

*"It is with ideas,
not with armies,
we shall conquer
the world."*

—NICOLAI LENIN

VIOLENCE OR SOLIDARITY ?

OR

WILL GUNS SETTLE IT?

By

SCOTT NEARING

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EUGENE V. DEBS ON VIOLENCE

“From what you heard in the address of the counsel for the prosecution, you might naturally infer that I am an advocate of force and violence. It is not true. I have never advocated violence in any form. I always believed in education, in intelligence, in enlightenment, and I have always made my appeal to the reason and to the conscience of the people.”

—From Debs’ Speech to the jury, September 12, 1918.

“I am opposed to bloodshed in any form. A revolution is coming, but it must be peaceful. That is the reason I am opposed to war, to making men soldiers. A soldier is a human being trained to kill other human beings. I don’t believe in killing, I am opposed to it . . . I can go to the gallows with a smile on my face, without a quiver, but I’ll never have the stain of any man’s blood upon my hands. I’m opposed to all forms of murder. We must do our work, comrades, peacefully. We are slowly but surely welding the iron ring about our exploiters. But, because they have treated us cruelly and like cattle that is not the spirit in which we must treat with them. We must be gentle and ask God to forgive them. They speak of Americanizing the foreigners—why? To make strike-breakers of them? God forgive them! When I am gone, the richest gift I ask, is that some child will lay a flower upon my grave and say: ‘Gene did something for me.’”

—From Debs’ last speech before going to the penitentiary, delivered in Youngstown, Ohio, April 6, 1919.

VIOLENCE OR SOLIDARITY?

I. The Issue.

Great issues beset the world on every side. The disposition of the Saar Valley; German East Africa; the Berlin to Bagdad Railroad; the oil wells at Tampico; Chinese trade; the independence of Ireland; the defense of the Russian Revolution; the solution of the Balkan question; the struggle for internal control in Germany; the conflict between labor and capital in all of the capitalist nations,—these are some of the unsolved problems. All of which spell conflict, war, and ultimate chaos, unless they can be settled, and settled right.

When the world is re-made; when a new basis for civilization is established, people will be able once more to face life intelligently and hopefully. Once more they will proceed, confident of ultimate success. Meanwhile the world must be re-made.

Re-made? The world re-made? Re-made how?

That is one of the significant issues of the time. Perhaps it is the greatest issue, because it raises the whole question of the methods that can be counted on to bring the results that all men seek. How can this process of re-making be carried on? How can the great question of readjustment be solved? Will guns settle it?

2. The Common Purpose.

Men have a common purpose,—a supreme purpose, that all right-thinking people have set before themselves. Perhaps nowhere has that common purpose been better stated than by Walt Whitman, in his famous phrase: "The institution of the dear love of comrades." The world,—the conscious, thinking, intelligent part of it,—is trying to establish the "institution of the dear love of comrades." When Tom Paine said, "The world is my country; to do good is my religion," he had that thought in mind. "Except love build the house, they labor in vain who build it," is another expression of the same idea. "Love one another," phrases the same thought. It is the common purpose of the East as of the West, of all classes and conditions of mankind,—the establishment of the institution of the dear love of comrades.

The establishment of the institution of the dear love of com-

rades is more than a common purpose,—it is a supreme objective, toward which the world looks with hope and faith. In time this institution will be founded. In time it will compass the earth.

Through the centuries poets and dreamers have seen the vision. For ages inventors and discoverers have yearned in this direction. The foundation of world comradeship and brotherhood is “the one far-off, divine event” for which the peoples are seeking.

The thought and activity of the world must be bent in this direction. All of the means that are utilized; all of the tactics that are adopted; all of the methods to which men resort, must be utilized and adopted with this purpose clearly in mind,—the establishment of the institution of the dear love of comrades. Each thought must point in that direction; each act must move toward that goal.

That is the generally accepted premise upon which forward looking people base thought and action. It provides a starting point for the discussion of the question,—“Will Guns Settle It?”

3. Is Violence the Way Out?

Is violence the way out? The use of guns, which today are the symbol of physical violence, is one method of furthering the great purpose that men have in view. Is it an adequate, worthwhile method, or is its net result a loss and not a gain?

That test must be applied to every principle that is advocated; to every method that is adopted. Will the principle further the end,—the objective? Will the method lead to the goal?

It goes without saying that the use of guns in bitterness, with hatred, or for revenge, will not achieve the institution of the dear love of comrades. Hatred and revenge deny this purpose in their very essence. They destroy the spirit of comradeship in the hearts of those who hate. Men who are bitter men, who are hateful men, or who are revengeful, cannot even participate in building the institution of the dear love of comrades, because they themselves cannot be a part of that institution. The hatred, bitterness, and revenge in their hearts incapacitates them from playing any such part in its erection.

This phase of the problem can be quickly disposed of by mutual consent. All sides agree that in so far as guns or other methods are used in hatred, or bitterness, or revenge, they will retard, not hasten the establishment of comradeship.

The question is thus confined to a narrower issue,—the use of guns in a good cause, for the defense of the right, for the

promotion of justice, for the safeguarding of liberty. Let us assume that the men who use the guns use them with the best intentions in the world; use them with the same intentions with which a parent reluctantly, kindly, punishes a wayward youngster. Will guns used for a good purpose, in a good cause, prove a solution or even lead in the direction that men want to go?

4. Violence and the Suppression of Ideas.

Society has had a great deal of experience in the use of violence. Violence has been applied to every form of human activity. It has been applied through slavery; it has been applied through the subjection of women; it has been applied through the coercion of conquered races and peoples; nowhere, so far as we know, has it made for comradeship. Violence has been used time and time again in an effort to suppress ideas. Socrates, Copernicus, Bruno, were the objects of violence because of their ideas. They, together with thousands of others who lived before and after them, were threatened, persecuted, physically mutilated and in many cases murdered because the masters of the society in which they lived were opposed to the ideas that these men held.

William Penn spent several years of his life in prison because of his independent thinking and speaking. On one occasion he wrote a pamphlet called, "The Sandy Foundation Shaken," which was an attack on the Church of England. Joseph Besse, in his introduction to William Penn's "The Peace of Europe," says, "The Sandy Foundation Shaken' gave great offense to some then at the helm of the church, who presently took the old method of reforming what they called error by advancing at once their strongest argument, viz: an order imprisoning him in the Tower of London."

That same argument has been advanced again and again for the suppression of ideas. It is well summed up in the nursery rhyme:

"Goosie, goosie gander,
Whither shall I wander,
Upstairs and downstairs
And in my lady's chamber.
There I met an old man
Who wouldn't say his prayers,
So I took him by the left leg
And threw him downstairs."

That is the commonly accepted method of imposing conformity upon non-conformists.

The authorities have been adopting that method in Leavenworth, Fort Jay, and other American Bastilles with the Con-

scientious Objectors. These men, whose beliefs prevented them from entering the army, have been kept in dark, solitary, filthy dungeons, improperly clothed, fed on bread and water and chained to their cell-doors throughout the day for weeks at a time. William Hard in an article in the New Republic (Feb. 1, 1919) describes the fate of a group of Mennonites, conscientious objectors to war, whose ancestors left Russia to escape military service. They have refused to drill; refused to work; refused to obey any military orders. They are in "solitary" at Fort Leavenworth. "The hair of these men, on their heads and on their faces, is soft and curling. It is never clipped. Their skins are pale. Their eyes are eyes of physical suffering and of mystical suffering. They have dwelt on the mystical teachings of Oriental prophecy and Oriental non-resistance. Their eyes and their beards are familiar. An officer, an ordinary officer, with an ordinary conscience, goes by that row of cells. And he says afterwards: 'I went away as soon as I could. I was sauntering. I turned my head and looked through one of the gratings, and there was Jesus Christ.'"

Some of the Conscientious Objectors have had their health ruined. Some of them have died of exposure, but so far as I know, those who have lived, have lived as Conscientious Objectors. And those who have died, have died as Conscientious Objectors. The barbarity of the punishment failed to change thought or belief.

Nowhere have suppressors of ideas gone farther than did the Spanish Inquisition. Tennyson refers to "the thumbscrew and the rack, for the glory of the Lord." "Slay all, the Lord will know his own!" exclaimed the Duke of Alva. The Inquisition did its utmost with torture and violence.

If any band of "gun-toters" ever deserved to succeed by this method in suppressing this thought it was the directors of the Inquisition. They did their utmost, but they failed. Grant that the purpose was good. Was the method wise? Did the use of violence suppress the teachings of Jesus? Did the use of violence destroy the influence of Socrates? Of course not. Violence had no effect, and can have no effect on the ideas that people hold and promulgate, except to stimulate propaganda and advertise the cause against which the violence is directed. Society has tried again and again, just as it is trying in America today, to curb thought with tar and feathers, with the gibbet, with all forms of physical and mental torture, and the plan does not work. Not only does it fail to establish the institution of the dear love of comrades, but it fails of its immediate purpose; it does not even destroy the ideas against which it is directed.

5. Violence and the Insane.

Society has tried violence in its treatment of sub-normal people. The history of the treatment of lunatics is a history of the straight-jacket, the iron-barred cell and the club. Mentally defective people who used violence were met with violence. If a lunatic raved, the keeper administered physical punishment. Of course, if the keeper struck hard enough, the ravings of the lunatic were stopped for good, but that process of murder must be repeated every time a new lunatic was brought in. Some of the keepers themselves went crazy. None of the results obtained by these methods would lead one to suppose that it led in the direction of comradeship. It did not even prevent insanity.

During the last few years, the whole system of treating mental defectives has been revolutionized. They are examined physically and mentally; special exercises and special diets are prescribed; each case is handled on its own merits for the purpose of discovering the cause of the defect. Once the cause is known, the remedy can be formulated and applied.

The use of brute force led nowhere, except to the grave. The application of science often means new hope and new life.

6. Violence to Stop Crime.

The treatment of criminals has been quite as unintelligent as the treatment of insane persons. The theory was the same in both cases—that criminals could be so terrified by the frightfulness of the punishment that they would not dare to commit the crime. Under the old British Criminal Law, there were a score of offenses for which a man might be hung. In the United States, there is a black man lynched on the average of about once every four days. Did hangings in England prevent the committing of the crimes? Do the lynchings in the United States make further lynching unnecessary? Never! The legal punishment of the old English law and the illegal lynchings in the United States fail completely to accomplish the purposes which they set out to achieve. Crimes are still committed, with increasing, not with decreasing frequency.

The organization of violence squads fails everywhere. In Chicago they have a standing army of five thousand; in New York there is a standing army of ten thousand, called the police. This standing army is for the purpose of preserving the peace and maintaining order. Each of these men is equipped with club, black-jack and gun.

If order could be preserved by force, surely these organizations could preserve it. Do they? The answer, in the negative,

appears on the front page of any newspaper, where are head-lined burglaries, robberies, rapes, arsons and murders without end.

Up in the country the farmer milks his cows in the evening and sets his milk-cans out on a stand in front of the house, where they are collected next morning by truck from the creamery. There is not a policeman within a hundred miles, but milk-cans are never stolen. Here in New York, if a milk can were set out and left for twenty minutes, there would be people tugging at it in half a dozen different sections, although there are ten thousand policemen in the service of the city.

Automatic pistols do not prevent crime. Depredations would continue if each policeman carried a rifle with a bayonet fixed at the end of it. The savage punishment of crime is not effective in wiping out crime. It simply makes hardened brutes of the men whose duty it is to administer the punishment.

The world is slowly learning this lesson. Today the more advanced penologists are insisting that the police must have as their object not the punishment of crime, but the prevention of crime. The police force is needed to help people to live right, not to beat them up after they have learned to live wrong.

This result can be achieved only by starting early. The beginning must be made with the children. Bernard Shaw says that if he could have his way there would be a police force that would arrest every hungry child and feed it, and arrest every naked child and clothe it. Good food, decent surroundings, light and fresh air, play and normal happiness would go a long way toward preventing crime.

No resort to the club, no resort to the revolver, no return to the barbarism of the old English Common Law will stamp out crime. Only a change in conditions which will make it impossible for a man to live in idleness and luxury while another man toils in slavery and poverty will prevent most of the depredations that are going on today in our society.

Experience shows that the use of guns does not decrease crime. Punishment fails to prevent depredation; violence does not deter offenders. The lesson has been slowly learned. Gradually it is being understood as it applies to the relations between individuals. The rule is equally true of violence between nations and peoples.

7. International Violence.

There was a time when each man carried his own sword or his own pistol. That time has passed. Today each nation carries its own army and its own navy. Some day that time will

pass, when we grow wise, or wiser than we are now. But at the present time we talk about "war to end war," "a sword to bring peace," "hate to inspire love," "evil to promote good."

The leaders of thought, the statesmen and the officials insist that guns will settle things. "What I am opposed to is not the feelings of the pacifists," says President Wilson at Buffalo on the 12th of November, 1917, "but their stupidity. My heart is with them, but my mind has a contempt for them. I want peace, but I know how to get it and they do not." How then shall we get peace? Mr. Wilson replies, "Force; force to the utmost; force without stint or limit."

That was Mr. Wilson's remedy—his way of ending war. Force was to overcome force. The sword was to bring peace.

The theory has been tested. The force has been applied—force to the uttermost, to the limit of the possibilities of the modern world. Force! Ten millions slain on the fields of battle; twenty millions wounded; ten millions more starved and killed by disease; more than two hundred billions of wealth destroyed. What apostle of force could conceive of a higher ideal of force to the uttermost? Under present conditions no greater force is thinkable than the force that has been expended during the past five years. With what result?

Edward T. Devine writes in the *Survey* (November 16, 1918): "The war is won. All wars are at an end. This was a war to end wars, and it is victoriously finished." Mr. Devine, an apostle of force, believed that force had ended war. Last week the papers announced that there are twenty-four European battle-fronts at the present moment, less than five months after Mr. Devine's article was published.

The capitalist world has resorted to violence, to force without stint or limit. The capitalists put all of their stakes on that card and they have lost. The force to which they have resorted has destroyed them and their civilization.

Their best blood has been spilled; their surplus wealth has been wiped out; their grip on the imagination of the masses has been loosened; they have heaped up mountains of debts.

The debts never will be paid. Capitalist society never will be reconstituted. It is only a question now how long it can last before it is completely wiped from the face of the earth.

"They that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

The capitalist countries of the world took up the sword. They relied upon force to save them. Their governments and they have perished, and are perishing, by the sword, and before this thing is over there will be no more capitalism anywhere.

What is the conclusion? The conclusion is that in dealings

between nations, as in dealings between individuals, "enduring peace can never rest upon the boycott or the bayonet." (Brig. Gen. H. M. Chittenden, U. S. A., "Forum," May 1917.) George Brandes says that "as surely as two and two make four militarism cannot be crushed by militarism." How obvious that conclusion is, and yet the world does not yet recognize it!

8. Violence in the Labor Movement.

The masters of America have resorted to violence to crush the labor movement. They are tarring and feathering men; they have imprisoned men; they have hung men; they have shot them down; they have burned women and children. Is the labor movement crushed? Has this master-class violence wiped out the aspiration of the workers to own and control their own jobs? Not at all! In the end it has stimulated solidarity, educated and enthused the workers to greater and greater efforts.

The workers have used violence—violence against property of their employers, violence against the scabs who were taking their jobs. Has that violence won them their battle? Not at all! It has simply reacted against them in case after case. Before this war came the workers were gradually learning that the only effective method of winning their demands was through solidarity—all of them being able to lay down their tools together and keep them down as long as was necessary. That method has proved its effectiveness, where the other method has failed again and again.

The Hungarian Government has been changed from a monarchy to a Soviet Republic, so far as is known, without loss of life. By what means? By organization. The old world is dead; the new world has been born. Without violence the process is completed.

In Germany, on the other hand, from the time that the revolution occurred until today, they have been fighting back and forth through the streets, the Spartacans attempting to establish a Soviet Government by the bayonet. When they succeed it will be in spite of their tactics, not because of them.

The Russian Revolution was surrounded by a wall of bayonets at Brest-Litovsk. The workers, unarmed, found themselves face to face with the most powerful military machine that existed in the world at that time. Apparently they were at the mercy of militarism, but they began at home to establish an economic basis for comradeship. They gave the land to the peasants and the factories to the workers. When the facts became known, the German military was powerless, and in the

end the German Revolution answered the infamous act of the imperialists at Brest-Litovsk.

The Russians won their point through economic justice at home, propaganda and open diplomacy. Not their army but their philosophy and their example spread revolution over Europe.

The Russians may fail in their great experiment of laying the economic basis for the institution of the dear love of comrades. If they fail in this the Red Army will help them fail. If they win the Red Army will stand in the way of the thing that they wish to accomplish. It will be a liability, not an asset.

The cause for which the Spartacans are fighting in Germany will triumph, not because they are fighting, but because their triumph is inevitable. The cause for which the workers are contending in Russia will triumph, not because the army is contending for it, but because they have built a higher form of civilization than that which exists anywhere else in the world.

Violence in the labor movement is no substitute for solidarity. If violence could have won labor's battle it would have been won years ago. Common purpose, common thought, common understanding, courage, solidarity—these things make labor's triumph and not the resort to force.

9. Guns Will Not Settle It!

Guns will not settle any of these questions; they will not suppress ideas nor prevent crime, nor preserve peace, nor win the battle of labor, nor play any other part in setting up the institution of the dear love of comrades. Even when they are used for a good purpose they lead to a bad end.

Why?

Because the theory behind the use of guns is based on an utter misconception of human nature.

The theory of those who advocate violence is that the other man will be afraid of you if you are only terrible enough. The Chinese soldiers used to wear hideous masks to terrify their opponents. German frightfulness was promulgated on the same principle.

The New York World recently published a cartoon in which Uncle Sam is represented as sitting on a great gun labeled "Big Navy Bill." He is nonchalantly smoking a cigarette and remarking, "I should worry!" He feels that he is so powerful that the whole world must tremble.

10. The Failure of "Frightfulness."

Norman Angell (Great Illusion, 4th Ed., p. 350) quotes Admiral Fisher of the British Navy to this effect: "The supremacy of the British Navy is the best security for the peace of the world. . . . If you rub it in, both at home and abroad, that you are ready for instant war, with every inch of your strength in the first line, and waiting to be first in, and hit your enemy in the belly and kick him when he is down and boil your prisoners in oil (if you take any) and torture his women and children, then people will keep away from you."

The Inquisition had the same idea about the thumbscrew and the rack. If they twisted their wrists, tore their fingernails off, slit their noses, cropped their ears, drew and quartered them and burned them at the stake, they were sure that non-believers would be afraid to go on. In the same way the dungeon and the scaffold were relied on to prevent crime. None of them have worked, because people are not afraid.

Most men are not to be terrified into a line of conduct. The men in the trenches in Europe were not afraid. The structural iron workers who work on the tall buildings are not afraid. At first, of course, they are nervous and fearful, just as any one fears the new thing. When men go on the top of a steel structure for the first time they are afraid. They fear to go under shell fire at the outset, but soon they become accustomed to it. The risk is greater than under ordinary circumstances, but then everything involves risk. Life is an adventure. Certain things are dear to us and we are willing to adventure for them. People cannot be driven into submission by any form of physical violence, because people are not built that way.

The American Government at the present time is engaged in stamping out the I. W. W. and the Socialist movement by sending men to jail. They say that the I. W. W. branch in Seattle is gaining a hundred men a day; the Socialist party in January added 20 per cent. to its dues-paying membership. People are not afraid to go to jail. People are not afraid of being killed. People are not afraid to suffer for the things in which they believe. If they were, violence would have succeeded long ago. If they were, Admiral Fisher would be right; but he is wrong. The Germans proceeded on the theory that if they had a big enough army, well equipped, they could put it over the other fellow and scare him to death. They did not do it, and no other people can do it.

Military leader after military leader has tried this thing down through the ages, and they have failed because people cannot be terrified permanently. Preparedness and violence will not

suppress opposition. Violence breeds violence. Force breeds force. Terror breeds terror. Hate breeds hate. Revenge breeds revenge. Instead of quelling these things in your enemy by using them against him, you simply arouse them in his nature. Psychologically, the supposition that guns will settle things is wrong.

People who hold that idea do not understand how other people react to the use of violence.

11. The Loss of One Is the Loss of All.

There is another and still more important reason why guns will not settle human affairs. One man does not rise when another man falls. The warrior assumes that he has succeeded when he has struck down his enemy. As surely as the sun rises some other warrior will strike him down. This has been true of warriors and of warrior nations. For a moment they clear the field and in the next moment they are cleared from the field.

The institution of the dear love of comrades is not built that way. One man does not rise as another falls. When he overthrows a fellow he merely jeopardizes his own position.

The trader and the merchant assumes that he has succeeded when he has destroyed a competitor. He has not succeeded. He has merely jeopardized his own commercial position, and it is the learning of that fact that is leading to combination and the inauguration of the trust movement all over the present world. One bank does not profit if another bank fails. No more than does one merchant profit by the failure of another merchant. The business prosperity stands or falls as a unit, and a failure of any one bank destroys the credit of other banks, and the failure of one commercial establishment destroys the profits of other commercial establishments.

The whole philosophy of western civilization is based on the assumption that one man's loss is another man's gain. The assumption is false. The acceptance of such a theory shows a misconception of the fundamental structure of society. The law of social success is unity—solidarity—the tying together of interests. The philosophy, "One man's loss is another man's gain," carried to its logical conclusion, leaves one man alive while all the others are wiped from the face of the earth. That does not build society; it destroys society. It is easy to see why the East is waiting for Western civilization to wipe itself off the slate. The West is proceeding on a philosophy which is suicide.

Is the loss of good digestion a gain to the brain cells?

Is a loss of lung power a gain to the nerve centers?

The loss of one organ in the body is the loss of all; the gain of one organ in the body is the gain of all.

So it is in society. "There can be no accident to the ship that is not the concern of every passenger." For, after all, we live together in society and we gain or lose together. Remember Debs' famous phrase: "While there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a man in prison, I am not free." That phrase describes, as accurately as we know how to describe it, the tendency of social solidarity. One man's loss is another man's loss, and one man's gain is another man's gain. You do not rise as your neighbor falls; you rise as he rises. Temporarily you may win; ultimately you lose by the philosophy of rising on another man's loss.

That is true as a matter of principle. It is equally true as a matter of practice.

"We cannot use the devil's weapons to do the Lord's work." The war spirit is a rotten spirit. The appeal to force and violence is a dangerous appeal. As William Lloyd Garrison says: "I do not believe that the weapons of liberty ever have been, or ever can be, the weapons of despotism. I know that those of despotism are the sword, the revolver, the cannon, the bomb shell; and therefore the weapons to which tyrants cling, and upon which they depend, are not the weapons for me, as a friend of liberty." Men are strong when they stand together; men are strong when they co-operate; men are strong when they participate in common benefits; men are strong when they are united by bonds of a common purpose and common advantage. When they turn men against one another in economic or any other form of competition they grow weak.

12. Together!

"Together" is as true of tactics as it is of principle. Therefore, the institution of the dear love of comrades can be established only by those tactics which hold people together.

The basis of assumption of Western civilization is false. "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost" will destroy any society that adopts it as a philosophy. The law of commercial competition is false. It is based on the principle that "let him take who has the power, and let him keep who can." No society can continue on such a principle.

Says Edward Carpenter: "Nothing but the general abandonment of the system of living on the labor of others will avail." This is the economic statement. It may be broadened,

“Nothing but the general abandonment of the belief that one man’s gain can be built on a fellow man’s loss will avail.” This statement goes to the foundation of the whole method by which Western society has been conducted. It goes to the foundation of the whole principle upon which our life is based.

The method of Western civilization is a bad method and the basis of the Western philosophy of life is a bad one. It is bad because it stands in the way of that fundamental of social principle that one man’s gain is another man’s gain, and that only “together” through the common participation in the common benefit can men make progress. “From each according to his abilities—to each according to his needs,” is socially sound. Only on that philosophy can a unified society be constructed.

The institution of the dear love of comrades can be built of one substance and only one—and that is comradeship. Guns will not build it. Violence will not build it. Hate will not build it. Destruction will not build it. Revenge will not build it. Comradeship will.

As I see the problem, for me the time is now, and the place to begin is here. I dare not wait until after the revolution to be comradely. Last year Romain Rolland wrote a letter that was published in *Le Populaire*. “I do not think it necessary for me to explain again my ethical position in time of war. It is neither political nor social. It is human. I am absolutely opposed to violence from whatever side it comes. My highest duty is to oppose hate in the name of liberty and humanity. The future of human civilization rests only in mutual love and mutual esteem.” As the Friends put it at their annual meeting in Philadelphia (March 29th, 1918), “The situation calls for a life of action devoted to the heroic purpose of overcoming evil with good.”

Together we shall accomplish this great purpose that we have in view. Together as comrades we shall establish the institution of the dear love of comrades, with faith that each day is a new day, with a conscious, unalterable purpose of improving society through the instrumentalities of social organization, with love, sympathy and understanding. On these foundations and on these alone the institution of the dear love of comrades will be established. And the part that each one of us must play is the part of a comrade toward all of the other comrades.

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