ACTA
DE LA SESION ORDINARIA
CELEBRADA
EL 15 DE ABRIL DE 1993

Aprobada en la sesión del 6 de abril de 1994
CONSEJO PERMANENTE DE LA ORGANIZACION DE LOS ESTADOS AMERICANOS

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En la ciudad de Washington, a las diez y media de la mañana del jueves, 15 de abril de 1993, celebró sesión ordinaria el Consejo Permanente de la Organización de los Estados Americanos. Presidió la sesión el Embajador Franklin A. Baron, Representante del Commonwealth de Dominica y Presidente del Consejo Permanente. Asistieron los siguientes miembros:

Jean Casimir, Embajador Representante de Haití
y Vicepresidente del Consejo Permanente
Joseph Edsel Edmunds, Embajador Representante de Santa Lucía
Didier Opretti, Embajador Representante del Uruguay
Willem A. Udenhout, Embajador Representante de Suriname
Luigi R. Einaudi, Embajador Representante de los Estados Unidos
Bernardo Pericás Neto, Embajador Representante del Brasil
Jean-Paul Hubert, Embajador Representante del Canadá
Mario Rolón Anaya, Embajador Representante de Bolivia
Heraldo Muñoz, Embajador Representante de Chile
Denneth Modeste, Embajador Representante de Grenada
José Antonio Tijerino, Embajador Representante de Nicaragua
Guido Grooscorn, Embajador Representante de Venezuela
Patrick A. Lewis, Embajador Representante de Antigua y Barbuda
Rudi Valentine Webster, Embajador Representante de Barbados
Romeo Escalante Leiva, Embajador Representante de Guatemala
Alejandro Carrillo Castro, Embajador Representante de México
Marlene Villela de Talbott, Embajadora Representante de Honduras,
Corinne McKnight, Embajadora Representante de Trinidad y Tobago
José Roberto Andino Salazar, Embajador Representante de El Salvador
Alejandro León Pazos, Embajador Representante del Perú
Aubrey Hart, Representante Interino de St. Kitts y Nevis
June Persaud, Representante Interina de Guyana
Lautaro Pozo, Representante Suplente del Ecuador
Enrique A. de Obarrio, Representante Interino de Panamá
Alberto E. Prosperi, Representante Interino de la Argentina
Paulette Bethel, Representante Suplente del Commonwealth de las Bahamas
Marco Gerardo Monroy Cabra, Representante Suplente de Colombia
Ricardo Toledo, Representante Suplente de Costa Rica
Yvonne S. Hyde, Representante Suplente de Belice
Ellsworth John, Representante Suplente de San Vicente y las Granadinas

También estuvieron presentes el Secretario General de la Organización, señor João Baêna Soares, y el Secretario General Adjunto, señor Christopher R. Thomas, Secretario del Consejo Permanente.
El señor PRESIDENTE: I am pleased to call to order this meeting of the Permanent Council which has been convoked to examine the topics contained in the draft order of business [CP/OD.940/93].

ENTREGA DE MALLET AL EMBAJADOR HERALDO MUÑOZ,
PRESIDENTE SALIENTE DEL CONSEJO PERMANENTE

El señor PRESIDENTE: Before proceeding with this matter I wish, on behalf of all the members of the Permanent Council and on my own behalf, to say a few words--very few, but most sincere--of thanks and appreciation to my predecessor, Ambassador Heraldo Muñoz of Chile.

Before he assumed the chairmanship of this Council, I first gained a very high regard and respect for Ambassador Muñoz when I watched him in action in his home country working on the Santiago Commitment. His academic qualifications, his soundness, his thinking, and his dedication to democracy were self-evident. All of these qualities he brought with him to the chairmanship as he upheld the tenets of the Charter with tolerance and understanding, with a commitment to human rights administered with the firmness tempered by his congenial disposition. Indeed, he is a most amiable person. His tremendous experience was invaluable at a time when intricate but necessary decisions had to be made as this chamber championed the cause of Haiti.

Ambassador Muñoz was only last week in my country, as he continued to give meaning to and consolidate the relationship between the Caribbean and Latin America in general, and Chile in particular. His leadership role in this, as in related spheres of activity, augurs well for the Organization. I am certain I speak for all of us as we salute Ambassador Muñoz for his excellent work and the wise guidance which he offered this Council during his chairmanship this past quarter.

I now invite Ambassador Heraldo Muñoz to come forward so that I may have the honor and pleasure to present him with the gavel that commemorates his chairmanship of the Council. [Aplausos.]

Thank you very much.

APROBACION DEL ORDEN DEL DIA

El señor PRESIDENTE: We shall now consider the draft order of business for this meeting.

[El orden del día contiene los siguientes puntos:

1. Aprobación de las actas de las sesiones celebradas los días 28 de febrero, 27 de marzo, 26 de abril, 13 de septiembre y 6 de noviembre de 1991. (CP/ACTAS 847, 850, 854, 865 y 876/91)]
2. Memorando de la Secretaría General sobre las invitaciones al vigésimo tercer período ordinario de sesiones de la Asamblea General que requieren autorización del Consejo Permanente (CP/doc.2359/93)

3. Elección de un miembro de la Junta de Auditores Externos por renuncia del señor Antonio Sánchez de Lozada

4. Elección del Representante del Consejo Permanente en el Comité Interamericano de Asistencia para Situaciones de Emergencia

5. Otros Asuntos]

If there are no observations, the order of business shall be considered approved. Approved.

APROBACION DE ACTAS

El señor PRESIDENTE: The first item on our order of business refers to the approval of the minutes of the meetings held on February 28, March 27, April 26, September 13, and November 6, 1991 (CP/ACTAS 847, 850, 854, 865, and 876/91). The Secretariat has assured me that it has included in these documents the changes made by the representatives. If there are no observations, we will consider the minutes approved. Approved.

INVITACIONES AL VIGÉSIMO PERIODO ORDINARIO DE SESIONES DE LA ASAMBLEA GENERAL QUE REQUIEREN AUTORIZACION DEL CONSEJO PERMANENTE

El señor PRESIDENTE: The second item on our order of business refers to the memorandum of the General Secretariat on invitations to attend the twenty-third regular session of the General Assembly that require authorization of the Permanent Council [CP/doc.2359/93]. This document includes a list of entities and inter-American governmental organizations that, according to the General Secretariat, fall under the purview of the categories stipulated in paragraphs c) and d) of Article 9 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly. This document was distributed last week and in order for us to save some time, I suggest that we dispense with the reading of the draft resolution contained in said document. If there is agreement on this procedure, we will move right into the consideration of this matter. But before doing so, I would like to point out that this document left out the entity entitled Andean Parliament, which was included last year within operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution. With this suggested amendment to the draft resolution, I offer the floor to the delegations to hear their comments on the document prepared by the General Secretariat. I offer the floor to the Representative of Nicaragua.

El señor REPRESENTANTE DE NICARAGUA: Gracias, señor Presidente. No había visto este documento hasta en este momento y así, prima facie, me parece que no está incluida la

El señor PRESIDENTE: If there are no further observations, we will approve the draft resolution presented by the General Secretariat. Approved. ¹

I recognize the Representative of Nicaragua.

El señor REPRESENTANTE DE NICARAGUA: Sí, señor Presidente. Creo que mi distinguido colega y amigo el Representante de Venezuela entendió que yo me refería a la SIECA, que es la Secretaría Permanente del Tratado General de Integración Económica Centroamericana. Sin embargo, yo me refería a la antigua ODECA, que ahora se llama SICA, Secretaría de Integración Centroamericana. De manera que, si no hay inconveniente, rogaría a los señores miembros del Consejo que también se incluyera a la SICA.

El señor PRESIDENTE: We have no objections and the Secretariat will include it.

ELECCIÓN DE UN MIEMBRO DE LA JUNTA DE AUDITORES EXTERNOS

El señor PRESIDENTE: The third item on our order of business refers to the nomination of a candidate to be a member of the Board of External Auditors, in view of the resignation of Mr. Antonio Sánchez de Lozada. This information was circulated to the representatives in document CP/INF.3434/93, and in this document the Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Bolivia mentions that his government has presented Mr. Marcelo Zalles to fill the vacancy left by Mr. Sánchez de Lozada, which would terminate on December 31, 1995. The Chair wishes to remind the distinguished representatives that operative paragraph 4 of Permanent Council resolution CP/RES. 124 (139/74), adopted in June of 1974, states: "If one of the members of the Board ceases to hold his official position in his country, his relationship with the Board shall be understood to be terminated at once. He shall be succeeded on the Board by the person whom the government of his country appoints to replace him in the functions he was performing."

Having said this, we will now proceed with the election of a member of the Board of External Auditors, following the standard rules of procedure that apply to this situation. I offer the floor to the Representative of Bolivia.

El señor REPRESENTANTE DE BOLIVIA: Gracias, señor Presidente. Permíteme usted corroborar lo manifestado por la Presidencia, recordando la resolución que impone sobre la materia. Quisiera señalar que el 22 de marzo la Misión de Bolivia envió una nota al Embajador de Chile, Heraldo Muñoz, cuando ejercía la Presidencia --que usted ha ponderado debidamente en esta sesión-- y en ella mi Gobierno reiteró que había decidido postular al Licenciado Marcelo Zalles actualmente

1. Resolución CP/RES. 604 (940/93), anexa.
Contralor General de la República de Bolivia, para completar el período para el cual fue elegido el ex Contralor Antonio Sanchez de Lozada. El licenciado Zalles es un destacado economista, ocupó funciones jerárquicas en los diferentes sectores de mi país, ha sido elegido Contralor General de la República de Bolivia por el Congreso Nacional en voto unánime.

Me corresponde hacer notar estos antecedentes al encarar que se proceda a la elección, de acuerdo con el reglamento que ha señalado usted y que está en las resoluciones sobre la materia. Gracias, señor Presidente.

El señor PRESIDENTE: Thank you, Mr. Ambassador. I give the floor to the Representative of Saint Lucia.

El señor REPRESENTANTE DE SANTA LUCIA: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to propose that this election be approved by acclamation. [Aplausos.]

El señor PRESIDENTE: Consequently, as Chairman of the Council, I hereby confirm the election of Mr. Zalles as a member of the Board of External Auditors to complete the period until December 31, 1995, to fill the position vacated by Mr. Antonio Sánchez de Lozada.

ELECCION DEL REPRESENTANTE DEL CONSEJO PERMANENTE EN EL COMITE INTERAMERICANO DE ASISTENCIA PARA SITUACIONES DE EMERGENCIA

El señor PRESIDENTE: The fourth item on our order of business is the election of the Representative of the Permanent Council on the Inter-American Emergency Aid Committee. This election is in compliance with Article VII of the Statute of the Committee, as approved by Permanent Council resolution CP/RES. 382 (530/83) corr. 1, of June 1983, which stipulates that this Council will designate a representative as one of the Committee members. As delegations may well be aware, the Council has not designated a member these past few years to the Committee. Thus, I feel that it is important for us to do so now, and allow the Permanent Council to have a voice in the activities carried out by the Committee.

Having said this, I offer the floor to the delegations so that they may present candidates to fill this position. The Representative of Saint Lucia has the floor.

El señor REPRESENTANTE DE SANTA LUCIA: Mr. Chairman, I would like to propose Ambassador Denneth Modeste of Grenada to fill the position on the Inter-American Emergency Aid Committee.

El señor PRESIDENTE: Thank you, Ambassador. I recognize the Representative of Chile.

El señor REPRESENTANTE DE CHILE: Muchas gracias, señor Presidente. Al hacer uso de la palabra en esta primera sesión ordinaria del Consejo Permanente que usted preside, como Jefe
de la Misión de Chile, permítame expresarle nuestros saludos, así como nuestro apoyo y mejores deseos para este período. Ciertamente su talento y experiencia nos auguran el mejor de los éxitos.

Quisiera simplemente, señor Presidente, sumarme a la proposición que ha hecho el distinguido Embajador de Santa Lucía y secundar la postulación del Embajador Modeste, a quien todos hemos conocido durante largo tiempo como un embajador extraordinariamente hábil y que ha contribuido de manera sustantiva a los trabajos de nuestra Organización. Por lo tanto, creo que sería un digno representante en el Comité Interamericano de Asistencia para Situaciones de Emergencia y propongo, señor Presidente, que la elección se haga por aclamación. [Aplausos.]

El señor PRESIDENTE: Thank you very much. Accordingly, I declare Ambassador Modeste to be a member of the Inter-American Emergency Aid Committee, and I congratulate him wholeheartedly on his election to this important post. The Representative of Grenada has the floor.

El señor REPRESENTANTE DE GRENADE: Mr. Chairman, I would like to express my sincere thanks to the distinguished representatives for this demonstration of their confidence in me, and I promise to do my very best to seriously discharge the responsibility that they have now entrusted to my care. Thank you very much.

El señor PRESIDENTE: Thank you very much, Ambassador. Now we have disposed of all the items on our order of business, except for "Others matters."

PALABRAS DE RECONOCIMIENTO AL EMBAJADOR LUIGI R. EINAUDI,
REPRESENTANTE PERMANENTE DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS CON
MOTIVO DE SU ALEJAMIENTO DEL CONSEJO PERMANENTE

El señor PRESIDENTE: Before closing this meeting, it is with sadness and mixed emotions that I announce the departure of Ambassador Luigi Einaudi as Permanent Representative of the United States to the Organization of American States. Ambassador Einaudi has been with us since November 1989. Since that time he has been involved in every major task and project that this organization has undertaken. He has been instrumental in the favorable resolution of important challenges that we have faced. At other times he has actively helped with his knowledge and indubitable diplomatic ability to reach consensus on difficult political issues of our concern. I must add that his virtuous personality and deep commitment and determination to the promotion and defense of representative democracy were constantly felt during his service.

In closing, I must also emphasize the important work that he carried out as our representative to the Pan American Development Foundation. He will most certainly be missed. I am sure that I'm speaking on behalf of all members of this Council when I wish our dear friend Luigi and his lovely family success, good health, and happiness in all their future endeavors. The Representative of Uruguay has the floor.
El señor REPRESENTANTE DEL URUGUAY: Muchas gracias, señor Presidente. Sean nuestras primeras palabras para saludarlo a usted formalmente en su calidad de Presidente del Consejo Permanente en la primera sesión ordinaria de este Cuerpo, y para reiterar nuestros augurios de éxito y nuestros mejores propósitos de cooperación con su Presidencia.

Señor Presidente, me toca a mí, simplemente por fuerza del tiempo, pronunciar palabras de despedida al Embajador Representante Permanente de los Estados Unidos en la OEA, Luigi Einaudi, a nombre de las Delegaciones de Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, México, Paraguay, Venezuela y Uruguay. Doble desafío el nuestro: por una parte, reflejar, o al menos intentar hacerlo, la visión compartida de un grupo de países, de sus delegaciones en la OEA, y, por otra, hacerlo con referencia a una personalidad singular como la del Embajador Einaudi.

Nos resultaría muy difícil, por no decir imposible, situar estas palabras en un terreno meramente formal, protocolar o simplemente de buenos hábitos diplomáticos. No haríamos justicia al Embajador Einaudi ni a quienes tengo el alto honor de representar, ni a la propia OEA, ni a nosotros mismos, si no subrayáramos, como merece, ciertos aspectos de lo que ha significado la actuación en la OEA de este distinguido diplomático de los Estados Unidos.

Ya ha dicho Ortega y Gasset en prosa magistral que la sociedad se produce automáticamente por el simple hecho de la convivencia, la organización jurídica y la organización política serán la obra lenta y densa de la vida y del tiempo. Ello, decimos nosotros, en lo colectivo. En lo individual, entre tanto, llegamos a ser hombres como síntesis de historia y cultura: la historia, que nos permite recordar y nos obliga; la cultura, que nos permite combinar en un sutil balance el sueño y la acción como una referencia mayor unificadora.

Si nuestra Organización de los Estados Americanos es obra lenta y densa de la vida y el tiempo, quienes tenemos el privilegio de ser protagonistas de ella tenemos también el deber ineludible de ser vitales y actuales, y mucho más cuando cada uno de nosotros no actúa por sí mismo ni para sí mismo, sino en el cumplimiento de servicios públicos de la mayor significación.

La negociación y la defensa de los intereses y derechos de cada Estado es, por definición, la esencia de la diplomacia; lo que varía, en cambio, es el estilo a través del cual cada uno trata de sostener irrenunciables valores nacionales. Y, si como se ha dicho con acierto, el estilo es el hombre, en Luigi Einaudi el suyo ha sido una no muy frecuente conjunción de rigor intelectual y profesional con la dos necesaria de realismo austero en la búsqueda respetuosa, permanente, alegre, de una ecuación interamericana que no acentúe más allá de lo inevitable la diferencia entre los términos componentes de esa ecuación.

Luigi ha comprendido muy bien la advertencia sabia de que las ideas son como los globos, nos levantan fácilmente, el problema está en hacerlas dirigibles. Porque lo ha entendido así, ha comprendido, y muchas veces aceptado sus consecuencias, que la diversidad es un dato de la realidad y que toda política internacional que no la tome en cuenta correrá el riesgo de convertirse, como lo presagiaba nuestro Rodó, en una política vacía o descarnada.
Concluímos, señor Presidente. El Embajador Einaudi no sólo ha servido al Estado que
dignamente representa con probidad y profesionalismo. También ha servido a la OEA y, a través
de esta, a la comunidad internacional, y de seguro lo seguirá haciendo. Por ello nosotros, que
estamos raízalmente unidos a la visión de una América Latina, como se ha dicho, fuerte, respetada,
fraternalmente unida por ideales comunes y estamos seguros que esto también es válido para el
Caribe, en el diálogo con Luigi no hemos debido nunca sacrificar la originalidad irremplazable de
esta concepción para sintetizarnos sin claudicaciones en esta común empresa de hacer de nuestra
Organización un instrumento de avance en nuestras relaciones recíprocas y un renovado espacio de
solidaridad hemisférica.

Preservando, señor Presidente, las palabras del desgaste que su uso repetido les ocasiona,
decimos muy sinceramente que en esta Casa todos, sin excepción, echaremos mucho de menos a
Luigi como persona, como amigo y, por cierto, como Embajador de los Estados Unidos. A Luigi
y a Carol, su gentil y muy estimada esposa, y a su distinguida familia, nuestros mejores deseos.
Muchas gracias.

El señor PRESIDENTE: Thank you very much, Ambassador. The Representative of Peru has
the floor.

El señor REPRESENTANTE DEL PERU: Muchas gracias, señor Presidente. También quiero
aprovechar esta oportunidad para reiterarle en esta primera sesión ordinaria mi felicitación, por su
Presidencia, y referirme en este caso a la partida del Embajador Einaudi.

Creo no equivocarme si afirmo que todos hubiéramos preferido posponer indefinidamente la
despedida del Embajador Luigi Einaudi, que ha ejercido durante más de tres años la representación
permanente de los Estados Unidos. La dimensión personal y la integridad del Embajador Einaudi
hacen que resulte difícil separar al colega del amigo, por lo que me abstendré de intentarlo, señor
Presidente.

Los peruanos de la más variada condición estamos acostumbrados desde hace muchos años,
tanto como más de dos décadas quizás, a la versación y agudeza con que Luigi Einaudi entiende y
analiza nuestra evolución histórico-social y política. Podemos pregonarnos de haber sido siempre
merecedores, sea de su inquietud académica y producción intelectual, o bien de su contribución
profesional en periodos decisivos en que ha ocupado posiciones oficiales al servicio de su país. Por
eso, decimos que, ante todo, es su persona la que está sincera, preocupada y amistosamente vinculada
al Perú. Por ello, su alejamiento de esta Casa significa para nuestra Delegación y, quiero remarcarlo
explicitamente por encargo especial para el Gobierno del Perú una ausencia grande y muy sentida.

La historia diplomática no escrita, esa que todos conocemos pero que por lo general no
alcanzamos a leer, registrará sin duda aquella cuota de objetividad, realismo y experiencia que asocia
al Embajador Einaudi al Perú democrático y renaciente de hoy.

Debemos congratularnos, señor Presidente, al saber que el aporte del Embajador Einaudi a las
causas de la democracia, la cooperación y la integración continentales será en adelante plausible
desde una nueva e importante posición en el Departamento de Estado. Pero mejor aún, consideramos que ha sido un acierto de la Administración de los Estados Unidos que nos permita mantener el compromiso de continuar trabajando juntos por la realización de esos ideales.

Termino, señor Presidente, deseando a nuestro amigo Luigi todo el éxito y la ventura que él y su familia merecen, renovando nuestro profundo agradecimiento por su genuino interés en la problemática de los pueblos de este hemisferio, y con la certeza de que su partida de esta Casa no lo apartará, en modo alguno, de lo que han sido las preocupaciones de toda su vida. Muchas gracias.

El señor PRESIDENTE: Thank you very much, Ambassador. The Representative of Guatemala has the floor.

El señor REPRESENTANTE DE GUATEMALA: Gracias, señor Presidente. En nombre de los países centroamericanos, me cabe el alto honor de dirigirme al Consejo Permanente para despedir al digno Representante del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos de América, Embajador Luigi Einaudi. El Embajador Einaudi, con sus dotes de gran diplomático, se supo ganar la admiración y respeto de todos los representantes acreditados ante la Organización. Ha cultivado muy hábilmente relaciones cordiales con cada una de nuestras Misiones, redundando esta acción en beneficio del fortalecimiento de las mismas.

El grupo centroamericano quiere expresar, por mi medio, el pesar ante la partida de tan distinguido representante, cuyos profundos conocimientos de la historia, realidad y evolución de los acontecimientos del mismo centroamericano permitió una comprensión de nuestros problemas. Por estas razones, para nosotros la partida del amigo Luigi, como realmente lo hemos considerado y así lo queremos despedir, tiene gran connotación. Esperamos que este alejamiento de la Organización como embajador no constituya el alejamiento del amigo que tenemos. Por el contrario, deseamos seguirlo considerando como parte importante de nuestro grupo de fraternales colegas y amigos.

Hacemos votos por que en el desempeño de su nuevo cargo siga cosechando éxitos, y en unión de su querida esposa Carol, que el futuro les depare toda clase de buenas sorpresas y realizaciones para satisfacción propia y en beneficio de su admirado país. Muchas gracias, señor Presidente.

El señor PRESIDENTE: Thank you very much, Ambassador. The Representative of Canada has the floor.

El señor REPRESENTANTE DEL CANADA: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It has been said that history was made in this organization when in 1990 Canada --and in 1991 Belize and Guyana-- joined the OAS, thus completing the family of all the countries of the Americas that are located between the North and South poles. I would like to suggest because I sincerely believe it is the case, that there was another most significant event that took place in the Organization slightly before those that I have just mentioned. I would even say that this has been a momentous event for the life of the Organization. I am referring to the decision by the United States to appoint one Luigi Einaudi as its ambassador to this organization. And speaking of course on behalf of Canada, I would even
say we have been fortunate as a country to join the Organization at a time when Luigi Einaudi was representing the United States at this table.

Our two countries share many things. One of the things we share that I value very much and you help me value it, is that in this organization the United States and Canada belong with a couple of other countries to a very select group of no-agrupados, and Ambassador Einaudi has certainly been extra careful in making sure that the task of the Ambassador of Canada to belong to the no-agrupados be an easy one. It represented a special challenge for my country to remain no-agrupado upon joining, because some people thought it would not be like that, and Luigi certainly assisted me greatly and I am now grateful.

Coming back to my earlier comments, I would say that probably it was no coincidence that Canada chose to join the OAS more or less at the same time--within a six-week difference--that the United States showed that it so valued the OAS that it appointed Luigi Einaudi as its ambassador.

On my way here today I noticed a bumper sticker on the car ahead of me and it read: "The human mind is like a parachute; it only works when it is open." I don't know if the OAS needs parachutes, but it certainly needs open minds, and I think one of the greatest benefits that Luigi Einaudi has brought to the Organization has been that he has always hold an open mind. And mon cher Luigi, je pourrais m'étendre encore beaucoup plus sur vos qualités tant personnelles que professionnelles.

J'ai entendu dans des circonstances plus privées des éloges bien plus éloquents que les miens pourraient l'être. Je pense, entre autres, à ceux de notre collègue, l'ambassadeur Webster, il y a quelques jours. Donc, je ne vais pas faire de compétition ici. Je ne voudrais pas quand même terminer cette présentation sans souligner combien nous avons tous apprécié la façon admirable dont vous avez été secondé par Carol et donc, vous nous quittez sans nous quitter; -c'est la coutume de dire ça- nous allons sans doute continuer à vous chercher un ou deux étages plus haut dans le Département d'Etat.

Nous savons que lorsque nous le ferons, nous serons accueillis et nous espérons que comme vous avez été vous-même responsable au Département d'Etat de la création du slogan "Think OAS". Nous savons que vous allez continuer, vous-même à "Think OAS". Alors merci beaucoup et bonne chance pour le futur.

El señor PRESIDENTE: Thank you very much, Ambassador. The Representative of Grenada has the floor.

El señor REPRESENTANTE DE GRENADE: Mr. Chairman, I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express, on behalf of the ambassadors of the Caribbean, our sincere congratulations to you on your assumption of the chairmanship of the Permanent Council.
On the basis of your wide array of experience in government and the private sector, and on the basis of that powerful voice which is sure to command our attention at all times, we are confident that this term under your guidance will be an eventful one.

Mr. Chairman, my colleagues from the Caribbean have asked me to bid farewell to Ambassador Einaudi on their behalf. I suppose they have asked me to do so because they know that I yield to no one in my admiration of the distinguished Ambassador of the United States. When I attended my first session of the Permanent Council in July 1990, one of my colleagues said to me that for better or for worse, I would sit next to the Ambassador of the United States. I must say that because of the qualities of the Ambassador, it has been for the better; I have drawn tremendous inspiration from the wisdom and strength which he has invariably shown.

Ambassador Einaudi has used this forum effectively as an avenue for the manifestation of a profound commitment to the ideals, objectives, and philosophy of inter-Americanism and the high mission of the Organization of American States, which includes the promotion of peace and economic development within the democratic framework.

In regard to democracy in relation to Haiti, I quote from my statement to the twenty-second regular session of the General Assembly:

The definition of democracy contains, expressly or by implication, the proposition that ultimate sovereignty is reposed in the people and exercised through clearly specified mechanisms, the most credible being the ballot box. When the people are afforded an opportunity to signify their preference through elections, then their will must be respected. For this reason, we refuse to entertain any formula for the resolution of the Haitian crisis that excludes the legitimate representative of the people, President Aristide.

Mr. Chairman, my Caribbean colleagues are pleased that Ambassador Einaudi continues to share that view. On the thorny Haitian problem, he has negotiated with calm and reason, and with far-sighted and learned arguments, thereby earning our trust and our respect. We wish, on this occasion, to express our profound thanks to Ambassador Einaudi for the pivotal role he has played in the efforts of this organization to bring peace, stability, and responsible government to Haiti.

Ambassador Einaudi has a subjective inclination to do good, and in this Easter season I went to the Holy Scriptures for language that would be best describe him. I found in Luke, Chapter 23, verse 50, the language that I think applies to the Ambassador. It says: "...he was a good man, and a just man."

The influence on power of the United States precedes most American ambassadors. In the case of Luigi Einaudi, the power and influence of his personality precede that of his country. As the Ambassador of Haiti quite rightly observed recently, he is what we expect his country to be. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow said, "Lives of great men all remind us we can make our lives sublime, and, departing, leave behind us footprints on the sands of time."
Mr. Chairman, Luigi Einaudi has had the great fortune to represent his country as Ambassador to this august organization and he has done so with dignity and devotion to duty. Now that he is taking leave of us, undoubtedly, he is leaving his footprints within these walls; not because he represented a great country, but because he was a great representative of his country.

Convinced of his loyalty and persuaded by his value to the United States Government by virtue of his merited rank, his superior eloquence, his splendid qualities, his eminent services, and the vast space he fills in the eyes of mankind, the new administration had no choice but to give him another stage to continue to perform the diplomatic craft in the service of his country. My colleagues join me in extending best wishes to him and his beautiful and adorable wife Carol in all their future endeavors. Thank you.

El señor PRESIDENTE: Thank you very much, Ambassador. The Representative of Haiti has the floor.

El señor REPRESENTANTE DE HAITI: Merci Monsieur le Président.

Monsieur le Président, la Délégation haïtienne salue votre présidence du Conseil permanent et vous assure de sa plus entière collaboration, certaine qu’elle est du succès des délibérations placées sous votre sage direction.

Monsieur le Président, je tiens, au nom de la Délégation haïtienne, à payer un hommage public à l’Ambassadeur Luigi Einaudi tout en assumant pleinement les observations de l’Ambassadeur Modeste au nom des pays de la Caraïbe.

Le passage de l’Ambassadeur Einaudi à l’OEA a certainement marqué l’Organisation. Toutefois, il est juste de souligner que la Délégation haïtienne, la première à représenter un Chef d’État haïtien, démocratiquement élu, a été particulièrement heureuse et fortunée de s’introduire à la vie diplomatique, à ce moment précis où l’Ambassadeur Einaudi avait à sa charge la représentation de son pays.

Sans nul doute, depuis l’Assemblée générale de Santiago et l’Engagement solennel de nos pays à travailler pour la démocratie et la rénovation du système américain, les choses ont changé dans la gouverne des Amériques. Et la nation haïtienne devient ainsi la première à profiter de ces efforts d’assurer le plein respect des souverains des Amériques, je veux parler du plein respect de la volonté souveraine de nos peuples.

La crise haïtienne a trop duré, sans doute, mais tout au long de ce calvaire, nous avons pu compter non seulement sur la compréhension de l’Ambassadeur Einaudi, mais sur une qualité qui est, de notre point de vue, le levier même de l’humanité.

La Délégation haïtienne retient de son contact avec l’Ambassadeur Einaudi sa grande, pour ne pas dire, son extrême générosité. Nous aimerions lui dire un "au revoir" affectueux et surtout un merci lavaussien.
Nous ne savons pas comment un individu arrive à synthétiser les valeurs de son peuple et à les exprimer dans ses rapports avec les autres peuples et les autres individus. Le fait est qu'après avoir rencontré l'Ambassadeur Einaudi, on a de l'espoir. On croit que les Amériques de demain seront un monde meilleur et à travers elles, on sent déjà que la communauté internationale saura dépasser les obstacles à une paix universelle, pleine de respect pour la différence d'autrui, pleine d'encouragement pour la réalisation totale de ces petites différences qui sont notre raison d'être.

Ambassadeur Einaudi, la Délégation haïtienne vous dit au revoir en vous faisant remarquer que, bon gré mal gré, vous serez toujours parmi nous. Merci Monsieur le Président.

El señor PRESIDENTE: Thank you very much. The Representative of Suriname has the floor.

El señor REPRESENTANTE DE SURINAME: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. The United States is a country of tremendous power and influence. Indeed, it is now recognized as the only superpower left. Therefore, I think that though it may sound like a paradox, I believe that it must be extremely difficult for a foreign service officer of the United States to make a mark for himself as an individual while serving the interests of his country. For wherever he or she goes, they carry with them the weight of the total national interest which is constantly under international scrutiny.

Mr. Chairman, it is against this background that I find that Ambassador Luigi Einaudi is a distinguished ambassador and a distinguished person by his own merit and in his own right. Ambassador Einaudi has not only consistently demonstrated a firm conceptual grasp of the major issues of this hemisphere but I have also found, Mr. Chairman, in the frequent exchanges I had with him, that his performance in our Council and other committees was inspired by a deep personal conviction of the most basic values of our organization.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, though I find myself completely represented by what other delegations have said—especially the distinguished Ambassador of Grenada, and in no way would I detract from or duplicate what has been said—I have taken the floor because of the special role Ambassador Einaudi has played in the case of Suriname, and my delegation simply did not wish to miss this opportunity to make mention of it.

The Council may recall that my delegation has consistently maintained that no degree of outside support, material or otherwise, can substitute national effort when it comes to developing a democratic society. Having said that, we must also admit that young, brittle, fragmented societies like Suriname may take a little more encouragement from outside; that help will be more pivotal than in other societies. To this extent, we find that the United States of America, through the personal efforts of Ambassador Luigi Einaudi, has made a major contribution. We wish to thank him for that.

I also wish to thank him for the courtesy he has shown me, my family, and my délégation. I wish to assure him that we will always reserve a place for him in our home in Suriname. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
El señor PRESIDENTE: Thank you very much. The Representative of the United States has the floor.

El señor REPRESENTANTE DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It has been an honor to serve the United States in this Council. It has been a pleasure and even a joy. I think the distinguished Ambassador of Uruguay said it very well when he used the word alegre. I have felt joy working with you. I am obviously distressed to leave this Council and this organization, where I have been able to do some of the hardest but also some of the most productive work of my career.

When I was named, there was much debate. There were some who even questioned whether the United States should send an ambassador to the OAS. And ultimately the decision was made positively, and after some delays, actually carried through, because there is one attribute of the OAS that is of supreme importance; that is, as has so often been said here, the natural forum for dialogue in the Americas. And regardless of what specific views one might seek to advance, it was important to use this "bully pulpit"—as some have said in English, this caja de resonancia as the President of Argentina said during his visit here—to put forward views. In fact, I have taken great pride and perhaps, on occasion, too much time presenting to this body the views of my government on an enormous variety of issues before us, because that is another of the characteristics of this organization. It really is impossible for it to become so obsessively tied up in any one issue as to lose sight of the whole. What organization but this would enable me now not only to thank my colleagues here; you, for the extreme generosity of your farewells to me, but also look across to my friend, the Ambassador of Suriname, and say to him in the words of my government, that the United States Government attaches the highest importance to the principle that a country's military forces should be subject to the direction of its elected government, and congratulates President Venetiaan for the progress he has made in applying this principle in Suriname? I say this publicly—across the table to my friend—in the presence of all the countries of the Hemisphere, so that they know where we stand on this point.

I would like to, since this is the last time that I will have the privilege of addressing you, talk a little bit about four lessons that I carry away with me from my experience here.

The first is that democracy is as important among nations as it is within nations. La democracia entre las naciones es igualmente o tan importante como la democracia dentro las naciones. I chose to begin with this because clearly it is there that the OAS is making an enormous mark right now. We are forging a new solidarity of democracy. It is a fragile solidarity, sometimes weaker in expression than in feeling, because to find the right expression requires enormous balance. But there is no doubt that this, the world's oldest international organization, is asserting an enormous uniqueness in its recognition of the value of democracy and in the solidarity that we have given each other in its support, most formally in the General Assembly of 1991 in Santiago, where resolution AG/RES. 1080 (XXI-0/91) was born with enormous consequences that we are still all struggling with, because it has projected us into complicated and difficult responsibilities, many of them not foreseen at the time.
But whatever the difficulties, there is a stark contrast between what happens here and at the United Nations. In this Permanent Council all belong, all sit. In many of the decisions of the United Nations only a small fraction, less than 10 percent, sit on the Security Council and are in on the making of its decisions. This is a region of democracy; our Canadian colleague and friend, Jean-Paul, pointed out the completion of membership of sovereign states in this organization in this period. I think that the Caribbean and North America and Central America and South America still have much to learn in their coexistence. It seems to me that in fact even my choice of word "coexistence" is weak, because where our objective is cooperation, we need interaction, we need active mutual support, and we need respect.

There are many elements to this "respect." Respect at the basic level for individuals—that is the importance that we have always assigned and again where this organization stands out and contrasts to other international organizations in terms of commitment to human rights. It is fundamental. Everything starts with respect for the dignity of individuals. Respect has to go to the rule of law and to the opportunities of people and governments to be heard on a sound basis. Perhaps the proudest, and in many ways the most difficult thing during my ambassadorship, was to conclude the negotiations of the Headquarters Agreement with the Secretariat and with the Secretary General—a birthday present we were able to give to our distinguished Secretary General, Ambassador Baena Soares, a year ago on May 14.

I believe that Agreement will be ratified. I believe also that this new American administration, headed by William Jefferson Clinton, will seek to ratify the central instruments of the inter-American system, by which I mean the complete ratification of the amendments to the Charter and ratification of the American Convention. I said, "I believe." I am not in a position to announce that that is the case, but I believe it will be the case. My delegation has so argued internally.

I have a second lesson, and this is the most difficult for us, I think, precisely, as a big power. It is that the best way is not necessarily the most direct or the quickest way. El mejor camino no es el más directo o el mas breve o más rápido.

When I was in debate with people in the Senate on my confirmation, one of the angers against the OAS which I felt was that the OAS never votes; it always does things by consensus, in a wishy-washy fashion. I believe consensus is fundamental, not as a means of avoiding responsibility or avoiding action, and sometimes it does become necessary to vote. We did have a vote when it came to the amendments to the Charter in the special session of the General Assembly last December. But what characterized the debate and the work of this Permanent Council and its special committee was the search for consensus, seen as a search to actively bring people together around a set of principles that all could adopt, that all could respect, that would allow all to retain their originality, and that would allow all to breathe. That is also what brings about commitment in support of action.

We are a bit in midflight in this organization. We are beginning to forge the principles of commitment. We have yet to fully discover or evolve the principles of joint action. And for that, consensus is fundamental. Time is fundamental. Patience is fundamental.
The third lesson is that history counts, but so do people. La historia vale, pero también valen los individuos. It is history that has made the asymmetry of power in this hemisphere so dangerous. It is history that has taught us that principles like nonintervention and the sovereign equality of states are vital aspirations, in a way all the more so in a world that is as rapidly changing as is ours today, and in which it is terribly hard to find traditional moorings even to define them in the midst of the change. And that is why in fact people matter and their relationships among them. And it's why my wife and I have really so enjoyed working with those around this table. One of the things I have learned at the OAS is that sometimes one does not name too many names. You have named mine, I will not name all of yours.

But allow me to remind you of some of those who have been with us and who have left, just during my period. I was looking at the list of some of the ambassadors that served here who I was able to work with: Edmund Hawkins Lake, Juan Carlos Beltránino, and then Juan Pablo Lohle, Margaret McDonald, Sir William Douglas, Dário Castro Alves, Javier Illanes, Miguel Vasco, Miriam Cabrera, León Paredes, Keith Johnson, Antonio de Icaza and then Santiago Ofiate, Marcos Martínez Mendieta, Edmundo Uay de la Torre, Angus Albert Khan, to whom I presented my credentials in a different phase, and Edilberto Moreno. They are all friends, as are all of you. They are part of this texture that we have been trying to build.

Let me say that you have praised me and I am grateful for that praise. But I think that it is important to realize how terribly hard my mission has worked. Many of them are here. I have driven them extremely hard through my own perfectionism and my own desire to really make the most of this organization. Harder probably than any of you will know, because we have had to fight the terrible internal battle of making our presence, our potential, and our achievements known within my government and to the extent that we could do so, within this society.

I have had also a very rewarding relationship with the Secretariat, with its people, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, CICAD, Assistant Secretaries General Val McComie and Christopher Thomas.

Let me say one thing about our Secretary General, who is the only one that I have had the honor and pleasure to work with. I have found him to be a man of such principle that he made things possible. The obvious example is that if João Clemente Baena Soares was not a fervent and solid supporter of the principle of nonintervention, the United States, Canada, Venezuela, Costa Rica, and all the others who pushed would never have succeeded in creating a Unit for the Promotion of Democracy. In a sense, we had a Secretary General whose devotion to principle served as a guarantee that made the new principle begin to take root institutionally. In a sense, because he is also a man of caution and a man of very high intelligence, and despite the many times in which he and I have disagreed, the Secretary General is a man of very good judgment.

This has been a family in terms of the concerts, the music upstairs that we have so often enjoyed which has enabled us to present not only individual but musical accomplishments of this extremely talented hemisphere; this extremely vibrant hemisphere.
It is true, I will still be in Washington, I will still be interested, but we will miss this family, and we will miss what it does very much.

My last point. I leave convinced that this region—the Western Hemisphere—has an important future, and that this organization—the Organization of American States—also has a future. We are now in midflight between what we have been and what I am confident we will become. The opening has not just been made possible by our cooperation as individuals; it has not been made possible by the changes in the global scene, the extraordinary speed of economic integration, the end of the Cold War. This has been made possible by all of these things together. I think it is important to realize that these are not easy times. There was a moment when people thought that the Cold War was so bad, they were glad it was over. There was so much tension.

We are still trying to find our way from the end of the Cold War. It is good, of course, that the risk of nuclear annihilation and the frozen rigidities of that confrontation are now part of the past. But there are new risks, including risks of simple anarchy in the international system, that are very much with us, and that underscores the importance of the role of this organization and of multilateral cooperation, generally. I think we do not know yet whether we will have the courage to really consolidate democracy, understanding that democracy really does require mutual support, inclusion rather than exclusion, and sometimes a willingness to lose power. And it is not clear how we will translate democracy from something that we have and can enjoy at home and within our own cultural frameworks, within our own idiosyncrasies, to something that we can share with others and on which we can build. I am convinced that we have it easier in this hemisphere than elsewhere from this standpoint, in spite of all of our differences; and even in a world in which sometimes the speed of integration on so many levels is so rapid. But it is not clear what fair sharing of the burdens of preserving, defending, and extending democracy is.

These are questions that we have discussed in this Council, that we will continue to discuss. They are my questions, too; and they will stay my questions because, as a Senior Advisor to the Secretary of State, working in the Policy Planning Council, I have already been asked these questions by my colleagues in the Department. So I am going; I am going to look at some questions in a different perspective, often from a global perspective, but I go knowing that the OAS and the countries of the Americas are a very important part of this globe, and that you are a very important part of my life. Thank you very much. [Aplausos.]

El señor PRESIDENTE: Thank you, Ambassador, for a historic farewell statement, so full of substance and pregnant with food for thought. We appreciate it.

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El señor PRESIDENTE: I now offer the floor to the delegations for any other matter that they may wish to bring to our attention. The Representative of Costa Rica has the floor.