CHAPTER 22 THE DESEGREGATION OF DUKE UNIVERSITY IN 1962

Duke University has played a major role in my It is today recognized as one of the greatest Universities in the World. I want to report on an event and my role in changing Duke's policy of not black students. True to Southern admitting traditions, Duke had, up to 1962, not admitted black students except in its graduate schools. Since that time, Duke has been completely desegregated. event was one of the major actions leading to Duke's present high status great national as a international University.

I had entered Duke University in 1928-29, at the time when it had just received forty million dollars from James B. Duke to expand. I believe we had some 1500 students, or less, when I entered. After a forced absence, due to the Great Depression of 1929, I returned in 1932 to earn an AB degree and attend one year of Law School.

Later I served as President. and in other offices, of the Duke Alumni Association, during which time I heard and read about the need to desegregate Duke University. I also heard and read much about Duke's ambitions of being a great national international University, as Duke grew in size service. I was not surprised when the discussion, at my first Board of Trustees meeting in 1962, was about desegregation and the trouble with needed Federal grants because of Duke's segregation policies. I concluded that this meeting, and this subject, was a pivotal moment for Duke. The question was whether Duke would remain segregated, as in the past, or whether it could rise to the vital and current leadership needs of a great University by eliminating segregation.

I listened to the opening discussion and decided to offer a Motion that I, and my fellow trustees, desegregate Duke University by adopting a new policy of admitting students, who were otherwise qualified, without regard to race, gender, color or creed. When I offered the Motion, I was fully aware of the impact on Duke, and on me, if my Motion failed.

In 1955, I had, as a very young lawyer, run for President of the District of Columbia Bar Association If elected I would move to strike on one issue: "white" the Association's Constitution, as a from requirement for membership. As I expected, Presidential announcement made the front pages Washington's newspapers. Washington, at that time, was an almost sleepy Southern City and segregation reigned. The wrath of my elders at the Bar came down on me. Nasty phone calls poured in. Elders among lawyers, who I considered my friends, would turn and walk across the street rather than be seen talking to me.

I won the Bar Association Presidency by a lopsided, large vote and, after a bitter Court fight, the word "white" was stricken from the Association's Constitution. In 1962, I did not want to run into such bitterness at Duke and did not believe the Resolution would provoke it.

In 1956, I had joined others in a Motion that the American Bar Association Board of Governors strike the word "race" from ABA's membership application. The motion was adopted by a unanimous vote of approval, after a favorable discussion which indicated a desire to avoid all race discrimination in ABA.

I recall the reaction of the Duke Board of Trustees was one of surprise that I, as a new trustee, would make such a Motion. As a trial lawyer, I had tried many times to change such a startled "look" evoked among a jury by one of my witnesses. It meant I had a problem.

Having, by that time, been the youngest American Bar Association's House of Delegates Chairman in 1956-57, and youngest President of that great organization in 1957-58, I knew well that I needed a second before I spoke to my Motion that the Board of Trustees admit all qualified students to Duke "without regard to their race, gender, color or creed". I recognized that the Motion had surprised many trustees around the table who had probably not been through my segregation experience. I plunged into all the reasons why the trustees should

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desegregate Duke, if Duke was to become the major national and international University towards which we all hoped, worked and prayed. I did not personally know many of the mostly Southerners who were Duke trustees. I too am a Southerner, as I was born and raised on my Father's farm whose location was land which is now part of the Charlotte, North Carolina, Airport.

I knew a lot about the segregation problems of our Nation and the South. The "look" on the faces of the trustees read "hesitation". I decided to ask for a "second" to my Motion since no trustee had volunteered. When I made that request, a very large male trustee, right across the table from me, rose to a very silent room. He looked up and down the table and finally said he had risen to second my Motion. In thanking him later, I learned he was a Bishop of the Methodist Church.

After the "second", I added the Fourteenth Amendment's promise of equality mentioning that, on March 28, 1962, I had won Baker v. Carr, the most important decision of the Supreme Court on "equality", holding that this constitutional promise was enforceable in all Courts and requiring equal votes for all American I voters. argued that "equality" applied to all rights, not just the right to an equal vote. I urged religious moral equality should be provided by a Methodist University, like Duke, over and above legal equality. I referred to University's essential requirement of leadership image to accomplish its great goals as a great University. I referred to the facts before the Board that the graduate and religious parts of the University had been desegregated, the Faculty vote to desegregate and the many years of discussion of this subject by Duke officials and the Board. asked for an immediate vote on my Motion when no other trustee arose to oppose or support the Motion. I said we trustees had to get this matter over with, as it was Duke's then most urgent need and clearly Duke's greatest obstacle in carrying out its great development programs. My request for a vote did produce an Amendment, from a trustee, that the vote

be secret. The Amendment was accepted by me and adopted. The trustees wrote their secret votes on pieces of paper and the Secretary collected them.

The Secretary read each vote aloud, whether it was for or against the Motion and placed the votes in two piles. The secret vote was then 24 for adoption and 2 against announced as Motion. That announcement prompted a Motion to make adoption of the Motion unanimous. which immediately adopted, by voice vote, without discussion.

Needless to say, I was quite relieved that my first action as a Duke trustee was then hailed by friendly statements of approval. Not wishing to quote any Duke trustee at that meeting erroneously, I confine this statement to the substance of what I said and did.

It was suggested that all announcements and statements about the Resolution be made by the University and that individual members of the Board refer all questions to the University.

Some years later, I received pages 127 through 142 of a Duke Report quoting President Deryl Hart on this subject and was pleased to note the following on pages 138 and 139:

"Taylor Cole, the University Provost, informed the Board that desegregation of the graduate schools had not created any problems. After mentioning Undergraduate Faculty Council Resolution desegregation of the undergraduate colleges, Cole noted that the previous day the University Faculty had adopted the Motion. Charles Rhyne immediately called for a Motion to admit all qualified applicants to the undergraduate colleges. Deryl Hart recalled that Rhyne 'seemed to bring together all the issues, and con, the ethical issues, the financial issues, and why Duke should desegregate now, and not wait for a time when we would be forced to do so'. Another trustee seconded Rhyne's motion, 'and, after full discussion, it was adopted by a substantial majority'. On June 2, 1962, the Board of Trustees passed a Resolution ending racial discrimination in the admissions policies of Duke University:

RESOLVED: That qualified applicants may be

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admitted to degree programs in the undergraduate colleges of Duke University without regard to race, creed or national origin."

I admit that this quote from Dr. Deryl Hart's oral history reminiscence pleased me very much. He is the great Medical Head of Duke Hospital who, I report in my discussion of my admission to Duke Law School, was my Doctor for several months and saved my right arm from amputation. He also was a major supporter in getting the Law School to allow me to enter that School in the Fall of 1934, even though I was a right hand writer and would need to do all my writing with my left hand. I was proud to serve on the Board of Trustees with Dr. Hart as President of Duke University. He was a great, lifetime inspiration to me.

I was also proud to serve as a Trustee when Terry Sanford was President of Duke. He is one of the greatest public political leaders of our day. He lifted Duke to great heights. He did the same for the State of North Carolina as Governor, before he was elected Duke President. After retirement as President of Duke, he served with great distinction in the Senate of the United States as Senator from North Carolina.

CHAPTER 23

DELEGATE TO THE ATLANTIC CONGRESS ON NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO)

Before and after World War II ended, in 1945, my work on international matters expanded greatly. went to the San Francisco Conference as Chairman of Junior Bar Conference (JBC), where the United Nations Charter was being finalized, and listened to the official ABA leaders, like Tappan Gregory, Judge William Ransom and Willis Smith, who were there in advisory capacities, relate their experiences. also met a few officials of Nations who were writing the wording of the United Nations Charter. Clearly, there was no universal agreement on effectiveness of the United Nations as a peacekeeping organization.

Across our Nation, and in other Nations, there were many leaders who produced a lot of critical advice on the U.N. Charter and its various organs and special agencies. Much of this advice was accommodated but the U.N., to this day, is not looked upon as a perfect peacekeeper in a rapidly changing World. Some of the United Nations' problems, mentioned by Sir Winston Churchill in his Guildhall Speech which I quote herein, were under discussion. See pp. 363-366.

One of the volunteer groups of which I became a Director, as well member and Board as General Counsel, was the Atlantic Congress Committee formed by Senators Estes Kefauver, Hubert Humphrey, Jacob Javits, John Sherman Cooper, Congressman Wayne Hayes, and others. This Committee had been formed at the request of the NATO Parliamentary Conference to carry out an international Congress in London, June 5-10, 1959, to evaluate the first ten years of NATO. to was be composed of national representatives who were 1eading political private leaders of NATO's member Nations. I and U.S. Delegates were appointed by President Truman before the end of his term as President.

According to J.J. Fens, President of the NATO Parliamentary Conference, the Congress was to be composed of:

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"the most influential sections of public opinion in our (NATO) Countries ... The first ten years of Atlantic Alliance (NATO) have shown that democracies, in peace time, can unite for their next ten years must show that our The defense. effective, indeed more so, Countries can be a coordinated common policy in their relations with each other as partners in a community, with the Nations of the free and uncommitted World, and in their dealing with the Communist bloc."

Having just finished my term as President of the American Bar Association and having just assumed the Chairmanship of ABA's World Peace Through Law Committee, I was both pleased and honored to be selected as an Atlantic Congress Officer (for the U.S. Committee, I was General Counsel, Board Member and Delegate) and a representative of one of the five major Committees of the Congress on coordination of policies and settlement of disputes.

confidence that the There was no universal could maintain World peace. The United Nations Soviet Union's takeover of the Nations, behind what Churchill called the "Iron Curtain", shocked Western Europe and the United States. The Soviet Union's 1948 blockade of Berlin and its taking over of Czechoslovakia was viewed with alarm by a weakened Western Europe. The United States was also alarmed by the Soviet Union's seemingly unlimited aggression its creation of the Warsaw Pact to solidify and Communist cooperation in case of war. These fears led to the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. The United States joined as a NATO member along with fourteen Western European Nations. For the first time ever, United States committed itself to defend foreign Nations, i.e., "any and/or all NATO members against aggression". The Communists, in response, led by the Soviet Union, created the "Warsaw Pact" in 1955, Nations under the Soviet Union's composed of 8 control.

The NATO treaty stated that its purposes were "to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the

principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law".

Recognizing that the World had changed very much in the ten years since NATO's birth and that while NATO had seemingly stopped Russian armed aggression, the members of the Alliance had differences among its members themselves, the organizers suggested three major problem areas for consideration by the 1959 Atlantic Congress regarding relations: (a) with each other, within NATO; (b) with the full and uncommitted World; and (c) with the Communist bloc. discussion and papers before the Committee, of which was Chairman, were directed largely toward new ideas for peaceful settlement of disputes between NATO members. There was agreement on consultation among members before announcing measures which might be objectionable to other NATO members. Arbitration, mediation and advance consultation were considered and approved. The proposal for a NATO Court of Justice, to consider member disagreements, generated many disagreements on how the proposed Court should be set up and its possible conflict with the International Court of Justice. This resulted in a decision for further study of the proposed NATO Court's jurisdiction and the law it would apply, before a favorable decision could be made. delegates were in favor of the rule of law, but differed in how it was to be defined, especially when the dispute was over internal policy and politics. The background papers presented very interesting historical studies of all prior International Courts.

As much as the planners of the Conference tried to concentrate upon more cooperation on non-military matters, the major focus of many discussions was the need for the constant upbuilding of NATO's military might to offset the "Warsaw Pact's" real, or suspected, advances in the arms race. The "balance of arms power" was a major subject of discussion fueled by real, or imagined, space and nuclear achievements of the Soviet Union.

I was pleased by the many favorable references to the rule of law. I also noted that speakers were a long way from President Eisenhower's statements

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endorsing the rule of law to replace force, as the best and most promising concept for World peace. Some delegates also noted this in their complimentary remarks to me about the American Bar Association's London initiative of 1957, to pursue World Peace Through Law on a worldwide basis. They commented on the tremendous effort that must go into building public opinion support back of such a vast change, envisioned from "might makes right", into acceptance of peaceful decisions in Courthouses. They also said their reluctance to add a NATO Court to its armed might was largely based on the fact that the International Court of Justice was so unacceptable to the Nations of the World, including my own Nation.

Having been deeply involved in the 1957 American Association Meeting in London, I renewed many acquaintances and enjoyed the social events of the Congress, of which there were many. Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, opened the Congress in Westminster The pomp and ceremony was reminiscent of the Hall. ABA meeting. The English social events, for 1957 entertaining the 650 delegates from fifteen Nations, were magnificent. The midnight "command" performance of "My Fair Lady", in honor of the Queen, was indeed memorable occasion, as were the many other ceremonial and social events.

I had my 10-year-old son Bill with me, by special invitation of Senator Kefauver who gave him a delegate's badge. Bill went with me to most events, but enjoyed the "My Fair Lady" performance the most of all. At the Opening Ceremony in Westminster Hall, Senator Kefauver insisted that Bill sit beside him in an aisle seat so that he could see better. Prince Philip, who followed a few steps behind the Queen, as usual, when she entered the Hall to speak at that ceremony, leaned down and smilingly patted Bill on the head and whispered, "You are a fraud," pointing to Bill's delegate's badge meaning, we assumed, that Bill was not a delegate. Senator Kefauver later gave Bill a written official delegate appointment to go with his badge.

Among the large media contingent were Nancy Dickerson, the TV news star, and Jacqueline Bouvier,

the <u>Washington Post</u> photographer, who later became the wife of President John F. Kennedy. I recall them interviewing our senatorial contingent and others in the large U.S. Delegation.

Bill and I gave a luncheon for our English legal friends at the Savoy on June 9th. That was a great occasion for the renewal of old friendships with many remembrances of the 1957 ABA meeting.

Many NATO members had sent lawyers, as well as political leaders and other outstanding representatives of their Country, who were engaged in business and other professions. Some of the lawyers sought details from me on how far ABA's World Peace Through Law Program had progressed. I made a speech on the value of the rule of law, as a World peace process which highlighted the ABA's worldwide initiative of World Peace Through Law. I also presented a paper on the proposed NATO Court of Justice, proposing further study of that subject. Whether lawyer or layman, many of the delegates had followed the extensive media coverage of the ABA World Peace Through Law initiative and praised it highly.

The English Committee made copies of all papers for distribution. Many of the members of organizations, like Signers of the Declaration of Atlantic Unity, sent copies of well thought out ideas and plans to delegates. Signers of that Declaration from the United States included Norman Cousins, John Gardner, Averell Harriman, Eric Johnston, Herbert Lehman, Elmo Roper, Arthur Schlessinger Jr., Adlai Stevenson, former President Harry Truman, and many others.

A pamphlet describing NATO was prepared at the direction of President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and was given to all delegates and highly appreciated. Many of the signers of the Declaration, from other Nations, I had met before the NATO meeting in their home Nations while developing the World Peace Through Law Program. These included Lester Pearson from Canada; Terje Wold, Chief Justice of Norway; and a long list of others that would occupy several pages.

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While the military purposes of NATO ranked first emphasis, economic and non-military cooperation in The report especially highlighted. of the Men", the foreign so-called "Three Wise i.e., Canada, Italy and Norway - Lester Ministers of Holvard Gaetano Martino and Pearson, respectively, who were appointed to advise NATO "non-military fields" of cooperation - was highly commended as a starting place for the work of the Atlantic Congress.

As I have stated, there were 650 delegates and many guests, observers and assistants to delegates. Someone observed that the gathering, though not including Heads of State, was in fact a "Who's Who of the Atlantic Community".

I will not detail the program of distinguished speakers in Plenary Sessions and Delegate Committee member meetings. Everything was planned so carefully that all went well. My Committee, as I have stated, concentrated on recommendations of more discussion and consultation among NATO members to avoid disputes, and more negotiation, arbitration, and mediation to settle the disputes that quite naturally arise.

I was amazed at how cleverly the experienced delegates avoided divided views and smoothed over those that could not be avoided. Apparently, everyone went home pleased with the resolutions of the Congress on many subjects which could hopefully advance NATO's work.

Above all, I learned much that was to help me in my years as Chairman of ABA's Committee on World Peace Through Law and as President of the World Peace Through Law Center, created to carry out the ABA Committee's work, as well as the Center's World Jurist Association.

That the friendly contacts between the leaders of the fifteen NATO members cemented closer and better relations in economic, cultural, scientific and legal areas, and helped bring the Atlantic community together as a group sharing the same ideals in the increasingly interdependent World, was clear.

Also, I read and reread the printed messages

from Prime Ministers Gaston Eyokens of Belgium, John G. Diefenbaker of Canada, H.C. Hansen of Denmark, Michael Lebre of France, Karomanlis of Antonio Legni of Italy, Pierre Werner of Luxembourg, Einar Gerhardses of Norway, Menderes of Turkey, and Harold Macmillan of the United Kingdom, plus the messages from the President of the United States Dwight D. Eisenhower, the President of the Council of Ministers of Portugal, and the German Federal of which emphasized, in almost Chancellor, a11 identical substance, the common ideals of democracy and justice, the heritage of individual freedom, human rights under the rule of law and individual rights of liberty, solidarity of opinions and views, interdependence upon each other in the political and economic fields, as well as defense. Therein was expressed a sense of universal fraternity of peoples united for peace, freedom and high ideals of democracy, harmonized policies and a common approach to unity "devoted to the cause of a just and lasting peace ... developed to a degree of cooperation heretofore unknown in time of peace... which hailed as "indispensable to our future welfare".

In reading these messages and selecting the words I have just quoted from the messages, I was moved to feel that these great NATO Prime Ministers and Heads of State had grasped the true nature and future of, and were communicating, the great human rights "rule of law" values of NATO to her people. I decided that Winston Churchill was right in commending the ABA's World Peace Through Law approach to Heads of State, as a unique and important element in advancing the World Peace Through Law Program through the cooperative efforts of legal leaders of Nations.

I decided there and then that we, in the ABA's World Peace Through Law Committee, would ask Heads of State to send messages on their position on the rule of law to each Continental Meeting and each World Conference on the Law of the World. I was hopeful they would send messages of comment and approval of the ideals of World Peace Through Law and the principles and institutions of the rule of law to those meetings and those World Conferences.

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NATO Congress was a great educational experience for me. I learned quickly that NATO representatives at the Conference were dedicated to arms for peace and not excited about law for peace. They listened politely to discussion of World Peace Through Rule of Law, but carefully backed more and offset the arms to ever-growing Communist-dictator military strength in 1959. As at the ABA London Meeting, public and private talk at the NATO London Meeting related to the dangers of the Cold War. That NATO would reshape itself into backer of Peace Through Law was not even a faint possibility in 1959. It was for more and more arms to match or exceed Warsaw Pact arms development.

The future of NATO remains a major subject in Western foreign policy. Beginning in 1989, when Soviet Foreign Minister Edvard Shevardnadze was received at NATO Headquarters in Brussels, Western leaders including U.S. Presidents George Bush and William Clinton have attended "Summits" on changing NATO, due to the demise of the USSR and Warsaw Pact. NATO has not yet found a definite role to play in a World at peace.

The United Nations' recent peace initiatives in Bosnia and Sarajevo saw NATO send its planes into action for the first time in its forty years of existence. Where NATO goes from here in the World at peace remains undecided. The status and future of possible admission of former Soviet Republics to NATO, through President Clinton's "Partnership in Peace", is still an open question.

Special NATO membership for Russia is being crafted, but its context is still fuzzy. What Russia and new NATO partners can do to solve their own internal tension problems is not clear. The international threats to human security from Haiti, Bosnia and Africa, from conflicts and migrations, are at the forefront for consideration. NATO's role in those instances is minimal or nil. The real question is whether to pour millions into NATO military power or let it phase out, as mediation and law replaces arms as the controlling factor in World affairs. Every member Nation seems to favor United Nations

police forces for peace, but what will finally develop is still unclear insofar as a new role for NATO and its members or "limited partners" is concerned. Considering Iraq, the United Nations seems in some ways, by lending its name, to advance its usefulness as a peace keeper in the overall international picture.

The Iraq incident, with overwhelming United States Military might, was a great initial success but the recurring questions are troublesome.

I have always urged that a World legal system to be effective must have a strong police force to use when and where necessary. But so far, the UN is struggling as Nations hesitate to fully commit their armed might to UN control.

That UN has long been in need of a vast reorganization update cannot reasonably be denied. Reforms which will enable it to capture worldwide support of Nations and their people for peace-keeping actions, to back up an effective World legal system, are required.

CHAPTER 24

THE LAW WORLD'S MISSION TO EXPAND RULE OF LAW WITHIN AND AMONG NATIONS AS RESPONSE TO WORLD WAR II AND THE COLD WAR

I write these introductory words to sketch out the broad objectives, work programs and achievements of the World Peace Through Law Center Program. I believe this sketch will make clear how the World's legal professionals came together in this vast, unique, first of its kind effort, so effectively. It will also make clear that the legal professionals, who did this work, aimed first at ending the "Cold War" peacefully and their view that ending the "Cold War" was just the beginning of an even larger challenge i.e., developing domestic law programs that can, and will, help cure the complex problems that beset all Nations in an age of constant change and development in almost all human endeavors.

One who studies ancient history slowly but surely becomes convinced that humanity's current desire for peaceful, personal freedom, with a governmental system protecting human rights and providing equality of opportunity and equal justice, is humankind's oldest dream and most ancient desire.

After centuries and decades of war and war problems, made increasingly dangerous by concentration on developing nuclear bombs capable of eradicating all humanity, the Twentieth Century's greatest landmark accomplishment is bound to go down in history as the time when the people of the World, who were ruled by Communist or other dictators, in overwhelming numbers, in sudden eruptions, threw off rule by force and demanded, and got, their Nations to adopt the great ideal of the only proven workable peace concept of individual freedoms, human rights and justice under the rule of law.

Our mission in this program has been to conceive and direct a program that tells the peoples of the World, in a convincing way, of the values of rule of law government, both for people within Nations as a governmental system and for Nations as a foundation for an international legal system providing a peaceful World. Development of an international law

system is not a giving up of national sovereignty, but a using of national sovereignty to create a peaceful World.

When I, with others, went into communist Russia and China we went as individual legal professionals, not governmental agents of our Nations, for example, we did not bluntly condemn their system's government and its denial of the human rights which exist under rule of law government or their systems of terrorizing international relations. We told them of our strong belief in democratic rule of law and its benefits. We assumed, correctly, that as intelligent human beings they were well aware of the differences.

Slowly - it has taken more than three decades - but most surely, our message sank in. The "Cold War" is over. Our mission of replacing rule by force with rule of law is underway all over the World. We were certain that it would take years to convert the force system into a rule of law system, but slowly and gradually that conversion is taking place.

This basic approach played a large role in the turn to the rule of law throughout many parts of the World. We believed we could move the World to our concept if we let those, who had to adopt the democratic constitutions and laws, take the information and inspiration of our World Peace Through Law Program as a basis for their actions within their Nations and with respect to other Nations.

Today new law and law reform, to undergird this turn to rule of law government, is recognized as the most important need to meet what the people expect to achieve from the fast moving turn to the law which has occurred, and will continue to occur. In our day – at long last – epochal changes and tumultuous events have convinced an overwhelming number of right reasoning peoples of the World that creating rule of law, to replace arms-controlled governments, is the true road to the personal democratic freedom they desire and to give them peace, prosperity and justice, domestically and internationally.

Given this worldwide acceptance of law, for which we legal professionals from nearly all Nations

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have worked so long, we realize we must gear up to help do the law work, the law creation and provide the law leadership - the law infrastructure - that this acceptance requires. Never has there been a greater challenge, not only to law leaders but to all peoples of good will. This is true because rules of law in a democracy, in ultimate thrust, are crystallized public opinion, formulated and founded upon the principles and institutions of the rule of law. This is quite a change from force Communist rule to functional democratic rule of law.

We, of the law, have the expertise to take a concrete leadership role in creating public opinion behind our program of transforming our World, from one where "might has made right," to one where the justice embodied in the Democratic rule of law is raised to the level of equal justice for all, in both domestic and international matters.

Those who argue, that having won the "Cold War" the challenge to law professionals is over, miss a correct analysis of where the World is now situated. Sure, no nuclear war is evident but an even greater challenge to law professionals is the need to prove a peaceful World can meet the challenge of creating national and World governmental relations which will produce even greater life on Earth than the old World Wars, which forced production of new and great achievements to end those wars. We believe humanity can be driven to achieve ever greater developments in a World which is at peace. Law professionals must herald this fact and help lead it to fruition.

We must continue our leadership role in so drafting the path to rule of law government, nationally and internationally, to assure stability, despite differences and difficulties that are bound to occur. We must help see to it that the rule of law, once adopted, continues to prevail. We believe the law acceptances of the present will remain humanity's goal for the future. We also believe that goal will provide a worldwide, better life for humanity than yet envisioned. We cannot sleep on our achievements. This challenge to legal professionals is a tremendous one.

We must prove that despite bumps, bounces and constant objections from those expressing different views, which are the trademark of democratic government, rule of law government is so attractive and so productive that it will continue to be supported by a majority of right reasoning peoples in changed, and changing, governments. We must constantly urge support of this great ideal, as we have done in our Conferences on the Law of the World, our publications, our Committees, Sections and other joint endeavors.

Experience with rule of law government, in the past and present, proves that in the operations of such a system of government there will always be differences and difficulties, due to a multitude of inherent diversities, economic and other factors. Drafting new constitutions, laws, constitutional amendments and law amendments, to adapt these law instruments to national and worldwide changing needs, is a time consuming process. It is not a task for the "short winded".

Our tremendous future task is to convert differences into compromises, in newly free Nations, and then draft these compromises into politically acceptable law. The reforms that are demanded bear the labels of "Democratic democracy", "free market economies" and others. But we, of the law, know that current knowledge and future changes and developments are inherent parts of the rule of law governmental processes. We know that law must keep pace with the times. We know that in ultimate thrust, in a democracy, rules of law can, and must, reflect majority public opinion and knowledge. We know that the peoples of the changed and changing Nations like the benefits, rights and personal freedoms that are the rule of law. We also know that rule of law government and rule of law international relations are not perfect systems but, on the other hand, we believe they are the best systems yet conceived by the collective minds of humanity.

Our mission has required that we convince the law professionals of the World (Judges, lawyers and law professors) that they should assume a leadership

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role in convincing their people of the creative values of rule of law government, both for their people and for their governmental system.

We proceeded to achieve that mission first, by the meetings and cooperative endeavors of building Consensuses at Regional Meetings covering the United States. These were small enough to let the invited law leaders fully express their views and develop them into a national consensus. We developed a Working Paper for the U.S. Regional Conferences that reviewed the existing and past efforts in the law field internationally, as an education volume for non-experts in international law.

We then, through the Continental Conferences, gathered legal leaders of the law profession from the "four corners of the Earth" in meetings where the law professionals of nearly every Nation on Earth were given a constantly revised Work Paper. They usually brought written views to our meetings to express their views on the possibilities and potentials of the proposed World Peace Through Law Program. professionals of all Nations, large and small, invitations to received these Continental Nearly all accepted and recommended Conferences. that we invite other law leaders from their Nation. Nearly all delegates pointed with pride to their Head of State's message of support for the World Peace Through Law concept, the announced purpose of these unique Conferences. They cited the tremendous media support coverage their Head of State messages, and their own efforts, were receiving.

To create maximum attention, the full texts of the Consensuses of the Continental Conferences, with photos and Head of State messages, were distributed to law and governmental leaders by the hundreds, universally. Every Nation worldwide received this information. We then used what we learned at the Continental Conferences as the foundation of the Athens Conference on World Peace Through Law.

At first, in planning the Athens Conference, we asked those who had accepted as National Chairmen for World Peace Through Law of each Nation to suggest two delegates from their Nation. That limitation was

soon changed so that each Nation could send larger delegations and some 2,000 participants actually attended.

We called upon our experts to produce a revised Working Paper. All who attended the World Conference received that Paper in advance, in their chosen language, along with the other papers developed at the Continental Conferences.

This first World Conference ever, for the leaders of law worldwide, was a huge success. I review that success in some detail herein. But the Athens Conference looked ahead, as well as reviewing the past. It suggested Biennial Conferences around the World to keep the "spotlight" on the promise of World Peace Through Law and to provide continuous cooperative efforts, updated to include new subjects as changes required, and additional views of the World's legal professionals on World Peace Through Law.

I next herein review the 16 Biennial Conferences held over the immediate past 32 years. These Biennial Conferences have indeed kept the attention of law and political leaders, and their people, on the current, updated objectives of the World Peace Through Law Program. They have helped generate the rather sudden turn to the rule of law worldwide which, we believe, is the greatest achievement of the peoples of the 20th Century.

Slowly, as I have said, it took more than three decades - but most surely, our message sank in. Our mission of replacing force with the rule of law became the major mission of legal professionals of the World Community.

I watched and encouraged the law leaders of China and Russia, as they began to take more and more active parts in our World Peace Through Law Program. When Chief Justice Ren of China extended an invitation, on behalf of his Nation, that the Fourteenth Conference on the Law of the World be held in Beijing, I could feel that our plan and program was indeed making great progress. When we overcame the problems created by the Tiananmen Square happening of 1989, and went forward with the Beijing

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Conference in April 1990, I was reasonably sure that the acceptance of the rule of law was taking a giant step forward. When Chief Justice Lebedev of Russia brought a message, on behalf of the then USSR, from the Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, stating the Soviet Union's acceptance of the Rule of Law, the tremendous number of conferees, from all over the World, expressed their enormous view that our World Rule of Law Program had made a huge advance. When Premier Li Peng of China then approved the Rule of Law Resolutions of the Beijing Conference, all present knew that our years of long effort had indeed achieved a great success. When the World Peace Through Law Center then elected the Chief Justices of China and Russia as Honorary Presidents, I believe that further symbol to the World Community meant, and could only mean, the turn to the rule of law had become an almost universal achievement.

In capsuling this Beijing Conference achievement herein, I, through selected highlights of each Conference, pay tribute to this ever-increasing rule of law in the World Community.

Our 16th World Conference in Manila was attended by many from newly democratic Nations. The Chief Justice of Russia was a major speaker at the Inaugural Session on Democratic rule of law in his Nation and he additionally addressed the Manila Conference on the growing progress in Russia of protecting human rights. This fact alone highlights the impact and accomplishments of this program in changing the Law World for peace to include Russia and China. That progress may come slowly is to be expected in these very large Nations. Their intentions are now being evidenced by concrete action adapted to their circumstances.

That our worldwide cooperative effort by legal professionals, enunciating and supporting this basic concept, played a large role in the turn to the rule of law throughout many parts of the World, by presenting a substantive foundation for new rule of law governments, no one can deny. We believe those whose actions are achieving the ideal we have urged are entitled to claim the credit for this turn to the

law in their Nations. They helped create the public opinion which brought this great change.

We believe we helped move the World to our sound concept but we also believe those law leaders who, in each Nation, have had to adapt drafts of democratic constitutions and laws to the needs of their Nation justly can claim credit for their actions and accomplishments. They are now in the midst of that all important task. We members of the World Jurist Association of the World Peace Through Law Center have helped, and will continue to help, by furnishing information, holding Conferences on the Law of the World and in other ways that we can help or may be requested to help.

The former Communist Nations need to cooperate constantly by exchanging experience on their conversion from Communism to functional democracy programs. They need a time and a place where they can exchange information on their successes and failures. Above all, they need a place and time where they can participate as equals with the other Nations of the World. The World Jurist Association of the World Peace Through Law Center and its affiliated organizations are providing that place and time.

That this private, non-governmental program, operated by individual law leaders, has succeeded does not mean that government action of many Nations was not also affected. The Heads of State messages so prove. The massive number of messages from Heads of State, approving the World Peace Through Law Program, has had a tremendous impact.

I must add that the lawyers from many Nations, American and other Bar Associations from around the World, are today busily engaged within former rule of force Nations helping the legal professionals and government leaders convert to rule of law governments. This aid is tremendously helpful and will require years of sustained effort.

CHAPTER 25

THE UNITED STATES REGIONAL MEETINGS ON FEASIBILITY OF WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW

President Kennedy, in his Head of State message to the Athens World Conference, refers to the fact that it was a result of "five years of planning". I now report on what we were doing during those five years. That we moved carefully is certainly a fact. We of the law, having taken on the mission of helping build the rule of law into a concept so strong it would be supported universally, as a credible substitute for the rule of deadly war force, did not dare fail in this mission. Herein I tell what we did and how we did it.

The ABA Committee on World Peace Through Law decided at its first meeting, already described herein under the item on its creation after the Los Angeles Meeting, that first of all we needed the views of the leaders of the legal profession of the United States on the planning of the World Peace Through Law Program.

Having chaired the ABA Regional Meetings Program, I was experienced in this kind of assistance on most ABA programs. Using that experience, I visited cities selected by the World Peace Through Law Committee as hoped for sites of Regional World Through Law Programs. The Committee approved selected leading lawyers, recommended by me, to act as Chairmen for each meeting. I asked the ABA Administration Committee and the ABA Board of Governors to approve our selections of sites and Chairmen for each Regional Meeting. Some changes were made but the overall method of proceeding was approved. It created a firm nationwide foundation of support, by our Nation's greatest legal leaders and leaders in public affairs from other professions, who were invited to participate.

The success of the Committee's planning and preparation for the Regional Meetings in the United States was predicated upon the idea of securing, directly and personally, the detailed views of leading lawyers, Judges and Professors of Law

throughout the Nation. State Bar Association Presidents were asked to attend and to nominate other leading lawyers, Judges, and law professors to participate as representatives of the lawyers of their states at the meetings. These three parts of the legal profession are often referred to, by me, for brevity and to insure credit for all mentioned herein as legal professionals.

A direct result of this approach led to the successful bridging of the gaps between Judges, practitioners, and professors. By working closely together, they were able to combine their respective expertise to their mutual benefit, as well as to the benefit of the Program. Some great law practitioners were better informed on substantive international law, where little interest or knowledge existed before. A new respect and appreciation of what could be accomplished was developed.

Similarly, the professors, by working with the practitioners, benefited from the latter's practical knowledge and experience. The Judges brought their wisdom, as to practical impact and broad experience, to the Program. Since, from the outset, the Judges, practitioners and professors who participated in these meetings were in agreement on the ultimate goals of this Program, cooperative work was relatively easy.

The Committee, with the cooperation of the Committee Consultants, who were U.S. leading experts in international law, gave guidance to the Staff in its preparation of a Working Paper on important topics of international law, which were to be discussed first at the ABA U.S. Regional Meetings of legal professionals. Inquiries, seeking ideas and suggestions for the Working Paper were sent, by me, to several thousand experts and Bar leaders throughout the World. From this came a wealth of material and ideas. These were ultimately compiled into a Working Paper for the Regional Meetings, which experts in the field expanded into a summary of the status of existing international law and legal institutions.

The main purpose of holding the U.S. Regional

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Meetings was to find, or create, a consensus among American lawyers on what they thought lawyers assembled from many Nations could do toward the achievement and maintenance of World Peace through further development, on an international level, of the processes, principles and institutions of the rule of law.

The meetings were to emphasize the vital importance of cooperation and participation of leading lawyers and recognized lay leaders in public affairs, who were to be selected by the Chair of each U.S. Regional Meeting and his Committee, in the search for a formula for developing law principles and institutions into a universally acceptable law process for World Peace.

Each of the United States Meetings was attended approximately fifty of the outstanding lawyers, Jurists and professors of law of each region. The Country was divided, for purposes of these meetings, into regions ranging from seven to eleven states. The discussions were far-reaching, often heated, due clashing views about the practical value of a peace process composed of rule of law principles, processes and institutions. But the discussions were always constructive, in that participants quickly recognized the need for further developing the use of international law as a replacement of force and they came up with many ideas with regard to how that need might be met and fulfilled. The development of rule of force into rule of law among Nations was discussed but did not go beyond the suggestions that leaders of all Nations should be invited participate in the proposed cooperative effort regardless of their Nation's then system government. The law leaders of all Nations were to be invited, as it was agreed that legal professionals of rule of force Nations were greatly interested in rule of law governments. Repeatedly, participants stressed that lawyers of one Nation could never develop a program having global impact without a cooperative enterprise, involving participation of legal professionals of the World. It was constantly stressed that such cooperation must be

developed before meaningful progress could be expected.

The first U.S. Regional Conference was held in Boston, Massachusetts on March 27th and 28th in 1959.

A comprehensive Working Paper was provided as a basis for discussion. This Working Paper, drafted by Edgar Turlington and Professor James Oliver Murdock, with the aid of other Professors named below and me, was later revised and updated from time to time by the Committee and its Staff for use at the other Conferences described herein.

The Working Paper represented the thoughts and suggestions of the Committee and leading legal professionals and foreign affairs experts from all over the World with whom Edgar Turlington, our Chief of Staff, and I had consulted personally in worldwide travels. Also sought constantly were the views of the high level consultants on the Working Paper and the views of many members of the ABA.

Primary emphasis was placed on the role of legal professionals in the advancement of World Peace Through the Rule of Law and its processes and institutions. Disputes raged over territorial grabs by Communist rule of force Nations. These were brought forth as demonstrating the urgency of replacing force with law. The prior fears over this accelerating danger, which was so much in our minds at the London Meeting of the ABA, still existed and seemed to grow. At the Regional Meetings, many speakers bluntly referred to their fears that the Cold War could explode into annihilation of humanity by nuclear bombs. But some also referred to the hope that the World Peace Through Law Program, by approaching law leaders of Communist Countries, legal and political, directly to take part in our quest for peace under law, could pierce the "Iron Curtain" as I had urged constantly for several years.

In addition to the leading legal professionals of the states invited to attend Regional Meetings as leaders of Bar Associations of each area, there were other lawyers and non-lawyers who were active in public affairs who were invited as participants and speakers. In Boston, such distinguished leaders of

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the legal profession as Whitney North Seymour, then President-Elect of the ABA; Professors of Law, Louis B. Sohn, Milton Katz, Kurt Nadelman and Richard of Harvard University; Professor of Law, Richard Gardner of Columbia University; Ambassador, Amos Peaslee: and, Greenville Clark, international law expert and author, were invited and participated tremendously as we tried, at this first Regional Meeting, to lay a foundation for future progress.

Among prominent lay leaders who addressed the Boston Conferences were Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston; and, Erwin D. Canham, Editor-in-Chief of the Christian Science Monitor.

Cardinal Cushing not only gave an Invocation, he gave a rousing, inspiring speech about the necessity of law replacing death on battlefields in the nuclear age. He emphasized that the rule of law, which we hoped and prayed for, must be based on religious principles of right reason. I quote one much quoted sentence from Cardinal Cushing's address:

"The work on which you have ventured may well be the most significant of our time, for it can set the pattern of the future of the World, and it may indeed decide whether or not this civilization of ours will survive at all."

The Cardinal later stated, in an enthusiastic telephone call to me, that he had received many news clippings from all over the Nation and the World quoting and praising his address. He offered his help at all future meetings saying he would "come and pray" for the cause of World Peace Through Law, as he "wholeheartedly" supported it.

The world renowned Editor in Chief of the Christian Science Monitor, Erwin Canham, author of many outstanding books, business leader, member of large government and Corporate Boards of Directors, in his address said in part:

"I have a feeling that I may be observing the making of history. It is thrilling to me, as a layman, to observe this mobilization of wisdom and experience."

The Boston Conference gave enthusiastic backing to the plans for a worldwide mobilization of the legal profession for the cause of peace.

In summing up the meeting as Chairman, I said in part:

"I have said we have to build this program of World Peace Through Law 'brick by brick'. We have laid the first bricks, with this first meeting, here in Boston... We have a long way to go... But there is an old Chinese Proverb that, 'The longest journey begins with the first step'. Here we have taken that step. As I told Sir Winston Churchill, we of the law will stay the course even if it takes years or decades to create and implement this Program."

The media, T.V., radio, newspapers, wire services, and special correspondents gave wide coverage to the meeting and editorial writers across the Nation were quick to comment favorably on the new ABA Peace Law Program. I here quote a few lines from newspaper editorials.

"Mr. Rhyne's ideas are appealing, his approach is sound and in an American tradition that has proved effective in the past." - Boston Globe

"Legally viewed, the World is like the scattered patches of a crazy quilt. Laws of some sort exist in every land. But they need to be sewed together to form one complete fabric - a blanket of international laws that would cover all men against the Cold War... As a group, lawyers have been in the wings too long. We welcome them to the center of the World arena." - Christian Science Monitor

"It is an ideal worth striving for, as resort to what Aeschylus called the 'judgment seat of war' becomes increasingly horrible to contemplate." - Toledo Blade

"Almost as important as the crusade itself, is the evidence it provides of the intention of one of our most important professional groups to take a formal, active role in trying to safeguard the place of reason in World affairs." - Fall River (Mass.) Herald News

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"We're glad the American Bar Association has seen fit to raise its sights to new hopes and responsibilities." - Salem (Oregon) Statesman

"If the rule of the jungle, which still prevails in international affairs, does not destroy us all first, there is hope that American lawyers may lead the way to international salvation through extension of the rule of law." - Portland (Maine) Press Herald Telegram

"It is good to see the American Bar Association's Committee on World Peace Through Law inaugurating, in Boston, a campaign for the establishment of a rule of law in the World." - Pittsfield (Mass.) Berkshire Eagle

"Lawyers are not regarded as soft-headed visionaries. Most of them are realists. It is gratifying that they have begun to apply tests and motivations of realism to this problem." - Jacksonville (Florida) Journal

"The very fact that leaders in the legal profession are striving for such a goal should have a good effect." - Sheboygan (Wisconsin) Press

The success of the initial meeting in Boston, in articulating the support of leading Judges, lawyers and law professors for nationwide and worldwide effort, was repeated at the other four Regional Conferences held in 1959 as follows: Charlotte, April 10-11; Chicago, April 17-18; San Francisco, April 24-25; and, Dallas, April 28-29.

The great legal professionals and lay public affairs leaders gathered and discussed the proposed program and the ideas in the Working Paper. They heard learned speeches about the necessity of reaching out to the entire legal profession of the entire World. Stressed was the fact that to succeed the Program could not be just an American Program, it must be a Program embraced by the legal professionals and "especially their peoples" of the entire World. The ideas expressed at Boston were repeated and added to, as to methods and approaches to lawyers of other Nations, that would prove the Plan and Program credible and doable. A Drafting Committee then embodied these views into a final Consensus statement

of the attendants at each Regional Meeting. There were of course amendments, ideas and additions which added to the value of the proposed program that were to be put before the legal professionals of the World at the proposed Continental Conferences.

Each Regional Meeting received a great deal of media coverage. And, as in the case of the Boston Meeting, there was lively press coverage and encouraging editorial comment. I quote a few examples:

"A world body of law would bring order and direction out of what is now a senseless debate conducted without rules of order." - Los Angeles Mirror-News

"If anybody can get the job done, American lawyers, beyond them World lawyers, can. Defeatism won't do it." - Dallas (Texas) Morning News

"Their (lawyers) point of view is simple: We have achieved supremacy of law within Nations; we must now achieve supremacy of law between Nations." - Chicago Sun-Times

"The task could not be harder. The stakes could not be bigger." - Charlotte (N.C.) Observer

From all the United States Regional Meetings, the following major conclusions were drawn by me:

- 1. A World Conference of legal professionals (Judges, lawyers, professors) should be held, including legal professionals from all political and legal systems.
- 2. The groundwork for the World Conference should be laid by four Continental Conferences of leading legal professionals from the Americas, Asia and Australasia, Africa and the Middle East, and Europe.
- 3. The Conferences should concentrate chiefly on means of improving existing international institutions and creation of new international institutions that will be required if the rule of law is to achieve, among Nations, the degree of order and stability that it has achieved within Nations having rule of law governments. Also while the emphasis was to be on international law, law systems within Nations were to be examined and efforts to strengthen

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them encouraged, as a foundation for the international efforts.

- 4. The contemplated Conferences should not attempt complete statements or agreement on substantive rules of international law. Restatements of present rules and drafts of new rules of international law should be left to existing official and unofficial groups of experts.
- 5. The Conferences should establish a permanent clearinghouse of ideas, programs and experiences, pertinent to the extension of World Peace Through Law. These in our changing World, which is no longer separated by time and distance, mountains and seas, should be spotlighted and presented in their changing relevance to the World's people. The rule of law must be updated to meet the constant scientific and technological "breakthroughs", as of the time of each proposed Biennial World Conference.
- 6. The United Nations should be urged to increase application of, and adherence to, the rule of law with regard to the deliberation and actions of all of its agencies, as well as by strict adherence to the Charter of the United Nations to effectuate the goal of establishing and strengthening the international rule of law.
- 7. A long range continuous effort to achieve goals, enunciated by the proposed World Conference, should be undertaken cooperatively by the legal professionals of all the Nations of the World to reach all the World's peoples, especially including those behind the "Iron Curtain".
- 8. Legal professionals of all Nations should be urged to make formal and informal contacts to secure the support of Heads of State, governmental and political leaders and provide leadership in guiding public opinion in their Nation to secure aid of all peoples, of all Nations, for World Peace Through Law.

With those objectives in mind, the Committee prepared a Report for submission to the Federal International Cooperation Agency and to the Ford Foundation seeking funding for the Continental and World Conferences. This Report was also sent to all members of the House of Delegates of the American Bar

Association and to legal professionals worldwide. The Report contained plans for fulfilling the defined objectives.

Consistent with the desire to maintain the basic non-political character of the program, it was decided that, as far as possible, private sources of funding would be sought to sponsor the program. Governor Dewey had urged the seeking of funding support from the great law firms all around the World. He fully recognized that law firms had not heretofore been approached for such support.

I should also state that Governor Dewey proposed, at the outset, that no funds received by the Committee be used for the payment of expenses of American lawyers working or travelling to advance the program. This "Dewey Rule" has been in force throughout this Program. The Committee did authorize payment of expenses of lawyers from developing Nations and for some professor experts. On the subject of funds, I must record here that every host Nation of the Continental and World Conferences has provided funding covering such items as printing, local transportation, facilities meetings, and translation experts in four languages for each Conference. Entertainment and social events, unique to the host Nation, were presented, which stressed the social customs and entertainment for which the host Nation is renowned.

CHAPTER 26 FINANCING THE CONTINENTAL AND ATHENS WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW CONFERENCES

On the basis of the aforementioned Report on the unanimous support of and Success U.S. Regional Meetings, applications approved by the ABA Board of Governors were submitted, by ABA, to the Ford Foundation and to the International Cooperation Agency (ICA) requesting start up funds to support the Continental and World Conference Program envisioned by the Committee. During the course of the year, it initially \$350,000 would be was determined that contributed to ABA by the Ford Foundation \$200,000 contributed to the ABA by the ICA to finance the Continental and World Conferences. On April 5, 1960, the Ford grant was received and, on June 29, 1960, the ICA contract was signed and the funds from these two sources were made available to the ABA.

The ABA has not used any ABA funds for the financing of the World Peace Through Law Program, other than these funds received by it from the Ford Foundation and the Federal International Cooperation personally initiated arrangements for Ι these funds. Beginning with the Second Conference on the Law of the World held in Washington, the Host Nations, law firms, private corporations, individual lav individuals, plus Conference registration fees and memberships have provided the finances for the Conferences and the operations of the Center. This fact, in itself, staff of the demonstrates the deep conclusion by those named that the World Peace Through Law Program has had great "grass roots" appeal among the leaders of lawyers and corporate enterprises individuals Nations. and searching for a new process, new institutions a substitute for horrors such procedures as occurred in World Wars I and II and the known and deaths which would flow from unleashing nuclear war, looked upon by many as creating the certain annihilation of all humanity.

REACHING OUT TO THE WORLD THROUGH THE CONTINENTAL CONFERENCES

Upon receiving assurance of the financial support from Ford Foundation and the International Cooperation Agency, the scope of the ABA's Committee work was expanded to reflect the transition from the Committee's original function of investigation and study of proposals for a World Conference of legal professionals to the actual planning and organizing of the Continental Conferences, as an initial part of planning the World Conference.

In addition to the aforementioned activities relating to development of the plans for holding Continental Conferences of legal professionals and the World Conference, the Committee engaged in numerous other projects designed to stimulate interest in the program and to encourage the active participation therein of legal professionals of all Nations.

The Committee established, strengthened broadened contacts with over fourteen hundred state and local Bar Associations in the United States and all Associations of lawyers in other Nations for whom we obtained names and addresses. More than 1oca1 Bar Associations hundred state and United States established Committees on World Peace Through Law and began actively working to achieve the many such objectives of the program, as did Committees in other Nations.

Committee requested each state Association to collect information on the basic law, number of lawyers, law schools, and Courts of two or three specified Nations. This information was then compiled and supplemented, as necessary. Ιt published in a book entitled Law and Lawyers of the World. In completing this project, many of the State Committees received wonderful cooperation from their counterparts in the Nations with which established contact. Members of some state or local Committees visited their assigned Nations and others made plans for exchanges of visits of members in an

The Continental Conferences

effort to achieve a degree of mutual understanding and friendship that would help achieve success in this important project.

project of the Junior Bar members Washington, D.C. warrants special mention. These lawyers created a "Lawyers International Hospitality Committee" in 1961 and offered their personal hospitality to hundreds of visiting lawyers, Judges, law professors and law students from over thirty foreign Countries. In 1962-63, the Committee arranged for luncheons, dinners, sightseeing tours and opportunities to meet, as stated in its Report, "President Kennedy, Chief Justice Warren, Justices Douglas, Stewart and Clark, Attorney General Kennedy, Solicitor General Cox, Assistant Secretaries State, Federal Court Judges and Law School Deans". appeared on T.V. and radio. Also, many invitations were arranged for foreign law students at the five local law schools. For other details, the Reports of the Lawyers Hospitality Committee, up to 1963, were printed in the Athens World Conference on World Peace Through Law Volume at pages 84-88.

Prior to the holdings of the ABA Regional Meetings, the ABA delegation which visited the Soviet Union, to which I have made reference in my Report to the ABA House of Delegates in 1958 at the Los Angeles Meeting (and in the Special Chapter on Russia, herein pp. 478-499), were given many names and addresses of Soviet legal professionals and their organizations. This was also done in Poland and Hungary, which members of that delegation also visited. obtained, from Ambassadors and other sources, the names and addresses of Bar Associations and lawyers Communist Nations. All of the above actively generated many reports and publications which were mailed to law leaders in all Nations. As will be noted in my report which follows on the Continental Conferences and the World Conferences, representatives of Communist Nations, either lawyers diplomatic representatives, attended Conferences.

A spirit of friendship developed early in the World Peace Through Law Program at the individual

legal professional level. I was often asked if we sent reports on information of what we were doing and planning to Communist or dictator Nations seeking the support of their legal professionals. The answer was always "yes". Did we solicit rule of law support statements from Heads of State of those Nations and that answer was also "yes", from the beginning of this Program until the time I am writing this fact. A few did send statements and they are printed in the Continental and World Conference proceedings. example, China's first of Head State written statement supporting law and development came 1985, although at Conferences before that time China represented bv Ambassadors or professionals. The Shevardnadze statement in 1990 to the Beijing Conference for the USSR was the first such statement from Russia. It is printed herein in my Report on the Beijing Conference, infra, pp. 862-893.

A Short Overview Of Visits To Prospective Host Nations

With the support of leaders of the legal profession of the United States, achieved through the aforementioned series of five United States Regional Meetings, the ABA Committee proceeded with plans for four Continental Conferences. I must say that my long time involvement with the ABA Regional Meetings Committee and the ABA Administration Committee was a most helpful experience for my task of carrying out the four Continental Conferences.

As I write these words, I, in effect, relive the Continental Conferences from beginning to conclusion. I recall, for example, how simple life in that wonderful, peaceful Country of Costa Rica was. I was met at the airport by Fernando Fournier. He drove me to the Gran Hotel. I was accompanied by my son, Bill. Fernando had his son with him. In minutes, the boys, both about ten years old, were soon pitching hard baseballs to each other in our large Hotel Suite. We had a most happy family dinner that night as guests of Fernando and his family.

The next morning, we met early to go call upon President Echandi of Costa Rica. We walked a short distance from the Hotel, turned up an alley and Fernando opened an unlocked back door to a mansion of great beauty. The First Lady of Costa Rica, Fernando's sister, welcomed us warmly. She said that President Echandi was doing his morning shave in a bathroom but we were to go right in. There we were greeted, most warmly, by the President with half his face covered by shaving soap. I thought what wonderful beginning, a perfect picture of the kind of simple, friendly life our whole program was hoping to help create throughout the World. A life where all persons were equal in status, no national army existed in Costa Rica, but a few policemen were in uniform along some streets to direct traffic.

Fernando then took me to meet the Supreme Court. Again, Fernando just opened the door and walked into a Conference of all the Justices, who were endeavoring to decide a very important case. We chatted for a few minutes and departed, as their decision was an urgent one and they wanted to announce it soon after our departure. Again, the peaceful, kind simplicity of everyone struck me.

Bill and I spent a couple of days visiting the beautiful, but empty, old Central American Court Building, the nearby volcanoes and coffee bean orchards, learning that coffee beans and milk sold in the United States, through a company owned in part by our past President Herbert Hoover, were major export commodities for Costa Rica. I met many other great leaders of Costa Rica, as we met to plan this all important First Continental Conference. The President said he was honored to deliver the Inaugural Address. The Chief Justice, the Archbishop and Bar leaders quickly accepted to explained to all that what we hoped to accomplish was to develop the rule of law as a substitute for deadly force as the concept which could create peaceful world under rule of law principles and institutions. I stated we knew we were setting out on a long and difficult task but hoped law leaders of all Nations, working through their Heads of State and

other high officials, could make this their great contribution to humankind. With that as our goal, we hoped that the proposed Continental Conferences could help build the essential legal infrastructure, through cooperative efforts, over the years and decades ahead. The great law and political leaders of Costa Rica said they could and would do their part, as the goal was the greatest of all humankind.

This kind of friendly visit would be repeated next in Japan, where I was met at the airport by their acknowledged legal leader Nobuo Naritomi. me to the Imperial Hotel. There, took he had assembled the greats of the Japanese professionals. We had a very warm, friendly and informative meeting. They were convinced the goal I stated was achievable and were positive they could put on a great Continental Conference to help build law system needed to replace the deadly force system internationally and said so. When I asked whether the Japanese Prime Minister could deliver the Inaugural Address, Naritomi immediately arose, bowed and said to me, "Come, we go." His chauffeur drove expertly through dense traffic to the Prime Minister's Office. I'had been briefed on the fact that a Japanese's status was determined on how low he to those he meets. Naritomi did not. seemingly, bow to anyone. He led me directly in to meet Prime Minister Ikeda, with everyone bowing low to him. The Prime Minister was most cordial and friendly. He said he agreed wholeheartedly with the goal of replacing the deadly war system with peaceful legal system. He also said he would indeed be honored to deliver the Inaugural Address.

Next, Naritomi took me to meet a previous Prime Minister, Kishi, who was clearly one of Naritomi's close personal friends. His welcome was warm and his offer to help was most sincere. We next met the Chief Justice of Japan's Supreme Court, Kisaburo Yokota, at his official home. That meeting was also most friendly and the Chief Justice's support of our program's aims was strong and most sincere. We promptly reassembled the greats of the Japanese legal profession and settled all arrangements for the Asian

Continental Conference. They agreed to call the Conference the "Australasian Conference", as suggested by the towering World leader, Prime Minister of Australia, Robert C. Menzies.

When I arrived with my life-long, close friend, William S. Thompson, one of the most distinguished black law leaders of my Nation, in Lagos Nigeria, Chief Justice Ademola, Attorney General Elias and many other high government and Bar Association leaders met us at the airport. We were taken to the very new Palace Hotel which had just housed Nigeria's great Freedom Celebration. It was a beautiful, almost empty, Hotel located out in what was obviously a new, not yet, developed part of Lagos. Nearby was a fenced in area where, seemingly, hundreds of new cars were parked after being used in the recent Nigerian Freedom Celebration. Chief Williams, President of the Nigerian Bar Association, and other law leaders of Nigeria accompanied us to a meeting at the Supreme Court, presided over by Chief Justice Ademola. All of those present were most wonderful in getting all matters settled for the holding of the African and Middle East Continental Conference. Bill Thompson and I were then taken to meet Prime Minister Balewa of Nigeria. He was most gracious and friendly in receiving us and on his expression of great honor accept the invitation to deliver the Inaugural Address at the African Conference. He said he and I had one thing in common, personally - that we had both been on the cover of Time Magazine.

William S. Thompson and I next visited Rome where Vittorio Malcangi, President of the Italian Bar Association, and a host of Italian governmental and law leaders met us at the airport and escorted us to the Excelsior Hotel. After we checked in at Hotel, we attended a meeting to discuss the holding of the European Continental Conference in Rome, at the Italian Bar Association Headquarters. By then, Bill Thompson and I had our outline of the desired World Peace Through Law Continental Conference and other needs, plus our Program hoped accomplishments, in full command. Melcangi and the Italian bar leaders that he had assembled were most

enthusiastic that they could exceed all We went over the hoped for European described! Continental Conference in great detail at meeting. They were certain they could meet all needs to make it "the greatest occasion of our worldwide mission of law leaders of Nations, in their effort, to put together a Continental Conference which would forward the World Peace Through Law Program". Msgr. Abbo, the legal counsel for the Vatican, was quite certain that an audience with His Holiness Pope John XXIII could be arranged as the highlight of the Program. The Italian Prime Minister accepted invitation to deliver the Inaugural Address, as did other high ranking officials of the government and Bar.

Bill Thompson and I went home confident we had the World Peace Through Law Continental Conference Program well under an organized way. We so reported to the ABA Committee. The four Nations chosen to host Continental Conferences were only a few of those we visited. When Bill and I were reminiscing over our lives and meetings with legal professionals of other Nations we noted, with great admiration, that the legal professionals of Nations had such a high ranking status in their Nations that they seldom failed to take us to the Head of State of their Nation, be he or she Emperor, Queen, King, President, Chancellor, Prime Minister or whatever title his or her office was known by. We liked to recall our own boyhoods on North Carolina farms, where we grew up looking into the south end of a mule, headed North, pulling a plow to cultivate cotton in my case, tobacco in Bill's case. We were humbled by the fact that meeting such national and World leaders never seemed to bother us two, now both lawyers. black, one white, but in every way living a life of shared equality under the rule of law, which we were endeavoring to sell to the peoples of the World.

Bill Thompson is one of the most personable of persons. He always has the right word for any person he meets. Some would call him "smooth", I call him friendly, intelligent, articulate, sure of himself, and one of the World's most gracious, calm and

outgoing persons under all circumstances. He has made a great unofficial "ambassador", or role model, for the blacks of our Nation to the multi-varied races he has visited with me throughout the World. Always smiling, always confident of saying and doing the right thing, he has moved among the greats of our 20th Century, as a great man of the law on a mission of equality, individual rights and justice freedoms. Through his efforts he made a great impact in forwarding law as a substitute for force.

CHAPTER 28

BUILDING ACQUAINTANCES COOPERATION AND SUPPORT AMONG LEGAL PROFESSIONALS AND HEADS OF STATE OF THE ENTIRE WORLD

As a start on the mission of creating a great turn to the rule of law to end the Cold War's arms race, I collected names and addresses of leading Judges, lawyers and law professors of nearly all foreign Nations. These were provided by requests I made to foreign Nation's Ambassadors to the United States, or Foreign Nation representatives to the I explained our mission to these United Nations. Foreign Nation Ambassadors and representatives and requested their help in securing the cooperation of their Nation's legal professionals in carrying out our mission. I asked each U.S. State Bar Association to contact legal professionals in two or more foreign Nations. I gave them names and addresses of legal professionals to write to, visit, contact or invite to visit them. I also urged creation of World Peace Through Law Committees in each U.S. state, many of our largest cities and urban counties. Many did this with great enthusiasm.

When they were published, we sent cooperating U.S. and foreign legal professionals copies of the printed volumes entitled Justices of the World, World Law Directory, and World Legal Directory. These have aided enormously in developing this worldwide legal professional cooperative program for World Peace Through Law. Lawyers needed to become personally acquainted so they could together. This assembly of names and addresses helped fill that need. International Law practice was fast becoming the wave of the future for legal practitioners, due to the shrinking of time distance by technological achievements such as cable TV and other media developments, as well as fast air travel becoming a worldwide accomplishment.

When <u>World Law Day</u> first came into existence in the United States, by Proclamation of President Lyndon B. Johnson and was celebrated on the second day of the Washington World Peace Through Law

Conference on September 13, 1965, we had earlier urged legal professionals of other Nations to arrange celebrations by sending them President Johnson's World Law Day Proclamation and President Eisenhower's Law Day - USA Proclamation and reports of the United States' great experiences, as an example. Through a massive publication and correspondence program, we urged all lawyers to get acquainted with each other by writing, visiting and cooperating in this new World Peace Through Law Program and its program of World Law Day. These invitations met with most enthusiastic, cooperative responses on a worldwide basis.

Lawyers in the United States Army, Navy and Air Force, of which there are many, were urged to, and did, contact lawyers in Nations where they were stationed, or visiting, and put on Law Day - USA Celebrations with the lawyers of those foreign Nations as their quests. The Judge Advocate Generals of the United States Army, Navy and Air Force, and the lawyers under their command, carried out this great enthusiasm. Here Charles request with H. Burton, former ABA JBC Chairman, who was Chief Aide to the Judge Advocate General of the Admiral Colclough, was of great assistance. Earlier herein, in discussing Law Day - USA, I set forth the first Proclamation of Law Day - USA by President 1, 1958, demonstrating the Eisenhower on May beginning of that great celebration, now in its 36th year.

ABA and World Peace Through Law Committee files are jammed with letters, news clippings and reports on the above programs; especially the U.S. state bar contacts with their assigned foreign Nations and the extraordinarily wonderful Law Day - USA programs put on by military lawyers, in association with their guests, the legal professionals in other Nations where they were stationed. The Legal Advisors of the U.S. State Department, beginning with Abraham Chayes, who took part in the Rome Continental and Athens World Conferences, his successors, and that Department's lawyers, have given great assistance to the World Peace Through Law Program. In fact, this

program was born, as I have reported, with the support of two great U.S. Secretaries of State, John Foster Dulles and William P. Rogers. Rogers was Attorney General when he helped to create <u>Law Day - USA</u>.

Martindale and Hubbell, the USA major legal professional directory, has begun to publish more and more names and addresses of legal professionals of foreign Nations, year by year.

West Publishing Company published the entire proceedings of the World Peace Through Law Center's first Conferences on The Law of the World. West has been exceedingly helpful in many other ways. For example, on the back cover of their advance sheet releases of Court decisions, they printed news about Law Day - USA and the World Peace Through Law Program, including World Law Day.

Lee Slater, then President of West Publishing Company, was a most enthusiastic supporter of the first Law Day - USA, the ABA World Peace Through Law Program and World Law Day, as is his successor at West, Dwight Opperman.

The above legal professionals contact program and the successful Continental Meetings made friends out of lawyers who enjoyed their contacts among other foreign legal professionals and their personal part in, and contribution to, the World Peace Through Law Plan and Program.

Firms, individual lawyers and private Corporations made financial contributions which added to the Ford Foundation and International Cooperation Agency funds, I report on herein, pp. 561, to enable the World Peace Through Law Committee to carry out an enormous worldwide free distribution publications of the World Peace Through Law Program, including hundreds of papers and addresses presented by law professionals at the U.S. Regional Meetings on this program and law leaders from throughout the World at Continental and World Conferences. United States lawyers invited foreign lawyers, from developing Nations, to the Continental and World Conferences to visit them as their guests and paid all of their expenses. The late Earl Phillips of

Seattle is a good example. He invited and paid the expenses of not one, but several foreign lawyers from developing Nations to World Peace Through Law Conferences all over the World. I could fill pages of similar law firm, personal, corporate and Foundation aid to legal professionals who could not afford to pay their way to World Peace Through Law Conferences. It is a continuing story to this day.

Almost suddenly, the legal professionals of the World became better acquainted than ever through working cooperatively on this program. important element of our planning from the outset of this program, of emphasizing personal acquaintances with all participants at each Continental Conference, was to carefully arrange private meetings with each delegate of each Country with ABA President John Satterfield, other Presidents and former Presidents of the American Bar Association, Judge William S. Thompson and myself. We also arranged personal Conferences with important law leaders, not only from the United States but with other Nation's law leaders, such as Canadian Bar President Walter Owen; leading law educators like Erwin Griswold, Dean of Harvard Law School; Professors John Hazard Columbia, Rudolph Schlesinger of Cornell Law School, Panayotis Zepos of Athens Law School, Julius Stone of Australia, Ved P. Nanda of Denver University Law School, and others.

At Continental Conferences we wanted to get face to face, off the record, impressions from law professionals of other Nations, as well as to let them know how much we appreciated their presence. The Continental Conferences were small enough to allow these personal conferences with most of the participants.

As we moved into the World Conferences, over the years, our efforts to build personal friendships worldwide increased. Leonard Marks, Director of the U.S Information Service, helped greatly by providing photographers at many Conferences where participants could get their photos made with other participants. We rather overwhelmed Chief Justice Earl Warren, Justices Thurgood Marshall, Tom Clark and Hugo Black

and many law greats of other Nations with these photo programs, but they were wonderfully appreciated. Mr. Marks arranged for copies of the photos to be given to all who were photographed. Many added their autographs and kind words on their photographs. The participants seemed to enjoy this friendship building effort. The Chief Justices, Ministers of Justice and Attorneys General of other Nations, who have become major participants in our World Conferences and law leaders from throughout the World, also seem to have liked these photo opportunities. As I have travelled the World, I find many of the photographs chambers offices of Conference of or participants.

I tried to receive Conference participants and usually exchanged autographed copies of one of the law books I have authored for the many small gifts which were usually brought to the Conferences by participants.

These friendships, thus made, have proven to be a strong foundation for ongoing cooperative efforts together in the years of which I chronicle in describing the 16 World Conferences. There is, in the very nature of life, an ever-changing group of participants from Nations. But the strong friendship connections of the past carry over into the new participants. I trust this spirit of friendship will always exist, as it means so very much to World Peace Through the Rule of Law.

The above legal professionals contact program and the Conferences made friends out of lawyers who enjoyed their contacts among each other and their personal part in, and contributions to, the World Peace Through Law Plan and Program. In Conference after Conference, those who have previously met as strangers now meet as old friends. Such friendships hurdle diverse legal and social experiences and weld the law leaders of the World into a unique rule of law group forwarding the rule universally.

The approximately two years of intense effort to bring the first Continental Conferences into existence were heartwarming because of the great support we received in our Nation and from law

leaders and Heads of State of nearly all Nations. This period, following the Regional Meetings in the United States, were characterized both by increased cooperation within the United States and the initiation of broader contacts with Jurists, Judges, lawyers and Law Professors abroad. Members of the ABA Committee, and its renowned Advisory Committee's members, sought to interest and secure the ideas, energies, talents and leadership support of the Jurists and legal professionals of the World. Combining their individual efforts was remarkable, indeed, in attracting the attention of Nations and their legal and political leaders.

The idea of the rule of law, as the concept of most universal support to create and maintain World peace, met with gratifying resonance throughout the World. The gradual building of a World Law System by Nations using - not losing - their sovereign powers became more comprehensible as an almost unified World Legal Community supported this use of their sovereignty by Nations. I travelled the World during this period, not only to help find a location for each Continental Conference but to enlist the aid of the great legal professionals of Nations included in each Continental Conference.

Having practiced law in and from Washington throughout my career and having occasion to meet Ambassadors sent to our Nation by other Nations, began a major part of my work by a luncheon of Ambassadors to explain the World Peace Through Law Program to them. I have mentioned that we wanted from them, and received, names and addresses of their Nation's most outstanding legal professionals. explained I would write these law professionals directly about the World Peace Through Law Program and the Ambassadors offered to help in any way they could by writing to their Nations' law leaders of their own support, if the fact of their support was When I went into some Nations, appropriate. requested their Ambassadors to write letters on my they did impending trip and SO enthusiastically. Those helped tremendously. addition, I already knew many legal professionals

around the World, so I contacted them for help. I do not recall a single instance when I was denied help by Ambassadors or legal professionals.

As cooperation and consolidation of support had begun within the United States with five separate Meetings in 1959, cooperation consolidation on a worldwide support basis began with the four separate Continental Conferences in 1961 and 1962. These were the Americas Conference in San Rica, in June 1961; the Asian Jose, Costa Australasian Conference in Tokyo, Japan, in September 1961; the African Conference in Lagos, Nigeria, in December 1961; and the European Conference in Rome, Italy, in April 1962. For me to say now the truth that each Conference ended with a Consensus statement conclusions of the delegates based upon the conviction that the establishment of an ever-growing rule of law system in international affairs offered the best road to peaceful international relations preempts the overall of my story, but I will.

Heads of State of many Nations, in messages to these Continental Conferences, agreed in substance with President Dwight D. Eisenhower's "State of the Union" Address to the U.S. Congress in 1960:

"All peoples are sorely tired of the fear, destruction, and the waste of war. As never before, the World knows the human and material costs of war and seeks to replace force with a genuine rule of law among Nations."

And President John F. Kennedy's renowned call in his Inaugural Address in 1961 for:

"[A] new World of law, where the strong are just, the weak are secure and peace is preserved forever."

President John F. Kennedy sent messages of support to each of the four Continental Conferences. I will quote only his much quoted message to the African Conference:

"It is with great pleasure that I send greetings to the distinguished delegates and observers attending the African and Middle Eastern Conference on World Peace Through Law in Lagos.

"Although you represent diverse cultures and

traditions and differing political and legal systems, this Conference demonstrates that we are all united in our belief in the rule of law. It provides the orderly framework within which we can establish an enduring peace and achieve the benefits of a free and civilized life.

"As lawyers, you are given great responsibility for leadership of this effort. We have seen the successful operation of international 1aw established areas like the Law of the Sea. uncharted seas of arms control and the peaceful use of outer space demand the development of new rules The tremendous strides in science technology lend urgency to the need for these new rules and for legal institutions capable of harnessing the wonders we have created for the benefit - not the destruction - of mankind.

"Supremacy of law within Nations insures the freedom of man. Supremacy of law in the community of Nations can free mankind from the dread of nuclear war. The rule of law must replace rule by force if we are to look forward to a stable World - a World which is hospitable to economic and social progress.

"You have my best wishes for a successful Conference, and you have my deep respect for the courage and dedication with which you are meeting this challenge and opportunity for public service."

The four Continental Conferences forwarded the program begun by the Concensuses of the ABA United States Regional Meetings to seek and develop new practical ideas whereby the goal of World Peace Through Law achieved. could be Overall, delegates to the Continental Conferences brought together, for the first time, the legal leaders of each Continent to collectively and cooperatively focus upon the program of Peace Through Law. expressed their views, as to its potential reaching the program's mission of developing realistic action, realistic ways and means, to make this program a success by bringing about a worldwide turn to the rule of law and its principles and institutions.

Before the Costa Rican Conference, I came up

with the idea (chiefly from noting the tremendous attention and support Head of State messages to the London 10 year NATO Review Conference, to which President Truman appointed me a delegate, gave to such messages) of requesting delegates to that Conference to ask their Head of State to send the Conference an expression of their support for the rule of law and opposition to the rule of force. President John F. Kennedy, in response to my request, did send a much media praised support statement.

As I write these words, I cannot repress an urge to include another anecdotal item. I must tell how the necessity that I get a message from our rather new President Kennedy presented a problem for me. I had known Kennedy well for years beginning when he was a young congressman yet, I had just labored through the Richard Nixon-Kennedy Campaign, Nixon's National Chairman of the Nixon-Lodge Volunteers organization. Here, I now had to ask Kennedy for his support. A major part of my effort the Nixon Campaign was to persuade my fellow Democrats to vote for Nixon. I was a Democrat from North Carolina by heritage and said so in the Campaign. I suspected that his Brother, Attorney General Robert (Bobby) Kennedy, who I saw frequently at Our Lady of Victory Catholic Church, would probably scowl and say no if I asked his help. I had not accomplished that mission for the message when I arrived in San Jose, a few days before the America's Continental Conference. There, upon arrival, I received a flood of Head of State messages, so I knew I had to get one from Kennedy quick. I called U.S. Senator Estes Kefauver, who I had worked with on the London NATO Conference in 1959, and U.S. Senator Hubert Humphrey, who I had known well as Mayor of Minneapolis. I quoted President Kennedy's famous Profiles in Courage Book where he said:

"A man does what he must - in spite of personal consequences, in spite of obstacles. That is the basis of human morality."

That quote had stuck in my mind and I asked the

Senators to call the President and tell him Charlie Rhyne was in trouble and needed his help. I also told them to tell the President that I quoted him from not only his just cited book, but his famous "one liner" on a "New World of Law" at p. 57δ, supra, from his Inaugural Address and for Heaven's sake to get me a message in a hurry. Both Senators were well aware of, and supportive of, my work for the World Peace Through Law Program. They promised call him. I also called Abram Chayes, of the U.S. Department of Adviser State. explained my problem to his Secretary since he was unreachable. My law partner and brother, Brice Rhyne, called me on another matter and I told him of these calls and for him to please get on this matter, and stay on it, until the message was sent. Needless to say, the message arrived. It was one of the highlights of the Conference.

Mario Echandi, of Costa President tremendously outstanding and inspiring delivered a Inaugural Address expressing the support of the rule of law, nationally Nation for internationally. Attended by the leading legal professionals of all Nations of the Americas, the Conference was an impressive success as an inspiring international beginning to the crusade of the legal profession to substitute the use of law for force in international relations. conclusion, the Αt its great law leader of the Costa Rican Bar, former U.S. Ambassador and high ranking Diplomat, Fernando Fournier, who served as President of the Conference, and I issued a joint statement approved by all Conferees stating:

"The accomplishments of the Conference have exceeded our highest expectations. This is the beginning we have been planning and hoping for. We are inspired and heartened. The attached Consensus states in broad language the Conference's accomplishments."

The following pages record the worldwide enthusiasm for a turn to the law, as law leaders from each Continent stepped forward to enunciate their support and read their Head of State messages of

their national leaders expressing their support. While Nations had supported the rule of law, as set forth in the Charter creating the United Nations, these individual, more recent, new expressions gave new life and meaning to a more meaningful development by giving new immediacy to our urging of a turn to the rule of law. The fact that the "Cold War" was at its height gave credence to our plea that law could, and should, replace war as the decision process between Nations. In all my speeches and statements, I urged that the legal professionals who devote their lives to the law have awakened to the need for a crusade to move beyond the words of the UN Charter.

I quoted Sir Winston Churchill's Guildhall speech, set forth herein (pp. 363-366), where he said the UN was not living up to expectations and that more must be done to continue a new legal system to operate in the international field. The law leaders of Nations recognized the need for imperative action on the speeding up of the practical application of the rule of law within and among Nations. They agreed that the "Cold War" arms race which seemingly weakened UN peace accomplishments should not, and could not, slow down the urgent, current need for a to world rule of law. The Continental Conferences created a new forum and a new cooperative endeavor where individual Heads of States and law leaders could rise above UN Charter statements and urge that now the peoples of the World should get on with their dream of a law-full World, one which would harness and eliminate the rule of force. leaders agreed with me that "nothing is as strong as an idea whose time has come". They also agreed that nothing could pierce the "Iron Curtain" peacefully, or more surely, than telling the people who lived behind that Curtain that their futures, perhaps even their lives if a nuclear World War III erupted, depended upon their choosing the rule law. Slowly but surely this idea, this ideal of all humankind, grew in the minds of those enslaved by the evils of communism. They then rose up in rebellion and communism, as practiced by the Soviet Union, crumbled and died.

THE CONTINENTAL CONFERENCES ON WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW

I want to go beyond a few photos to give summarized details which demonstrate the importance of the four Continental Conferences. They brought together, within a period of ten months, legal professionals from more than 100 Nations.

These Continental Conferences, unique in the history of the legal profession, were devoted to discussions of the proposal, heretofore described. for a World Conference of lawyers to develop ways by which lawyers could work together globally to improve existing and develop new international law and legal institutions through a collective and sustained effort to move the World toward the ultimate goal of the international rule of law; how to build a World law system composed of rules of law and institutions strong enough be to an acceptable, successful replacement, for the age-old method Of wars and its aftermath of death destruction.

The first meeting was held on June 11-14 of 1961 in San Jose, the Capital of the Central American of Costa Rica, a Country famed for Republic democratic way of life and dedication to peace, evidenced dramatically by the absence of a national Twenty-nine Nations from the Hemisphere, including the nascent Federation of the West Indies, joined in discussions at the site of the Central American Court of. Justice. September of the same year, twenty-six Nations of Australasia participated and in a Continental Conference in Tokyo, Japan. The third Conference was held in Lagos, Nigeria in December of 1961, with thirty-five Nations from Africa and the Middle East sending delegates. The final meeting, for European Nations, was held in April of 1962 in Rome, Italy with thirty-eight Nations sending their leading law professionals as delegates.

The Working Paper For The Continental Conferences Prepared By Experts

Before the invitations were sent by me, behalf of our ABA Committee on World Peace Through Law, to the delegates, a Working Paper was prepared, which with slight modifications, served for all these first of a kind - meetings. historic _ document, of 150 printed pages, contained the substance of information and suggestions received from practicing lawyers, Judges and professors of law throughout the World. It was prepared under my personal direction, over the course of several years, with drafts and re-drafts sent by me for comment to experts throughout the World. Written and rewritten largely by me, Edgar Turlington and members of the ABA Committee, with the assistance and cooperation of experts and consultants in the field of international law, the Working Paper presented a broad foundation for discussion of the procedures, principles and institutions of the international rule of law and ways to expand them to make them more effective as the peace concept for the World.

Primarily a document providing a broad descriptive background of existing international legal institutions and the current status international law, the paper did not present espouse any particular viewpoint other than the idea that collective and sustained action by professionals could fulfill an urgent need by moving the World Community closer and faster to the rule of We wanted the legal professionals who attended the Continental Conferences to present their own ideas. This approach proved to be a tremendous plus, as the legal professionals of all Nations have an inherent pride in their own knowledge experience. Most legal professionals resent being told what they should think. They have a fierce independence which is a major mark of success in the legal professional. These Continental Conferences brought together the leaders of the law of their Nation and they were proud to be so recognized. They also wanted their views considered and all the

Conferences were so conducted as to make this possible for all the Delegates from 128 Nations who attended.

The Working Paper was broken down into five topic headings. These served as the basis for discussions in the Working Sessions at the four Continental Conferences. Questions preceding each topic were used to provoke the readers into consideration of some of the problems involved in the subject matter of the topic and as a starting point for the discussions. The five topics are the following:

- International Judicial Machinery for Peaceful I. Settlement of International Disputes. Under this topic, the records of the Permanent Court International Justice, the International Court Justice, the Central American Court of Justice, the Inter-American Court of Justice. proposed European Court of Justice, and the European Court of Human Rights are discussed. While primary emphasis is devoted to the International Court of Justice, thorough discussion of the status and work regional tribunals is included. The decisions handed down by the various Courts are briefly analyzed, as is their jurisdiction, and finally, their success or lack of success. Ideas for improvement of judicial institutions are also discussed, as proposals for new dispute resolution institutions.
- Arbitration and Other Means of Settlement of International Disputes. Two distinct forms arbitration are discussed under this topic. first involves arbitration between Nations and treats the large number of arbitrations in the 19th Century, the decline of this method of settling disputes between Nations during the 20th Century, and The second section reasons therefor. concerned with commercial arbitration and describes the background and current practice with regard arbitration as a means of settling disputes arising out of private international transactions, usually commercial. The third section deals with other means settlement of international disputes, such diplomatic negotiations, mediation, conciliation,

conference and good offices. Particularly analyzed are treaties containing provisions for settlement of disputes by such means.

- III. The United Nations and Regional Organizations as Factors Encouraging International Rule of Law. This topic deals at some length with the United Nations, examining its structure and purposes. analyzes suggestions which have been made for the improvement of the United Nations. The second part of the topic goes into a detailed analysis of the Organization of American States, with particular emphasis on it as an organization operating to maintain peace. In addition, other Sections discuss organizations such as the Council of Europe, the Nordic Council and the Arab League. Particularly stressed are the aspects of international foster organizations which development law and procedures for peaceful international settlement of international disputes.
- IV. Facilitation of International Commerce and Economic Development. Four distinct aspects of this topic are examined in the Working Paper from the viewpoint of the legal professional. Initially, international trade agreements, particularly commodity agreements and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) are examined, their problems discussed and suggestions for improvements made. second section of the topic deals with international investment, with particular emphasis on international financial institutions facilitating investment, both and private. Regional associations for economic cooperation, including those of the United Nations, are discussed in the third section. European communities and organizations in Latin America, such as the Latin American Free Trade Association, proposed Central American economic groups, the European Free Trade Association and the Organization for Economic Cooperation Development, are also covered at length. The final section, in the fourth topic, deals with proposals for unification of laws to facilitate international transactions. Organizations working on this method of facilitating international commerce are discussed,

as are possible ways in which the legal profession can participate in the achievement of this goal.

The Role of Legal Professionals in the Development of the International Rule of Law. topic deals with the greatest challenge facing the legal professionals attending the Conferences, the need to organize a realistic, cooperative, worldwide program to develop the international rule of law. this topic, past and present organizations working in this field are discussed and their contributions analyzed. Other problems facing the legal in attempting to develop professional. international rule of law, are examined and proposals ways of meeting these problems discussed. Through discussions of this topic, recommendations evolved for formation of World Peace Through Law Committees throughout the World, World Law Day and possibly a World Law Year, with a World Peace Through Law Institute or Center and many other suggestions offering great promise.

The Consensus at the Conferences was that setting out, in concise and simple form, a basic outline of the principles and procedures under which existing institutions operate, and the means whereby international law and institutions can be further developed, the Working Paper served an extremely useful function for practicing lawyers around the World for whom such a concise summary had heretofore It was stressed throughout the not been available. Continental Conferences that attendance non-experts, among legal professionals, far exceeded the presence of scarce international law experts. we were to persuade these non-experts to put their experience and high standing as public tremendous leaders to become leading exponents of World Peace Through Law, they must know more and more about law and its potential as a peace process in the World Community. At the Working Meetings, planned for each Conference, these non-experts spent much Nation's relating experience under their own 1aw system and relating that experience to the task they were now largely undertaking.

As with all other documents used at the

Continental Conferences, the Working Paper was translated from English, into Spanish and French for distribution to delegates. The discussions were also simultaneously translated, by highly trained UN expert translators hired for this purpose, into French and Spanish and the Host Nation's language.

In preparation for the Continental Conferences, delegates were asked, in a letter from me, to a number of preliminary steps, including consultation and discussion with colleagues at their Bar, concerning the attitude within their respective Countries on all aspects of the program being proposed by the ABA's World Peace Through Law Committee. In many instances, special World Peace Through Law of the National Bar Committees Association were quickly established. The comments and suggestions of delegates concerning the agenda and procedures for the Continental Conferences were necessarily solicited. Delegates came to the Conferences armed with extensive reports and comments representing the views of their colleagues on the objectives and programs which they believed should be adopted by the legal profession of the World if this cooperative program was to succeed.

Once my work, and that of members and expert consultants, had commenced on the Working Paper, the long and difficult task began of forming delegations of a suggested two leading legal professionals from each Country to attend the Continental Conferences. Presidents of National Bar Associations were invited to attend or to appoint delegates. In Countries where no legal association existed, cooperation of governmental and other legal officials in selecting delegates was solicited. I should say here, and say often, the foreign Ambassadors to the United States and national United Nation Representatives were source of encouragement and information. each Host Nation, for all Continental Conferences and the later World Conferences, Ambassadors to the Host Nations were invited to participate fully, as honored guests, as were high governmental officials of the Host Nations.

The reward for this difficult task of delegate

selection was that unusually distinguished groups of legal professionals, from Nations throughout the World, attended the four Conferences. Once the first invitations were sent out, I was asked to add many to national delegations. Included were past and present National Bar Association Presidents, Professors and Deans in leading law schools, members and former members of Cabinets, Chief Justices and members of Supreme or High Courts, former Ambassadors and others diplomatic experience or extensive the United Nations. Of greatest experience in significance, however, was the fact that these delegates, individually and collectively, exercised a tremendous influence on public affairs in their particular Countries and in the World. Almost all delegations arrived bearing messages from their Head of State endorsing the Conference's objectives and stating their support for its goals. Those delegates who arrived without such messages quickly contacted their Head of State and secured such a message of encouragement for the Conference's success.

The San Jose Continental Conference for the Americas had, as its Inaugural speaker, Costa Rica's President, Mario Echandi.

The Tokyo Continental Conference for Asia and Australasia had, as its Inaugural speaker, Japan's Prime Minister, Hyato Ikeda.

The Lagos Continental Conference Inaugural speaker was the Prime Minister of Nigeria, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.

The Rome Conference Inaugural Addresses were presented by the Honorable Amintore Fanfani, Prime Minister of Italy and Victor Malcangi, President of the Italian Bar Association. A great highlight of that Conference was the Audience granted to the delegates by His Holiness, Pope John XXIII at the Vatican.

For all the Continental Conferences, I served as Chairman of the Executive Committees, made a major address on World Peace Through Law, worked with the Chairman of each Working Session and worked on arrangements for the outstanding social events, which included very wonderful receptions, Opera in Rome and other entertainment events unique to the Host Nation.

The President of the American Bar Association, John Satterfield, addressed each Inaugural Session, at each Continental Conference, on ABA support for the idea and concept embodied in the Conference's Program.

The Chairman of the San Jose Conference was Lic. Fernando Fournier, President of the Costa Rica Bar Association and a former Ambassador to the United States, one of his Nation's, and the World's, most distinguished legal professionals. The Tokyo Conference was chaired by the renowned Dr. Chuzo former Minister of Justice and former President of the Japanese Federation of Associations and (at age 92) the senior legal professional of Japan. The Lagos Conference had as its distinguished Chairman, the Chief Justice of Nigeria, Sir Adetokunbo Ademola. The Rome Conference had as its General Chairman, Avv. Vittorio Malcangi, President of the Italian Bar Association who was, until his untimely death, a tower of strength not only in the Rome Continental Conference, but in the Athens World Conference where he led the battle to make the membership in the new World Peace Through Law Center an individual membership, so that members from all Nations could express their own, not necessarily their Nation's political leaders, views or those of other Bar Association leaders. He added that as individuals doing this work we can, and will, claim equal credit if, and when, the adopted program was successful, of which success he said he was He also argued individual membership would certain. avoid national rivalries which tend to divide organizations.

Brief random biographical sketches of delegations and delegates to each Conference graphically illustrate the cross-section of distinguished legal professionals who participated in these meetings. At Costa Rica, Dr. Julio Cueto Rua, former Argentinian Minister of Commerce and Industry, Professor of Law, Author of articles and books on economic, financial and legal matters, and Editor of an economic and financial review, attended with Dr. Mauricio A. Ottolenghi, the President of the

Argentina Federation of Bar Associations and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Inter-American Bar Association. Guatemala, Licenciado From Caceres Lehnhoff, the President of the Guatemalan Bar Association and one of the members of the Commission which prepared the Guatemalan Constitution, attended with his colleague Licenciado Adolfo Molina Orantes, Dean of the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences the University of San Carlos de Guatemala, at formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs, President of the Guatemala Bar Association, of numerous Author publications and Professor of Private International Law.

Αt Tokyo, Pakistan was represented by Nazir Ahmad Kahn, formerly the Attorney General Pakistan, founder and formerly President of the Pakistan Bar Association and President of Pakistan Institute of International Affairs. joined by his colleague Dr. A.K. Brohi, formerly High Commissioner (Ambassador) for Pakistan in India and Deputy Leader of Pakistan's delegation to the Tenth Session of the United Nations. From Ceylon, Justice T.S. Fernando of the Supreme Court of that Country Dr. Arturo A. Alafriz, the President Philippine Lawyers Association and of Federation of Bar Associations of the Philippines, as well as a member of the Council of the International Bar Association, was accompanied by V.G. Sinco, the President of the University of the Philippines, a member of the Philippine delegation to Conference, which organized and drafted the Charter of the United Nations, and an Author of legal books.

A cross-section of the delegates at Lagos would include Mr. R.S. Blay, President of the Ghana Bar Association: Dr. Muhammad Scech Gabio_y former for International Affairs and $\bar{}$ for Constitution, Representative of the Lawyers Forum of Mogadis hu and Representative of. Somalia at the United Nations; Dr. Abdoulaye Wade, Professor on the Faculty of Law and Economic Section at the University of Dakar; and, Dr. Osman Ramzy, Justice Supreme Court of the United Arab Republic.

The distinguished delegates to the European

Conference in included Rome Chief A.M. Donner Ωf the European Court of Justice; Dr. Stephan Verosta, former Chief οf the Legal the Austrian Department of Foreian Office currently member of the Austrian Delegation to the United Nations; M. Jean Thevenet, formerly Batonnier of the Bar of Brussels, currently President of the Federation of Belgium Lawyers and past Chairman of the Union Internationale des Avocats; Lord Shawcross, former Attorney-General for the United Kingdom and Chairman of the Law Section of the British Institute of International and Comparative Law; and, Mr. Victor Chkhikhvadze, Vice-President of the Law Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and an Author.

ILLUSTRATIVE CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE PHOTOGRAPHS

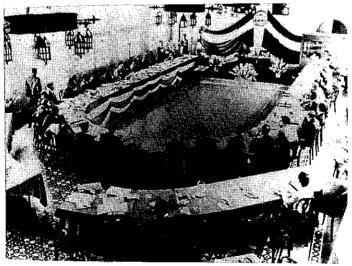
COSTA RICA



John C. Satterfield, President-Elect of the American Bar Association; Alfredo Vargas, Foreign Minister of Costa Rica; President Mario Echandi of Costa Rica; Monsignor Carlos H. Rodriguez Quiron, Archbishop of Costa Rica; Charles S. Rhyne, Chairman of the Committee on World Peace Through Law of the American Bar Association; Fernando Fournier, President of the Conference; Abelardo Bonilla, Vice-President

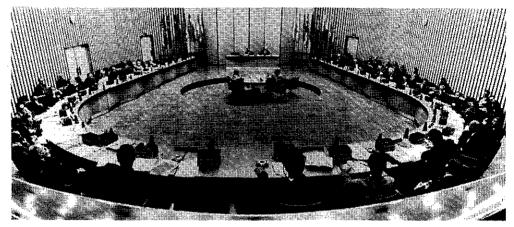


Fernando Fournier, President of the Conference on World Peace Through Law; Dr. Carlos Alberto Dunshee de Abranches of Brazil, a delegate; and President Mario Echandi of Costa Rica



Delegates and Observers from 23 Nations attend Working Session at the Gran Hotel in San Jose, Costa Rica

JAPAN



Round table scene showing working session of delegates attending the Tokyo conference. The 4-day conference brought together more than 100 delegates and observers from 16 nations of Asia and from Australia and New Zealand.



Prime Minister Hyato Ikeda of Japan addresses delegates to the Tokyo Conference

NIGERIA



Prime Minister Balewa of Nigeria addresses the Opening Session of the Lagos Conference



Chief Justice of Nigeria, Sir Adetokunbo Ademola, and Charles S. Rhyne, Chairman of the Conference, escort the Prime Minister to the platform at the Opening Session of the Conference

ITALY



At a private Audience in the Sistine Chapel, His Holiness Pope John XXIII chats with delegates to the Rome Conference



Mrs. Victor Chkhikhvadze; Charles S. Rhyne; Victor Chkhikhvadze, Vice-President, Law Institute of Academy of Science, Moscow, U.S.S.R.; Dr. Nobuo Naritomi, President, Japan Bar Association



Victor Malcangi, President of the Italian Bar Association, opening the Inaugral Session of the European Conference. John C. Satterfield, Lic. Fernando Fournier, Sir Adetokunbo Ademola, Charles S. Rhyne, Hon. Giacinto Bosco, PResident Malcangi, Hon. Giuseppe Verzi, Dr. Nobuo Naritomi, Avv. Domenico Uras and Avv. Carlo Vischia.





Committee Meeting, New York City, December, 1960. Standing left to right: Erwin W. Griswold, Robert G. Storey, PHilip H. Lewis, William J. Jameson, Lyman M. Tondel, Howard C. Petersen, E. Blythe Stason. Seated left to right: Arthur Larson, Ross L. Malone, Charles S. Rhyne, Arthur Dean, J. Wesley McWilliams.

AMERICAS CONFERENCE June 11 - 14, 1961 San Jose, Costa Rica

CONFERENCE OFFICERS

Fernando Fournier - General Chairman; Charles S. Rhyne - Chairman, Executive Committee; Carlos Arosemena Arias - Executive Committee; Fernando Fournier - Executive Committee; Carlos Alberto Dunshee de Abranches - Executive Committee; Mauricio A. Ottolenghi - Executive Committee; Thorburn Reid - Committee Counsel; James F. Sams - Committee Counsel; and, Rodolfo Yglesias - Conference Secretary

OFFICIALS AND DIRECTORS OF THE COLEGIO DE ABOGADOS DE COSTA RICA

Fernando Fournier - President; Jorge Rojas - Vice-President; Alfredo Quesada - Secretary; Maria Eugenia Vargas - Treasurer; Marco Aurelio Odio -; Manuel Emilio Rodriguez -; Jorge Valverde -; Gonzalo Retana -; Andrés Benavides -; José Manuel Camacho -; and, Rodolfo Ygelsias -

COMMITTEE OF HONOR

José Rafael Acuña; Nestor Baltodano; Jorge Baudrit; Miguel Blanco; Alfredo Fernàndez; Humberto Flores; Oscar Gonzàlez; Jorge Herrera; Antonio Jimènez; Fernando Lara; Rodrigo Méndez; José Luis Molina; Jorge Arturo Montero; Victor Manuel Obando; Guillermo Padilla; Juan Edgar Picado; Alvaro Pinto; Rodolfo Piza; Antonio Robles; Rafael Angel Rojas; Antonio Soto; Victor Vargas; Guillermo Velazco; Jorge Nilo Villalobos; and, Harry Zurcher

LIST OF DELEGATES



Julio Cuento Rua Buenos Aries, Argentina



Mauricio A. Ottolenghi Buenos Aires, Argentina



Alcides Alvarado La Paz, Bolivia



Jorge Fernàndez Soliz La Paz, Bolivia



Luis Antonio de Gama e Silva São Paulo, Brasil



Carlos Alberto Dunshee de Abranches Rìo de Janeiro, Brasil



Stanley E. Fennell Cornwall, Ontario, Canada



Walter S. Owen Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada



Parmenio Càrdenas Bogotà, Colombia



Fernando Fournier San Josè, Costa Rica



Rogelio Sotela San Josè, Costa Rica



Juan Andrès Lliteras Cuba



Silvio Sanabria Santamaria, Cuba



Osvaldo Rengifo Santiago, Chile



Luis Josè Santa Maria Santiago, Chile



Luis Eladio Benitez Quito, Ecuador



Diego Bustamante Quito, Ecuador



Alfredo Martinez Moreno San Salvador, El Salvador



Josè Ochoa Gòmez San Salvador, El Salvador



Charles S. Rhyne Washington, D.C., E.U.A.



Robert G. Storey Dallas, Texas, E.U.A.



Eduardo Càceres Lehnhoff, Guatemala, Republic of Guatemala



Adolfo Molina Orantes Guatemala, Republic of Guatemala



Weber Michaus Puerto Principe, Haiti



Antoine Rigal Puerto Principe, Haiti



Humberto Lòpez Villamil Tegucigalpa, Honduras



Esteban Mendoza Tegucigalpa, Honduras



Antonio Martinez Bàez, Mexico, D.F., Mexico



Jesùs Rodriguez Gòmez, Mexico, D.F., Mexico



Mariano Fiallos Gil Leòn, Nicaraqua



Fèlix E. Guandique Managua, Nicaragua



Carlos Arosemena Arias Panama, Republic of Panama



Carlos A. Lòpez Guevara, Panama, Republic of Panama



Cipriano Codas Asunción, Paraguay



Salvador Villagra Maffiodo, Asunciòn, Paraguay



Màximo Cisneros Lima, Perù



Antonio Zàrate Polo Lima, Perù



Manuel de Jesús Goico Castro, Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic



Virgilio Hoepelman Ciudad Trujillo, Domincan Republic



Cèsar Luis Aguiar Montevideo, Uruguay



Hugo E. Gatti Montevideo, Uruquay



Isaac Bentata Caracas, Venezuela



Pedro J. Mantellini Gonzàlez, Caracas, Venezuela



Locksley Trevor Moody, Kingston,



Hugh O.B. Wooding Puerto España, Jamaica, West Indies Trinidad, West Indies

CONFERENCE STANDING ORDERS FOR ALL FOUR CONTINENTAL CONFERENCES

- 1. All delegates, observers and other persons should register upon arrival at the Conference.
- 2. All delegates are invited in their individual capacities and not as representatives of Countries or organizations.
- 3. No book, booklet, paper or other written material of a political nature shall be circulated, issued or supplied to any delegate, observer or other person attending the Conference, either directly or indirectly, by or on behalf of any Government, Organization or individual.
- 4. The official languages of the Conference are English, Spanish and French.
- 5. The Agenda for Working Sessions and Conference schedule shall be as set forth in the Program. (While there were some differences in programs of Continental Conferences, I include the European Agenda as typical of all the Continental Conferences.) See Rome Program infra pages 624-627.
- 6. Each Working Session shall be conducted by the presiding officer designated in the Program.
- 7. Observers or other persons attending the Conference upon invitation are welcome to attend Conference Sessions; however, only official delegates and consultants may participate in the proceedings.
- 8. Debates or comments concerning themes of partisan politics, or matters outside the agenda, and comments of delegates directed toward particular governments, will be out of order.
- 9. Whenever during meetings the propriety of procedure or conduct is questioned, the decision of the presiding officer shall be final.
- 10. The time limit for each speech in Working Sessions of the Conference shall be five minutes, except speeches introducing or summarizing a topic, which may last ten minutes.
- 11. In case debate shall arise on any subject, no delegate shall speak more than once on the same question.

- 12. Persons wishing to speak will request the floor of the presiding officer and will speak only after being recognized by him.
- 13. All Resolutions or Proposals for Conference action should be submitted in writing to the Conference Executive Committee and, if introduced orally during Conference Working Sessions, will be so referred by the presiding officer without discussion.
- 14. The Final Working Session will be devoted to discussion and adoption of a summary of views of delegates which will constitute the Consensus of the Conference.

ASIAN AND AUSTRALASIAN CONFERENCE September 17 - 20, 1961 Tokyo, Japan

OFFICERS OF JAPAN FEDERATION OF BAR ASSOCIATIONS

Tasuku Yamazaki - President; Goroku Kashiwabara - Vice-President; Sho Yamada - Vice-President; Nobuo Suzuki - Vice-President; Kotaro Irokawa - Vice-President; Yoshinori Kato - Vice-President; Kanae Nakagawa - Vice-President; Kazuo Tsuru - Vice-President; Kametsuru Kato - Vice-President; Makoto Iwasawa - Vice-President; Yoshinori Sannomiya - Vice-President; and, Tashio Kanesue - Secretary General

OFFICERS OF JAPAN BAR ASSOCIATION

The Hon. Justice Hachiro Fujita - President; Kuniichi Kiyohara - Vice-President; and, Hideo Mikami - Vice-President

CONFERENCE PLANNING COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE OF HONOR
Chuzo Iwata - General Chairman
GENERAL SECTION AFFAIRS
Nobuo Naritomi - General Manager; Seiichi Kishi General Affairs; Minoru Tsuda - Planning; and,
Shigeyori Tsukamoto - Recording

ADMINISTRATIVE SECTION

Fumio Takashima - General Manager; Masao Niiya - Conference; Heihachiro Ejiri - Conference Room; and, Kiichiro Ohtsuka - Registration

RECEPTION SECTION

Masao Matsumoto - General Manager; Tadayoshi Yamomoto - Reception; Yoshio Makino - Travelling; Yoshikatsu Sakamoto - Guiding; and, Takeo Kajitani - Hotel

PUBLIC RELATIONS SECTION

Yasutatsu Yamamoto; Arekisan Nagai; Itsuro Hayashi; Masao Makiuchi; and, Richard W. Rabinowity ACCOUNTING SECTION

Ryozo Katsuo; Ekizo Fujibayashi; and, Sadao Hattori

CONFERENCE OFFICERS

Chuzo Iwata - Honorary Chairman; Charles S. Rhyne - Chairman, Executive Committee; C.B. Agarwala - Executive Committee; Hachiro Fujita - Executive Committee; Committee; Arturo A. Alafriz - Executive Committee; Nazir Ahmad Khan - Executive Committee; Yasuku Yamazaki - Executive Committee; Nobuo Naritomi - Secretary-General; Fumio Takashima - Secretary-General; E. Blythe Stason - Consultant; Thorburn Reid - Committee Counsel; and, James F. Sams - Committee Counsel

LIST OF DELEGATES



Ahmad Matine-Daftary Tehran, Iran



Mahmood Sarshar Tehran, Iran



Hachiro Fujita Tokyo, Japan



Tasuku Yamazaki Tokyo, Japan



Bong Duck Chun Seoul, Korea



Chin-O Yu Seoul, Korea



Loth Sadakhon Vientiane, Laos



Van Tanovan Vientiane, Laos



Goeffrey Abishega-Naden, Singapore, Malaya



Radhakrishna Ramani Kuala Lumpur, Malaya



Krishna Prasad Bhandari Kathmandu, Nepal



Deznath Vermar Kethmandu, Nepal



Albert Paton Hurley Wellington, New Zealand



David Perry Wellington, New Zealand



A.K. Brohi Karachi, West Pakistan



Chaudri Nazir Kahn Lahore, Pakistan



Arturo A. Alafriz Manila, Philippines



V.G. Sinco Manila, Philippines



Chai Charoen Santisiri Bangkok, Thailand



Sompong Sucharitkul Bangkok, Thailand



Vu Quoc Thuc Saigon, Vietnam

OFFICIAL OBSERVERS



Vuong Van Bac Saigon, Vietnam



Charles S. Rhyne Washington, D.C.



John C. Satterfield Yazoo City, Mississippi

PHOTOGRAPHS NOT AVAILABLE FOR:

The Honorable Hafiz Abdul Ghaffer - Kabul, Afghanistan; M.M. Shafik - Kabul, Afghanistan; Exc. Poc Thieun - Phnom Penh, Cambodia; Kim-Le - Phnom Penh, Cambodia

AFRICAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST CONFERENCE December 3 - 6, 1961 Lagos, Nigeria

CONFERENCE OFFICERS

Adetokunbo Ademola - Conference Chairman; Charles S. Rhyne - Chairman, Executive Committee; Adetokunbo Ademola - Executive Committee; Fouad B. Atalla - Executive Committee; Magid Benjelloun - Executive Committee; R.S. Blay - Executive Committee; Mark Bomani - Executive Committee; T.O. Elias - Executive Committee; Mahmoud Kamel - Executive Committee; Abdoulaye Wade - Executive Committee; Philippe Joseph - Executive Committee; Francois Amorin - Secretary-General; Aliyi Ekineh - Administrative Secretary; Arthur Larson - Consultant; Erwin N. Griswold - Consultant; Thorburn Reid - Committee Counsel; and, James F. Sams - Committee Counsel

COMMITTEE OF HONOR

The Hon. Sir Adetokunbo Ademola - Chairman; Justice C.D. Onyeama; Justice S.O. Lambo; Justice Udo-Udoma; Clement Nageon de Lestang; T.O. Elias, Q.C., M.P.; Chief H.O. Davies, Q.C.; Gerald Impey; Chief Ayo Williams; Chief Rotimi Williams; Chief C.O. Ogunbanjo; G.C. Nonyelu; Okoi Arikpo; and, Edwin Burke

SPECIAL DELEGATES - NIGERIA

Chief S.O. Ighodaro, Q.C. - Attorney General, Western Nigeria; The Hon. S.S. Marshall, Q.C. - Attorney General, Northern Nigeria; The Hon. M.O. Ajegbo, Q.C. - Attorney General, Eastern Nigeria; The Hon. Alhaji Abdul G.F. Razaq, Kaduna, Nigeria; and, The Hon. Chuba Ikpeazu - Minister of Justice, Northern Nigeria

LIST OF DELEGATES



Benjamin D'Almeida Cotonou, Dahomey



Christian Vieyra Porto-Novo, Dahomey



Ato Muhammad Abdarahman Mumè Addis Ababa, Ethiopia



Ato Gila Michael Bahta, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia



R.S. Blay Sekondi, Ghana



E. Akufo-Addo Accra, Ghana



Maurice Carlton Abidjan, Ivory Coast



Mme. Maurice Carlton Abidjan, Ivory Coast Amman, Jordan



Fouad B. Atalla



Jawdat Muheisin Amman, Jordan



Fouad H. Daoud Beirut, Lebanon



Maurice Gemayel Beirut, Lebanon



Wheaton S. Thomson Monrovia, Liberia



Jacob H. Willis Monrovia, Liberia



Abdul-Hamid Bakoush Tripoli, Libya



M. Azzouz Tripoli, Libya



Me. Rajaonson Tananarive, Malagasy Republic



Philippe Joseph Bamako, Mali



Magid Benjelloun Rabat, Morocco



G. C. M. Onyuike Lagos, Nigeria



H.O. Davies Lagos, Nigeria



Barthèlèmy Dipumba Leopoldville, Republic of the Congo



Crispin Tchibangu Leopoldville, Republic Jedda, Saudi Arabia of the Congo



Samir Shamma



Zaki Yamani Jedda, Saudi Arabia



Abdou-Rahmane Diop Dakar, Senegal



Abdoulaye Wade Dakar, Senegal



V.B. Grant Freetown, Sierra Leone



S.C. Berthan Macaulay Sierra Leone



Gaetano Chapron Mogadiscio, Somalia



Mohamed Scech Gabioy Mogadischu Somalia



Mohamed Ahmed Abu Rannat, Khartoum, Sudan



Sayed Mahdi Sherif Khartoum, Sudan



Mark D. Bomani Mwanza, Tanganyika



Juma Mawalla Moshi, Tanganyika



Francois Amorin Lomè, Togo



J.H. Pretorius Bloemfontein, Orange Free State, Union of South Africa



Mahmoud Kamel Cairo, United Arab Republic



Osman Ramzy Alexandria, United Arab Republic

OFFICIAL OBSERVERS



Sir Adetokunbo Ademola, Chief Justice General of the Chairman of the Conference



T.O. Elias, Attorney of the Federation and Federation and Minister of Justice



Fernando Fournier San Josè, Costa Rica



Erwin N. Griswold Cambridge, Massachusetts



George Johnson Ibadan, Nigeria



Arthur Larson Durham, North Carolina



I.A. Maisels Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia



Nobuo Naritomi Tokyo, Japan



Charles S. Rhyne Washington, D.C.



Seymour J. Rubin Washington, D.C.



John C. Satterfield Yazoo City, Mississippi



Stephen M. Schwebel New York, New York



William S. Thompson Washington, D.C.



Domenico Uras Rome, Italy

PICTURES NOT AVAILABLE FOR:

Endley - Victoria, Cameroun; Marcel Nguini -Yaoundé, Cameroun; Georges Maurice Souquet - Banqui, Central African Republic; Ibrahim Seid - Fort-Lamy, Chad; le Juge Joseph Pouabou - Brazzaville, Congo Republic; The Hon. Paul Louis Fabert - Conakry, Guinea; Touré Fodé Mamadou - Conakry, Guinea; Abdul Razzak Shabib - Baghdad, Iraq; N. Rassam - Baghdad, Iraq; Lebell - Tananarive, Malagasy Republic; Charles Leroux - Bamako, Mali; le Président Moktar Ould Nouakchott, Mauritania; Ahmed Bahnini -Daddah -Rabat, Morocco; The Hon. Issoufou Djermakoyes Niamey, Niger; Nizar Kayali - Aleppo, Syria; Abdul Kader Midani - Damascus, Syria; Noé Kutuklui - Lomé, Togo; Mohamed Malki - Tunis, Tunisia; le Président de 1'Ordre des Avocats de Tunis - Tunis, Tunisia; Sydney Kentridge - Johannesburg, Union of South Africa; le Président Maurice Yameogu - Ouagadougou, Upper Volta; The Hon. Denis Yameogu - Ouagadougou, Upper Volta; and, The Hon. Assayed Yahya Ibu Abbas Al-Mutawakel -San'a, Yemen

EUROPEAN CONFERENCE April 1 - 4, 1962 Rome, Italy

CONFERENCE OFFICERS

Vittorio Malcangi - Conference Chairman; Charles S. Rhyne - Chairman, Executive Committee; Arthur Bostrom - Executive Committee; Victor Chkhikvadze - Executive Committee; Nihat Erim - Executive Committee; Outroio Malcangi - Executive Committee; Lord Shawcross - Executive Committee; Nikola Sekulic - Executive Committee; Krzysztof Skubiszewski - Executive Committee; Domenico Uras - Secretary-General; Sir Thomas Lund - Conference Coordinator; Milan Bulajic - Conference Consultant; Ernesto Eula - Conference Consultant; Erwin Griswold - Conference Consultant; Arthur Larson - Conference

Consultant; Norman Marsh - Conference Consultant; Mario Matteucci - Conference Consultant; Louis Sohn - Conference Consultant; E. Blythe Stason - Conference Consultant; Thorburn Reid - Committee Counsel; and, James F. Sams - Committee Counsel

OFFICERS OF CONSIGLIO NAZIONALE FORENSE

Vittorio Malcangi - President: Ettore Potti Vice-President; Enrico Guicciardi - Vice-President; Domenico Uras - Consigliere Segretario; Gino Marzani - Consiglieri; Carlo Caleffi - Consiglieri; Vermondo Bruqnatelli - Consiglieri; Guido Gius - Consiglieri; Pietro Pacetti - Consiglieri; Antonio Ciamarra -Consiglieri; Angelo Colagrande - Consiglieri; Orazio Condorelli - Consiglieri; Gioacchino Scaduto Consiglieri; G. Battista De Gregori - Consiglieri; Federico Turano - Consiglieri; Carlo Vischia Consiglieri; Aldo Enzo Pignatari - Consiglieri; Mario Marchetti Consiglieri; Mario Moschella Consiglieri; Giuseppe Parella - Consiglieri; Ugo Castelnuovo Tedesco - Consiglieri; Giuseppe Alessi -Consiglieri; and, Antonio Rasorio De Francesco Consiglieri

LIST OF DELEGATES



Stephan Verosta Vienna, Austria



Andrè Delvaux Brussels, Belgium



Jean Thevenet Brussels, Belgium



Mehmed Nediati Munir, Nicosia, Cyprus



Michalakis Triantafyllides Nicosia, Cyprus



N.V. Boeg Copenhagen, Denmark



Bernt Hjejle Copenhagen, Denmark



Y.J. Hakulinen Helsinki, Finland



Jean Gallot Paris, France



Gotz M. Pollzien Munich, Germany



Kurt Wergin Berlin, Germany



Constantin Eusthathiades Athens, Greece



Agùst Fjeldsted Reykjavik, Iceland



Egill Sigurgeirsson Reykjavik, Iceland



John Carrigan Thurles, Ireland



George G. Overend Dublin, Ireland



Daniel Jacobson Tel-Aviv, Israel



J. Rotenstreich Tel-Aviv, Israel



Domenico Uras Rome, Italy



Vittorio Malcangi Rome, Italy



Mario Moschella Rome, Italy



Carlo Vischia Perugia, Italy



Kappeyne van de Coppello, Amsterdam, The Netherlands



L. Salomonson Dordrecht, The Netherlands



Edward Hambro Oslo, Norway



Rolf Langlo Bergen, Norway



Adelino da Palma Carlos, Lisbon, Portugal



Luiz Veiga Porto, Portugal



Antonio Garrigues Madrid, Spain



Fausto Vicente Gella Madrid, Spain



Arthur Bostrom Stockholm, Sweden



Henrik Munktell Uppsala, Sweden



Jean-Flavin Lalive, Geneva, Switzerland



Jean Payot, La Chaux-de-Fonds Switzerland



Muvaffak Benderli Istanbul, Turkey



Nihat Erim Ankara, Turkey



A.J. Driver London, England



Lord Shawcross London, England



Victor Chkhikhvadze Moscow, USSR



Fernando Della Rocca, The Vatican



Vittorio Trocchi The Vatican



Boris Puc Ljubljana, Yugoslavia



Nikola Sekulic Zagreb, Yugoslavia



OBSERVERS



Adetokunbo Ademola Lagos, Nigeria



Dyke Brown New York, New York



Milan Bulajic Belgrade, Yugoslavia



Abram Chayes Washington, D.C.



Arthur Larson Durham, North Carolina



Norman S. Marsh London, England



Fernando Fournier San Jose, Costa Rica



Thomas G. Lund London, England



Nobuo Naritomi Tokyo, Japan



Erwin Griswold Cambridge, Massachusetts



Pierre Majerus Luxembourg, Luxembourg



William Pincus New York, New York



Thorburn Reid Washington, D.C.



Charles S. Rhyne Washington, D.C.



James F. Sams Washington, D.C.



John C. Satterfield Yazoo City, Mississippi



Louis Sohn Cambridge, Massachusetts



E. Blythe Stason Chicago, Illinois



Robert G. Storey Dallas, Texas



Lyman M. Tondel New York, New York



Richard Totterman Helsinki, Finland

PROGRAM

SUNDAY, APRIL 1

2:00 - 6:00 p.m.

7:00 p.m.

Registration - Yellow Room,

Excelsior Hotel

Reception by II Consiglio

Nazionale Forense, Palazzo

Barberini

MONDAY, APRIL 2

8:00 - 9:00 a.m.

8:30 a.m.

10:30 - 12:00 a.m.

Registration Continued - Yellow

Room, Excelsior Hotel

Audience - His Holiness Pope

John XXIII - Vatican

Opening Plenary Session -

Campidoq1io

Presiding: Avv. Vittorio

Malcangi, President, Consiglio

Nazionale Forense of Italy

Greetings: Commissario

Straordinario al Comune Prefetto

Francisco Diana, on behalf of

the City of Rome

Address: Avv. Malcangi

Address: The Hon. Giuseppe

Verzi, President, Supreme Court

of Cassation of Italy

Address: The Hon. Giacinto

Bosco, Minister of Justice of

Italy

Inaugural Address: The Hon.

Amintore Fanfani, Prime Minister

of Italy

Address: Lic. Fernando Fournier

of Costa Rica, Chairman,

Conference on World Peace Through Law for the Americas

Address: Dr. Nobuo Naritomi of

Japan, Chairman, Conference on World Peace Through Law for Asia

and Australasia

Address: Sir Adetokunbo Ademola of Nigeria, Chairman, Conference on World Peace Through Law for

Africa and the Middle East

Address: The Hon. John C. Satterfield, President, American Bar Association 12:00 noon Luncheon for Delegates -Excelsior Hotel 2:00 - 4:00 p.m. Working Session - Yellow Room, Excelsior Hotel Presiding: Dr. Victor Chkhikhvadze, Vice-President Law Institute, Academy of Sciences, USSR Introduction to the Working Paper, Mr. Charles S. Rhyne, Past President of the American Bar Association Introduction to Topic I, Dr. Edvard Hambro, of Norway Consideration of Topic I, International Judicial Machinery for Peaceful Settlement of International Legal Disputes Address: "The European Court of Justice," The Honorable A.M. Donner, Chief Justice of the European Court of Justice Summary of Topic I, The Hon. Michalakis Triantafyllides of Cyprus 4:00 - 6:00 p.m. Presiding: Dr. Liuben Vasilev, Professor of Law, University of Sofia Law School, Bulgaria Introduction to Topic II, Dr. Paavo Kastari of Finland

7:00 p.m.

Pollzien of Germany
Reception by the Minister of
Justice, The Hon. Giacinto
Bosco, Grand Hotel

Summary of Topic II, Dr. Gotz

Consideration of Topic II, Arbitration and Other Means of Settlement of International

Disputes

TUESDAY, APRIL 3

12:00 noon

2:30 - 5:00 p.m.

9:00 - 12:00 a.m.

Working Session - Yellow Room, Excelsior Hotel

Presiding: Dr. Adelino da Palma Carlos, Past President of the Bar Association of Portugal Introduction to Topic III, Dr.

Nihat Erim of Turkey

Consideration of Topic III, the United Nations and Regional Organizations as Factors Encouraging International Rule

of Law

Summary of Topic III, The Hon. Nikola Sekulic of Yugoslavia

Luncheon for Delegates -

Excelsior Hotel

Working Session - Yellow Room, Excelsior Hotel

Presiding: M. Jean Gallot of France

Introduction to Topic IV, Mr. Antonio Garrigues of Spain Consideration of Topic IV, Facilitation of International

Commerce and Economic

Development

Summary of Topic IV, Dr.

Krzysztof Skubiszewski of Poland

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 4 9:00 - 12:00 a.m.

Working Session - Yellow Room, Excelsior Hotel

Presiding: Dr. Bernt Hjejle,
Past President of the Danish Bar
Association

Introduction to Topic V, Mr.
Daniel Jacobson of Israel
Consideration of Topic V, the
Role of Lawyers in Development
of the International Rule of Law
Summary of Topic V, Dr. Kappeyne
van de Coppello of the
Netherlands

12:00 noon Luncheon for Delegates -

Excelsior Hotel

2:00 - 5:00 p.m. Working Session - Yellow Room,

Excelsior Hotel

Presiding: Avv. Vittorio

Malcanqi

Consideration of Final Conference Consensus

Closing Addresses: The Hon. Lord Shawcross of the United Kingdom

and the Honorable Victor Chkhikhvadze of the USSR Reception - Excelsior Hotel

7:00 p.m. Reception - Excelsior Hotel
9:00 p.m. Gala Performance at Rome Opera by the Consiglio Nazionale

Forense and Consiglio dell'Ordine degli Avvocati

THE CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE PROGRAMS

The programs and rules for each of the meetings were prepared as a consequence of extensive correspondence and meetings with selected delegates and other advisors. They followed a simple format which was adhered to at all four meetings.

In each instance, the Conference lasted four days, with the first day devoted to registration and an informal reception to allow the delegates to become acquainted. This was followed by three days of Working Sessions.

The Conference deliberations at each Conference were initiated by an Inaugural Session to which a large number of guests were invited and which included speeches by representative delegates and high officials of the Host Nation. In every case, the Head of the Government of the Host Country addressed the Conference, as did the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Minister of Justice. Thus in Costa Rica, President Mario Echandi spoke; while in Tokyo, Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda; in Lagos, Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa; and, in Italy,

Premier Fanfani addressed the delegates. In Italy, the delegates were accorded the high privilege of a private Audience with His Holiness Pope John XXIII, who delivered an inspiring address on the international rule of law and its religious foundations.

At the Inaugural Session in Rome, the Chairmen of the previous three Conferences addressed the delegates in order that the European lawyers would have a complete picture of the nature of the program, its accomplishments and the enthusiasm and support that had been generated throughout the World.

The delegates to the Continental Conferences were privileged to attend the Inaugural Ceremonies in distinguished surroundings. In Costa Rica, the National Theatre, recent scene of the Council of Ministers Meeting of the Organization of American States, was the site of the Opening Session. In Tokyo, the brand new Tokyo Chamber of Commerce Building, with its modern conference facilities, proved ideal for an international meeting. In Lagos, the handsome and spacious new Parliament Building was the site for the Inaugural Session, while in Rome, the historic Campidoglio, overlooking the Forum, the birthplace of law, saw the Opening Ceremonies.

Following each Opening Session, five Working Meetings were held to discuss each of the topics in the Working Paper.

In order to assure fullest participation by all delegates at the meetings, three distinguished lawyers were selected for each Working Session, one to preside, one to present an introductory paper and one to summarize the discussion. All who desired to present views had full opportunity and were encouraged to do so. Thus the discussions were spirited, highly informative and constructive.

In order to assure that the meetings followed an orderly pattern, the rules provided that political remarks directed at specific governments were out of order. In this way, the discussions were kept on a high level and ad hominem debates were avoided.

The final and sixth Working Session of the Conferences was, in each instance, devoted to a

discussion of a written consensus of views to be adopted by the delegates. This was a broad statement of general propositions reflecting the views of the delegates concerning the over-all subject of how to further World Peace Through Law. In light of the discussions at the meetings, an Executive Committee, reflecting a cross-section of the membership of each Conference, prepared several draft Consensuses until one suitable for presentation at the Final Session was agreed upon. Discussion at this session further refined the Consensus prior to final acceptance by all delegates. Unanimous agreement was achieved at all Conferences.

In addition to the regular Working Sessions, informal receptions and dinners enabled the delegates to obtain that close personal acquaintanceship which is such a necessary part of any successful Conference. These functions also enabled the delegates to meet distinguished lawyers from the Host Country interested in the project, as well as members of the diplomatic corps and observers from other Nations.

Impact Of The Continental Conferences on World Leaders, The Many Heads Of State Messages Of Support Spur Law Leaders' Effort

Indicative of the interest in World Peace Through Law, on the part of the governments and peoples of the World, were the large number of messages from Heads of Government which were presented at each Conference.

The Head of State of nearly all delegates to the Continental Conferences sent written greetings and wishes for success to the Conferences, others sent congratulatory messages on the success of some Conferences and others sent messages of approval of the Consensus statements. While it is difficult to single out any particular message as being typical, a sampling may help indicate the sincerity of thought and the seriousness with which governments view the potential of this program. President John F. Kennedy of the United States, in his message to the initial meeting at San Jose, said:

"Where people have the hope of enjoying a free and peaceful World with justice for all, they will undoubtedly find encouragement in the series of Continental Conferences starting with the San Jose Conference, in order to help create a World Community in which international disputes will be handled, not on the basis of brutal force, but by the Rule of Law... The Bar Associations meeting there now, and later working with their colleagues from other Continents towards that great objective, constitute a model and an incentive for collective action regarding the tremendous problems of the present era."

The Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sirim Bandaranaika, sent to Tokyo the following words of encouragement:

"The great principles of the rule of law which regulate the domestic affairs of civilized and democratic Countries must be extended to the relationship of sovereign states in World affairs if permanent stability and peace, which it is our heartfelt desire to obtain, is to be achieved. The work of your Conference, in this direction, deserves every encouragement and I hope that as a result of your deliberations, a real and positive contribution will be made to World Peace."

In Lagos, the delegates heard from Prime Minister Shermark of Somalia that:

"Men have universally accepted the necessity of limitations on individual freedom to establish, through the State, the Rule of Law and thus achieve peace and stability within the Nation. The sovereign Nations must not be afraid to renounce part of their power to follow an international law which obliges all, big and small, to resolve their difficulties through arbitration or before international Courts."

Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus, sent a message to Rome stating that:

"Today, when international tension is mounting and a satisfactory means of solving international differences is still being sought,

this Conference affords a timely opportunity to focus attention on the rule of law as an important factor in the settlement of international disputes and to emphasize the vital role which it would play in the promotion of World Peace. This gathering of distinguished Jurists is an encouraging step towards the attainment of the high objective that the principles of the rule of law which regulate the domestic affairs of democratic Countries may be extended to international relationships. The Conference thus constitutes a positive contribution to the preservation of World Peace."

Perhaps the high point of the Rome Conference was the delegates' private Audience with Pope John XXIII. In congratulating the delegates upon their desire to develop plans to employ law as a medium for neighborly relations between states and to approach public opinion to this end, the Pontiff said:

"Relations between Nations, like those between individuals, as Pope Pius XII repeated tirelessly, should not be subject to force but should be regulated through judicial norms that conform to reason and are founded upon universal and unchangeable ethical principles without which peace cannot reign in the World. This is why it is necessary to insist, as you do during your meetings, that international law and the mediation of the Courts of Justice be observed underlying pax orbis ex jure."

Further reflecting the interest of government and diplomatic officials, was the attendance at the meetings of Ambassadors and other members of the diplomatic corps. Similarly, luncheons were held before the Conferences in Washington for the Ambassadors of participating Nations. They proved very successful and demonstrated the warm response and interest of diplomatic officials in this program.

Great Media Approval Of World Peace Through Law Program

The tremendous enthusiasm of the press has reflected the grassroots nature of the interest in the programs of World Peace Through Law. Extensive coverage was given in newspapers, magazines, periodicals and journals throughout the World to the work of the four Continental Conferences on World Peace Through the Rule of Law. Radio and television also gave extensive coverage. At the conclusion of Conferences, summaries of representative editorials and news clippings were prepared and published. Front page articles appeared in the major newspapers of every Continent and in virtually every World language. This press reaction demonstrated the widespread nature of the interest in the program and the large impact which it has had upon readers in all portions of the globe.

In addition, large numbers of articles in legal journals have manifested the continuing interest of the delegates in the program. Upon their return, the delegates presented summaries of the Conference and often quoted, in full, the Consensus for readers of their National Bar Journals. Thus coverage of the uniformly favorable reactions of delegates to the work of the Conferences and future plans has been most extensive.

Continental Delegate Support

Delegates have shown their enthusiasm through reports they have sent indicating that Committees on World Peace Through Law have been formed in their Countries and that they have been urged to address more and more organizations on the subject of the Conference which they attended. Numerous inquiries of colleagues of delegates, requesting further information on the program in order that they too might play a role in support of it, have also demonstrated the impact of the delegates' enthusiasm for the program.

Typical of letters received by me following the

San Jose Conference was one from Adolfo Molino Orantes, of Guatemala, who said:

"The interchange of ideas (at the Conference) was more than stimulating; it made apparent the confidence and faith of all lawyers that law must prevail over violence and that we are all dedicated to participation in this noble crusade initiated by the American Bar Association at this propitious time. It is to be hoped that all that has been gained at this Conference is but a beginning and that it will be carried on in the other Continental Conferences and in the World Conference."

After the Tokyo Conference, among the many letters I received was one from Hla Aung, Director of the Law Institute of Burma, who stated that:

"I owe you and your Committee a great debt of gratitude for having afforded me the opportunity of attending the epoch-making Asian Conference on World Peace Through Law. The Conference was very well organized and conducted. I was also impressed by the keen interest shown by all the delegates in this program."

M. Philippe Joseph, of Mali, wrote following the Conference in Lagos that the Conference had:

"...Opened for all who participated there extremely vast horizons, not only for the juridical plane, but on the human plane as well, and for my part, I feel the highest admiration for those who have organized the Conference and brought it to such a splendid finish."

At the conclusion of the European Conference, a letter was received by me from Jean Lalive, former Head of the International Commission of Jurists, which stated:

"Many of our brethren, knowing very little about international law and relations - like most lawyers throughout the World - had come to Rome with some misgivings and doubts as to the usefulness of the Conference and the seriousness of your objectives. This feeling changed very rapidly, and on Wednesday evening and Thursday morning, I noticed what was practically unanimous approval and satisfaction among the

participants. What I heard was most gratifying from conversations with participants from Spain, Portugal, Greece, France, Italy, Scandinavian Countries, Austria, to mention a few. Without exception, they were impressed by the work done and very happy about the Consensus. I feel therefore that you and your colleagues deserve this word of appreciation and congratulations."

The Importance Of The Continental Consensuses: The Structure Of The Consensuses

Why has there been such unprecedented enthusiasm, both within without and the profession, for this program? After a careful examination the four Consensuses of of Continental Conferences, an answer to this question was, in my view, readily found. The Consensuses broke new ground in at least four areas, and Conferences themselves in a fifth.

First, the global agreement of lawyers support a World Conference at which a definitive plan for the World Peace Through Law Program would be drafted was a totally new approach to international relations involving legal professionals in their individual capacities in the peace process. Second, approval of the idea for the creation of a World Peace Through Law Center, to coordinate and encourage existing and prospective efforts towards improvement and expansion of international law and legal institutions, is a significant breakthrough, not just with legal professionals of so-called free democratic Nations but including those in dictator or communist Nations. We legal professionals have common basic belief in, and a duty to, support World Peace Through the Rule of Law. Third, the agreement to coordinate worldwide efforts of lawyers for World Peace Through Law through a World Rule of Law Day or Year promised to provide both an opportunity concrete worldwide cooperative endeavors by the legal profession and to create an important first move in an effort to develop a public awareness of the potential and promise of the rule of 1aw

internationally. <u>Fourth</u>, agreement by the Consensuses on basic principles necessary for the establishment of an international legal system is a step forward in a highly significant area. <u>Finally</u>, through the meetings themselves, that mutual personal confidence and trust among lawyers which was necessary, if the movement was to succeed, was established for the first time on a global basis.

To move to closer examination of the Consensuses, one finds that the first three follow a similar pattern. After a preamble, a statement of general principles of international law is followed by a brief set of Resolutions, and finally by a longer group of Recommendations.

The final Consensus, that of Rome, takes note of the agreement reached in the previous Consensuses and expresses general agreement with the principles and recommendations therein. Then, utilizing a different format from its predecessors, it sets out in four points the views of the delegates concerning international law, international machinery for the settlement of disputes, international economic development and finally, the role of lawyers in the development of the international rule of law for World Peace. The analysis of the Consensuses which follows adheres to this breakdown.

In attempting to recapitulate the substance of the Consensuses, it should be kept in mind that these are not tightly worded specific agreements determined after long and detailed provision-by-provision discussion. Rather, they are broad statements upon which general agreement was reached. They should be viewed, therefore, as the basic foundation upon which future work in detail might proceed and a general framework within which the World Conference was assumed to be likely to act.

Examining then the Consensuses, one initially encounters statements of general principles. These statements are of different categories. One type, for example, expresses a general trend of international law which is commonly accepted by Jurists in the field as being the existing law even if Nations often act in contravention of it. An

example of such a statement would be pacta sunt servanda, or as it is expressed in the various Concensuses, "All who are subject to international law should fulfill their international obligations and exercise their rights in good faith." one of the most fundamental principles international 1aw and the kevstone to the of effectiveness international treaties all agreements.

the area of "progressive development" of international law, principles not vet fully established but which are generally conceded to be essential to a fully developed international legal system are: the premise that individuals, private organizations, Nations, international organizations and juridical persons should all be subjects of international law. This would give those individuals and organizations direct access to the International Court of Justice and other international tribunals. Now, only Nations may sue or be sued before the International Court of Justice. That this dream of a goal was conceded, as many Nations do not fully accept the jurisdiction of that Court but it was believed the goal's statement served a useful purpose.

Indicative of the need of further work in the codification of general principles of international law is the fact that perhaps only a few of the principles agreed upon through the Consensuses would probably be considered principles of international law universally accepted today. Such are, for example, the principles that international law is the supreme law of the World Community, that it embodies fundamental concepts of justice and morality and the aforementioned principle, pacta sunt servanda.

The principles which could properly be thought of as typifying "progressive development" of international law are those which legal professionals in general now agree must be accepted if the international rule of law is to be fully achieved within the World Community, as a substitute for the existing ultimate rule of force.

The principles, as set forth, are not a

The Continental Conferences

of "general principles definitive statement statement of law", but a international principles upon which an effective international legal structure can in time be built. These are of necessity very general, but nonetheless are capable illuminating the basic concepts held by international legal community. The basic principles agreed on by the Consensuses in this regard are those providing that the subjects of international law, which are defined as including (as indicated above) persons, international organizations. iuridical Nations and individuals, must settle international disputes by peaceful procedures; that there must be community sanctions, including a universal police force under the UN or some similar agency, to enforce international obligations arising out of such judicial procedures; that community sanctions may not be enforced prior to third party adjudication international disputes; and that international tribunals, although having no authority in matters are within the domestic jurisdiction Nations, should have the normal power to determine, according to applicable agreements and international law, the scope of their jurisdiction.

With these principles, the legal professionals' prescription for a peaceful World ruled by law is set forth. It should be noted at this point, that the "principles" placed a high priority on "human rights", by stating that:

"Individuals must be entitled to effective legal protection of fundamental and inalienable human rights without distinction as to race, religion or belief."

Finally, support of the United Nations was expressed as follows:

"The United Nations Organization is the World's best hope for international peace under the rule of law and should be supported and strengthened by all possible means."

Moving from these general principles of law to the second area blocked out by the Consensuses of

Rome, concerning machinery for the settlement international disputes, the Consensuses emphasized increased use of the International Court of Justice through unconditional acceptance of its jurisdiction, as well as improvement of the United Nations, either through reform of its Charter or through better use of existing machinery, with a special weight improving its legal instrumentalities such as Sixth Committee of the General Assembly and the International Law Commission. Support for the United Nations and its mechanisms was based on the explicit belief that the United Nations is the World's best hope for a peaceful World. Developments prove this conclusion is correct, so long as UN actions are so reasonably required that Nations and their people will support its peace efforts.

An additional idea, which received strong support at every meeting, was the notion that regional International Courts should be established throughout the World. At present, there are in existence two such Courts, the European Court of Justice and the European Court of Human Rights, which were pointed to as models for the development of such institutions.

In general, three basic types of regional Courts were discussed. First are regional International Courts operating independently of the International Court of Justice and having a general jurisdiction comparable to that of the World Court but operating within a particular geographic region. An example is the proposed "Inter-American Court of Justice". Right of appeal from these regional Courts to the World Court received considerable support at the Conferences.

Second, regional Chambers of the World Court were recommended. Article 26 of the International Court of Justice Statute gives the Court such power, although as yet it has not been exercised or funded. Proponents of this idea maintain that the principal advantages of regional Courts can be gained by operating within the existing framework of the ICJ, thus eliminating the need to establish new Courts.

The Continental Conferences

They fear a system of international regional Courts, operating independently of the ICJ, would lead to "fractionalization" of international law.

Last, the establishment of specialized Courts This would be along the lines of was recommended. the European Court of Justice which exists not as a "regional Court of international law", but as a Court to apply and interpret the treaties establishing the Coa1 and Steel three European Communities; the Community, the Common Market and Euratom. Similar Courts could be established to administer conventions. such as the General . and treaties Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The Continental Conferences also were unanimously recorded as being in favor of expanding and improving current arbitral methods and of improving current reporting of arbitral decisions, a reform which presumably would add greatly to the effectiveness and vitality of arbitration as a means of settling international disputes. Other methods such as mediation, conciliation and "good offices" were also endorsed.

Moving on to the third area of subject matter blocked out by the Rome Consensuses, facilitation of international economic development, one finds here the Consensuses have rather broadly suggested undertaken to encourage be that efforts must development with economic international interests involved. of a11 protection provisions indicate that what is needed to achieve goal of more effective and rapid economic the development are specific legal instruments to deal the future, with particular problems. In organization such as that which is proposed by these Consensuses would undertake the difficult task of agreements or helping to writing such specific other international sponsor those drafts by noted organizations. Ιt should be the difficulties recognize explicitly Consensuses international blocking facilitation of development, such as the problems facing capital importing as well as capital exporting Countries and particularly the problems facing producers of primary products.

The Consensuses and Conference discussions also reflected a general need to examine and revise, where existing international necessary. institutions, as well as to devise new institutions capable of solving particular problems arising from modern trends toward free trade, more rapid communication, larger flow of capital goods and currency, and the more fundamental problems created by rapid economic development of the The substantive economic and independent states. political problems are, of course, not a primary concern of the legal profession, but the task developing an institutional framework and a workable set of rules and operating principles enforceable by appropriate tribunals was cited as profession's task.

The fourth and final area of consideration, in the Consensuses, was that of the role of lawyers in the development of the international rule of law and the internal relations of rules of law within Nations must be encouraged and increased. Suffice it to say, in general, that support for the rule of law, among individual and organized legal professionals, was wholeheartedly approved and urged and that the World Peace Through Law Program, described on the next pages of this summary, was given the most enthusiastic support.

ILLUSTRATIVE PHOTOGRAPHS AND BACKGROUNDS

almost hesitatingly mention another element of the continental conferences. information about the individuals who participated and their law education backgrounds and photographs the big purpose of developing a world-wide view of the similiarity personally of the legal professionals of the world. They not only looked and dressed almost the same but their backgrounds and public issue participation within their nations was True that public issue participation was clear. limited in some nations but obviously yearned for even by those who were thus limited.

PLANNING AND AIMS OF THE FIRST WORLD CONFERENCE, ATHENS, 1963

World Conference of legal professionals, held in 1963, was, by every yardstick of measurement, a great success. While many doubted me when I first proposed it, I am happy to record it was one of the greatest, most meaningful and beneficial Conferences ever convened for the betterment of humankind. professionals, certainly among the most renowned in the World, met to consider the greatest issue of the 20th Century, whether the rule of law concept, with institutions and processes, could strengthened worldwide as to end the arms race and the "Cold War", then at its zenith. That they united on this law solution's capacities and universally approved the rule of law solution is indeed historic achievement.

Never before have legal professionals from as many Nations, representing all elements of the legal profession and bringing together so distinguished a group of outstanding leaders of the profession from the whole World, been convened in a single group for the high purpose of developing ways and means to so strengthen the rule of law and its institutions that it would become a credible decision substitute for wars and deaths on battlefields. Developing this peace process decision from dream into reality is a tremendous service to humankind.

The World Conference met to consider and to determine the means whereby the conclusions of the Continental Consensuses, in support of the law as a peace process, could be effectuated expeditiously and intelligently. This was the first time such comprehensive and far-reaching program for been considered by the World's through law had greatest legal professionals at a Conference to which legal professionals of all Nations were invited in individual capacities, unburdened by their government's policies.

As so many said at the Continental Conferences, and at the Athens Conference, it seems almost

incredible that so much time had gone by before legal professionals were assembled to cooperate for such a purpose. In almost every Nation in the World, legal professionals exercise great influence over legislative, administrative, executive, and course, judicial processes of government. They are educators and civic leaders, and often are in the forefront of public service and debates on great issues of their day. Their livelihood centers about the process of adjusting and resolving disputes, both inside and outside of the Courtroom. Thus, with their experience, influence and talent, they can be expected to be a most effective force for World Peace when mobilized to carry out the Program of World Peace Through Law. As Sir Winston Churchill observed at the ABA's renowned 1957 meeting in London, acting in their private capacities as individuals, free of the inhibitions and limitations of official governmental responsibility, they could and did put their minds to work on the great problems of creating World Order under Law with a minimum of that fanfare of propaganda and ill-feeling which are too often generated by conflicting political, economic and social philosophies when leaders of governments, in their official duties, attempt to work together for World Peace.

Legal professionals have one major thing in common, a belief in the rule of law and its institutions that transcends all differences of race, creed or political and governmental organization. They recognize conflict as being part of the human condition. They realize that their task is not to remove conflict, but to limit and control it. Laws legal institutions are not always able and eliminate the cause of the conflicting interests, disputes, crimes, or law violations, but their utilization of those institutions can eliminate the destructive consequences of a failure to resolve those disputes peacefully. Knowledge that one is breaking a law based on right reason is, or should be, universally condemned. Respect for law that is due, respect as based on right reason and reasonable enforcement, is a universally admired trait of good

citizenship. These, then, are some of the more important basic reasons cited at the U.S. National Regional Meetings and the Continental Conferences for convening a World gathering of legal professionals to explore the potential of the rule of law.

The agenda for the World Conference included the subject matter dealt with in the five at the Continental Conferences, plus an discussed topic recommended at the Asian additional Australasian Conference approved at and Conferences on "basic principles of the succeeding rule of law in international affairs". However, the delegates met not only to review these topics, but to ideas and recommendations develop the the Continental Conferences or generated at suggest new ideas.

These ideas were synthesized and placed in the context of the overall program so that they could be properly effectuated by the World Peace Through Law Center, established at the World Conference. the World Working Paper for reason, the the same basic information as Conference included that used at the Continental Conferences, but was expanded in light of the Consensuses of those Conferences to serve as a quide for discussion of the research, education and action program adopted by the World Conference for the World Peace Through Law That is, proposed research projects Center. outlined in greater detail and educational programs and the structure of the World Peace Through Law Center were similarly sketched. Ideas reflecting the suggestions submitted at the Continental Conferences for a program for the World Rule of Law Year, World Rule of Law Day and suggested activities for the National Committees were placed in the Working Paper These, of course, for the World Conference. for discussion merely a starting point delegates at the Athens Conference. Most delegates, speakers and observers came armed with papers stating their personal views.

The Athens World Conference was organized generally along the lines of the Continental Conferences. However, more time was allotted for the

discussion of each topic. Delegates participated on various Committees or Panels which reported to the Plenary Sessions of the Conference. The actual number of Committees established and their composition, the length of the Working Sessions and duration of the Conference were determined by a Special World Conference Planning Committee, of which I was Chairman.

This Planning Committee was formed in accordance recommendation οf the Rome Continental that Conference representatives Ωf international legal organizations, specialized organizations and institutes within Nations, or of an international character devoted to international law, and law schools be added to the Planning Committee for the World Conference. It was hoped that this Committee would achieve the fullest cooperation and avoid conflict between existing organizations and the work of the proposed Center.

The World Conference was expected to accomplish the following:

- (1) Bring together for the first time, in all history, legal professionals including leading practitioners, Chief Justices and other Jurists, Professors, high diplomatic and government officials from more than 100 Nations.
- (2) Reinforce the good will and mutual confidence generated at the Continental Conferences and spread it over a global scale, creating an atmosphere conducive to international cooperation and a constructive approach to mutual peace problems.
- (3) Permit experts and leading legal professionals, from each of the major legal systems of the World, to exchange ideas on a program to harmonize areas of conflict. Since delegates attended the World Conference in their personal, individual capacities, although more than 50 Chief Justices and Ministers of Justice attended, with all participants acting individually, a more rapid and frank exchange of ideas was possible than is generally found at official inter-governmental meetings.
- (4) Educate, concerning problems of developing international law and legal institutions, not only

those who attended, but members of legal associations who participated in the Conference. These organizations, participated indirectly by submitting to delegates their own suggestions and comments on documents issued before and after the Conference, and they were fully informed of the progress achieved. As a result of greater education thus generated, Bar Associations and legal professionals throughout the World were expected to be more fully informed on World affairs and international legal matters.

- (5) Further expand and develop international law activities of Bar Associations of participating Nations, and indeed, lead to the creation of Bar Associations in some Nations where none existed. Through exchange of views at the World Conference, participants drew upon the experience of their brethren in other Nations in developing effective rules of law and professional legal institutions within their own Country.
- (6) Develop new concepts and new ideas relating to the various topics discussed on a global basis such as international law, international and national legal institutions, facilitation of international commerce and economic development, and World problems such as Human Rights, disarmament, peaceful uses of outer space, nuclear test bans and similar items. Items. They also considered harmonizing domestic law where that would serve the interests of Nations involved on a regional, or Nation to Nation basis.
- (7) Completion was anticipated of:
- (a) A fully developed plan for the World Rule of Law Day.
- (b) A program for the proposed World Peace Through Law Center, including various research, education and action projects.
- (c) Blueprints for organization of National Committees of World Peace Through Law in the Nations participating in the Conference, such Committees to effectuate Conference recommendations and to further the cause of World Peace Through Law in their particular Countries.

These are some of the results reasonably expected from the World Conference. The wide support

and enthusiasm for this proposed gathering is indicative of the eagerness of the legal professionals to tackle their most difficult challenge and accept this, their greatest opportunity for cooperative worldwide pro bono public service. When the purpose of the World Conference spread throughout the World, many great legal professionals asked to be honored by an invitation to the Conference and were given invitations.

An exciting idea, which was enthusiastically endorsed at all four Continental Conferences, was the suggestion first put to the Asian Continental Conference by Chief Justice Yokota of Japan, that a World Law Day be instituted along the lines of the most successful Law Day - USA. Expectations were that the initial observance of this unique, unprecedented, worldwide celebration should occur on the opening day of each Biennial World Conference on World Peace Through the Rule of Law. Those expectations have been part of the spotlight the Conferences have created in most Nations by media coverage of the Conferences and reports of participation on accomplishments achieved.

On the basis of then existing national Law Day - USA celebrations, it was possible to suggest the nature of a World Law Day Program. The elements of such a Program are public proclamations or statements by Heads of State, Heads of Government, Heads of provinces or states, Mayors of cities or other local governments on World Law Day public speeches by Judicial, lawyer and lay leaders speaking on the importance of the rule of law before audiences of all sizes and varieties throughout the World, publication of articles in legal journals, mass media publications, daily newspapers and with radio and television programs around the globe.

The objectives of this Program are to increase the awareness among laymen and lawyers throughout the World of the meaning and benefits of democratic rule of law, its historic and present significance, and its promise and potential of peace in a tension torn World. As was stated by Chief Justice Kisaburo Yokota of Japan, in proposing World Law Day at the Tokyo Continental Conference:

"These objectives would be advanced by setting aside this day for the consideration of the place of law in modern society, and for reflection on the future of law in light of its past development as guardian of those liberties considered essential if each human is to realize his or her maximum potential for constructive achievement."

He stressed also that:

"Through meetings devoted to discussions of the rule of law before both lay and legal organizations, an increased awareness and respect for the law as a regulator of conflict can be inculcated. Through these meetings, support for the rule of law among the people of the World would be developed such that positive political support of actions necessary for new law and legal institutions would be forthcoming. An overwhelming public opinion climate would be created throughout the World for acceptance of law to replace war as the controlling concept of foreign policy."

In evaluating the work of the World Peace Through Law effort which I chronicle herein, I would hope any reader of this Volume will judge that work by its impact results on the World Community of the past, present and the "World of Tomorrow" and its almost four decades of contributions to the World Community's turn to the law in the 20th Century.

CHAPTER 31

INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS ON THE SIXTEEN WORLD CONFERENCES AND THEIR OBJECTIVES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The Continental Conferences were so tremendously unique and enormously successful, I looked forward, with great anticipation, to the First World Conference on World Peace Through Law in Athens, Greece.

There were many problems, as many legal greats of Nations expressed their desires to attend this, the first meeting to which legal professionals from all Nations had ever been invited.

The Planning Committee of the Center recommended that two leading law professionals from each Nation be officially invited. They were chosen largely by each Nation's legal professionals. In addition, it was announced that other legal professionals were most welcome if they could obtain essential housing, as hotel space in Athens was limited.

The choosing of the speakers at the Inaugural Session was the ultimate responsibility of the Athens Planning Committee. This Committee recommended that in addition to His Majesty, King Paul's, Inaugural Address, the Keynote Speakers would be the Honorable Earl Warren, the Chief Justice of the United States; and, Sylvester Smith, President of the American Bar Association. Since I had initiated the World Peace Through Law Plan and Program and was thus in charge the Conference, having successfully carried out of the five Preparatory Regional Conferences in the United States, the Four Continental Conferences and chaired the Athens Planning Committee, I had earned a place as an Inaugural Session speaker according to the Committee. I suggested I call the Conference to order and express a few words of appreciation and welcome, as I wanted others to express their views to help marshal support for the program we developing. I felt that those present had heard or read my views before, so views of others would be better than a restatement of my personal positions.

Representing the Host Nation's legal

professionals was the Honorable Demitrios Zepos, Conference Co-Chairman, upon whom so much of the burden of arrangements for the Conference had fallen. He spoke of the great legacy of Greek lawyers to whom so many of the speakers at the Conference also referred. He certainly played a major role in the Inaugural Session.

The Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Church gave the Invocation and orchestrated the ancient ceremony honoring the presence of King Paul and Her Majesty Queen Frederika, who were present with the Greek Royal Family, Prince Constantine and the Princesses Irene and Sophia.

significance of the The historic Conference was recognized in the many Head of State messages from throughout the World, which praised the purposes of the Conference and wished it success in its mission of adopting a Plan and Program which, in due time, would cause the peoples of the World to turn to the principles and institutions of law and away from the age old reliance upon war and weapons as the World's chosen peace concept. hope was expressed repeatedly by the Conference speakers and reverberated through the media and law publications worldwide who commented on This was supplemented by the goal of the Conference. Conference, that the World Community would eventually develop principles and institutions for the systems which peoples in every Nation would adopt as a law system to govern their lives, as appropriate to their needs, so that they could live under a rule of law system providing human rights of individual freedom, equality, justice and peace. That building upon such law systems, a World Law System could, and would, be developed to replace war as the ultimate method of resolving international disputes Nations.

That hope and prayer has echoed from the voices of the many speakers at the Athens Conference and the speakers at the Sixteen succeeding Biennial Conferences, not only at each opening Inaugural Ceremony of World Conferences, but in the many Panels and Committees which have hammered out the World

Peace Through Law Plan and Program. This Plan and Program has now largely been accepted by the World Community. At the time of writing, this is due to the very active and realistic support program adopted by the Athens Conference and by the support generated by those that have followed and implemented its recommendations.

At the Athens Conference, few foresaw the exact dramatic events which have materialized, such as the dismemberment of the Soviet Union, the Fall of the Berlin Wall, and Nation after Nation opting by their peoples for a democratic government under the rule of law. Few foresaw the mammoth human rights program which has moved the peoples of the World more and more away from racial, religious and other forms of discrimination and thereby moved our World closer to its peoples' ultimate qoal of a peaceful new World Order with a World Market and a sharing of the Earth's wealth in many ways. The ultimate goal of human equality is no longer just a dream, but the program of the freedom loving peoples of our World Community of today. Sure, only small gains have occurred so far to wipe out age-old human differences and human rights evils so as to move ever closer to our goal of human equality, but slowly and surely great progress has been made. I earnestly believe that ethnic and religious eruptions will be but temporary set-backs. The peoples of the World are determined to achieve the benefits of World Peace Through Law.

The big message that has gone forth to the peoples of the World is that the goal - not of utopia - but of more and more democratic governments wherein human rights of equality and justice are recognized, and protected, in more and more Nations with upgraded law and justice systems to enforce that recognition and protection.

The whole World has been changed by the hopes and prayers embodied in the London initiative of the American Bar Association, which was approved not only by Sir Winston Churchill in his words summarized under the photograph included herein, but also by the Head of State messages urging or approving the ABA

sponsored plan and program which has been whole-heartedly embraced as the plan and program, not only of the legal professionals of the World, but also of the peoples of the World.

Since photographs speak louder than words, I have chosen some from the Sixteen World Conferences held to date. I portray the conferences in a few photographs, then I use a few words about the spoken by lawyers, iudicial words thousands of professors, Ambassadors, 1aw officials. professionals and others to paint a picture of the Sixteen World Conferences. I then cite the printed proceedings containing individual speeches, reports, papers and resolutions in which are printed the hopes, these agreements, achievements, of orThese have been sent, by me Conferences. President of the Center, throughout the World. are overwhelming proof of what the legal profession can, and did, do through its many years of "staying secure adoption of the Plan and course," to Program which was and is its "centerpiece" successful action for a peaceful World order under the rule of law and its institutions.

The photographs, and a few descriptive words of each World Conference, are backed up by printed volumes and pamphlets. These are available in 356 law libraries who have subscribed to this program's publications, and from members of the Center. They have been distributed to law leaders worldwide by the World Peace Through Law Center and its affiliated associations to all who want to follow up and help the great legal professionals throughout the World Community with speeches, meetings and ever more closely knit worldwide friendships resulting from our work together.

We of the law are famous for disagreements. We speak every language and belong to almost every religion or creed. Standing above our disagreements, we share one great common denominator, which is our foundation for the Plan and Program here highlighted, our agreement on our belief in and support for the rule of law.

I believe that in the more than 40 years of my

life during which I have travelled the Earth urging law for war, I have looked into the eyes of lawyers of every Nation, in personal or organized meetings. I have never found in those eyes any doubt of their belief in the rule of law and what it has done, is doing and can do to help realize humankind's most ancient dream - a World Community at peace - a World where all differences caused by living problems, such as diversities of background, race, religious beliefs others, that are largely inherent in the very nature of humans, can be settled or decided under reasonable rules of law in capable legal tribunals rather than by battles to the death of human beings. The European Continental Rome Conference meeting in the symbolic Campidoglio, overlooking the place of ancient gladiator fights and the Forum which gave birth to law, was just one of the many of our symbolic pauses on the road we of the law have travelled throughout the World to ensure the achievements of the program of which I write.

In fact, however, it is the superhuman achievements of the scientists, engineers, medical doctors and developers of our day, in so many specialties that it is impossible to name them all, or even properly describe their separate and cooperative achievements, which make and create the never ending challenge to legal professionals of all Nations to develop law rules and legal institutions, and to make these achievements of other professionals available to all humanity on a reasonable basis of equality.

Photographs and statistical information each Conference were followed by photographs and written words giving some of the highlights of each World Conference in our bi-monthly publication entitled the "World Jurist". Some references personalities at particular Conferences and references to unique, unusua1 or important contributions of individual Conference participants are set forth.

Let me quickly add that while the Kings, the Presidents, the Prime Ministers, and great personalities may be the chief persons I will refer

to by name in the following pages, I must above all recognize that the great success of the turn to the law was also the education of their people in the law concept and its values.

The work on developing this was, and is, the close lasting "links" between legal professionals of the World who have done the work in the trenches to whom major credit is due for the World's turn to the law. No one could name them all, and I of all people have probably met, talked to, corresponded with and shared ideas, plus hours and days of work, with more of these workers than any other person. Yet my lists workers who should be named are largely those contained in the many published reports, volumes and publications printed by the World Peace Through Law Center. I have been working and travelling the World while so many legal professionals have made their contributions within their own Nation to the World's turn to the rule of law by personally persuading the Head of State and the legal and political leaders of their Nation to provide needed support that has meant most in our vast effort about which my few words cannot possibly tell the whole story.

As I write these words, I am not only surrounded by the printed copies of major speeches and reports delivered at the 16 World Conferences, but I am also confronted with huge volumes of papers submitted to these Conferences from legal and other leaders of practically every Nation. Some are very learned discussions of great issues of the day. Others concern the rather current issues of small and large Nations individually.

These introductory words to the story I herein recite and the highlights, are proof - undisputable proof, of the cooperative capacity of the legal leaders of the World to achieve great progress impacting the entire World Community, composed of the people who inhabit planet Earth. I have often repeated, before and after, the substance of the words I used in Spokane, Washington, USA at the ABA Regional Meeting on May 31, 1956, on that, to me at least, never to be forgotten day which vaulted me into office as ABA President of which I have written herein. See Supra pages 346 et. seq. I said:

"Never has our future been brighter. Never has the road ahead been so clearly marked. Our profession is indeed faced with its greatest opportunity and an unsurpassed challenge to great achievement through our new cooperative strength.

"As we stand on the verge of great and exciting developments, we must recognize that mere numerical strength and mere financial strength are not enough in and of themselves to fulfill the mission of our profession. We must have a plan - a 'blueprint' - which is constantly updated to give meaning and direction to the future of our profession's pro bono publico mission for World Peace. We must have a plan or program to give our profession the status and standing which it should have in the eyes of the peoples of our Nation and the World.

"We must capture the support and imagination of the legal profession and the public for our future plans. We must create, in each lawyer, a feeling of obligation to know and to further certain definite and common objectives for our profession as a whole. These objectives must be known and understood, not only by lawyers, but by the public generally. Our profession must have unity of purpose in achieving these objectives to make a real contribution to the future of our Country and the World.

"Public opinion usually fluctuates democracy, but it becomes a controlling force when it solidifies into the will of the people. In the ultimate end, in a democracy, public opinion is the Legislatures, Executives, absolute power. Courts of Last Resort - eventually all - some with alacrity, others with reluctant ears and lagging feet - obey its command. This is a conclusion which some, who dislike some of the changes forced by face up opinion. to with utmost reluctance. Nevertheless, it is a hard indisputable fact.

"Therefore, I suggest this as the mission of our profession: lawyers should assist - in fact lead - in the formation of a sound public opinion, leading to World Peace Through Law. A sound public opinion upon this, the greatest issue of our day, is absolutely essential. This is true not only for the

preservation of our free enterprise system against socialistic and totalitarian schemes which would destroy our liberties and our economy, but it is doubly true if we are to fulfill our responsibilities of leadership of the free World.

"I do not suggest that all members of the public agree with us lawyers instantly on this proposed Program of World Peace Through Law. Or even that we lawyers must agree among ourselves. I do suggest that we lawyers use our special talents, our experience, our knowledge, to see to it that whatever are advanced - whatever public and cons concensus eventually prevails - be soundly based and reflect all relevant facts and principles. Never has or so compelling a duty rested upon any so great profession, as the duty to develop an informed public opinion, which rests upon our profession today, with respect to piercing the "Iron Curtain" with the rule of law concept.

"If such be our mission, what examples can be given of particular areas or fields in which we should interest ourselves? Certainly the field of our Country's international relations - our foreign and military power - would be high on the list due to the arms race triggered by the atomic bomb.

"No one can doubt but that maintenance of our Nation's military and economic strength, for the fulfillment of our domestic and foreign responsibilities, is essential to World peace. And with H-bombs now believed to have attained a status where World annihilation is possible, peace has become a dire necessity. In fact, existence itself is now a matter of peace, for without it we may have no World upon which to have a war.

"The need today is for a new and creative approach to the solution of World problems if this goal of peace is to be achieved. A formula must be found for the peaceful solution of international disputes which a majority of the people will accept universally. I urge that if an enduring peace is ever to be achieved, there must be a foundation of some legal framework, wherein international disputes are settled under legal principles rather than by

war. How can we leaders of the law develop such a formula to meet the needs of the current World situation?

"We are in a new era in our international relations. Great uncertainty exists because of the recent shifts of tactics in force or Communist Nations. It is extremely important that our people not be confused and misled into wrong decisions. True it is that we have great government leaders devoting their full energies to this field, they have much better sources of information than we can acquire. Changes and tension in dictator enslaved Nations are only a part of this complicated problem of peace. We should not leave this all important problem entirely to our Federal officials. We, in our Nation, do not assume our government officials to be all-wise, and certainly these officials do not so consider themselves. We like to arrive at our own conclusions on important matters. In so doing, we often help our government leaders toward their own decisions by announcing our views.

"We, who are trained in evaluating evidence, have a special duty to assist toward sound conclusions as the evidence in our fear-clouded World is spasmodically revealed, or concealed, and what it means".

Moving from 1956 to 1994 and letting my 1956 "dream" be compared to the present, I express my personal admiration, esteem and everlasting thanks to all who have made this turn to the rule of law one of the greatest achievements of the 20th Century. All peoples, forever more, will be indebted not only to the legal professionals of whom I mostly write, but to great Heads of State and Government, Ambassadors, foreign relations experts, writers, editors and great leaders in other professions whose work we lawyers are now weaving into a World law system strong enough to replace force to end wars.

We concede, as we must, that there have been, and will be, outbreaks of small wars, but the nuclear holocaust which could spread flame and destruction worldwide and the days of the leaders of non-democratic governments, who used war, genocide,

enslavement and almost every horrible, undescribable crime to enslave humans, are over. Law systems and law tribunals can, and will, deal with would-be future dictators. The 'UN, at which Sir Winston Churchill cast gentle barbs in his Guildhall speech already referred to, is at last coming of age to perform the tasks for which it was created. can help assemble necessary force, as in the recent Persian Gulf War, and perhaps achieve other undone The current UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who I first met in Cairo as he, then Foreign Minister of Egypt, and my dear friend Abdel Magud accompanied Egyptian President Mubarak into the Cairo Conference on the Law of the World in 1983, is certainly straining mightily to strengthen law in the World. Those who have tasted freedom will never give it up, and its spread to, and lasting hold on, the peoples of the World will never end.

Through our World Conferences, we have continued steadily to strongly support our Plan and Program of individual cooperative action to make the rule of law strong enough to supplant the rule of force within among Nations. Many Bar Associations have and programs for the supplying of lawyers to newly free Nations who request them for the drafting of new constitutions, statutes, court statutes and other legal needs, due to their switch from Communist rule to the rule of law. The newly free Nations do need the lawyers who can help in rendering a real public service in a time of great need. Foreign Nations that have recently turned to the law are the fastest growing area of developing law needs. But the reality is the realization of the World's people is that ours is indeed one World and that lawyers must help that World develop and work cooperatively in peace under law rules.

During the same four decades and more of which I write, there have been many associations and persons who have made enormous contributions to the rise in individual human rights recognition and protection, which is the keystone of the World Peace Through Law Plan and Program. No other organized professional group has conducted 16 World Conferences of leading

law professionals expressing their personal views on the developing World order under law in the World. Nor has any group sought, received and released messages of support for their plan and program from Heads of State and Government throughout the World over nearly four decades, as has the World Peace Through Law Center and its affiliated organizations. The Center, while itself a unique organization, has sought its goals in a unique fashion.

My purpose is not to claim credit for the legal professionals' work of others for a peaceful World in which human rights are recognized and protected. I praise the others who have been in this battle for the human rights of equality, freedom and equal justice, as well as the battle to substitute rule of law for war and all which that great effort entails.

The legal professionals of the World, by their World Peace Through Law Program, sought to help achieve a result, an impact. They have done their work for the betterment of humanity and will continue to do so. They did that in their recent Manila Conference on the Law of the World in October 1993, when they celebrated their 30-year record of organized achievement. They have, in reality, spotlighted the rule of law during the years from the adoption of the ABA Initiative, at my urging, in 1957 at its London Meeting.

These Biennial Conferences are essential, as law changes constantly to meet the needs of changes in peoples, subjects, efforts and new discoveries in hundreds of fields in the new relative World peace era that now exists. We are, due to swift travel and transmission of information worldwide, to mention only two of the factors, become "one World". in developing adequate law to meet that challenge we must continue to work cooperatively, as we have over the past years of organized effort on World Peace Through Law. That we of the law can make an impact on needed new law changes is proven by our record. We have expanded, and will continue to support, the rule of law in the World with all the cooperative energy the legal professionals of the World Jurist Association of the World Peace Through Law Center and its affiliated associations can muster.

The dramatic end of the "Cold War" has placed World trade and economic growth at the top of discussions at the World Conferences of which I write. Today, there is more governmental discussion and action on increasing aid and trade than of increasing arms. The impact of this mammoth change is all to the good of the peoples of the World.

While the World's peoples have overwhelmingly opted for democracy and human rights, recent attempts to translate these into workable governmental protractions in some Nations have brought agony and internal strife instead of the hoped for spirit of joyful, peaceful living. The mere turn to policy of operating under the rule of law has not resulted in instant peaceful living in some formerly Even in force-governed Nations. democracies, a recent wave of crime and racial and other problems have arisen. We of the law in the United States are faced with our obligations to help establish and operate rule of law government in our Nation, as well as to help formerly force-ruled Nations operate under the rule of law.

The remarkably successful Continental and World Conferences and the continuous friendly support contacts among the legal professionals of Nations create a firm foundation for the continued planning and carrying out by the legal professionals of the World of new steps, not only in the plan and program described here but of cooperative efforts to curb the current crime wave.

Experience demonstrates in my own Country that the work of upgrading and expanding law and legal institutions of democracy and its Human Rights of freedoms and equal justice for all never ends. So the work of adapting law constantly to the more and more rapid changes wrought by new engineering, science and other discoveries, experience and needs is, and will always be, a never ending task of law-updating and expansion. This is work for legal professionals, mostly pro bono publico leadership.

In our work, through our own legal professionals, to persuade the Nations of the World to turn to the rule of law and abandon the rule of

force, one could actually feel the favorable impetus build worldwide. Before me, as I write, are 19 huge news clipping books packed with hundreds (I should say thousands, although I have never counted them) of favorable news stories, editorials and comments. These were collected by the American Bar Association and forwarded to me. That the turn to the rule of law, internationally, has tremendous favorable media support is clear, as you turn the pages on which the clippings are pasted. This ABA service was an enormous boost to those of us out in the field doing the World Peace Through Law Programs, as the field we worked encompassed the World.

The World Conferences, through their preparation and their presentations and through the distribution of their programs and Consensuses worldwide, have provided a solid, unwavering spotlight upon the rule of law and its potentials. Thus have our profession and our people and their leaders been educated in the values of the principles and institutions of the rule of law. Our message has never varied and the impact results are clear for all to see in the turn to the rule of law support by the ultimate judges, the people of the World.

Taking our World Peace Through Law Program to the peoples of the Earth was undoubtedly forwarded by the idea of holding the 16 World Conferences, as Host Nation sponsored events. We moved the Conferences around the World as much as we could. I hope that policy will continue. Certain it is that the World Peace Through Law Program must shift to addressing the needs of our World at peace. Addressing the building, or rebuilding, of legal systems, nationally and internationally, and their infrastructures to meet the new problems of our day is indeed a daunting task. But as I have said, I believe in the capacity of the legal profession of the World. It can, and will, live up to its professional duties not only in our day, but in the "World of Tomorrow".

I hope these introductory comments will help in a reader's consideration herein of the Sixteen World Conferences where a summary of what was presented in thousands of written pages and spoken words, by thousands attending these Conferences, is undertaken.

CHAPTER 32

THE 16 WORLD CONFERENCES - CARRYING OUT THE LEGAL PROFESSION'S MISSION AND PLAN FOR ENDING THE "COLD WAR" AND HELPING CREATE A PEACEFUL WORLD IN TEXT AND ILLUSTRATIVE PHOTOGRAPHS

Above all, the 16 World Conferences offered continuous spotlight - every two years - to those who could do most to help create, or keep Functional Democracy up-to-date and expand the rule of law throughout the World. These were Heads of State, Chief Justices, Attorney Generals, Ministers of Justice, Bar Presidents, Law Professors, and Law and Lay Leaders. The Conferences provided a place and time to express their ideas on rule of law government nationally and the rule of law internationally. Through those named, the people of most Nations had an opportunity to be informed of the human rights, personal freedoms and powers provided to them by functional democratic government under the rule of law. Through those of them who agreed with the World Peace Through Law Program their people, every two years, heard of or read about the potential of the rule of law concept as a peace-making, peace-keeping Illustrative photographs help tell this concept. story.

Rule of law, in a democracy, includes its functional executive, judicial and legislative parts which carry out that rule's principles and institutions. It empowers each person, by an equal vote, to have an equal voice in the functioning of the government under which they live.

It is these ideals embodied in the rule of law which caused the people of the World to turn away from governments by force to government under the ideals of that rule in the last part of the 20th Century. Never before, in all history, had the people of the World expressed their demands so overwhelmingly and with such an impact.

The 16 World Conferences of which I now write, in summarized fashion, fueled that impact. Regardless of opinions about the strength of that impact, and the much appreciated aid of others, no one can dispute the fact that the legal profession did stay the course. They kept the law peace concept

spotlight on full blast for over 30-years through these Conferences. That the worldwide major turn to the rule of law came about in agreement with the World Peace Through Law Program is clear. The task I now undertake is to describe the legal profession's contributions to that "turn" by its years of cooperative effort through all the World Conferences.

In the following 255 pages, 663 through 928, I summaries, highlights of some in broad events at each of the 16 World Conferences which illustrate their proceedings. By stating the titles of what some called Proclamations or Declarations and titles of Resolutions adopted, I believe I present a good picture of the subjects presented in Plenary or Panel meetings. I then indicate where full texts of presentations are available in Law Libraries around the World. All papers and documents at Conferences were printed and distributed worldwide to Heads of State and major law leaders of Nations, as well as to those who were present in person at the Conferences. Illustrative photographs were also sent.

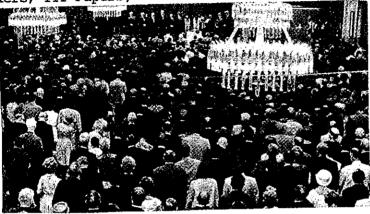
Over 62,000 attended these 16 World Conferences from nearly every Nation on Earth. A review of the broadly-based participation in these Conferences is found in those elected to office at the conclusion of each Conference. I give the list herein as contained in the records and publications, such as the bi-monthly World Jurist.

I believe that the cooperative endeavors in the Continental and World Conferences and the tremendous amount of rule of law education by my friends and colleagues, on a worldwide basis, made a major impact on the turn to the rule of law throughout Planet Earth. I now present a highly summarized, highly selective, report on the World Conferences to demonstrate the record which proves my conclusion.

That the World is, and will always be, a better place for all humankind to dwell gives great satisfaction to those who have labored with me to achieve that result.

FIRST WORLD CONFERENCE IN ATHENS, GREECE, JUNE 30-JULY 6, 1963

of Greece; Honorary Chairman, H.M. King Paul Conference Co-Chairmen, the Honorable Spyros Pallis, President of Athens Bar Association; and, Dimitrios Zepos, former Cabinet Minister and UN Representative Charles General Chairman, S. Rhyne, Greece. ofThrough Center. Law Peace of World President 1.04 Nations; 2500 from over (Participants Speakers; 111 Papers)



The Athens Conference brought together World Bar leaders from 104 Nations to discuss specific steps to extend the rule of law internationally. Pictured here, Opening Ceremony.



King Paul of Greece addresses the Opening Session of the Athens Conference.



Pictured above are four of the leaders of the Athens Conference taken during a Planning Session. Left to right they are:
Panayotis J. Zepos, Dean of Faculty of Law at the University of Athens and Director of the Hellenic Institute of International Law; Rudolf B. Schlesinger of Cornell University; Charles S. Rhyne, Conference Chairman; Erwin N. Griswold, Dean of the Harvard Law School.



Charles S. Rhyne with members of the Greek Royal Family at Reception at Athens Conference.

1963 Athens World Conference

The success of the four Continental Conferences led to the taking of an even greater step: the First World Conference on World Peace Through Law in Athens, Greece, in the Summer of 1963.

As the home of Solon, Aristotle and the other great lawgiver legends of ancient Greece, Athens was a most appropriate setting for this first such Conference. The Athens Conference was attended by Chief Justices, Ministers of Justice, Attorneys General, leading lawyers and law professors from over 100 Nations. Some of the major results of the Athens Conference was the creation of the World Peace Through Law Center and the outlining of a tentative program to help achieve a genuine World Rule of Law.

Acknowledging that to accomplish the goal of their World Law System depended, as Sir Winston Churchill had warned, upon almost universal support by Heads of Nations and their people, the law leaders, attending the Conference, most of whom had attended one or more of the Continental Conferences, had sought and received written messages of support from Kings, Presidents, Prime Ministers, His Holiness the Pope, and other Heads of State from throughout the World. These are printed in the Conference Volume.

Frankly, I have tried several highlights and summaries of this unique, first of its kind World Conference. I then discarded them in favor of reprinting the table of contents of the Volume entitled "World Peace Through Law - The Athens World Conference" which West Publishing Company published. I believe this method and the 874-page Volume are the best picture of this renowned Conference. Herein, I give a sketchy, highlighted, summarized and limited story. I have included a few of the Conference addresses to give a flavor to the summary. Please read the printed Volume, as it contains everything in full.

I include my Call to Order of the Conference and my presentation of one of the distinguished Co-Chairmen of the Conference, Mr. Dimitrios Zepos, who presided over the Inaugural Session. I also include the Inaugural Address of His Majesty, the

King of the Hellenes; that of the Chief Justice of the United States, Earl Warren; and the Inaugural Address of Sylvester C. Smith, President of the American Bar Association, the official Sponsor of the World Peace Through Law Program. I then report here the names of the other speakers and the titles of their addresses or reports. I repeat that these are all printed, in full, in the Conference Volume. Each speaker, presiding Chairman or those with particular program assignment are among the most distinguished legal professionals of their Nation and the World, as is each participant or observer in attendance. With respect to all attendants, each is also as qualified and renowned as the speakers. Actually, titles did not count. Each registrant could and did take a very active, and equal, part in the discussions of program subjects of particular interest to them. Each made a tremendous contribution to the achievements of the Conference. Each should be equally proud of their contributions. I could spend several pages extolling the outstanding careers of all those who were present at the Conference, but that would require a rather large Volume to do justice to the distinguished careers of the more than two thousand law greats who were there.

I did feel that, as with the addresses reprinted herein, I should include the final words of thanks at this epochal historic Conference to His Majesty, Her Majesty, the other wonderful Greek law leaders labored so hard to insure the success of the Conference, especially the Co-Chairman of the Conference Dimitrios Zepos, and all the participants from other Nations. As you read their names, titles, and the titles of their addresses you will conclude that the Legends of the Law, worldwide, were indeed present to state their support loud and clear of the World Peace Through Law Program and to help achieve the enormous success of the Athens Conference on advances of the Law of the World. The results speak louder than all the words of praise they so justly deserve. Their contributions will go down in history due to the World impact results of this historic Conference.

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CALL TO ORDER

By

Charles S. Rhyne, United States General Chairman of the Conference

YOUR MAJESTY,

As General Chairman of this Conference, my first words must be to express to Your Majesty our appreciation of your very kind consent to honor this Conference with your presence and your consent to inaugurate this, the First World Conference on World Peace Through Law.

We are doubly honored that you are accompanied by Her Majesty The Queen, His Royal Highness Prince Constantine, and Her Royal Highnesses Princess Irene and Princess Sophia.

Mr. Prime Minister, your excellencies, distinguished delegates and quests, I welcome you and now call this First World Conference on World Peace Through Law to order. I do so in the belief that by joint counsel together we can, here at one of the birthplaces of the law, paramount through concentrated effort, develop specific and concrete plans which will build World Peace out of law. Build peace by so strengthening law rules and legal institutions in the World Community that the rule of law and a World legal system will replace the force system internationally as the controlling factor in the fate of humanity.

It is said that a successful Conference should include three ingredients: Inspiration, information and entertainment. Here we have all three: Inspiration, in the addresses of the great leaders headed by Your Majesty. Information, wisdom and ideas in the Working and Plenary Sessions from the legal profession's greatest leaders from throughout the World. And unexcelled entertainment in the hospitality arranged by the Greek Government and Greek lawyers.

We are here to give our answers to the greatest challenge the legal profession has ever faced in all history. I am confident your answers will reverberate around the World and overwhelmingly meet the challenge we face.

You, or most of you, have heard me on our subject and know my views. This Conference has been called to let you give your views. I will not personally consume your precious time by restating what you have already heard from me. This Conference will hear equally from each and every one of you. I will concentrate on helping the Conference provide that equal hearing to each of you.

Distinguished Greek leaders, who honor this Conference by their presence, will be speaking to you but first I want to present one of the men greatly responsible for the contributions of this Conference. He is a former Cabinet Minister and UN Representative of our host Nation, one of the World's most distinguished lawyers, a most gracious and beloved person, the Co-Chairman of this Conference, the Honorable Dimitrios Zepos. I ask that he take the Chair at this time.

Co-Chairman Dimitrios Zepos said:

I am honored to present His Majesty, King Paul, The King of the Hellenes, to deliver the Inaugural Address.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS By His Majesty King Paul, the King of the Hellenes

HIS MAJESTY:

It is with great pleasure that $\ensuremath{\mathtt{I}}$ welcome you to my Country.

I am proud and happy that you have chosen Athens for this World Conference on World Peace Through the Rule of Law. The creative spirit of ancient Greece, which gave birth to men like Solon and Aristotle, is still alive today. It lives in the hearts and souls of men like you, who have come together today in order to contribute your knowledge and your experience to the achievement of World Peace.

All of us have experienced with equal bitterness that war brings with it the law of nature, whereby the strong impose themselves upon the weak and justice is forgotten. I believe that, in spite of threats of total disintegration from the atom and the

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hydrogen bombs, the World is none the less moving towards ultimate unity.

The ghastly results of the law of nature have linked us together through one great experience of suffering and pity.

Our hopes and despairs are very much alike all over the World and weld us into a unity unseen to the naked eye.

Within this whole, we cannot be separated either by race, religion or nationality.

It is to this unseen unity, existing already between all men, that we, and especially you, all are dedicated. You are the modern missionaries who have come together to make this Conference a concrete expression of our silent prayers. It is in this Country that the first attempt was made to extend the authority of law between States.

You are indeed offering a great service to mankind by undertaking to reinforce the rule of law for the maintenance of peace. By stressing the supreme importance of law, you are following an ancient Greek tradition and are seeking to apply ideals which were born in this Country. Heraclitus said: "One should fight for his law as one fights for his City walls".

When the rule of law in the international field has established harmonious relations between Nations, then you, gentlemen, will have achieved your mission. One of man's greatest aspirations will have been fulfilled and we shall be able, with mutual respect, to move forward towards World Peace.

I proclaim my faith in you and I am convinced that you will make this Conference an historical event which will mark a decisive step toward the protection of freedom and the dignity of man.

I declare this Conference open and extend my warm greetings to every one of you.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

By

The Honorable Sylvester C. Smith, Jr. President of the American Bar Association

YOUR MAJESTY, MR. PRIME MINISTER, HONORED GUESTS, DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It gives me great pleasure to convey to you the good wishes of the American Bar Association. We are happy indeed to have sponsored the World Peace Through Law Program. We, in the American Bar Association, are honored to be closely associated with our lawyer colleagues from other Nations of the World in this Program. We trust we may have closer relations in the future, greater friendship and greater appreciation of the views of lawyers of other Nations in order that we may work together to achieve a common goal of World Peace Through Law.

One should feel privileged to be present at this historic World Conference, and to be a participant in this global effort by members of the legal profession to contribute to the cause of World Peace through development of international law and legal institutions.

It is appropriate that this historic Conference should take place in this City. The World owes much to Greek civilization and to the City of Athens, which was one of its proud achievements. To the lawyers from the Nations who are meeting here today, Athens, more than any City in the World, has a special significance as the birthplace of those ideals and principles essential to the rule of law. are grateful that the Greek Government, Greek lawyers and Jurists have so wholeheartedly and generously opened their doors to this Conference. Your gracious reception is an example of what has made, and what will continue to make, Greece one of the highly respected Nations of the World. Greece will be respected not for nuclear and military strength, but for courage and eminence in the World of ideas, ideals and law.

On behalf of all of us from other Nations who are your quests in this great and historic Country, I

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express our appreciation and gratitude for the wonderful hospitality which is being extended to us.

We meet here for two primary reasons: To discuss and define our roles as lawyers and members learned profession in the quest for World through development of international 1aw international institutions. We shall seek an answer question: Ιs there some organizational framework now existing, or to be created. which we can move forward toward our common goals? Heretofore, the great majority of lawyers and jurists have concerned themselves primarily with domestic legal affairs, with only a relative few farsighted dedicated individuals interested responsibility the lawyers of the Nations of as a profession, have towards Community. I trust that at this historic Conference we can begin to mobilize the potential resources of our great profession. We seek to enlist the support and participation of the practicing lawver, the jurist, and the educators of law in a global effort. realizes the enormous problems to be faced in such an idealistic endeavor. We must begin to accept our professional responsibilities, with reference to the rule of law in international affairs. We need to attempt to solve these start now to problems. Lawyers of the Nations of the World, who are always seeking ideals in the administration of justice, in the legal process and in individual freedom, must not be deterred because the settlement of international disputes through law seems far distant.

sense of professional responsibility has motivated everything which has been done to further the World Peace Through Law Program. There is no other group of professional men possessing the varied talents and types of experience required for success in establishing the rule of law in international affairs. The vast reservoir of talent and energy within the legal profession is well demonstrated by this Conference. Here in Athens we see the Judge, academician, legal practitioner, government official, legislator and diplomat. All are members of the legal profession sharing a common aspiration

for public order under the rule of law, on the national and international level. This aspiration is shared with all men of good will, whether they may be lawyers or laymen.

We need not hold ourselves up as the only "Saviors of the World". I venture to suggest that if man can retreat from the terrible abyss of nuclear holocaust, and create the necessary institutions and rules of law, as a substitute for the use of armed force in adjusting human and national relations, the legal profession has the ability to make the most constructive contribution to this international order.

The agenda for this Conference covers a wide range of international activity and international legal problems. We obviously cannot solve all problems here. We can develop a better understanding of them. We can seek the means by which they can be solved in the future, through law and legal institutions.

To understand the present, as compared to the future role of international law, one must examine all areas of contact between Nations and people of different Nations, because it is out of these contacts that conflict arises and resort to legal principles, rules and procedures are made necessary.

It does not necessarily follow, as some critics international law have asserted, that unless the international legal system achieves the same stage of development as municipal legal systems, international law will be largely ineffective and mere theory which Nations can choose to regard or disregard at will. that suggest it can be demonstrated that international law, limited though it is, plays important role in international affairs today. certain areas, international law functions municipal law would function, even in the absence of a World political organization with law enforcement machinery, which can be equated to that of national governments. This is so because the international community has established reasonably effective means to enforce and interpret international treaty law. Some of these substitutes are international judicial

institutions, such as the International Court Justice, and the Court of Justice for the European Communities. arbitration tribunals. and procedural mechanisms such as negotiation, mediation, and conciliation. Various sanctions, of an economic or political nature, can be applied against a proven international treaty breaker. World public opinion itself is effective in securing compliance with international treaty 1aw and decisions international tribunals. To understand the rule of international law, we must not think only in terms of equating it with municipal law and enforcement institutions, nor only in terms of a universal law to which all Nations subscribe.

The actual role of international law, in its present stage of development, is determined not so much by the existence of substantive principles and rules capable of judicial determination established international tribunals and enforcement machinery, as by external factors, the most important of which are political and economic. Nations possessing shared interests of a political or economic nature agree to be bound by certain rules of conduct in exchange for similar agreements from other Nations. Mutuality of interest, to a large extent, responsible for a Nation's compliance international treaty law. These shared interests are set forth in treaties and conventions which make up the greatest body of our present international law. Perhaps in the development of such treaties conventions, with judicial machinery to interpret its most the legal profession can make effective contribution. This may be determined as one of the important goals of the World Peace Through Law movement.

The many Nations of the World are grouped into numerous communities of interest, each possessing its own particular characteristics and representing varying stages of social, political and economic development.

The largest and most all-embracing Community is, of course, the United Nations. There are also such Regional Communities as the Organization of American

States, the Arab League, the Nordic League and the European Communities, i.e., the Coal and Steel Community, the Common Market and Euratom. One could mention more specialized groupings, such as the military alliances, which include NATO and the Warsaw Pact Nations, the International Monetary Fund, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Needless to say, there are many more which could be mentioned.

From the standpoint of developing international law, therefore, we cannot think of the World, at present, as a single cohesive community in which universally applicable rules of conduct, by national governments, which we call "law" play a major role, but as many communities with treaties and compacts playing a significant but varying role within each. We can contemplate, in the future, international law as a universally applicable body of general rules and principles to which governments of civilized Nations conform in their external affairs. Realistically for the present, we must keep in mind the particular principles and rules of international conduct. applicable only within a particular community or jurisdiction, comprising certain types of international activity. Although of more limited application, this international "community" law the foundation upon which any universal or World international law will be built.

This is not to say, however, that there are no rules and principles of international law which are generally universally accepted. The principles embodying fundamental human rights, the dignity and worth of the human person, the equal rights of men and women, and of Nations large and small are all in that category. We can also note the third paragraph of the preamble of the Charter of the United Nations which states a purpose of the organization to be "...to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained". The above represents the most . fundamental of all "universal" principles of international law, ${ t sunt}$ servanda the pacta requirement that treaties be respected. There are

some specific international agreements which are virtually universal in application. There are the International Postal Union, International Civil Aviation Organization, Law of the Sea Convention, World Meteorological Organization, law with respect to Diplomatic and Consular Relations, and others.

Over the years, there has been much work done in the field of international relations. There are existent many organizations dedicatedly seeking World Peace. They have engaged in research by eminent scholars, including many lawyers. If we, as lawyers, are to make progress with reasonable dispatch, we should, through some existing organization, seek to learn these resources which may be used to promote World Peace Through Law. The experience and studies of the past may be the means of finding the solutions to present and future problems.

modern Interdependence is a fact of international life. Yet, ironically, nationalism has been more prevalent than during these times, when within the past year alone, more than twenty Nations achieved their independence. In some cases there was bloodshed, yet fortunately in most cases, national independence was attained through peaceful these Nations enter the international change. As community as equal partners, they are reluctant to accept obligations which to them constitute restraint on their freedom of action which they have sought long and hard to achieve. Nevertheless, international interdependence is a fact that each new must face. Reconciliation of these Nation concepts is conflicting an important task international statesmen today. This reconciliation can be made only through law and its institutions, for only through law can the interdependent Nations reconcile their oftentimes conflicting and competing interests. Needless to say, there is often conflict between the concept of absolute sovereignty and the · of interdependence, yet inconsistencies, through absolute necessity which Nations recognize, are being resolved slowly by the methods of treaty and international organization.

But international law and its institutions are

not only a means through which disputes may be settled; international law is a means whereby Nations can keep pace with the scientific, political and economic developments in the World. Ad hoc treaties permit Nations to maintain orderly daily relations with one another, according to pre-arranged standards and rules of conduct. With continuous development of international law, an atmosphere can be created whereby the major political problems, the war-creating problems of the World can be gradually resolved...

We have gone so far in creating a great civilization. It is unthinkable that we should destroy all we have achieved by resort to warfare and force. Do we not have the determination to utilize our highest potential as human beings to solve the age-old problem of living in peace together on this planet? I feel confident that through this Conference and the results of our deliberations here, the legal profession of the World will be able to make an effective contribution to the solution of that most fundamental of all problems.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS By The Honorable Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States

YOUR MAJESTY,

We sincerely thank you for the hospitality of your wonderful Country. I am sure that the pulse of everyone here is quickened merely because we are in ancient Hellas.

It is a great privilege to be a part of this distinguished gathering and of the cause which brings us together from all parts of the World. To be able to counsel with men of the law from many Countries of the World which cradled civilization thousands of years ago, makes it an exciting experience. It is particularly appealing because we are here of our own volition, under no mandate from any interest or organization. We are not even here at the direction of our own Governments. We are here as citizens of

the World who have a common belief in the Rule of Law. We are all free agents to promote what is in our hearts and minds for the benefit of mankind. In the aggregate, we represent the views of people of every culture, every religion, every political order on the face of the Earth. In our everyday lives, we speak different languages, but, in a basic sense, there is no language barrier between us. Men of the law have a common language of the heart and mind, regardless of the part of the World they may come from and of whatever culture they are a part.

Of the more than one hundred Countries here represented, there are few, if any, that have identical laws, but we all have a sense of order and realization that there can be no order without Every Country has a system of law. ingrained in every culture and in every political system and no Country has a monopoly on justice which is the guiding genius of law. I suppose every lawyer or Judge has a predilection for the law of his own This is not only natural but it is proper, land. because the domestic law of any Country is based upon the history, culture, geographical considerations and the necessities of the Nation for survival. This natural pride and adherence to the status quo, which often flows from pride, sometimes has a tendency to keep us apart. Many times we delude ourselves into believing that what we have is not only ours, but In the field of that we made it what it is today. law, nothing could be farther from the truth.

There is no system of law in the World today, of which I know, that has not come in great part at least from civilizations that preceded it by many centuries and one of the exciting things about this Conference is the fact that it is being held in that part of the World to which we are most indebted for many of our basic concepts of law. The archeologists have found convincing evidence that in ancient Mesopotamia, the Sumarians had a well-defined system of law 40 centuries before the Christian Era. How long it was in existence before that time and whence the Sumarians themselves came, they do not know. When recorded history began, people already had legal

systems and codes which contain the basic elements of modern law, in fact, it can well be argued which came first - civilization or law.

It has always seemed to me that it was the need for law that brought civilization into being, because wherever an ancient civilization has been uncovered, how remote from the others. existence has been shown to have depended upon a law. None of us, therefore, can of system self-sufficient. There is an interdependence all must recognize because, to a greater or less degree, we are all indebted to the World for what we prize as our own systems of law. Particularly that is true in the younger Countries, like my own, which built upon the systems of many other Nations.

the Court over which I have the honor to preside. endeavor to keep this realization we constantly before us. On the frieze of the walls of Court Room, carved in stone, we have likenesses of lawgivers through the ages. As listen to the arguments of counsel and judge the cases according to our present concepts of law and justice, these figures look down upon us and we up toward them. To our left are nine lawgivers before Christian Era - Menes of Egypt, Hammurabi Babylon, Moses and Solomon of Israel, Lycurgus, Solon and Draco of Greece, Confucius of China and Augustus To our right are those who came afterwards - Justinian of Rome, Mohammed of Islam, Charlemagne King John of England, St. Louis of Germany, Holland, Blackstone Grotius of of France, Hugo England, Napoleon of France, and Marshall United States. He our great Chief is known as Justice because his decisions put flesh and great sinews upon the bare bones of our new Constitution and because he did more than any other man of law in our history to weld us into a Nation capable making a Federal Republic function properly from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. But the principles of the Constitution, which he interpreted, came to us other lawgivers to whom we thus humbly from these acknowledge our indebtedness.

Here in ancient Hellas, many thoughts crowd into

mind of a Jurist from a faraway land. Our the historians tell us that it was here that Western Law had its origin. As I approached Greece, I thought of the words of Cicero, the greatest of Roman lawyers, who said that the whole land is one vast shrine of hallowed memories. I remembered the account by Nineteenth Century Scholar of how his shoulders bent and more with the weight of history as approached the top of the Acropolis. I thought also of that same traveler's reflection of how all the Old World's culture culminated in Greece - all Greece in the Athens - all Athens in Acropolis - all the Acropolis in the Parthenon. This is a beautiful sentiment and is indicative of the affection which we, in the newer parts of the World, have for the contribution of Greece to our modern civilization.

When the Hellenic Greeks took up law, they studied it with the passion and insight they devoted to all the great departments of thought. From the earliest written record of their culture, they knew its importance. We see this at the beginning in Homer; we see it at the end in Aristotle. Early in the Seventh Century, B.C., they began to inscribe their laws on stone or bronze. Before that, the laws had been written on leather or wood.

Justice did not come into full flower in ancient Athens because the Greeks of that day were more interested in philosophy of the law than in its substantive aspects. But what the ancient Greeks failed to accomplish on the substantive side, they more than made up for in another direction. They worked at the idea of law itself from every possible point of view.

Sir Frederick Pollock, the great English legal scholar, once said that any ordinarily prepared student in an English or American law school will define an estate in fee simple immediately but that lawyers and Judges, who have given their lives to the study of legal principles, will hesitate a long time in the face of the apparently simple question, "What is law?" The ancient Greeks saw the profundity of this question and they did not hesitate to attempt to answer it. They thought of it as naked force, as a

class instrument, as the command of the community. a discovery about reality. In short, their view of extended from the severely pragmatic the philosophers philosophical. The poets, political theorists, the dramatists, and historians, all joined in the quest to unearth the elusive nature of law. But they did not stop there. They inquired into its end and purpose, who should devise it, how it should be enforced, the education of the magistrates who would interpret it, in what form it should be written down - all the questions, in fact, which occupy the attention of modern legal Their contribution has been the capital on which modern legal thought has largely lived. Later generations have refined it, added to it, turned but in every problem in this field it probably true to say that the ancient Greeks were there first.

While all this was going on in Greece, a great ferment was under way in the World outside Greece. It was the period of Confucius, Buddha, and of the spread of Zoroastrianism. Something was taking place everywhere in the World which would eventually touch even our lives today. At the moment the Greeks were perceiving the necessity of law as the creator of civilization, Confucius was making the same discovery in distant China. He worked the idea out with his own materials, in his own way and essentially it is at one with the Greek outline.

Romans took the laws of ancient the as basis of the Twelve Tables and the Greece as the principles of Corpus Juris by Justinian hundreds of years later, the Greeks likewise took their materials from even earlier civilizations. Archeologists are uncovering fresh material every day and they helping us to see the antiquity of law and its civilization. In the association with civilization known to us - that of Sumer, which lies along the lower Euphrates - archeologists have turned up tens of thousands of clay tablets recording all manner of transactions. Some of them are of intense They disclose the earliest code of legal interest. law known to man, the earliest traces of

international law, the earliest international agreements, and the earliest efforts to dispose of international conflicts by arbitration. The Greeks upon the knowledge of those earlier civilizations, as we are still building upon theirs, and it is a remarkable fact that some of our present day decisions are strikingly similar to some in those days and based upon identical reasoning. One thing that appears quite clear is the fact that people in those days realized the necessity for law and order Nations to be equally as important domestic law.

We. who are here today, have the realization. However, although thousands of years have elapsed, we have not defined and perfected international law, as we have domestic law in our respective Countries. In the first few thousand of these intervening years, there was some excuse for not developing a comprehensive body of international The slow and ancient forms of transportation and communication did not change and the Nations of the World were isolated from one another because there was no effective means of bringing the people of Nations into an understanding of each other. matter what was in their hearts and minds, they, of necessity, followed their leaders, matter how nationalistic, or personal, or arbitrary aggressive their decisions might be. But mid-Twentieth Century, when communications instantaneous and transportation only little short of it, where the people of any Nation can know every day of the year what is transpiring on that day in every other part of the World in hours, there can be no excuse for a failure to have international law and We cannot claim lack of knowledge of the hopes and aspirations of people everywhere and of the injustices which prevent them from achieving those goals. No longer can bad actions or even bad motives be hidden from the people of the World.

When we consider the dangers of international friction today, it is even more important for us to devote our great effort toward having a body of international law than it is to make improvements in

our domestic law, important as some of those changes may be. I say that because we have already ordered our thinking in the field of domestic law. codes, our tribunals, and the agencies of enforcing internal law. But not all people have yet recognized the absolute necessity for having a Court international law with jurisdiction to decide current problems and with the means of enforcing judgments. Moreover, they do not appreciate necessity for a World opinion, stemming from the people themselves, which will stand behind international agencies of law and constantly maintain a climate in which that law can develop and expand.

It is because those who are here at this Conference believe in the necessity of these things and are willing to work for them side by side with their legal brethren in every Country of the World that I am happy to be one of you and to contribute my "widow's mite" to the cause. I am happy that we are here as individuals representing the thinking and the aspirations of an important segment of society in our respective Countries. I say this because if we are to have international order based upon law, it must spring from the hearts of the people; it must be universal and it must stem from a passionate desire to have the people of all Nations, large and small, powerful and weak, live in peace under laws that are recognized as just and fair by people everywhere.

The lawyers of the World should be the first to agree that the responsibility is theirs to initiate a movement to have the problems of Nations solved by Those of us who are here means other than war. believe it is the World's greatest need. But there are a million or more lawyers at home all of whom realize, to some degree at least, the importance of Many are interested but have no practical this fact. outlet for their energy; others are trapped in the indifference that has encased the World on subject for such a long time. If we are to make real progress, all must be aroused and be made aware that they have a job to do and an organization through which to work. If World Peace is our goal, we must make it our preoccupation. If we believe that it can

be accomplished only through World Law, then we must agree upon those principles that are recognized by all Nations as inherent in our Twentieth Century civilization. We must advocate laws that will make those principles the guiding force in the lives of Nations and people everywhere.

As lawyers, we are in a position to be extremely helpful in advancing this cause. We are constantly absorbed in thoughts of law and justice and we have the opportunity to make our views known and understood in places where public opinion is formed. We are perhaps the only profession which has, as its sole objective, the cause of justice.

Someone asked Solon, 2500 years ago, how justice could achieved in Athens. His answer, substance. was that iustice could be achieved whenever those who were not injured by injustice were as outraged as those who had been. That is as true true today as it was in ancient Athens. It is Nations as it is between men. It is between as it privilege, is our most important responsibility, to bring about that sentiment in our own Nations and throughout the World.

In that respect, this first World Conference of lawyers of more than a hundred Countries might, as a even more effective beginning, be than international convention of our respective Governments. Historically, Nations have rarely met except to resolve differences and usually atmosphere of tension. Wе meet, not to settle disputes, but to define the areas of agreement upon which we can build a better World Order. We are not here to bargain. We are here to explore. We meet in inspirational City and in an atmosphere of friendship and understanding, of which it can truly be said --

"How good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity." We meet humbly and on but one level.

Proud as we are of our own systems, none of us can feel that we have achieved justice in all situations. Over the entrance to our Supreme Court Building in Washington, carved in stone, are the

words "Equal Justice Under Law". We would like, of course, to believe that it is in all respects a reality in our land, but, as we see before us evidences of injustice which our system has not yet adequately coped with, we are forced to the conclusion that those words represent our goal and not the accomplishment of our times.

And so I believe it must be in other Countries with a like goal. This means that we, who have a part in the administration of justice, whether as Judges or lawyers, must be able ourselves to feel injustice with resentment, wherever in the World it raises its ugly head. Doing our best to prevent it, all of us can leave a better World to our children and to their children. How much we do, or how little we do, will depend upon the contribution we make to the cause of peace through a World Rule of Law. No other kind of peace is worthy of the name.

PROGRAM OF ATHENS CONFERENCE

I. Inaugural Session Addresses:

The Honorable Charles S. Rhyne, General Chairman, United States; The Honorable Dimitrios Zepos and Spyros Pallis, Greece, Conference Co-Chairmen, Mr. Pallis being President of the Athens Bar Association; The Honorable Sylvester C. Smith, Jr., President, American Bar Association; The Honorable Angelos Tsoucalas, Mayor of Athens; His Excellency Pangiotis Pipinelis, Prime Minister of Greece; His Majesty the King of the Hellenes; The Honorable Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States.

- II. Messages from Heads of States Presented: These are printed in full in the Conference Volume
- III. Addresses at Plenary Sessions: Printed in full in the Conference Volume

World Peace Through the Rule of Law and the San José Conference, Osvaldo Illanes Benitez, Costa Rica, Reports of Lawyers International Hospitality Committee; Objectives and Activities of a World Center for Peace Through Law, Diego Bustamante, Ecuador; Peaceful

Conflicts, International Settlement of Peace is S. Calogeropoulos-Stratis, Greece; World Indivisible, Cipriano Codas, Paraquay; The Last Teaching of John XXIII, Fernando Della Rocca, Italy; Homage to Greek Law Legends, Cipriano Paraguay; Preliminary Definitions of Terms of Peace, Cipriano Codas, Paraquay; My Nation's Reliance on Rule of Law, Kaarlo Kaira, Finland; We Must Seek Just Law, Pedro Mantellini-Gonzalez, Venezuela; Preventive and Compulsory Measures in the Process Aimed at Securing Peace Through Law, Carlos M. Moran, Cuba (in Role of Lawyers in Athens, The J.H. Pretorius, South Africa; The Objectives of the First World Conference on World Peace Through Law, Charles S. Rhyne, United States; The Role of Lawyers in the Development of the Rule of International Law, J. Rotenstreich, Israel; Suggestions Regarding the Problem of Malnutrition in the World, I. Rubusisi, Congo, (Leopoldville); Every Individual Must Receive His Rights, Mohamad Musa'id al-Saleh, Kuwait; "Pacem Terris" and Rule cf Law. Louis The Staudenmaier, United States; World Peace Through Law and the Religions of the World, David A. Watts, United States: A Practical P1an Needed. Zealand; Constructive Cooperation C. White, New Essential for Success, Dimitrios Zepos, Greece.

IV. Working Session Presentations: These are printed in full in the Conference Volume Topic 1. Increasing Use and Usefulness of the International Court of Justice

World Peace and Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, Milan Bulajic, Yugoslavia; International Court of Justice, Cipriano Codas, Paraguay; Kaarlo Kaira, Finland; Katsumi Tarumi, Japan; and, Abdoulaye Wade, Senegal; A Plan for Universal Compulsory Jurisdiction for the World Court, Eberhard P. Deutsch, United States; Need to Establish the Compulsory Jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, Esteban Mendoza, Honduras; Report of Rapporteur, Edvard Hambro, Norway.

Topic 2. Creation and Jurisdiction of Regional and Specialized Courts

The Court of Justice of the European Communities, Michel Gaudet, France; The Benelux Court of Justice, Francois Goerens, Luxembourg; Regional and Specialized Courts, Mehmed Nedjati Munir, Cyprus; The European Court of Human Rights and the European Court of Justice, L. Pettiti, France; Inter-American Court of Justice, Silvio Sanabria, Cuba (in exile); Establishment and Use of Regional and Specialized Courts, Rogelio Sotela, Costa Rica; Report of Rapporteur, Arturo A. Alafriz, Philippines.

Topic 3. Law Rules to Encourage International Investment

The Challenge of the Field of Industrial Property Law; Law Rules to Encourage International Investment, Krishna Prasad Bhandari, Nepal; Carlos Dunshee de Abranches, Brazil; Constantin Lambadarios, Greece; Juma Reginald Mawalla, Tanganyika; Japan; and, Gotz M. Pollzien, Germany; Naritomi, International Bank for Reconstruction Development, Aron Broches, Netherlands: Principles of Taxation at Domicile or at Source, P.B. Dertilis. International Greece; Investment, Robert Y. Jennings, United Kingdom; International Juridical Problems Involved in Taxation, Jean Payot, Switzerland; Economic Development Agreement, George W. Ray, Jr., United States; The Common Interest in Private International Investment, John R. Wilkins, United States: International Legal Problems H. Willis, Liberia; Report Jacob of Rapporteur, Sidney Kentridge, South Africa.

Topic 4. Law to Facilitate Economic Associations and Trade

World Problems in Fiscal Matters, César Luis Aguiar, Uruguay; Memorandum on International Fisheries, Law and Procedure, Edward W. Allen, United States; Economic Associations and International Trade, Victor Bert Grant, Jamaica; Industrial Property and Economic Development, Stephen P. Ladas, United States; Report of Rapporteur, Hernando Gomez-Otalora, Columbia.

Topic 5. Increasing Scope and Effectiveness of Arbitration, Conciliation and Other Means of Resolving International Disputes

George International Commercia1 Arbitration, S. Economopoulos. Greece: Conciliation of International Economic Disputes: A Case Study, Donald T. Fox, United States: Importance of Mediation and Conciliation, Bernt Hjeile, Denmark; Arbitration, Conciliation and Other Means of Resolving International Disputes, G.S.K. Ibingira, Uganda; and, Shamma, Saudi Arabia; Settlement International Disputes by Administrative Organs and Methods within the Framework of International Economic Institutions, John S. Lambrinidis, Greece; Settlement of International Conflicts, Peaceful Mojsov Lazar, Yugoslavia; Enforcement of Arbitration Decisions, A. Logothetis, Greece; Report Rapporteur, Jean-Flavien Lalive, Switzerland.

Topic 6. Developing Law Rules and Legal Institutions for Disarmament Programs

Legal Problems of Disarmament, Vuong van Bac, Viet Nam; Mojsov Lazar, Yugoslavia; Walter S. Owen, Canada; S.M. Sikri, India; Louis B. Sohn, United States; Shigeyori Tsukamoto, Japan; and, John C. White, New Zealand; Report of Rapporteur, Louis B. Sohn, United States.

Topic 7. Creating Law for Outer Space and Space Communications

Procedure for the Enforcement of Space Law, Armando Cocca, Argentina; Basic Problems of International Law on Outer Space, Gershon B.O. Collier, Sierra Leone; International Cooperation in the Field of Aviation Law, Sidney Goldstein, United States; International Law of Outer Space, Andrew G. Haley, United States; Communications Satellites, Leonard Jaffe, United States; and, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, United States; The New Guadalajara Convention, Tryfon J. Koutalidis, Greece; Communications—The Lifeline of Civilization, Leonard M. Marks, United States; International Cooperation in Outer Space, Mojsov Lazar, Yugoslavia;

and, B.N. Papacostos, Greece; World Peace Through the Law of Outer Space, Nicholas M. Poulantzas, Greece: International Air Transportation, David Reich, United States; Communications Satellites - Pathways to International Understanding, Bernard G. Segal, United States; International Air Law-Public and Private. S. Tipton, United States; General Principles of Space Law, the Legal Status of Outer Space, the Status of the Celestia1 Bodies. Constantine G. Vaicoussis, Greece; Report of Rapporteur, Gabriel Rajaonson, Malagasy Republic.

Topic 8. The United Nations and Regional Political Organizations as a Source of Law Rules and Legal Institutions

Jurists Should Aid Expansion of United Nations, J.S. Castrén, Finland: The Rule of Law Now-Why Payment of UN Feace-Keeping Assessments are Crucial International Court of Justice, Abram Chayes, United States; The United Nations-The Greatest Need. Cipriano Codas, Paraquay; Proposals for Harmonizing the Principle of National Sovereignty and that of Supra-Nationality, Leon Maccas, Greece; The United Nations and Regional Organizations as a Source of Law Institutions, Mauricio and Legal Ottolenghi, Argentina; Reorganization and Strengthening of the United Nations, G. Papahatzis, Greece; The Role of United t.he Nations in the Development International Law, Sturks Peterin, Yugoslavia; The United Nations and Regional Political Organizations as a Source of Law Rules and Legal Institutions, John Bruce Piggott, Australia; The United Nations and the Rule of Law, Constantin A. Stavropoulos, Greece; Applications and Development of International Law by the United Nations, Stephan Verosta, Austria; Report of Rapporteur, Radhakrishna Ramani, Malaya.

Topic 9. International Cooperation on Legal Education and Research

International Cooperation on Legal Education and Research, Diego Bustamante, Ecuador; Jacques Loesch, Luxemburg; Vicente G. Sinco, Philippines; Stavros Stavropoulos, Greece; and, Katsumi Tarumi, Japan; The

Teaching of International Law-A Contribution to World Peace, Luis Garcia-Arias, Spain; Legal Education and Research, Erwin N. Griswold, United States; Suggestions for Real International Cooperation in the Legal Field, Benmelha Guaouti, Algeria; Report of Rapporteur, Rudolf B. Schlesinger, United States.

Topic 10. Encouraging International Unification of Private Law

Unification of Law and Practical Solutions, Arezki Amokrane, Algeria; and, N.V. Boeg, Denmark; For an International Jurisdictional Control of the Applications of Uniform Law - Methods - Necessity, Jean Gallot, France; The Benelux Commission for the Study of the Unification of Law, Francois Goerens, Luxemburg; International Unification of Private Law, Daniel Jacobson, Israel; N. Koral, Turkey; Constantin Lambadarios, Greece; Kurt H. Nadelmann, United States; and, Paul K. Ryu, Korea; Report of Rapporteur, Mario Matteucci, Italy.

Topic 11. Organizing Lawyers Internationally for Effective Cooperative Action

International Organization of Lawyers for Cooperative Action, Denys Hicks, United Kingdom; Kaarlo Kaira, Finland; Abdul Kader Midani, Syria; Nobuo Naritomi, Japan; Robert G. Storey, United States; Katsumi Tarumi, Japan; and, Dimitrios Zepos, Greece; Report of Rapporteur, Fernando Fournier, Costa Rica.

Topic 12. Stating the General Principles of International Law

Principles of International Allah Bukhsh K. Brohi, C.B. Agarwala, India; Pakistan; Brendan F. Brown, United States: Cohen. Finland: Maxwell Canada: J.S. Castrén, Constantin G. Despotopoulos, Greece; and, Alfredo Martinez Moreno, El Salvador; The General Principles of Contract Law - Report on a Study of the Common Core of Legal Systems, Rudolf B. Schlesinger, United States; Report of Rapporteur, Norman S. Marsh, United Kingdom.

V. Luncheon and Banquet Speeches

Henry R. Luce, United States; A. Matine-Daftary, Iran; John J. McCloy, United States; Spyros Pallis, Greece; Charles S. Rhyne, United States; Hector Rivierez, Central African Republic; B.P. Sinha, India; T.O. Elias, Nigeria; and, Sylvester C. Smith, Jr., United States.

ADDRESS OF THANKS By Charles S. Rhyne, United States

First let me say we have received from all of you Greek lawyers nothing but the most wonderful and charming hospitality and kindness. We have been received not as guests, not as strangers, but as one of yourselves. It is my high privilege, on behalf of all here assembled, to express our thanks for your gracious and unexcelled hospitality. You have given us many exquisite and delightful social functions and the charm, cordiality, warmth and extent of your is unsurpassed in wonderful entertainment history. We leave you with a deep feeling of appreciation.

The presence of His Majesty the King, Her Majesty the Queen and Their Royal Highnesses Prince Constantine and Princesses Irene and Sophia at our Conference was deeply appreciated, as was the presence of your Prime Minister and other great men and ladies of Greece. Appropriate Resolutions of Thanks are to be presented tomorrow.

Words are inadequate truly to express the pleasure that is ours at the privilege of gathering in historic Athens, a place which recalls noble memories of the glory and grandeur that is the rule of law. I believe, however, that here we have neither idolized the past or dreamed of the future. We have, I believe, related them creatively. Certain it is that this magnificent occasion is a fitting social close to a week filled with events of great historical significance.

His Majesty in his inspiring address inaugurating this great Conference and Mr. Spyros

Pallis, distinguished President of our Host Association, in his address at the Opening Session both spoke of the spirit of Greece. May I add that I know I speak for all of us when I say that the spirit of Greece is a great spirit known and admired throughout the World. It is indeed known as a spirit that must continue to motivate all men at every level of government if freedom is to endure. We know that you will never fail in that spirit and we know that just to have been here has strengthened that spirit in us.

Since our Conference has been the largest most important international gathering of lawyers in World history, it seems most appropriate to refer to the vital need today to inject some of that same of Greece into our efforts to establish World Order under Law in which humanity can live in persona1 dignity, freedom and peace. Conference, motivated by that spirit, has agreed that today the most imperative need of the World is the rule of law to achieve application οf the Here we are engaged in the maintain World Peace. essential task of spelling out specific concrete steps to achieve this great goal.

We, of our profession, and you the law leaders of the World, have a special responsibility in this movement of speeding the World toward the rule of establish the machinery for maintaining To peace under law is peculiarly the task of the lawyer; requires his special training and talents, in marshalling relevant facts and skill disputes, his experience in creating new forms and procedures to cope with new problems and phenomena. We, who have done this so ably within our Nations, must now do this task for the peoples of the World. Never has the legal profession been faced with a greater opportunity to serve all humankind on the greatest problem of all the peoples of the World. of our day will - because we must - achieve this long-sought dream of all men and create the legal end war forever. We in this machinery which will room will someday be hailed as the pioneers in this great new advance by humanity. The advance from the

rule of force to the rule of right reason under law, the substitution of the force of law for the rule of force. On behalf of the organizers and workers who planned and carried out this Conference, I thank each and every one of you.

The ancient Greeks established that the rule of law is the only sure foundation upon which civilized existence can rest - that too seems to be a unanimous view of this Conference. I believe that the research, education and action program, which you have initiated here, will give tremendous impetus to this view and that the new mission, we here have undertaken, will accomplish this goal.

have listened during the past few days to and - what is memorable speeches far important than that - we have met personally, face to face, to discuss why we are here and what we must do to make progress toward a warless World. If the speeches have been many, the private In all these grand conversations have been more. associations. we have secured new ideas and concepts which auger well for our success in the great task we have undertaken.

We have benefited greatly and immeasurably from our mutual exchange of information and experience. I am sure that all of us will go home better able to perform our public and professional duties and responsibilities because of what we have learned. But above all, we go home as friends with strong bonds of mutual trust built on the understanding of mutual endeavor in a great cause.

This Conference has done so much to strengthen personal ties between us. Ties that will fuel work to build a law system strong our cooperative enough to replace the present force system. manifestations been many spontaneous friendships which we have experienced, the profound sincerity of which no man can doubt who has eyes to heart to understand. manifestations have a significance too broad and too deep to be limited by the interests of a profession. The springs of worldwide friendship, already great, have been replenished anew and have been multiplied a

hundred fold by the personal contacts at this Conference. And I am certain that these will grow and accelerate as we draw more and more leaders of the Bench, the Bar, teachers and others within the workers, for our great objectives. You have all earned the gratitude of humankind for the results of your efforts together at this great Conference and your views of the "World of Tomorrow" under the rule of law.

This pilgrimage to one of the great ancestral homes of the law is therefore an event - a milestone - of substantial and continuing importance. Importance not only in the history of our profession, but also in the history of the entire human race. We, who have labored here, will be even closer now and forever more as we go our ways, united in a common mission to save humankind from nuclear holocaust by building a World of law which will "wall out" and exterminate decision of disputes by deaths on battlefields.

I conclude by again expressing appreciation to all who have participated in this historic Conference, for everything you have done and will do to make the results of our work here productive and beneficial for all humankind.

ADDRESS OF THANKS By Sylvester C. Smith, Jr., United States

Well, I want to express to you, my good friends, first our thanks to President Pallis and to you Mr. Zepos, and through you, to Co-Chairman, members of the Athens and the Greek Bar for your generous hospitality and for your great cooperation the planning of the First World help in Conference on World Peace Through Law. We have been honored by His Majesty, in officially opening the Conference, and we were honored by the attendance of Her Majesty the Queen and Crown Prince Constantine and Princesses Irene and Sophia. Their Excellencies, the Prime Minister and his Cabinet, the Mayor and others have contributed much to the success of our

meeting. The City of Athens has been most kind in this welcome and for all this, we, the delegates, the consultants, the observers, and our ladies, thank you sirs, thank all of you.

I have come to the conclusion, after attending many meetings of the American Bar Association, that what really graces the occasion are the ladies who accompany us to the meeting. I cannot so eloquently appraise them, as my good friend President Pallis, but I think one of the great ways of recognition, American style, is to ask all of the ladies who are here to rise so that we, the gentlemen seated, can applaud them. So I think you better get up. You see that gives us a chance to see not only the beauty and the charm, but I'm sure it also gives us all a great pleasure in seeing how we can get at a successful meeting.

I want to say that the devotion of the Chairman of our Conference, my good friend of many years, Charles Rhyne, and his tremendous effort in cause, has been mentioned before. I can only encore those praises. He is one of the great members of the American Bar and the American Bar Association. of you do not realize that there are others behind the scenes. And I want to ask for recognition some of them at this time. There is Charlie Rhyne's wonderful wife and his daughter, Peggy and Bill. I could not help but notice over the five of preparations for this Conference helpful contributions. You have all encountered Bill, as he handed out and retired the translation headsets and how he helped capture the white doves of peace who escaped from the waiters. Quite a boy. Quite a young gentleman. Then I go next to a very dear friend of mine, the distinguished Secretary General of the Conference, my fellow American and distinguished lawyer in the District of Columbia, who was born in and I think he came from North Carolina, where Charlie Rhyne was also born, and his charming wife, Audrey and his son, Bill. I hope the Honorable William S. Thompson and his charming wife and son will rise so that we may applaud them. I want to be in our familiar American style. I want to address

him as Bill - Bill Thompson, this Conference of World lawyers owes much to you for your untiring efforts, your devotion to our cause and your exemplification of the highest traditions of the legal profession. We are proud of you.

Speaking of the ladies, you know I'm always a little bit surprised at how cleverly they themselves. When I was a country lawyer, I had Judge who had a woman in the Court of the County Seat who appeared frequently to testify. She was asked by you?" and being a bit lawyer, "How old are sensitive about her age, she said, "I'm 40 years Judge leaned over and said to her, old." The "Mrs. Smith (that was her name), you know you've been in this Court several times in the past three years and each time you've been asked that question you've given the same answer." She said, "Well, Judge, I want to tell you that I'm not one of those persons who says one thing today and another thing tomorrow."

when conclude we Well. tomorrow deliberations and set out upon our return to our Countries throughout the World, I am respective certain that all of us, President Pallis, will take back with us impressions - impressions of your great City of Athens but also the impression of friendship, we have made new friends and learned because views of lawyers from all over the World. Another impression, I venture to suggest, will be the common that lawyers in the Nations of the World interest international the peaceful settlement of in disputes through the rule of law. Gathered together in a Conference through the rule of law to discuss this question have been delegates and observers of different origins, of different religious faiths, of nationalities, of different races. different one must observe mutual consideration, the unity the rule οf law. nationally thinking on the ideal devotion to internationally, and individual freedom and individual opportunity. In my opinion, this will forward the realization of the brotherhood of man when we humble ourselves and seek great ideals, like World Peace Through The Rule Of May I express to the delegates my appreciation Law.

of your acceptance of my invitation, as President of the American Bar Association, to attend and also my appreciation of your attendance at this historic Conference. In spite of your busy lives, and I know how busy lawyers are, you, the delegates, have given days and many hours of your valuable time for a cause which may save the World from destruction and useless nuclear war. We express our appreciation of the work of the consultants and the contribution which the observers have made in our discussions. Ιt great honor and privilege to have with us (particularly it is a great honor and privilege for me), my distinguished Chief Justice of the States, one of the great spokesmen for the liberty of man and individuals in the World today and also to had and heard the message of that great distinguished lawyer who has given so much service to the cause of international peace through disarmament agreements, my good friend, John McCloy. And not the least, and perhaps the most brilliant of all of us, a stirring message who gave us such vesterday, Mr. Henry Luce, who has done so much to bring about what he hopes will be World Peace and the elimination force in international relations. I could also add a number of other distinguished speakers from other Nations, but I'm afraid that my pronunciation would be such that I would be embarrassed by them. to all of you on behalf of my Association, myself, and the Chairman of the Conference, I extend to you my great thanks.

In planning this Conference, we had in mind equality so that each Nation, large and small, had only two delegates, notwithstanding that some Nations many more lawyers than the smaller Nations. I expanded on the number of participants who were welcomed, as so many great lawyers wanted to But peace of the World is just as important to small Nations, if not more so, than it is to large Nations. We found, during this Conference, there is a purpose and common understanding of lawyers in all the Nations of the World. And this permitted us, if I may say so, to ourselves in frankness and though differing,

lawyers are accustomed to differ with one another, they have been tolerant of the other person's point of view. And because of this, the resolutions that the delegates will adopt tomorrow, I am sure, will include a plan of action for the future that will further our program to attain World Peace through the rule of law.

can we do upon our return to our Now what I suggest that as lawyers, we can tell homelands? lawyers about the work done at fellow historic Conference in Athens. We should tell them of the inspiring worldwide interest in seeking World Peace through the rule of law. We can urge our fellow lawyers to take an interest in this program, as a public responsibility of the legal profession in each of the Nations of the World. As lawyers we can tell other groups, Mr. Luce, other groups of citizens about this World Conference and try to arouse their interest and support for the work for World Peace which the lawyers of the World will have undertaken. if we can persuade the people generally to support our program, we, the lawyers of the World, opinion which create a World public politician and no government official can ignore.

Several years ago in Western Canada on a great farm of very many acres, and they have thousands of acres in the wheat farms there, a little four year old boy with light hair strayed away from his home into the great wheat fields. The frantic Mother calling for him got no answer. She could not She hurriedly sought her husband, who was some distance away, and got the neighbors from other They were all summoned to join in the search for the little four year old boy. And they started out from the house on the farm in all directions and the search until it became too dark and continued then they agreed to search again as soon as the dawn And when it became daylight in the morning in came. Father of the boy said to his the this home, neighbors and friends, "Let us all join hands" and so joining hands and leaving the house they walked through the wheat fields and there some thousand feet from the house they found the little boy, but it was

too late. And the Father said, "Oh, if we had only joined hands yesterday." Lawyers of the World in this great first World Conference, I believe that one of the great accomplishments of this Conference on World Peace Through Law will have been that we, the lawyers of the World, have joined hands today and not waited until tomorrow and we have joined hands in order that there will be a happier and more peaceful tomorrow throughout the whole World, in all the Nations which we, our children, and our children's children can enjoy.

"LIBERTY OF LAW" ADDRESS By Henry R. Luce, United States

In our 20th Century World, the fears and hopes of men center, as never before, on the question of World Peace. Blessed are the peacemakers. Note the word is peacemakers. Peace has to be made. cannot merely be kept - not for long - by force of Neither will peace be given to us as an undeserved gift from heaven. Peace has to be made. And by what is peace made? By many instruments - by diplomacy, by economic and other cooperation, even in part by force of arms and by prayer. But mainly and overwhelmingly, peace is the work of justice. Pac Justiciae Opus. And the work of justice is mainly the work of the law.

By these general reflections on the law, I mean to express to you my homage and gratitude. I have no doubt that the World is a safer place today than it was a year ago because, during this past year, you have each decided to come together here and to work together here — and also because surely you will decide to stay together as an organization, doing the work of justice and of peace, which only lawyers can do, and which, once begun on a global scale, must never cease.

I pay my homage to you all. And I think you will also wish to pay a special salute to Charles Rhyne. His devotion to this cause has been the magnet which has drawn us together from so many lands.

Now Mr. Rhyne and all the leaders of this Conference have stressed that the purpose of this Conference is to produce action. As I have watched Judges talking in these days lawyers and great together, getting to know each other, I would the Conference would have been immensely worthwhile, even if no action whatever resulted from But, of course, you will not permit any such end to what is actually so great a beginning. You will make plans to go on - to study, to work and to build the institutions of a World of law. It is not for me to offer any advice as to what form your organization should take. But I should like to suggest just one thing which I believe you must now undertake. You must now, I believe, take your message, in a11 seriousness, to all the politicians and to all the governments of the World and their people.

In recent years, it has become quite usual for politicians - or let us say, for statesmen - to use the word "law" in their public speeches. This Conference has received congratulations from scores of leading statesmen. But up till now, so far as I know, no President or Prime Minister has put the rule of law at the top of his political banner. No President or Prime Minister has made the rule of law the chief aim of his policy. Neither have any junior politicians done so, so far as I can recall.

This is an extraordinary fact - and yet wholly understandable for many reasons. For one thing - and I do not mean to be cynical - politicians have not thought that "the rule of law" would be a vote-getting proposition.

But now, I think, the time has come when, here and there, and more and more, able politicians will see the good sense in adopting the advancement of the rule of law as a major theme of their foreign policy. The rule of law can become good politics.

As between the great powers, the policy of deterrence of atomic war has gone about as far as it can go. It must be continued, but only as a holding action until we can achieve greater reliance on law. As for neutralism, it may be a policy wholly appropriate to many Countries, but it contributes

little to the determination of the destiny of mankind. By now, a generation of young people has come to manhood and womanhood in the atomic age. This new generation seems to be a courageous one, but also rather a fatalistic one.

There is now a kind of pause in the march of world events. And we may be grateful for the pause. But it will not last long - not more than 10 years, at most. The march of human destiny will soon resume at a rapid pace. Under what banner will it march?

You have the answer to that question. The dominant majority of mankind must surely choose to march under the banner of the advancement of the rule of law. It is reasonable. It is practical; it is not easy but, step by step, it is practical. And as people come to see its realism, the advancement of the rule of law will also be seen as a thrilling adventure, an adventure in the creation of a new World, a rejection of death, an adventure into life itself, with reason as its shield and with hope as its shining sword.

In any case, whether you are an optimist or a pessimist, the time has come to put this cause squarely before all politicians. The time has come because you lawyers have prepared your case. You can speak realistically to the politicians.

You may ask: What about journalists and editors, Is it not our job to develop a strong public opinion for World law? The press does indeed have its responsibilities in this effort, but the advancement of the rule of law is not the kind of thing for which the general public can be asked to take the initiative. On a matter like this, ordinary men and women will look to their political leaders. If leading politicians now begin to make this cause their own, then the press has its part to play. good newspaper or magazine must support and applaud the politician who takes the lead in this cause and a good newspaper or magazine must deplore politician who opposes the advancement of the rule of law.

So, that is the matter of substance which it is in my heart to say to you today. Lay your plans well

for a continuing organization - an Institute of World Rule of Law or whatever you may decide. And then both through that organization and as individuals, confront the politicians of every land with your proposition. The time has come for this decisive effort in World affairs.

And now, since this is the Fourth of July, I may be permitted to say a few words about my Country and about the Declaration and the Constitution which gave it birth. We Americans are proud of our Country. We great economy, are proud of many things - of our wherein wealth is abundantly produced and widely are proud of our institutions shared. We our scientific and cultura1 learning, of achievements. But most of all, we are proud of our form of government, whose aim and character we call liberty under law. This has been the main business of Americans for nearly 200 years. The task of developing this form of government never ceases. would salute today, an outstanding living architect of liberty under law, Chief Justice Warren. other Americans, I may dissent from some of his decisions but I concur, with all of my heart, in the evident determination of his Court to maintain and to enlarge liberty, even in this complex and dangerous age.

"Liberty under Law" - that is the American theme. In our Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, our Founding Fathers said that they presented their case "with a decent respect for the opinion of mankind". That did not mean that they were entering into a sort of global popularity contest. Far from it. They knew what they believed - and to their unshakable beliefs they pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. But they did want as many people as possible, everywhere, to know what they were doing and why. Not only then, but down through the centuries.

Today, in this great effort to establish liberty with law, we Americans again address ourselves to the opinion of mankind. But this time in a double sense. We set forth what we believe, as President Kennedy has done and as every American President has

done. But we have no desire to impose our beliefs on others. We think, in our devotion to liberty under law, we have something useful to say to all men. But World Law must be based on a wide and deep consensus of the people of many Nations. It is that consensus which World Peace Through Law seeks most earnestly to achieve.

We are proud of our Country. We are conscious of many serious faults which we labor to overcome. But, in the future, we shall be proudest of all if, by serious dialogue between free and equal men of all Nations, America shall have done her part in discovering and in creating the common worldwide language of liberty under law.

PROCLAMATIONS, DECLARATIONS AND RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY

the First World Conference on World

Peace Through Law

Athens, Greece July 6, 1963

THE FOUR STEPS AT ATHENS TOWARD WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW

- I. Proclamation of Athens
- II. Declaration of General Principles for a World Rule of Law
- III. Lawyers Global Work Program to Advance a
 World Rule of Law
 - 1. Proposed Committees of the World Peace Through Law Center
 - IV. Resolutions Creating the World Peace Through Law Center

I. PROCLAMATION OF ATHENS Adopted by the First World Conference on World Peace Through Law Athens, Greece, July 6, 1963

THIS CONFERENCE OF MEMBERS of the legal profession, from more than 100 Nations throughout the World, being well aware of, and deeply concerned with, the fact that violation of the rule of law in

international affairs by Nations can only lead to disturbance of the peace and destruction of mankind through nuclear holocaust, has concluded and hereby proclaims that law must replace force internationally as the controlling factor in the fate of humanity.

We firmly believe that a World ruled by law is attainable by those to whom this proclamation is addressed - the three billion people who inhabit the Earth.

We recognize and willingly accept our special responsibility as law professionals, technically trained in procedures for the just and peaceful resolution of disputes, to create and support effective and equitable means for the peaceful settlement of transnational differences between peoples and Nations.

We have adopted, at this Conference, a global Work Program for developing and strengthening rules of international law and international legal institutions and procedures and we solemnly pledge ourselves to carry it forward with dispatch, enlisting the joint efforts and resources of the one million members of the legal profession of all Nations. The urgency of the need and the determined leadership now available, as a result of this Conference, make us confident that our program of research, education and action will cause the force of law to replace the law of force in the World Community.

We call on the people of all Nations throughout the World, and especially their governments, to support this "Proclamation of Athens" to the end that the program here adopted can be translated from idea to reality, thereby assuring mankind that the ever-accelerating arms race and the threat of annihilation by war may be ended forever.

II. DECLARATION OF GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR A WORLD RULE OF LAW

Adopted at the First World Conference on World Peace Through the Rule of Law Athens, Greece, July 6, 1963

IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH an effective international legal system under the rule of law which precludes resort to force, we declare that:

- (1) All states and persons must accept the rule of law in the World Community. In international matters, individuals, juridical persons, states and international organizations must all be subject to international law, deriving rights and incurring obligations thereunder.
- (2) The rule of law in international affairs is based upon the principle of equality before the law.
- (3) International law and legal institutions must be based upon fundamental concepts of fairness, justice and human dignity.
- (4) International law and legal institutions must be capable of expansion, development or change to meet the needs of a changing World, composed of Nations whose interdependence is ever on the increase and to permit progress in political, social and economic justice for all peoples.
- (5) All obligations under international law must be fulfilled and all rights thereunder must be exercised in good faith.
- (6) A fundamental principle of the international rule of law is that of the right of self-determination of the peoples of the World, as proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations.
- (7) Each individual is entitled to effective legal protection of fundamental and inalienable human rights without distinction as to race, religion or belief.
- (8) Those who are subject to international law must resolve their international disputes by adjudication, arbitration or other peaceful procedures.
- (9) International obligations, including decisions of international tribunals, must be enforced by appropriate international community action.
- (10) The United Nations organization is the World's best hope for international peace under the rule of law and must be supported and strengthened by all possible means, and to this end we reaffirm our

support of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

III. <u>LAWYERS' GLOBAL WORK PROGRAM TO ADVANCE A WORLD</u> RULE OF LAW

Adopted by the First World Conference on World Peace
Through the Rule of Law
Athens, Greece, July 6, 1963

THIS WORK PROGRAM for the lawyers of the World is based upon ideas expressed and objectives described at the First World Conference on World Peace Through the Rule of Law, held in Athens from June 30 to July 6, 1963. It is not intended to constitute, in any sense, a summary of the Papers presented during the Conference, but rather a list of some of the subjects lawyers should study in their worldwide, joint and cooperative efforts to strengthen World law rules and World legal institutions. While by no means intended to be exhaustive, this Program is designed to suggest some of the many steps which may be taken, studied or supported by the proposed World Peace Through Law Center and by lawyers and jurists throughout the World to help achieve a just and enduring peace under the rule of law. The order in which the items appear below has no significance other than that they were discussed in this order at the Conference.

We, therefore, refer to the Center the following subjects which have been raised at Athens and urge the Executive Committee of the Center to consider them and establish priorities, having regard to the work being done by other international and national organizations, with the intention to support and avoid interference with such organizations. With respect to each of the following twelve topics, the World Program should take the indicated action:

I. INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

(1) Encourage states to refer international disputes for adjudication by the International Court of Justice or other international Courts, particularly by means of the inclusion in treaties of a provision that disputes relating to their interpretation shall be decided by the International

Court of Justice or such other appropriate international tribunals as may be established.

- (2) Encourage the respective states to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice or, if such jurisdiction has been accepted with reservations, to withdraw reservations which reserve, to the respective states, the right to determine whether a matter is within their domestic jurisdiction.
- (3) Further the establishment of regional chambers of the Court, sitting from time to time at locations more convenient to the litigant states.
- (4) Consider the question of rights of appeal from decisions of regional chambers of the Court to the International Court of Justice.
- (5) Consider the modification of the Court's present composition, in view of the changes which have occurred in the World since the Court's establishment.
- (6) Consider whether the various states should adhere to treaties or adopt laws under which decisions of the International Court of Justice, and other international Courts, can be enforced through local judicial procedures.
- (7) Consider amendment of Article 34 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice to permit certain international organizations to have direct access to the Court, as parties on a basis of equality with states.
- (8) Encourage greater use of the International Court of Justice by the United Nations itself, particularly through requests for advisory opinions. II REGIONAL AND SPECIALIZED COURTS
- (1) Study the feasibility of the establishment of regional Courts for the principal geographical regions of the World and specialized Courts with jurisdiction over specific subject matter.
- (2) Study whether there should be a right of appeal from decisions, of either or both such Court systems, to the International Court of Justice.

 III PROMOTION AND PROTECTION OF FOREIGN INVESTMENTS
 - The Work Program should include studies on:
 - (1) The establishment, by inter-governmental

action, of institutional facilities for the settlement through conciliation, mediation and voluntary arbitration of international investment disputes in those cases where adjudication is not yet practicable or desirable, perhaps under the auspices of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

- (2) The means for and the establishment of effective procedures for the impartial resolution of international investment disputes.
- (3) The recognition of the special rights and needs of the developing Nations.
- (4) The use of multilateral treaties for the clarification of rights and obligations, with respect to foreign investments.
- (5) The elimination of double taxation and the adoption of the principles of due process of law in all matters, including those with respect to taxation.
- (6) The repeal of laws that discriminate against foreign investors.
- (7) The problems involved in expropriation or nationalization and the provision of prompt, adequate and effective compensation, with due consideration of the varied interests involved.
- (8) The work of the International Law Commission in this area.
- (9) The principle that international investors should be independent of international politics.
 - (10) A model international investment code. The Work Program should also:
- (11) Create domestic foreign investment committees, composed at least in part of lawyers, to make recommendations and take action in this field.
- IV (A) DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ASSOCIATIONS
- (1) Stimulate and encourage greater cooperation on trade and economic matters among the more newly-developing Nations.
- (2) Study the current legal obstacles to the expansion of international trade and make recommendations for their removal.
 - (3) Support organizations working on the

unification of private international law, especially, but not exclusively, in the areas of arbitral awards, arbitral procedure, contracts, international judicial cooperation, recognition and enforcement of foreign judgements and sales.

- (4) Support the establishment and expansion of common markets whenever appropriate.
- (5) Develop international law codes in the areas of law that relate to international business.
- IV (B) INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION OF INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY
- (1) Encourage states, which have not adhered to the Paris Convention for the International Protection of Industrial Property of March 20, 1883 (as revised to date), to join with the eighty states which are now signatories.
- (2) Develop uniform laws in the field of industrial property.
- (3) Support the establishment of a system of central examination for novelty of inventions to encourage investment and promote international licensing of patents.
- (4) Support the creation of a central notification and search office to identify company names and trademarks, as well as common denominations.
- (5) Encourage Governments to promote international cooperative efforts in the industrial property field in order to remove obstacles to international trade.
- (6) Develop a uniform law for the protection of "know-how" in order to encourage communication of technical knowledge and manufacturing secrets on an international basis and, particularly, to newly-developing Countries.
- V. ARBITRATION, CONCILIATION AND RELATED MEANS OF RESOLVING INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES
- (1) Promote, through research and study, the use of non-judicial means of settling disputes (advisory opinions, conciliation, conferences, good offices, mediation, arbitration, etc.) whenever their use seems appropriate.
- (2) Encourage the use of the Permanent Court of Arbitration created by the Hague Conference of 1899.

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- (3) Further the proposed establishment of Continental international arbitration tribunals composed of men of high repute.
- (4) Support the principle that fair and effective arbitral clauses should be inserted in all treaties that do not accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice or its equivalent.
- (5) Encourage the reporting of public and private arbitral decisions, effectively and universally, and effective enforcement measures with respect thereto.
- (6) Encourage the study and possible use of the Model Rules on Arbitral Procedure adopted by the United Nations International Law Commission.

VI DISARMAMENT AND PEACE-KEEPING

- (1) Educate lawyers themselves, everywhere, and government officials of their respective states, concerning the complex problems involved in establishing an effective disarmament program.
- (2) Establish committees to draft a comprehensive disarmament treaty for submission to the various states for adoption.
- (3) Study the nature, scope and functions of an international disarmament agency.
- (4) Consider and recommend appropriate peace-keeping machinery which would take effect during the process of disarmament, to protect disarming states from attack.

VII OUTER SPACE AND SPACE COMMUNICATION

- (1) Encourage states to support the following principles adopted by the United Nations General Assembly.
 - (a) International law, including the Charter of the United Nations, applies to outer space and celestial bodies; and
 - (b) Outer space and celestial bodies are free for exploration and use by all states, in conformity with international law, and are not subject to national appropriation.
- (2) Clarify the legal problems arising from the exploration and use of outer space, including liability for space vehicle accidents, responsibility

of states with regard to assistance to and return of astronauts, space vehicles and space communications.

(3) Assist in the immediate, orderly inauguration of a global system of communications by satellite which will meet the present needs of states and will provide ample opportunities for planned expansion of the services to all states without now burdening those states having no immediate demand justifying their joining the System at this time.

VIII THE UNITED NATIONS AND REGIONAL POLITICAL

ORGANIZATIONS AS SOURCES OF LAW RULES AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

- (1) Clarify the role of law and legal institutions in the United Nations and their relationship to political factors, such as the veto.
- (2) Improve the climate or professional attitude toward the United Nations with a view to attracting to it more general support and cooperation from practicing lawyers and Judges throughout the World.
- (3) Encourage more rapid codification and development of international law by various organs of the United Nations.
- (4) Support, in particular, an increase in the work of the International Law Commission by lengthening its sessions and equipping it with additional staff able to prepare preliminary drafts with supporting documentation and commentaries.
- (5) Support the use of regional political organizations for developing new rules of international law and legal institutions needed to deal with regional problems, on occasion, or where appropriate, with other problems for which United Nations action would not be appropriate or feasible.
- (6) Bring to the attention of the lawyers of the World the new rules of law and legal institutions being developed by the United Nations, its specialized agencies and regional organizations, as an example of the dynamism and constant development of the international legal system.
- (7) Encourage and support a thorough historical study and analysis of the utilization of the various articles of the United Nations Charter.

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- IX INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ON LEGAL EDUCATION AND RESEARCH
- (1) Encourage law schools and bar examiners to require, from all law students, a background in international law.
- (2) Encourage and support comparative studies throughout the World of the quality and extent of international law training and prepare recommendations for improvements.
- (3) Encourage expanded programs for exchanges of lawyers, law professors, law students and law books and materials.
- (4) Encourage and support the creation of an International Research Center in order to proceed with the numerous research projects which the Conference has approved.
- (5) Encourage and support the creation, in the various Countries, of international law research centers.
- X INTERNATIONAL UNIFICATION OF PRIVATE LAW
- (1) Encourage and support the worthwhile work of existing organizations and institutions, including the United Nations, that are active in this field.
- (2) Encourage and support studies designed to select areas of law most suitable for unification, especially where there are common principles, and in particular in fields of commercial law; to unify the law in such areas and to develop means of avoiding divergence of interpretation of uniform laws.
- (3) Encourage and support studies of the difficulties and obstacles in the way of making certain branches of law uniform and seek means of avoiding or removing them where unification seems wise.
- (4) Encourage and support studies of the needs of the more recently developing Countries, insofar as they relate to possibilities of unification.
- (5) Encourage the appointment of permanent national committees of lawyers to study problems of unification and make appropriate recommendations with respect thereto.
- (6) Consider the establishment of a permanent top level international consultative committee for

the selection of law subjects suitable for unification.

- (7) Develop better and broader means, including regular information bulletins, for informing the lawyers and Jurists of all Countries concerning efforts being made for unification of laws.
- XI ORGANIZING LAWYERS INTERNATIONALLY FOR EFFECTIVE COOPERATIVE ACTION
- (1) Establish a permanent World Peace Through Law Center to further the objectives of the Conference in the fields of research, education and action. Such program should include determination of methods of financing, adoption of a Charter and By-laws, selection of a headquarters, employment of necessary personnel and formulation of policies and programs.
- (2) Establish regional World Peace Through Law Centers in the major geographic areas of the World.
- (3) Foster the creation of national Bar Associations in every Country and work to aid and strengthen those national Bar Associations not presently active and strong.
- (4) Urge national Bar Associations to establish Committees on World Peace Through Law.
- (5) Encourage religious organizations of all faiths to express to their followers the concept of World Peace through the Rule of Law.
- (6) Organize such periodic Regional and World Conferences on World Peace Through Law, as are feasible.
- (7) Promote a program of technical assistance in the field of law by exchanging lawyers between developed and developing Countries for education and training, exchanging law books and furnishing financial assistance.
- XII PROBLEMS OF STATING THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW
- (1) Support research efforts to determine the general principles of law recognized by the Community of Nations, as well as general principles of international law.
- (2) Encourage studies and research in support of the work of the United Nations with respect to the

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principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among states, as recommended by Resolution 1815 (XVII) of the General Assembly of the United Nations of December 18, 1962.

IV. RESOLUTIONS CREATING THE WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW CENTER

Adopted at the First World Conference on World Peace Through the Rule of Law Athens, Greece, July 6, 1963

THIS WORLD CONFERENCE convened at Athens, Greece, on July 1, 1963, in which delegates and observers from more than 100 Nations participated,

Resolves:

- I To adopt the Proclamation of Athens, the Declaration of General Principles and the Work Program in the form attached to these Resolutions:
- II To participate vigorously in the Work Program adopted by this Conference, so as to achieve worldwide acceptance and application of the Rule of Law in international relations; and to that end
- III To encourage the formation and activity of national Committees on World Peace Through Law within associations of lawyers and Jurists.

IN ORDER TO IMPLEMENT THE FOREGOING RESOLUTIONS AND RECOGNIZING THE NEED FOR IMMEDIATE AND SPECIFIC ACTION, THIS CONFERENCE FURTHER:

Resolves:

- IV (1) That the World Peace Through Law Center is hereby created to unite the members of the legal profession of the World for the purpose of furthering World Peace Through Law.
 - (2) That the present Executive Committee of this Conference, under the continuing Chairmanship of the Conference General Chairman, shall prepare and adopt, the Charter and By-laws, designate the first Governing Board, select the headquarters, the Country of

- incorporation, employ the initial personnel and take any and all necessary action to accomplish the purposes, objectives and resolutions of this Conference.
- (3) That the Charter shall include, but not be limited to, the following:
 - (A) All members of the legal profession and specially invited guests participating in this Conference shall be Charter Members upon their written acceptance and in accordance with the Charter and By-laws. Appropriate and additional memberships and dues shall be determined by the Executive Committee.
 - (B) The Center shall establish a clearinghouse and information center relative to the activities of the legal profession of all Nations concerning the progress, ways, means and implementation of World Peace Through Law.
 - (C) Without duplicating the work of other international or national organizations, the Center may engage in research, conferences international, regional or national and other constructive activities in all phases of international law and especially the Rule of Law in international affairs, together with available institutions and procedures for the settlement of international disputes.
 - (D) The Center shall cooperate with existing organizations of the legal profession, law schools, legal centers, the judiciary and other established organizations engaged in the improvement, research and study of international law and

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- legal institutions.
- (E) It shall encourage the teaching and study of international law, recommend and assist exchanges of students, scholars, Jurists and other leaders of the legal profession, especially with the newly independent and emerging Nations.
- (F) It shall disseminate the results of such international studies and research through appropriate means and publications to its members, cooperating organizations and all governments.
- (4) That the Center shall limit its efforts and objectives to the improvement and and use of international law and international legal institutions to the end that international disputes shall be prevented and settled through judicial or legal processes.
- V That the lawyers here, assembled, approve the establishment of "World Law Day" and declare their support of it.
- VI That the lawyers here, assembled, approve a "World Rule of Law Year", during which the lawyers of the World will make a concentrated effort to advance the Rule of Law in international affairs through a coordinated program of research, education and cooperative action, utilizing existing national and international institutions and organizations and establishing such new institutions and organizations as may be desirable for the fulfillment of the objectives and purposes of the World Peace Through Law Program.

OFFICERS ELECTED FOR THE WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW CENTER

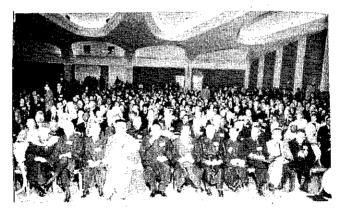
Charles S. Rhyne, Esq., Chairman, United States William S. Thompson, Esq., Secretary General, United States

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Sir Adetokunbo Ademola, Nigeria; Dr. C.B. Agarwala, India: Dr. Carlos Arosemena Arias, Panama: Mr. Fouad B. Atalla, Jordan; The Hon. Ernest Boka, Ivory Coast; Dr. Carlos A. Dunshee de Abranches, Brazil: Lic. Fernando Fournier, Costa Rica; Dr. Bernt Hjejle, Denmark; Mr. Mahmoud Kamel, United Arab Republic; Chaudri Nazir Ahmad Kahn, Pakistan; Dr. Andrew Lee, Republic of China; Avv. Vittorio Malcangi, Italy; S.C. Berthan Macaulay, Esq., Sierra Leone; M. Robert Martin, Dr. Nobuo Naritomi, France: Japan; Dr. Mauricio A. Ottolenghi, Argentina; Mr. Spyros Pallis, Greece; Dr. Radhakrishna Ramani, Malaysia; The Right Hon. Lord Shawcross, England; Robert G. Storey, Esq., United States; Dr. Abdoulaye Wade, Senegal; Mr. Dimitrios Zepos, Greece

SECOND WORLD CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON, D.C./USA SEPTEMBER 12-18, 1965

Honorary Chairman, Lyndon B. Johnson, President the United States; Honorary Co-Chairmen, Harry of S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower, former Presidents of the United States: Chairman, Dimitrios Zepos, and UN Representative of Former Cabinet Member General Chairman, S. Rhyne, Greece. Charles President. World Peace Through Law Center. Participants 5600 from 140 Nations including Ambassadors from Foreign Nations, High Officials of Host Nation and Officials of International Agencies, like The World Bank, who were invited guests; 140 Speakers; 230 Papers; Exhibits of Great Instruments of Law from 48 Nations, Copies of renowned Law Codes and Documents which are the the foundations of the Rule of Law worldwide. These included the original of the Magna Carta England; the original Declaration of The Rights of Man and of the Citizen from France; the original Declaration of Independence of the United States and an original of the United Nation's Charter. These were gathered from throughout the World by John W. Warner Jr., Chairman of the World Exhibit. He is now Senior U.S. Senator from Virginia. The Exhibit was the first and largest assembly and display of Rule of Law historic Instruments and legal Documents from ancient times until 1965.



Justices at Opening Ceremony in their robes



President Lyndon B. Johnson signs the Proclamation for World Law Day in the United States. Standing, left to right: Leonard Meaker, Legal Advisor, Department of State; Nicholas Katzenbach, Attorney General; former Justice Arthur Goldberg, United States Supreme Court (new U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations); Dean Robert Storey, former President of the American Bar Association; William Thompson, Secretary-General, World Peace Through Law Center; Charles S. Rhyne, Chairman, WPTLC; Edward Kuhn, President-Elect of the American Bar Association; and Lewis F. Powell, Jr., President of the ABA and now Justice of U.S. Supreme Court.



World Law Research Award presented World Lawyer Award presented to to Prof. Julius Stone of Australia Chaudri Nazir Ahmad Khan of by Robert G. Storey, USA.



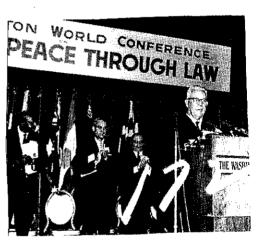
Pakistan by Robert G. Storey.



CSR greets President Lyndon B. Johnson.



Lord Denning, English Master of the Rolls, presents original Magna Carta brought over from England.



Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States and Honorary Chairman of the Second World Conference, delivers keynote address.

"If the rule of law is an ideal, the establishment of that rule is the practical work of practical men. We must not let the difficulties of this task lead us into the twin dangers of cynicism or unreasoning faith. For the fact is, that if law cannot yet solve the problems of a tormented Earth, it is steadily growing in importance and in necessity."

Thus Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States, addressed the Washington World Conference on World Peace Through Law, expressing his wholehearted support for the rule of law as the road to World Peace.

The Washington Conference assembled the World's ranking judicial and legal leaders for an historic meeting. The week-long Work Sessions, on subjects of current importance, culminated with the adoption of a "Declaration of Faith in World Order Under Law", a "Global Program of Research and Action" to build law rules and legal institutions for World Peace and the Resolutions, the titles of which are set forth later herein.

The impact of the Conference upon law, the legal profession and the public was far-reaching. In combination with worldwide celebrations of the first World Law Day, which had as its theme and the theme of the Conference "The Building of Law Rules and Legal Institutions for Peace" in the UN's Law and International Cooperation Year, the Conference focused World attention upon the rule of law as the best route to World Peace. It gave a big shove forward to the program recommended by the Athens Conference.

At the Opening Session of the World gathering, there was an impressive judicial procession of 256 national and international High Court Justices who marched in, each attired in their colorful judicial robes. A unique forum for the exchange of ideas and opinions between these leading jurists, the Conference set the background for the first World Judicial Assembly in history. Two executive sessions for High Court Judges were held at the United States Supreme Court, where opportunities for international judicial cooperation were discussed.

Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States, the Keynote Address at the Opening delivered declared that the major task of the He Session. legal profession is to strengthen existing rules of law and judicial machinery and to help urge more use of mediation, arbitration and other third party methods of resolving disputes to prevent resort to The Chief Justice reviewed the significant nationally and in the field of law, arowth internationally, and concluded:

"I believe we, of our generation, can translate the centuries—old dream of a World ruled by law from dream into reality. In part, my belief is based upon the imperatives of our day which make this a necessity to save mankind from nuclear holocaust. In part, my belief is based upon the fact that there are more laws and more judicial institutions today, nationally and internationally, than ever before in the history of mankind."

The President of the UN General Assembly, Alex Quaison-Sackey, called for a strengthening of the United Nations peacekeeping function. He said:

"While it is true that member states are influenced to some extent by international law, it is evident that the absence of any sanction or authority to enforce the law makes the law of Nations an uneasy law. The UN must be invested with more effective authority."

He cited the significant contributions to the ever-increasing corpus of international law made by the UN.

Sir Percy Spender, President of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague, urged each participant to use his personal and official influence to remove existing reservations to the jurisdiction of the ICJ. He said that, "In 20 years, less than half of the members of the UN have agreed to submit disputes to the ICJ, even with reservations." Although Sir Percy was not optimistic that this generation would see the rule of law accepted among Nations, he affirmed his belief that

the struggle, "no matter how difficult or how long, is mankind's only hope to avoid nuclear holocaust".

FIRST WORLD LAW DAY OBSERVANCE

September 13, the opening day of the Conference, was observed around the World as the first World Law In a special ceremony Monday afternoon, the Honorary World Chairman of World Law Day, Chief Justice Kisaburo Yokota of Japan, and the World Chairman, Harold E. Stassen, addressed the Conference on the importance of the necessity of creating public understanding and support for the great goals of the Conference, including support for the UN's Law and International Cooperation Year. They stressed the fact that adoption and carrying out of a true rule of law program was dependent upon the people ruled by that law. They stressed that people must feel that the rule of law serves their highest aspirations of individual freedom, equality and justice. It was their hope that in time, <u>World Law Day</u> would receive the then tremendous attention and support that Law Day - USA was receiving. President Lyndon Johnson was praised for having been the first Head of State to proclaim World Law Day. Chief Justice Yokota recalled his proposal of World Law Day at the Asian Continental Conference on World Peace Through Law in Tokyo four years ago. He expressed his pleasure that both that Conference and the Athens World Conference Conference endorsed his idea. He said in part:

"The lawyers of the World have marked another important milestone in their struggle toward the great goal of international peace. By proclaiming World Law Day they have called upon the entire World to re-evaluate the place of law in the community of Nations, and to re-instill in our way of life the rule of law as an ultimate assurance of World Peace...

"Now at this Conference, we have proclaimed "World Law Day", and we shall celebrate it, now and hereafter, all over the World. Through such concentrated effort, I hope we shall be able to foster a respect for law and thus develop peace and order in the World....

"Now, ladies and gentlemen, let me conclude my speech, with the expression of my hearty joy that "World Law Day" has just been proclaimed and my sincere hope that all the lawyers of the World, particularly those of us here assembled, will not only join in World Law Day celebrations hereafter, but also will endeavor to have it observed by the general public. In this way, we, the lawyers of the World, can contribute to the attainment of the common goal of mankind: Peace and Order in the World."

Harold E. Stassen said in part:

"We all realize that this essential development of World Law will not take place in any one single act or event or creation. It will and it must grow, evolve, be enacted, decreed, interpreted, contracted, ratified and confirmed, in a thousand steps and moves and decisions in the years ahead...

"With all the differences of religions and moral concepts on this Earth, there is a central core of understanding of principles of equitable justice. My philosophy and belief is that this stems from the inherent nature of man under God. Others would find different roots for the concept...

"Law must develop in a multitude of areas affecting every kind of international phase of commerce, investment, travel and human rights.

"Law must become the respected rules by which Nations may live in peace.

. "May this first "World Law Day" make a contribution toward this crucial challenge to all humanity on this Earth."

Lord Denning of England, Master of the Rolls and Chairman of the Magna Carta Trust, discussed the relationship of the individual rights of man to the development of international law in his speech at the National Archives, where the Magna Carta was placed on display. Lord Denning then concluded:

"On this World Law Day, when we the lawyers of many Nations from North and South and East and West, of every color and race and every religion, the most useful thing that we can do - it is to work all we can for maintaining and developing the rules of international law and to see that there is set up an

order of justice between the Nations, as it has been done within a Nation."

THE WORKING SESSIONS

The Working Sessions were designed to present and discuss the great law issues of the day, applied to the mission of the Conference to move law forward as a peace concept by practical actions. With so many renowned participants as speakers and law leaders who desired to be heard, the Program Committee attempted to meet the requirements by Twelve Working Sessions under specific topics. These were: Existing and Proposed International Courts, Space Law, International Law in Domestic Courts, International Communications, International Trade and Investment, Arbitral Tribunals, Human Rights, International Judicial Cooperation, Disarmament, Intellectual Property, Industrial and Creative Research and Education in International Expanding Structure of International Peacekeeping, and General Principles and International Organizations.

I refer all who want to know what was said at each Working Session on these topics to the published Conference Volume of the Washington Conference Proceedings. With distinguished speakers from 140 Nations and the crowded sessions, we still managed to give participants from the floor a few minutes to express their views. The five minute limit on speakers from the floor was not strictly observed but the presiding officers managed to provide a hearing for most of those who wanted to express their views.

Out of the Working Sessions came a revised 13 page global work program for concentrated effort over the next two years, before the Geneva World Conference in 1967. This global work program largely revised and reaffirmed the work program adopted at Athens in the light of worldwide legal developments presented at the Work Sessions.

My aim here is to provide a general view of what the Washington Conference considered and did. I do not repeat the specific presentations except for a

few as examples and highlights. One consultant advised that I at least give the names and subjects of each Working Session speaker. Carrying out that idea would, as it did for the Athens Conference, demonstrate the renowned status of the speakers and their expertise. Space considerations weighed against that suggestion, as my purpose is to identify the importance of what took place at the Conference in carrying out our mission of World Peace Through Law, in an overall picture, to move our purposes toward a World impact. A World impact which would lead to a turn to the rule of law worldwide.

MESSAGES FROM HEADS OF STATE

Messages from many Heads of State and Government, throughout the World, were presented to the Conference. I here excerpt a few sentences as typical of the many received.

The Federal Chancellor of the Republic of Austria, Franz Jonas, concluded his message:

"Our hopes, for the success of the great idea that inspired this Conference, have been already expressed by Chateaubriand who said that once ideas are born they become indestructible and that although they may be hampered by chains, in the end they break through because they are immortal."

Prime Minister Lester Pearson of Canada said:

"I believe that it is only through application of the concept of justice to international relations that World Peace will ultimately be attained. Justice resting on the Rule of Law can, alone, ensure the fundamental freedom of all people and provide for peaceful settlement of disputes to the end that war may be avoided."

President Chiang Kai-shek of the Republic of China stated:

"The objectives of the Conference are in complete accord with the traditions of the Chinese people. It is my earnest hope that the deliberations of the Conference will contribute in a significant way to the advancement of the rule of law and the upholding of the principle of justice among the

Nations, so that peace with justice may be achieved between and among Nations, large and small."

The Prime Minister of Denmark, Jens Otto Krag's, message stated:

"The rule of law is an integral part of my Country's foreign policy and I am proud to say that Denmark has carried this policy to a practical test in submitting conflicts to decisions taken by the International Court of Justice and various arbitration Courts. To me it is therefore promising that lawyers from all over the World gather in an effort to promote the rule of law in the struggle for World Peace. On behalf of the Danish Government and the Danish people, I wish you well in this important task."

Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia said:

"...the rule of law is now on everyone's lips. The key to further progress must be found in those fundamental principles of dignity, freedom and equality so dear to the heart of all men aspiring to peace and justice. May these principles and this desire serve as a broad foundation on which you can bring your ideas closer in accord and map out converging lines of action. And may your efforts be successful."

The Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Ludwig Erhard, said:

"The Conference will strengthen the principle of law in international relations and contribute to secure peace and understanding among Nations."

President Zalman Shazar of Israel stated:

"Our generation faces a fateful choice between the path of continued acquiescence in conflict and the road of peace through law. Life and death are set before us, Scripture tells us, and then commands us to choose life that we and our children may survive. May the spirit of that command inspire the sessions of our Conference, a Conference to which we attach so much importance that we have sent a high level Delegation, headed by our Minister of Justice Dr. Dov Joseph. It is our hope and prayer that the joint deliberations of men of law, from so lands, will make a genuine contribution to the advancement of that greatest of causes, World Peace."

Prime Minister Eisaku Sato of Japan said:

"I sincerely hope that this well-timed gathering of distinguished Jurists from all over the World will, with their ripe wisdom and deep insight, accomplish fruitful results in the interest of a stable and orderly community and mark a significant milestone in the history of mankind in quest for universal legal rules."

Prime Minister Keith Holyoake of New Zealand said:

"At no time has it been as vital as it is today that the rule of law should take the place of the rule of force, as a means of settling international disputes. No lasting peace will be possible until we have a World Order based on and regulated by law. In the struggle to achieve such an order, the work of the legal profession will continue to have an important share..."

Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of the Federation of Nigeria stated:

"Your message of peace and goodwill among men of all races and colors, based upon the solid foundation of the rule of law, should make us reflect upon the future of our World and at the same time appreciate that there is no other course left to us but that of a constant endeavor to achieve World Peace Through the Rule of Law."

Prime Minister Einar Gerhardsen of Norway said:

"The people of Norway believe that international conflicts should be settled in a peaceful way through law and that it is possible to realize this aim."

Prime Minister Harold Wilson of the United Kingdom stated:

"Peace cannot exist without law and justice. Justice depends on the development of law and of fair and peaceful means for the settlement of disputes. Yours is a great and worthy cause."

Secretary-General U Thant of the United Nations said:

"That so many distinguished members of the legal profession, from so many Countries, have gathered together to discuss World Peace Through Law is eloquent testimony of the continuance of one of man's

oldest quests and deepest yearnings - a legal order among Nations which will make force the servant, not the master, of law and which will banish forever the scourge of war... Your own deliberations will also help to clarify the issues, as they will help highlight, for the public, the importance of constant efforts if we are to make progress toward a rule of The United Nations law. and Governments powerless to make real progress without informed and general public support - the kind of support made so evident by your presence here today."

NIXON:LUCE HIGHLIGHTS - LUNCHEON ADDRESSES

RICHARD M. NIXON

Tuesday, September 13, Henry R. Luce, Late Editorial Chairman of Time, Inc., called me to say he been advised that Richard M. Nixon had just returned from a two and a half week trip to the Asian area, particularly Vietnam, and he would be glad to his scheduled Luncheon Address time Wednesday, September 14, 1965 with the former Vice-President. I suggested we both try to reach Nixon. We were successful and Nixon's speech was one of the highlights of the Conference. He said:

"It is somewhat precarious for me to interject any counsel to this group which has spent so much SO much effort studying the specific problems which are before you. I do believe that one point of perspective might be worth bringing to your When I noted that this Conference was attention. meeting and when I read the headlines in the morning paper, I realized how I could only suggest that we look at what is possible, not at just the ideal. What is possible in this whole field of World Peace Through Law? I think we must recognize that the inductive system, rather than the deductive system, must prevail. It is very easy to think in terms of one grand pattern that can be superimposed upon all of the peoples and all the jurisprudences But then once that is done it takes only one defector to destroy the fabric of the whole. On the

other hand case by case, a bilateral agreement here, a multilateral agreement there, perhaps an agreement covering only one area of a Continent in one place and then a whole Continent in another - it is this kind of progress which in the end we not only must be satisfied with but which we must almost, it seems to direct our aims toward. This is achievable. the end we will build a framework of law for economic matters, in the whole field of human relations between Nations. eventually in the framework that by reason of the fact that it has not people who are imposed from above on different, and systems which are so different, that it is impractical for it to be implemented.

"What I am really trying to say is this, I am convinced that in this room are lawyers and Judges day laymen who in their day to work of World Peace to the development contributing Through that very process Through Law. you sometimes wonder whether it matters to work out an agreement between two Countries or three or four when you think of the whole scheme of World problems. that is the only way it seems to me that the eventual objective is to be achieved, starting in other words from the specific and going to the general, rather than the general down to the specific."

He then said, "One thought I leave with you. think it worth passing on. It is from the battle ground of that very unhappy Country, Vietnam. travelled from one end of the Country to the other in four days, I had the opportunity to talk not only to Americans but to Australians and others who there attempting to work out a satisfactory solution so that Country may maintain its independence and its absolutely imperative, freedom. Ιt is if that independence are to be achieved freedom and maintained, to gain the support of what is called its "Countryside".

"Looking at Vietnam today, I questioned a number of Vietnamese in the villages on this one point. I said: 'If you were to select in your particular village, in your province, what you wanted most from the government - your local village or province, not

the one in Saigon - that which is most important to you in local government, what would you name? Now understand that the individual could have answered a school, more rice, a better hospital, a road, or any number of things. And all of these things were mentioned. But significantly, nine times out of ten, the same refrain came back, justice, evenhanded, equal justice...

"In that Country, its unhappy people have not known justice. Therefore to them, more important than anything else, is to have a government that provides equal justice, a fair treatment under the law.

"Now you might ask and very appropriately, what does what a peasant thinks, in a little village in Vietnam, have to do with a great Conference like Simply this. You are meeting, it seems to me, on the greatest single human need that the World We can have the best economic system in the World. We can have the best political system in the We can have the best roads and highways and hospitals and food. But if we do not have justice it means nothing. Justice in the village, justice in the Country, justice in the World. And it is because you are devoted to this objective that I think this Conference, believe me, is worthwhile. I am proud to be able to greet you and to wish you well. you."

Nixon's "equal justice" illustration resonated throughout the participants' discussions.

HENRY R. LUCE

At the conclusion of Richard M. Nixon's address, I introduced Henry R. Luce who told the audience:

"You are the custodians of man's most reasonable passion - the passion for justice." He then said:

"In recent years, especially in this decade, a great deal has been happening in the field of law.

"Much has been done, much is being done every day to weave a worldwide tapestry of law. And, what is important to my theme today, radical changes in how men think have also occurred in the field of law

especially in international law. The striking change has been cogently expressed by Professor Wolfgang Friedmann, who will address us past, international law tomorrow. In times negative law. It was mainly concerned for a sort of polite co-existence between sovereign states. international law is still negative but the news that today international law is being understood an international law of cooperative organization. Contemporary international 1aw is expanding from negative rules of abstention to positive rules for organized international cooperation. As a pragmatic that in the last two example, there is the fact of the United States the government 600 international participated in more than Conferences - more than were held in the first 150 years of our history.

"Professor Friedmann's insight goes far to explain to me why the law was not effectively used in the reorganization of the World after World War II. The radical changes in how men must think about the law had not been sufficiently developed. That goes far to explain why the United Nations itself was not more deeply grounded in some accepted principles in law; and, that it was impractical at the time. Then, is that why the United Nations has not done more to advance the rule of law, and why the World Court is the least used Court in the World?

"On the other hand, it is evident to what a small degree the basic concept of the rule of law has penetrated the consciousness of the peoples of the World and how comparatively little it has inspired and informed the actions of our rulers at the highest level...

"International law is being studied, not only in 101 law schools but also, at the undergraduate level, in no less that 325 universities and colleges, and I in quality matches the rise in am sure the rise The fact that the new generation lawyers is so much more internationally minded in the professional sense is, it seems to me. unmistakably hopeful sign.

"The increasing use of the law, the increasing

study of international law with its changing outlooks can, I think, be viewed as an aspect, an essential aspect, of the ecumenical spirit now at work in the making of the new World...

"I have called attention to the ecumenical spirit because that perhaps best expresses the way in which we and our successors need to learn to think about a new World to be shaped not by force of circumstance alone but also, in goodly part, by the free will of free men...

"The World we are determined to have is a World characterized by the rule of law, a rule of law which binds the pride of Nations to the common good and which protects the individual from the arrogance of governments.

"For we are concerned not only for law and order; we are concerned equally for human liberty.

"Liberty! That, we Americans say, is the greatest word in our lexicon. And we join hands and hearts most readily with all other Nations whose people hold that word most dear. Liberty to us means liberty under law.

"Give us, then, that order which without freedom is a snare and that freedom which without order is a delusion.

"That is the great gift which you in this Conference are helping to envision and to shape. In so doing, you earn the gratitude of all your fellow men. May Providence guide and speed you in your task."

Luce's "human liberty under law" speech also resonated throughout the participants' later discussions.

At the Friday evening banquet, Arthur J. Goldberg, former Associate Justice of the Supreme Court and then US Ambassador to the UN, who had, over the years, contributed tremendously to the World Peace Through Law Program, told his audience that "Law must be the vanguard of social justice for all men. We must continuously remind ourselves that law itself does not make stability. What makes stability is law that solves the legitimate grievances of people."

THE CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS AND DECLARATION OF FAITH

Recognizing the unique responsibilities of the legal profession, the Conference adopted as part of its Declaration of Faith: "We solemnly declare our unshakable faith that, whatever transient disputes there may be, a just World Order Under Law can be achieved and that, with patient determination and hard work, it will be achieved."

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

The full text of all Heads of State Messages, speeches at Plenary Sessions, luncheons, the banquet and the Working Sessions, reports, proposals, The Resolutions of Faith and Declaration Washington World Conference on World Peace Through Law are contained in an 847-page Volume under the title Building Law Rules and Legal Institutions for Peace: World Peace Through Law, the Washington World Conference. This Volume was published by the West Publishing Company, St. Paul, Minnesota, USA distributed throughout the World. I wrote a preface to that Volume which I believe describes the many presentations and proceedings of that Conference which states the following:

"The Center expresses its profound appreciation to those thousands of Jurists, lawyers and legal scholars, throughout the World, who continue to give generously of their time and funds in this essential pursuit of World Peace. We also express our sincere thanks to the participants at the Washington World Conference for their important contributions to the success of this worldwide movement for the Rule of Law...

"In this one Volume, the World Peace Through Law Center presents, to the international legal profession, the only existent up-to-date, worldwide summary of the expertise and specific recommendations of the World's legal experts for the development of international law for World Peace. It provides convincing evidence that 1) World Peace is a matter

of law and order, 2) World Peace can be attained by the establishment of law rules and legal institutions, and 3) a practical program of voluntary cooperation by the international legal profession, which when effectively undertaken, will lead peoples and governments to support international agreements for the peaceful resolution of disputes by men and Nations in a future World Community of law and order."

Above all, through the thousands of participants and their presentations, a steady spotlight was cast throughout the World through tremendous media coverage in almost every Nation, thus taking the message of the potential of World Peace Through Law as a means of ending the "Cold War" to the people of the World Community.

THE DECLARATION OF FAITH, THE HEAD OF STATE MESSAGES AND THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

The Declaration, Head of State Messages and Resolutions were printed separately from the printed Volume described above, as well as in that Volume, and both were then distributed throughout the World to Heads of State, legal professionals and leaders of Nations along with the text of the Resolutions adopted by the Conference. The subjects of Resolutions are as follows:

Regional Institutions; Multilingual Law Dictionary; Regional Judicial Conferences; UN Trainee Program; World Law Code; Compulsory Jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice; and, Lower Level International Courts.

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