

THE ARBITRATOR

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NO WAR OR NO WORLD

by RUTH FRY

Never can mankind have been confronted with such a bifurcation of his ways as he finds before him to-day. A discovery, comparable in its revolutionary character to the prehistoric discovery of fire, has changed his entire world over-night. Incidentally, too, it is the discovery of an infinitely older store of energy than fire, for instead of utilising the sun's warmth, which we release in fire and light, this power goes back to the immense age of the birth of the stars. One of the tiniest things in the world proves, as so often is the case, one of the mightiest. Let us recall some of the amazing facts about it.

One small bomb was sufficient to kill or maim over 350,000 people and blast the earth for miles around. It is the latest step in a competition in pure devilish destruction to which the nations of the world have devoted years of strenuous toil. On the other hand, the present bomb is said to be merely the feeble forerunner of the incredibly greater bombs which will probably soon be available, let alone other ghastly new weapons, the nature of which are faintly adumbrated. There is no possible stopping place on the landslide of war and each new horror only stimulates to invent some greater one.

Already the possibilities are terrifying enough—a bomb could be packed in a small box, and deposited anywhere without arousing suspicion and detonated by wireless from far away "when required". Already it is stated that no effective defence is possible, and that complete underground life is the only possible security, and the question for the future is merely, "Who will first discharge atom bombs and on whom?" For it is admitted that the secret of making them is sure to be discovered soon, and the attempt to keep it to themselves by the Americans is a huge psychological blunder, acting as an incentive to suspicion and competition and the loss of a great and rare opportunity for a gesture of immense and lasting value. If we continue on our present road, as Sir Richard Gregory has reminded the British Association, the words in the 2nd Epistle of Peter will be fulfilled: "The Heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall be dissolved with fervent heat and the earth and the works therein shall be burned up"—a prophecy which now seems to us only too vividly possible.

All which may incline us to believe the fantasy in the story of the man who arrived in his sky-ship from Mars, and then, hearing the noises of bombers and war training (which still shamefully disturb our countryside by day and by night), he said: "Oh yes, I remember now the warning my grandfather gave me when I was preparing for this trip: he said the earth was a planetary hospital for the mentally diseased. He said a long time ago when Mars resolved to be rid of war, they had a great deal of trouble with military morons and other mentally sick folks who argued that the way to have Peace was to prepare for War, and the more War we had the more Peace we would have, and the way to end war was to keep on fighting. Well, Mars could do nothing towards curing these mentally diseased folks, so she loaded them on to her rocket-ships and dropped them down to earth. And now we have had 500 years of Peace on Mars."⁽¹⁾

A very significant factor in the present situation is the awakening awareness of the need for a spiritual revival which is noticed

by a keen observer of affairs. "If formal religion has seldom been more dead or at a greater discount—never was the spiritual search of millions of individuals more eager, even desperate. Never has the materialistic explanation been less satisfactory or more depressing. . . .

A few straining eager eyes see the fearful darkness of a mad night, caused by human folly, penetrated by the first gleam of Christ's Dawn. It is only the first flicker. But the dawn is sure. It was said of old time that men's hearts would be failing them for fear. And the command for that hour was to look up. This then is no time for despair—on the contrary."⁽²⁾

And we may note the words of Charles E. Merriam, Head of the Department of Political Science of Chicago University, "Of this one thing I am certain: the mind that discovered atomic energies can harness them to human use. We stand at the gates of a golden age, fumbling at the lock, but knowing where we go and why and learning as we go." (*Christian Century*, March 6, 1946.)

There is a very interesting book called "The Curve of Fate,"⁽³⁾ which shows diagrammatically the extraordinary speeding up of change in the world's history. While the Paleolithic Age lasted about half a million years and the Neolithic 20,000, the Electric Age has lasted but 50 years and here we are at what we may call the Military-Atomic Era. How can we change it immediately to the Atomic Era of Peace? We seem to need a mutation, such as occurs inexplicably in some plants, a complete and sudden change of form in a flower for instance. Or to change our metaphor, we need a John the Baptist to call the world to repentance for we have all sinned most grievously, a VOICE great enough to draw together, as with a magnet, all the millions of men and women of goodwill who are ready to enter the New Commonwealth of Friendship and who would be eager for this great new venture of faith if it were clearly put before them. Such a call might alter the history of the world for, as we said at the beginning, it is often the apparently small things that are the most powerful. For the true answer to this tiny thing is that which at its beginning seemed entirely insignificant. For of Christ Himself it has been said:

"Christ never wrote a book,
He never held an office,
He never had a family,
He never went to College,
He never travelled 200 miles from the place where He
was born.

But all the armies that ever marched, and all the navies that ever were built, and all the parliaments that ever sat, and all the kings that ever reigned, have not affected the life of man upon this earth as powerfully as has that One solitary life."⁽⁴⁾ Spiritual power is the only possible answer to material power.

Man—as Sophocles said long ago—is the most difficult animal to control, and to-day that is the essential problem. Can a world, in which the use of science has run amok survive, or is it essentially self-destructive? But man has in the depths of his being a knowledge of right and wrong, he has the light of the spirit of

(Continued on page 287)

THE ARBITRATOR

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

GOLD COAST COUNCIL The King in a message to the new Legislative Council of the Gold Coast which met in July with an African majority for the first time said it was a source of gratification that it had been found possible to entrust the people themselves with a wider measure of control of their own affairs

Out of 31 members in the new Council 21 are African, and 18 of these have been elected. No other Colonial territory of any European nation in Africa has an African majority

Mr George Hall Secretary of State for the Colonies, described the opening of the legislative council under the new constitution as 'a landmark in British tropical Africa.'

NEGROES APPEAL TO U.N.O. Negroes are appealing to U N O alleging discrimination against them in the United States. A resolution to appeal was passed by the National Negro Congress and a petition has been presented in New York by three members of the Congress to Mr Schmidt, secretary of U N O's Commission on Human Rights

A letter to Trygve Lie, U N O Secretary-General asks that the appeal be brought before the Economic and Social Council

MACKENZIE KING ACCUSES NATIONS Mr Mackenzie King Canadian Prime Minister at a service in memory of the 900 Canadian soldiers who lost their lives in the Dieppe raid, accused the Paris Conference of "wasting vital time" Turning to a group of French officials, he said "Mark my words, because I know they represent the wishes of the peoples of the world

I want my words to go to the Conference in Paris and I say to the representatives of the nations there that their highest duty, their only duty, is to bring into being decent instruments of peace without endangering the future by hostile discussions"— Daily Telegraph," 20 8 46

COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS: DR. EVATT'S PROPOSAL The establishment of a "Court of Human Rights" to protect the interests of the minorities in countries for whom peace treaties are being prepared was proposed to-night by Dr Evatt Australian representative at the Paris Conference

He stated that Australia was making the following proposals: (1) To establish an Impartial Court of Human Rights to enforce obligations created by the treaties regarding citizenship human rights and fundamental freedoms. Subject to reasonable conditions, this court could be invoked by way of appeal from a national court or in special cases by direct approach, (2) To extend the United States' proposal to protect the fundamental rights of people within any territory to be ceded by Italy to all other territories ceded under the five treaties — Daily Telegraph," 19 8 46

AN EXTRACT FROM MR. BEVIN'S SPEECH AT THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE, BOURNEMOUTH, JUNE 12, 1946

I said in the House of Commons the other day that unlike the old days when these things were regarded as a problem for those who were sometimes called statesmen the two world wars had made Foreign Affairs a problem for the whole people. No one will be happier than I if before I leave this office these problems have been fully discussed in this way so that I can carry the world organisation a stage further wherein it will draw its power direct from the people and not merely from governments"

NINE NEW APPLICANTS There are now nine new countries which have applied for membership of the United Nations. They are Afghanistan, Albania, Eire, Iceland, Mongolia, Portugal, Siam, Sweden, Transjordan. Of these only three—Afghanistan, Iceland and Sweden—have been supported by all the five States that are permanent members of the Security Council

We look for a world organisation giving justice and freedom to all peoples not merely a limited alliance of United Nations

PRISONERS OF WAR IN BRITAIN The "Save Europe Now" organisation has been responsible for a memorial signed by 875 persons and sent to the Prime Minister (21 8 46) on the subject of German prisoners of war in Great Britain

The memorial states "Some of them have been prisoners for many years. More than a year has now elapsed since victory but they are still told nothing about the date on which they may be expected to be repatriated. There comes a point at which men cannot live without hope. For the sake therefore of common humanity and of the British good name we earnestly beg H.M. Government (1) to draw up a definite scheme for the release of these men if necessary by various categories at the earliest possible dates (2) to announce this scheme to the prisoners with the minimum of delay, since the certainty of release even at a

PEACE LANDMARKS IN THE CHRISTIAN ERA

by BARBARA WAYLEN

Dr. Cadoux's standard work entitled "The Early Christian Attitude to War" will show that the early Church was entirely pacifist. At the end of the 2nd Century Tertulian, in his "Apology," said: "What if the soldiers did go to John and receive the rule of their service, and what if the centurion did believe; the Lord, by His disarming of Peter, disarmed every soldier from that time forward." Nothing could be clearer or more conclusive than the attitude of the early Fathers of the Church towards war. When charges were made against the Christians that they refused to bear arms, Origen replied: "We fight in a special way on the king's behalf, but we do not go on campaigns with him, even if he should press us to do so. We do battle on his behalf by our prayers to God for him . . . We no longer take up the sword against people nor learn to make war any more, having become through Jesus, Who is our General, sons of peace." Justin Martyr, Tatian, Clement of Alexandria, Ambrose, Jerome and others accepted the implication of pacifism in the teachings of the Lord. The annals of the early Church abound in martyrdoms of Christians who laid aside the military life.

The great spiritual landslide came when the Church compromised with the world. Under Constantine, war became recognised as possible for Christians. Thus the basis was laid for the temporal power of the Popes.

In the 7th Century, Islam invaded France and Spain. Fighting between races and nations went on, and the Crusades continued the process. The failure of the holy wars should have been a lesson to the Church, showing that the City of God cannot be taken by force of arms. This attitude was indeed a climb-down from the original position of the Church when she imposed penances on Christians who engaged in battle, depriving them from participation in the Sacraments.

During the Middle Ages, it is true that the Church sometimes intervened and tried to restrain the ferocity of the Barons, but on the whole war became to be more and more recognised as part of human life. In the 5th Century, St. Augustine, whose writings had a great influence for many centuries to follow, said that war could be sanctioned provided it were a "just war."

Yet investigation will show that there have always been voices raised in protest against war for Christians. In the 14th Century, Wycliffe spoke out boldly, denouncing war, and during the Reformation the whole question was debated by various leaders. Luther began as a pacifist but went back to the worldly view at the outbreak of the Peasants' War. Erasmus, in his "Adagia," declares: "If there be anything in the affairs of mortals which it is in the interest of men not only to attack, but which ought by every possible means to be avoided, it is of all things war, than which nothing is more impious, more calamitous, more widely pernicious, more inveterate, more base, or in the sum more unworthy of a man, not to say a Christian." St. Francis, in the 16th Century, denied carnal weapons of war to the tertiaries.

In the Age of Reason, Voltaire criticised war and Rousseau took a more serious view in his essay entitled "Projet de paix perpetuelle," while Kant also wrote in favour of international peace. It is a remarkable fact that whatever has been done in paving the way for peace, the Church, having lost her old ascendancy over the consciences of mankind, surrendered her influence to other guides and teachers.

In England, Quakerism stood for peace ever since the middle of the 17th Century, and has always been at the back of the modern peace activities in this country. In Germany, the Mennonites adopted the absolute pacifist position. Methodism and the Evangelical Revival built up the morale of large sections of the people, although in both, war was regarded as an unavoidable evil. Wesley spoke strongly against war, though not as an absolute pacifist.

Cariyle and Ruskin, together with many leading reformers of the 19th Century, saw the folly of war, yet did not see their way to what we may call the "Quaker position," or the absolute pacifism of Count Leo Tolstoi, as described in his book entitled "My Religion." The growing aspirations in the minds of the 19th Century thinkers were voiced in Tennyson's lines, when the poet

"Heard the heavens filled with shouting,
And there rained a ghastly dew,
From the nations' airy navies
Grappling in the central blue.

Till the war drums throbbed no longer,
And the battle flags were furled,
In the parliament of man,
The Federation of the world."

The American Peace Society was the first of its kind, established in 1815, and was soon followed by the London Peace Society. The International Arbitration League was established in 1870, and the Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907 were an outcome of this endeavour. Some of the small peace societies formed in European countries at the beginning of the new century lapsed when the Great War came, but an important new movement was founded, mainly by Henry Hodgkin, at Cambridge in 1914, called The Fellowship of Reconciliation, to unite all pacifists in social work of a redemptive character and to modify the merely negative type of pacifism which to many might savour of escapism. This society is international and is well established in America.

The Peace Pledge Union, founded by Dick Shepherd in 1935, was an outcome of the new situation. Designed for all who stood for peace as an ideal, the movement regarded war as a crime against humanity, but did not wish to commit members to anything approaching a creed.

Most of the Christian sects have their fellowships—not excluding the Roman Catholic Church—"Pax" standing for pacifism. The National Peace Council was inaugurated in 1905, having for its main object the co-ordination of the various societies.

The common reproach against peace movements, that they have not prevented wars, is as absurd as to object that medical and sanitary efforts have failed to obliterate disease. The root cause lies in the heart of man and his attitude to life.

Civilised life to-day must be reviewed in the light of 20th Century realities. Old foundations have crumbled and national frontiers no longer serve to define the bounds of a nation's interests. The only true basis for world peace lies in placing the welfare of humanity, and the whole community of nations, before the narrower interests of any individual nation. World unity will come as the result of a slow organic growth, starting as a seed, rooted and grounded in the spirit, and nourished by mutual understanding between nations. It is the work of the Peace Movement to direct attention to fundamental principles governing world unity as the condition of ultimate peace.

WORLD PRINCIPLES

by C. A. RADICE

Mr Chuter Ede, Home Secretary of the United Kingdom, speaking of peace and reconstruction, said recently "We are not bound to precise solutions merely because they have solved other problems in the past but we are bound to certain fundamental principles of righteousness and fair dealing between man and man, nation and nation"

What are these principles? Mr C A Radice in a pamphlet which is in the course of preparation proposes certain fundamental World Principles

The following is an extract from his work—Editor

In English jurisprudence recourse to equity implies the non-existence of any law to fit the case. A complainant seeking redress for such a grievance was advised to petition the Sovereign, the only authority competent to decide in the absence of any suitable law to guide the judges. The Sovereign was then supposed to decide according to his conscience as commanded by the Almighty. In practice such petitions to the Sovereign were handled by the Lord Chancellor, an ecclesiastic who was supposed to be able to give expression to the directions of the Sovereign's conscience as dictated by the Almighty. Such decisions were supposed to have a special sanctity.

As between nations, which hold to the principle of separate and individual national sovereignties this legal friction does not solve the difficulty. The two or more separate royal consciences will almost certainly differ although inspired by the same Almighty. And if the national religions of the contending nations should differ, the disputing governments are likely to contend that the opponent's Almighty is mistaken!

I have sought a way out of this quandary in the writings of famous jurists and philosophers, and have found guidance in the following. Aristotle has referred to some better sort of justice which corrects legal justice when the latter is weak through being expressed in universal terms and by not taking particular circumstances sufficiently into account. He defined such "better" justice as **JUDICIAL DISCRETION**. Roman Equity arose from the theory of NATURAL law common to all mankind. Justinian mentioned laws which natural reason appoints for all mankind. Grotius was convinced of the existence of NATURAL LAW in every human being, however undeveloped. He held that conscience is a manifestation of such law.

Maine wrote that law tends to lag behind public opinion and EQUITY is a body of rules existing by the side of original civil law and founded on distinct principles and claiming to supersede civil law in virtue of the superior sanctity of those principles. He also discussed the connection, in Roman Law, between equity, natural law and law common to all nations.

These pronouncements are helpful towards finding a solution of this international difficulty. Maine's words are particularly helpful. "Equity is founded on **DISTINCT PRINCIPLES** and claiming to supersede civil law in virtue of the superior sanctity of those principles"

Section 3 of Article 38 of the Statute of the new International Court of Justice directs that the Court shall apply "the general principles of law recognised by civilised nations" and the article has a footnote authorising decision *ex aequo et bono* therefore by analogy international agreement as to "principles of superior sanctity" which should govern the mutual relations of nations

would supply the judges of the International Court of Justice with the guidance which they need for decisions *ex aequo et bono* in cases which, at present, non-justiciable. This way of bringing all kinds of cases within the jurisdiction of the new International Court of Justice would eliminate the difficulty, at present very harmful to relations between nations, which prevents the judicial treatment of POLITICAL cases. All difficulties, of whatever kind, could be brought to judicial inquiry and judicial decision by judicial procedure.

Settlement by judicial procedure has the enormous advantage of being public, for the whole world to follow and understand. It gives no opportunity for misrepresentation, it rallies the world's public opinion in support of the verdict of the Court, it unveils trickery. Out of very shame no government is likely to face a public disclosure of duplicity. The judicial procedure adopted by the old "Permanent Court of International Justice," built up the high prestige which that Court enjoyed. Such procedure guarantees that all interested parties have adequate opportunity to represent their own point of view, it prevents secret agreements by some parties to the detriment of others, it gives the assurance that the true facts shall be unveiled by disinterested judges trained to disregard hearsay, rumour, irrelevancies and prejudice and accustomed to base their decisions on the equitable application of laws to ascertained facts proved to be true.

In the case of the old "Permanent Court" this procedure and publicity won for the Court a support from public opinion so powerful that no government dared challenge any decision of the Court. The decisions of the new Court will have similar virtues and strength. Weak nations will be protected from secret pressure by the threats of the strong, and decisions will be just if the laws are just.

These facts demonstrate the great power of a Court which follows faithfully a wise, just and sound procedure designed to inspire confidence in the justice and wisdom of the Court. They also prove that the new International Court of Justice is likely to become a very powerful instrument of peace if properly utilised.

But such proper utilisation is unlikely as long as statesmen of all nations continue to act and speak as if they had no faith in the power of law administered by impartial judges. At the present time much evidence is accumulating which proves that governments are determined to go on attempting to achieve peace by discussion at conferences and are giving no indication of any intention to utilise law.

THE INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION LEAGUE

Aim—World Peace by International Justice. The International Arbitration League stands for the development of International Law and Arbitration, including the establishment of—

- 1 A System of World Law for preserving peace
- 2 A Bill of Human Rights for all peoples

The League urges seekers of peace in all countries to press their Governments to make use of the International Court of Justice for the settlement of international disputes.

A minimum Subscription of two shillings and sixpence per annum secures the "Arbitrator" as published. The sole condition of membership is support of the AIM of the League.

LEAGUE AFFAIRS

Social Gathering of London Members and Friends, 27th June, 1946

Mr. T. Ashcroft, the Chairman of the International Arbitration League, presided, and in his introductory remarks quoted a classical phrase from a book by Sir Richard Livingstone: "Noble is the prize and the hope is great." He said that he believed this was the spirit which animated our League and that although during the war some had doubted the international nature of the organisation, yet now we had a great hope for world-wide contacts in the future.

On behalf of the League he welcomed Mr. H. C. Taussig, Press Relations Officer, Public Information Department, U.N., and asked him to address the meeting.

Mr. Taussig said he himself did not question the term "international" in the title, but he queried the word "arbitration". He said that in his recent visit to the Hague he had gained the impression that the Permanent Court of Arbitration had been superseded by the International Court of Justice. Indeed the Permanent Court of Arbitration had little or no activity at the present time, and people were generally ignorant of its existence.

Describing the excitement in London during the past meeting of the Assembly of the United Nations, he went on to say how ignorant the masses were concerning even this great event. "Mass Observation" had revealed that at the time, 20 per cent. of the public of this country knew little or nothing of the meaning or existence of the United Nations Organisation. In his opinion, whenever people thought about international affairs, their minds should turn to the United Nations, but at the moment that was not the case. Ignorance on every hand was what he found in his visits both to the U.S.A. and to Europe.

In considering the history of Arbitration it was necessary to think in terms of both Greek and Roman history and to trace the development of modern arbitration in diplomatic methods. From Grotius in the 17th century until the Wimbledon case, the first question brought to the International Court of Justice in 1923, there was to be found a growing desire for the settlement of differences by peaceable means. The prize of peace was indeed noble, and how great was the hope, but it was not hope alone that was needed. Faith in the ideals for which we strove would be the means of producing enthusiasts and missionaries for the cause. He believed that the idea to be spread was that human progress can be organised and, despite belief to the contrary, it could be confined within the channels of decency.

Turning to present day conditions, Mr. Taussig compared the distances which separated us from the centres of misery as being in "flying hours" the equivalent of a journey by road to the outskirts of London. Those who knew of the misery which existed in these places of need must inevitably become either confirmed cynics or confirmed in their enthusiasm for the cause of peace.

Describing the conditions in these famine areas, he said that these things made us realise the unity of the world. A balance had to be established between production and consumption throughout the world in order to maintain a minimum level of living conditions. All these matters were the concern of U.N. The United Nations Organisation did not exist only for the settlement of disputes, their function was also the establishment of world institutions for constructive purposes, for example the Economic and Social Council, U.N.E.S.C.O., F.A.O., U.N.R.R.A., commissions dealing with health and transport and human rights and the refugee problem. It was in the existence of these organisations that our hope lay. The people needed information about these things and it was his task as a Press Relations Officer to serve both the British and European Press, but what was the position? The people did not demand information concerning these vital issues and so the Press did not print nearly a large enough proportion of what news was available. He did not want to see an official communique in every column, nor did he wish to read funny stories only, a middle course was needed.

Just as a balance was needed in the Press, so also in the judgment of the International Secretariat dealing with these matters, a balance had to be preserved. The Secretariat consisted of Civil Servants, who in their attitude to world affairs were entirely neutral. They had no nationality. The Information Organisation was only now being fully established, and it was growing rapidly. It was hoped that before long, information centres throughout the world would be in direct touch by teleprinter with the Head-

quarters of the United Nations in New York. Already a plan for extensive radio services was under consideration. With this picture of future . . . hopes, Mr. Taussig concluded, stating his readiness to answer any questions.

A lively discussion followed, and the desire was expressed that further gatherings would be held in the coming winter months.

CONFERENCES

The Secretary and Editor wishes to apologise for the late date on which some readers will receive this number of the "Arbitrator." It is due largely to his absence at Conferences in Luxembourg.

The World Federation of United Nations Associations and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom both sent invitations to the International Arbitration League to attend a Congress at Luxembourg.

The former congress was for the inauguration of the World Federation. It was divided into five commissions which completed some useful work for the guidance of the United Nations Associations in those countries where they exist. Unfortunately Russia was not among the 30 odd nations represented, nor was it possible for a German delegate to attend.

The same thing was true of the first post-war congress of the W.I.L.P.F. Despite this, however, an atmosphere of real world friendship was achieved and several useful resolutions adopted.

Both gatherings sent letters to the Peace Conference at Paris. It is to be hoped that not only the statesmen gathered there but also that all rulers will heed the words and wishes of International Peace Organisations and create a People's Peace.

THE INTERNATIONAL LAW ASSOCIATION

Lord Porter, a Lord of Appeal, gave the inaugural address at the International Law Association conference at Cambridge. More than 250 lawyers from many parts of the world attended the conference and there were delegates from Britain, the United States, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland, Poland, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. The last conference was held in 1938 at Amsterdam.

In his address Lord Porter said that the International Law Association had sought for the unification of law in many subjects, and during the week the conference would discuss divorce, trademarks, and commercial legislation. All this made for unity of outlook and community of interest, but it left unsolved the matter which occupied and engrossed their minds—the elimination of war and the attainment of the four freedoms proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter.

The aim of the association had been defined as an attempt to achieve for international law the dynamic power needed to galvanise States to a higher level of conduct, but the difficulty was to discover how the object could be attained. It was hoped that fear, if not friendship, would drive all nations to the outlawing of war and the creation of some organisation strong enough to enforce peace. But unfortunately the assumption had not been justified, and it seemed that war, so far from hastening the coming of a universal system of international law, might even retard it.

LEGISLATION AND SOCIETY

They could not legislate beyond the accepted standards of society with which they were dealing, nor must they try human nature too high. As yet, though he saw a reaction against war and a dread of its repetition, he was not sure that the nations as a whole were prepared to take steps to ascertain its sources and eliminate them. What, then, was the international lawyer to do? What steps should he take for the avoidance of war, to improve the obedience of international law among the nations, to improve its rules and encourage their adoption? One thing was necessary—a conviction. A conviction they had: it was that war could and must be abolished. But the formation or attempt to form an immediate supernatural power with legislative or executive functions was a different matter.

To-day they had two instruments—the United Nations and its principal judicial organ, the International Court of Justice. If they used them they would get much progress, whereas an immediate attempt to form an international society empowered to use force and enact laws binding on all people might neither make for peace nor for union among nations.

CONGRESS AND CONFLICT

Pandit Nehru, President of the All India Congress at a Bombay mass meeting of over 200,000 people, said "Indians must be ready to face bullets and bayonets to wrest freedom from the British if Congress fails to frame, through the Constituent Assembly, a Constitution for the complete independence of the masses"

Emphasising the seriousness of the situation in South Africa, he said "I visualise a new global war and world conflict in the near future between the white population and the black if this inhuman and uncivilised racial discrimination continues in any part of the world"

CHURCHES AND COLOUR BAR

The task of the Church is not to direct but to give direction. It has clearly pointed the way in this connection as the following extract from "The World to Be" indicates

"The Conference strongly endorses the following words from a statement of the Episcopal Synod of the Church of the Province of South Africa, which, though referring in the first place to the Union have wider application. "We affirm that the effect of Colour Prejudice is cruel, wasteful and dangerous, cruel, for it deprives those who are its victims of the opportunity of making full use of their capacities and talents, and so causes frustration and despair, wasteful, for it deprives the community of the skill of many which would otherwise be used for the benefit of all, dangerous, for unjust treatment meted out by one section of the community to another creates fierce and ever-increasing resentment, with results that no one can foresee."

AN APOSTLE OF CONCILIATION

Botha's Lesson For Humanity

In the spacious setting of the lawns of the Union Buildings at Pretoria a bronze equestrian statue of General Botha was unveiled to-day by Mrs Helen de Waal, his eldest daughter after an oration by General Smuts

At the head of the great assembly united to do homage to the first Prime Minister of South Africa were the Governor-General and Mrs van Zyl, members of the Cabinet and of the diplomatic and consular corps, judges, Members of Parliament, provincial administrators and executives, and municipal representatives from many parts of the Union. In addition to the children and grandchildren of General Botha, the guests of honour included members of the General's personal staff during the South African War and old political stalwarts

With the Union Buildings as its background, the statue faces towards Natal, the land of Botha's birth. The work of Mr Coert Steynberg, it harmonises well with the architecture of the Union Buildings

In an impressive oration, General Smuts, after a sketch of Botha's career and a tribute to his great qualities, made a moving appeal for the application of Botha's policy of conciliation in writing the world peace. "If Botha were alive," said General Smuts, "he would be once more an apostle of conciliation. He would bind the wounds of the nations, victor and defeated and in a spirit of justice and moderation would heal their differences in a world divided, disrupted, stricken, and suffering almost to death. He would write the peace in terms of humanity. Humanity would be his keyword rather than retaliation, vengeance and hatred

"On a foundation of human understanding and reconciliation he would build the new world as he built the new South Africa. Hitler, with Versailles on his lips and world domination in his heart dragged his own people and many others to the brink of destruction. Following Botha's lead let us rather leave vengeance to God and his eternal law of cause and effect, and temper our justice with moderation and humanity which is part of the concept of justice.

"Let us be concerned with the future more than with the past. The past with all its wrongs, injustices and shames is beyond human remedy. The past is with God, leave it there. Rather is it for us to save the precious human stuff which can still be saved from the wreck and turn it from darkness to light

"VAST EMPTINESS"

"There is a vast emptiness in Europe, physical, ethical, and spiritual. Fill it up once more with the spirit of our ethical civilisation lest worse devils enter and complete the ruins of war"

In his sketch of Botha's career, General Smuts said that after the South African War he planned and pursued peace as he had planned and fought the war, with results which formed perhaps the greatest turning point in this history.

"We salute not the dead but the living," he said, "aye, the future South Africa, born of the travail of his great soul. I do not minimise his intellectual qualities—his massive intelligence, his intuitive insight, his sure and faultless judgment—but in a truly remarkable degree he had those qualities of sympathy and understanding, of kindness and compassion which made him perhaps the most sensitive and lovable among the great men I have known.

"There was nothing small in him, and his eventual greatness tended rather to repel and sour others who in their smallness could not help envying and even hating him. Such is human nature at the lower level, which he did not always understand and which deeply wounded his sensitive spirit

A country so small as ours that can produce such men cannot itself be lacking in greatness, and so let us hope that in the future our people may not fail to produce other types of like dimensions. May South Africa, so dangerously placed in the world, never be lacking in high leadership, in whatever crisis may be her lot." In his closing passage General Smuts said, "Here to-day, at this monument, we thank God for Louis Botha, for his work, and for his legacy to us and the world"

At the end of the ceremony 600 veterans of the South African war were called on to stand and did so proudly while the great crowd cheered and applauded them—"The Times"—16 8 46

At a recent meeting Mrs Barbara Syme-Henderson, a niece of General Botha, was welcomed as a new member of the General Council of the I A L

(Continued from front page)

God in him, although he has utterly neglected it and would fain forget it. But, as we have seen, in the hour of his extreme need, he is turning to it again and he must be shown that whereas by the way of war lies utter madness, by the way of law lies his salvation, and that this is in line with the essential nature of things. People must be shown that obedience to law must be accepted, must be self-imposed, and that under such rule changes can be instituted to suit the changing needs of human beings, whereas violence is unchanging in its values and as has been said 'a state without the means of change is without the means of its own preservation'. In the Report of the Churches' Commission on Atomic Power from which this phrase is taken and to which this article owes some of its facts there are some statements which seem strange from followers of Christ. Such, for instance is their belief that a readiness to use war is a safety, their cautious reference to the Churches' condemnation of 'violence in excess of military necessity' their mention of a "righteous war" and their lurking belief that war can "defend" righteousness, which is surely as much a contradiction as thinking that a dumbbell can play a violin! They show, too little appreciation of the limitless power of true spiritual force not even of the wonderful passive resistance as shown e.g. in Denmark. With this non-violent example we may link the wonderful work done in Brazil by General da Silva Rondon to whom Brazil owes the peaceful conquest of nearly a quarter of a million square miles of unexplored wilderness. He has stretched thousands of miles of telegraph lines across the empty Brazilian hinterland has added to the map fifteen rivers some very large and has pacified wild tribes that for three centuries had fought against civilisation. Of his life-work he says "I am a soldier and I have devoted my life to a practical exposition of the superiority of reason to violence. The killing of Indians! It is so easy to kill people but it solves so little. It is harder to use reason of course. And it takes more courage. We have carried that spirit into our relations with the rest of the world. From this belief in peace comes a strength no worshippers of violence ever possess"(5)

Such actions of true statesmanship open the window looking out on to the Promised Land into which we long to enter. The Atomic Bomb comes to us as a tremendous lesson a clear pointing to take that way. It reminds us that God has given us the great gift of freedom which by the use of His other gift our intellect,

