We Have To Make

By THOMAS MERTON

1. The Dance of Death

No one seriously doubts that it is now possible for man and his society to be completely destroyed in a nuclear war. This possibility must be soberly faced, even can hardly adjust currelves to it in a fully rational manner. Indeed, this swith threat is the chief psychological weapon indeed, this swith threat is the chief psychological weapon paranoid game of nuclear deterrence, each one desparately object to prevere peace by threatening the other with his particular control of the control of t

In the rapidly deteriorating situation we find the foreign solicies of the great powers confused, ambiguous and policies of the great powers confused, ambiguous and sinister. Extremists tend more and more to advocate a "first strike" on the military installations and the key cities of the enemy. Others threaten massive retallation in a "second strike" which will destroy all his cities if he strikes first at our bases. At the same time, the hopes

settled violently, a minted war with conventional weapons, will "sufficient every with taction lancient weapons, will "sufficient of principles of the property of the propert

There is no control over the arbitrary and belligerent self-determination of the great nations ruled by managerial self-determination of the great surface ruled by managerial procedure than with the archail speed of real people. The procedure than with the archail speed of real people. The archaeological procedure than with the archaeological procedure than the procedure than the archaeological procedure that the archaeological procedure than the archaeological procedure that the archaeological procedure that the archaeological procedure to the beliefstered for the archaeological procedure to the both have doubtless been multip bild, but one day sensebody is high archaeological procedure to the both have doubtless been multip bild, but one day sensebody is high procedure that the archaeological procedure that the archaeolog

Is going to be called, perhaps in a very directic fashlom.

As politicisms and strategists play their irresponsible

As politicisms and strategists play their irresponsible

advantage of their own power bloc, Christian mecalists

advantage of their own power bloc, Christian mecalists

attive polite attention from the supervail public, and may

pupulation, which is an articulate and significant minority,

what they are has little direct effect on the policy of the

the Soviets. By the Soviets.

The fact remains that theologians and moral philosophers, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, have felt bound to express their opinion, and indeed many non-religious observers have contended that the religious spokesmen.

erder to maintain our own status and to protect the social advantages that have been acquired by our religious groups. Our "patriotism" tends to be discredited as the

their bread is buttered.

Meanwhile the United States alone possesses a sto pile of nuclear weapons estimated at 60,000 megatons. This is enough to wipe out the present civilized world and to permanently affect all life on the planet earth. These nuclear bombs can be delivered by some 2,500 the air, ready to strike. There are 200 missiles available to U.S. forces, mostly of intermediate range, and this does not suggest the immediate likelihood of a parely push button war. But it is estimated that by 1963 there will be two thousand more of them, of which a large proportion will be intercontinental ballistic missiles bosed in

An ICBM can carry an H-bomb warhead to a d five thousand miles away, twenty times faster than the apeed of sound. Intermediate range missiles can be fired H-bombs will soon be fitted to satellites and will be able to reach a target within a few minutes, without hope or

It must be remembered that H-hombs are relatively cheap to produce, and it is not difficult to ouild and de-liver big ones. Poison gas can also be delivered by long range missiles: One such gas is manufactured in quantity by the U.S. Army Chemical Coops and it can exteromate whole populations of more as if they were insects. A similar

nerve gas, originally developed by the Nazis, is manufactured in Soviet Russia. This gas is considered to be more effective against civilian populations than any nuclear agent. It leaves industry and property intact and clear agent. It leaves industry and property intact and there is no fallout! Shelters offer no protection against

chemical agents. The only problem is effective "delivery."

In a word, the logic of deterrence has proved to be In a word, the logic of deterrence his proved to be singularly illogical, because of the fact that nuclear war is almost exclusively offensive. So far there is no Indi-cation that there can be any really effective defense against guided missiles. All the advantage goes to the force that strikes first, without warning. Hence the multiplication of "hard" weapon sites, and of "deep skellers" leads to become provocative and instead of secures tenus to become provocative and instead of convincing the enemy of our invulnerability, it only in-vites a heavier preemptive attack by bigger bombs and more of them. The cost of moving a significant portion of industry, business and the population underground is

realize that the mere shadow of the bomb may end by reducing their religious and democratic beliefs to the level of mere words without meaning, veiling a state of rigid and totalitarian belligerency that will tolerate no

opposition.

In a world where another Hitler and another Stalin are almost certain to appear on the scene, the existence of such destructive weapons and the moral paralysis of leaders and policy makers combined with the passivity patiently and humanely work together for interests which transecent the limits of any national or ideological com-munity. We are challenged to prove we are rational, spiritual and humane enough to deserve survival, by acting according to the highest ethical and spiritual and morms we know. As Christians, we believe that these nerms have been given to us in the Gospel and in the traditional theology of the Church.

2. The Christian as Peacemaker We know that Christian as Peacemaker
We know that Christ came into this world as the
Prince of Peace. We know that Christ Himself is our peace
(Eph. 2:14). We believe that God has chosen for Himself,
in the Mystical Body of Christ, an elect people, regenerated by the Blood of the Savior, and committed by their bap-tismal promise to wage war upon the evil and hatred

that are in man, and thus help to establish the Kingdom of God and of peace.

of God and of peace.
This means a record by the Logo in the Incaration, This means a record by the Logo in the Incaration, and that Christ died out of love for all men, in order to lipte in all men. Consequently we have the obligation to treat every other man as Christ Illimedi, respecting to the contract of the cont are formally commanded to love our enemies, and this obligation cannot be met by a formula of words. It is not enough to press the button that will incinerate a city of five million people, saying in one's heart "this hurts me more than it hurts you," or declaring that it is "all for love."

for love."

As Fope John XXIII pointed out in his first encyclical
As Fope John XXIII pointed out in his first encyclical
letter, Ad Petri Cathedram, Christians are obliged to
strive for pace "with ail the means at their disposal"
and yet, as he continues, this peace cannot compromise
with error or make concessions to it. Therefore it is by power, and followed the higher wisdom of love and of

The Christian is and must be by his very adoption as a

son of God, in Christ, a peacemaker Matt. 549. He is bound to insisten the Savier who, instead of defending lower for the savier who, instead of defending lower limited to be sailed to the Cross and ded praying for like executioners. The Christian is one whose life has approag from a particular spiritual seed: the blood has parang from a particular spiritual seed; the blood lad down their lives rather than subsuit to the unjeat lases that demanded an official religious cuid of the Empere as God. That is to say, the Christian is bound, like the marryin, to deep God rather than less wheepere the state tries to usurp powers that do not and cannot belong to it. We have repeatedly seen Christians in our time

is at . We have regulately seen Circulates in our time for diffilling the adjustment of patter for a facilities the adjustment in a force insect by their resources. The contract of their considered with their region. Here it must be stated quies clearly and without any maker is not to be confused with a kind of quietties; but a fact is the confused with a kind of quietties in extra sanish is indirected to impatter, seepers any fined prices in the every pressure in order to emitting "pages at particular their confused with a first confused with a confused with a first confused with the confused with a first confused with the confused with a first confused with the confused withard with the confused with the confused with the confused with th with them as if ne were a practical apostate from the faith who had already surrendered implicitly to communism by refusing to accept the morality of an all-out nuclear war. This, as any one can easily see, is simply begging the question. And one feels that those who yield to this temptation are perhaps a little too much influenced by the pragmatism and opportunism of our affluent

There is a lot of talk, among some of the clergy, about the relative danger of nuclear war and a "communist takeover." It is assumed, quite gratuitously, that the Communist is at the gates, and is just about to take over that there is only one solution: to let the recest have it before they get our government and our universities thoroughly infiltrated. This means a preemptive strike, based not on the fact that we ourselves are actually under military attack, but that we are so "provoked" and so "directeded" that even the most drastic measures are "directeded" that even the most drastic measures are

good achieved by exorcising this largely imaginary spector of Communist domination, the argument comes back: "better dead than red." And this, in turn, is justified by the contention that the destruction of cities, nations, populations, is "only a physical evil" while Communist domination would be a "moral evil."

domination would be a "moral evil."

It must be said at once that this fantastic piece of nonsense has no basis in logic, ethics, politics or seand moral theology. It is a sophistry pure and timple. Two quotations from Pope Pius XII will suffice to establish the true Catholic perspective on these points.

The destruction of cities and nations by nuclear war is

The destruction of cities and sattons by nuclear are; a fively a subvased service "Tope Firm XII Cold aggression with a state of the property of the contribute as the cities with of the road server minimal and inter-cities worthy of the road server minimal and inter-cities worthy of the road server minimal and inter-cities with the road server of the cities where the cities of the road of the cities of th

It is made

To protect ourselves, we have to stand back and try to recover our Christian perspective, instead of rationaliz-ing, in moral terms, the familiar mental cliches that are dinned into our ears by the mass media.

3. Beyond East and West

2. Beroud East and West
We are no longer living in a Christian world. The ages
which we are pleased to call the "ages of Falls" were
which we are pleased to call the "ages of Falls" were
for the please of the control of the control
for the control of the control
for the control of the control
for the tian truth and morality. Not only non-Christiars but even Christians themselves tend to dismiss the Gespel ethle of non-violence and love as "sentimental." As a matter of fact, the mere suggestion that Christ counselled nonviolent resistance to evil is enough to invite scathing

e Ourselves Heard ridicule. One Catholic writer seems willing to abando the Sermon on the Mount to "Protestant ministers an Jewish Rabbis," (sic.)

Jewish Rabbas," (SIC.)

It is therefore a serious error to imagine that because the West was once largely Christian, the cause of the

the West was once largely Christian, the cause of the Western nations is now to be identified, without further qualification, with the cause of God. The incentive to wipe out Bolshevism with H-bombs may well be one of the apocalyptic temptations of twentieth century Chris-tendom. It may indeed be the most effective way of destroying Christendom, even though man may survive For who imagines that the Asians and Africans will re-spect Christianity and accept it after it has apparently triggered mass-murder and destruction of cosmic propor-tions? It is pure madness to think that Christianity can defend itself by nuclear preemption. The mere fact that we now seem to accept nuclear war as reasonable and

defeat lind by nodes preconden. The near fact that colored in the control of the colored in the

spiritual weapons are quixotic and worthless and that material weapons alone are worthy of serious considera-tion. But this attitude is precisely what leads to a funda-mental vittation of the Church's traditionally accepted dectrine on the use of violence in war: it seeks in every possible way to evade the obligation to use war only as a last recort, purely in defense, and with the use of just

means only.

Inevitably, as soon as the obsession with bigger and bigger weapons takes hold of us, we make it impossible for ourselves to consider the just rights of non-combatants. We twist and deform the truth in every possible way in

the orthodox believer who is already confused by the now instinctive jostification of war and weapons as the "nor-mal" Christian way of solving international problems. We must remember that the Church does not belong to any political power bloc. Christianity exists on both sides of the Iron Curtain and we should feel ourselves united by very special bonds with those Christians who, living under Communism, often suffer berolesly for their

Is it a valid defense of Christianity for us to wipe of those heroic Christians along with their oppressors, for the sake of "religious freedom"?

Let us stop and consider where the policy of massive retaliation and worse still of preemptive strike will lead Suppose we plan to annihilate huge population centers in order to protect ourselves against the menace of world

communits.

In these countries which we will not hesitate to ami-hilate, the vast majority is not Communist. On the con-trary, while the people have resigned themselves passively to Communit domination, and have become quite con-because we are belt of circle describes, and intend to wise them out, they are by no means communist. They amended the contraction of the contraction of the passive in many cases, lived through the horrors and sarri-fleres of text law and experienced thing which we can find the contraction of the contraction of the con-traction of the contraction of the contraction of the described of the contraction of the contraction of the described of the contraction of the contraction of the described of the contraction of the contraction of the described of the contraction of the contraction of the described of the contraction of the contraction of the described of the contraction of the contraction of the described of the contraction of the contraction of the described of the contraction of the contraction of the described of the contraction of the contraction of the described of the contraction of the contraction of the described of the contraction of the contraction of the described of the contraction of the contraction of the described of the contraction of the contraction of the contraction of the described of the contraction of the contraction of the contraction of the described of the contraction of the contraction of the contraction of the described of the contraction of the contraction of the contraction of the described of the contraction of the contraction of the contraction of the described of the contraction of the contractio selves are barely able to imagine. They do not want to go through this again.

We, in the name of liberty, of justice, of humanity, may be pursuing a policy which promises to crush them with even greater horror, except that it may be perhaps "merci-ful" that millions of them will simply be blown out of existence in the twinking of an eye. Merciful? When many of them have a Christlan background, many are faithful Christians?

faithful Christians?

In the name of faith, and of the Church, are we willing to exterminate other believers in Christ, other members of our Church, without even giving them the oppor-

of our Church, without even giving them the oppor-tunity to make an et of contribute.

What good will our beligerent publy to us in those
What good will our beligerent publy to us in those
What good will our beligerent public to scinfere and of
the state of the st

to crush their innocent victims. The populations of the Iron Curtain countries will then be victims twice over. Already prisoners of our enemy, we are making them at the same time our hestages and preparing to kill them in the most barbarous manner in order to make their captors feel our power. Is this Christianity? Is this even

I say that "we" are willing to do all this. Of course we do not want these effects: but if we want what makes them inevitable, how can we disclaim responsibility for them? Must we continue to insist on stretching our

them? Must we continue to Insist on stretching our moral principles to the breaking point in order to accommodate unprincipled and irrelations military surveignts moral principles in the property of the third principles of the principles of the state of the third feet in face the fact that we feel convolves terminate the principles of the state of the st not anyone util admit that our very reliance on the mas-sive power of the homb has to a great extent crippled communists have been operating under the presented Communists have been operating under the presented for any but the most serious causes. Hence, instead of for any but the most serious causes. Hence, instead of for any but the most serious causes. It was the con-formed with a multiplicity of little threats all over the world, fullet advances, little gains. They all add up, but even the total of all of them does not constitute a suffi-

cent reason for nuclear war.

But we are getting mad, and we are beginning to be theroughly impatient with the humiliation of constant defeat. The more humiliated we become, the worse we compromise our chances, the greater errors we make. compromise our chances, the greater errors we make. We used to have an unrivalled reputation among the backward peoples of the world. We were considered the true defenders of liberty, justice and peace, the hope of the future. Our anger, our ignorance and our frustration have made us forfeit this tremendous advantage.

have made us forfeit this tremendous advantage. We forget that Castro came to us first, and Lumumba came to us, first. In each case we literally pushed them that the theory of Soviet Russia. All the other undeveloped Dations were watching, and drew their own conclusions. Where do we stand now?

4.-Moral Passivity and Demonic Activism

4.—Merel Passivity and Demonic Activism. One of the most disturbing hitsga about the Western world of our time is that it is beginning to have much more in common with the Communite world than it has with the professedly Christian society of several convention of the control of the same basically materialistic view of life. Both are basically operuntate and pragmatic in their own way. And both have the following characteristics in common. On the level of merality they are the control of the contr characteristics in common. On the level of morality they are blindly passive in their submission to a determina-tion which, in effect, leaves men completely irresponsi-ble. Therefore moral obligations and decisions tend to become practically meaningless. At best they are only forms of words, rationalizations of pragmatic decisions

moment.

Naturally, since not everyone is an unprincipled materialist even in Russia, there is bound to be some moral as sense at work, even if only as a guilt-feeling that pro-duces uncasiness and hesitation, blocking the smooth ef-ficiency of machine-like obedience to immoral commands,

friency of matthe-like shedrers in innoval commands. We the blattery of Not Germany shows in the applining with the blatter of Not German shows in the applining the shedrer of the shedre tion is good. The technological development of power is our time is certainly a risk and challenge, but it is no means intrinsically evil. On the contrary, it can and should be a very great good. In actual fact, however, the furious speed with which our technological world is plunging topead with which our technological world is longer fully in control-least of all; perhaps, the poli

A simple study of the steps which led to the dropping

of the first A-bomb on Hiroshima is devastating evidence of the way well-meaning men, the selectivits, generals and statemens of a victorious nation, were guided step by step, without realizing it. By the innertiable yet simple "logic of everall" to first the shot that was to make particular to the property of the state of the world war. III. This they old purely and simply because they thought in all sincertly that the bomb was the simplest and most merciful way of ending World War III and perhaps all wars, forever.

or the winds of the first of the man of the male of the winds of an the helpides fullity of the set interor of the winds of an the helpides fullity of the set interor of the winds of the set interindeed. They are present and either on helpides after, the set inlikeder. They are present and either on helpides after, the set in the s The tragedy of our time is then not so much the malice

plus demonic activism in social, political and military life.

Inc.

There of all we must seek some receive jue the techPart of all we must seek some receive jue to the techover the reduction and stockpling of weapons. It is inturbuled but not make register of description is subtherefore the state of the state of the state of the state
sensiblence of a long range plan for saything, even for
sensiblence of a long range plan for saything, even for
sensiblence of a long range plan for saything, even
limited lightly brecome obsolete, thereby necessitating more
limited by the state of the state of the state
limited lightly brecome obsolete, thereby presentating
more of the state of the state of the state
are doing this, two birds of the world are starring, or
trough in conditions of unpuralized and subshaum detitions in conditions of unpuralized and subshaum deti-

content of update or an attention desired. The front demonstrates of the first the hundre for it devices the first of the

time seeking to improvise new and original measures to Long ago, even before the A-bomb, Pope Pius XII de

Long ago, even before the A-bomb, Pepe Pius XII de-clared It was our supereme obligation to make "war on war" 1944). At that time he stressed our moral obliga-tion to kan all wars of aggression, staling this duly was binding on all and that it "brooks ne delay, no precrast-nation, no hesitation, no subterfuge" and what have we seen since then? The A-bomb, the H-bomb, the ICBM, the further development of Chemical and Bateriological

the further development of Chemical and Bateriological Wespons, and every possible evadua and subterings to when the control of the control o

policy of a particular nation.

To reject a would-wide. The reject to conTo reject a would-wide. The reject and inTo reject a would-wide. The reject and inthe affleence that flows from our war economy, is hardly
a Christian attitude. Nor will our attachment to the
current payoff accruing to us from weapons make it any
any and the reject and the need to take the
hard road of sectifies white-free-free thickpayally important, and perhaps even more difficul
than technological control, is the restoration of some

moral sense and the resumption of genuine responsibility.
Without this it is illusory for us to speak of freedom and "control." Unfortunately, even where moral principles are still regarded with some degree of respect, morality has lost touch with the realities of our sistastion. Medern warfare is fought as much by machines as by men. Even a great deal of the planning depends on the work of

a great deal of the planning depends on the work of mechanical computers.

Hence it becomes more and more difficult to estimate the morality of an act leading to war because it is more and more difficult to know precisely what is going on. Not only is war increasingly a matter for pure specialists operating with fantatically complex—machinery, but above all there is the question of absolute servery re-above all there is the question of absolute servery reabove all there is the question of absolute servery re-garding everything that seriously affects defense policy. We may amuse ourselves by resulting the reports in mass that the server of the server of the server of the server of the basis for most judgment turn force from the server of the reality, we are simply elaborating moral fantasies in a vacuum. Whatever we may decle, we romain completely at the mercy of the governmental power, or rather the assumptions power of, massagers and generals who, stand assumptions power of, massagers and generals who, stand

(Continued on page 6)

Be Heard

behind the facade of government. We have no way of directly influencing the decisions and noticies taken by and blinder faith which more and more regions itself to to do next. This condition of irresponsibility and nonsivity is extremely dangerous

An entirely new dimension is opened up by the fantastic processes and techniques involved in modern war. An American President can speak of warfare in outer space and pohody bursts out laughing he is perfectly denly come true. When a missile armed with an H-hamb warhead is fired by the pressing of a button and its timated in "mara-correses"-millions of dead human haings. A thousand or ten thousand more here and there are not even matter for comment. Can we assume that all who make such terrible decisions, will make them in accordance with Christian moral standards? Obviously following their lead and concurring in their decisionat least by default-we are acting as Christians?

Ed Note-This article contains fragments of one that appeared in The Commonweal on Feb 9 1982 revised

We Have To Mak

By THOMAS MERTON inued from May issue) 5.-The Moral Problem.

In all-ord 5.—The Meral Problem.

In all-ord 5.—The Meral Problem.

In all-ord 5.—The Meral Problem of the disordy permitted as in longon of the disordy permitted of the disordy permitted of the destruction of a military target. It is well understood on both sides that all-out nuclear war is purely acted to both sides that all-out nuclear war is purely that the disorder of the di determined by some quite secondary and accidental cir-cumstance that has not the remotest reference to mor-

other reasons. Secasuse It had never undergone any nota-ble air bombing and was satished as an intest target to the air bombing and was satished as an intest target to the satisfactor of the satisfactor of the satisfactor of the It must be feasily admitted that ense of the military commanders of both index in Word War II simply dis-regarded all the traditional standards that were still with the bomb they also standards that were still with the bomb they unloaded on Warraw, Notterham, Coverty and London. The Allies replied in kind with Berlin. Spokeness were not vasingly on either jobs, to justify these crimes against humanity. And today while "respects" calling discuss the possibility of the United "experts" calmly discuss the possibility of the United States being able to survive a war if "only fifty millions" (!) of the population are killed; when the Chinese speak of being able to spare "three hundred million" and "still get along," it is obvious that we are no longer in the

The only sane course that remains is to work frankly and without compromise for a valid supra-national au-thority and for the total abolition of war. The pronounce ments of the Holy See all point to this as the best ulti-

The moral duty of the Christian is by no means simple The moral daty of the Christian is by no means simple. It is far from being a nest matter of ethical principle, clear out, well defined, and backed by a luefd sutherita-simple in setting by the control of the control shall be as gods . . ." (Genesis 3:5).

On the contrary, our Christian obligation consists

empited Himself and became man for our sakes. We have to look at the problem of nuclear war from the viewpoint of humanity and of God made man, from the viewpoint of the Mystical Body of Christ, and not merely from the viewpoint of abstract formulas. Here above all we need a reasoning that is informed with compassion and takes some account of flesh and blood, not a legalistic juggling with the control of the

some account of nesh and didod, not a legalistic jugging with principles and precedents. In the light of these deep Christian truths we will better understand the danger of fallacious justifications of every resource to violence, as well as the peril of indifference, inertia and possivity.

indifference, inertia and passivity.

It is not a question of stating absolutely and infallibly that every Christian must renounce, under pain of mortal sin, any opinion that the use of the bomb might be legitimate. The H-bomb has not been formally and officially condemned, and doubtless it does not need to be weapon in order to give casuistical minds an opportunity to prove their skill in evasion by coming up with another, "Bielt" way of attaining the same destructive end. It is not just a matter of seeing how much destruction and murder we can justify without incurring the condemna-tion of the Church.

But I submit that at this time above all it is vitally important to avoid the "minimalist" approach. The issue of nuclear war is too grave and too general. It threatens everybody. It may effect the very survival of the human race. In such a case one is not allowed to take any bur unavoidable risks. We are obliged to take the morally more secure alternative in guiding our choice. Let us remember too that while a doubt of the existence of an obligation leaves us with a certain freedom of choice, the doubt of an evil fact does not permit such freedom.

dealth of an evil fact does not permit such freedom. We may well dispute the legitimery of nuclear war on principle, but when we face the actual fact that recourse to nuclear weapons may quite probably result in the quasi-total destruction of civilization, even possibly in the suicide of the entire human race, we are absolutely iged to take this fact into account and to avoid this terrible danger.

It is certainly legitimate for a Catholic moralist to hold in theory that a limited nuclear war, in defense, is permitted by traditional Christian moral principles. He may even hold the opinion that the strategic use of nuclear, bacteriological and chemical weapons is theoreti-cally permissible under certain very stringent conditions which are not very likely to be actualized in practice.

But when we come face to face with the terrible doubt
of fact, dubium facti, the absolutely real and imminent
probability of massive and uncontrolled destruction with

the annihilation of civilization and of life, then there is no such latitude of choice. We are most gravely and seriously bound by all norms of Christian morality, how-ever, minimal, to choose the safer course and to try at

ever, minimal, to choose the safer course and to try at all costs to avide to general a distant. Let us remember that even if one were to admit the let us remember that even if one were to admit the safe to the control of the control of the control of deference, that was would become gravely midut, as soon as the effects of muclear destruction overflowed upon neutral or friendly nations, form though we may feel butflet in risking the destruction of our even cities being destruction upon helpless mail nations which have no interest whatever in the way and ask only to sarvive in posent, it is not up to so to dones that they

survive in peace. It is not up to us to enoose that they should be dead rather than red. Pope Pius XII said in 1954: (concerning ABC warfare) Pope Pius XII sald in 1954: (concerning ABC warfare) (described above as a sin, an offense and an outrage against God) "Should the evil consequences of adopting this method of warfare ever become so extensive as to pass entirely beyond the control of man, then indeed its use must be rejected as immoral." He adds that uncon-trolled annihilation of life within a given area "IS NOT LAWFUL UNDER ANY TITLE."

Nor is it moral to overindulge in speculation on this dangerous point of "control." A lax interpretation of this principle would lead us to decide that a twenty megaton H-bomb dropped on Leningrad is "fully under control" It has dropped on Leningrad is 'tally under control' to because all is defined an insceptible in necessaries in the researce and the researce moral difficulty either

Hence though nuclear warfare as such has not been entirely and formally condemned, the mind of the Church is obviously that every possible means should be taken to avoid it, and John XXIII made this abundantly clear in his Christmas message of 1961 where he pleaded in most solean terms with the rulers of all nations to "shun all thought of force" and remain at peace. The words of Pope John in this connection imply grave reservations even with regard to limited war which might possibly "escalate" and reach all-out proportions.

There can be no doubt whatever that the absence of formal-condemnation cannot be twisted into a tacit official approval of all-out nuclear war. Yet it seems that this is what some of our theologians are trying to do. this is what some of our theologians are trying to do.
On the contrary, our duty is to help emphasize with
all the force at our disposal that the Church earnestly
seeks the abolition of war, we must underscore declarations like those of Pope John XXIII pleading with
world leaders to resource force in the settlement of

international disputes and confine themselves to negative the Novel 1 to support that the publical leaders of the Novel 1 to support the themselves the countries, and corried on by a fluid wave of greater and control of the countries of the cou

help his country 'note-ned necessarily by force' in a just war of defense, But to extend this to allout nuclear just war of defense, But to extend this to allout nuclear neumements on nuclear war cast doubts upon its jus-tice. No theelogian, however breach, however lax, would instit that one was bound in conscience to participate in who have nuclear to the property of the property of the who favor nuclear war can only do no by making all kinds of suppositions concerning the political and mill-try facts: that it will be only a limited war or that the of megacorpses, it is difficult for us to admit the morality of all-out nuclear war.

of all-out nuclear war.

This brings us face to face with the greatest and most agonizing moral issue of our time. This issue is not merely nuclear war, not merely be possible destruction of the human race by a sudden explosion of violence. It is something more subtle and more demonic. If we It is something more subtle and more demonst. If we continue to yield to theoretically irresistable determinism and to vague "historic forces" without striving to demonic activism in the realm of politics and technology, we face something more than the material

THE MIRACLE

Jution in certain circles, and some factual data for it were yet missing. I could be of use to him there.

Well, this was a real break at last. All my life I dreamed

of a serious, intellectual occupation . . . I do not remember my parents, my elder brother brought me up. But he died, unfortunately, leaving a young widow with two kids, so

unfortunative), leaving a young widow with two Mah. so unfortunative), leaving a young widow with two Mah. so and then two, Mal Party at propects for energing, I did my heat to round off my education, evenings, by studying any heat to round off my education, evenings, by studying the property of the property of the property of the property "You will have to leaf for educative," the Professor in-"You will have the property of the Professor in-"You will make the Professor in the Professor in the 1 will post in the you and you will ask for a robot. You ill seed in this population, and the property of the 1 will post of the property of the property of the 1 will post of the property of the property of the 1 will post of the property of the property of the 1 will post of the property of the property of the 1 will post of the property of the property of the property of the 1 will post of the property of the property of the property of the 1 will be property of the property of the property of the property of the 1 will be property of the 1 will be property of the property of

presented, that Interests, and the Intellectual of east-local resonant for giving youth articles."
It was still of a lose to understand his point, and the present an analysis of contemporary civilization and he wasted for establish exactly, what proportion of most in wasted for establish exactly, what proportion of most in an particular, the reasons for such respect.

There was soorthing in this extentific hustases that Description of the present of the present of the proportion. The reasons of the proportion of the present Journal of the present of the present of the present of the Journal of the Present Conference of the present of the present Journal of the present of the present of the present of the Journal of the Present Conference of the present of the

... The Professor found a seat somewhere within view and when the person marked for experiment would appear.—it might be a young boy or an oldster, a smartly appear,—it might be a young boy or an oldster, a smartly dressed woman or a working man,—he signalled me by lifting his hand in a prearranged manner. According to these signals I would ask for a nickel, without explana-tions, or said it was for a cup of coffee, for my subway fare... In some cases I would add that I was sick, out

I have to admit: the results were deplorable. It's hard I have to admit the results were deplorable. It's hard to believe. They were in a hurry. They ran by, They did not listen, would not answer. They smiled, with embarrassment, stupidly, wickedly. All in all, they were not people, not real human beings: nothing but fileker-

ing shadows.

That first day, only one girl took pity on me, proffered her coin with a trembling hand. Twenty-six years old, a typist, Italian, food of chamber music, very shy when

By BASH P VANOVSKY

In August Mr. Romeo told me: "The boom is over. Veterans are-begging for jobs. From "The boom is over. Veterans are begging for Jobs. From Dow on I pay you only 48 dollars a week."
"What about your goods, are you going to sell them cheaper too?" I asked. After that we parted. He turned out to be a wise man, this Mr. Romeo; I should have done better to agree to any condition of his. The plain truth was, suitable jobs were so more to be found.

were no more to be found.

And so began for me a final-still existence. As long as a man has a definite occupation, his life is well measured, because the measured balanced, and keepes its meaning. You know the routhers out that the streets: the city is full of friends. In the shops and in the drug store, in the restaurant or the theatr—you are welcome everywhere. Women smile at you, you order succelent fruit, cod drinks, a stead, strong you you order succelent fruit, cod drinks, a stead, strong when the last bill is changed and spent, a man is suddenly aware of his loneliness: he is alone with his shadow.

I was in such state of mind when I met the Professor I was in such slate of mind when I met the Professor. The man's appearance was quite striking; he looked some-thing like an Einstein or a Stokowsky with his handsome silvery, artistic shock of half. He sat down next to me on a seat in the Public Library garden and began to scrib-ble something in a note-book. He was left-handed and somehow his writing seemed all the more fast and flow-

ing for it.

Having finished, he looked me over from head to foot with cool attention and suddenly offered a eigarette. We with constitution and according to the started talking.

He turned out to be a learned specialist in social psychology, or is it psychological sociology? (I really cannot

e Ourselves Heard

evil of universal destruction. We face moral responsi-bility for global suicide. Much more than that, we are going to find ourselves gradually moving into a situation in which we are practically compelled by the "logic of circumstances" deliberately to choose the course that circumstances" delit

leads to destruction.

The great danger is then the savage and self-destructive commitment to a policy of nationalism and blind hate, and the refusal of all other policies more constructive and more in accordance with Christian chical tradition. Let us realize that this is a matter of choice, not

but blind determinism.

We all know the logic of tempiation. We all know the we all know the logic of templation. We all know the confused, vague, heistant irresponsibility which leads us into the situation where it is no longer possible to turn back, and how, arrived in that situation, we have a mo-moent of clear-sighted desperation in which we freely

commit ourselves to the course we recognize as evil. That may well be what is happening now to the whole world. The free choice of global suicide, made in desperation by the world's leaders and ratified by the consent and cooperation of their citizens, would be a moral evil sec-end only to the Crucifixion. The fact that such a choice might be made with the highest motives and the most might be made with the highest motives and the most urgent purpose would do nothing whatever to mitigate it. The fact that it might be made as a gamble, in the bope that some might escape, would never excuse it. After all, the purposes of Calphas were, in his own eyes perfectly noble. He thought it was necessary to let "one perfectly noble. He thought it was necessary to let "one

perfectly soble. He thought if was necessary to let 'ween
anne die feut proposition' for the inter therefore an
entirely to greatly an experiment of the proposition'
enterly be greatly as the proposition of the first the results of the
enterly be greatly as the state of the things received
enterly to greatly a first should happen to be no longer
than the promise for every free must be read be contained by the proposition of the prevented. It is
still a prevent of the control of the contained by the proposition of the control of the
enterly the control of the
enterly the control of the
enterly the control of the control of the
enterly the control of

men hitherto passive, inert, morally indifferent and ir-responsible might suddenly recover their sense of obliga-tion and their awareness of their own power when the world was on the very brink of war.

world was on the very brink of war.

In any case, as has been said above, the ordinary man
has no access to vital information. Indeed, even the politicians may know relatively little about what is really
going on. How would it be possible to know when and
how it was necessary to refuse cooperation? Can we draw a line clearly, and say precisely when nuclear war becomes so damperous that it is unicidal? If a war of

It is one thing to form one's con to adopt a specific policy or course of action. It is highly regrettable that this important distinction is overlooked and indeed deliberately obsuscated. To decide, in the and indeed deliberately obfuscated. To decide, in the forum of conscience, that one is obligated in every way, for the construction of the construction of the con-traction of the construction of the con-central construction of the construction of the Construction of the construction of the con-traction of

means, there may be considerable febate.

It seems to me however that the commons danger represented by melear vecpous and the near incondibility of controlling them not a such task of the controlling them not a such task of the controlling them to a such task of the controlling them to be such task of the controlling them to be controlled to the controlling that the controlled task of t

defense policies. Our moral decision, and the morality of our participation in the economic and political life of a society geard for nuclear war, demand imperatively that we realize the real nature of the military policies to which we contribute by taxation and perhaps also by our work in industry. Everything in our national life is today centered on the greatest arms race in the history of man.

The Christian moral principles are relatively clear. While there is still intense debate over details, no Christian moralist worthy of the name can seriously defend outright a nuclear war of unqualified and massive aggress

The facts about ABC warfare are also clear enough, There is no question of the immense destructiveness of the weapons available to us. There is no question that the destruction of civilization and even global subcide are both peesible. There is no question that the policies

are both possible. There is no question that the policies of the nuclear powers are geared for an all-out war of incredible savagery and destructive power. What remains to be explored by the Christian is the area that is least considered, which also happens to be the area that most needs, to be examined and is perhaps the ene place where something can be done.

the one place where something can be done. By what are our policies of hatred and destructiveness dictated? What seems to drive us inexorably on to the fale which we all dread and seek to avoid? This question is not hard to answer. What started the First World War? What started the Second World Was? The answer War? What started the Second World War? The answer is, simply, the rabid, short sighthed, irrational and stub-born forces which tend to come to a head in nationalism. Christopher Dawson has said: "The defect of Hillerism does not mean that we have seen the end of such move-ments. In our modern democratic world, irrational forces lie very near the surface, and their sudden eraption under the impulse of nationalist or revolutionary ideolo-

gies is the greatest of all the dangers that threaten the modern world . . . It is at this point that the need for a reassertion of Christian principles becomes evident . . . In so far as nationalism denies the principle iof higher order and divine justice for all men) and sets up the nation and the national state as the final object of mun's

allegiance, it represents the most retrograde movement the world has ever seen, since it means a denial of the great central truth on which civilization was founded, and the return to the pagan idolatries of tribal barbar-Dawson then goes on to quote Pope Pius XII who dis tinguishes between "national life" and "nationalistic poli-

tinguishes between "mational life" and "nationalistic poli-tics." National life is a combination of all the values which characterize a social group and enable it to con-tribute fruitfully to the whole polity of nations. Nationa-listic policies on the other hand are divisive, destructive, and a perversion of genuine national values. They are This then is the conclusion: the Christian is bound to

This then is the conclusion: the Christian is bound to work for peace by working against global dissolution and the anarchy due to nationalist and revolutionary jeleologies (for Communism is in fact exploiting the intense nationalism of backward peoples). A world-wide spirit of confusion and disorder is breaking up the unity and the order of civilized society.

It is true that we live in an epoch of rapid & cata-clysmic change and the break up and re-formation of society are more or less inevitable. But the Christian must see that his mission is not to contribute to the blind

e division and the destruction of civilized mankind. We have to be convinced that there are certain things

gory.) The destruction of civilian centers by nuclear anministion bombing is genecide.

We have to become aware of the poisonous effect of
the mass media that keep violence, cruelty and sadism
constantly present to the minds of uninformed and irre-

sponsible people. We have to recognize the danger to the

We have to consider that hate propaganda, and the consistent heckling of one government by another, has always inevitably led to violent conflict. We have to rec-

It is no longer reasonable or right to leave all decisions to a largely anonymous power elite that is driving us all

in our passivity, towards ruin. We have to make ourselves

Every individual Christian has a grave responsibility to pretest clearly and forcibly against trends that lead inevitably to crimes which the Church deplores and coninevitably to crimes which the Church deplores and con-demns. Ambiguity, hesitation and compromise are no longer permissible. We must find some new and con-structive way of settling international disputes. This may be extraordinarily difficult. Obviously war cannot be abolished by mere wishing. Severe sacrifices may be de-manded and the results will hardly be visible in our day. We have still time to do something about it, but the time is rapidly running out.

A Short Story

spoken to by strangers, — that s way she gave up her nickel: to be rid of me as quickly as possible. Next day, a handsome sailor with merry drunken eyes Next day, a handsome salor with merry drunken eyes handed me a quarter and, before I had time to approach him with my questions, jumped on a conveniently stop-ning low. Later, pumy old mass, diservely and unshaven, per low to the contract of the contract of the con-tract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the con-tract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the con-tract of the contract of the contract

His namer was condescending and beerevierl, like a fanous virtuos in the company of a bungling nameter. fanous virtuos in the company of a bungling nameter. She parted with a dime, and made me write down the address of a charitable organization where they were sure to find me a suitable job . . . But when she found me the suitable policy of the sure tions, and with light, transparent eyes, who bestowed a coin on me. His answer was:

coin on me. Has answer was:
"Our Saviour taught us so." I used to settle down at
After work, the Professor and I used to settle down at
a cafeteria table. I fortified myself with sandwiches and
coffee and passed on my observations. Unfavorable reports did not uspet him at all, on the contrary, his intui-

ports did not upset him at all, on the contrary, his intui-tion was proving correct. The basic idea of his learned work found its corroboration in figures—so he asserted. "Just think," said the Professor at the end of the third day, rubbing his plump little hands with pleasure. "Just think. They claim they had built up a Christian civilization, yet what do we find? Less than twenty per-cent give response to your modest request. And out of

exect give response to your modest request. And only of these bweety recreit once, you have, and can set them thereby recreit once, you have, and can set them the property of the property of the state of the property of the state of the property of the p place to turn to: netp shall be given; And now, suddenly, everything totlered, crashed headlong upside down. The soul was no more than a table filled with figures and percentages. No joy to draw breath in such a world. Something had to be done about it, for certain, to shame

is arrogant theorist, to upset his calculations. But that? I couldn't quite figure out. My legs shook as If I were drugged when I got out of ne cafeteria. Life had become a burden. But my sister-

in-law was expecting me: I had promised to bring her some money; and I also had to see a friend, to pay back an old debt.

Well now, just fancy, the very next day a miracle did come to pass. We were working at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Fifty-ninth Street. At this populous cross-ing, as the Professor signalled to me, I always had the chance to choose among two or three passersby . . . And all of them, this time, responded warmly to my need.

swer, prompted by a deep inner knowledge: things like that cannot be learned by heart. Later on, we sat in the 57th Street cafeteria. Th fessor gloomily made his final calculations, he adjusted figures, swore, frowned, groaned . . .

He babbled on. But I was paying no attention. He seemed pitiful to me: I had him in the hollow of my hand, that presumptious sage. Everything in me was jubilant, I felt free again.

"By the way, I went to the address that little old lady gave me, the philanthropic agency. They found a job for me all right, I start tomorrow." I announced coolly, "That's something else to note down in your little book,

Forty-six dollars a week?"

The Professor waved it off with a contemptuous ges-

We parted coolly. I did not tell him the most import art of it though . . . The people who, at the corner We parted coolly, I did not tell him the most important part of it though . . . The people who, at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Fifty-ninth Street, protested their love for me, are my friends.—I managed to round them all up. They had refused to lend me any more money; but today, they put off their work, traveled hours in the subway, they put off their work, traveled hours in the subway, spent without stink, prefereded and schemed, — all in order to take part in a cause the importance of which they realized at once. The woman who offered the suits is my sister-in-law, and the two boys who filled my pockets with pennies are her children.

It is a miracle, Professor, a miracle indeed.