

If he seeks to apply moral principles to ends and means alike, then his own means are suspect because they violate the moral norms which most persons recognize as binding upon themselves as individuals. If he ceases to apply moral principles to his ends, as he has never applied them to his means, he will lose his chief stock in trade — his tedious moralizing about what he is going to do for some people when he commands the resources of other people.

Government has the means of compelling assent to its decrees; it is the social apparatus of coercion. Its apparatus has always been available for those who gain control of it to be used by them for ends which they regard as desirable. But persistently throughout history, the political apparatus has been used by some of us seeking some advantage for ourselves at the expense of others of us. Control of the political apparatus gives a legal sanction to predation, reversing the true function of government which is to curb predation.

SOCIETY IN OPERATION

Most of life in society is peaceable. People usually get along with each other. And when they don't, they make efforts to adjust their difficulties smoothly. In the relationships of marriage, business, and recrea-

tion — in schools, churches, lodges, and welfare organizations — the major ties that bind are love, mutuality, common interest, hiring and employment, bargaining and contract, voluntary agreements, fellowship, shared beliefs, custom, habit, moral obligation, and self-interest. These things bring people together for voluntary cooperation and competition and for the pleasures to be gained from the company of others of our own species.

There is no necessary violence in the myriad relations men in society have with each other, as there is necessary violence in the life of the thief or the mobster or the slaveholder. Occasionally, it is true, violence does occur in one of these situations; a husband beats a wife, a writer libels a man he doesn't like, a storekeeper cheats a customer, a teller embezzles, a man is murdered. The peace of society has been broken, violence has intruded into a hitherto non-violent situation; but such intrusions are exceptional. Among primitives, a breach of the peace might result in acts of personal revenge or a blood feud, but a more complex society evolves an immense and complicated body of law to define reciprocal rights and duties in society, and to offer redress to those injured by the violence of others. The injured wife or the cheated customer has the offending person collared by