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Introduction

The annual Morgenthau Memorial Lecture honors the memory of Professor Hans J. Morgenthau, a man who brought to the study of international relations rare qualities of mind.

Hans Morgenthau's early love was literature and philosophy. His father, a doctor, could see no living in that and ordered Hans to study law instead. And so he did, graduating from the University of Frankfurt in 1929. His experience with law in Nazi Germany convinced him of the wisdom of leaving the country for a teaching career, first in Geneva, then for several years in Madrid. When Hans arrived in the United States in 1937, he was without funds, and his single acquaintance in academe here, a professor at Columbia, had died the previous year.

In as yet unpublished autobiographical notes, Hans Morgenthau recounted his struggles to teach, first at Brooklyn College at $3.50 a course hour, and then at the University of Kanasas City, where he taught a variety of law courses and found unanticipated enjoyment in an American cultural experience.

Kansas City is where, in the early 1940s, he drafted his first important book, *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics.* He had become a philosopher after all! Here he decried the efforts of political science to ape the methods of the natural sciences. This, he said, was a basic misconception both of the ways of politics and of the passions of its human actors.

Hans received tenure at the University of Chicago just *before* the book was published in 1946. Had the university delayed its decision, he might not have been granted tenure at all, Professor Morgenthau sometimes insisted; "political scientists and social scientists in general thought this book was really entirely worthless." In any event, the head of

the political science department recommended that he concentrate on administrative law. In fact, the book was years ahead of its time, and today no one takes issue with its thesis that not all political and social problems are susceptible to rational solutions. More energy, more time, more manpower, and more money do not inevitably resolve such problems.

It was the application of those principles that set the theme and thesis of Professor Morgenthau's major work, *Politics Among Nations.* "The great issue as I saw it then and as I see it still today is between a crusading foreign policy which is ideologically oriented and a realistic foreign policy which emphasizes the national interest of a nation in terms of its power vis-à-vis other nations."

This book almost never saw publication because, unlike other books on international relations, it was not simply a listing of dates, treaties, and the actions of politicians, generals, and statesmen. It offered a philosophical framework with which to view the workings of the international world, setting out the often tragic courses open to even the wisest of statesmen and the limitations upon political perfectibility.

It was a book as complex and humanistic as its author. And, prominently, it included essays on the moral dimension of international politics: "...there is the misconception, usually associated with the general depreciation and moral condemnation of power politics ... that international politics is so thoroughly evil that it is no use looking for moral limitations of the aspirations for power on the international scene. Yet, if we ask ourselves what statesmen and diplomats are capable of doing to further the power objectives of their respective nations and what they actually do, we realize that they do less than they probably could and less than they actually did in other periods of history."

It was out of a sense of duty that throughout his life Hans Morgenthau worked so diligently on the problems of foreign policy. He saw clearly that if peace were to be main-

tained, it would be a result of intelligent and realistic foreign policies. The alternative was conflagration. His twenty years of service on the CRIA Board of Trustees were offered in this spirit.

On that note of duty and dedication it is fitting to introduce our distinguished speaker, Admiral H. G. Rickover, Father of the American Nuclear Navy.

Robert J. Myers
President, CRIA

September 10, 1982

Thoughts on Man's Purpose in Life

Admiral H. G. Rickover, U.S. Navy

Voltaire once said, "Not to be occupied and not to exist are one and the same thing for a man." With those few words he captured the essence of a purpose in life: to work, to create, to excel, and to be concerned about the world and its affairs.

The question of what we can do to give purpose and meaning to our lives has been debated for thousands of years by philosophers and common men. Yet today we seem further from the answer than before. Despite our great material wealth and high standard of living, people are groping for something that money cannot buy. As Walter Lippmann said: "Our life, though it is full of things, is empty of the kind of purpose and effort that gives to life its flavor and meaning."

I do not claim to have a magic answer, but I believe there are some basic principles of existence, propounded by thinkers through the ages, which can guide us toward the goal of finding a purpose in life.

Among these principles of existence, it is *responsibility* that forces man to become involved. When an individual accepts responsibility, he is taking upon himself an obligation. Responsibility is broad and continuous. None of us is ever free of it, even if our work is unsuccessful.

Responsibility implies a commitment to self that many are unwilling to make. These people are most attracted to a course of action or direction for their lives that is imposed by an external source. Such a relationship absolves the individual from the personal decision-making process. He

wraps himself in the security blanket of inevitability or dogma and has no need to invest the enormous amounts of time, effort, and thought required to make creative decisions and to participate meaningfully in the governance of his life.

The sense of responsibility for doing a job right seems to be declining. In fact, the phrase "I am not responsible" has become a standard response in our society to the complaints that a job has been poorly done. This response is a semantic error. Generally, what a person means is: "I cannot be held *legally* liable." Yet, from a moral or ethical point of view, the person who disclaims responsibility is correct: By taking this way out, he is not responsible—he is *ir*responsible.

The unwillingness to act and to accept responsibility is a symptom of America's growing self-satisfaction with the status quo. The result is a paralysis of the spirit, entirely uncharacteristic of Americans during the previous stages of our history.

The task of finding a purpose in life calls for *perseverance*. I have seen many young men rush out into the world with their messages and when they find out how deaf the world is, withdraw, to wait and save their strength. They believe that after a while they will be able to get up on some little peak from which they can make themselves heard. Each thinks that in a few years he will have gained a standing, and *then* he can use his power for good. Finally the time comes, and with it a strange discovery: He has lost his horizon of thought. Without perseverance, ambition and a sense of responsibility evaporate.

Another important principle which gives purpose and meaning to life is *excellence*. Because the conviction to strive for it is a personal one, its attainment is personally satisfying. Happiness comes from the full use of one's power to *achieve* excellence. Life is potentially an empty hole. There are few more satisfying ways of filling it than by exercising excellence.

This principle is one that Americans seem to be losing—at the very time the nation stands in need of it. A lack of excellence implies mediocrity; and in a society that is willing to accept mediocrity, the opportunities for failure are boundless. Mediocrity can destroy us just as surely as any of the more often named perils.

It is important that we distinguish between what it means to fail at a task and what it means to be mediocre. There is all the difference in the world between a life lived with dignity and style, yet which ends in failure, and one that achieves power and glory, yet is dull, unoriginal, unreflective, and mediocre. What matters is not so much whether we make lots of money or hold a prestigious job; what matters is that we seek out others with knowledge and enthusiasm—that we become people who can enjoy our own company.

In the end, avoiding mediocrity gives us the chance to discover that success comes in making ourselves into educated individuals, able to recognize that there is a difference between living with excellence and living with mediocrity.

Creativity is another of the basic principles of existence that helps to give purpose in life. The deepest joy in life is to be creative. To find an undeveloped situation, to see its possibilities, to decide upon a course of action, and then to devote the whole of one's resources to carrying it out provides a satisfaction in comparison with which superficial pleasures are trivial.

To create you must care. You must have the courage to speak out. The world's advances always have depended on the courage of its leaders. A measure of courage in the private citizen is also necessary to the good conduct of the state; otherwise those who wield power through riches, intrigue, or office can administer the state at will and, ultimately, to their private advantage.

To have *courage* means to pursue your goals and to satisfy your responsibilities, even though others may stand

in the way and success seems like a dream. It takes courage to stand and fight for what you believe is right. And the fight never ends. You have to start it over again each morning as the sun rises. Sir Thomas More wrote: "If evil persons cannot be rooted out, and if you cannot correct habitual attitudes, you must not therefore abandon the commonwealth. You must strive to guide policy indirectly, so that you make the best things, and what you cannot turn to good, you can at least make less bad."

These principles of existence—responsibility, perseverance, excellence, creativity, courage—must be wedded to intellectual growth and development if we are to find meaning and purpose in our lives. It is a device of the devil to let sloth into the world. By the age of twenty, some of us already have adopted a granite-like attitude, which we maintain throughout life. Intellectually, we must never stop growing. Our conscience should never release us from concern for the problems of the day. Our minds must be forever skeptical, questioning. We must strive to be free from that failing so common to man and deplored by Pascal in the *Pensées*, of filling our leisure with so many meaningless distractions as to preclude the necessity of thought. To be an intellectual, one's mind must be in constant movement.

Aristotle believed that happiness was to be found in the use of the intellect. In other words, ignorance is not bliss; it is oblivion. The inspired prayer does not petition for health, wealth, prosperity, or anything material but asks, "God, illumine my intellect." Man cannot find purpose in his life without expanding and using his intellectual qualities and capacities. Liberal learning is a primary source of these qualities. By liberal learning I refer to discerning taste, wise judgment, informed and critical perspectives that transcend specialized interests and partisan passions, the capacity to understand complexity and to grow in response

to it. You don't go to Heaven if you die dumb.

A cause of many of our mistakes and problems is ignorance—an overwhelming national ignorance of the facts about the rest of the world. A nation, or an individual, cannot function unless the truth is available and understood. No amount of good by our leaders or the media will offset ignorance and apathy in the common citizen. Since the United States is a democracy, the broad answer is that all of us must become better informed. It is necessary to learn from others' mistakes. You will not live long enough to make them all yourself. Reading is one method of accomplishing this purpose. A house without books is like a room without windows. A parent who brings up children without surrounding them with books wrongs his family. The love of knowledge in a young mind is almost a warrant against inferior excitement of passions and vices. When we spend a few dollars for a book, the thoughts and life's work of a great man are available to us. "In books," Bacon said, "we converse with the wise, as in action with fools."

As a reader, man is unique among living things. The ability to read—and, more broadly, the ability to express complete ideas through language—distinguishes human beings from all other life forms. Without language, complex thought is inconceivable and the mind remains undeveloped. The inability to speak and write imprisons thought. In the same vein, sloppy, imprecise thinking begets sloppy, imprecise language. Language and thought are interconnected, and the written word is the vehicle which best advances both.

Therefore, I count *reading* and its associated skill *writing* among the most significant of all human efforts. Good writing is simply the result of enormous reading, detailed research, and careful thought. It means studying to gain a good vocabulary and practicing how to use it. These kindred skills should be developed and nourished from the very first for man to grow intellectually. And unless he can express himself well, he can exert little influence on others.

A final principle of existence essential to man's purpose in life is the development of standards of ethical and moral conduct. God has made a remarkable job of the physical universe but has not done quite so well with the spiritual element. There is abundant evidence to conclude that morals and ethics are becoming less prevalent in people's lives. The standards of conduct which lay deeply buried in accepted thought for centuries no longer are considered absolute. Many people seem unable to differentiate between *physical* relief and *moral* satisfaction; they confuse material success in life with virtue.

We are now living on the accumulated moral capital of traditional religion. This is running out, and we have no other consensus of values to take its place. This is partly so because man can now obtain on earth what previously was vouchsafed him in heaven.

In our system of society, there is no authority to tell us what is good and desirable. Each of us is free to seek what we think is good in our own way. The danger is that men will compromise truth and let decency slip and thus will end up with neither. A free society can survive only through men and women of integrity. Fortunately, there still exist human beings who remain concerned about moral and ethical values and about obtaining justice for others. Such individuals provide the hope that we can maintain the values which alone give society its capacity to survive: This is the ultimate realism.

It is important also to recognize that morals and ethics are not relative; they do not depend on the situation. This may be the hardest principle to follow. *Ends*, no matter how worthy they appear, cannot justify just *any* means. Louis Brandeis, who was deeply convinced of the importance of standards, said: "One can never be sure of ends—political, social, economic. There must always be doubt and difference of opinion." But Brandeis had *no* doubt about *means*. "Fundamentals do not change; centuries of thought have established standards. Lying and sneaking are

always bad, no matter *what* the ends."

This is an ennobling statement. Life is not meaningless for the man who considers certain actions to be wrong. They *are* wrong, whether or not they violate a law. This kind of moral code gives a person a focus, a basis for his conduct. Certainly, there is a temptation to let go of morals in order to do the expedient thing. But there is also a tremendous power in standing by what is right. Principle and accomplishment need not be incompatible.

A common thread moves through all the principles I have discussed: the desire to improve oneself and one's surroundings by active participation in life. Too many succumb to an emotional preference for the comfortable solution over the difficult one. It is easy to do nothing. And to do nothing is *also* an act—an act of indifference or cowardice.

A person must prepare himself intellectually and professionally and then use his powers to their fullest extent. This view is well expressed in two extracts from *I Ching*, the Confucian Book of Changes:

> —The superior man learns and accumulates the results of his learning; puts questions, and discriminates among those results, dwells magnanimously and unambitiously in what he has attained to; and carries it into practice with benevolence.
>
> —The superior man nerves himself to ceaseless activity.

To find a purpose in life one must be willing to act, to put excellence into one's work, and to have concern for what is *right* ahead of personal safety. Life must be felt, not observed. But to do so means applying oneself daily to the task. Ralph Waldo Emerson said: "God offers to every mind its choice between truth and repose. Take which you

please—you can never have both."

No professional man has the right to prefer his personal peace to the happiness of mankind; his place and his duty are in the front line of struggling men, not in the unperturbed ranks of those who keep themselves aloof from life. If a profession is to have its proper place in the development of society, it must be increasingly dissatisfied with things as they are. If there is to be any exalting of one's work, one must learn to reach out—and not only to struggle for that which is just beyond, but to grasp at results which seem almost infinite. As Robert Browning wrote: "Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp, or what's a Heaven for."

Man's work begins with his job; his profession. Having a vocation is something of a miracle, like falling in love. I can understand why Luther said that a man is justified by his vocation, for it is a proof of God's favor. But having a vocation means more than punching a time clock. It means guarding against banality, ineptitude, incompetence, and mediocrity. A man should strive to become a locus of excellence.

Most of the work in the world today is done by those who work too hard; they comprise a "nucleus of martyrs." The greater part of the remaining workers' energy goes into complaining. Employees today seldom become emotional about their organization or its output; they are interested in making money or getting ahead. And many organizations are killing their employees with kindness, undercutting their sense of responsibility with an ever-increasing permissiveness. This is a fatal error: Where responsibility ends, so too does performance. Man has a large capacity for effort. In fact it is so much greater than we think it is that few ever reach this capacity.

We should value the faculty of knowing what we ought to do and having the will to do it. Knowing is easy; it is the doing that is difficult. The critical issue is not what we know, but what we *do* with what we know. The great end

of life is not knowledge, but action. Theodore Roosevelt expressed this concept well in his "Man in the Arena" statement:

> It is not the critic who counts, not the one who points out how the strong man stumbled, or how the doer of deeds might have done them better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred with sweat, and dust, and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs and comes short again and again; who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions, and spends himself in a worthy cause; who, if he wins, knows the triumph of high achievement; and who, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat.

The man in the arena has found a purpose in life. He daily experiences Emerson's declaration that nothing is achieved without enthusiasm. He knows that men seldom come within shouting distance of their hopes for themselves. Yet he does not quit in resignation, as have those who have taken trouble with nothing except to be born. In his work he is buffeted from two sides, challenged by his *own* ideas, which revolt at the compromises of reality, and assaulted by reality, which fights the ideas. He spends himself in that struggle, and he wins by a constant renewal of effort in which he refuses to sink either into placid acceptance of the situation or into self-satisfaction.

I believe it is the duty of each of us to act as if the fate of the world depended on him. Admittedly, one man by himself cannot do the job. However, one man *can* make a difference. Each of us is obligated to bring his individual and independent capacities to bear upon a wide range of human concerns. It is with this conviction that we squarely confront our duty to posterity. We must live for the future, not for our own comfort or success.

For anyone seeking meaning for his life, a figure from Greek mythology comes to mind: It is that of Atlas, who bears with endless perseverance the weight of the heavens on his back. Atlas, resolutely bearing his burden and accepting his responsibility, gives us the example we seek.

To seek and accept responsibility, to preserve, to be committed to excellence, to be creative and courageous, to be unrelenting in the pursuit of intellectual development, to maintain high standards of ethics and morality, and to bring these basic principles of existence to bear through active participation in life—these are some of my ideas on the goals that must be met to achieve meaning and purpose in life.

And finally, the man who knows his purpose in life accepts praise humbly. He knows that whatsoever talents he has were given him by the Lord and that these talents must be developed and used. In this way man renders thanks for the Lord's gift—and finds meaning in his life.

Exchange With Admiral H. G. Rickover

QUESTION: Please comment on your opinion of nonregistrants who feel war is wrong and will not register as a matter of conscience.

ADMIRAL RICKOVER: That is a wonderful concept, except that those who have this type of conscience are willing to accept the sacrifices of others without making any themselves. Since they live in a society, they should obey the laws of that society. I believe our country has been more than generous among nations in taking care of those whose "conscience" is against serving. If they don't like our society, they should seek a better one elsewhere.

QUESTION: What action should a concerned individual take on matters of nuclear disarmament and war?

RICKOVER: The individual elects his representatives to Congress. Congress alone can declare war. If you believe in a democratic society, you know that the majority rules. And if the majority of your representatives decides on a given course of action, that is the best we can do in our society. If you do not like the actions of your representatives, elect persons who do represent your view. You can always run for office yourself.

QUESTION: What are the chances for an international army?

RICKOVER: There have been international armies. World War I and World War II were fought by international armies on both sides. This has occurred many times in history.

QUESTION: In your experience, are people born to the ideals you espouse or is there any way to inculcate them in common clay?

RICKOVER: Children are born with no ideals; they are little savages. How they develop depends entirely on their parents and on society. Children generally follow the example set by their parents. You can make a monster of a child or you can make a good man of him. The parents' primary duty is to nurture their children; this includes their physical *and* mental health. No wealth parents can amass, nothing else they can do for their children is of greater value than their training and education.

QUESTION: How can we equate nuclear weapons and warfare with moral and ethical values?

RICKOVER: I do not know why you point at nuclear weapons alone when moral and ethical issues are involved. Weapons of themselves are neither moral nor amoral; it is their use that raises the moral and ethical issue. In all wars man has used the best weapons available to him. Gunpowder made wars more deadly. Nuclear weapons are merely an extension of gunpowder. Therefore, it is not the weapon but man himself. One can be just as dead from an axe as from a bomb. The issue is whether man is willing to wage war to carry out the moral, ethical, or other values he lives by. If history has any meaning for us, it shows that men will continue to use the best weapons they have to win. Throughout history, even when men have established leagues to prevent war, they have nevertheless resorted to it. Utopia is still beyond the horizon. Above all, we should bear in mind that our liberty is not an end in itself; it is a means to win respect for human dignity for all classes of our society.

QUESTION: You quoted Theodore Roosevelt at some length.

He said he thought he had done more to deserve the Nobel Prize by sending the U.S. fleet around the world than by helping to end the Russo-Japanese War. Comment.

RICKOVER: You asked for my comment on Theodore Roosevelt. He, just as you are, was a peace-loving man, but he realized that mere talk was not enough to prevent war. He sent the U.S. fleet around the world to show other nations the risk they would be taking in going to war with the United States. His was a practical approach. In my opinion, he did more to deter war than all the antiwar speeches of that time accomplished. He was a pacifist, but, being responsible for the safety of our country, he had to live in the world of reality. He therefore armed us to the extent he believed necessary to deter war.

QUESTION: Could you comment on your own responsibility for helping create a nuclear navy? Do you have any regrets?

RICKOVER: I do not have regrets. I believe I helped preserve the peace for this country. Why should I regret that? What I accomplished was approved by Congress—which represents our people. All of you live in safety from domestic enemies because of the police. Likewise, you live in safety from foreign enemies because our military keeps them from attacking us. Nuclear technology was already under development in other countries. My assigned responsibility was to develop our nuclear navy. I managed to accomplish this.

QUESTION: Has your view of the value of a big naval vessel been changed by the ease with which the British and the Argentines destroyed the enemy's largest ships?

RICKOVER: My views on sizes of ships have not been changed by the fact that one or two vessels, on one occasion, were destroyed. No weapon is invulnerable. One swallow does

not make a summer.

QUESTION: Could you give us an overall estimate of our nation's military state of readiness?

RICKOVER: Before I can answer this question I need to know, specifically, what kind of war you envision. This is an omnibus question. I must add that Congress does not appropriate all the money the military asks, and it should not. Nevertheless, the only one who can recommend technically what is necessary to defeat a possible enemy is the military. But if Congress went along with all the military requests, the country would be bankrupt in a short time. Therefore, military appropriations, like everything else, is a compromise. Congress is your representative. It considers what the military requests; what the secretary of the treasury and others say; and then decides.

QUESTION: In view of the high standards you articulate, please comment on the role of deceit, lying, and misleading in government affairs.

RICKOVER: I have been in government since 1918; I have not, during that entire time, found deceit and lying in government except in a very few instances. However, I have found what I considered exorbitant charges by some contractors. I always took action in an attempt to recover these excess costs for the government.

QUESTION: Are there not certain extraordinary circumstances in which ends justify means? For example, war against obviously pervasive evil? Perhaps in the more intense areas of international political warfare?

RICKOVER: The issue of ends justifying means has been debated by philosophers, the religious, and by political scientists for ages. They have never arrived at a definitive

answer. I am enough of a human being and have enough faith in and experience with humanity to know that no human is pervasively evil.

QUESTION: Have any of our presidents fulfilled the requirements you have described for man's purpose in life?

RICKOVER: No.

QUESTION: What is the specific goal of the American Government in the promotion of the basic principles of existence you have outlined?

RICKOVER: The specific role of the American Government is to uphold our Constitution, enact laws in consonance with its provisions, and see to it that these laws are enforced.

QUESTION: You said that no professional man has the right to seek his peace before the happiness of society. Don't you think that the superpowers nowadays are putting their happiness above the peace of the world? Countless hours have been spent talking on disarmament, but in reality no actual weapons have been disassembled. Please comment.

RICKOVER: In the first part of the question you said "no professional man. . . ." But you then changed over from the professional man to large groups of people, so I don't know to whom you are referring. Those who conduct a government are responsible for the safety of their country and for taking steps to see that the country endures. Superpowers, like other nations, are composed of people. The governing group of a country makes its decisions on the assumption that these have the approval of the people. If this is not so, the rulers ultimately will be replaced.

I know of no superpower that does not want peace. But people frequently make the mistake of assuming that be-

cause so much talk goes on during the process of arms reduction, the powers are not generally earnest in their desire for peace. This, I believe, is an erroneous conclusion. Negotiations for arms reduction are time consuming and arduous. We must trust that no country desires world destruction, certainly not its own destruction.

QUESTION: How far ahead can leaders look and plan? How do you see the situation twenty years from now? More of the same, or will there be a radical change?

RICKOVER: More of the same.

QUESTION: Doesn't man need religion as a vehicle for ethics?

RICKOVER: What is the real difference between ethics and religion? Religions are one way of expressing ethics. If an individual finds a way to be ethical other than through a formal religion, then he is equally good. What is religion really about? Essentially to treat others as one wishes to be treated himself. And if a man does not believe in a formal religion but acts as a decent human being and treats his fellow men as he himself wishes to be treated, that is adequate. All religions have essentially the same goal. I do not believe that the only decent people in the world are those who go to church regularly.

QUESTION: Do you think that there is any possibility that the military—specifically, the U.S. military—will eventually provide the leadership for a genuinely creative peace effort?

RICKOVER: That is not the function of the military; it is the function of our citizens. The military is established for a specific purpose: to train for and be ready to fight a war. The military believes that by being ready it enhances the prospects of peace.

QUESTION: In your January testimony before the Joint Economic Committee and elsewhere, you decry the influence of corporate power in America. You stated that business leaders have lost sight of basic American values. Their decisions are not subject to democratic checks and balances. The danger is that business has become a rival of government power. Yet how do we assure a polity free from the excesses of untoward use of governmental authority unless business and other institutions exercise independent judgment? How can business better serve the public interest?

RICKOVER: That is an essay, not a question. It raises a number of basic philosophical issues. A man goes into business to make profits. There is nothing wrong with that. What is wrong in some businesses is that people start doing things which are considered unethical by the public. Many laws have been enacted to stop these practices, but there has yet to be a law in which human beings are unable to find loopholes. That is why legislatures continue to enact new laws. Human beings are shrewd. And don't forget: Only a third of the people in the world are asleep at any one time. The other two-thirds are scheming about how to take advantage of those who are asleep. To assure a policy of government free of excessive governmental authority, the electorate must vote into office those whose platform urges less government. But this places the onus on the people. As I have said, business can serve itself and the country best by making profit—as long as its actions do not violate our laws.

QUESTION: Do you believe in mandatory service for your country, for all high school graduates? For example, one year in the military or one year in the Peace Corps?

RICKOVER: I certainly do. If there is to be military service, all citizens should share in it. Those who wish to avoid

military service want to share in the benefits our country provides but not in its burdens. They plead "conscientious" objection, and so on and so forth. That is nonsense. If they do not like this country or its laws, they are free to emigrate to other countries whose laws are more in accord with their ideals. My belief is that it is good for young people to perform service to their country during their early years, because they can gain considerable education in life as well as a broad view of their responsibility to their country. They will also learn a great deal from the discipline to which they will be subject.

QUESTION: What are your current personal endeavors in the field of nuclear disarmament?

RICKOVER: I am not involved in nuclear disarmament negotiations. Others are assigned that job. My job has been to create armaments, not to disarm us.

QUESTION: How would you reform American education so that you could create the type of people that you think would carry out the ideals you spoke about?

RICKOVER: As you may be aware, I have written several books on education. What I advocate is using the potential of all our children to the greatest extent. This does not necessarily mean they will turn out well. There have been educated crooks as well as educated saints. Education in itself is neutral. It teaches values; it teaches ways of life. But whether this "takes" is like a vaccination. Sometimes it doesn't take.

QUESTION: Could you comment, admiral, on your faith or lack of faith in collective security in general or the United Nations in particular?

RICKOVER: You may remember there was a League of Nations

before the United Nations. How effective was it? Regardless, World War II came along. I believe the United Nations will still be in existence when World War III erupts. The fault does not lie with the officials of the United Nations but with its member-states. The officials merely carry out the desires of their governments. From the U.N. record, I do not believe that presently any state can depend on the United Nations for its security.

QUESTION: There is reported to be over three tons of nuclear firepower in existence today for every man, woman, and child alive. How much overkill do we need?

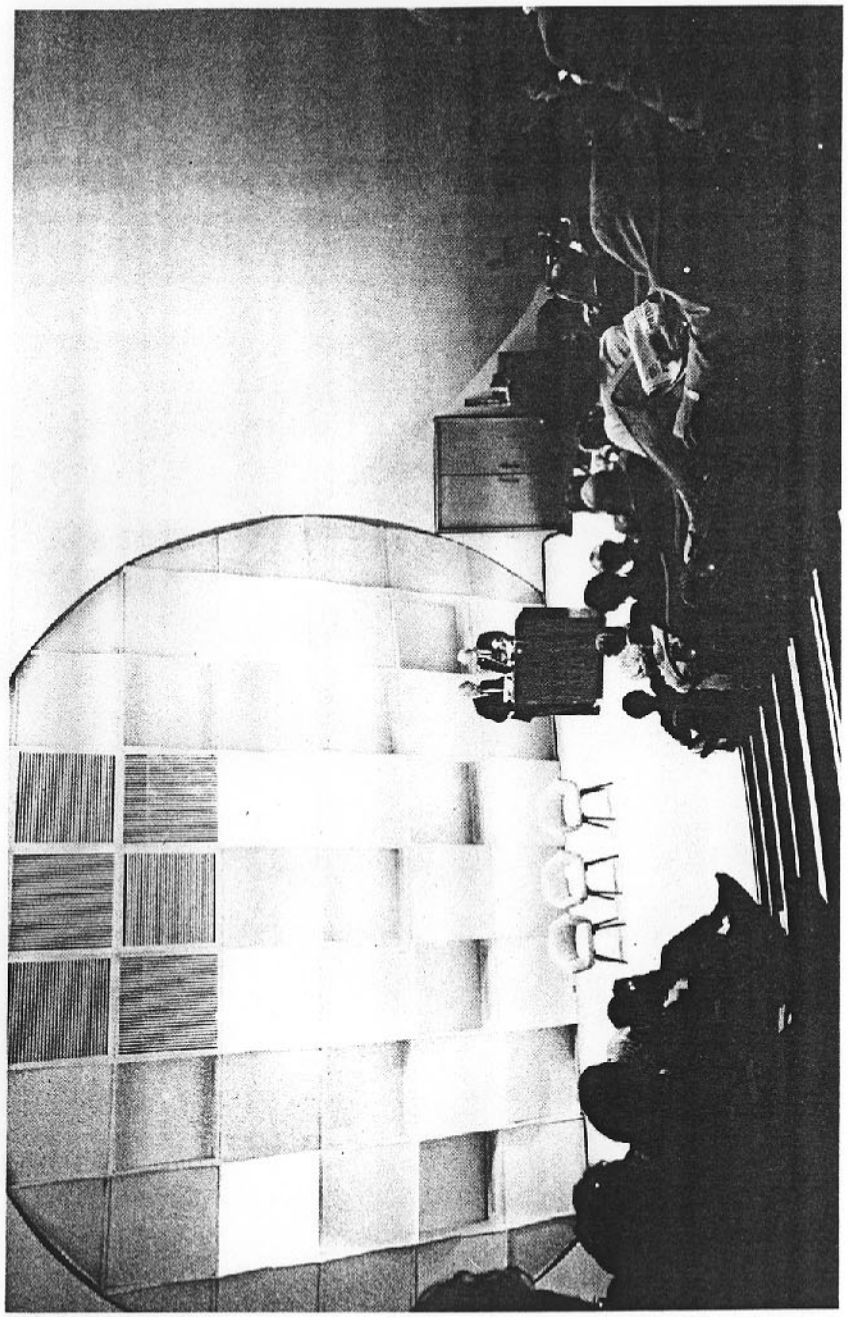
RICKOVER: I do not know how much "overkill" there is today. You must bear in mind, however, that those charged with the security of our country must take a number of factors into account: the firepower of the one or more countries who may become our opponents; the necessity for duplication because the entire nuclear firepower of a nation cannot be located in any one place; and the possible malfunction of the weapons.

ROBERT MYERS: I very much want to thank Admiral Rickover for coming today and making this Morgenthau Memorial Lecture the salty occasion that I know Professor Morgenthau would have enjoyed.

RICKOVER: I deeply appreciate the opportunity to talk with this audience. From the questions asked, it is obvious to me that all of you are concerned with the future of our country and with the future of the people of our Earth.

The Council on Religion and International Affairs, an independent, non-sectarian organization, was founded by Andrew Carnegie in 1914. CRIA believes that the ethical principles of the major religions are relevant to the world's political, economic and social problems. Through a varied program, CRIA attempts to relate these principles to the specific questions which bear upon the urgent international problems of our time.

CRIA's entire program is designed to bring into a common forum of discussion interested men and women from various areas: businessmen, labor leaders, statesmen, journalists, professionals and scholars. The program is devoted primarily to seminars on ethics and foreign policy, special consultations, work abroad and publications. In addition to its monthly journal, *Worldview* ($17.50 per year), CRIA publishes a variety of material. This pamphlet is one of a series devoted to "Ethics and Foreign Policy." All of these publications can be ordered from CRIA.



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