

It has now become platitudinous to say that humankind is in danger of killing itself. But that does not make it any the less true. The nuclear bombs and other weapons of mass destruction are with us in greater numbers than ever before, ready to kill us all. And 'conventional' wars are being fought all the time in a world where many people are so poor that they starve. We live in an inefficient, unjust, violent, and self-destructive world community.

I believe that we can be saved from self-destruction and that we can obtain a peaceful and just world only by changing our present society completely and by changing it with nonviolent means. To do this we shall have to become anarcho-pacifists. Therefore I have written this book to describe exactly what is meant by anarcho-pacifism, to clarify the beliefs of those who are already anarchists or pacifists, to help anarchists and pacifists answer their critics, and to give reasons why those who are either anarchists or pacifists should be both.

The book is made up of a series of answers to questions concerning anarcho-pacifism, and each answer is complete in itself. So the book may be read in any order and those who want the answer to a specific question may find it with rapidity.

D.A.P.

ISBN 0 9504597 1 2

PRICE £1.40

ANARCHO- PACIFISM: QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

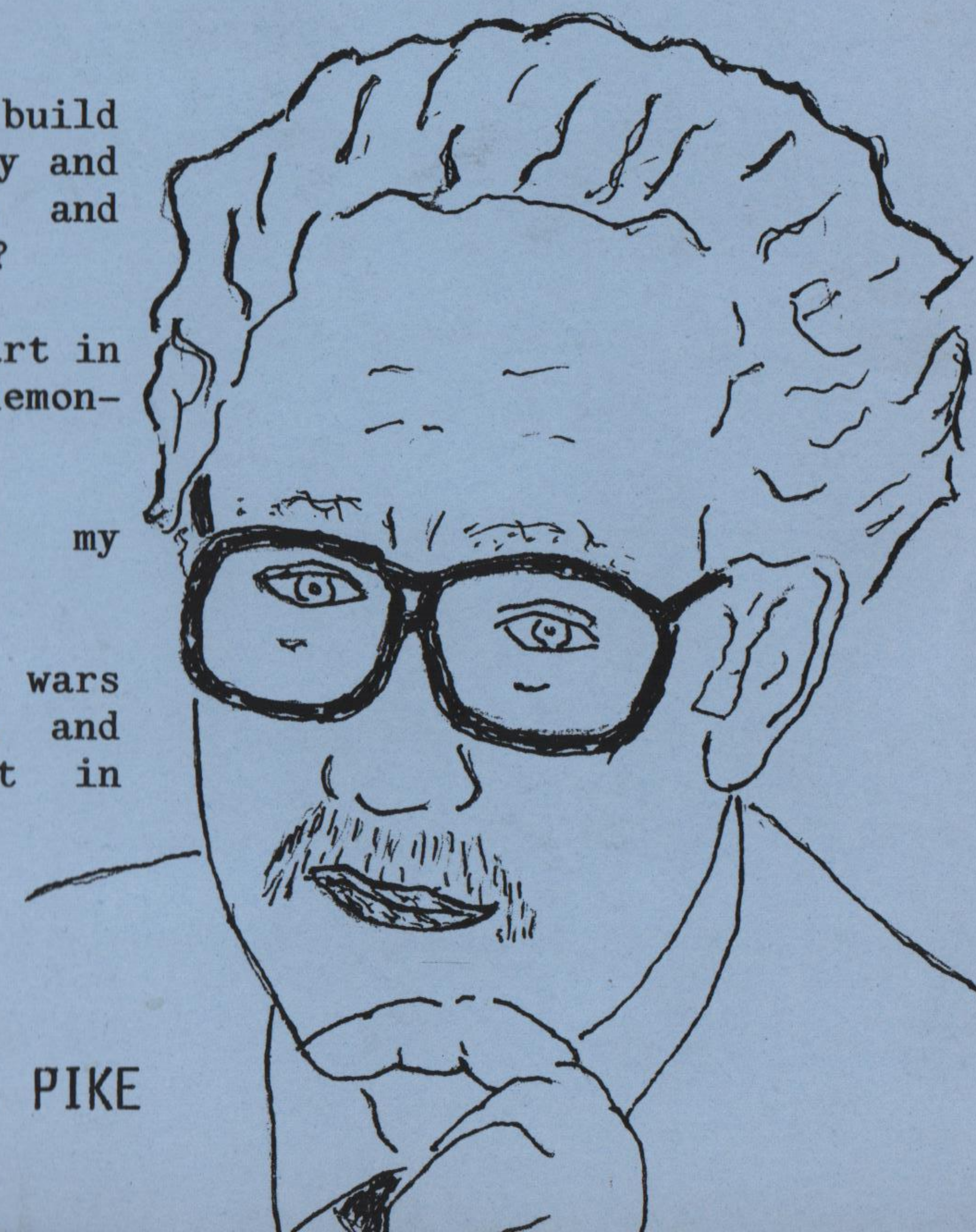
Why is an ideal society practical now, although it was not a few decades ago?

How can I help build the ideal society and so bring peace and prosperity to all?

Should I take part in protests and demonstrations?

Should I pay my taxes?

Why do we have wars and revolutions and should I fight in them?



BY DERRICK A. PIKE

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ANARCHO-PACIFISM: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

A PERSONAL VIEW OF ANARCHISM AND PACIFISM

BY

DERRICK A. PIKE

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Published by:
Derrick A. Pike, 1 Market Place, Glastonbury.
Printed by:
St Andrew's Press, 43 North Street, Wells.
1987

PREFACE

Most people today have absolutely no conception of the beliefs of the anarchists and pacifists. Many still think that an anarchist - for some unknown reason - wants a disordered society and chaos and that a pacifist is someone who is too much of a coward to fight. These conceptions could be no further from the truth. Because of CND publicity, of course, most of the public understand that its members want to get rid of the nuclear bombs. But most CND members are neither anarchists nor pacifists, and most, as far as I can tell, do not understand either anarchism or pacifism. Even those people who say they are anarchists or pacifists do not always think clearly about their beliefs.

And so I have written this book to give those who are not pacifists or anarchists some ideas of the beliefs of both, to clarify the beliefs of those who are already pacifists or anarchists, to help anarchists and pacifists answer their critics, and to give reasons why those who are either pacifists or anarchists should be both.

For the reader's convenience, I have made each section the answer to a question about anarcho-pacifism, and I have made each answer complete in itself (I have had to repeat only a very small amount of material to do this). The reader, therefore, may refer to any particular answer that appeals to him, and it is possible to read the book in any order. However, I sometimes refer the reader to another question for a fuller explanation.

And now I have to emphasise that the thoughts expressed here are my own. People who support the status quo and who accept all the political information which is fed to them by the media have identical political thoughts and beliefs. Indeed, on such issues as the need for the states, the police forces, and the wars, even the peoples in different countries hold the same beliefs. Thus the majority of people everywhere in the world say that they need a central government to organise society, police forces to keep law and order, armies to fight in defence of their country, and so on. But people who really want to make changes in society have to think out new ideas for themselves or read them in the so-called 'alternative' periodicals and books. These caring people no longer take beliefs that are given them either directly or indirectly by their government. Therefore they no longer have a uniform set of beliefs. And the more liberal they become, the more they move to the left, the more their thought becomes independent. And as their thought becomes more independent so the more it differs between themselves. Therefore the anarchists and pacifists who have moved the most from conventional thought are bound to differ the most among themselves about the details of their philosophy and the way they should behave. I have studied subjects relating to peace all my life and now most of my social explanations, my plans for an ideal society, and my instructions on how we should behave to produce our ideals are completely original. Therefore, I repeat, **the beliefs expressed here are my own and they certainly do not represent the beliefs of all pacifists and anarchists.**

Finally, to state the obvious: This is only a short work. There is not enough space to give the historical and social facts which prove that my theories are correct. Those who are interested, those who care for themselves, their families, and for humankind must study history and our present society for then they will know that my theories are true. They will become anarcho-pacifists themselves, and, if their number is sufficient, the human race will have some chance of survival.

ANARCHO-PACIFISM: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

1 WHY DO ANARCHISTS, PACIFISTS, AND OTHERS WANT TO MAKE A REAL SOCIAL CHANGE?

For the sake of ourselves and others most of us want to make some sort of social change in the organisation and management of our society.

Some of us are concerned about the pollution and destruction of the material world and the extinction of nonhuman life upon it. So we want to stop the contamination and ruin of our lands, rivers, and seas by factories and atomic power stations. Therefore many people work to prevent the spreading of factory waste on the land, the creation of acid rain, the indiscriminate disposal of nuclear waste, and the destructiveness which occurs during revolutions and wars. Some of us also want the various species of birds, animals, and fishes to survive in peace. And therefore there are people who work to prevent the slaughter of, for example, kangaroos, dolphins, and whales.

But probably most of us want to change society so that our living conditions are improved, so that useful work and material wealth is available for all, and so that we are freed from violence and the threat of it. Expanding this a little:

Many of us want to be employed and live useful and fulfilling lives. We want to live in a closely knit and loving family. (There are about four million, in real figures, of unemployed in Britain - that is, about one in seven of the workforce.) Closely connected with this desire is the need for personal and political freedom. Whatever our age, we want to be able to control our own lives and decide for ourselves how to behave. And some of us want to be free to work for the good of others.

We want people to have adequate medical attention, education, homes, clothes, and food. (There are about 30,000 families who are homeless in London. In Britain, 75,000 young people are homeless. People - even unborn babies - suffer because they are drug addicts. Two-thirds of the people of the world are starving and a person dies as the result of it every few seconds.) We may also want to eliminate the health hazards that arise near - and not so near! - nuclear power stations and industrial complexes. We want to be able to travel safely. We want a more equal distribution of the wealth that is available and we want our scientific knowledge to be used for good instead of evil so that there is a better standard of living for all. And most importantly we want the wastage of wealth that takes place during the preparation and practise of violence to cease. (Only one missile system, the Trident, costs as much money as would buy 500 general hospitals. For other figures of money spent on armaments see the answer to Question 4.)

The violence we object to may be against ourselves or others. Thus we may be a child or adult who is bashed and beaten at home by members of his or her family or in the streets by a mugger, sexual deviant, hooligan, or criminal. (On average, in Britain, a child is bashed to death every two or three days.) We may also suffer in the streets, in our homes, in police stations, in prisons, and in military establishments from the violence of

the police and others. All of us - no matter who we are - may be hurt or killed during demonstrations, riots, and revolutions.

But probably the violence we object to most is the violence of war. There are always a number of major wars taking place in the world and in them it is not only service men and women who are injured and killed but also civilians - men, women, and children. Young people are cut down in the prime of life. People suffer and die as they prepare for war, as they fight a war, and after a war as the result of it. And World Wars, of course, are catastrophes. In the last one, about 55 million people were killed. Many others were permanently injured and yet other became widows and orphans. In the next World War, according to a study by scientists from thirty countries, a third of the world's population will be killed immediately and most of those left will eventually die as the result of disease, starvation, and a nuclear winter. Many other scientists have said that nuclear war will mean the death of all things and the end of everything. And so it will! Therefore people want to end war to protect themselves, their families, and the human species.

In a nutshell: people want to make real social changes because they want to alleviate or eliminate the suffering and death of themselves and others.

2 WHAT IS AN ANARCHIST, A PACIFIST, AND AN ANARCHO-PACIFIST?

People are given different political labels according to the way they want society to change or remain as it is. The society we live in has either our approval or our disapproval. If it serves us, or if we think it serves us, and if we do not care overmuch about the suffering of others, then we do not want to change the way we live together. We want our society to remain basically as it is. We want to conserve it, and so we are 'conservatives' or, what is the same thing in practice, socialists, liberals, or other members of the various political parties. But if our society does not serve us, or if we really care about the suffering of other people, then we become radicals or revolutionaries of one kind or another. Conservatives are said to be on the 'right' of politics; those who are not conservatives are said to be on the 'left'. The more we want to change society, the further left we are. Anarchists are so far left that they are almost out of sight!

To understand the enormity of the social change that anarchists want to make, it is necessary to be aware of all the methods which are used to bring about a change in society.

Protesters accept their present government but try to persuade or force it to behave in a different way. They may lobby their MPs, sign petitions, take part in demonstrations, or riot in the streets. By these means people expect their government to make concessions and new laws so that social conditions at home and abroad are changed.

Democrats and some revolutionaries want to retain the nature of their government but try to put new rulers in power in the hope that they will behave differently and so bring about the desired social change. So they vote at elections or try, either by violence or by some other means, to replace their rulers with others.

Other revolutionaries while wishing to retain the state system nevertheless try to change the nature of their government and the

political and economic arrangements of their country. They hope to get the social changes they desire by substituting a democracy for a dictatorship or vice versa, by substituting a capitalist economy for a socialist economy or vice versa, and so on. They attempt these changes by a civil war, by a coup d'etat, or by some other form of violence.

Finally, there are the anarchists who want to change the fundamental nature of their society. They want to abolish the state system with its central ruling government and replace it with a completely new and different kind of society - a society which has none of social evils to which there is exception, the poverty, and the violence within countries and between them. They want to make an evolutionary change, not a revolutionary change, because they believe that nothing short of it will produce the results they desire. Nothing else will work.

So anarchists reject the state pattern of society. They work for a truly free society where people live together by cooperating with one another instead of by threatening and using violence upon one another. Anarchists do not want chaos; on the contrary, they want a degree of social order which far exceeds anything known today. And this order, they believe, will be achieved when no person exploits another and when people manage their own affairs and rule themselves. Some anarchists want to make their social change by violence, others by nonviolence. I want to make it by nonviolence.

Now to describe the pacifists. These are the people who refuse to do violence. But having said that, it is necessary to be more specific, for people can refuse to do violence on one occasion and not on others. Because this is true, there are many kinds of pacifists. But here it is necessary to point out only that pacifists may refuse to do violence on behalf of themselves, on behalf of members of their families, on behalf of a criminal gang, on behalf of a group who want to overthrow a government, on behalf of a revolutionary governmental group who want to seize power, or on behalf of a country, which may or may not be their own. Refusing to fight to protect oneself or one's family, I call personal-pacifism; refusing to fight in a revolutionary situation, I call revolutionary-pacifism; and refusing to fight in war, I call war-pacifism. Most pacifists work for the abolition of war. Many want all forms of violence to cease.

I define people as pacifists if they refuse to do violence on behalf of any kind of group. They may or may not use violence to protect themselves, their families, or their friends. That is to say, they may or may not practise personal-pacifism.

Anarcho-pacifists are now easy to define. They are people who are both anarchists and pacifists. They will not fight in revolutions or wars. They want to abolish the state and build their ideal society by nonviolent methods.

3 WHAT IS THE NATURE OF THE STATES?

If anarchists are to dismantle our present society and replace it with a better one, they must first understand its nature and the reason why it produces so much poverty and violence. The state pattern is our present form of society, so it is the state which must be understood. The states cover the whole world as they

each occupy a definite land area. (In 1986, there were 170 states in the world.)

The most important characteristic of every state is the unequal distribution of social power. Every state consists of a few rulers and many ruled. The rulers like to call themselves 'leaders' with the implication that the people follow them of their own free will. In fact, the people are forced to obey the will of a few rulers who have command over them. These rulers are those who are in control of what people recognise as their government and they are those who are in control of other power groups (see below) in society. All rulers behave in the same way and therefore except for the variations produced by the size of the states, climate, and natural resources, all states are identical. To describe one is to describe all. In particular, the rulers all use the same kind of violence against their own people and foreigners. They all beat up crowds, imprison, torture, and so on. And they all, as far as they are able, make the same kind of war.

The commands of the rulers are called 'laws'. The ruled believe that the laws are made for their own good, that they are useful because they are concerned with the administration of day to day affairs, and that they force would-be criminals and revolutionaries to behave. Although the number of laws is vast, the ruled are always supposed to know how to obey them. Some of the laws are not even written down.

The rulers force the ruled to obey by controlling their minds, by giving rewards, and by applying violence.

Propaganda is the control of belief and reason. The methods of thought control and the exact pattern of the induced beliefs are quite complicated and have been developed empirically over the centuries. Propaganda is always used to make the ruled accept as right any general or particular behaviour they are forced by reward and punishment to practise. It is disseminated by the governments, by the power groups (see below) in society, and by the religious and educational organisations. But of all the devices that are used to convey beliefs probably the most effective are the statements which are made by the people in government and which are reported by the mass media. There are many other devices. Censorship is negative propaganda because it keeps the facts of society from the people. Both propaganda and censorship are an economic form of power because by their use the ruled can be made to behave in the desired way on their own volition, thereby reducing the amount, and therefore the cost, of reward and punishment.

Rewards are used to persuade the ruled to do various kinds of work, to support their government, and to obey the laws. The most common reward is money which the ruled can use to buy the luxuries and necessities of life for themselves and their families. Other rewards are more complicated being payments in kind, freedom to use private and state wealth, and even more sophisticated inducements such as social and official promotion and the use of titles and honours.

When propaganda and rewards fail to make the ruled obedient, they are forced to be so by violence. They are forced to obey the law by threats of punishments and by actual punishments. These are few in number compared with the rewards, being simply the deprivation of wealth and freedom, torture, and death. The threats and punishments are applied by a separate group which

is especially organised to use violence. This group is called the police force. It is this group which the ruled believe to be created and maintained to give them protection from evil people in society. When the violence of the police is insufficient, the security forces and then the armed services are called in to give them assistance. The armed services are the group which the ruled believe to be created and maintained to protect them from evil foreigners. Actually, the armed services are a backup for the police and their main duty is not to fight in wars but to protect the rulers and to ensure that the ruled do not rebel but obey the law. The police, the security forces, and the armed services all enforce the law which is designed to serve the privileged and protect the state. (See also the answer to Question 5.)

Violence is the keystone of power. The ruled would not support the unjust state societies, they would not use violence on one another, and they would not suffer the violence of war unless they themselves were forced to do so by violence. The more the ruled disobey, or try to disobey, their rulers, the more violence is used against them. Those who break laws designed to protect the people are punished the least; those who break the laws designed to protect the rulers and the state are punished the most. Political enemies of the rulers are imprisoned, tortured, and killed, most often without trial. Crowds of political opponents in the streets are beaten or killed according to the size of the threat they are to their government.

Within each state there are a number of separate power groups. These are organised in the same way as the state. That is to say, they contain rulers who make their ruled obey by propaganda, reward, and punishment (which may not be in the form of violence). The most important power groups are the bankers, financiers, manufacturers, business people, newspaper and publishing groups, civil servants, religionists, administrators of the law, medical groups, violent groups, and political parties. These groups differ from one other not only because each has a different purpose but also because the rulers of the groups use the various components of power to a different extent and in different ways. The main pressure applied by the rulers of the business and manufacturing groups, for example, is the enticement of the wage packet (reward), that of the rulers of the armed services is the extreme violence of the glasshouse (punishment), and that of the rulers of the religious groups is the threat of excommunication and eternal damnation (propaganda).

The rulers in the government of a country cannot exist without the consent and cooperation of the rulers in the power groups. For this reason, the rulers in a government do not follow their own will exclusively. They have to bow to the will of certain individuals who are powerful because they are rich or for some other reason and also to the will of other rulers who are in the power groups. In fact, it is the rulers in the power groups who direct affairs the most. They are the real rulers of a country and their influence is generally unknown to the ruled.

There are other groups in society which have no or very little power - except possibly propaganda - over the ruled. These are the various charity groups, the voluntary societies, the violent and nonviolent revolutionary organisations, and others.

Although absolute power in the state is held by only a few rulers, many others have power to direct affairs and to control

their own group members. The real rulers control everyone, other people with less power control a fewer number of people, still other people with even less power control yet a fewer number of people, and so on right down through society. In the state, therefore, power is stratified. The state is hierarchical.

Besides being divided between rulers and ruled, our society is divided between the privileged and nonprivileged. Both divisions are obscure because power is spread down through society and because the allocation of unequal reward is a means of exerting power. Nevertheless, a distinction can be made between the real rulers - that is the people, generally unknown, who issue the major commands - and the ruled. And we all know what is meant by those who are poor and those who are rich.

The main purpose of any government is to survive, which it has to do in order to serve itself, certain privileged people, and the rulers in the power groups.

People are ruled by a particular government because it has control over them and not because they have a common language, religion, culture, or ethnicity.

The rulers, together with the administrators of the power, make up the state. The state plus the power groups within it, the nonpower groups, and all the ruled make up a country.

4 WHY IS THERE ALWAYS POVERTY IN THE STATES?

Because the rulers hold all the power (See the answer to Question 3), they can make the ruled behave in any way they desire. They have unlimited violence to use against them and so can govern in any way they want. And this they do. All rulers govern on their own behalf: no politician dies poor; every statesman and despot dies rich. Rulers also govern on behalf of people and groups (large power groups within their society and some multinationals) whose support they have to buy or whose interests they wish to serve. This is true be the rulers capitalist, socialist, communist, or whoever. As a result, there is all over the world a great inequality of wealth and privilege. Some people can buy anything they want - grand houses, ships, aeroplanes, and every kind of riches - others cannot even buy their next meal. Some people have an abundance of everything and others have nothing so that they starve. And always, in the state, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. In Britain, in 1983, over 16 million people were living in poverty or on its margins - an increase of 42 per cent over the 1970 figure. And during the 21 years ending in 1986, the number of children living in poverty tripled. Yet over a quarter of the total income goes to the top ten per cent of the people, while less than a quarter goes to the bottom fifty per cent. A quarter of all wealth is owned by one per cent of the population.

So one reason for poverty in the states is the unequal division of wealth. But because wealth can be so easily produced by making use of modern technology, even the unequal distribution of it would matter little were it produced efficiently, were not so much that is produced useless, and were not most of it wasted.

All states produce wealth inefficiently because manufacturing takes place in a power set-up where those who direct may have less knowledge and ability than those who have to take orders,

where goods are manufactured for profit rather than for pleasure or use, and where often modern machines cannot be introduced because there is no capital and no social planning to take care of the workpeople who are replaced by them.

The main reason why there is so much poverty in the states, however, is the immense amount of labour and materials that are wasted in producing useless wealth. Some useless wealth is created to serve the pleasures of the rich but most of it is created to provide the rulers with the means to rule. True figures are impossible to obtain because the ramifications of governmental activities are so vast and because the rulers naturally do not publish all the statistics. But there are vast amounts spent on useless bureaucracy, on administration of the law, on the reward components of power, on enforcement of the law by the police and their back-up forces, and on the preparation for war and the making of it. The figure for world military spending in 1987 is a trillion dollars. That is close on \$2 million a minute! Figures often seem to convey little so I will add that in six months during 1985 enough explosive power was added to the world's arsenals to have 104 Second World Wars. And during WW2 the wealth expended was enough to provide - using money values applicable to 1950 - a house costing £12,000, furniture worth £4000, and a cash present of £20,000 for every family in Britain, Canada, Belgium, Austria, France, USA, and the USSR. In addition every town of over 200,000 population, in those countries, could have been allocated £25 million for libraries, £25 million for schools, and £25 million for hospitals. That will give some idea of what the people could have if they stopped supporting governments and fighting one another.

I have now explained how it is that most people in the world live in poverty. Now I will explain why their rulers want them to do so. The rulers want people to be poor because it enables them to exert their power, and the rulers want the people to create useless wealth and then destroy it for the same reason.

Rulers need bad conditions and poverty because if everyone had enough wealth the need for rulers to improve social conditions would disappear. One does not employ a car mechanic when one's car is in working order. But there is an even more powerful reason why the rulers need poverty. They need it because the giving of rewards is one way of controlling the ruled and unless the people are poor this reward component of power will be inoperative. Unless people are poor, they cannot be enticed by reward to become richer; they cannot be made to behave as required by the enticement of a better standard of living.

Poverty is, of course, relative. Although most people are very poor, certain classes in the developed countries live very well but even they are never given more money than they need to maintain their standard of living. Most of them can never accumulate enough capital to stop working.

The rulers who need poverty for the reasons just given are those in the central governments and those in the large power groups within society - particularly those rulers who control the means of production and distribution. Government rulers want poverty to make the people obey the laws of the state; the power groups rulers want poverty to make the people sell their labour (although now automation is reducing the need for labour!).

Democracies, communists, state socialists, and capitalists all need poverty for the reasons given.

Rulers in government also need poverty indirectly because it is a cause of crime, and they need crime to justify the existence of their police. The ruled cannot be told directly that the real use of the police is to enforce the unjust laws of the rulers.

Besides working to keep the people poor by destroying useful wealth and by other means (as will be explained below), the rulers in government must see to it that useless wealth is created and then destroyed. This happens in the state because the rulers cannot exert power without its components of propaganda, reward, and violence. The massive waste of labour and materials on these components of power was explained above, but the waste is necessary for the rulers because it keeps them in power. The rulers must also see to it that both useful and useless wealth is destroyed if the capitalist system is to be maintained. The reason for this is connected with the capitalist need for an expanding economy. This will now be explained.

The capitalist system needs an expanding economy because in it both goods and services are created, bought, sold, and lent for profit. (By goods, I mean anything created by humanity.) That goods are created for profit is easy to understand. If anything is sold for more than it cost to make or buy then a profit has been made. This profit, however, cannot continue, cannot increase, and cannot be shared by more profiteers unless certain conditions are fulfilled. Goods have to be supplied continuously as they are when they are consumed (food is eaten, petrol is burnt, and so on) and as they become unusable because they wear out (clothes, furniture, and so on do not last forever). But for profit to increase, for more goods to be sold, goods must be deliberately manufactured to wear out (hence certain trashy components in cars and other commodities); goods must become less expensive (hence the drive for cheap labour and new machines that will do the work of man); people must desire more (hence the extensive advertising); goods must become obsolete (hence the drive for new improvements and inventions); goods must be stored and not used (hence the food mountains); goods must be available to more and more people (hence the need for empires with more raw materials and markets); goods must be destroyed (hence the burning of wheat and other commodities and the destruction when the rulers practise their violence - particularly when they make war); and goods must be continually produced which are useless (hence the stockpiling of nuclear and other weapons in preparation for a possible WW3). It will be observed that many of the prerequisites for making a profit necessitate the destruction of wealth.

The monetary system of the capitalist economy also requires an expanding economy. All money is created by the banks and used as an interest-bearing debt. When banks lend money (the only way it is put into circulation), they create it and charge an interest on it. When the loan is paid back, they destroy it (by changing figures in a book or computer), but they have gained the money they have collected as interest. Now this interest is itself bank-created but it will have no value unless it represents real wealth which has been added to society. Any extra money in circulation without a corresponding increase in wealth simply causes inflation and has no real value. So for the bank system to

operate profitably there must be a continuous increase in real wealth - an expanding economy.

Now there cannot be a continuous expansion of the economy unless there is a destruction of wealth. With modern means of production all markets would soon be saturated. So the rulers in the capitalist states want a destruction of wealth to maintain their economy and the rulers of all states want a destruction of wealth to keep the people poor which they have to do to maintain their power as explained above.

The massive destruction of wealth - or what produces the same effect as destruction - of both useful and useless wealth is achieved by exporting more goods than are imported; by making food mountains; by destroying wheat and other products; by keeping people who return no useful wealth to the community - the rich, the unemployed, the strikers, and the operators of all the components of power - propagandists, police, soldiers, and all the rest; by using up materials to make the means of power - particular the means of violence - the armaments; and, of course, by practising violence. Nothing wastes wealth like war.

It can now be understood why in the capitalist countries there must be unemployment and economic booms and slumps. If profit and the monetary system are to be maintained there must be periods of economic expansion but, in turn, if this expansion is to be maintained there must also be periods of depression when production is restricted and wealth destroyed.

The need for the destruction of wealth to maintain the capitalist system is well illustrated by what happened during WW2 and after it. Before the war, the economy of Britain was running down and the standard of living for most people was very low. But when the war came, when useless wealth was created and destroyed, and when even useful wealth, such as food, buildings, bridges, and ships was destroyed, money was plentiful, everyone had work and the standard of living improved. War turned an economic slump into a boom. And the countries which made the best economic recovery after the war were Germany and Japan - the countries which were destroyed the most. Obviously, all this occurs only in the highly industrialised countries. For most people of the world, war brings poverty, disease, and starvation. And, equally obviously, if during a war there is massive or total destruction, the economy would deteriorate rapidly! In the absence of WW3, the capitalist economy has had to survive by fulfilling one or more of the conditions which were outlined in the paragraph above. In particular, there has been a massive waste of labour and materials on the manufacture of modern armaments.

So now we know that people are not poor and starving for any other reason except that they live in a society which consists of rulers and ruled. They are not in abject poverty because, for example, the world is overpopulated for even now there is 50 per cent more food produced in the world than is required to feed everyone. It is true that each new baby brings a new mouth to feed but it also brings a new pair of hands to produce the food. People are poor and starving because they have rulers who are incapable of organising the production and distribution of food and other essentials commodities and because it is not the purpose of these rulers to abolish poverty.

To summarise: The purpose of the rulers can be only achieved if they retain poverty and this they do. And since wealth is so

easily produced, if the people are to remain poor there must be a destruction of it. There must also be a destruction of wealth if the capitalist economic system is to be maintained. So the purpose of the rulers can be only achieved if they keep the people poor by seeing to it that useless wealth is created and that all kinds of wealth is destroyed.

The reasons for poverty in the state are many. The state produces poverty as inevitably as the rotation of the earth produces day and night.

5 WHY IS THERE ALWAYS VIOLENCE WITHIN THE STATES AND BETWEEN THEM?

Today humankind has two great tribulations: poverty and violence. The state is an impoverished society and a violent society. I have given the reasons for the poverty in answer to Question 4. Now I will explain why there is so much violence in the world.

All behaviour is the result of both human nature and the environment. Those who want to preserve the state pattern ignore this and say that we are violent towards one another because it is our nature to be so. But it is not our nature to be violent, as I prove in answer to Question 8. We are violent because we live in the kind of society that makes us so. The violence which exists is entirely due to our social environment which is the state. Human nature has a contribution - if it can be called that - to the reason for violence because it is morally malleable. But there is no inborn evil in man. Because man is morally malleable, however, a good society will produce good behaviour and a bad society will produce bad behaviour. The state is a bad society and it produces bad behaviour. And especially it produces violent behaviour.

To understand why the state produces so much violence, we must first be aware that there are two distinct categories of it. There is the violence which individuals practise on behalf of themselves and there is the violence which they practise on behalf of the state. The state, however, is responsible for both kinds of violence as I will now explain - starting with the individual violence within the state.

The state environment is psychologically unsatisfying for all people (See the answer to Question 8) and many acquire some sort of personality disorder because of it. They become psychopathic. Thus many people find satisfaction in being violent in the home and in public. Hence the cruelty to animals, the wife bashing, the fighting at sporting events, and all other mindless violence. Hence also the mass violence when people go on the rampage, rioting and looting for no apparent reason at all.

Much of the individual violence, however, is not purposeless but purposeful. It arises because in the state people are ruled inefficiently and unjustly. So to improve their lot, or to emulate the rich, many individuals whose personalities have been debased by the state turn to all forms of crime, including violent crime.

Also to improve their lot some people will organise into a group so that they can confront their government in strength. To improve their living conditions, to influence or change their government, people will protest, strike, and rebel and any of

these activities may turn violent. They may also have a mutiny, an insurrection, or a revolution. So the ruled are often violent in an attempt to improve the evil social conditions which they have to endure. There are also would-be rulers who attempt to overthrow their government because they wish to rule and exploit the people themselves. Hence the coups d'etat and the civil wars.

So far I have described the violence of individuals acting on their own behalf. It is true, as I have said, that some consort together to practise group violence to serve their own ends but mostly they form groups to serve the state, as I will now explain.

It is governments, of course, who organise groups of people to practise violence within the states and between them. Governments could never maintain the great inequality of power and wealth that exists in the states unless people were forced by violence to accept both. No person would remain in abject poverty, or even remain poor, while others had more than their needs unless that person were forced to do so by violence. To fulfil their purpose of spreading wealth unequally the rulers must retain their power and their states. And so to defeat any individuals or groups who may threaten them or their state organisations, the rulers have their own violent groups. They have their various police forces. These forces are also used to combat crime to some extent because if it became out of control it would bring a different distribution of wealth and because if governments ignored it they would lose some of their credibility. But the police never pursue the criminals unless they have enough free time from attending strikes, demonstrations, and all the other activities which might threaten the state. The purpose of the police is to uphold the law and they do this because the law is designed to serve the purpose of the rulers and to maintain the state.

Because governments rule unjustly, the violence used against them may be great, so if at any time the violence of the police is insufficient to counteract the revolutionary violence, the special security forces are called in. If the violence of the state is still insufficient, then the armed services are used to support the police and the security forces. There are always innumerable examples of the armed services being used to suppress the people. They have been used in the USA, in Ireland, in Poland, in South Africa, and in every country of the world at one time or another. In India, as many as 10,000 troops have been used at one time. So the whole purpose of the police is to force the ruled to obey the laws of the rulers, and the main purpose of the armed services is to supplement the violence of the police. Both violent forces are to protect the person of the rulers and certain privileged people and to protect the state institutions and organisations. (See also the answer to Question 3).

It can be now understood why it is the rulers - the governments - who practise the most violence within their country because all people are kept in obedience under the threat of it, and when the people do rebel they are defeated by an overwhelming amount of retaliatory violence. (It is pure speculation to argue that without the police there would be more violence in society than at present. In any case, if we removed the police we would at the same time make other changes which would ensure a peaceful society, as I explain in answer to Question 14).

Individuals do not try to serve themselves by using group violence against foreigners. They do not have the means to do it, the freedom to do it, or the will to do it. Only governments force people to practise group violence between states; only governments organise whole countries to make war. Only the rulers - the governments - practise the massive violence of war.

Governments need wars indirectly because to survive they must serve the interests of certain individuals and groups within society; and they need wars directly because only with them can they rule at all. I will now deal with the governments indirect need for war and then with their direct need for it.

There are many individuals and groups within the states who exert pressure on their government to arm for wars and to have wars because they profit from them in some way. Many of the ruled also profit from wars if they are employed in military research or manufacture. But these people have little or no influence on their government. Those who exert a significant pressure on their rulers are certain governmental figures, the service chiefs who are in the higher echelons of power, the armament manufacturers, and the capitalists. The politicians and so-called statesmen want fame and glory, the service chiefs want to exercise their warlike skills and training so that they fulfil their purpose, the armament manufacturers want to make profits, and the capitalists want to retain or expand the number of people they can exploit and they want more raw materials and markets.

But mostly governments have wars not to serve the interests of power groups but to serve the interests of themselves. They want wars to stabilise their economies and give apparently useful employment to those who otherwise would have no work, and they want them to retain or increase the number of people over whom they rule. And they want wars for the very fundamental reason that they cannot exist without them. They need wars to survive. This distressing fact will now be made clear.

Governments cannot retain their power over their ruled without wars. Wars destroy wealth and keep the people employed on a useless activities so that they remain poor. And governments need poverty for the reasons which were given in answer to Question 4. But even more than that: war is actually a means of exerting power over the ruled. I have explained how the ruled are forced to obey by the internal violent organisations of the governments. But these violent organisations are manned by the ruled themselves. So people are made to obey by being frightened of one another. However, the failure of governments to organise the production and distribution of the necessities of life, to provide justice for all, and to protect the people from violence is so great that the fear of one another would not alone be sufficient to keep the people obedient. There has to be a greater fear provided by something else. Since there is nothing left to be afraid about in their own countries, this fear has to come from a foreign country, and so it is provided by a foreign enemy. Tell the people that they are going to be attacked and if defeated they will be ruled in a cruel manner and perhaps tortured and killed and they will agree to arm and if necessary make war. They will agree to lose their liberty and to tolerate poor social conditions because they believe that it is necessary to do so for defence. And since no country can make war without being organised by a central government, the people will accept that

such a government must exist. So war retains all aspects of the state. For the governments to exist they must have wars. And so wars they have. The state needs war as humans needs air.

Because the states must have war everything that will benefit the people is sacrificed in order to make it. The people in the states are not fed, housed, clothed, warmed, or educated properly because it is not the rulers purpose to organise society for their benefit. (They also want the people to be poor, see reference above.) The purpose of the rulers is to serve the few at the expense of the many. And they can do this only if they continue to exist, and they can continue to exist only by preparing for wars and having them. And this they do.

Prior to WW2, the Western media sneered at Hitler and said that he put, "Guns before butter." In reality, all governments do this all the time. That is why Britain today is a "slum society" (said by Lord Scarman) with so few houses that many thousands sleep in the streets; why medical research is curtailed and hospitals closed even though people wait for attention; why the amount spent on education is cut; why there is no help for abused children; and why many people, even in Britain, do not have enough to eat. The British government, like all others, will find unlimited money for armaments but little or no money for the social services. It is guns before butter all over the world.

I have just explained why there is so much violence in the world, and now it is important to realise that practically all of it is perpetrated by governments - as only a very cursory examination of current affairs and history will show. In other words, the violence people practise on their own behalf is infinitesimal compared with the violence they practise on behalf of governments. So we have the answer to the question, Why is there so much violence? It is there because we have governments. It is governments who capture, imprison, flog, torture, and kill on a massive scale. It is governments who cause the megadeaths. So if we abolish governments, we shall abolish practically all of the violence which exists in the world. And if we create our ideal societies we shall abolish any violence that remains (see the answer to Question 8).

6 WHAT ARE THE RULES FOR DESIGNING AND OBTAINING AN IDEAL SOCIETY?

Our social evils can be eliminated if we replace the state with an ideal society. But we can neither plan an ideal society nor obtain it unless we obey four rules. The first and second rules must be followed to show us what we must do, and the third and fourth rules must be followed to show us how we must do it. I will now give the rules and explain why each is necessary.

RULE 1 We must work for the good of everyone no matter what their economic position, class, group, nationality, or ethnicity; no matter what their morality or ideology; and no matter what their occupation. We must work for people's good be they rich or poor, black or white, rulers or ruled, criminals or saints, revolutionaries or police, compatriots or foreigners.

We must work for the good of others, relieving their suffering and improving their lot just as we must work for our own good. Many of us cannot stand by and see others suffer and die without

wanting to do something about it. Many of us cannot stand by and see groups within our midst persecuted and whole populations wiped out by famine and war without wanting to eliminate these evils.

Only if we are selfish can we choose to work just for ourselves and perhaps our families. And it may even be possible to obtain lasting good for ourselves, at least in a materialistic way, but it is certainly not possible to obtain lasting good for our families and descendants unless we work for the good of all humanity. We cannot protect ourselves unless we protect everyone and we cannot eliminate our own suffering unless we eliminate the suffering of everyone. So, in reality, we have no choice. We must work for the good of everyone because nothing else is practical.

It is not practical because all humanity is a unity. Every aspect and every division of our social life is interconnected. What happens to part of humanity affects to some extent the rest of it; any change anywhere causes some degree of change everywhere else. For this reason, we cannot continue to enjoy happiness while others suffer because eventually those who suffer will strive - by violence if necessary - to change the society which causes their suffering and which gives us our happiness. Human suffering is a symptom of a sick society and world community and if we live in a sick society and world community then sooner or later we shall suffer from it. In other words, we cannot ignore the starving of the world or one day we shall starve, we cannot go on making war materials for people to make war or one day we shall die in war. So we must consider and care for the poor, the Jews, the blacks, the whites, the foreigners, and everyone else.

There is yet another practical reason why we must care for all. The ideal society (See the answer to Question 8) is only possible if everyone lives in it. It cannot be built in only a section of the world. Raw materials, natural energy resources, and living places all have to be shared and shared equitably. So if we want it at all, we must have it for everyone. And if we are to have it for everyone, then we have to care for everyone.

RULE 2 Work for a complete change in all people and in all countries.

This rule follows directly from the first. If we want good for all others, then obviously we must improve the conditions of all by making social changes for all. And, as just explained, if we are to build an ideal society at all, then it must be built everywhere. It must be built everywhere anyway because governments will not allow separate ideal societies to exist. They would want the people in them so that they could rule them and exploit them and they would not want any practical examples of the ideal society which would prove their existence unnecessary. So unless a change is made throughout the world, remaining governments will invade the ideal organisations and destroy them. Likewise, within the state changes must be made in the people who are now served by it - or think they are served by it - otherwise such people will oppose the formation of the ideal.

Further, I have said that all humanity is a unity and that all our social life is interconnected. This means that there are many reasons for every facet of behaviour so that it is never possible to make just one alteration in our world society that will change permanently any one condition within it: we cannot improve

permanently any section of society without making changes everywhere so that we improve all of it. It is not even possible to remove one evil at a time because if we do not remove all evil we shall remove no evil at all. We cannot remove crime without removing an unjust society, we cannot remove poverty without removing war, and so on.

The reason why all people will have to change is simple. At present people have to be selfish in order to live, but in the ideal society they need be completely unselfish and will find pleasure in being so. They will no longer have authoritarian attitudes and so will not wish to relate to one another in terms of power. And, obviously, there will be no place in the ideal society for the evil state-produced characters which now exist. Indeed, their existence would interfere with the ideal life. In the ideal society there will be no police forces (and no need of them) but were such forces removed while criminals and violent people still existed then these evil characters would have a field day. (In a similar way, one cannot simply disarm one country without disarming all of them.) Fortunately, just as a bad society produces evil characters so a good society produces good characters. So as we build our society we shall be changing our characters and we shall not be producing the evil characters who could spoil our lives. And since we shall build our ideals everywhere, the characters of everyone will be changing for the better.

RULE 3 We must always take into account the relationship between ends and means. If we do this and if we want to produce an egalitarian, rich, just, and peaceful society, we shall never use any kind of force. We will, in fact, act now, as far as possible, as if we were already in the ideal society

People who behave badly in some way often say that the ends justify the means. But this is impossible because the means we use determine the ends we reach. People know this when they take part in any activity which does not involve human group relationships - when they heal the sick, use mathematics, or make an object, and so on. When they construct a car, for example, they first design it and then produce its component parts. They then assemble the parts, paint them, oil them, and do anything else that is necessary. At no time do they do anything which does not lead them straight to their goal. They certainly do not destroy anything while saying that the end justifies what they do. They do not destroy because they know that if they did they would finish up with rubbish.

It is only in the field of human relationships that we do not behave in a scientific manner - at least those who use violence do not. But we want to produce an opulent and just society inhabited by good people who care for one another so we must take into account the relationship between ends and means, we must be scientific. And that means we cannot use any form of force to achieve our ideals because to do so is to proceed in a direction which is the very opposite of where we want to go. We shall make the wrong changes in people and society. We shall produce bad people instead of good, and we shall produce a bad society instead of a good one.

We shall make the wrong changes in people because since humans are not naturally aggressive (See the answer to Question 8) their characters have to be debased before they will exert

force on their fellow creatures and perhaps kill them. Their characters are further debased when they exert the force. But we do not want debased human beings: we want improved human beings. So we have gone in the wrong direction and finished with characters we do not want. Similarly with our society. To use violence, people have to be organised, directed, and often forced to take part in it. Now, there is only one form of social pattern where this is all possible: the state. Organised violence needs the state just as the state needs organised violence. So again if we use violence we have gone in the wrong direction and finished up with the kind of society we do not want. We do not want a hierarchical society; we want an equalitarian society where no power is exerted.

There are many other reasons why we must not use violence either in revolution or war. For example, violence changes in the wrong way the character not only of ourselves but also of our enemies. So they too have characters which are the very opposite of those we desire.

And violence breeds violence. People who are defeated harbour thoughts of revenge and retaliation so that as soon as possible they rebel and perhaps fight again in order to rectify what they consider to be a wrong. Each side of a conflict initiates the violence in turn and each time the violence is used it escalates.

Those who use nonviolent resistance, strikes, mass demonstrations, and so on are also using a force which has many of the disadvantages of the violent kind. They are using means which will lead to the very opposite end that they desire. Even if we ignore the changes in character that can occur, we cannot ignore the fact that any mass movement requires rulers and a hierarchical form of organisation. So again the force will produce the wrong kind of society. Those who use any kind of mass-violence or mass-nonviolence fail to achieve their objective because they are attacking the wrong enemy. The real enemy of humankind is not people or groups but the social pattern we are all using.

Violent and nonviolent force also fails to produce ideals because it is impossible to make people obey in a certain way unless it is applied continuously (as, for example, the force of the police which is applied continuously against the people). When people are forced to obey, they cease to do so when the force is removed. The only sure way to make people behave as required is to make them want to do so. And we can only do that by wanting them to behave in a way that is for their own good. When we explain that this is all we are asking, people will behave as we would like.

We shall always take into account the relationship between ends and means if we behave now, as far as possible, as if we were already living in the ideal society. In the ideal society we shall help one another, so we must help one another now, in the ideal society we shall not use violence, so we must not use violence now, and so on.

RULE 4 Change people and society together and change both in a series of small steps.

Those who want to obtain the ideal society must recognise that there is a vicious circle which at first sight appears insurmountable. As I explained above, the ideal society cannot be built or maintained unless people change their characters for the better,

but people cannot change their characters for the better unless they live in the ideal society (they have to be selfish now and work in armament factories and so on in order to live). We cannot have ideal people unless the ideal society exists and we cannot have the ideal society unless ideal people exist.

Happily, there is a way out of the impasse. If neither people nor society can change on their own, then people and society must change together. And these changes can be made if every advance is made in a series of small steps.

To eliminate our own and other people's suffering, we have to build an ideal society. Now that we know the rules which must be followed we can do this.

7 WHAT IS AN IDEAL SOCIETY?

Poverty, all forms of violence, and every other social evil are produced by the pattern of society we are using - which is the state. So we must, if we are to improve our condition, make a real revolution and change our present form of society for another. To do this we need to know not only the way to make the change but also the form of society we want to build. We need some conception of the ideal society.

Since we know that it is the state - which is a power organisation whereby a few people rule the many - that causes all our social troubles, we know the main prerequisite for the ideal society. It must not be a state and it must not resemble a state in any way. People must not be ruled and controlled but must be free to manage their own affairs for the benefit of all. And when the ideal society is created it must provide everyone with the essentials of life (food, clothes, houses, medical attention, and so on). It must also provide everyone with the luxuries of life if they desire them, and it must provide everyone with the opportunity to lead a loving and creative life. In the ideal society it must also be possible for people to work for the good of others because it is their inborn nature to want to do so and they can be happy only if they do.

So the ideal society is Utopia. But Utopia to most people is an impossible dream. Those who would have us retain the state would certainly like us to think so. Today, however, Utopia is not an impossible dream because three factors make it possible: the state can be abolished if we use the right means (see the answer to Question 15); people are not aggressive and noncooperative but are morally malleable with a tendency to be good (see the answer to Question 8); and over the last few decades humanity has discovered a vast amount of scientific and technical knowledge which has rendered almost all work unnecessary.

Consider first what will happen when there are no states. Without governments there will be no need for poverty, and without governments there will be no organisations whose purpose is to make the people obey (see the answers to Questions 4 and 5). So there will be no waste of labour and materials on any aspect of power - none wasted on useless research, on collecting taxes, on propaganda and censorship, on rewards and bribery, and on all forms of violence. It is the violence of governments that wastes wealth the most. Fortunes are spent on the police and security forces, and when governments prepare for war or make it

the amount of wealth that is wasted passes all belief. The wealth of whole countries can now be destroyed. If people now working on 'defence' were to work in peaceful occupations, everyone would need to work only half the hours they do now. If the governments reduced their spending on armaments by only five per cent, all the hunger, disease, and illiteracy in the world could be eliminated within a decade.

Further, without the state and with efficient economic direction more wealth will be created because everyone (except the young, the old, and the sick) will help to create it. There will be no idle people who do nothing because they have money. Goods will be produced, not for profit, but for use, and no goods will be produced which are simply unnecessary luxuries for the privileged.

Finally, there will be enough wealth to make utopia possible because we now have an immense scientific and technical knowledge. With our knowledge of mechanics and electrics we can build highly efficient machines that can do our manual work for us. And with our knowledge of electronics and microelectronics we can build computers and data processing systems that will do our routine brain work. Computers can control machines and store, sort, and spread information. So now for the first time in the history of humanity we can be free from the burden of work because we have machines that will do the work of our hands and our brains. There will, of course, always be some work because machines have to be built, installed, programmed, and maintained. But with everyone working, and with no one working on so-called defence and other governmental activities, the amount of work that everyone need do will probably be only a few hours a day. And even then, since wealth can be created so quickly and efficiently, eventually there will be enough and more than enough for everyone in the world. And the population of the world can increase as now or faster because - and this is what those who advocate depopulation overlook - with each new mouth to feed there arrives a new pair of hands to produce the food to feed it. It is only in the states that labour cannot be organised and wealth used efficiently. In Utopia, feeding a large world population would be no problem.

So we see that by simply abolishing the state and by making proper use of our technical and scientific knowledge an Utopia is possible. Possible that is if we can learn to live together within it. This we will do if we plan and organise efficiently. (See the answer to Question 9.) We cannot continue to live in the haphazard way we do now. And we cannot have the anarchy (in the sense of chaos) which now exists between the states in the world community. That anarchy will go when the states go.

So how will the ideal society be organised? No one can answer this because all that is known with certainty is that there will be no state pattern and everyone will be free. And we cannot say that people must be free to do as they like and then at the same time tell them what they must do. Anarcho-pacifists may only put forward suggestions and then when the time comes the people may follow them or use them as guidelines as they wish. With that assertion in mind here, very, very briefly, is a plan for the ideal society.

All our commodities will be manufactured in factories by computers and machines. Very little power will be required to run

all the factories because there will be so few. The power needed will be obtained from the rivers, the sun, the wind, and the tides. The factories will be managed by the people who actually work in them. They will be owned by everyone. No individual will own any means of production or be able to exploit the labour of others.

For the reasons given above, people will spend very little time in the factories. They will not live in big towns but in villages, rather like those that exist in Britain today. The people in each village will control their own lives: they will not vote for individuals to rule them but will gather in large halls to discuss and agree about how their affairs shall be managed. People will live in their own homes in small or large groups as they desire. Families will not be forced to live together by law. They will be formed naturally and, since there are enough goods for all, there will be no authority-figures. People will form loving sexual relationships as they wish. And with a vast amount of time for themselves people will explore their own creativity, make wonderful objects, indulge in a variety of sports and games, and work to improve their society. They will exercise all parts of their body: their brains, learning and discovering new knowledge; their small muscles in the practise of arts and crafts; and their large muscles in manual labour - or, more likely in non-competitive sport, since there will be so little manual labour to do.

Although people will not delegate power, they will take the advice and rely on the judgement of those most able to give it. So it will be the doctors who decide on how the health of the people shall be preserved, the engineers who decide on how the factories shall be built, the sociologists who decide on the disposition of the villages, and so on. In general, people will work at what they like doing best because that is what they will do best. (See also the answer to Question 9.)

There will be no unnatural division between childhood and adulthood. Everyone will learn by mixing with those who are working, by making use of electronic libraries, and by attending classes which are given by people who are teaching because they do it so well that others want to listen to them.

With goods in profusion there will be no need for money, with few factories working efficiently, there will be no need for nuclear power or the waste of natural coal and oil, and with each village self-contained there will be no need for travel - except to the factories and for fun.

For reasons explained in Question 15, this pattern of ideal societies must eventually spread over the whole globe.

All communication will take place, as it does now, by radio, television, and data processing. Without governmental interference it will be easy for people to communicate with one another within their own village, between the villages and the factories, and all over the world. It will be easy for people all over the world to exchange knowledge and help one another; it will be easy to send messages of love instead of messages of hate. There will be total cooperation and mutual aid.

8 ARE NOT PEOPLE TOO NONCOOPERATIVE AND AGGRESSIVE TO LIVE AT PEACE WITH ONE ANOTHER IN AN IDEAL SOCIETY, AND SO DO WE NOT NEED A GOVERNMENT TO KEEP LAW AND ORDER AT HOME AND TO FIGHT OUR ENEMIES ABROAD?

That is what governments would have you believe. To make people behave in the way they require, the rulers have to use extensive propaganda. Part of the propaganda is the implantation of several social untruths in the minds of the people. And the belief that humankind is naturally evil is the big one. (By evil I mean that they behave in such a way that they cause others to suffer.) Believe that people will run amok, steal from each other, and be violent to one another unless prevented by greater violence, and the existence of the police and their backup forces is justified. Believe that foreign people will attack us in war and if successful will commit atrocities and impose an unwanted and cruel regime upon us, and the existence of the armed forces is also justified. And since both internal and external violence has to be organised, it follows that a government is necessary. So the belief that it is the nature of humans to behave evilly for no reason at all justifies the need for governments and their violence within the states and between them.

But evil in people is not inborn. They are not noncooperative and aggressive, and in an ideal society they would not behave so, as I will now prove.

All the massive evil behaviour in the world would seem to prove that people are innately evil. But just because we observe people behaving in a certain way does not prove that it is their nature to behave so; it simply proves that in a certain environment and under certain conditions they behave in the manner observed. People, in fact are morally malleable and can be made to behave evilly by an evil environment. Actually, they are also innately good and will behave with goodness if no power is exerted upon them to do otherwise.

I will now examine the environments and conditions that make people behave evilly, But first I must point out that all behaviour, including evil behaviour, is of two kinds: there is that which is to serve ourselves and perhaps our immediate family and friends, and there is that which is to serve a group to which we belong.

Although there are many individuals within the state who behave evilly for selfish reasons, most people do not. Most people behave well and as far as possible help one another. The state-supporters will argue that they do so because under the threat of the law people have to behave. But this is nonsense because people behave well even though they could behave badly without being detected and they behave well in certain tribes and communities which have no police force. It is true that in the state there are some individuals who practise violence to satisfy their debased personalities or to obtain some materialistic or personal advantage. These are the neurotic, the psychopaths, and the criminals. But their existence proves not that the state prevents bad behaviour but that it causes it. It causes it by creating these evil types and by giving them the opportunity and motivation to be evil.

When people have squalid, depressing, and unfulfilled lives, when they have little money and perhaps no employment, when

they are persecuted because they are young or the wrong colour, when they have no natural sex life, their personalities suffer and they behave badly in their homes and in public. Some even attack, rape, and kill women and children. Likewise when people live in a society where there are a few rich and many poor some of the poor will be tempted to become rich themselves by stealing, blackmailing, kidnapping, and so on. Some who have adequate wealth, or even more than adequate wealth, will be tempted to emulate the rich by committing these crimes.

But, of course, the really massive evil behaviour takes place when people work together as a group - when they fight for their state and make war. Academics who try to uphold the state system assert that the fact that people make war proves that they have some sort of instinct of aggression which needs periodical satisfaction. But this is nonsense.

People do not make war: governments - the rulers - make war. Governments say when there will be war and when there will be peace. The ruled have nothing to do with the decisions concerning peace and war. People do not get together and appeal to their rulers saying, "We feel the need to fight. Please give us a war." On the contrary, they hope and pray that their rulers will keep the peace. And while it is true that people fight in war, it is only because they are forced to do so by their governments. Men and women are conscripted to fight and everyone is forced, by rewards and other means, to support war. Even when in the services, people will not kill each other unless their characters are first debased by training. They have to learn to get aggressive and to have blind obedience so that they obey orders to kill and be killed. And to make war, the minds of whole populations have to be manipulated. People have to be told lies about their 'enemy', about the reasons for their war, and about the glory of war. Some are incited with religious fervour and told that by dying in war they will have everlasting life and the blessing of the gods. War has to be made acceptable and glorified by parades, tales of brave fighting, blessing and approval of weapons, constant propaganda in the media showing war as normal, and much else. That the people do not really want war is proved by their behaviour when a war is over. In Britain, on VE day there were parties and dancing in the streets. If people really had an instinct of aggression they would have been sad because they no longer had a war. And where in Britain is the instinct of aggression now? If the British had it they would be crying out for a war because, except for a small conflict at the other side of the world, they have been at peace for about forty years.

That it is governments who have the wars is proved by the fact that only states fight each other. Before there were any states there were no wars. And today people who do not have a state-patterned society do not fight in war (for why the state needs war, see the answer to Question 6). Thus the Andaman islanders, the Semai tribes, the Australian aborigines, and the Eskimos do not make war.

And besides all this there is the fact that even in wartime there are very few people who actually fight. Most people are civilians who either aid the war not at all or who work in the armament factories. And generally most of those in the services do not fight. Only about a third do so. The rest supply their needs

- food, clothes, bridges, armaments, and everything else they must have to live and fight. So if people have an instinct of aggression, they certainly do not satisfy it in war because in war they are not aggressive. And in the future this will be even more apparent. Fewer and fewer people are needed to kill others; only a few people will be needed to kill all humanity. If you still believe that war satisfies an aggressive instinct, then you have to believe the following. A submarine commander has just finished his breakfast of eggs and bacon. He looks up at his second in command and says, "I feel really aggressive today. I wish we could have a war. It would really satisfy me to feed some numbers into a computer and press a button." Need I go on? It is obvious that people do not make war because they have an instinct of aggression as some academics would have us believe.

But, of course, many people are aggressive and violent when they are acting on their own behalf. I have already described some of this behaviour above, but now it is important to point out that people do not have an inborn drive to be aggressive on a personal level. All of us are born with basic drives such as the need to protect our bodies, to obtain food, to keep warm, to procreate, and so on. To satisfy these drives, we build up and learn many motivations whose nature are determined by the kind of society in which we live. And sometimes some of us learn that we can satisfy our basic drives and learnt motivations if we become personally aggressive. That this personal aggression is learnt and not inborn is proved by the fact that not all of us become aggressive (an inborn drive is universal - we all, for example, eat food and have sex) and that those of us who are nonviolent do not become ill as the result of our abstention (if we do not satisfy a basic drive we become ill in one way or another).

Now I can explain why in the ideal society people will behave well towards one another, committing no personal aggression, committing no crimes, and having no wars.

When the ideal society is created there will, of course, be no states. And since the amount of violence practised by individuals and groups on their own behalf is infinitesimal compared with that perpetrated by governments, and since it is only governments that practise war between the states, the abolition of the states will abolish practically all of the violence in the world. When humanity creates the ideal social pattern all over the world, there will be no states left to make war.

Also, when the ideal society is created there will be none of the evil social conditions which cause crime (see above). There will be enough of the essentials and luxuries of life for everyone so that there will be no need to steal. And since everyone will have the same opportunities, there will be no need to fight to right an injustice. Further, just as an evil society makes people evil and gives them the motivations to be evil, so a good society will make people good and give them motivations to be good. And the ideal society will be a good society which produces good people who want to cooperate and look after each other. They cannot do so now because within the state people have to be selfish to live. Today people cannot express their inborn goodness, but in the ideal society they will be able to do so, and they will benefit themselves as they work for the good of all.

So by creating the ideal society we shall have fought not

criminals but crime, not foreign populations but war itself. We shall see to it that no crime exists by seeing to it that no criminals are created. We shall see to it that no wars exist by seeing to it that no governments are created. Without governments there will certainly be no law but there will be order.

So we do not need governments to keep law and order and to make wars. To ask the question posed above is to assume that governments protect us when in reality they are the cause of all violence.

9 HOW WOULD THE IDEAL SOCIETY BE GOVERNED AND WHAT WOULD MAKE PEOPLE DO WORK, AND PARTICULARLY OBJECTIONABLE WORK, IN IT?

Well, obviously, the ideal society will not be governed. It will be a truly free society where no one exists who rules others and where no one would have any power to do so. But that does not mean that the ideal society will not be planned, directed, and organised. Indeed, it will be. It will be directed so efficiently that it will make our present social activity look like the meanderings of a bunch of escaped lunatics. And that is no exaggeration. How else but lunatic can we describe a world where there are millions of unemployed while many go without such necessities as clothes and houses; how else but lunatic can we describe a world where millions of people starve so that weapons can be made to destroy all humanity. It is not the anarchical society which will be chaotic and unorganised; it is the state society which is chaotic and unorganised.

The state-supporters assume that without governments there would be no planning or direction. They believe this because they are told it by governments who want to justify their own existence. But planning and direction have nothing to do with government which is the enforcement of the will of the few upon the many. When governments no longer exist, the people will be able to get down to real planning and control of their lives. But I cannot say exactly what the planning will be. One cannot say that in the ideal society people will be free to organise their lives in any way they choose and at the same time predict how they will do it. I can only say how I would plan the social life in the ideal society and this I will now do.

The kind and amount of consumer goods that are manufactured will be dictated by the people themselves. Each family will have a computer and with it they will ask the workers in the factories for the goods they require. The workers in the factories will, in turn, ask those who work in the supply units for the necessary energy and raw materials they know they will need to produce the goods they have been asked for. They will also ask the people in the villages (see the answer to Question 7) for more workers if they are required. This kind of feedback will apply to all production units and to all aspects of life. Those in charge of the learning centres, for example, will know that a certain number of people must be trained in a certain way if the needs of everyone are to be met. They will ask the requisite number of students to take the appropriate courses. And so on.

The factories, the places of learning, the health centres, and everything else will be run by the people who actually work in

them. Obviously, those who do a certain job know best how to do it and how to organise their work. In all life people will follow the instructions of the experts not because they are made to do so but because they want to do so. And they will want to do so because they know that the experts are the best people to give advice and that the advice is given not with a desire to exploit or control but with the desire to do the best for all.

Community matters in the villages will be decided by the people as they meet together. They will themselves select those who are to work in the factories. Generally everyone - except the young, the old, and the sick - will take a turn. If necessary, they will vote on any issue large or small, but not to appoint someone to decide for them, but rather to decide for themselves how something shall be done or organised.

At no point will there be any compulsion to take part in social affairs, to learn, or to work. Nor need there be. Enough people of goodwill will come forward to run society and those who do not want to do so will not need to do so. Likewise there will always be enough people to do the essential work. This is bound to be so because with modern machines controlled by computers there will be very little work for humans to do. Only a few people will be needed and they need work only a few hours a day. In fact, far from not having enough people to do the essential work there will not be enough work for the people to do. That is why in the ideal villages people will be free to work at what they like doing. They will be free to teach and entertain. They will be free to design and produce new artifacts, clothes, vehicles, houses, and everything else. They will work on their own and in self-organised groups. They will do all these things because humans have an inborn drive to work and cannot be happy unless they are doing so. That is why today after people have worked for money, they will work at their hobbies doing what they like doing. People also have an inborn drive to work for others and they will do so even if the work is distasteful and dangerous. That is why even in the states today there are people who are nurses, firemen, lifeboat men, and many other men and women with the same devotion. In the ideal society the distasteful and dangerous work will be reduced to a minimum by the proper use of machines. There will be machines to clean the houses, to dispose of the rubbish, and even help tend the sick. But since people have an inborn goodness there will always be more than enough volunteers to do this work. People will, however, look after each other out of love and concern and not because they are forced to do so for economic or other reasons.

10 WHAT WOULD YOU DO IF SOMEONE ATTACKED YOUR SISTER/FAMILY?

This is a question which raises the issue of personal violence. And about that there is much confusion not only among the war-supporters but also among many pacifists.

The members of the tribunals set up to deal with conscientious objectors in WW1 and WW2 often asked the people before them what they would do if someone attacked members of their family. Although in a nuclear war there will be no time for tribunals, today the question is relevant because it is often put to pacifists

in Britain during discussions and no doubt to pacifists in other countries where conscription is in force. The short answer is that if one did use violence to protect one's family, one would be breaking the law. (Many men have been punished for protecting their wives.) So is the questioner asking whether the pacifist would break the law?

War-supporters who ask the question are, of course, expecting the pacifists to say that they would protect their family. If pacifists agree that they would use violence, the war-supporters then go on to say that such use of violence is the same as fighting in war. But it is not! When we use violence to protect our families, we use it only against the individual who is actually involved and then we use only just sufficient violence to make him or her desist. When we fight in war, on the other hand, we join forces with strangers and organise our whole lives so that we can help to use unlimited violence against unknown individuals, many of them completely innocent. When we fight in war - or even support it in other ways - we are upholding and taking part in an organised activity whose sole purpose is to kill other people in another country, and that is very different from using force spontaneously to protect a member of one's family. In spite of this argument, the war-supporters often go on to argue that if pacifists would use violence for their personal protection they should join one of the armed services so that have the help of others who are organised and prepared for violence. But this argument is specious because our present society is extremely complicated. We are no longer a few primitive people ganging up to kill some animal for food. Today, if we accept and take part in organised violence it will not be used to protect our families and it will not be used for the benefit of everyone but for the benefit of the few. Wars are fought to serve the interests of certain individuals and groups within society (see the answers to Questions 3 and 5). So there is absolutely no connection between being violent towards those who attack our loved ones and fighting in war. In one instance you are trying to solve a personal problem and in the other instance you are killing people you have never seen at the orders of some government.

When people make war they put everyone in danger not only directly in the war itself but also indirectly because they perpetuate the state system which causes all wars (it also produces criminals, terrorists, and soldiers who rape). For the same reason, people must not fight in a revolution. If they join a revolutionary group they will find that their violence is used for a purpose which is very different from the one they expect. They will also find that they have maintained the state pattern of society which made the revolution necessary in the first place (see the answer to Question 6). So refusing to fight in wars and revolutions is the most important aspect of pacifism. If we want to protect our relatives, we must renounce mass violence which puts them in danger. It is because pacifists want to defend their families that they will not fight.

The revolution-supporters and the war-supporters must be made aware of the distinction between personal and group violence so that they have the answer to the question posed above. But pacifists have to think a little more about personal violence.

Personal violence may be divided into three categories. There is the violence used to protect oneself, the violence used to

protect one's family, and the violence used for one's personal gain or psychological satisfaction.

Those who can at all times turn the other cheek have nothing but my admiration. Their behaviour can have only a beneficial effect on the character of the aggressor. And in that sense their nonviolent response will help to improve our society. But the improvement will only be very slight. I rather take the view that one is justified in using just enough violence as is necessary to defend oneself since pacifists are of more value to society than the evil characters which are created by the state. It is more important to preserve a human who is a pacifist than a human who is a mugger. And for a similar reason one should protect one's family. But whether or not pacifists are prepared to defend themselves and their families will depend on their consciences and on their feelings when the violence is taking place.

Initiating personal violence, however, is a very different kettle of fish. I cannot believe that I have to write about this. I and my contemporaries, brought up in the twenties, learnt instinctively that we must always cherish and respect all females, that we must never be angry or violent, and that we must certainly not use violence to gain some property or advantage of any kind. Nowadays, it is not only sport fans, muggers, and criminals but also those who work for peace that apparently have to be told that they must not initiate violence. Need to be told, that is, if it is true as reported that women have been raped on the peace camps.

Even so, we must think correctly about the personal aggression that now exists. Many pacifists, for example, equate rape with war. And even Aldous Huxley wrote, "War is merely the extreme case of militaristic behaviour. Indeed, it is the final term of many acts of violence in personal and business relations. If you do not curb these in time, they accumulate and end inevitably in war." Many pacifists think that if they get rid of personal aggression wars will disappear. But this is not true. If there were no rapists, muggers, child batterers, and all the rest, if everyone was a little angel, there would still be wars if the states existed. It is the state pattern of society that produces wars (see the answer to Question 5). So if we had no states we would have no wars. It is also the state pattern with its selfish social motivation and governmental violence that produces the violent personalities. If we had an ideal society, no violent personalities would be created because society would not be competitive and personal relationships would be loving and natural. There would be no violent personalities so the question of whether one should protect oneself would not arise. We must get rid of war - by eliminating the state - in order to get rid of violent individuals. To believe that we must get rid of violent individuals in order to get rid of war is to put the cart before the horse.

11 MUST WE NOT ARM FOR PEACE AND FIGHT FOR DEFENCE?

This is the false assumption which supports all war. Tell the people that some foreign power wants to attack their country and they will want their government to spend money on armaments. And then when war comes, tell them that some foreign power is

attacking their country and they will think it right to fight. People assume that they must make war to protect their country.

People make this assumption because they have a simplistic view of society. They assume - in spite of the evidence - that their country is a unity in the sense that everyone is treated equally and as a result everyone has identical interests.

But it is a matter of fact, which can be easily proved, that all governments rule in the interests of a few so that there are some people who have an abundance of wealth and privileges and there are many others who have very little or nothing (see the answer to Question 4). There is also the inequality that arises from war. Some people profit from war; some do not. Some people suffer in war; some do not. All this inequality is not open to argument: it is proved by the facts.

Because of this inequality it is quite wrong to assume that every country is a unity. It is wrong to imagine that two warring countries are like two football teams so that if one is attacked the other must defend. Unfortunately, war is not a game. And countries are far from being like football teams. Men in a football team are a unity because they all have identical interests and they all take an equal part in the game. But people in a country are not a unity because they do not all have identical interests and they do not all take part in war or suffer equally as the result of it.

Basically, wars are fought not to defend the people but to keep and if possible extend the social inequality by retaining and making use of the state pattern. This means that wars are fought to decide how world power shall be distributed. The outcome of wars decides what government shall rule over the people in certain areas of land. And, hard as it may be to accept, it generally matters little to most people who shall rule them.

There are, of course, specific causes of war. These are psychological, economic, and governmental (in the sense of controlling the people). Some rulers in the government and the military need wars to satisfy their created personalities; investors in armament shares need wars so that they can make a profit; industrialists, business men, and others need wars to profit from the goods required to wage them and from the territories, raw materials, and markets that become available because of them; and governments need wars to control the people and maintain the state pattern which causes them. (For the causes of war, see the answer to Question 5.)

All violence, and especially war, serves only those who do not take part in it. If you fight yourself and get killed, you have not been served by it. That is why those who start and direct wars and who profit from them in some way do not take part in the fighting. That is why there are deep underground shelters for the rulers and the privileged. It is always the mass of the people who do not defend themselves by wars: they die in them. And for anyone to say that countries arm for defence now that the atom bombs exist is utter nonsense. Only those in the deep shelters will have any hope of survival. (See the answer to Question 17.)

And just as it is impossible to fight for defence, so it is impossible to arm for peace. It is impossible because all countries cannot deter one another by having more armaments than everyone

else, and because the armaments themselves will cause war as governments see themselves threatened.

To justify their armaments, governments tell their people that it is the potential enemy who started to arm and who will attack unless deterred. Thus today the people in the West believe that the Soviet Union is planning to attack when actually there is no more proof of this than that America is doing so. If the Soviet Union has such a large superiority of arms as we are told, and wants to attack, why has it not done so?

Since there are always a large number of wars taking place in the world, people cannot argue that armaments have prevented them. They are driven to say that atomic weapons have prevented a nuclear war. They say that their country must possess nuclear weapons because their presumed enemy has them and is prepared to use them. They go on to say that the nuclear deterrent has kept the peace for over forty years. But you cannot deter a government indefinitely from making nuclear war when it can be safe in underground shelters even if its people are not. No government cares if its people die in war. And today, apparently, governments do not care if all the people of the world are destroyed. So it is ridiculous to believe that a nuclear war is so horrible that no one would start it. Both Hitler and Churchill said that they would fight to the last man.

Actually, the reasons why we have had no nuclear holocaust so far are quite complicated. They are concerned with the ultimate safety of the rulers and the privileged, the need of the rulers to govern (no one can govern dead people), and the retention of real wealth. But the fact that we have not yet had a nuclear war does not mean that one could not start at any time. Unfortunately, the pressures which cause a major war are increasing, and more governments are acquiring nuclear weapons. And some of these governments do not have as many reasons for keeping nuclear 'peace' as the so-called great powers.

In view of all the above, there is no point in saying that we must arm for peace and fight for defence because it is impossible to do either.

12 SURELY WE MUST FIGHT FOR IDEALS SUCH AS FREEDOM, PEACE, AND THE GOOD OF HUMANITY?

Initially, we must be quite clear about what we mean by ideals. When anarcho-pacifists talk of ideals they mean something quite different from the war-supporter's conception of them. And even war-supporters in different countries may not agree on their definitions of ideals. The different opinions arise because the minds of the war-supporters are controlled by their governments and because the anarcho-pacifists use the same words as governments to describe their ideal society.

Governments know that people are naturally good and therefore they do not tell them the real reasons why they want them to kill their own species. To make people fight, they say it is necessary to do so for justice, for freedom, for peace, and for all the other high ideals. When governments say that they are fighting for the ideals, they are controlling the minds of those they rule. The people accept the words in some vague way or, if they think at all, put their own interpretation on them. Those who live in

capitalist countries, for example, imagine that they are free even though their labour is exploited by others because they know that if they had the capital they could also exploit and they know they can speak out against the system (although without capital no one will hear them). Those who live in communist countries imagine that they are free because they live in a planned economy with work and housing for all, even though they can voice no dissent against their government. And so on. Further when the war-supporters talk of peace, they must be thinking in terms of only a few years for, as I have so often heard them say, they have fought for peace once and they are ready to do so again as often as necessary! It never occurs to them that if they are continually fighting for peace they have not got it.

When the anarcho-pacifists talk of such ideals as justice, freedom, peace, and the good of mankind, they are using the words in their literal and true sense. When they say freedom, they mean being actually free; when they mean peace, they mean the complete absence of conflict. And so on. And that is how I am going to use the words.

Only in the ideal society will true justice, freedom, and peace be obtained. Wars have never produced these ideals. Nor has anything else because so far the correct form of nonviolent revolution has not been used to produce the ideal society. It is blantly ridiculous to believe that wars are fought for high ideals because wars have been fought hundreds of times and no ideals have ever been obtained.

People who recognise that so far we have not obtained the high ideals, nevertheless believe that their own government is good and wants the best for its people and that the enemy government is evil and does not. All the people in the world believe this so it is necessary to show that all governments have an equal morality.

Because all people - with the exception of the conscientious objectors - behave as required by their government and because all governments give the same commands to their people, all people of the world have the same morality. But since it is governments who instigate and enforce the morality, it is they who are our concern. And it is their equal morality that is important. That they all have the same morality is proved by the facts. All governments practise diplomacy in the same way, all governments arm in the same way, and all governments make war in the same way. All governments, if they have them, sell armaments to other countries, practise intervention, and commit massive atrocities. During World War II, the Germans incinerated many thousands of Jews in concentration camps, and the Allies incinerated many thousands of Japanese when they wiped out two of their cities.

All governments rule their people in the same way. In no country is any person or group allowed to threaten the power of their government; and people and groups are allowed to be free as long as they do not do so. But when there is a threat to their power, all governments use similar means to combat it. They call this protecting the security of the state. To achieve their ends, police and security forces will break the law and use violence. Thus, in Britain in the mid '80s, many hundreds of police and other forces illegally opened mail, tapped telephones, entered houses and damaged property, harassed individuals, set up road

blocks, attacked peaceful demonstrators and pickets, and terrorised people while they lived in their caravans.

All governments use their propaganda to convince the people that their own country is good and that the enemy country is bad. They have to propagate this lie to get people to fight one another.

The amount of apparent freedom varies between countries of course because when people are very much under the control of propaganda and tradition, not so much violence is required to make the majority obey. It is when a government of a poor country shares wealth very unequally, when a government has to force the ruled to follow some evil venture, or when a government is controlling a people recently defeated in war that great internal violence becomes necessary. And living standards in different countries vary because the amount of real wealth within them varies. But all these differences have nothing to do with morality. And, as I say, all governments have an equal morality.

If all governments and peoples have an equal morality then no war can be between a 'good' country and a 'bad'. If all governments make use of the state pattern, which anarcho-pacifists believe is the cause of all our troubles, then no country can be fighting to prevent the imposition of an evil social system. All countries already have it. Nor are wars fought to retain a particular ideology because a capitalist country will fight another capitalist country and a communist country will fight another communist country. And not only that: a capitalist country will make an ally of a communist country in order to overcome another capitalist country. Governments attack and fight according to their particular interests at the time. The political ideology of the country is immaterial. Since World War II, both the Queen of Britain and President Regan of America have honoured their ex-enemies Germany and Japan whilst the governments of both countries have denigrated their ex-ally the Soviet Union. Wars are not fought for ideals. They are fought for reasons which are very different (see the answer to Question 5).

The fact that all governments use internal violence to maintain the status quo proves conclusively that they have no intention of creating the true ideals. All they care about is the retention of our present society with its poverty and war. It shows that the important conflict is within countries and not between them. The war-supporter assumes that the main purpose of the army is to fight foreigners. But it is not. Governments need armies mainly to back up the violence of the police so that they can always remain in command. And because the real conflict is between the rulers and the ruled, the rulers all over the world are closer to each other than they are to their own people. That is why international banks lend money to future enemies and why armament manufacturers export crowd control devices and war weapons to every country of the world.

Our real enemy is not the people or rulers of any country (including our own) but the social pattern we happen to be using. If we want to produce our ideals of freedom and peace we must replace our evil social system with a good one. We must attack our real enemy.

13 MUST WE NOT FIGHT FOR GOD AND "RENDER UNTO CAESAR THE THINGS THAT ARE CAESAR'S"?

Religious convictions are not based on reason but are held because people want to change their own or other people's lives in some way and because they want to live forever. They invent a god (and sometimes gods) and then try to control it by prayer, ceremony, or sacrifice so that it will give them what they desire. Religious beliefs are irrational and help people make war and die happily while doing it. Those who use their religion beliefs to justify their violence cannot be refuted because their beliefs are not based on reason.

Most people acquire their religious beliefs from the organised religious groups within their state because throughout history the rulers of these groups have implanted the beliefs as a means of exerting power. If people believe that they will go to purgatory or hell unless they support their church, say their prayers, light their candles, make confessions, contribute to church funds, and so on, then they will do all these things. Some religious groups have been or are so powerful that they take the role of the central government and rule the state. Most in the modern world keep the power they have by supporting their government, or the government they want, and by encouraging their followers to do the same. This often means supporting wars and revolutions.

So we find, for example, that the Muslims believe that they must die in war in order to ensure a place in paradise. Likewise the Christians have been making war for God for centuries. When they are not fighting the so-called infidels, they are fighting themselves. (The spectacle of both sides in a war praying to the same god for victory is particularly nauseating.) Clergy of all denominations support war and tell their congregations to fight. Many bless the weapons of war. During World War I, in Britain, under governmental instruction, vicars told men from the pulpit that they should be at the front. The clergy also supported World War II and the Falklands war. Church leaders always say that wars are just and necessary. (Some clergy denounce nuclear war, but very, very few reject war.)

Having said all the above, I must emphasise that I am not pooch-pooching the belief in God. I am simply explaining the part the religious organisations play in war. It remains true, however, that neither the belief in God nor the belief in eternal life can be substantiated by reason. These are matters of faith and blind belief. Some mystics have claimed to have unity with God and thereby have proved to their own satisfaction that such a 'thing' exists. But such mystics cannot convince others because all knowledge is a function of being. And to know God in the way the mystics do one would have to be a mystic oneself. Anyway, if we believe in God as a matter of faith and truly want to serve God then we shall serve humankind. God will hardly want us to spend time on worshipping, on useless rituals, and on contemplation of one's own navel. And if we do pray to God, we must ask to be shown what God wants, how to do what God wants, and for the strength to do what God wants. We must not pray simply because we want something for ourselves.

But to return to the war-supporting Christians. Anarcho-pacifists cannot refute their beliefs but they can point out that the founder of their religion was a pacifist who taught and even

commanded his followers to behave non-violently. They can say, "If you are a Christian and if you want to live as Jesus commanded, then you must be a pacifist."

Jesus himself was certainly a pacifist. In fact, when a disciple was violent on his behalf and cut off the ear of a priest's servant, Jesus told him to put away the weapon, saying, ". . . all they those that take the sword shall perish with the sword." And that statement is as true today as it was 2000 years ago. People who fight in wars die in them, and people who prepare for war die while preparing for it. At the present time people are dying in and near the factories that make nuclear bombs and in the so-called civil nuclear power stations that supply the materials for the bombs.

Jesus made it quite clear that he wanted his followers to be pacifists. For him the old law of a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye did not apply. He said, "A new commandment I give unto you, That you love one another; as I have loved you, love you also one another." On another occasion he said that his followers should love God and love their neighbours as themselves. Now you cannot love God if you kill God's creatures, and you cannot love one another if you kill in war. And you cannot make war if you obey Jesus' admonition to turn the other cheek and love your enemies. In other words, Jesus was telling his followers to be pacifists.

All this is clear enough. But Christians who support war often justify it with the quotation I have given at the head of this article. They say that if we are to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's we should pay our war taxes and be prepared to fight in war. But Jesus was giving instructions only on the payment of taxes. I personally think that he was telling his disciples to decide for themselves what was Caesar's and what was not. But if we take it that Caesar should have the money because his head and inscription was on the coins, then Caesar should have all coins and not just those demanded as tax - which would mean that Jesus was advocating a money-less society.

Christian war-supporters can find only one occasion when Jesus may possibly have been violent. In John 2:15 we are told that Jesus made a scourge of small cords and drove the money changers out of the temple. But this does not prove that Jesus used his whip on the bodies of men and animals. It is more likely that he used the whip as a control rather as a farmer drives cattle along a lane. But even if he did use the whip aggressively, it is ridiculous to say that in doing so he justified the killing of people and certainly not the killing of people in war.

I do not suppose many people read the New Testament today, but if they do so they will find many commands to be non-violent. And Christian pacifists can find comfort in what Jesus said about them. He said, "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God." (Matthew 5:9).

14 WHAT ELSE CAN WE DO BUT FIGHT IN WAR/REVOLUTION?

Anarcho-pacifists and pacifists are often asked, "What happens to us if we do not use violence to protect ourselves from criminals, terrorists, and foreign enemies who want to dominate us?" They

are told that there is nothing else to do but fight. And rulers who have safe underground shelters have said that it is better to be dead than red. The false assumption here is that there are only two choices: We can fight or we can give in to the enemy who would cause us to suffer in some way.

Now, of course, if we just refused to fight and did nothing else, foreign governments would probably make war with one another to decide who should rule over us. And, although it is by no means certain, we will assume that to be ruled by a foreign government would be a catastrophe. Likewise if we abolished our police and did nothing else, criminals would have a field day. But the choice is never between using violence and giving in. There is a third choice

If we want to protect ourselves, we shall fight our real enemy - our present social pattern. We shall attack not people but criminality, terrorism, revolutions, and war. We shall change the pattern of our present society so that no criminals, terrorists, revolutionaries, or warring governments are created. We shall protect ourselves from violence not by using more violence but by removing the factors which cause it (see the answer to Question 5).

A society where people cooperated with one another and where no violence existed would be Utopia. But if we study different social patterns we find that only a Utopia is practical. So unless we create Utopia the human race will become extinct. It is now Utopia or death.

It does not take a war-supporter to remind us that to design and create our ideal world is a gigantic task. It will stretch human imagination and creativity to the limit. But we do not know that it cannot be done unless we try to do it. At the moment people are not trying. They are accepting the possibility of nuclear war and are ready to die like lemmings. But the change that has to be made must be made. People who can build computers that can do the work of their brains, transmitters that can send pictures of events as they happen all over the world, and space ships that can carry us through space can surely make and design an ideal world. They could if they tried.

Many anarchists and other revolutionaries feel trapped into having to use violence because they know of no alternative. Seeing the injustice, poverty, and violence in society, and believing that no other method for changing society is practical, they feel that a change can be made only by using violence to abolish their government or the state. "What else can we do," they ask, "but change our social conditions by violence?" They know that social evils can be eliminated only by producing the ideal society but they wrongly imagine that violence is the way to produce it.

To make the social change we need, we must understand the real nature of humanity and our present society. We must know that people are not innately evil but have to be debased before they can be made to act evilly. We must realise that just as a bad society can make people evil so a good society can make them good. And to produce the good society use must be made of the relationship between ends and means. The end we want can never justify the means we use because the means we use determine the end we get. So we must always advance directly towards our goal. We shall not start by destroying and imitating the

behaviour of those who oppose us. That is why we must always be non-violent rather than violent. No ideals whether in war or revolution can ever be achieved by violence.

We must, of course, at the start have some idea of the kind of society we want to create. Then knowing it, we must, as far as possible behave as if we were already in it. This will tell us how to behave. We shall do nothing we would not do in the ideal society. We must take no part in the activities of any group if such a group would not exist in the ideal. This means that we shall take no part in governmental violence nor shall we join a group to practise violence ourselves.

While destroying our present social pattern we must also be creating the new one. This means spreading our ideas not only in our own country but throughout the world; it means building up new social organisations that will exist in the ideal society; and it means helping one another to live while we make the change. (See the answers to Questions 6 and 15 for how to obtain the ideal society.)

So, I repeat, there is a third choice: it is never a question of fighting or having to suffer crime, never a question of fighting or having to tolerate evil social conditions, never a question of fighting or suffering defeat by a foreign government. We must do something other than just use the police, take part in a violent revolution, or die in a nuclear war. We must produce a peaceful society and a peaceful world community. It will take intelligence and courage but we can do it.

15 HOW CAN WE MAKE THE IDEAL REVOLUTION AND SO OBTAIN THE IDEAL SOCIETY AND PEACE?

I have set out the rules for designing and obtaining the ideal society in answer to Question 6, and these rules must be kept. If we do keep them, we shall demolish our present social pattern and replace it with the ideal. We shall have the ideal society and shall live in peace. As explained while giving the rules, we cannot use any form of force to make the change and, indeed, there is no need to do so since in order to change from one social pattern to another we need do nothing more than behave differently. But, obviously, everyone has to do so. And since we cannot force people to behave differently, we must persuade them to do so. So the most important act we can make to produce the ideal society is to tell others about it, to explain to them why the state is such a failure, and to teach them what they must do to create the ideal and so save themselves. We must propagate the essential social truths (which are given in Appendix II).

There are yet other reasons why we must not use any form of force to make the revolutionary change. We cannot force people to live in the ideal society. To try to do so would mean that limitless violence would have to be used continuously. Fortunately, there is no need to use force because when people understand that it is to their advantage to live in an ideal society, they will be only too ready to do so. Likewise, there is no need to use violence to destroy our present society. The rulers have no power of any kind except that which is given them by the people. It is the ruled themselves who man the police, the security forces, and the armed services. So in order to deprive

the rulers of their power, there is no need to take it from them; all we have to do is to refuse to give it to them.

This refusal to do violence on behalf of a government is part of a general refusal to take part in any state activity. And we must make this refusal because the state will be destroyed when we ignore it. To destroy our present society we must, therefore, act now, as far as possible, as if we had already destroyed it and were living in the ideal society. With this in mind, I will now explain how those who want to produce the ideal society must behave as individuals acting on their own and how they must behave in groups.

We must refuse to take part in any governmental violence. We must not join a civil defence organisation (see also the answer to Question 17), the police, the security forces, or the armed services. This refusal is the most important act we can make and is the act which governments fear the most. They fear it because if everyone became conscientious objectors the state would collapse. It is not simply, as the pacifists say, that wars will cease when people refuse to fight. It is more than that. The state rests on an edifice of violence (see also the answer to Question 3) and the state need wars to exist (see the answer to Question 5), so if people refuse to do violence on its behalf, it will collapse. Not only will war be abolished, the states will be abolished also.

Even without the reasons just given people should be conscientious objectors because they should object to taking human life. To kill a man, woman, or child is the most awful and wicked act anyone can make.

In most countries of the world there is, of course, conscription. I realise that it is easy to tell others that they should be conscientious objectors (COs). At the start of WW2, and before we knew how COs were going to be treated in Britain, I thought that because I would not fight or support the war I might be shot. Fortunately for me, my courage did not have to be tested to the point of death. But there are today, in different parts of the world, many men who disobey conscription laws, refusing to take the oath of allegiance or fight. These men are persecuted in every way. Some are deported, some are imprisoned, some are forced into the army where they are often made to walk into the minefields or to do something equally mortal, and some simply disappear. (Some COs join the army and then try to desert.)

In some countries, such as Britain at the present time, there is no conscription so one does not have to take a stand as a CO. We must, nevertheless work, in the ways I am describing, to abolish the state with its wars so that conscientious objection is unnecessary, so that the suffering in the world is eliminated, and so that we save the human race from extinction. If we wait until the start of a nuclear war before we do anything about it, it will be too late.

Besides refusing to fight in war, we must also refuse to take part in any governmental activity. We must not become rulers or officials of any kind - not even such apparently innocuous people as local councillors. Nor must we vote to put anyone into an official position. To vote for someone is to give him or her the right to rule you, and, as the anarchists say, no man is good enough to be another man's master. This apart from the fact that in practise the purpose of those who receive the votes is to control the minds of the people. Members of Parliament, and even

Cabinet Ministers, have no real power over affairs that really matter (see the answer to Question 3).

We must also refuse to do any work connected with governmental power. I have already said that we must not support a government's violence, but we must also not take part in its propaganda and censorship, its allocation of rewards, its law enforcement, or in any of its other activities. We must not attend or watch any state ceremonies, such as official openings of bridges and buildings, air displays, and so on. And, obviously, we must refuse to accept any honours granted by the state. We must, in fact, ignore the state in every particular.

Besides ignoring the state, we must also show our disapproval of its activities. We must ignore state functions. We must complain loudly about the waste of money involved, the childishness of dressing up, and of everything else connected with the state. We must expose the propaganda used by the governments and the media. We must express disapprobation of all those in the government and power organisations. We must show our disapproval not only of those in the lower ranks but also those in the higher ranks, the police chiefs, the generals, the admirals, the Members of Parliament, and all the others who rule by decree. We must refer to these people by their correct adjectives. People who enforce poverty and cause death and kill must be designated by their correct title. They are morally evil and they are murderers.

Some people of good will may find it difficult to decide exactly on what they can do to make a living. They hear the war-supporters argue that since all things can be used for violence, there is no point in refusing to make anything. Even a pen, for example, can be used by soldiers to do their paper work. But this argument is sophistic and if it were true we should have to refuse to produce anything, even food. Fortunately, there is an infallible test which will enable us to decide how we can make a living. I have already said that we must, as far as possible, behave now as if we were already in the ideal society, so if goods are going to be used in the ideal society, we may produce them now, and if services will be preformed in the ideal society then we may preform them now. What we must not do, of course, is produce goods or perform services if either are going to serve the state and its violence. We know that propaganda lies are to deceive the ruled, so we must not write them; we know that weapons and their associated equipment are to kill and oppress people, so we must not make them or discover new ones. And so on. In general, we shall not make certain articles such as dangerous herbicides, useless consumer goods, advertisements, pornographic material, nuclear power, or war weapons; and we shall not perform useless services by acting as servants to the rich, by helping people practise cruel sports, or, of course, by serving the state as censors, political campaigners, or any kind of official. We shall make a living by teaching, by working to perserve and protect the environment, by looking after the sick and elderly, by building houses, by making clothes, and by doing everything else that is really useful to humankind. (See also the answer to Question 18 for how we should earn a living.)

Not only must we earn our money in the right way but we must also spend it in the right way. We must, as far as possible, buy no goods which have been produced by the flagrant exploitation of animals or people. And we must give no money to charities

which uphold the state. Give rather to the anarchist and pacifist organisations!

While working at the correct occupations in the way just described, we must also work to convert other people to our way of life. We must teach them our beliefs by word of mouth, by lecturing, and by writing and publishing leaflets, pamphlets, and books. (See Appendix I.)

Finally, we must bear in mind that those who oppose us cannot disprove our beliefs (since they are true), so they will try to denigrate our characters, hoping that the public will assume that if we are evil or abnormal in some way then our voices need not be heard. To offset this, our appearance (haircut and clothes) must always be the same as our contemporaries and our behaviour must be exemplary: no drug taking, no loose sexual behaviour, and no misconduct of any kind. We must be distinguished from others only by a badge which proclaims us anarcho-pacifists.

Besides working in isolation to obtain our social ideals, we must create groups and work in them. We need group activity so that the essential social truths can be spread with greater efficiency, so that individuals can be given moral and economic support, and so that the ideal society can be gradually created. I will now deal with each of these activities in turn.

Obviously, if we work together in a group we can write, print, publish, and distribute leaflets, pamphlets, and books with much greater efficiency than if we work in isolation. So groups must arrange lectures, publish material, and advertise in their own country. But more than this. We must work to create the ideal social pattern all over the world because if any state is allowed to exist anywhere it will destroy the rest of us who want to live ideally and in peace. This means that changes must be made everywhere almost simultaneously. And for this to happen all people must be taught the essential social truths.

Only by working in groups can we organise the spreading of truth all over the world. We must pool our ideas, our resources, and our labour. We must send letters abroad and transmit by radio. We must travel abroad and mix with the people of every nationality and race so that we can communicate our ideas with speech, literature, and videos. And since starving people need full bellies before they can have full minds, we must often work to alleviate the suffering caused by the states before we attempt to teach them how they can really help themselves by removing the cause of all their troubles.

I am not so naive as to imagine that governments will calmly allow a real revolution to take place, although they will have difficulty in opposing it if it is always nonviolent and if we always keep the public fully informed about every aspect of it (see also below). It is this dissemination of real social knowledge that governments will try to block. No doubt they will introduce their emergency censorship laws to restrict the publication of our ideas and behaviour. And no doubt they will bring in laws to prevent any kind of assembly. This need not deter us. We simply pass the information from one to another as we meet, even if we are allowed to meet only one person at a time! In fact, it is impossible for any government to prevent two or three people meeting together. If it did the whole life of the state would stop.

When the majority of people in our own country have been converted, it will be easy to use advanced technology to influence

others in the world. When we can use satellite television, not to transmit trivial entertainment or state propaganda, but to exchange ideas for the good of humankind, the world will become one.

While working in groups, we must follow the same general principles that we follow as individuals. So besides doing much else we must ignore the state. It will not exist in the ideal society and we must therefore, as far as possible, act as a group as if it does not exist now. We must do nothing to acknowledge its existence or presence. We must not acknowledge the power of any individual: we must not sign any petition or make any approach or representation to anyone in authority.

(For the sake of completeness, I must emphasise that we must never make use of any kind of violent revolutionary group. Violence is wrong for the reasons I have given and violence is wrong because its use acknowledges the existence of the state. Nor must we use any form of way-out violence, such as poisoning food in shops, attacking stores with fire bombs, and digging up graves! Equally, there must be no violence against oneself. No self-immolation or fasting.)

To produce our ideals we must never form groups in order to practise some form of mass nonviolence. We must never try to exert any form of force because that is unproductive for reasons which I give in answer to Question 6. Hence no cutting of wire fences around military installations, no lying down in front of army vehicles, no ambushing of cruise convoys, no occupation of missile sites, and no active interference with any state activity. There must also be no interference with governmental propaganda, by such means as the desecration of war memorials, the shouting down of speakers (just turn away), and so on. Such behaviour is always useless. The governmental forces are always the stronger and they change or break the laws of the land when it suits them, and so they are always the victors in any contest; and, further, if the action is taken as a propaganda exercise in order to make converts it will always have the opposite effect. It will have the opposite effect even if we control ourselves and not shout and scuffle - which we may do without special training. We shall be represented at best as cranks and at worst as people who do not want to work or fight for their country.

Likewise there is no point in having mass sit-ins, protests, marches, and demonstrations. Governments rule in any way they please and they will not be influenced by what the people want. In the mid-80's many thousands of people demonstrated all over Europe against cruise missiles and nuclear bombs. It made not the slightest difference. The military bases, the cruise missiles, and the bombs arrived. In 1986, 30 million people jogged in an effort, according to the organiser Bob Geldof, to jog the consciences of the politicians concerning the starving in the world. Needless to say, the politicians remained indifferent. So the usefulness of protests, marches, and demonstrations can be judged only by the effect they have on the general public, not by the effect they have on governments. As a propaganda exercise, I would say that such mass group behaviour is a great waste of energy. I admire the people who do these things and I realise that such behaviour gives a sense of doing something for peace. But, in fact, more would be achieved by those who make the mass protests if each person in them contacted an unconverted

individual and explained to him or her the essential social truths.

In general, mass protests, marches, nonviolent resistance, and so on are wrong because such behaviour acknowledges the existence of the state and we must isolate ourselves from it altogether and have no confrontation with authority. To test the security of a missile site by entering it, to allow the police to be present during a march, or to meet the police and others with nonviolent resistance is to play the game of the state. There is also the point that anarcho-pacifists should not put themselves in danger because they, being the only ones who can produce an ideal world, are the most precious of all people!

The general principles just explained do not preclude such group activities as monitoring of nuclear fuel and cruise missile convoys. We must deal with the state by ignoring it, but we must be aware of its nature and its activities so that we can tell others about it. During '86, more than 3000 people took part in a protest designed to show the route of the war-head convoys. They used mock AA signs and motor convoys of private cars. Such activities are acceptable propaganda for peace. So is, for example, the holding up of banners for others to read and the setting up of peace camps outside the military installations. But, as I have said, demonstrations must not be organised and police controlled. (In the ideal society we shall teach real social truths, therefore we must teach them now.)

I have said that at this time the most important act we can make is to spread our beliefs, and no doubt this can best be done by talking to individuals directly. The people we should talk to first are those who have less to lose when the state is abolished and most to gain when the ideal society is created. These are the young rather than the old, the poor rather than the rich, and, in general, the underprivileged rather than the privileged. So we must talk to the unemployed, the wives of service men, the homeless, and the downtrodden. Eventually, we shall have to talk to everyone because it must be made clear to all that everyone will benefit when the ideal social change is made and because we need everyone's help to make it. This conversion by actual contact with the public should be a group activity because it must be organised - especially if actual personal contact is the only way to spread the essential truths because of repressive laws enforced by the governments (see above).

There is another reason why we need to work in groups to produce our ideals. I have said that each of us must earn a living by ignoring the state. Now, obviously, since most work available is connected with the state, many will find great economic hardship if they try to ignore it. Therefore, as soon as possible, groups must be formed to pool their economic resources and to help one another live from day to day. I realise that this will mean real economic sacrifice and effort and that this communal behaviour is not so exciting as, say, cutting the perimeter wires around an American base. But if we are to be serious about producing a peaceful world, this is what we must do.

We can, however, reduce our economic dependence upon one another by taking part, as soon as possible, in the third group activity which I mentioned above. We know that as we gradually

destroy the state society, we must gradually produce our ideal society. So we must start now to organise and build the social and factory units which will exist in the ideal society. The state is so inefficient that there are always plenty of people with time on their hands - the unemployed, the rich, and many others - and these people must form communities which are as autonomous as possible and which are organised on the lines of the ideal. In these communities we shall learn to share work, resources, and products; we shall learn to dispense with money. The ideal factory units will be created by converting the factories which already exist. This will be possible when the factory owners are themselves anarcho-pacifists. (Naturally, the first factories to be converted will be those which are very small.) The creation of these communities and factory units must be accompanied by extensive information about them. Governments want to destroy any alternative way of life, but if we break no law and if we make it quite clear why we are behaving so, they will not be able to interfere without seriously affecting their credibility. And governments must care about their credibility because they know that when the people realise their true nature they will be destroyed and the ideal will be created.

Our isolation from the state as individuals and as groups must be undertaken as part of the process to produce our ideals which will benefit everyone. We must not attempt to live without the state for selfish reasons. So no self-indulgent communes, no peace convoys, and no retreats of any kind. Only well-organised and coordinated group behaviour will create the ideal society. (The peace convoys in 1986 were soon broken up by the British government.)

I know that the methods to produce the ideal society and peace which I have outlined above do not conform with those advocated by other anarchists and pacifists. But those who disagree with me must ask themselves whether the methods so far used have produced the results they desire. Unfortunately, they have not. So although I admire the courage and determination of those who go on marches and demonstrations, who occupy the missile sites, and so on, and although if I were young and fit I would be sorely tempted to do these things, I know that such behaviour is useless. Only by following the instructions I have just given can we obtain our ideals.

16 COULD WE NOT OBTAIN OUR IDEALS BY MAKING REFORMS, BY GETTING RID OF THE HORROR WEAPONS, AND BY MAKING CHANGES IN THE USUAL WAYS?

Trying to reform the state would be like trying to reform the bacterium *Pasteurella pestis* - which causes the plague. To eliminate the danger from the bacterium, we have to destroy it; to eliminate the danger from the state, we have to destroy it also.

That does not mean, of course, that we have to kill anyone. On the contrary, since the state is only a particular kind of social pattern, we can destroy it and replace it by another simply by behaving in a different way.

The state pattern of society has to be destroyed because it has certain in-built faults which cannot be eradicated unless the

whole pattern itself is eradicated. It needs poverty and it needs war (see the answers to Questions 4 and 5). So there is no point in working in any way to bring about any kind of reform. There is no point, for example, in voting for different MPs in the hope that they will change the conditions of our society, and there is no point in joining some part of the governmental state organisation in the hope of being able to reform it from within. People of good will who have become members of local or central governments soon find that they have to do things within certain set rules or they do nothing at all. This beside the fact that many undergo a character change so that they no longer have the will to do good. Many a rebel TU official has finished up in the House of Lords.

It is true that specific social evils are sometimes reduced or eliminated, but the social improvements can never be permanent because the state needs poverty, and bad social conditions always follow as a result of it.

Likewise with war. In the state it is possible to have peace for a time but never permanently. Therefore all the peace talks and agreements are doomed to failure. So are all the agreements on arms reduction, collective security, or whatever. For the same reason it is quite impractical to achieve peace by trying to eliminate one weapon at a time.

Some peace groups attempt to eliminate all weapons by starting to eliminate one of them. The members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, for example, work to persuade the British government to abolish nuclear weapons. They do this because they know that the destructiveness of such weapons is so great that if they were used in war we should all be destroyed. But no government will ever be persuaded to abandon its nuclear weapons because its main purpose is to survive and especially to survive in war. In war, a government's sole purpose is victory and there is nothing it will not do to achieve it. For that reason governments always have at their command the most deadly weapons available. No government has ever refused to prepare for war with the most advanced means that science and technology can provide. That is a matter of history. So governments will never agree to the abolition of nuclear weapons because they know that they may need them.

Even suppose that some governments agreed not to make and store nuclear weapons, others would not. It would be impossible to get all governments in the world to agree to such a ban. The governments of the smaller countries certainly would not do so for they realise that the bombs give them all the power of the larger nations. And even if all governments made the agreement and said that they had no bombs, adequate inspection between countries would be quite impossible because it is not very difficult to make the bombs and they could be stored and hidden in almost any building of fairly reasonable size. The amount of labour involved in the inspection would, therefore, be prohibitive, and in any case no government would allow it. They certainly would not allow foreigners in their factories which were making other weapons, and in those factories atom bombs could be made also.

The main reason why we must eliminate all weapons, however, is that we wish to stop all suffering and death that is caused by war. If you are killed by a piece of shrapnel, you are just as dead as you would be had you been killed by a nuclear

explosion. People can get killed by many other weapons besides atom bombs. At present there are about forty wars in the world being fought with conventional weapons, and in them men, women, children, and babies are being starved, mutilated, and killed. And these people now suffering in conventional wars are just as important and matter just as much as ourselves. It is not only our own survival that is important but the survival of everyone. One day we also may be killed by conventional weapons. Atom bombs are not even the only means of mass-killing. People can be killed by noxious agents which can be sprayed on the land to give 'food denial' and 'cover denial'. They can be killed and injured by deadly poisons, gases, germs, and viruses. Indeed, it is doubtful whether atom bombs are the quickest way to kill human beings. So we must work to eliminate all weapons.

To think that it is possible to abolish one kind of weapon is to live in a dream world. If you care enough about humanity to work for such an abolition, then you must, if you want to achieve anything at all work for the abolition of all weapons by working to eliminate all war. And the way to do that is to eliminate the state.

No matter what social goals we have and no matter what means we choose to use to improve our society, nothing will work unless we abolish the state which is the cause of all our troubles. So we must eliminate poverty and eliminate war by using the methods which were outlined in answer to Question 15.

17 SHOULD WE JOIN THE CIVIL DEFENCE ORGANISATIONS AND THE NONCOMBATANT MILITARY ORGANISATIONS?

Well, it is certainly possible to join some so-called civil defence organisation, but it is not possible to take part either in the preparation for civil defence or in actual civil defence. It is not possible because there will be no defence for civilians if there is another World War.

Because the rulers do not care about the people and because they will do anything to achieve victory in war and to ensure their own survival, they will use nuclear bombs in the next World War. The Western powers, in fact, have already said that they will use them right from the start of hostilities. The Eastern block will have to retaliate so that all countries will be using the bombs. And with 50,000 bombs in the stockpiles in 1986 and more added all the time, everyone on earth will be killed. There are even now enough bombs to kill everyone more than a dozen times over. An eternity of nuclear winters will be created after a third World War so that finally all life on earth will be destroyed. As Carl Sagan said, "After a nuclear war, the world would become a dark freezing place without a trace of life. It is the end of everything, of civilisation, of future generations; of art, literature, religion. It is the end. Period."

Now, obviously, since there is no defence for the people, there must be other reasons why the rulers believe they need civil defence. And we have to ask not whether we should join their civil defence organisation to help protect our fellow citizens - because that is impossible - but whether we should join to help our rulers fulfil their real purpose. So what are the real reasons why our rulers want to organise civil defence? Actually, there are

many.

They want to organise civil defence because it is a propaganda exercise. By having it they are preparing the minds of the people for war. They are making them believe that a future war may take place and that in it there will be survivors.

But the rulers have an even more vital reason for wanting to organise their so-called civil defence. They want it because they imagine it will ensure their own survival. So civil defence is not concerned with protecting the people; it is concerned with protecting the rulers. Therefore an important part of civil defence is the formation of fighting units who are ready to kill any of the population who rebel against war and their rulers. It will be used to protect those in power. Another important part of civil defence is the creation and maintenance of deep underground bunkholes where certain privileged people, officials, and rulers can hide in the event of war. Actually, if the rulers wanted to kill each other - which is doubtful since rulers all over the world cooperate with one another against the ruled - they could probably do so because atomic missiles can now be directed with extreme accuracy and a succession of them could reach any shelter no matter how deep. The reality is that no one would survive a nuclear war, not even the rulers.

So now we know. We must not join a civil defence organisation because in preparing for civil defence we condition the minds of the people for war and therefore bring it that much nearer. We must also not join the organisation because we must not help the rulers obtain what they imagine to be their own safety. If they want to survive, they can refrain from making nuclear war and so ensure the survival of us all. Also, if they do imagine themselves safe, there cannot be even the pretence of a nuclear deterrent. The rulers make war and if they think that they are not to be killed in it they have no reason for not having it.

So far I have explained why we must not take part in civil defence before or during a nuclear war. But what about wars fought with 'conventional' weapons? There are always a number of such wars being fought in the world. So should we take part in the civil defence where they are being fought and should we join any noncombatant organisation within the armies?

The war-supporter argues that to care for the wounded in war is a very humanitarian act. Surely, to lessen the suffering in war can only be good. But it does not lessen the suffering. In fact, it makes the suffering possible because civil defence and medical services on the battlefield are all part of the war machine which could not function without such organisations. In war, some fighting personnel and civilians are knocked down and some are picked up. If people thought that if wounded in towns and on the battlefields they would be left unattended, perhaps to die and rot, they would be less willing to suffer aerial bombardment or to fight. And more: the fighting men who are healed return to the battlefields where they kill more people and perhaps get wounded again or killed.

Even in wars with 'conventional' weapons, there is little or no actual civil defence or care for the injured. In WW2, the civil defence organisation and fire departments were occupied with protecting property, digging out dead people, and dealing with those who were wondering about in a state of shock. The civil defence officials opposed trekking (moving out of a city at night

and returning in the morning) even though that activity saved lives.

So if we care for humanity we should not join any civil defence organisations nor should we join any of the so-called non-combatant organisations. We should not enable others to make war by looking after their needs, be those needs food, clothes, or medical attention. (Nor should we enable soldiers to fight by giving them a belief in a life after death!)

Of course, if we came across anyone wounded in war, even in a (God forbid!) future nuclear war, we would do all we could to help. But we cannot train and be prepared to help people in war because that would be like carrying a first-aid box around one's neck with a notice for muggers, villains, and others to read which said, "Attack and kill other people, and if you get hurt I will help you."

To take part in civil defence or any kind of non-combatant organisation in the military services is to support the state pattern of society, and as I explained in answer to Question 15, the state must be destroyed by refusing to support it. That is the fundamental reason why we should not join the state organisations which appear to be humanitarian.

18 SHOULD WE PAY OUR TAXES?

Anarcho-pacifists have to decide whether to pay their taxes. Certainly some pacifists have already decided to withhold the amount of tax they calculate will be spent on war preparation. And they are ready to suffer the consequence of breaking the law even if it means going to prison. Like many other subjects relating to peace, however, the question of paying taxes - all or part of them - is not always given enough thought. (Pacifists are not necessarily more intelligent than war-supporters. They are morally superior, which is more important.)

We must start to answer our question by clearly defining the reasons why people want to refuse to pay all or part of the tax demanded from them.

1 Pacifists may refuse to pay that part of their tax which they believe will be spent on war preparation. They argue that if it is morally wrong for them to fight or build the weapons of violence then it is also morally wrong for them to pay other people to do so through their taxes. They do not object to paying the tax and are often willing to do so provided it is spent on peaceful purposes.

2 Anarcho-pacifists and others either have considered or will have to consider whether they wish to help destroy the state by refusing to pay their taxes (see the answer to Question 15). Obviously, to pay a tax is to take part in a state activity so they have to consider whether to do it.

3 Anarcho-pacifists and others may refuse to pay all or part of their taxes because they know that such refusal will bring down the wrath of the law and this they desire because they believe that the resulting publicity will draw the public's attention to the fact that war and the preparation for war is not supported by everyone and that such activity is wrong. So what they really want is to have their property confiscated or to go to prison.

I will now deal with each of these reasons for not paying

taxes.

1 Pacifists and others should realise that it is impossible to refuse to pay taxes for war. Taxes are collected both directly and indirectly. Income tax is a direct tax and pacifists can refuse to pay it, but pacifists are also taxed indirectly because there is a tax on most commodities they buy and on most entertainment they enjoy. And pacifists have to buy the commodities in order to live at all. The only alternative to buying essential goods is to steal them, and that, of course, is against their principles. There is also the point that if the pacifist has anything to pay the tax with, then that tax will be paid. The pacifist may delay matters by going to prison, but eventually the bailiffs will arrive and confiscate his or her property. So the only possible way not to pay anything is not to own anything and not to buy anything. Hardly practical.

Happily, anarcho-pacifists and pacifists need not despair. Paying taxes, as I will now show, is irrelevant. If their ultimate object is not to support the violence of governments then they need not support it - whether they pay taxes or not. It all depends on what they do for a living, on how much time they spend on earning a living, and on how they use their spare time. If they do not prepare for violence or do violence themselves and if they do not help others to do violence or prepare for it, then they are not supporting violence physically. And they can also refrain from supporting violence economically by seeing to it that, as far as they are able to judge, they use up as much real wealth - goods and services - as they create. If one makes more useful wealth than one uses, then it is conceivable that the surplus will be used to support those who are preparing for or who are actually practising violence. The state system, however, is so economically inefficient that it is always possible to take real wealth out of the community without putting any back in return. One can obtain money from buying and selling useless commodities or stocks and shares, from interest on money invested, from letting property, and from working at some occupation which has no economic value. With the money obtained by one or more of these methods, one can buy tangible goods and use them for oneself and one's family. So it is always possible to adjust the balance between the amount of wealth one gives to the community and the amount of wealth one takes from it. Most anarcho-pacifists, of course, will feel that they need return to the community the amount of real wealth they consume, but in these days when most of humanity is hell-bent on destroying itself it is probably wise to help slow up the process by obtaining the money to live by one or more of the methods just outlined.

Refusing to pay taxes is also irrelevant because governments do not need money from taxes in order to make war. They can borrow or have created all the money they need. Governments, in fact, need tax money so that they can uphold their economic system which demands certain figures on certain bits of paper or on certain computer memories. They also need them as a means of preventing the people from using up useful wealth. They are also a means of taking money out of circulation so that inflation is reduced. The conception that taxes are collected simply to pay for the social services is very naive. The amount of tax spent on governmental activities far outweighs any spent on the people.

To practise their violence, governments have to make their

ruled prepare for it and then do it. It is what people actually do that counts - not figures on bit of paper. Suppose, for example, a man made a large income from making comic hats. And suppose he paid a large amount of tax that was destined for armaments. Can anyone seriously believe that he would be practising violence? Suppose whole populations made the hats, how would they fight one another? Throw the hats at one another across the trenches?

So there is no point in refusing to pay taxes on the grounds that to do so is to support war.

2 Anarcho-pacifists may refuse to pay taxes because they wish to ignore the state which is the ploy I advocate in answer to Question 15. But if they make the refusal they must still realise that governments are not weakened by their action because they can obtain all the money they need either by having it created or collecting it from indirect taxes. I personally think that eventually we shall have to refuse to pay taxes but that the refusal should come at a later stage when other governmental activities have been eliminated and when the ideal society has been at least partly built.

3 Finally, we have to ask whether the anarcho-pacifists, and others, should refuse to pay taxes in order to obtain publicity. I do not think that the suffering and effort is worth the gamble that any useful publicity will be obtained. The refusal may not be reported at all in the state-supportive media, and if it is reported it would probably be misrepresented. The real motives of those who refused to pay would certainly not be explained. Instead, those who make the refusal will be called disloyal, unpatriotic, or just criminal. In other words, any publicity that did ensue will be of the wrong kind.

All in all, then, there is no reason why the anarcho-pacifists should, at the present time, refuse to pay any tax. But they must see to it that they give only a slightly more useful wealth to society than they take out. They can give slightly more because the young, the old, and the sick have to be looked after.

Anarcho-pacifists must always choose the way their earn their living with great care (see also the answer to Question 15).

19 MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS.

I have now dealt with the main questions concerning anarcho-pacifism. Because state-supporters and war-supporters are defending an illogical position, however, and because they wish to cling to their beliefs for reasons which are explained in the Appendix I, they often come up with less sensible questions. I will now answer a few of these arguments.

IF YOU LIKE OUR ENEMIES SO MUCH, WHY DON'T YOU GO AND LIVE WITH THEM?

Just because I want my country to live at peace does not mean that I do not love it. In fact, I love my country more those who ask this question. I love my country so much that I want it turned into a just society free from war. Those who ask this question, on the other hand, uphold the state system which causes all social evils and also uphold the policies which have always lead to war and which can only lead to war. Therefore, since it is they, not I, who are a danger to my country, it is they, not

I, who should leave it.

WHY DON'T YOU GO AND DEMONSTRATE AMONG OUR FUTURE ENEMIES? IT IS THEY, NOT US, WHO WANT WAR. THEREFORE YOU SHOULD TALK TO THE OTHER PERSON.

I am talking to the other person. You are s/he. There are pacifists and peace demonstrations in every country of the world. And no doubt those pacifists are told, as I am, to talk and demonstrate to their future enemies. Everyone says that s/he wants peace and that it is the people in other countries who want war. So everyone has to be told about pacifism and anarchism. And since I live in this country, I am talking to you. Foreign pacifists talk to people in their own country. It works better that way since the pacifists speak the same language as those they talk to.

SINCE YOU LIVE IN A DEMOCRACY, YOU SHOULD DO AS THE MAJORITY WISH.

This assumes that in a democracy the country is ruled according to the will of the majority. But it is not. It is ruled in the same way as any other state by a comparatively few individuals whose identity is generally unknown. Therefore all important decisions - those which affect our lives the most: the preparation for war and the prosecution of war - are made in secret. Most or all Cabinet Ministers and all Members of Parliament are not even consulted; they are simply informed after a decision has been made. Thus, in Britain, the decisions to make the atomic bombs and to allow American bases in the country were both made in secret. And so is everything else of importance. Important policies are not the will of the people, for they have no power or control.

Further there is the point that in a democracy the party elected, although receiving the most votes, always has support from less than 50 per cent of the population which gives it franchise. Also, when the will of the majority is really known, it is not carried out by the governments. According to a reliable opinion poll, the majority of British people did not want American cruise missiles, but they got them. Personally, I would never do what the majority wished if it were wrong. I would never fight in war even if everyone on earth said it was right to do so.

One species of lemming is reputed to drown in vast numbers when the sea is in its migratory path. I can imagine one lemming saying to another as it tumbled off the cliff and into the water, "I really don't agree with this, but it is the will of the majority."

WHAT WOULD HAVE HAPPENED IN 1939 IF EVERYONE IN BRITAIN HAD BEEN LIKE YOU? WE WOULD HAVE BEEN RULED BY HITLER.

I observe that you do not ask what would have happened if all the Germans had been pacifists. You evidently realise that then there would have been no war. You choose to ask what would happen if all the British had been pacifists. But if all the people in Britain had been pacifists not only would there have been no war but also there would have been no Hitler to rule us. Whole populations do not become pacifists overnight. And while the British were becoming pacifists other changes in their society would have been taking place. And the changes would have affected other countries - including Germany. It would have been impossible for Hitler to have risen to power. To give one very obvious reason: the British financiers and others would not have lent Hitler money to build up his armaments. If Britain had been

persuaded not to arm against Hitler, Britain and her colonies would also not have helped to arm Hitler. So if everyone had been like me in 1939, there would have been no war and no Hitler.

Those who ask this kind of question should realise that the evil Nazi Germany was possible only because it was organised as a state and because the Germans were willing to do violence on behalf of their government.

IF WE WERE AT WAR HOW WOULD YOU FEEL ABOUT SAILORS FACING THE ENEMY SO THAT YOU COULD HAVE FOOD?

If we have a nuclear war, it is doubtful whether this situation would have time to arise, but I will answer the question.

At no time would sailors and others fight and lose their lives to bring me, an anarcho-pacifist, food. They would bring food into the country as part of the operation to make war. People have to be fed if they are to make armaments and use them. And those who fight are not protecting me; they are putting me in danger. If there were no people risking their lives to bring food into the country in times of war, there would be no wars and I would be safe and my food supply would not be threatened. Anarcho-pacifists should certainly eat in times of war. The least those who are fighting their own kind can do is to keep alive the only people who would live in peace if given the chance.

During WW2, the attitude to food demonstrated quite clearly the nature of the state. Hunting for sport by the rich was allowed, although it often meant that food production was reduced as the horses ran over the crops and as lactating cows ran about the fields in excitement. The fact that sailors were dying to bring food to Britain did not matter to the hunters or the government. Also, although food was rationed, those with enough time and money could always eat as much as they wanted simply by visiting one restaurant after another.

WOULD YOU HELP TO GROW FOOD IN TIME OF WAR?

This question can be put only to a CO whose country is planning to fight with 'conventional' weapons - such as those used in WW2. In WW3, which will be nuclear, there will be no time to grow food or do anything else. During WW2, many COs worked on the land. Absolutists believed it wrong to do so since it provided food for people so that they were able to make war. Absolutists believe that they should, if possible, put a brake on the war economy (see also the answer to Question 18). And so they should.

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT PEOPLE ARMING TO KEEP THE PEACE FOR YOU AND BEING PREPARED TO FIGHT FOR YOU?

My fellow citizens do not arm my country to keep the peace for me. They work in armament factories because often it is the only way they can obtain a living. And by arming my country they are not protecting me but are, on the contrary, actually putting my life in danger by making war inevitable. Also, when they fight, they do not do so to protect me but to serve the interests of our rulers. And when they fight they put my life in danger. If they fight a nuclear war, they will be killing me. By preparing for war and by making it, my fellow citizens help to maintain the state system so that I have to live in an evil, unjust, and very dangerous society. It is particularly dangerous in time of war. So if anyone thinks they are protecting me, will they please stop. I would be better protected if they became pacifists.

I AM ONLY ONE INDIVIDUAL. HOW CAN ANYTHING I DO MAKE ANY

DIFFERENCE?

Because what a country does is the sum of what each individual does. You cannot really believe that each person's behaviour is of no value. If you do, I wish you would convince each person who fights in war of the fact for then there would be no armies.

Of course, the behaviour of each individual is important. And when enough of us become anarcho-pacifists we shall have an ideal society and peace.

20 WHY MUST WE BE BOTH ANARCHISTS AND PACIFISTS - WHY MUST WE BE ANARCHO-PACIFISTS?

If we do not care about the suffering of others and do not care whether or not there is a nuclear war, then, of course, we need be neither pacifists nor anarchists. But if we want to make a real social change (for reasons which I gave in answer to Question 1) then we must be both pacifists and anarchists because only then shall we have the beliefs which, if acted on, will make that change. We must be both anarchists and pacifists for reasons which I will now give.

Anarchists must be war-pacifists because there is no point in working to abolish the state if they take part in the very activity it needs for its existence. When nobody fights in wars the states will collapse. There is no point in fighting in wars anyway since all states are basically the same so that it is never a good state against a bad. There is also no point because the nationality of one's rulers is immaterial. It is their existence that is the trouble. Therefore, since anarchists want to abolish the states, they must become war-pacifists.

And anarchists must also become revolutionary-pacifists because means shape ends. To fight successfully, anarchists would have to create the same power structure as the pattern of society they want to abolish - the state (hence the failure of the French and Russian revolutions). This besides the fact that governmental forces have more chance of being the stronger, and that even if a violent revolution were successful it would soon be overturned by some of the other governments in the world (hence the failure of the anarchists in the Spanish revolution).

Pacifists must become anarchists because there is no point in working to abolish the social evils of injustice, poverty, and war if they support the state system which causes these evils. It is stupid for them to try to abolish violence and to refuse to fight in war and revolution if at the same time they help to maintain the state pattern which drives people to violent rebellion and which can exist only by using internal violence against its own citizens and external violence against foreigners.

All the assertions made above have been explained in the answers to the previous questions. There I gave the nature of the state, a description of the state, and suggestions for obtaining our ideals. It will be appreciated that to be either a pacifist or an anarchist a person must accept some of the main contentions I have made but to be both an anarchist and a pacifist - an anarcho-pacifist - a person must accept all of them.

People who become anarchists or pacifists do so because they care for their fellow human beings. Anarchists and pacifists want a society that is free, equalitarian, and peaceful. And because

they want it they must work together to produce it.

If all anarchists become pacifists and if all pacifists became anarchists they could pool their resources and combine their organisations. Their influence on the unconverted would then increase enormously.

APPENDIX I: SPREADING ANARCHO-PACIFIST BELIEFS

Every anarcho-pacifist will, at some time or another, have to defend his or her beliefs, and some choose deliberately to propagate them in order to make converts. People are converted by pictures and literature but most of all by talking to anarcho-pacifists. Now, one does not have to be an Einstein to realise that the human race should not destroy itself in nuclear war. And it is obviously stupid for people to kill themselves when they should be cooperating with one another and living together in happiness. Therefore, since the beliefs of the anarcho-pacifists are so obviously right, it is necessary to understand why so few people hold them. Understanding why people find it difficult to change their beliefs is the first step towards understanding how to change their beliefs. And to understand why people find it difficult to change their beliefs we must first understand why they make them.

All people find themselves in a complicated social environment where they behave to the best of their ability in a way that will give them the most pleasure and the least pain. Consciously or unconsciously, people decide on the kind of behaviour that will suit them best. Then, having decided, they invent or borrow beliefs which justify that behaviour. So the beliefs people hold are not necessarily those which describe the real reasons for acting the way they do. These justifying beliefs are called rationalisations. People rationalise about almost everything they do, but we are concerned only with those rationalisations which they use to justify their support of violence and their society which produces it. Thus a person who makes a living in an armament factory will make beliefs which justify the use of weapons. And the man who is going to be punished if he refuses to fight will hold beliefs which justify war. If people have to change their lives or suffer in some way when they become anarchists or pacifists, then they will hold rationalisations to justify their refusal to do so. This applies to all people in all countries because all people find themselves in similar circumstances. All people need the same kind of rationalisations and all of them are given the same rationalisations by the propaganda departments of the governments who all want to control their ruled in the same way. Therefore everyone in every country of the world has the same pro-war and pro-state beliefs and everyone will produce the same anti-anarchist and anti-pacifist arguments.

The anarcho-pacifists, of course, want people to behave differently so that the suffering and death caused by war is eliminated. They cannot use force to induce the change because people who are forced to alter their ways revert to their previous behaviour when the force is removed. Also, the pacifists have no force to use and would not want to use it even if they had any! Pacifists can only make people think and believe differently so

that they want to behave differently of their own volition.

Inducing people to think and believe in a different way is difficult because they cling to their rationalisations. Ideally, we should change society first so that people's lives did not depend on violence. We should then find that they no longer believed in it. But since we cannot change society without the help of the majority, our first step must be to make people accept the relevant social truths.

To give people the truth, anarcho-pacifists must first know it themselves. They must be able to disprove the false assumptions which the state-supporters and the war-supporters make in order to uphold their beliefs. They must not only be able to answer the pro-state and pro-war arguments (as I have done in this short work) but they must also be able to produce as many facts as possible to substantiate their case.

And so anarcho-pacifists should learn as much of the relevant history as they can because this will prove that all governments are responsible for the failure of disarmaments conferences, that they all attack other countries, and that armaments and war never obtain ideals but always lead to more wars. History will also show which governments armed themselves first with the various genocidal weapons. Anarcho-pacifists must also learn as much about our present society as possible. They must know of the inequalities within countries and of the methods of suppression which are used to maintain them. They must understand the real causes of war and its real nature - in particular, the complete destructiveness of nuclear weapons. They must be aware of the true moral nature of human beings. And besides all this, the anarcho-pacifists must be able to offer a practical alternative to our present society. They must know how we could all live peacefully and how we could attain that condition (see the answers to Questions 6, 7, and 15).

Our present violent society will collapse and the ideal will be created when people refuse to fight. And so there is nothing more important than making conscientious objectors. The whole purpose of presenting the pacifist case correctly and forcibly is to weaken the war-supporters arguments for upholding war. When they no longer have the comfort of the governments' justifications for war, when they can no longer accept the excuses for war, they will feel the pressure of conscience. And so at the end of all discussion the pacifist must again appeal to the inborn goodness of humankind.

Most people, in fact, already behave with goodness and non-violence. And this fact should be made clear to them. Comparatively few are criminals or violent revolutionaries. Very few would join a gang to serve their own ends. And yet when the 'gang' becomes so large that it is called a state, people will kill other people to serve what they imagine to be their own purpose. People should be told that there is absolutely no logic in this. If it is wrong to kill on behalf of a small gang, then it is wrong to kill on behalf of a large one - even if it is called a state.

Ordinary people do not realise the enormity of their conduct when they support or uphold war. Two friends of mine were deeply shocked when I implied that they were immoral because they supported war. They told me that they had always led good lives, never stealing, never behaving badly in crowds, and never hurting anyone. But when they said this they were considering

only part of their behaviour, and whether one is moral or not depends on one's whole behaviour. Just because you behave well towards your own countrymen does not make you good if at the same time you behave badly towards everyone else. If you cause, or help to cause, the suffering and death of others, or even if you only give moral support to those who do, you are yourself immoral. The fact that you only help to cause the suffering and death of foreigners makes no difference. So it is wrong to help kill foreigners in war and wrong to help prepare for a war that will kill them. These are the final thoughts to give the state and war supporters.

APPENDIX II: THE ESSENTIAL SOCIAL TRUTHS

The essential social truths which we must propagate in order to obtain peace and the ideal society are given throughout this book. Here they are given quintessentially.

1 The world is covered by social units we call 'states'. Each state contains a few rulers who force the rest of the population in it - the ruled - to obey them. All the rulers behave in the same way and therefore, except for the variations produced by the size of the states, climate, and natural resources, all states are identical.

2 The rulers govern in the interests of themselves, a few privileged individuals, and some large power organisations within their country. As a result there is, all over the world, a great inequality in the distribution of wealth. Some people have an abundance of everything, and others have nothing, so that they starve.

3 The great inequality of wealth and power means that no state is a unity in the sense that everyone has identical interests.

4 The rulers force the ruled to obey them by controlling their minds, using propaganda and censorship, by reward, and by violence. Violence is the keystone of power. The people would not support their unjust state and wars were they not forced to do so by the violence of the police and their back-up force which is the army. (The main purpose of the police and the army is not to defend the people against criminals and foreigners but to defend the rulers against their people.)

5 Besides creating inequality, poverty, and violence within a country, rulers also create wars. They need wars to serve the interests of certain power groups who profit from them and they need wars because the ruled can be controlled when they rally behind their government in fear of the 'enemy'. The state needs war as a man needs air.

6 Just as the state needs organised violence, so does organised violence - such as revolutionary violence - need the state to direct it and to force men and women to fight and obey.

7 The amount of violence practised by individuals and groups on their own behalf is infinitesimal compared with that perpetrated by governments.

8 Wars and violent revolutions enable some rulers to retain or attain power but they do not produce the ideals of equality, freedom, and peace.

9 Without the waste of governments - particularly war - all people could live full and happy lives in extreme comfort.

10 Our real enemy is not our own government or any foreign people but the social pattern we happen to be using. Today the consequences of our social pattern have become so dangerous that we must destroy it before it destroys us. We must eliminate governments before they destroy us in nuclear war.

11 An utopian existence for humankind is possible because we now have the burden of work lifted from us by machines that will do the work of our hands and our brains and because we are not innately evil - as the rulers would have us believe in order to justify their violence - but morally malleable. So just as a bad society makes us bad so a good society will make us good. When people no longer have social power exerted upon them, they will behave with their own natural goodness.

12 In the ideal society no person will exert any form of power upon another. We shall cooperate with one another because we know that by doing so we shall obtain the best for ourselves and all others and because we want to. Unlike the state societies where there is a lack of real social planning and freedom, a great waste of people and material wealth, and very much violence, the ideal society will be egalitarian, efficient, socially just, and entirely nonviolent. All people - those who are at present privileged or underprivileged - will benefit and will be happier when the ideal society is created.

13 We shall obtain the ideal society by remembering that the means we use shape the ends we reach. So we cannot use force of any kind - violent or nonviolent. And we must not - as far as possible - take part in any state activity. We must certainly have nothing to do with war because the states will collapse without it. The states will be destroyed by ignoring them in every way. We must refuse to give the rulers any power to rule us. And while we are destroying our old society we must be creating our new one. We must obey the rules which were given in answer to Question 6.

14 To commence the ideal revolution - which we must have if only to be saved from nuclear war and extinction - we must teach these essential truths to one another. We must teach them by word of mouth if the rulers will not allow us to do so in any other way.