

Wondale

"LEADERSHIP IN PEACE-MAKING"

1991 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE FORUM

FEBRUARY 22, 1991

LUTHER COLLEGE - DECORAH, IOWA

by Walter F. Mondale, former Vice
President
USA

PRESIDENT ARIAS, FRIENDS:

IT IS A GREAT HONOR TO JOIN ALL OF YOU THIS EVENING FOR
OUR THIRD ANNUAL NOBEL PEACE PRIZE FORUM.

OUR FIRST CONFERENCE WAS TWO YEARS AGO AT ST. OLAF
COLLEGE, AND THE THEME WAS "STRIVING FOR PEACE: PAST, PRESENT AND
FUTURE." OUR FEATURED SPEAKER WAS NOBEL PEACE PRIZE LAUREATE
NORMAN BORLAUG, AN IOWA NATIVE WHO STARTED THE "GREEN
REVOLUTION" THAT HAS ENABLED DEVELOPING NATIONS TO FEED THEIR OWN
PEOPLE. WE WERE ALSO JOINED BY AMBASSADOR SAMUEL LEWIS, NOW HEAD
OF THE U.S. PEACE INSTITUTE, AND ROZ RIDGEWAY, A MINNESOTA NATIVE
WHO IS ONE OF OUR NATION'S LEADING DIPLOMATS.

LAST YEAR, OUR FORUM WAS AT AUGSBURG COLLEGE, AND OUR
THEME WAS "HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE GLOBAL VILLAGE." WE HEARD FROM
PRESIDENT CARTER, DR. YELENA BONNER, AMBASSADOR MAX KAMPELMAN,
FLORA LEWIS OF THE NEW YORK TIMES, AND PETER DUFFY OF AMNESTY
INTERNATIONAL. IT WAS A TERRIFIC FORUM, AND I AM SURE OUR EVENT
THIS YEAR WILL BE AN EQUAL SUCCESS.

CREDIT FOR THESE FORUMS MUST GO TO THE HARD WORK OF MANY PEOPLE AT OUR FIVE PARTICIPATING COLLEGES — AUGSBURG, AUGUSTANA, CONCORDIA, LUTHER AND ST. OLAF. I ALSO WANT TO THANK MIKE ROAN OF PROJECT TANDEM AND THE MEMBERS OF OUR PEACE PRIZE FORUM ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, LED BY DAVID PREUS. WE SHOULD ALSO THANK GEIR LUNDESTAD, DIRECTOR OF THE NORWEGIAN NOBEL INSTITUTE IN OSLO; LORET RUPPE, OUR AMBASSADOR TO NORWAY; AND KJELL VIBE, NORWAY'S AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES.

THIS YEAR, THE THEME OF OUR FORUM IS "LEADERSHIP IN PEACE-MAKING."

MANY PEOPLE HAVE WRITTEN ABOUT THE TOPIC OF LEADERSHIP. WHAT DOES IT MEAN? WHAT ARE THE PERSONAL QUALITIES THAT IT TAKES? DOES IT MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

I WOULD LIKE DRAW ON A FUNDAMENTAL DISTINCTION MADE BY THE POLITICAL SCIENTIST AND HISTORIAN JAMES MACGREGOR BURNS. IN HIS CLASSIC BOOK ON LEADERSHIP, HE OFFERS US TWO BASIC TYPES — THE TRANSACTIONAL LEADER AND THE TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADER.

TRANSACTIONAL LEADERSHIP IS THE ROUTINE EXCHANGE OF FAVORS BETWEEN LEADER AND FOLLOWER — JOBS FOR VOTES, SUBSIDIES FOR CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS. IT IS THE PROCESS OF BARGAINING OVER OUR SEPARATE SELF-INTERESTS.

BY CONTRAST, THE TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADER INVOLVES US IN DISCOVERING OUR COMMON IDEALS. THIS TRANSFORMS BOTH LEADER AND FOLLOWER — ELEVATING OUR MORAL ASPIRATIONS AND OUR CONDUCT. “THAT PEOPLE CAN BE LIFTED INTO THEIR BETTER SELVES IS THE SECRET OF TRANSFORMING LEADERSHIP,” ACCORDING TO BURNS.

TRUE LEADERSHIP, THEN, INVOLVES PEOPLE JOINING TOGETHER IN A COMMON ENTERPRISE, SO THEY MIGHT RISE ABOVE SELF-INTEREST [NARROWLY UNDERSTOOD] IN ORDER TO REALIZE HIGHER, SHARED VALUES. IT IS MORAL, WITHOUT BEING MORALISTIC. AT ITS BEST, TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP TRANSFORMS FOLLOWERS THEMSELVES INTO LEADERS.

WHAT PRACTICALLY ALL OF OUR NOBEL PEACE PRIZE LAUREATES HAVE IN COMMON IS THIS CAPACITY FOR TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP. EACH, IN HIS OR HER OWN EXTRAORDINARY WAY, DRAWS OUT OUR BETTER INSTINCTS AND RELEASES OUR HOPES FOR PEACE.

LET'S LOOK AT FOUR, VERY DIFFERENT EXAMPLES OF LEADERSHIP IN PEACE-MAKING — EACH OF WHICH LED TO THE NOBEL PRIZE. TWO WILL BE SPEAKING AT OUR FORUM.

FIRST, PRESIDENT OSCAR ARIAS. HERE, WE HAVE THE EXAMPLE OF AN INSPIRING YOUNG STATESMAN BRINGING TOGETHER THE NATIONS IN HIS TROUBLED REGION TO SOLVE THEIR COMMON PROBLEMS. THE ARIAS PEACE PLAN IS NOW SEEN AS A TURNING POINT IN CENTRAL AMERICA'S HISTORY. BUT THAT WAS NOT THE UNANIMOUS VIEW IN 1987 WHEN

PRESIDENT OSCAR ARIAS OF COSTA RICA RECEIVED THE NOBEL AWARD. THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION BITTERLY FOUGHT THE PLAN. EVENTUALLY, THOUGH, IT BECAME THE BASIS FOR BOTH CONGRESSIONAL AND ADMINISTRATION POLICY. PRESIDENT ARIAS SAW POSSIBILITIES FOR PEACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA THAT MANY OTHERS DID NOT SEE.

AT HIS INAUGURATION IN 1976, HE VOWED TO PURSUE PEACE AND DEMOCRACY IN THE REGION. HE RECOGNIZED THAT CIVIL WAR IN NICARAGUA WAS A REGIONAL CONCERN; AND HE UNDERSTOOD THAT LONG-TERM PEACE WOULD DEPEND ON SECURE, DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS IN THE REGION.

[INCIDENTALLY, COSTA RICA IS THE MOST STABLE OF DEMOCRACIES, AND IT IS A NATION THAT HAS NO ARMY.]

WHEN PRESIDENT ARIAS LEFT OFFICE LAST MAY, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE REGION'S 168 YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE, ALL OF THE NATIONS OF CENTRAL AMERICA WERE GOVERNED BY CIVILIAN LEADERS CHOSEN IN COMPETITIVE ELECTIONS. DURING HIS PRESIDENCY, ARIAS HELPED TO STOP THE CONTRA WAR AND BRING FREE ELECTIONS TO NICARAGUA; HE BROUGHT THE WARRING PARTIES IN EL SALVADOR TO THE PEACE TABLE; AND HE LAUNCHED A TRADITION OF REGIONAL SUMMIT MEETINGS TO DEFUSE MILITARY TENSIONS. ALL OF THESE ARE TESTAMENT TO HIS PERSONAL INTEGRITY AND PROGRESSIVE VISION OF DEMOCRACY FOR CENTRAL AMERICA.

WE ARE HONORED TO HAVE THIS WONDERFUL HUMAN BEING WITH US AT THIS FORUM.

SECOND, WE HAVE THE CASE OF A STATESMAN WHO SOUGHT TO OVERCOME THE BITTER HOSTILITIES BETWEEN TWO NATIONS [AND HE PAID THE ULTIMATE PRICE FOR HIS LEADERSHIP].

IN NOVEMBER 1977, PRESIDENT SADAT OF EGYPT ASTONISHED THE WORLD WHEN HE JOURNEYED TO THE CAMP OF HIS NATION'S FOE, ISRAEL, TO MAKE PEACE. ONLY FOUR YEARS EARLIER, HE HAD COMMANDED A MILITARY ATTACK AGAINST ISRAEL. THERE HAD BEEN FOUR WARS IN 30 YEARS, CREATING RIVERS OF BLOOD.

BUT PRESIDENT SADAT DISPLAYED COURAGE AND OPENNESS THAT TRANSFORMED WHAT HAD SEEMED AN OTHERWISE STANDARD ARAB MILITARY OFFICER-TURNED-POLITICIAN. UNLIKE SO MANY OF HIS FELLOW ARAB LEADERS, HE WAS WILLING TO TRANSCEND PAST HATREDS. AND HE WAS DARING ENOUGH TO DO WHAT HAD BEEN THE UNTHINKABLE — EXTEND THE HAND OF PEACE TO ISRAEL. REVERSING HIS NATION'S LONG-STANDING POLICY OF HOSTILITY, PRESIDENT SADAT PROCLAIMED HIS WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE AS A SOVEREIGN STATE.

IN A SPEECH AT THE ISRAELI KNESSET, HE SAID:

"IN ALL SINCERITY, I TELL YOU THAT WE WELCOME YOU AMONG US WITH FULL SECURITY AND SAFETY . . . WE USED TO REJECT YOU . . . WE HAD OUR REASONS AND OUR FEARS, YES . . . [BUT] I DECLARE IT TO THE

WHOLE WORLD THAT WE ACCEPT TO LIVE WITH YOU IN PERMANENT PEACE
BASED ON JUSTICE

“TODAY, THROUGH MY VISIT TO YOU I ASK, WHY DO WE NOT
STRETCH OUT OUR HANDS WITH FAITH AND SINCERITY SO THAT TOGETHER
WE MIGHT DESTROY THIS BARRIER [OF DISTRUST]? WHY SHOULD WE NOT
MEET WITH FAITH AND SINCERITY SO THAT TOGETHER WE MIGHT REMOVE
ALL SUSPICION OF FEAR, BETRAYAL AND BAD INTENTIONS?”

LATER, IN SEPTEMBER 1978, HE AND ISRAEL PRIME MINISTER
MENACHEM BEGIN TRAVELLED TO CAMP DAVID FOR A CONFERENCE CONVENED
BY PRESIDENT CARTER. I WAS A PART OF THAT PROCESS.

TWO WEEKS OF TALKS PRODUCED AGREEMENTS ON WHAT WE
CALLED “A FRAMEWORK FOR PEACE.” SEVERAL MONTHS LATER, SADAT AND
BEGIN SIGNED A PEACE TREATY ENDING 30 YEARS OF EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI
CONFRONTATION.

PARAPHRASING THE PROPHET ISAIAH, PRESIDENT SADAT SAID:
“LET US WORK TOGETHER UNTIL THE DAY COMES WHEN THEY BEAT THEIR
SWORDS INTO PLOWSHARES AND THEIR SPEARS INTO PRUNING HOOKS.”

ALONG WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN, HE WON THE NOBEL PEACE
PRIZE. BUT 17 ARAB NATIONS ADOPTED POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
SANCTIONS AGAINST EGYPT. AND, IN OCTOBER 1981, PRESIDENT SADAT
WAS ASSASSINATED. BUT HIS HARD WORK AND VISION OUTLAST HIS OWN
LIFE.

THIRD, WE HAVE THE EXAMPLE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY USED TO HELP SOLVE PROBLEMS OF HUNGER AND POVERTY. DR. NORMAN BORLAUG SPOKE TWO YEARS AGO AT OUR FIRST PEACE PRIZE FORUM AT ST. OLAF COLLEGE. A PLANT PATHOLOGIST, HE RECEIVED THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE IN 1970 FOR HIS LEADERSHIP IN THE "GREEN REVOLUTION" — THE ADVANCES IN AGRICULTURE THAT GAVE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES THE POSSIBILITY OF BREAKING OUT OF HUNGER AND POVERTY. THE SON OF NORWEGIAN IMMIGRANTS, DR. BORLAUG WAS BORN AND RAISED LESS THAN 20 MILES FROM HERE — NEAR THE TOWN OF CRESCO. EVEN TODAY, DR. BORLAUG TRAVELS WITH PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER TO FIND ANSWERS TO FOOD PRODUCTION THROUGHOUT THE THIRD WORLD.

FINALLY, WE HAVE THE EXAMPLE OF A SPONTANEOUS GRASSROOTS MOVEMENT INVOLVING ORDINARY PEOPLE. IN AUGUST 1976, THREE CHILDREN IN BELFAST WERE KILLED BY A RUNAWAY CAR. BEHIND THE WHEEL WAS AN IRA MAN, SHOT DEAD BY BRITISH SOLDIERS. BETTY WILLIAMS WAS A WITNESS.

THAT NIGHT, SHE SAW THE CHILDREN'S AUNT, MAIREAD [MY-REED] CORRIGAN, INTERVIEWED ON TELEVISION. SHE CALLED HER, AND BOTH CONTACTED OTHERS. MORE WOMEN JOINED THEM; PETITIONS WERE CIRCULATED. THE DAY AFTER THE FUNERAL, SOME TEN THOUSAND WOMEN DEMONSTRATED. IN THAT WAY, THE COMMUNITY OF PEACE PEOPLE WAS BORN.

THIS PEACE MOVEMENT, UNITING CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT, HAS NOT ENDED TERRORISM IN NORTHERN IRELAND. BUT IT HAS HAD A PROFOUND EFFECT ON THE PEOPLE INVOLVED. AND THEY CONTINUE THEIR STRIVING FOR PEACE.

BETTY WILLIAMS LIKEWISE HONORS US BY HER PRESENCE DURING OUR CONFERENCE.

THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT IT: LEADERSHIP IN PEACE-MAKING CAN BE A VERY TOUGH BUSINESS — OFTEN LONELY, SOMETIMES DANGEROUS, EVEN FATAL. SELDOM DOES IT LEAD TO INSTANT SUCCESS, AS WE CAN SEE TODAY.

A YEAR AGO, WE WERE FLUSH WITH OPTIMISM — WITH GREAT HOPES FOR A PEACE DIVIDEND AND THE OPPORTUNITY TO BUILD A NEW, MORE PEACEFUL WORLD BECAUSE THE COLD WAR WAS OVER. AND, OF COURSE, PRESIDENT GORBACHEV WAS AWARDED THE 1990 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.

LAST JUNE, WHEN GORBACHEV CAME TO OUR REGION, WE GREETED HIM WITH JOY AND ENTHUSIASM. OUR EXCITEMENT WAS GENUINE. NO PREVIOUS LEADER OF THE SOVIET UNION COULD HAVE RECEIVED SUCH A WELCOME. HE HAD ESTABLISHED A NEW DIRECTION FOR THE SOVIET UNION. HE SYMBOLIZED GREAT AND HISTORIC CHANGES FOR OUR WORLD. GORBACHEV DID NOT DO IT ALONE, OF COURSE. WE SHOULD ACKNOWLEDGE ANOTHER NOBEL PEACE PRIZE LAUREATE, DR. ANDREI SAKHAROV, THE NUCLEAR PHYSICIST-TURNED-HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST WHOSE UNDYING

PASSION FOR TRUTH AND FREEDOM CONTINUES TO INSPIRE SO MANY OF US.
(DR. YELENA BONNER, HIS HEROIC WIDOW, WAS WITH US AT LAST YEAR'S
FORUM.)

OUR HOPES HAVE FADED CONSIDERABLY SINCE GORBACHEV'S
VISIT LAST YEAR. REFORM AND PROGRESS IN THE SOVIET UNION NOW SEEM
STALLED. WE ALL WONDER WHAT WILL HAPPEN. IN JANUARY, SOVIET
PARATROOPERS ATTACKED AND KILLED UNARMED LITHUANIANS AT THE
TELEVISION CENTER IN VILNIUS. THERE WERE MANY HUMAN CASUALTIES.
BUT THERE MAY HAVE BEEN YET ANOTHER CASUALTY: OUR HOPE THAT
GORBACHEV MIGHT CONTINUE TO BE A NEW AND DIFFERENT KIND OF SOVIET
LEADER.

WE CAN STILL SAY THE COLD WAR IS OVER. COMMUNISM AS A
WORLD THREAT IS DEAD, AND GORBACHEV IS HOLDING THE SMOKING GUN.
FOR THAT, HE DESERVES OUR ESTEEM. THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE IS
RECOGNITION OF HIS ACHIEVEMENT. BUT CAN HE NOW PUT DOWN THAT GUN,
OR WILL HE USE IT AGAINST THE REPUBLICS?

WE MUST NOT FORGET THE VERY REAL AND PROFOUND CHANGE IN
OUR INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. ONLY A FEW YEARS AGO, A CRISIS LIKE
THE ONE IN THE PERSIAN GULF MIGHT HAVE ESCALATED INTO A
CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE NUCLEAR SUPERPOWERS. BUT SOVIET
COOPERATION HAS BEEN ESSENTIAL TO OUR COALITION AGAINST IRAQ. IT
HAS, FOR THE FIRST TIME, ALLOWED THE UNITED NATIONS TO REALLY WORK
FOR PEACE.

NOW, WITH THE END OF THE COLD WAR, YOU WOULD HOPE THAT GOD MIGHT HAVE GIVEN US A YEAR OR TWO TO ENJOY OURSELVES. BUT NO SOONER HAD THE CLOUDS OF THE COLD WAR DISAPPEARED BELOW THE HORIZON, WHEN SADDAM HUSSEIN AROSE OVER THE OTHER.

SADDAM HUSSEIN PRESENTS A VERY SERIOUS CHALLENGE TO OUR EFFORTS FOR PEACE. VERY LITTLE IN OUR EXPERIENCE PREPARES US TO UNDERSTAND OR RESPOND TO SUCH A LEADER. HE PUTS TO THE TEST OUR MOST BASIC ASSUMPTIONS AND HOPES ABOUT DECENT, CIVILIZED BEHAVIOR. THE WORD EVIL COMES TO MIND.

LET US PRAY FOR PEACE.

AS WE SEEK TO BUILD PEACE, THERE ARE LESSONS HERE ABOUT THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP WE NEED FOR THE FUTURE.

FIRST OF ALL, THESE CURRENT EVENTS DEMONSTRATE A NEED FOR INFORMED, EDUCATED LEADERS WHO UNDERSTAND OUR WORLD IS A COMPLEX PLACE — WITH MANY RACES, RELIGIONS, CULTURES. CENTURIES OF HUMAN HISTORY ARE STILL ALIVE IN PRESENT-DAY CONFLICTS. AT OUR PERIL, WE MAKE THE WORLD SIMPLER THAN IT IS. WE NEED TO LEARN LANGUAGES; WE NEED TO STUDY HISTORY; AND WE NEED TO UNDERSTAND OTHER CULTURES.

SECOND, WE NEED A NEW GENERATION OF LEADERS WITH ENERGY AND ENTHUSIASM — YOU, THE STUDENTS, CAN PROVIDE THAT. LEADERSHIP

FOR PEACE REQUIRES A BASIC OPTIMISM ABOUT PEOPLE AND THE FUTURE — THE STUBBORN HOPE THAT WE CAN ACTUALLY MAKE OUR WORLD A BETTER, MORE PEACEFUL PLACE. A PHILOSOPHER ONCE ADVISED: “PEACE IS NOT THE MERE ABSENCE OF WAR, BUT IS A VIRTUE THAT SPRINGS FROM FORCE OF CHARACTER.”

THIRD, WE MUST BE WILLING TO LISTEN AS WELL AS TO SPEAK OUT. TOO OFTEN, WE IDENTIFY DIALOGUE WITH WEAKNESS. WE THINK STRONG LEADERSHIP IS GIVING COMMANDS AND DOMINATING OTHERS. BUT LEADERSHIP REQUIRES THE HUMILITY TO LISTEN AND LEARN. OUR BEST LEADERS UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE.

MY KEY POINT THIS EVENING IS SIMPLE: THE WORK OF PEACE IS FOR ALL OF US.

TO BE A LEADER IN PEACE-MAKING, YOU DO NOT NEED TO LIVE IN THE WHITE HOUSE, OR SERVE IN CONGRESS. YOU DO NOT HAVE TO BE, QUOTE, “A STATESMAN.” YOU DO NOT EVEN HAVE TO WIN A NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.

JOHN GARDNER, A WISE MAN WHO HAS WRITTEN WIDELY ON THE TOPIC, SAYS: “OUR SYSTEM DOES NOT DEPEND ON THE GREATNESS OF ONE TOP LEADER, OR EVEN ON A THIN CRUST OF TOP LEADERSHIP. IT DEPENDS ON A DEEP AND BROAD STRATUM OF LEADERS AT EVERY LEVEL AND THROUGHOUT EVERY SEGMENT OF SOCIETY.”

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD REQUIRE LEADERSHIP BY ALL OF US — ESPECIALLY BY YOU, THE YOUNG LEADERS HERE TODAY.

YOU CAN BE A LEADER FOR PEACE IN YOUR OWN WAY, IN YOUR OWN COMMUNITY, IN YOUR OWN HOME, IN YOUR OWN LIFE.

AS A FRIEND, A SON OR DAUGHTER, A BROTHER OR SISTER, OR AS A PARENT. AS A TEACHER, A WORKER, OR A VOLUNTEER IN THE COMMUNITY OR CHURCH OR SYNAGOGUE.

LEADERSHIP FOR PEACE-MAKING IS A MATTER OF SHOWING KINDNESS, DECENCY AND RESPECT TO ALL PEOPLE — AND SOMETIMES IT IS JUST A MATTER OF FINDING PEACE WITHIN YOURSELF.

IT IS WITHIN THE POWER OF US ALL, AND I HOPE EACH OF YOU WILL STRIVE TO BE JUST SUCH A LEADER.

LAST YEAR, PRESIDENT CARTER WAS ASKED BY A STUDENT: "WHAT CAN I DO?"

HE ANSWERED: YOU CAN DO MANY THINGS, SOME OF THEM VERY SIMPLE. FOR EXAMPLE, JUST MEET AND GET TO KNOW SOMEONE DIFFERENT FROM YOURSELF — SOMEBODY FROM A DIFFERENT COUNTRY, SOMEBODY OF A DIFFERENT RACE, SOMEBODY OF A DIFFERENT RELIGION. OR, HELPING TO BUILD PEACE MIGHT BE AS SIMPLE AS HELPING TO BUILD A HOUSE FOR SOMEONE WHO IS HOMELESS — WHICH IS WHAT PRESIDENT CARTER'S GROUP,

HABITAT FOR HUMANITY, DOES ALL AROUND THE COUNTRY (AND, NOW, THE WORLD).

LOOK AT AL QUIE, A MEMBER OF OUR NOBEL COMMITTEE. HE SERVED IN CONGRESS FOR 20 YEARS AND, LATER, WAS GOVERNOR OF MINNESOTA. NOW HE IS ACTIVE IN PRISON MINISTRY. HE DOESN'T HAVE TO DO THAT, BUT HE DOES — BECAUSE IT IS A GOOD THING TO DO.

AT HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS IN 1986, PRESIDENT OSCAR ARIAS QUOTED FROM A COSTA RICAN POET [JORGE DEBRAVO]: “BRICK BY BRICK, MAN BY MAN [WOMAN BY WOMAN], WE WILL CREATE THE WORLD ALL OVER AGAIN.”

WITH YOUR HELP, SO WE WILL.

PLEASE, LET US ALL JOIN TOGETHER AND LEAD THE WAY TO PEACE.

THANK YOU.

