank the panel for coming today to talk about this very important subject. But my question has to do with the Millennium Development Goal on disease, particularly with HIV/AIDS. I haven't heard anybody talk about that. I understand that's particularly sensitive for Haiti, stemming back to the discovery of the disease. So if you guys might want to comment on the developments there.

MS. NAWABI: Dr. Green?

DR. GREEN: Sure. Haiti has been probably the most successful of all the developing countries in the world dealing with infectious disease. Not just HIV and TB, but also with malaria and other forms. As a matter of fact, the New Millennium organization that's committing \$5 billion for malaria isn't even planning to go to Haiti now even though there's a reason they should be there.

But with the Bill Pappas (ph) and Paul Farmers and people in the world like that and the government's totally in sync. These are all working with the ministry of health under the ministry's plan. It's a dramatic decrease. And now the nutritional and maternal and neonatal programs are focused on women with HIV and TB and economic job training. Fonkoze, other micro banks are focused on empowering that group of people.

People don't die of HIV in Haiti anymore. It's very rare because they get the triple therapy. They get treatment better than people in Miami and San Francisco do. So I think that's something to be very proud of and it's a result of the ministry of health in cooperation with the U.N. and other agencies. It's been a homerun. And it's still ongoing. But education, prevention – it's just been an amazing success story. So I think that's really important.

And the health care, the manpower problem in Haiti, in my opinion, is that the government has been sending people all over the world to train and they aren't coming back. But we started with two grants from the Soros Foundation 10 years ago in Cap-Haitien. We created the first developing nation family medicine program. What a good idea to have one doctor who can deliver babies, do pediatrics, surgery, infectious disease – all these things.

And so we developed this model and every one of the 31 specialists trained now have taken their U.S. boards and 30 of the 31 have stayed in Haiti and are working for the Ministry of Health because the jobs have been created and the pride and the nationalism is there. So there

are ways to do this. And right now we're creating a nationwide system for trauma and critical care with level one and level two hospitals – a tremendous cooperation.

And the diaspora are participating in this. The ministry of health and NGOs are working together – public-private partnerships. So I believe that you're going to see a tremendous change now. Not from the first generation diaspora in Miami but the second, third and fourth generation in Boston, Washington, Chicago, Philadelphia – who are working for the corporations and businesses and professionals. They want to do something about their country. And so the whole world is changing in that direction. So I'm very optimistic. I really am.

MS. NAWABI: Thank you. Other questions in the front?

Q: I'm Maureen Taft-Morales with the Congressional Research Service and I wanted to ask Johanna to follow up on the significance of the ouster of the prime minister. If anybody else wants to say something about it – but supposedly the president, some members of the president's own party voted to oust her. And some of the, the members, said that they – she didn't do enough to help the poor.

Other analysts are saying that they're, the senators, are jockeying for position for the next elections. So what is the significance of this ouster? Can any prime minister help the poor on her own? What does it say about the ability of the government to function and be stable? And what does it say about the Haitian legislature's role in trying to help the poor and push forward development programs?

MS. FORMAN: Well, I wish we had another hour to sit here and discuss that. (Laughter.) I see we're getting our (cut ?). I wouldn't want to speak for the citizens of Haiti and why they do things. I mean my own sense is that governance is still a key issue in Haiti. And I think the stability of the Preval government, in spite of the changes of prime ministers, is the important long-run factor. If the ambassador's prognosis about Mr. Bellerive following up in a peaceful way, then I think we can have continuity in some of the programs.

But I don't underestimate at all the problems of governance that we know still exist. And part of it has to do with many of the points that people have raised here. A big diaspora that's leaving very little capacity, the lack of resources that go to the communes around the country so that people don't see the sign or presence of the state – that's a very important point in the fragility of Haiti. And that's why we need in the next few years, as part of the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals, the expansion of state presence. The roads will do things as Dr. Green said.

But I think many of these factors will be there. On my own guess, I think it's said that Prime Minister Pierre-Louis is gone. But I also believe, as the ambassador suggested, that a peaceful transition to a new government is the thing that we expect in a world where democracy has to trump other kinds of authoritarian governments. And that's not the future that we want to see for Haiti.

AMB. JOSEPH: May I add something? You talk about the legislature. What does that say about the legislators of Haiti. You know, right now, in this country that is so democratic, that is so strong, you have a legislature fighting over health care. And we know the president wants it. And the president has been lobbying for it. And we're not even sure that the legislature – and we have a majority who, legislators of the president's party – we not so sure that we're coming through.

If the United States, that has had all these years of democratic rule has problems getting all its legislators in line, guess what? Haiti, who is just a baby – we're taking baby steps in democracy – perhaps, we may be asking too much of it.

MS. NAWABI: Andrew?

Q: Hi, I'd just like to ask each of the panelists, what effect do you think Bill Clinton's had as the special envoy? Has he been helpful? Has he provided the kind of focus that is really critical in Haiti?

MS. NAWABI: Each person very quickly.

DR. GREEN: I think he's been positive. I think he's been sensitive. Whether he's effective or not will be determined by what the ambassador said – that's turning pledges into commitments and dollars. But I think he means well and I think he's totally committed to making this a homerun for himself and Haiti, especially Haiti.

MS. NAWABI: Johanna?

MS. FORMAN: Well, I think that his leadership coupled with the deputy envoy, Dr. Farmer, who's been historically committed to Haiti, provides a very powerful team and as everybody here has said the stars are aligned to go in the right direction. And if the presence of President Clinton can bring resources in the private sector to the poor then I think that maybe this is the right push that we need at this time.

AMB. JOSEPH: I will add that President Clinton had been mulling this for quite a while. In 2004, when I came here, the first time I met him coming out of the World War Memorial here when they had this meeting, the two former presidents – former President Bush and President Clinton and Bob Dole were invited to this thing. And President Clinton – I call him the supreme politician – stood at a point where he was going to meet all the ambassadors and chief of missions coming out.

When I walked up to him, I shook his hand. And I told him who I was. He held one hand like this and put the other hand over my shoulder and the whole line stopped – just for 30, 40 seconds. And he said, you know how much I love your country? I know you're going through a hard period right now but when things settle down, I want to work with Haiti to do something good because I have this in my heart – back in 2004.

And so I think by now that he will have lobbied behind the scenes to get that position. And that he got it, I think he is going to come through. I know that a lot of my own compatriots in Haiti talk about the new emperor and all that. And some of them called me to ask me, what is President Clinton's position on this thing? Something in Haiti like the change in government. I said President Clinton is not in to help us internally solve our political problems. You better learn to solve among yourself.

He's here to do what the doctor said here – to bring in the help from the international community, to make people come through with their pledges and to bring in the foreign investors. To bring in 150 investors to Haiti recently is a great thing. And the New York Times quickly wrote, no agreement was signed by the 150. But the New York Times has not followed through. Since President Clinton came with them, some of them have come by themselves to look over about the possibilities and all the things that Haiti had to offer. So I think it's a major thing for Haiti. Do you know how many countries in the world would have liked to have Clinton as special envoy? And here's little Haiti that has it.

MS. NAWABI: Well, on that positive note, it's now 4:00, so we'll end the session. I want to thank everyone for participating in the first session of the Global Challenges series. We'll be having one of these sessions each month. So if you're on the list you'll get information. The next one that we have in December is on food security and in January we'll have one focused on HIV/AIDS. And so we'll continue every month with a new session and a distinguished panel of guests and hopefully yourselves participating. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

(END)