

have been neglected or ignored. Man has confused technological with ethical progress. The present crisis clearly shows that these fundamental problems cannot be ignored with impunity. That is why man today finds himself unprepared for his own scientific conquests, which tend to become a mortal danger rather than a benefit. Modern life has strongly contributed to bring about and to deepen this spiritual crisis; the de-personalization of man through the machine, the struggle, haste, and overburdening of modern life, the lack of time, energy and the will to perfect oneself. There has been the emergence of the masses, dominating modern life, the serious crisis of the intellectual elites; hence the decline of great literature, art and music, the monotony of modern "entertainment" by standardized mass media, productions which so often bring out the contrast between the technologically wonderful means and the inartistic, valueless contents. Hence the indifference to everything which is not "practical" in terms of money and power, the lack of interest in the higher things; hence also the declining respect for the rule of law, the "politicization" of everything, the unwillingness of men to think, the mass indoctrination, the preference given to security over freedom, the superficiality and spiritual emptiness of the life of the majority of mankind; as the President of Georgetown University formulated it a few years ago in a speech: The majority of men in the so-called backward countries have nothing to live on and the majority of men in the so-called advanced countries have nothing to live for. A true civilization is not a technological but an ethical phenomenon; where the ethical basis disappears, a civilization is bound to disappear. Who can look without the deepest concern at the horrible persecutions and tortures, at the growing inhumanity of men toward men, as shown by total war, at the prevalence of purely materialistic doctrines which necessarily imply nihilistic consequences? That is why a truly great man, Dr. Albert Schweitzer, in his speech on the occasion of receiving the Nobel Peace Prize, could speak of the "horror and inhumanity of our present existence."

To overcome the crisis and to preserve our Occidental culture more is needed than technical means, however important and indispensable they are. Thus also for a truly progressive international law, what is needed, in the deepest sense, is a spiritual, ethical regeneration: For man does *not* live on bread alone.

JOSEF L. KUNZ

THE MEETING OF PRESIDENTS AT PANAMA

On June 22, 1826, a Congress of American States met in Panama in response to an invitation from Simon Bolívar, "The Liberator," then President of Peru. Not all of the American states were represented, Argentina and Brazil being conspicuous among those absent. The United States had not been included in Bolívar's invitation of 1824; but President Adams was willing to accept as official an invitation from the acting President of Colombia, Santander. Unfortunately, neither of the appointed delegates of the United States was present at the meeting. The four governments represented at the Congress signed a Treaty of Perpetual Union, but three

of them failed to ratify the treaty and Colombia only did so in part. The meeting that was to have been held at Tacubaya, Mexico, to exchange ratifications found only the United States delegate present.

What, then, was there to celebrate a hundred and thirty years later? How did the Congress of Panama come to attain such a position of importance in the history of inter-American relations as to justify a meeting of the Presidents of American states in commemoration of it? The answer lies in the part played by the Congress of Panama throughout the nineteenth century in keeping before the minds of statesmen the ideal of continental unity in spite of dissension and conflict, which at times seemed to justify the reaction of Bolívar in the years succeeding the Congress, "that he had plowed the sea." Doubtless if continental unity had made no greater progress than that represented by the International Conferences of American States that met from 1889-1928, there would, indeed, have been little to celebrate. The Conference at Havana in 1928 ended on a note of disillusionment. As long as the United States chose to enforce its unilateral conception of the application of the Monroe Doctrine under guise of an international policemen'ship, continental solidarity had no more than an oratorical appeal. But with the adoption at the Conference of 1936 of the principle of consultation in the event of a threat to the peace, and with the declaration of 1940 that an attack upon one was to be considered as an attack upon all, the sentiment of unity took a firm hold upon the American states—a hold strengthened by the determination five years later to preserve their new system against absorption by the United Nations. Then, in 1947, came the formal adoption of the regional security system, and a year later the reorganization of the Union of 1890 to make it a more effective agency of inter-American co-operation.

The Organization of American States had now gone far beyond even the vision of Bolívar. It was not in legal structure the close alliance contemplated by Bolívar, but it was far more comprehensive in scope. It was not a union created primarily for defensive purposes, it was not a mere system of collective security, but an organization looking to the promotion of economic and social objectives that had now come to be regarded as the fundamental conditions of a stable political order. When, therefore, it came to be realized that a new era had opened up before the American states, it was but natural that the Congress of Panama of 1826 should in a sense shine in reflected light and be commemorated not so much for what it had been at the time as for what its lineal successor had come to be in the course of the years, without examining too closely the structural likeness between the two. After all it was hardly to be expected that the original design of the building should have been followed by the architects of a much later day.

The first plan of commemorating the Congress of 1826 was that the ambassador-representatives of the Organization of American States should meet in Panama; then came the suggestion of having President Eisenhower meet there with them; then the decision to invite the presidents of all the American states to meet in an extraordinary session. In pursuance

of this plan the Ambassadors met from July 18 to 22, 1956. On July 21 eighteen of the twenty-one presidents met and, after the usual formal ceremonies, signed on July 22 a formal statement of principles and purposes bearing the title, "Declaration of Panama" (annexed hereto). The preamble of the Declaration refers to the Assembly of Plenipotentiaries of the American States of 1826 as constituting "the first collective manifestation of Pan Americanism" and recognizes "the continuing validity of the ideals which inspired the precursors of continental solidarity." Five successive paragraphs proclaim in turn the destiny of America to give tangible meaning to the concept of human liberty; the belief that the realization of the destiny of America calls for the economic and social development of its peoples and for co-operative efforts to raise the standards of living; the fact that the security of the Continent that has been obtained by the Organization of American States gives assurance of what loyal co-operation can accomplish; the threat to American ideals from totalitarian forces; and the contribution which a united America may make towards achieving for the whole world the benefits of a peace based upon justice and freedom.

It is significant that the Declaration of Panama recognized the key position held in inter-American relations by the collective security system established by the Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance signed at Rio de Janeiro in 1947 and incorporated the following year in the Charter of the Organization of American States adopted at Bogotá. Now that the danger of war has been removed by transferring to the whole regional community the obligation to protect its members against acts of aggression, the American states are free to devote their national resources to raising standards of living and securing for their peoples the benefits of economic and social welfare. If an exception must be made of the United States, it is for reasons outside of intra-hemispheric security.

In his address on July 22 to the meeting of presidents and ambassadors, President Eisenhower looked forward to "a new phase of association" based upon the principle that the material welfare and progress of each member was vital to the well-being of every other; and he proposed that an advisory group of Presidential representatives should meet and make specific recommendations for action. Following up the suggestion of President Eisenhower, on August 3 the Government of the United States made public a note urging the Latin American governments to appoint their members to the committee and suggesting Washington as the meeting place. The note underlined the aims of the meeting as being

To prepare concrete recommendations for making the Organization of American States a more effective instrument of cooperative effort in the economic, financial, social, and technical fields.

On September 17 the Inter-American Committee of Presidential Representatives met at the Department of State in Washington to give effect to the proposal of President Eisenhower. The objective of the meeting, which was a preliminary one, was to identify the problems for the solution of which recommendations would subsequently be drafted and submitted to

the presidents of the American states. In the course of the discussions there was a general recognition of the need of strengthening the Organization of American States, with emphasis upon the practical steps the Organization might take to promote the economic and social welfare of the peoples of the American continents, looking to the long-range program of raising living standards. An elaborate body of proposals was adopted under the successive heads of economic, social, financial, technical, administrative and organizational, and atomic energy. In each of these fields emphasis was placed upon the contribution that might be made by programs of technical assistance training, and educational work.

The committee adjourned after three days of intensive work, with the understanding that the studies to be undertaken would be reviewed at a meeting in the late winter, to be followed by a final meeting in the spring at which a definitive and selected number of resolutions would be drafted for submission to the twenty-one American presidents.

It is no criticism of its value to say that the Inter-American Committee of Presidential Representatives does not fit in with the existing machinery of the Organization of American States. The Charter describes the organs of the Organization, making the periodic conference the "supreme organ," which has to decide the general action and policy of the Organization. But if the presidents of the states members of the Organization chose to intervene and recognize that the Organization is capable of performing a far more effective service to their countries than that actually being performed in the routine administration of the Organization under the direction of their respective foreign offices, who could be found to object—least of all the foreign offices themselves, which may have long sought to expand the activities of the Organization but have been restrained by lack of financial support from their respective legislatures?

As for the elaborate draft of specific problems selected by the committee for study during the interim period of four or five months, scarcely an item appears on the draft that has not long been part of the technical work of the several departments and divisions of the Pan American Union. The topics falling under the head of "economic matters": agriculture, industry, trade, transportation, and those falling under the head of "social": public health, education, housing, social welfare, fit into the existing organization of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the Pan American Union; and in like manner the topics included under "financial" and "technical" are part of the special fields of study of the Department. A single exception in respect to new problems to be studied is in the assignment to the Department of International Law of the Pan American Union of the task of drafting model atomic energy legislation as a means of assisting Latin American countries in establishing atomic energy programs.

But even if the Committee of Presidential Representatives should, in the course of the studies undertaken by it, do no more than discover the scope of the work already under way at the Pan American Union, it will nevertheless be able to contribute effectively to the promotion of the chief objective of the meeting of the presidents at Panama. There is no ground

for resentment on the part of the Organization of American States that the presidents have sought, as it were from the outside, to give an impulse to activities which their own foreign offices were already in a position to promote, had they believed themselves justified in doing so, and had they been able to draw upon the necessary financial resources. The field of work is wide and open; and the several organs of the Organization of American States, the Conference, the Meeting of Consultation, the Council and the Pan American Union, each and all intent upon the objectives set forth in the program of the Presidents' Committee will welcome whatever contribution the committee can make to the important tasks before them. The important thing is to push ahead with an objective already clearly outlined at the Conference of Caracas and only needing the practical application of principles to the concrete conditions before us.

C. G. FENWICK

ANNEX

DECLARATION OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS IN PANAMA

WE, THE PRESIDENTS OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS

Commemorating in the historic City of Panama the Assembly of Plenipotentiaries of the American States of 1826, convoked by the Liberator Simon Bolívar, which constituted the first collective manifestation of Pan Americanism; and recognizing the continuing validity of the ideals which inspired the precursors of continental solidarity, subscribe to the following Declaration:

1. The destiny of America is to create a civilization that will give tangible meaning to the concept of human liberty, to the principle that the State is the servant of man and not his master, to the faith that man will reach ever greater heights in his spiritual and material development and to the proposition that all nations can live together in peace and dignity.

2. The full realization of the destiny of America is inseparable from the economic and social development of its peoples and therefore makes necessary the intensification of national and inter-American cooperative efforts to seek the solution of economic problems and to raise the standards of living of the Continent.

3. The accomplishments of the Organization of American States, an assurance of peace among the Member States and of security for the Continent, demonstrate how much can be achieved in the various fields of international endeavor through a loyal cooperation among sovereign nations, and move us to strengthen the inter-American organizations and their activities.

4. In a world in which the dignity of the individual, his fundamental rights and the spiritual values of mankind are seriously threatened by totalitarian forces, alien to the tradition of our peoples and their institu-

tions, America holds steadfastly to its historic mission: to be a bulwark of human liberty and national independence.

5. An America united, strong and benevolent will not only promote the well-being of the Continent but contribute toward achieving for the whole world the benefits of a peace based on justice and freedom, in which all peoples, without distinction as to race or creed, can work with dignity and with confidence in the future.

Signed in the City of Panama this twenty-second day of July, nineteen hundred and fifty-six.