

## "Bands of Robbers" — But Now Armed With Nuclear Thunderbolt

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"to work together and live as one family." In this context the nation-state system is obsolete. The problems of security and peace have grown too complex to be solved within it. Not lack of good will, the Pope sees, but "structural defects" in the existing order hinder their solution. "Today," His Holiness pleads, "the universal common good poses problems of world-wide dimensions, which cannot be adequately tackled or solved except by the efforts of public authorities . . . in a position to operate in an effective manner on a worldwide basis." This would not supersede but supplement existing political structures, creating law in their relations. Otherwise, as he quotes from St. Augustine, "What are kingdoms without justice but bands of robbers?" And those bands of robbers are now armed with the nuclear thunderbolt. . . .

### The Only Vision That Can Save Us

This is the Vision which can alone save us: the conception of one family, one race, one planet, one universal creed of human brotherhood broad enough to encompass us all, based on a Declaration of Human Rights enforceable everywhere. Within this framework of law, all is possible: a nuclear test ban, disarmament, reunification of divided countries from Germany to Korea, a new era of creative co-existence without fear or hatred which must lead ultimately to a common human society, both socialistic and spiritually free. Otherwise we are all on a dead-end street.

The Pope says that the same moral law "which covers relations between individual human beings serves also to regulate the relations of political communities with one another." This, unfortunately, describes what should be, not what is. Between man and man, resort to murder is not allowed. Not so among Nation States, where murder is the final sanction, and preparation for it the main business of the State.

To kill or be killed is the higher law of nations, and this makes them moral monsters. "It would be absurd," the Roman Pontiff says, "even to imagine that men could surrender their own human attributes, or be compelled to do so, by the very fact of their appointment to public office." It may

### Tributes We Could Do Without

It seemed as though everybody this year celebrated the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto. The President sent a message to a gathering in Carnegie Hall. The Poles treated it as a solemn national holiday. It was marked even in Moscow. Everybody used it for their own purposes: in Germany to show they were contrite, in Poland to make anti-German propaganda, in Russia to overcome the bad taste abroad of its stale anti-Semitism. But of all these mourning powers, not a single one is acting to prevent the drift toward war in the Middle East. Bonn finds all kinds of legal excuses for inaction when Israel protests that German scientists are building rockets for Egypt. Averell Harriman fatuously assures a New York Congressman that the U.S. cannot interfere because if the Germans weren't building these rockets, the Russians would! The Arabs fear the Israeli are manufacturing a nuclear weapon. The Israelis fear ex-Nazis are preparing Egypt for another try at that "final solution." A united Arab onslaught on Israel, possibly escalating into a wider war, could still be forestalled, Arab-Israeli reconciliation sought. East and West mourn the Warsaw Ghetto. But neither will lift a finger to prevent a new and greater tragedy for the Jewish people.

be absurd, but it is true. This is exactly what appointment to the highest office does in the existing international jungle. The No. 1 man in the White House or the Kremlin is put into a position where he may feel compelled to do what he would never do as a moral individual, give the signal to consign hundreds of millions of human beings to a final hell—as could have happened last October over Cuba, if one man hadn't backed down and another had pressed the button. Power to murder, not morality, determined the outcome.

The Nation State system dehumanizes the ruler and the ruled. To make us feel morally absolved for preparing mass cremation, we create caricatures of our adversaries. They are made to appear not our brothers but less-than-human, there "Reds", here "capitalists." In this lawless world we bear the mark of our ancestor Cain and are compelled to go on killing our brother. The Bomb forces a new answer, and His Holiness offers us a new one, which is an old one, but with a new urgency and in a new form.

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