the University of Moscow.

To his death. There are handfuls of men in the world who can be incited to deliberately lay down an abstract concept which is their dedicted cause. Whole armies deliberately and rationally lay down their lives in the name of war. I propose that we manufacture other motivations not in keeping with this exception men, however, whose emotional structure permits them to take the cash and let the credit go. There are others of the species kill each other, the species is committing suicide.

WAR

Like many young men in all parts of the world, we find ourselves contemplating the possibility that long before we might be sent to fight a war. There is no yet pressing immediacy, so bold inevitability that we shall soon be caught up in a tide of mobilization for war with the other half of the world, but we realize that already we are being purposely prepared for it. I am very glad that we all stand and watch with a frightenning fascism as a world crisis is resolved in Korea, and speculate about the possibilities of its outcome. Almost all of us are in our very last two years, just five years ago, War, to us, is still the business of an older generation. We are inspired by inexperience. We feel strangely vulnerable at the thought of the affairs of men committed to war. We are world, for always, when international difficulties are contested by armed force, young men become only the instruments of warfare. Often they are killed before they are old enough to vote.

Many people have worked out ways to prevent wars. The more ardent pacifists, including, alas, even Einstein, hold that wars could be prevented if only the people themselves would refuse to fight. This will never happen. It is impossible, not because man is inherently warlike and bestial, as some people believe, but because the great mass of men are essentially docile creatures who will do what they are told, and there are men who will tell them to go to war. War is not man's natural state, nor is it a matter of evolutionary doctrine. The laws of the universe are not pertinent to the case where individuals of the same species compete for survival in battle with the environment external to the species. When members of the same species compete for the right to commit suicide. Man is the only animal which commits suicide, either individually or by the international arrangement known as war.

We cannot remember anyone ever saying that when an incident occurs which he is acting according to natural law, but we know many people who say that war is a natural phenomenon. A closer approximation to man's natural state is sleep. When he has nothing to do he falls asleep, and he wakes up when he gets hungry. He wishes very much to stay alive, and likes other men to think well of him, but aside from this he will take the one and let the other go. There are exceptional men, however, whose emotional structure permits them to manufacture other motivations not in keeping with this conclusion. The only man is the leader who sends his country into aggressive war.

The extent to which he will be held the voice of authority is perhaps man's most amazing characteristic. He will follow it to his death. There are handfuls of men in the world who will deliberately and rationally lay down their lives in the name of an abstract concept which is their dedicted cause. Whole armies of another kind of men can be incited to deliberately lay down their lives, except they do not, except they will not, after a carefully executed period of psychological preparation. At the beginning of the last war the students at Oxford University actually held a ballot to decide whether they would or not they would take up arms. The majority voted that they would not. When the time came, they did. They had been reared to be taxpayers.

Today we are agreed that we would defend ourselves if attacked by the Soviet Union, and before long the emotional preparation will be complete. We shall be willing to die. We cannot help but wonder that the young men are thinking at the University of Moscow.