of the anarchy may cancel out the attempts at control. The limitation and control of weapons may reduce tensions but they cannot create justice in the affairs among nations, or define acceptable behavior for nations, or provide for the maintenance of peace. These requirements of safety, and therefore survival, belong to a more comprehensive and structured approach that takes the form of law.

It is in this sense that world law is complex. The theoretical benefits of world law are clear enough but the engineering of consent that must precede it, and the disparities and diversities in ideology, traditions, and histories, levels of educational and industrial development that have to be accommodated or reconciled within it—all these represent the kind of complexity with which human intelligence has not yet had to deal; at least, not on that scale.

Here are some of the specific questions involved in that complexity:

1. What should be the basis of representation in a world legislative assembly? If population, then a few states with mammoth populations would dominate the world. If being a nation is sufficient for equality of representation, then most of the world's peoples who live in a small number of states will be governed by a small number of people in a large number of states. If industrial capacity is the yardstick, then the peoples who have been under colonialism or feudalism are likely to feel that their have-not status is being formalized and cemented.

2. How is the law to be enforced? Assuming the resolution of the problem of representation in creating a legislative mechanism, what will the enforcement arm consist of? An army? How will it be constituted? On a voluntary basis? If so, will it be adequate? If not, will the people agree to it? Will the enforcement arm have nuclear weapons? If so, what guarantee is there that such force would not be used to inflict a world tyranny or even lead to the use of nuclear force by men who have access to it? And if the enforcement arm is not to have nuclear power, what potency will it have alongside nations that do have such nuclear power?

3. If law is the product of government, and if just government depends on the consent of the governed, how will a world organization go about obtaining such consent? Will there be a uniform yardstick applied to all? Will such a yardstick contain educational or cultural measurements, in which case an intellectual élite will be created, or will it be devoid of any measurements except adulthood, in which case sheer numbers will have to pass as wisdom? Or will it be a yardstick difficult to apply because the combination is contrived?

4. Are the powers of law to be confined to security matters? If so, what about all the other matters that create insecurity and tension and ultimately lead to conflict? If the powers of law are to be extended to justice in the relationships of nations with one another, can the area of justice be compartmentalized? What about the question of justice inside nations, especially as it concerns minority groups?

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THESE are only a few of the complexities involved in eliminating the present world anarchy and in creating a structure of world law. What is most remarkable and significant, however, about these complexities is not the difficulty in resolving them but the fact that they are not even being discussed. Any agenda addressed to world peace would have to begin with a consideration of these issues. Yet no agency of the United Nations, or of regional groupings of nations, or of individual nations is addressing itself officially to the questions. The United Nations is struggling for its life not just because the organization is weak but because men refuse even to consider how it can be made better.

It is possible that world law is beyond the reach of human intelligence. But we cannot assume it is. Fatiguing though it may be to ponder the complexities of world law, it may not be nearly so fatiguing as it will be to ponder the growing casualty lists in Vietnam. Indeed, only by pondering the connection between Vietnam and the absence of world law are we likely to discover what Vietnam is all about.

The proper place, of course, for such pondering is in the United Nations. That is where the machinery of law will have to operate. Until that happens, we are all thought-resistant barbarians and crude anarchists. —N.C.

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