

Beginning of Luigi Einaudi speech at Peace Prize Forum, not included on first transcription:

There are speakers who need no introduction, and there are introductions that need no speaker. Bishop Preus, President Arias, Miss Miller, Ms. Williams, ladies and gentlemen. An ambassador is sent abroad to represent his country and if the ambassador is an ambassador from the United States, there are sometimes confusions that arise. Secretary Schultz, recognizing that ...

## LUIGI EINAUDI

... since ambassadors just named by the President but were also confirmed by the Senate, and that this was taking longer and longer, instituted a procedure where when finally an ambassador was confirmed, he (the Secretary of State) would greet him in his office as a final exit before he left to his new post. And he established a very simple test which he introduced by saying, "You have one last test," at which point the ambassador would cringe because having survived all of the tests of the ethics boards and the Senate and politics, he did not want any further tests. He thought he was through. But he said, "Here is the globe. Would you please go and put your hand on your country." And of all the ambassadors to whom he applied this test only one, Mike Mansfield, passed it because all of them went and, flushed with pride at having finally understood something and been recommended to represent the United States and their country, they would go and they would find and put their finger on the country to which they were going. Only Mike Mansfield put his finger, his hand, on the United States. So since we go abroad it is a rare privilege to come and be able to speak to an American audience and particularly an audience like this one which combines two attributes--the optimism of youth and the willingness to listen to one of the great causes of mankind which is peace. You have today heard an authentic voice of an authentic leader from Central America, a man who clearly has a vision.

It is a vision which he has lived himself, and I can testify to the courage in fact. When he spoke of courage he spoke from his own experience with which that vision of peace and justice which you heard today had to be put forward. But it was not an empty vision. It was a vision that said peace and justice are not just abstract concepts that can wave into existence automatically. They have content. And the content is the content of human rights and democracy. President Arias stressed the importance in Costa Rican history of democracy and of election. He did not say, he could have said, that the supreme electoral tribunal of Costa Rica enjoys the constitutional attributes of the fourth power of the state alongside the executive, the legislative and the judicial. And that during the period of elections it assumes many executive powers, precisely in order to guarantee the purity of the festival of the expression of the popular realm. But what President Arias did went beyond that because he not only gave us a vision with a content, but he gave us a method. In one sense democracy is a method because democracy also is not an end in itself. It is useful precisely as a method to identify needs, allow pluralism its voice, and attempt to reconcile in a political and peaceful manner these differences. But his method went beyond that. His method was crowned at the meeting in ???, which he referred to, in 1987 was the method of devolving initiative and definition onto the five presidents of the five republics of the isthmus of Central

America. It is true, and he said it without mincing his words, that the United States reacted skeptically and even in some cases with opposition to parts of his plan. I think the reason should be understood. It was not an opposition to ideal. It was a fear -- he used the word cynicism I think with some justice -- it was the fear, the cynicism, that those lofty ideals could not be put into practice. And when, in 1987, the ??? agreement was signed, among four countries which from our perspective we recognized as either democratic as Costa Rica certainly is by any universal scale, or striving toward democracy as we believed the governments of the other countries were, but with one that we thought really made a mockery of democracy because it defined democracy as the democracy of the vanguard, of a narrow group, which President Arias had the wisdom to say if ever there were a free election, they would not win it, but which many of us felt there would not be or could not be a free election. We thought that there was in prospect just another scrap of paper, another treaty that would be signed only to then be ignored and left unimplemented. Now as President Arias also said, things changed when the United States administration changed. And interestingly, so much water has been over the dam and in fact, President Arias' structure has been so successful, that we forget how newsworthy it was when the President of the United States and his Secretary of State sat down and signed what I irreverently call the treaty of Washington, a document with

the leadership of the Congress which was known as the Bipartisan Accord on Central America and whose opening provision said that the United States supports the peace and democratization process and goals of the Central American presidents embodied in the ??? Accords and which later in its text recognized explicitly the role played by President Arias. Now President Arias is now out of office. But it is one of the great tributes that the man's ideals and his methods continue. The meetings of the five presidents of Central America continue, the most recent one in ??? in Costa Rica issued a declaration that covers the entire range, not only on the political front but also on the economic front and on that which he identified for us as a personal goal of his which is demilitarization. And it is true that there are an enormous number of problems that still bedevil the area. But it is also true that we have the beginnings of the method and a structure that in fact promise that these ideals will be implemented. Let me close with two points. I was shameless in a sense last night before you when I added in the OAS as a potential candidate for the Peace Prize this year. Shameless because I did what people who are forced into public life must do which is seize the occasion to push their wares if they can. But let me tell you that one of the rules of success and survival in life is never to be so shameless as to lie. You must always seek to build in what you say an element of truth. And I'm going to show you an element of truth that is important to

you as people who are interested in peace. It is not a gun, it is not an idea, it's a T-shirt -- dark blue with three white letters: OAS, Organization de la ??? Americanos. OAS emblazened on it. This is the T-shirt of the observers at the Nicaraguan elections, since then in Haiti, today in El Salvador. It is the T-shirt with four little white letters underneath ??? of the OAS people of the Commission of International Verification and Support under the ??? Plan who remain in Nicaragua today acting as impartial participants in the process of national reconciliation and peacemaking. And they deserve all of that and more, because to go unarmed into places where there are still weapons and where violence is very much, unfortunately, the daily fare. And not just in Nicaragua. In Haiti the extraordinary outpouring of popular pride which culminated not only in the election of President ??? but in the people gathering to clean up the city for his inauguration. There are moments of civic virtue that we must attempt to encourage and to enlist, and in a strange way I see you as one of them. All right. There's an international dimension. Impartiality, mediation, multi-lateralism, a search for balance, that will represent enough of all of our views to make all of us think that it is better to stay with it than not. Let me mention the United States finally, the last thing. We are talking, President Arias mentioned, the importance of remembering the need to provide some economic assistance and to participate and to support this process in Central America even as it

fades from the headlines. President Bush has launched what he calls the Initiative for the Americas -- some of my friends say it should be the Initiative of the Americas -- which is designed, and again it has a vision, the vision of a free market from Alaska to Argentina. I think that it is important for us to not fall into the idea that economics solves everything. We should stay with the basic political democratic human rights vision of President Arias and of the ??? Agreement and of the peace plan for Central America. We should honor Vice President Mondale's vision, the vision of human rights as a central component in American foreign policy which began with the Carter administration and which I am proud to say has become a bipartisan element of United States foreign policy. And we should -- I mention the Vice President not just because he's here or because of his speech last night, but because he has taken the leadership in something else which is terribly important which is the National Endowment for Democracy and in the case of the democratic party, the National Democratic Institute. The issue for us as Americans in a shrinking planet is not whether we shall engage abroad, but how. And the answer to the how is on a basis of democracy, of respect for the rights of others, and for doing I think the hard work of peace. Thank you very much.

