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*President:* Mr. Hamilton Shirley AMERASINGHE  
(Sri Lanka).

**AGENDA ITEM 98**

**Pattern of conferences: report of the  
Committee on Conferences**

**REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/31/444)**

**AGENDA ITEM 103**

**Report of the International Civil Service Commission**

**REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/31/449)**

1. Mr. NASON (Ireland), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: I have the honour to introduce on behalf of the Fifth Committee reports on agenda items 98 and 103.

2. The Committee's report on item 98 is in document A/31/444, in paragraph 8 of which may be found the recommendation to the General Assembly which was adopted in the Committee by consensus.

3. The Committee's report on item 103 may be found in document A/31/449. The Fifth Committee's recommendation to the Assembly is to be found in paragraph 46 of the report. The text contained in this paragraph 46 should be considered as a single draft resolution. In order to avoid any possible confusion, I should like to point out that the draft resolution is set out in two parts, A and B. The second part has two subsections under the Roman numerals I and II. I hope that both these recommendations will receive the approval of the Assembly.

*Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Fifth Committee.*

4. The PRESIDENT: We shall consider first the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 98 [A/31/444]. We shall now take a decision on the draft resolution entitled "Pattern of conferences" recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 8 of its report. The Fifth Committee adopted that draft resolution by consensus. May I consider that the General Assembly wishes to do likewise?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 31/140).*

5. The PRESIDENT: We turn next to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 103 [A/31/449]. We shall now take a single decision on draft resolutions A and B entitled "Report of the International Civil Service Commission" recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 46 of its report. A recorded vote has been requested.

*A recorded vote was taken*

*In favour:* Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

*Against:* Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

*Abstaining:* Benin, China.

*Draft resolutions A and B were adopted by 119 votes to 11, with 2 abstentions (resolutions 31/141 A and B).*

## AGENDA ITEM 117

**One hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the  
Amphictyonic Congress of Panama**

6. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Guyana, who will introduce the draft resolution on this item.

7. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): One hundred and fifty years ago, on 22 June 1826, there was convened in Panama, at that time a part of Gran Colombia, a Congress which for Latin America represented a supremely historic moment in the difficult but onward march of the peoples of the continent towards freedom, unity and integration. Today, a century and a half later, we are gathered here in the General Assembly to pay a tribute to the architect and moving spirit of that Congress, Simón Bolívar, the Liberator, a towering figure of South American liberation. Upon me, Mr. President, has fallen the great honour of speaking on behalf of the Latin American group of States as we meet today in this special commemorative session.

8. The motives that inspired the convocation that was the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama sprang neither from an idea suddenly embraced nor from a thought casually conceived. Rather, they represented the considered response and the convictions of a man who, early in his political life, perceived a nexus between the struggle for the independence of Latin America and the unity of its peoples. The motives were those of an idealist, a visionary.

9. It was in 1810, while on a mission in the British capital, London, that Bolívar announced that all the peoples of America would be invited to join Venezuela in a confederation in the event of a recourse to arms by the Venezuelan people to achieve their freedom and independence. This belief in the need for Latin American solidarity and co-operation was to be a guiding principle throughout the life of the Great Liberator. Bolívar's yearning for such a moment is movingly expressed in his famous letter from Jamaica of 6 September 1815, written at a time when he was in exile and when the independence struggle was experiencing some temporary reverses. An inspired Bolívar wrote:

"Would . . . that some day we may have the good fortune to convene . . . an august assembly . . . to deliberate upon the high interests of peace and war with the nations of the other three-quarters of the globe. This type of organization may come to pass in some happier period of our regeneration."<sup>1</sup>

He, of course, conceived that that assembly would be held on the Isthmus of Panama.

10. More than 10 years were to pass before that hope of Bolívar would be converted into reality.

11. By the end of 1824, the achievement of continental freedom had been signalled by victory at the battle of

<sup>1</sup> Simón Bolívar, "Reply of a South American to a gentleman of this Island [Jamaica]", Kingston, 6 September 1815. For the text, see *Selected Writings of Bolívar*, vol. I, Vicente Lecuna, comp., Harold A. Bierck, Jr., ed. (New York, The Colonial Press Inc., 1951), p. 119.

Ayacucho. By that time, as well, treaties of alliance had been signed between a number of the newly independent States with the aim of maintaining their independence against foreign threats and interventions.

12. The Congress we today commemorate was conceptualized in Bolívar's terms as "a council during periods of great conflicts, to be appealed to in the event of common danger, and to be a faithful interpreter of public treaties when difficulties arise, in brief, to conciliate all our differences".<sup>2</sup> At one level, the Congress was seen as an institution for the peaceful settlement of disputes between the newly independent States; at another, it was to be an alliance, the goal of which would be the defence of Latin America against threats to the sovereignty of its States. Bolívar conceived of a Latin American unity based on true equality between States, free of hegemony. The Congress would be a living example of the Liberator's undying commitment to the cause of pan-Americanism.

13. It is true that much of what is present-day Central and South America was represented at the Congress. Yet, we would be guilty of historical inaccuracy if we were to assert that the Congress, whether in its actual proceedings or in its practical results, corresponded entirely to Bolívar's vision of continental unity. Nevertheless it was a reflection of the genius of the Liberator that, while promoting Latin American unity, he appreciated the complexity of the process. His "Jamaica letter" is a good example of this recognition.

14. The historical significance of the Congress of Panama lies not so much in what it concretely achieved but in what it portrayed in the form of ideals, principles and goals. These ideals are not limited by time. These principles are not shaped by events. These goals represent what is enduring, what is universal. These ideals, these principles, these goals have been immortalized by history. For Bolívar advocated the virtues of international harmony, international co-operation and international understanding. This was the guiding inspiration of the Congress of Panama. It was neither a meeting designed to maintain the *status quo* nor one seeking to stem the movement for the liberation of oppressed peoples. It sought as its primordial objective the use by mankind of international institutions as instruments for the promotion of amity and the construction of peace. This is the true legacy of Bolívar. Its inheritors are not only the people of Latin America but the whole international community. The existence of this Organization, the United Nations, is our testament to the ideals of Bolívar.

15. Simón Bolívar died 146 years ago to the day 17 December 1830. He died acutely conscious of the true dimensions of the divisions that it had been his life's work to overcome. He died with the knowledge that his vision had not yet been realized.

16. More than a century has passed since those great revolutions that freed most of Latin America. Out of those revolutions have sprung many nations, each today conscious of its own separate identity. To these nations have

<sup>2</sup> Simón Bolívar, Lima, 7 December 1824. For the text, see *Selected Writings of Bolívar*, vol. II, Vicente Lecuna, comp., Harold A. Bierck, Jr., ed. (New York, The Colonial Press Inc., 1951), p. 457.

been added in the course of time the English-speaking countries of the Caribbean. Latin America today reflects an invigorating mosaic of pluralistic societies. It is an exciting blend of cultures, traditions and races.

17. Politically and economically, Latin America has undergone fundamental changes since the era of Bolívar. But the concerns of the Liberator remain valid for the peoples of the region. The quest for regional unity continues—a unity which can transcend, while yet expressing, the aspirations of separate national identities. Strong evidence of the desire for the solidarity of the region can be seen in the efforts of Latin American States for the establishment of a new international economic order. In this endeavour, Latin America, with the creation of the Latin American Economic System *[SELA]*, has made an indispensable institutional adjustment. At the international level, Latin America has also identified its interests with those of the third world in seeking to reshape the global economic order for the benefit of all mankind. Latin America is dedicated to the task of creating an international economic system responsive to the dictates of justice and equity.

18. Today it is recognized that Bolívar and all of Latin America's liberators envisaged unity for peace. Those hopes, those aspirations remain with us. We yearn for a peace, which, as the President of Venezuela said at the National Pantheon in Caracas, on 22 June of this year in commemoration of the Congress of Panama, means "creative activity, the possibility to achieve through human effort the happiness of mankind, the coexistence of the peoples of the world on the basis of international justice, equality and mutual respect". Continuing, the President of Venezuela observed:

"This peace which we proclaim rejects all types of subservience, be it the maintenance of alien lands in Latin American, Asian, or African nations, the intellectual who prevents the free circulation of technology, the tariff that denies just treatment of prices of the raw materials of our countries, or the financier who manipulates the monetary resources of the world, credit or aid, or subjects them to veto. This peace that we call for today, 150 years after the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama, is peace for work, with no artificial or unjust divisions in relationships, based on a new international economic order."

19. I am honoured to present for adoption by this Assembly, draft resolution A/31/L.23/Rev.2. The first preambular paragraphs of the draft resolution deal with the decision of the General Assembly to hold this commemorative meeting, the objective of the Amphictyonic Congress, the inspiring vision of the great Liberator, and the international significance of the Treaty signed at the end of the Congress.<sup>3</sup> The fifth preambular paragraph recalls Bolívar's foresight in envisaging a future Panama Canal.

20. Operative paragraphs 1 to 3 are concerned with the role and ideals of Bolívar in relation to Latin America and the wider international community. Operative paragraph 1 decides to honour the memory of Bolívar by the placing of

a commemorative plaque in the United Nations building. Operative paragraph 2 specifically gives due recognition to the particular importance of the Amphictyonic Congress as a precedent in the conduct of international affairs.

21. The provisions of operative paragraph 4 concern a matter of the utmost importance and of deep significance to Latin America. For the current arrangements regarding the Panama Canal are an anachronism, an egregious anomaly, unworthy of modern day interstate relations. The settlement of the Panama Canal issue by the prompt return of the Canal to the jurisdiction of the Republic of Panama is desired by all Latin America; this desire is supported by the generality of the membership of this Organization. It would be a fitting tribute to the memory of Bolívar, to the ideas he expressed, and to the principles he cherished, if the negotiations on this question were to realize this objective in the shortest possible time. The draft resolution formulates the wish for the successful outcome of those negotiations.

22. Operative paragraph 5 is self-explanatory. It requests the Secretary-General to circulate to States Members of this Organization a document reproducing the instrument of convocation and the agreements of the Amphictyonic Congress.

23. In adopting this draft resolution, the General Assembly will be giving due recognition to one of the great heroes of liberation of the world and to the ideals that went beyond the confines of national borders, ideals which found expression in a selfless devotion to the all-encompassing goal of unity and co-operation, in the restricted sense of a continent, and in the larger more comprehensive sense of a world community.

24. I commend to this Assembly draft resolution A/31/L.23/Rev.2.

25. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Guyana, who has introduced draft resolution A/31/L.23/Rev.2 in his capacity as Chairman of the Latin American group of States, has commended it to the General Assembly for adoption by consensus. If I hear no objection I shall take it that the draft resolution is adopted by consensus.

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 31/142).*

26. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the speakers whose names appear on the list, permit me to make a statement myself.

27. The concept of amphictyonic confederation originated in ancient Greece, the cradle of democracy and parent of those principles of international co-operation and consultation, the need for which we feel more than ever today. One hundred and fifty years ago the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama brought together the Latin American Republics in order to unite them in a confederation established on legal foundations that would regulate the relations between those Republics and other nations of the world in order to secure unity in the face of threat and the faithful interpretation of, and adherence to, international covenants and conventions and the principle of conciliation of differences.

<sup>3</sup> Treaty of Union, League and Perpetual Confederation, signed in Panama on 15 July 1826. For the text, see *International Conferences of American States, 1889-1928*, James Brown, ed. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1931), p. xxv.

28. Today this special commemorative plenary meeting has been convened as a tribute to the architect of that plan. To all Members of the United Nations this tribute to Simón Bolívar is more than a formality. It is an acknowledgement of our indebtedness to a revolutionary and political genius whose ideals constitute the foundations of the United Nations Charter. The Amphictyonic Congress held in Panama in 1826 comprised 15 Latin American States. In 1826, four of those States, Venezuela, Panama, Ecuador and Colombia, formed a closely knit confederation. Two States, Peru and Mexico, attended as separate Republics. The Central American States, consisting of El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, which formed a loose federation, attended as a group. The United States was invited to attend, but was unable to participate.

29. Simón Bolívar, the liberator, was born 193 years ago. At a special plenary meeting held during the second session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea in Caracas, on Wednesday, 24 July 1974, I had occasion, as President of the Conference, to make a statement,<sup>4</sup> the sense of which is worth repeating. I stated then that men of the fibre of Simón Bolívar belonged not to one people or to one continent, but wherever human dignity and freedom were respected as the essence of the human condition. Simón Bolívar was born during an age of revolutionary ferment, which had witnessed two events that had dramatic and lasting effects on world history—the American Declaration of Independence, the two hundredth anniversary of which has been celebrated this year, and the French Revolution. The finest elements in the human spirit and character often emerge during the most tempestuous periods of history.

30. Although born into conditions of affluence, Simón Bolívar, at a very early age, renounced the privileges and material comforts of his class in order to wage a bold struggle to win independence for his homeland and for other fellow Latin Americans from a powerful and tenacious foreign ruler. In his own words he fought for liberty and for everything that was great and beautiful. In 15 years he won freedom for five Latin American countries and throughout all the vicissitudes that barred his way to final triumph, he displayed indomitable perseverance and invincible courage born of faith in his mission and of the genuine conviction that all men were entitled to be free. He was the stuff of which great liberators and leaders are made: undaunted by defeat, a stranger to fear and fatigue, animated by an indestructible faith in the justice of his cause, and sustained throughout by unswerving devotion in his people whom he served so well. Men such as Simón Bolívar are a shining example and an inspiration wherever freedom and liberty are cherished.

31. On solemn occasions such as this, we should resolve that we will not become involved in passionate contention over special issues but, acting in the same spirit of statesmanship and with the same vision that marked and distinguished Simón Bolívar, we should commit ourselves unequivocally to the settlement of outstanding disputes, especially those which constitute an encroachment on, or

limitation of, national sovereignty, in a spirit of amity and in the manner best calculated to promote the interests of all concerned and to uphold the ideals of national freedom and sovereignty, to which we are all committed in the cause of international peace and security, in conformity with the principles of the Charter and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

32. I now call on the representative of Madagascar, who will speak on behalf of the African States.

33. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): In this anniversary year, celebrated with pride and not without fervour by our brothers from Latin America, at the very time when, in spite of various pressures, this continent is becoming more and more identified with the genuine aspirations of the third world, it is appropriate for Africa to associate itself with the tribute which the General Assembly is paying today to Simón Bolívar and to his thought and work.

34. It would be presumptuous of me to attempt to retrace faithfully and exhaustively the life of that statesman and strategist, whose singular privilege it is to have been named the foremost liberator among all liberators. This choice is undoubtedly due to the recognition of a destiny stamped by his time and place which prompted him to entertain a vision of his vocation that, while remaining within the bounds of reason, was sustained by an emotion of rare intensity, and was organized and moulded by a spirit of renewal which the romantics of the century chose to describe as revolution.

35. In the face of established order, tyranny, despotism, usurpation of power and sovereignty, the rebel he was to become tried to make of liberty the goal of action conceived in reasoned enthusiasm; this led him to reject all foreign influence, advocate the struggle for emancipation and believe in exorable and irreversible victory.

36. This vision became commitment. The country gave way to the nation and the human species, in the pure tradition of the Encyclopaedists, was to prevail over all other concerns. It is to this natural evolution that we owe the tenets of Bolívar's thought as reflected in his work, namely, the establishment of an organized system of liberation; the independence of the fatherland; the creation of a Latin American nation, and the establishment of fraternal and sacred communion within that nation; the claim to a positive role for Latin America; the appeal to universal conscience for the triumph of right and justice over repression, reconquest and the persistence of absolutism and arbitrary rule; and the recognition of political principles of international conduct.

37. This complex of ideals and objectives, which was also to inspire the drafters of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, was to find its consecration in the course of the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama, held from 22 June to 15 July 1826, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of which we are celebrating today. The Treaty of Perpetual Union, League and Confederation signed at the end of that Congress constitutes a juridical complex designed to organ-

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.V.3), vol. I, p. 191.

ize an association of States along the lines of the Covenant of the League of Nations or the Charter of the United Nations. This statement, however judicious it may be, does not, however, take account of what this event, the first in the course of modern history that can be credited to those States which were excluded from the European concert of nations, means to us in the third world.

38. This event marks the awakening of a world to which the insensitivity, the apathy, the blind egotism of the Powers of the time denied all aspirations to political existence or participation in the commonweal. From the Congress of Panama dates the search for unity and integration according to new criteria--no longer those of the Holy Alliance--and apart from any consideration of the balance thus brought to an alien continent. It is from this time also that it was possible to bring about the existence of other phenomena of even greater validity than Eurocentricity according to their respective fields of application. In a word, it was at that meeting in Panama 150 years ago that the notion of another world of unity whose identity was forged by the common struggle for right, justice, progress and security was born.

39. The message of union, harmony and understanding and brotherhood left to us by the 11 States that met at Panama is something which we in Africa have received and heeded in our quest for unity from Casablanca to Monrovia, from Lagos to Addis Ababa. We would like to express the hope that the rest of the message will not remain a mere myth because it is also inspired by Bolívar's universalist vision and can apply to all, particularly the countries of the third world, prompting them to strengthen their independence and sovereignty, to reject power politics and to undertake genuinely concerted action for a new order and a peace that would be lasting and acceptable to all.

40. We could then say, as Bolívar did: "The veil is ripped asunder. We have already seen the light and we have no wish to be thrust back into darkness."

41. It is because of this difficult, severe and unequivocal choice that we, the countries of the third world collectively or individually, are seeking to regain our identity and are opposing all external attempts at division. We refuse to succumb to facile temptations proffered by the promise of fictitious advantages or to follow the path of an alienating reconquest, to which some people, too sure of their systems and their power, would entice us.

42. As for us, the countries and peoples of Africa, we can assure our brothers in Latin America and in all the countries of the third world that we intend to remain faithful to the pledge made by the plenipotentiaries at Panama to the genuinely universal and independent thought of Simón Bolívar.

43. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Fiji, who will speak on behalf of the Asian States.

44. Mr. VUNIBOBO (Fiji): The Asian group of States welcomes the invitation and the opportunity to participate in this commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama and to pay a tribute to a great son of Latin America, Simón Bolívar.

45. Simón Bolívar towers in the history of Latin America. He was a patriot of Spanish America and a general who has left his mark in the history of that great continent. He was the liberator who fought oppression and colonialism to free his people from injustices in order to restore to them their dignity. Above all, Simón Bolívar was a statesman who is remembered today not only as the liberator but as a man of wisdom and vision which has been justified by history.

46. Freedom for the Latin American people was not Bolívar's only hope, but coexistence among them was his ideal. Bolívar hoped to achieve, through an international congress, a solemn pact of union among the Spanish-speaking American nations. He had said that it should be an Amphictyonic League--a league of good neighbours--an assembly of plenipotentiaries to discuss matters of common interest to all the Spanish-speaking American States; and it should be prepared to resolve differences by arbitration in any discords which might arise among them. In 1826, he called the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama in Panama which was to form a pact of integration and which had among its objects to be "a faithful interpreter of public treaties" and an arbitrator and conciliator in disputes and differences. The principle of arbitration was probably Bolívar's greatest contribution to peace and international law. For the first time in modern history, the principle of arbitration was introduced with plans for mediation and conciliation in cases of disagreement.

47. It has been said that the liberator, Simón Bolívar, was more than a century ahead of his time as regards the concept of constituting a union of nations, at that time restricted to his part of America. Bolívar's work ended in ruins, but his ideal lived. Bolívar was the architect of the idea of union for peace. For him, peace was not only the absence of war; peace meant creative activity, the possibility to achieve through human effort the happiness of mankind and the coexistence of the peoples of the world on the basis of international justice, equality and mutual respect. It is therefore indeed appropriate that we should take this opportunity of paying a tribute to him and, indeed, to the continent of Latin America.

48. Today, there are new nations in this Organization, as there were in 1826 at the Panama Congress. In 1826, Bolívar and the new Latin American nations were getting ready to enter a difficult period in their history, and the same could be said of today. New factors represented by the third-world nations are claiming their share by their presence in this world Organization. The third world is joining this Organization with that new dimension--a hope that the world order will not be governed by a club of countries with economic, military or political powers that exclude others but by a total and universal consensus expressed through these United Nations.

49. A tribute to Simón Bolívar will not be complete without a tribute to the Latin America of today. The contribution of these countries to Bolívar's ideal extends far beyond inter-Latin American or regional and sub-regional institutions. As a representative of the Asian group of States, I recall with great satisfaction their concern for the problems faced by developing countries. Their lead in founding and strengthening the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, their initiative in promoting



the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, their contribution at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, and their active participation in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea stand tall among their numerous efforts of co-operation and co-existence. Above all, their contribution to the United Nations has been an invaluable one. They are among the peoples of the world today whose belief in the future has not been shaken, and whose ideals—Utopian though they might appear—are now plans which are being put into practice, even though they may not take the form of the close political union intended by Bolívar.

50. The Asian group of States salutes Simón Bolívar and the countries of Latin America and is grateful that this Organization has seen fit to approve by consensus a resolution that not only pays a tribute to Simón Bolívar but would put in a tangible manner, in the form of a plaque, our recognition of his contribution.

51. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Bulgaria, who will speak on behalf of the Eastern European States.

52. Mr. YANKOV (Bulgaria): On behalf of the delegations of the Eastern European States, I am pleased to have the honour to convey our greetings on the occasion of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama, which convened on 22 June 1826.

53. Undoubtedly, the ideals and principles which Simón Bolívar, the great son of Latin America, proclaimed and to which he dedicated his life, played an important part in the history of the nations in that continent. It is for this obvious reason that the Latin American peoples commemorate Simón Bolívar as their liberator. Bolívar's ideals inspired and continue to inspire the best sons and daughters of Latin America in their struggle for freedom and independence and for the establishment of relations based on the principle of sovereign equality of States.

54. Latin America's history is rich in examples of self-denying struggle to champion these principles, to establish new, more equitable relations, to maintain and strengthen peace, to preserve democratic principles, to promote economic and social progress, and to achieve freedom for all nations.

55. Simón Bolívar's ideas have a special meaning today for the Latin American peoples, particularly in their endeavours for genuine independence, for full sovereignty over their natural resources, for creating conditions conducive to accelerated economic and social progress on the basis of radical socio-economic transformations, in peace, freedom and democracy.

56. The peoples of the Eastern European States regard with deep understanding the desire of the Latin American peoples to overcome the difficulties which they face along the road to their independent development. We welcome and support their struggle to maintain and consolidate their sovereignty and territorial integrity, and to exercise their inalienable right to choose freely the path of their political, social and economic development.

57. Simón Bolívar spared no effort to translate these ideals into life. Thousands of dedicated Latin Americans laid down their lives in the name of those same ideals. Those ideas will doubtlessly be victorious for the good of all nations of that continent, in the interest of peace and international understanding.

58. On behalf of the delegations of the Eastern European States, I would like to express to the Government of Panama our solidarity with and support of it in its efforts to recover full and effective sovereignty over the entire national territory of Panama. I would like to express to all Latin American peoples our solidarity with and support of them in their struggle for the full implementation of the principles and purposes proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations—respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, and friendly relations based on the equality of States.

59. In our view, the adoption of the resolution on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama is not only an expression of a well-deserved tribute to Simón Bolívar's life-work and to the significance of the anniversary of the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama, but also a reaffirmation in the present-day conditions of the ideals of peace, independence and solidarity of the Latin American nations.

60. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Malta, who will speak on behalf of the Western European and other States.

61. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): My colleagues and I owe a personal debt of gratitude to our Latin American friends, because they have encouraged us to research, albeit under pressure of time, into the life of a fascinating soldier-statesman in the person of Simón Bolívar. He was a recognized genius in his own age, his prophetic vision and poetic power have stood the test of time, and his ideas still endure.

62. I must candidly admit that, in my student days, I had explored the history of the South American continent with much less concentration than it merited, and I welcome this opportunity partially to rectify that omission. It is one of the features of our work in the United Nations that the learning process never ceases. And so I was able to recall that fate did not treat Simón Bolívar very kindly. He was fatherless at the age of three, motherless at the age of six, and in consequence his whole life style was affected. His wealth enabled him to secure a sound education in the classics and also to study the contemporary intellectual influences prevailing at his time, and his travels brought him to the capitals of Europe. His first marriage ended with his wife's death after only one year, and he himself died at a relatively young age through a malignant sickness which was then incurable. His personal tragedies nevertheless steeled him at an early age in his iron resolve to change the course of history, and we now commemorate a concept which he cherished, inspired, and saw come to fruition on 22 June 1826, at the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama.

63. Today we celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of that Congress, and it is on behalf of the group of Western European and other States that I venture

to offer some random reflections on this memorable occasion.

64. I have it on good authority, but always subject to correction, that the amphictyonic idea was first developed in ancient Greece and represents the first planned human effort to base the relations between States on the principle of democracy, which, as understood at that time, was the basis of the internal political organization of the Greek cities.

65. The degree of progress represented by a system which ensured equality and co-operation among States, as envisaged in the amphictyonic system of the Greek cities, constituted a remarkable achievement. The organization of amphictyonies was based on an administrative council which consisted of representatives called *ieromnemes* (keepers of the laws)—or a kind of secretariat—and a conference—like our Assembly—which was composed of representatives of the states members and was the paramount organ of the amphictyonies.

66. The conference met twice a year, in spring and in autumn, and adopted resolutions which, depending on their content, bound either the *ieromnemes*, the administrative council, or the member-cities of the amphictyonies. It is characteristic of the democratic idea which inspired the amphictyonies that the conference could impose sanctions in the case of non-compliance with its resolutions, either on its member-states or directly on the citizens of those states. And when citizens of a state that had been ordered to pay a penalty did not comply with the decision of the conference, and the city-state concerned did not oblige its citizens to do so, the conference was entitled to extend the penalty to the state-member itself. The system was based on respect of the common law and on compliance with resolutions to resolve differences between member-states.

67. This was the elevated concept of amphictyonies that the noble mind of Simón Bolívar aspired to reintroduce in his time. It might be recalled that when Bolívar sought to revive the ancient Greek democratic ideals which should govern the relations among States, Europe—and by extension the world of those days—was dominated by the political trends and alignments prevalent in those times. It is not a coincidence that when Bolívar raised the flag of national independence and liberty in Latin America, other peoples, in Europe and elsewhere, struggled to regain their freedom, for it is through freedom that true democracy can be realized by peaceful means.

68. And so at the same time he and other contemporary leaders were subject to the contagious influence stirring the minds of men through the writings of the early eighteenth century. These also produced a lasting effect on Bolívar, who derived inspiration from Napoleon, as also from the rationalist school of Locke, Hobbes, Buffon, d'Alembert, Helvétius, Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau—the latter two apparently having had the greatest influence on his political thinking, with Voltaire colouring his philosophy on life. Bolívar's activist ideas were taken from the German scientist Alexander Humboldt, who had himself visited some of the then Spanish colonies and felt that they were yearning for independence from the Spanish administration and for continuing friendship with the Spanish people.

These cumulative influences became a solemn vow, taken on the hills of Monte Sacro in Rome. The coronation of Napoleon as Emperor of France seemed to Bolívar an indication of the potential for one man to achieve tremendous change. In 1807 he returned to South America via the United States and then his crusade began. History was to record his contribution, but some outstanding events merit repetition.

69. In 1815, still in his early thirties, writing from the island of Jamaica, his dream found written expression 12 years before the Congress actually took place. Bolívar wrote:

“How beautiful it would be if the Isthmus of Panama could be for us what the Isthmus of Corinth was for the Greeks! Would to God that some day we may have the good fortune to convene there an august assembly of representatives of republics, kingdoms, and empires to deliberate upon the high interests of peace and war with the nations of the other three quarters of the globe.”

70. To my mind this passage contains at least three elements which need to be highlighted. One element shows the universalist character of Bolívar's concepts of the independence of nations. Independence, sovereignty, freedom of conduct of nations were not to be interpreted as international anarchy. Bolívar feared this, and in his wisdom saw that the respective aspirations and interests of the newly independent countries of Latin America could be satisfied, not by each State acting out of concert with the others, but by all acting harmoniously together. He envisaged the Congress of Panama as the organizational stage on which that harmony could be enacted.

71. Although the Congress of Panama did not have a specific agenda, it was for that same reason not limited in scope, and it included political, social and economic subjects of vital relevance. It was an expression of the common ideals and aspirations of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere, and it laid the foundation of the many and important contributions that the nations of Latin America have made to the norms and to the institutions of international law.

72. The second element is deduced from the mention of the Isthmus of Corinth by Bolívar. It shows how imbued he was with the ancient classics, and how they inspired him to transfer the concepts from the cradle of democracy and civilization that was Greece to the newly formed sovereign States of Latin America. This, I believe, is one of the major symbols of the link—continuing, spontaneous, historically timeless—between the countries of Latin America and the European countries on whose behalf I am privileged to speak today.

73. A third element in the quotation I have mentioned, and one which has a special reason to be highlighted today, concerns the unique status that Panama, because of its geographical position, had in the mind of Simón Bolívar. He visualized the area of the Isthmus of Panama as the commercial centre of the world, which, by virtue of canals that would shorten distances, would draw to itself like a magnet the praise and tribute of countries in different continents. It is to be hoped that the talks currently under

way will be concluded successfully in accordance with the Declaration of Principles signed by the parties involved in Panama City on 7 February 1974. The unanimous adoption of the resolution presented today is a step in the right direction.

74. One hundred and fifty years after the first Congress the stage is somewhat different. Modern technology has not only shortened distances and made the most remote corners of the globe easily accessible within a short time, but each individual before a television screen has actually been able to see, through mankind's forages in outer space during the last few years, that the whole world is really one constantly shrinking neighbourhood. And we might be inclined to admit that we in this hall are the deputies of a neighbourly community of nations sitting in council, pouring out our problems and explaining our interests in an effort to reach global solutions to replace global anarchy. This Assembly may really be seen as a living demonstration of how the amphictyonic idea outgrew its regional dimensions and assumed global proportions. This, I feel, is the most important message that the Congress of Panama has for us today.

75. Of course, looking around us we still find many short-comings and innumerable unresolved problems as we prepare to close this session after three months of arduous work. But we may renew our faith from the inspired words of Bolívar after the earthquake of Caracas in 1812, in itself an event which set back his endeavours. This great son of Venezuela said: "Should nature oppose us, we will fight against her and induce her to obey us". In the building of international organization for a better understanding among peoples it is not so much nature that stands in the way, but rather artificial barriers, which gradually we shall overcome when we act in concert. It takes great men to move mountains. Simón Bolívar was one of these men, his fertile mind and resolute will fed by intellectual yearning for progress. The existence of the United Nations today, the increase in membership to 147, the constant effort to base relations between States on the principles of equality and democracy, owe a lot to the lofty vision of Simón Bolívar and his amphictyonic ideal. The old amphictyonic organization declined when certain Powers departed from these principles. We cannot repeat the same mistakes.

76. One of the most quoted phrases of Bolívar was the note of despair towards the end of his life when he said "I have ploughed the seas". At the time and in the circumstances it was made, that expression of feeling was understandable. It denoted the disappointment of the visionary and the perfectionist who saw the results of his achievements as falling short of his dreams; it denoted the frustration of an impassioned spirit aching for a variety of ideals. But today, with the hindsight and perspective of history, we know that Bolívar did not fail. His achievements are there for all to see. Indeed, they are here in this very hall. I prefer to read in his epitaph the vision of a prophet. Because the nations of the world are actually ploughing the seas, and the lands beneath the sea; our planet is to be penetrated to its core. The question before us is how equitably and peacefully this will be done. We therefore have to consider that if we do not succeed in elevating the amphictyonic idea to a higher degree of perfection within this Organization, the fault will be ours

and history will judge us harshly. Again Simón Bolívar had the answer. To paraphrase his words into this setting, could we not say with the Liberator: "Let us lay the corner-stone of universal freedom; to hesitate is to perish"?

77. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Democratic Yemen who will speak on behalf of the group of Arab States.

78. Mr. HAMZAH (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly adopted draft resolution A/31/L.23/Rev.2, which reaffirms the respect felt by the General Assembly, representing the world at large, for the role and struggle of Simón Bolívar. It is my privilege to speak this month on behalf of the Arab group of States in order to express sincere congratulations to our friends in Latin America on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama of 1826. In the Arab world we sympathize greatly with the feelings of pride expressed by our brothers and friends in Latin America and in the world at large for this great leader, Simón Bolívar.

79. The great role and the exceptional struggle which was waged by Simón Bolívar in this period of Latin American history was a sincere expression of the authenticity of the man and the greatness of the militant people of Latin America. It was a clear indication of the spirit of liberation, pride and national dignity of the peoples of the world at large. The Arab peoples, which face oppression and exploitation, dispersal, colonialism, and racist and alien domination, truly realize the noble ideals for which this great man struggled. This giant at an early period realized that the strength of Latin America lay in its unity and harmony and in the mobilization of the resources of its people in the service of progress and peace. All of this confirms the fact that the ideas of Bolívar belong not only to Latin America but to the world and truly reflect the yearning for dignity and liberation everywhere.

80. The struggle of Simón Bolívar still goes on in Latin America and we hope that the peoples of this friendly continent will achieve their unity and their social and economic development and that they may strive to consecrate for ever the principles of this great leader, one of the greatest in the world.

81. This commemoration by the General Assembly is an indication of the adherence of the world at large to the thoughts and ideas propagated by this man. On behalf of the Arab countries, may I once more salute the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama and its originator, the great humanist, Simón Bolívar.

82. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United States of America, the host country.

83. Mr. BENNETT (United States of America): The Government of the United States of America is deeply honoured to participate in this fitting tribute to one of the most renowned and celebrated citizens of the Western Hemisphere, Simón Bolívar.

84. Simón Bolívar was an extraordinary man, gifted with a breadth of vision and imagination and an indomitable spirit.



His precious legacy to the people of this Hemisphere and of the world—is one of national independence and international co-operation.

85. Bolívar's heroic accomplishments, and those of José de San Martín, in the struggle for independence in Latin America during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, are recognized by all who have even a cursory knowledge of that proud chapter in the history of our Hemisphere. Bolívar's indefatigable dedication to freedom and independence, the skill and imagination with which he pursued those goals and the glorious victory which finally crowned his efforts earned him the title of "Liberator" and the acclaim of succeeding generations of his fellow countrymen, his fellow Latin Americans, and his neighbours in the Hemisphere and in the world at large.

86. The man we honour was the first among the leaders of this Hemisphere to recognize the importance of securing regional peace through international organization and co-operation and the first to take practical steps to implement that far-sighted and creative vision.

87. The Amphictyonic Congress of Panama which we are commemorating today, and the resultant Treaty of Perpetual Union, League and Confederation, signed on 15 July 1826, grew out of Bolívar's vision of peace and co-operation through an international organization of neighbouring States. The Amphictyonic Congress was the forerunner of the Pan-American Union and the present-day Organization of American States, the world's oldest regional organization.

88. The principles to which Bolívar was dedicated remain vital and alive today. His contributions to international law and organization are landmarks in man's striving for peace and harmony among nations. It is in no way an exaggeration to say that all of us here owe a great debt of gratitude to Simón Bolívar. It is fitting that we should devote a special plenary meeting to commemorating his historic contributions to the realm of international thought and the advancement of international co-operation. The concepts developed by Bolívar in the early nineteenth century have survived the test of history; indeed, they are incorporated in the Charter of the United Nations, to which we are all committed and from which we all benefit.

89. Mr. CONSALVI (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I do not know whether the mere fact that I am the Permanent Representative of Venezuela justifies my assuming the privilege of expressing thanks, on behalf of my people, for the recognition and tribute being paid today by the United Nations to the Liberator Simón Bolívar. Any Latin American from any country could assume that privilege, as indeed any Venezuelan could do at a time when a tribute is being paid to another of our common heroes. I am doing this, deeply moved, convinced as I am that this is also a tribute to the liberators of other peoples and, in particular, those peoples who had to wait for more than a century for their independence.

90. Today, 150 years after the Congress of Panama, there are still vacant seats in the General Assembly awaiting the many peoples who will come to occupy them as sovereign States. Not even in Latin America, where the anti-coloni-

alist struggle goes back so far in time and has such deep roots, can we say that these anachronistic forms of domination have been completely removed from our land.

91. When Simón Bolívar convened the Congress of Panama on the eve of one of the most decisive battles in the independence struggle of Latin America, he surely did so because he was convinced of the need to integrate and unite our peoples and to endow them with an organization which would bind them permanently together; each people would retain its own characteristics and sovereignty, but all would agree on their common overriding interests.

92. By 1826 the majority of our countries had attained independence. Yet, independence and freedom were not sufficient. The foundations of solidarity and cohesiveness had to be laid, for in Europe, impelled by a Prince Metternich obsessed with imperial domination, an alliance which it was deemed necessary to term a "Holy Alliance" sought to reconquer the New World or at the very least to isolate it.

93. The battlefield was not enough to win our independence. We had to negotiate over our raw materials and grant financial concessions in exchange for our security and recognition as free nations. Our struggle was long and bloody. A Venezuelan historian described the destiny of our heroes in the following terms:

"There were liberators of Latin America like Miranda, who died in chains in dank prison ships. There were those like Hidalgo, Morelos and Morazán who were shot; others like Sucre who were murdered; and still others like San Martín and O'Higgins who were exiled. Finally, there were those like Bolívar who by the age of 47 were used up as though they had lived 100 years of anguish and ingratitude."

To those mentioned by Mariano Picón-Salas should be added another glorious name: that of José Martí, who met a similar fate.

94. The idea of such a Congress was not, of course, peculiar to the Liberator Simón Bolívar. The idea also occurred to, among others, the Central American José Cecilio del Valle, a native of Honduras, and it is right and proper that we should recall this point now.

95. The conquest of our independence was an arduous and bloody struggle; our countries were weak and poor and needed a system of international solidarity which would protect their rights and keep them united. Many writers and political analysts have assessed the personality and work of Simón Bolívar and his ideas on international politics. I wish to quote one of the most famous contemporary writers, the great Yugoslav novelist, Ivo Andrić, author of *The Bridge on the Drina* and *The Chronicle of Travnik*, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature and who wrote a long biographical essay on Simón Bolívar. Ivo Andrić in his essay, which was written in 1930, wrote the following:

"Bolívar is a strange personality who combines the qualities of the thinker and the doer. His faith, his enthusiasm, his sense of honour are combined with pragmatic intelligence and intuition. Bolívar's statecraft

goes beyond the frontiers of his country and, in general, transcends the confines of his own time. His vision encompassed not only the opening of the Panama Canal and the federation of the American republics, but also extended to a league of the nations of the entire world, bound by solidarity and a community of interests and with the authority to arbitrate in disputes. At a time when relations among nations were broken off for insignificant reasons, Bolívar had already conceived the possibility of gathering together in Panama the representatives of the federated American States and statesmen from other continents to negotiate world-wide treaties on whatever problems might arise.”

I have quoted Ivo Andrić and the words he wrote in 1930 with admiration for the man and his country to which I have been bound ever since the time when I represented Venezuela in Belgrade.

96. As the liberator Simón Bolívar was closely linked with the Isthmus of Panama, I wish to say, on behalf of the President of Venezuela, our Government and our people, that we hope that the negotiations which are at present under way between the Republic of Panama and the United States of America on the Canal Zone will reach a successful conclusion very soon. Now is the time for goodwill and understanding.

97. In conclusion, I wish to reiterate our thanks to the General Assembly for paying this tribute to the liberator, Simón Bolívar. In particular our thanks to the President of the General Assembly for his statement, and to the representatives of the regional groups of Africa, Asia, Western Europe, Eastern Europe and Latin America.

*The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.*