Mr. Connor, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am moved and honored to receive this award. You have inscribed my name on it. I am grateful for that. But in a way, it is misleading.

For no one man deserves the credit for the accomplishments of a major organization. That is particularly true in the case of the Department of Defense: the largest single organized complex in the world.

Whatever public service I rendered during my seven years as Secretary of Defense was possible only because of the selfless and dedicated group of associates -- both in and out of uniform -- who assisted me.

I have never worked with better, braver, more brilliant men. Their names are not engraved on this award. But they deserve to be.

The Advertising Council is devoted to motivating the social consciousness of America. Because of that, I would like to share with you this evening my own concern over the long-term future -- not only of our own Nation, but of men everywhere on this troubled, turbulent planet.

For most of Man's million-year history on earth he has not worried much about the long-range problems. The short-term difficulties were critical enough to absorb his entire attention.

Man has never had an easy time with disease, with poverty, with prejudice, with war, with natural disaster, or with death itself. Security and survival -- in the face of all these hazards -- have always come at a premium. These problems have been so insistent that they have always cried out for immediate, short-range, stop-gap solutions.

The future had pretty much to be left to take care of itself. The present was pressure enough.
Superficially, the same seems true today.

I do not need to describe to you the tensions that divide our country. We are all aware of them. They urgently require remedial action. All of us -- each in his own way -- must do what we can to alleviate them.

But in the last third of the twentieth century, that sort of present-tense problem-solving is simply not going to be sufficient.

The problems of the present -- as serious as they are -- are not the most pressing.

For perhaps the first time in man's long history, he can no longer afford to let the future take care of itself.

The reason is clear.

Our technological revolution -- unlike the earlier industrial revolution -- has so foreshortened the future that its relationship to the present is an altogether altered one.

The evolution of events, relative to man's lifespan, now moves with a new and ominous acceleration. The result is that the future is no longer as free and flexible as it once was. More and more, our tomorrows are pre-determined by our todays.

What we do in this decade -- or perhaps more precisely, what we fail to do in this decade -- will not only determine the character of the decade itself, but of the whole of the next century.

If we project our vision forward a hundred years -- to the year 2068 -- and look back in retrospect on the intervening century, I believe that two stark and staggering problems loom unmistakably large over that hundred-year horizon: two problems which dwarf all the others -- both by their magnitude and by their malignancy.

They are the threat of thermonuclear war -- and the threat of overpopulation.
Both are explosive forces that can simply foreclose human civilization as we have come to understand it.

These twin threats cannot be left for the future. They must be dealt with now.

If we merely play for time in the face of these two predicaments, we can be certain that the penalty and punishment for our procrastination will be brutal beyond belief.

Most poignant of all, we may not ourselves have to pay that penalty, or suffer that punishment. We will have committed the crime. But it will be our children, and our children's children who will reap the retribution.

Let us explore, for a moment, the first of these threats: thermonuclear war. The facts are starkly simple in one respect, and incredibly complex in another.

The simple facts are these: both the Soviet Union and the United States possess today -- at this very moment -- such a surplus of strategic thermonuclear warheads that either country could fully and finally destroy the twentieth-century existence of the other, even after being destroyed itself in a first-strike.

Consider the consequences of that intrinsic irony.

The Soviet Union can -- and would -- destroy the United States, were it to attack us. The United States can -- and would -- destroy the Soviet Union, were we to attack it. In terms of the definitiveness of the destruction, it does not ultimately matter who attacks first. For in either case, the attacked nation would still possess -- and use -- sufficient retaliatory power to destroy the destroyer.

Those are the simple facts.

Now let us look at the complex facts.

What we have in this situation is technically termed mutual assured-destruction capability. It constitutes the essence of the whole deterence concept.
Both the Soviet Union, and the United States, have so great a stockpile of reliable, accurate, and deliverable thermonuclear warheads that neither nation has any meaningful need to build more.

Both nations have every possible reason already to stand in awe of each other’s retaliatory forces, and thus we both have every possible reason already to be deterred from attacking the other.

It is true that the United States possesses superiority in this equation. Since 1961 we have increased our total strategic nuclear delivery capability from some 2900 warheads to more than 4200. In the tactical nuclear weapon field we now have deployed in Europe alone some 7200 warheads. That is more than twice the number we had in Europe in 1960.

Today we have nearly three times as many strategic nuclear weapons in our alert forces as we did eight years ago, and this includes more than a 15-fold increase in ballistic missiles alone: more than 1000 ICBMs as compared with 28 then; and 41 Polaris submarines with 656 missile launchers now, as compared with 3 submarines with 48 less powerful missiles then.

In all of these categories, we have a substantial lead over the Soviet Union: 1054 land-based ICBMs for us to about 900 for them; 656 submarine missile launchers to their 75; more than 600 intercontinental, strategic bombers to their 150.

Even in total raw megatonnage -- which is a misleading scale of superiority -- we have the edge. But the decisive index of advantage is the number of independently deliverable nuclear weapons, and here our total is 4200 to the Soviets' 1200.

This does, indeed, represent superiority for the United States.

But the crucial point to remember is that it is a superiority of limited significance. For the blunt fact is that it would take only 400 one-megaton warheads -- out of the more than 2200 warheads in our alert forces alone -- to destroy
over a third of the Soviet population and a half of her industrial capacity. And the capability of the Soviet Union to deliver similar devastation on the United States -- *either before or after such an attack by us* -- is roughly the same.

To repeat: we both have the retaliatory power utterly to lay waste to one another's society, regardless of who strikes first.

Heavy ABM defenses are a wholly futile solution for either of our nations. They would merely trigger an increase in offensive capability on the other side, which would not only nullify any defensive advantage, but would tend to spiral onward another insane round in the arms race.

And after all the spending, after all the drain on human and material resources, after all the frantic and exhaustive effort, both the Soviets and ourselves would remain at the same relative position on the balance scales of security. Nothing would have been gained. Billions of dollars, and millions of man-hours would have been foolishly squandered.

But it is not merely the waste of all this that is so irrational.

It is the deliberately induced dangers that such a course of action would inescapably entail that should give reasonable men pause.

Every increase in the nuclear arms race intensifies the psychological conditions conducive to a miscalculated confrontation: a confrontation that we have already experienced -- in the Cuban Missile Crisis. That episode brought the world to the very edge of a hopeless and horrible holocaust.

We have tottered on that cliff once -- and mutually stared into the fires of hell. The pressure of events very nearly went beyond the limits of rational recall. By the slenderest of margins, reason on the Soviet side -- as well as on our own -- prevailed.

Can we be confident it would prevail again?

We cannot.
We cannot because the conditions have become infinitely more complex with the proliferation of nuclear weaponry in China, in France, and soon perhaps in a number of other nations.

Each additional country which arms itself with the atom adds a new exponent in the calculus of confrontation: a confrontation that could bring a contemporary civilization to a cataclysmic close.

Proliferation of these weapons is sheer madness among nations. It is madness because it diminishes rather than increases their security. What these nations do not ponder is the profound paradox intrinsic to all nuclear armament.

As weapons go, nuclear arms are theoretically almost unlimited in their destructive power -- and yet, they are all but useless for the traditional purposes of rationally applied military force.

For the United States and the Soviet Union, they have but one advantage: they are an effective mutual deterrent to launching a strategic war on one another.

That is why it is necessary -- each from our own national interest point of view -- that we possess the weapons. But, though we each possess them sufficiently in a balanced equation of mutual assured-destruction capability, the weapons do nothing to deter war in the world at less than the nuclear threshold.

Our nuclear superiority does not deter the Soviet Union from actively assisting the so-called "wars of national liberation". It does not deter them now, and it did not deter them even in the late 1940s, when we possessed not merely nuclear superiority but nuclear monopoly.

There is a wholly unrealistic tendency for the non-nuclear nations to assume that an atomic arsenal is the ultimate weapon. It is ultimate only in the sense that it can bring civilization to an end. It certainly does not, and cannot, bring conventional warfare to an end.

Thus, it is wholly profitless for a non-nuclear nation to pursue the chimera
of security that atomic weapons appear to promise. In reality they promise nothing to the non-nuclear nation except the greater probability of its own demise in a generalized conflict.

What, then, are we to do?

We must act, and act now.

We must do everything possible to conclude the proposed Non-Proliferation Treaty, and we must move on, promptly, to a reasonably riskless agreement with the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic nuclear armament.

We must first bring to a halt the futile and foolish arms race; and having halted it, we must then scale it down.

Now, none of this can happen unless we make a decisive effort to educate our own people, and our allies -- as well as any other nation contemplating the development of nuclear weapons -- and make clear to them the severely limited value of these weapons, and the corresponding unlimited danger inherent in their proliferation.

You men and women of the Advertising Council understand better than any one else in this country the techniques of motivational communication. I appeal to you to employ them in this educational effort.

The world is almost certainly edging toward nuclear devastation unless we can bring an end to proliferation. The problem is now. The need to seek a sane solution to the problem is now. The time to act is now.

So much, then, for the first threat.

Let me turn, now, to the second one.

It is the threat of over-population.

Like the nuclear problem, this matter is massively misunderstood.

It is even more controversial than the nuclear problem because it touches
people directly and intimately in their own lives. It is suffused with a psychological aura of sensitivity that makes it exceptionally difficult to deal with rationally.

What is imperative is that one separate carefully the objective facts of the problem from the subjective reactions to various solutions that are possible. There can be no controversy about the external dimensions of the difficulty. The world's population today stands at approximately 3.5 billion. Tomorrow evening, 190,000 more people will sit down to the world's dinner table than did tonight. That table will require a third of a billion more calories to provide those additional diners with even a skimpy, sub-standard meal.

The diners will be at the table. But the calories will not. They are not being produced.

Tonight you and I ate well here at the Waldorf.

But some 10,000 other people died today of primary or secondary malnutrition. They either simply starved to death, or they died because their inadequate diet had not protected them against preventable disease.

No one needs to tell you that the globe is divided roughly into the have nations, and the have-not nations. About a third of the world's people live in the have nations.

And what is it that they have?

They have ample food supplies; almost universal literacy; and high per capita income.

These are the very items the more than two billion people living in the other nations have not.

Africa, for example, has the lowest per capita income in the world, and the highest illiteracy rate.

But the most characteristic difference between the have nations and the
have not nations is the birth rate.

It is important to understand why this is the case.

The reason is simply that in the richer nations the birth rate has been brought down into balance with their modern low death rate.

In the poorer nations the death rate has come down spectacularly in the last 25 years, but there has been no corresponding drop in the birth rate.

It is relatively easy for even primitive public health improvements to diminish the death rate in an underdeveloped country.

But it is very difficult to bring about an equivalent balance in the birth rate.

The industrialized nations had more than 100 years to bring these rates into balance. During the 19th century the death rate declined slowly, and was followed leisurely by a rather spontaneous drop in the birth rate. But the underdeveloped countries do not have that kind of time frame. President Ayub Khan, in 1965, pointed out that: "In ten years time human beings will eat human beings in Pakistan". He urged his people toward what he termed a "brave exercise of birth control."

He had good grounds for doing so.

Were the present birth rates to continue, his country of 126 million today will burgeon to 300 million 30 years from now; and to more than 2 billion a century from now.

India adds a million people a month to its population, despite its government-backed birth control program. But that is not to say that India's women want children all that badly. A third of a million Indian women have illegal abortions every month as well.

Indeed, the stark fact is that abortion remains the most effective and generally practiced worldwide birth prevention method. There are an estimated one million illegal abortions a year in our own country. There are many millions
more in Latin America.

In five countries of Western Europe, it is estimated that the abortion rate equals the live birth rate. In one Latin American country there are indications that the ratio of abortions to live births may be as high as three to one.

I want to stress that I am proceeding from any particular theological view of the matter. Religion, of course, should play a role in so human and ethical a matter as this. But the current controversy among Catholics, for example -- as important as it undoubtedly is -- does not particularly reflect the demographic facts in Catholic countries.

There is, for example, no demographic evidence that Catholic countries differ substantially in their birth rates from non-Catholic countries of the same general level of economic development. Though Latin America is an area where high birth rates coincide with widespread Catholicism, studies indicate that the rates are more influenced by economic considerations than by religious convictions. In a survey of six Latin American cities -- using the frequency of attendance at Mass as a gauge of religiosity -- it was found that "devout" Catholic women have slightly fewer children, on the average, than women only "nominally" Catholic.

On the other hand, a strong link was discovered between the level of education and fertility. Women with less than a primary school education have in some Latin American cities at least one more child than their better educated counterparts, regardless of the intensity of their religious beliefs.

I am not arguing theology. I am simply discussing demography, and its relationship to economic development. And there can be no argument over the fact that population growth must be reduced, and brought into reasonable balance with death rates, if any sort of substantial economic development is going to take place in the southern half of the globe.

Further, there can be no argument over the fact that ultimately the
population growth will be brought into some kind of balance with the death rate. The only real question is whether it will be done rationally and humanely -- or whether it will be done, as it always was done prior to 1800, by the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: pestilence, war, famine, and natural disaster.

If the current rate of 2% growth, worldwide, were to continue for a hundred years, there would be 25 billion human beings on the planet. In 650 years there would be one person standing on every square foot of land there is.

Now, this is not going to happen, obviously.

But just as obviously, we have only one real choice before us. Either we take steps now to contain the population explosion rationally, or it will end by being contained irrationally.

If we are going to be rational, we had better begin by being realistic. No significant reduction in birth rates has yet been achieved anywhere on a scale which can significantly affect overall world population totals.

In the case of individual countries with substantial populations, only Japan has through its own determined efforts been able to cut back the birth rate to at least a presently acceptable level.

We here in the United States itself are increasing our population at twice the rate of any other major industrial country of the Western world. While the short-run prospect for us is clearly not as desperate as it is for the underdeveloped nations, our own problems are serious enough.

Between now and the year 2000, we will double our urban population. We will need to invest in the next 30 years between $2 and $3 trillion dollars of public and private funds just to provide the minimum logistical infrastructure -- roads, schools and structures in which to live, work, and shop -- in order to cope with this additional 140 million urban Americans.

But whatever our problems here at home are, they are at least manageably
within the range of our tremendous wealth and resources. What are we to say of less fortunate countries such as Brazil, or Indonesia, or Kenya, which at present rates will double their entire populations -- urban and rural -- before the year 2000?

Imagine what that means for these underdeveloped nations: in a brief 30-year period, they must double their entire transport system; they must double their power supply; they must double their food resources; they must double their number of teachers, doctors, administrators, and trained technicians -- and all of this just to maintain their present unsatisfactory standard of living. After all this herculean effort, they would be merely treading water economically. There would have been no per capita growth. They simply would be running furiously fast in order to stand still.

What is even more portentous is that roughly 40% of the population of the underdeveloped world is made up of youngsters under 15 years old. During the next three decades, this huge mass of young people will be moving through their reproductive years, and the resulting population expansion is likely to be of gigantic dimensions.

Present-day contraceptive techniques are not only highly controversial among various segments of public opinion, but they are -- with the exception of illegal abortion -- far from effective among the illiterate peoples of the underdeveloped world.

We clearly are only at the threshold of fully understanding the biological complexities of conception, and -- in view of the scope of the problem -- are conducting only the most nominal research program.

The Ford Foundation over the past 16 years has undertaken the greatest single research effort on population control of any organization or government in the world; and it -- in all this time -- has spent only $100 million.
At our National Institute of Health, we are spending only $8 million a year on the problem, out of a total NIH budget of nearly $1 billion.

What is really required is a worldwide research effort of at least $150 million a year for the next 10 years. Currently, less than a third of that relatively modest sum is being devoted to this gargantuan task.

We here in the United States spent some $70 billion on our defense needs this year. That money was necessary. But we -- and other affluent nations -- must devote at least a sensible fraction of that amount to a thoroughly sophisticated Research and Development Program on population control.

We are currently not doing it.

We must begin. And we must begin now.

What is it that we can do immediately?

Once again, organizations such as yours can be of tremendous assistance, for a massive effort must be made to inform people. We must bring them to a realization of the true dimensions of the population dilemma, and we must destroy once and for all the murky mythology that incrusts and distorts the whole subject:

The myth that more people means more wealth.

The myth that underdeveloped countries with large uninhabited lands need people to fill up these areas.

The myth that new sources of food -- for example, from the sea -- will automatically solve population pressures.

The myth that governments, and developmental institutions, have no business getting into the contraception problem.

And the myth that the whole controversial issue of population control is simply too delicate and too personal to be dealt with systematically.

It not only can be dealt with systematically. It must be.

We should begin by launching a systems analysis of the national, social, and
technical requirements on a country-by-country basis.

We here in the United States should give strong support to nations such as India, Pakistan, Columbia, Taiwan and others, which are making a determined effort of their own.

The threat of unmanageable population pressures in the next century is very much like the threat of thermonuclear war.

Both threats are undervalued. Both threats are misunderstood.

Both threats can -- and will -- have catastrophic consequences unless they are dealt with rapidly and rationally.

Most ominously of all, both threats are intertwined.

For it is clear that population pressures in underdeveloped societies lead to economic tensions and political turbulence, and often erupt into volcanic violence.

In a closely interwoven world, such violence can entrap the nuclear powers into unexpected confrontations, and move them perilously near the nuclear threshold.

It would be the cruelest of all of history's ironies if the population problem were ultimately to bring about its own self-solution through a massive thermonuclear war.

The power of the atom was surely not meant to be the Fifth and Final Horseman of some new and unspeakably savage Apocalypse -- an Apocalypse transformed by man's folly into an Armageddon.

It must not be allowed to happen.

You and I -- and all of us in this decade -- share the responsibility of taking those actions necessary to assure that it will not happen.

I thank you, once again, for the honor you have done me -- and indirectly the honor you have done my colleagues at the Department of Defense -- through this award.
We speak of the sacrifice that businessmen-turned-public-officials make. And they do make financial sacrifices. But public service, in the final reckoning, is clearly its own greatest reward. I am sure that Jack Connor would agree with me that those who serve — whatever the sacrifices, whatever the difficulties, whatever the demands — are compensated by the experience in a manner that transcends computation.

In the end, every man must do what he can to explore the uncharted solutions to the great problems his century faces. That surely is the debt we owe to our own humanity.

I have tried to sketch out tonight the perilous terra incognita that we must all explore, if we are to preserve even the most fundamental goals of our humanity: survival and development.

To bring that exploring to success will be reward enough for anyone.

In a pensive and moving passage, T.S. Eliot has summed the matter up:

We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.

Thank you, and good evening.

END
FOR RELEASE: Thursday, December 12, 1968

ROBERT S. McNAMARA CHOSEN TO RECEIVE ADVERTISING COUNCIL'S HIGHEST AWARD FOR NOTABLE PUBLIC SERVICE


Mr. McNamara (52), world-famous for his service as Secretary of Defense for the United States from January 1960 to March 1968, will be presented with the Council's Silver Bowl and cited for having "contributed notably in public service to the welfare of his country and his fellow citizens." He will be the fifteenth distinguished American businessman to be so honored by The Advertising Council which established the unique annual award in 1954.

John T. Connor, who received the Award last year, will make the presentation. Mr. Connor, President of Allied Chemical Corporation, was chosen for the 1967 honor in recognition of his many years of service in government, including his two years (1965-67) as Secretary of Commerce.

Albert L. Cole, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Council, will preside at the dinner meeting. The Directors select the man to be honored each year.

Charles E. Wilson, Chairman of the Council's Industries Advisory Committee and the first recipient of the Silver Bowl, heads the dinner committee which includes four business leaders previously cited for
public service by the Council: John A. McConne (honored in 1966); Neil McElroy, Chairman, The Procter & Gamble Company (1960); Charles G. Mortimer, Chairman, Executive Committee, General Foods Corporation (1964) and Sidney J. Weinberg, Senior Partner, Goldman, Sachs & Company (1957).

Other members of the McNamara dinner committee are: Roger M. Blough, Chairman, United States Steel Corporation; Walker L. Cisler, Chairman, Detroit Edison Company; John D. Harper, President and Chief Executive Officer, Aluminum Company of America; Thomas B. McCabe, Sr., Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Scott Paper Company; Otto N. Miller, Chairman, Standard Oil Company of California; Robert W. Sarnoff, President and Chief Executive Officer, Radio Corporation of America.

The business and government leaders honoring the man who served as Secretary of Defense under both President Kennedy and President Johnson will include the present Secretary of Commerce, C. R. Smith and two other men who served in that cabinet office: Luther Hodges and Alexander Trowbridge.

Robert S. McNamara was born in San Francisco in 1916 and graduated Phi Beta Kappa from the University of California with spectacularly high grades in 1937. Later, at Harvard Business School, he did so well that on graduation at 24, he was appointed an assistant professor of business administration. In 1943 he joined the Army-Air Force. At war's end, he was a member of a ten-man team of specialists who hired themselves out to the Ford Motor Company as a body, and were dubbed the "whiz-kids". Mr. McNamara quickly advanced and became Ford's president in 1960.

In the Spring of 1961 President Kennedy was seeking to fill the Cabinet post of Secretary of Defense. Looking for a man who was willing to face fearful facts and be able to counter them with his own cold logic, he was convinced that Robert S. McNamara, the ex-Air Force "whiz-kid" who rose to the presidency of the Ford Motor Company, was the man he wanted.
Mr. McNamara has received honorary degrees from the following universities and colleges: Harvard, California, Michigan, Columbia, Ohio, Princeton, New York, George Washington, Williams, Chatham and Amherst.

A feature of the dinner program will include a documentation of the response of the advertising and communications industry in helping to meet the problems of the cities. This will be presented by Dan Seymour, President, J. Walter Thompson Company.

The Advertising Council, established early in 1942 as the War Advertising Council, is a private, non-profit organization supported by American business and the advertising, publishing and broadcasting industry. It conducts only public service campaigns in the national interest. All of the advertising space and time for the campaigns, sponsored by private and governmental agencies, is contributed voluntarily by newspapers, consumer magazines, business press, radio and television stations and networks, company publications and outdoor and transit advertising companies across the nation. All these campaigns are created, free of charge, by cooperating volunteer advertising agencies.

Mr. Connor, ladies and gentlemen:

I am deeply moved by the presentation of this award to me and I am greatly honored by your presence here tonight.

You have inscribed my name on the silver bowl. I am grateful for that but I am sure you realize how misleading it is.

As all of you who have served in large organizations well know, no one man ever deserves the credit for the achievements of such organizations. And that is particularly true in the case of the Department of Defense: the largest single organization unit in the world -- an organization of 4-1/2 million men and women, spending 10% of the nation's gross national product, over $80 billion, each year. No one man can, by himself, formulate the policies and administer the activities of such an enterprise. I did not.

Whatever public service I may have rendered during my seven years as Secretary of Defense was possible only because of the selfless and dedicated group of associates, both in and out of uniform, who assisted me -- the Cy Vances and Maxwell Taylors, the Ros Gilpatrics and Earle Wheelers, the countless others both military and civilian.

I have never worked with better, braver and more brilliant men. Their names are not inscribed on this award but they deserve to be. I thank you for all of us.

If I may add a personal note. Many of you present tonight will be exposed very shortly to the opportunity of government service. Much is said of the burdens of such service, and they are heavy, but very little mention is made of the contribution of that service to the self-fulfillment of the individual and the members of his family. And so as you struggle with your decision, I hope you will think of these lines from T.S. Eliot. They are from his poem "The Fourth Quartet." My wife pointed them out to me one evening as we were talking of our experiences in Washington.

Eliot wrote: We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.

Thank you and good night.