

THE ATLANTIC REVOLUTION

By the Author of 'Out of Revolution'

I call Atlantic Revolution that chapter of the World Revolution that was opened on May 10, 1940. The World Revolution had become virulent again with the German-Russian alliance. The curve of the Revolution is rather astoundingly parallel to the French. Only, and this is a condition for its understanding, the Revolution of our time exchanges the place of war and of revolution properly speaking, *in the sequence of events.* Foles

The French Revolution begins with three years of revolution, plunges into 23 years of wars, and ends with a short revolutionary epilogue. Since 1914, The World Revolution begins with three years of the Great War, then starts the Russian chapter of the Revolution, then the Italian, finally the German in 1933, and in 1940, it returns to its origin, in the form of war. However, it is war, in the disguise of revolution and revolution in the disguise of war, just as the Napoleonic wars, all the way through.

The Atlantic Revolution concerns the old powers of the Atlantic: Holland and Belgium, France and Spain, the British Empire and the U. S. As far as these powers are on the mainland of Europe, they simply give way to the powers of the interior. Central Europe, officially represented by ~~the Kaiser~~ Hitler, and ~~the Emperor~~ Mussolini, is compelled today from the East, from Russia, just as much as these same countries were pressed from the West, in 1800. The U. S. who always saw Europe via the Atlantic coast line, are suddenly face to face with Italy and Germany ~~as~~ as trustees of the whole continent. Any Atlantic coastline, retained by the older Atlantic powers in Europe, will be a precarious possession, either under the shadow of Central Europe or as an outpost of the U. S. in Europe. The Atlantic Revolution forces the U. S., to discount the Allies as sovereign powers. The King of England may survive as 'the Emperor of America' in ~~the~~ *the* prophetic play; but there will be no place in Europe held against Hitler, except through the constant vigilance and will for power of the U. S. The American people have been treated as mere observers and listeners for so long that the idea of an Atlantic Revolution still ~~seems~~ pretty hazy to them. They always have thought of themselves as outside the ring of fate. Isolationists and World-Citizens both, at their Foreign Affairs luncheons, discussed what one might, should or would do with these unruly peoples elsewhere. But it always seemed to be a question of free will, of free choice, of preference and predilection.

In the term The Atlantic Revolution, I try to compress the notion that the World Revolution is a superior force. The last century knew of few forces superior to individual freedom. There was, of course, the business cycle to which every free American bowed as to a mighty and merciless deity. The idea of fighting the business cycle as a hallucination, as the astrology of the nineteenth century, was unthinkable. The business cycle was the main God for all. One other superior power had to be acknowledged in the Atlantic regions: the existence of British sea power. That too, was god given. This sea power allowed the trade all over the world, and kept the continents open; for, in any estuary of any navigable river, there was to be found a small State, Holland, Portugal, Uruguay, Rumania, etc. through which the trader could contact the Hinterland. All this was god given.

Individually, the only force superior to man was his own nervous breakdown. That, he had to admit, overcame him, in the midst of his plans and activities. This breakdown was his personal fate. He kept it carefully apart from other people's breakdowns. We hid the neurotic victims ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ever increasing numbers in asylums, or we increased the number of suicides.

The Atlantic Revolution is the challenge to the Atlantic peoples: to throw off the Egyptian magic of the business cycle, and to pool the energies latent in individual fear and agony, individual frustration and anguish, breakdown and suffering. Common sufferings create, common sufferings are the only basis for a common policy and a common life. The sufferings of private individuals, their private vest-pocket religions, must be pooled and published. The business cycle must be ostracised and denied as a public religion. It must be - with all its corollaries - unmasked as the idol of a bygone era. The temples of this idol, I know, are many, and they are very beautiful - like the Brookings Institute in Washington, or the Department of Economics at Harvard. I am sorry, but God does not live in buildings of stone. And the Atlantic Revolution is the challenge of the living god, against the gods worshipped in these temples, and for the real sufferings of all of us, in our nervous breakdowns during the last two or three generations. * The World Revolution is quite different, in its Atlantic phase, from any other phase. Being a World Revolution, it is neither Russian nor Italian nor German. These are all chapters or verses of the whole.

Obviously, the Atlantic Revolution has little to learn from Russia or from Central Europe. A comparison of the few central elements can show this. In 1917, Russia had no modern machinery, no old 'cadres' ~~class~~, capable of leadership, and a people with the highest birthrate. It had on all sides territorial boundaries, and nearly no coast-line. In 1933, Germany had all the most modern machinery, no cadres or recognized leadership - with the monarchies gone in 1918 - no reasonable boundaries, a thick population. In 1940, the United States ^{was} sorely undermanned, with a

population pyramid that stands on its head (the old outnumbering the young), all the machinery we can ask for, and continent-wide boundaries, and its social cadres fairly intact.

In a short formula, we may say:

Russia: no machines, no cadres, no oceans, streams of people
Germany: no cadres, no oceans, machines, streams of people
U. S.: cadres, oceans, machines, no people.

People on Beacon Hill may feel relieved when looking at this formula. It seems to make any talk of an Atlantic Revolution look utterly foolish. The French cadres, it is true, are simply destroyed and annihilated by Hitler, right now. For France, war takes the place of the revolution; as in Poland, where the cadres, the intellectuals, the nobility, the clergy, were destroyed, so in France, the cadres of society are annihilated. France may survive in one form or other; Paris is gone forever as the point de concentration de la pensée française. When Aragon wrote his Paysan de Paris, he anticipated 1940.

So, the Atlantic Revolution can take the form of war and annihilate cadres that have no life or peoples back of them. Our urgent search must be for a third form, beyond civil war and military war, in which we may couch the world revolution, on this side of the Atlantic.

I think that there is a third form. But *first This is very pertinent* before discussing it, the question: ~~is it very pertinent?~~ "For heaven's sake, you always talk of a World Revolution. Je n'en vois pas la nécessité. Why should there be a World Revolution at all? Let us give some aid to the allies, jail some disagreeable Reds and Nazis, and we have done away with this bugaboo."

The World Revolution is nothing startling. When, after the battle of Hastings, the new iron knight became the victor of Europe, when Norman kings governed from Asow in Russia to Palestine, Greece, Sicily, England and Norway, the new armament industry forced the peoples of Europe into the guilds and craft system of their cities in the Middle Ages. 185 different operations were required to produce one full armored knight, with his horses and his own harness etc. And to this production everything else had to be subordinated.

Today, Behind every soldier ~~fighting~~, ten or twelve industrial workers must have worked for several years to produce the machinery for his fight. Everything else has to be subordinated to this fact.

In 1787 and in 1789, the bills of right were written without any knowledge of the powers and resources of nature which the 19th century was going to exploit. The increase in power

wrested from nature, always requires a new settlement. The whole world revolution consists in the redistribution of the natural powers and resources, from oil to electricity, from manpower to horsepower. Even Mr. Wikkie knows this very well. ~~There are many solutions for this redistribution.~~ ^{There are many solutions for this redistribution} ~~task.~~ The cadres of society that acknowledge the demand in the most straightforward and undogmatic manner, in any country, acquire the right to govern that country. For this reason, ideologies have little to do with the task. The fight is between the blindness that tries to escape from tackling the problem at all - men like Hoover or Taft or Coolidge or Hull or Garner or Dewey or Borah - and the admission that God's creation is much larger, much richer, much at variance with the dogmas of Rousseau or Woodrow Wilson, by men like Wikkie or McNutt.

The Atlantic Revolution seems to me to consist in the struggle for this admission. Woodrow Wilson went to Europe with a typical vision of a Princeton man; Europe had to consist of sovereign nations, style 1850. Wilson condemned Europe to live in clothes of the pre-industrial era. The Crusade of the Star-spangled banner to the Holy Land of Europe forced upon Europe a Balkanization that might have befitted the rural communities of 1776, but that the Americans ~~must be sure~~ had not tolerated in America when they broke the fences built around the thirteen colonies by the home government, and streamed westward, into infinite space. The finiteness of the Wilsonian vision for the European space was his impiety. Human beings do not live in boxes. If they are condemned to do so as by the League of Nations scheme, they have no choice ~~left~~ but to turn these boxes into pill boxes. Man is a roaming and moving being, never to be enshrined or embalmed in some particle of space forever. This is the creed of America. Why have we asked the rest of the world to live by another creed than our own?

The admission required from the cadres and the men and women forming the cadres of the U. S. runs: thou shalt not have in thine house divers measures, a great for America, and a small for Europe.

The average Atlantic Monthly American has two world views, two religions, two ideologies, one for himself, one for Europe. And this paralyzes and nullifies all his actions and thoughts. Division is the sin of man, cried William Blake. He would cry it more desperately today. What can we do? *The answer must come.*
Respond to the cry; it must be mental.

We cannot afford to kill anybody, to break with continuity, to do away with ~~the~~^{the} simple reason for this virtuous conduct is that we have too few inhabitants, too little continuity anyway. ~~Peace~~^{Peace} is the fruit of continuity. ~~Surely~~^{Surely} probably get ~~peace~~^{peace} in the bargain. But we have the unused private sufferings of all our neurotics and people in middle life. We have ~~the~~^{the} the slumbering energies ~~of the minorities who save,~~^{of the minorities who save,} during the last decades, ~~at the edge of the melting pot.~~

have not been fanned by the draught)

The great heresy of the Germans is to believe in the infinite only and to prefer death to life. "Les Allemands n'aiment pas la vie." They stem from the infinite, and they decline to be limited by finite forms of any kind; they must go to war which is the crudest expression of the infinite that cannot limit itself.

However, the great heresy of the New World is that it has forgotten its own onrush into infinite space. Man's soul comes from the infinite into the finite. The modern American is told by his psychiatrists that he should not do that. He should adjust himself. Or, he is placed in a lunatic asylum. His sufferings are ridiculed: 'Man, be happy, be finite, be limited like any corporation. Don't feel responsible for the wrongs of the world.' Man is unlimited and illimitable. Man comes from the infinite and unlimited into this finite world in order to suffer and to change this world by his sufferings. *The pioneers did suffer and did change the world. The Atlantic Revolution is the new covered wagon. It leaves behind it the old country*

of Metaphysics ~~The Atlantic Revolution is to attack the young and~~ psychology and sociology ~~of this country.~~ It challenges the middle-aged generation to admit their being in search of a soul. It challenges them to ~~analyse themselves not by psycho-analysis~~ but by taking their sufferings as seriously as Keats did when he called this earth the vale of soul-making.

The redistribution of the ^{new} powers of nature ~~is the headline~~ ^{known} is the headline of the whole world revolution. But be it understood that the three solutions hitherto underway; the Russian, the Japanese, and the German, ~~of~~ ^{are} erect hemispherical economies, solve predicaments that are non-existent in this Western Hemisphere. Russia had no modern machinery, Japan was on an island, Germany was the rump of that queer circle of fringes and promontories called Europe. Hence Bolsheviki starved Russia in favor of heavy industrial investments, Japan is erring through the mainland of China, Nazis starved Germany for the conquest of tenable frontiers.

America is a continent. We have reasonable frontiers. Only, they are too reasonable for life. They are drawn with a yardstick ~~like~~ ^{as} the streets of Washington or the Canadian border. This reasonableness is their danger. We are empty, sterile. Fecundity has been superseded by exploitation in this country. We are hearing people say here that the unemployed are too much for this continent, and that we can't let others come in. The families have no children. We are not threatened from without but from this deep seated hatred against the fertility of the soil and the fecundity of the family and the creativity of the human soul, ~~which comes from any golden self philosophy, in the world.~~

~~Our enemies can shout that we do not need these frontiers down by our reason and negated by our way of life. Also we have put thirty horsepower behind every mortal already, in the New World. Since we have the frontiers and the machines, the redistribution of power must take place within your and my soul. The 'I' must give~~

way to the 'we' and to the 'you'.⁹ I know very well that the cadres of this country have a more decorous way of looking at their mission. They say that they must save the values of civilization, of Christianity and of some other neighbouring treasure islands, in this upheaval of the masses of a new barbarism.

This certainly is the challenge to Christianity anticipated by Nietzsche and Solovjeff. And the Atlantic Revolution may have the meaning that we must save the essence of Revelation, the fruit of suffering through four thousand years of human history, for the whole human race. I am convinced of this, in my heart. But I am not inclined to admit it here among unbelievers who speak of saving Christianity after having it held up to ridicule through life and work and every bit of their scientific and literary practice. What? I have fought with these academic pagans for more than thirty years, and I shall admit that Harvard is going to save Christianity or Revelation? I hope that even the President and Trustees of Harvard would feel annoyed by such a supposition.

The central creed of Christianity is its faith in death and resurrection. It believes in the end of the world, again and again. Hence, the conservation of Christianity depends on the voluntary mental conversion and resurrection of the middle-aged generation in this country. Christianity never has been saved by wishful thinking. Conservation of Christianity is impossible, undesirable, unnecessary. Such a process is anti-Christian. Christianity says: he who tries to save his soul, shall lose it. And it spits out its 'conserver'.

~~The human mind, in its hell of economics, sociology, psychology, philosophy, has lost the exit of all these things and has lost the light and life.~~

This era is not interested in private conversions or private repentance. God seems to care little for drunkenness or prohibition, dissipation or physical chastity. He asks for a new chastity of the mind, for an American soul that refuses Hollywood and Broadway the first place in the representation of the future of America, and that is willing to work for a new convergence between the sciences. The end of this world, indeed, has come with its multiplication of curiosity. Fair

All sins are mental. The Atlantic Revolution still can be waged as a mental revolution. The incredible might happen that these hopeless ~~hopeless~~ middle-aged people who carry their money to the psychoanalyst today, may prefer to carry their mind back into reality from where the trinity of love, hope and faith may get hold of them once more, and put order in 27 millions of atoms, so that they swing in cosmic harmony.

The preservation of values cannot be achieved unless the educated classes of the West live these values first. This is not

done by stealing the thunder from communism and suddenly speaking of the Classless Society in an hour of danger, after having denied the existence of classes, through decades. Never before, I venture to suggest, has the mere conservation of Christianity so much depended on an act of faith, on the resurrection ^{by adult minds} ~~on the~~ rethinking by people in middle life. Mental suffering becomes a sacred duty. ^{People} ~~They~~ must suffer mental agony or face ruin. ⁱⁿ

It is not enough to teach others, in churches or class rooms, the rules of two thousand years standing. The ruling, ^{The rules} teaching, and preaching 'cadres' have to live them, and apply them to their own mental and intellectual life, here and now. They have to do repentance for the last thirty years of decay, cynicism, uprootedness, peace campaigns and prohibition. They have to kneel down with a genuine pater peccavi. If they don't rejuvenate their thinking, the world will laugh indomitably over the vain attempts of these educated people to keep the reins of power.

Power is redistributed, my friends, for the simple reason that power is the duty to look out for the long distant ^{effective} future. Politics today are no longer ~~making plans~~ ^{between} voters and governors because the farmer or the townsman who votes may not be a farmer, a townsman tomorrow. A young friend of mine went with me to a public hearing of farmers and he exclaimed: "but they are all old men. Five years from now, one half of them will have died and their farms may be abandoned. How can they be partners to a policy for this valley that will work out in 1980?" The modern individual in middle life has lost sight of his quality as a founder and father of society. He has asked for rights, for happiness, for subsidies or tariffs, for freedom and peace, in the name of himself, and not of his grandchildren. All right. That means that somebody else has to look out for the grandchildren. He becomes uninteresting, a mass man to be kept quiet with the help of six times Hollywood and seven times his "daily" ~~newspapers~~.

Power is ^{granted so that it may act as a spearhead into} ~~the obligation to provide~~ the future ~~ways~~ of society. Power vanishes whenever it becomes obvious that it is not exercised for this, ^{the} one and only purpose for which it is granted.

For what, then, should our rethinking re-empower us? I may mention the three ^{main} ~~four~~ directions as mere examples.

1. The only way of saving our democracy is by recognizing that democracy is nothing religious, but the secular expression, the finite means of expressing something infinitely bigger. We have to restore ^{to politics} the difference ^{between} of the infinite and the finite, ~~as~~ ^{between}. As long as democracy is treated as the substitute of Christianity itself, as a religion, its abuses are taken for granted. Congressmen bowing to lobbying and to the "write your congressman" are considered virtuous. They should be ejected. The "too late" of the democracies in foreign affairs is simply accepted as inevitable. ^{But} There is nothing inevitable in the stupidity of the French

and English democracies between September 1929 and May 1940. It was not inevitable but just inexcusable. And so democracy ~~was~~ ^{died} with all its 'inevitability', in those countries. A Democracy is not inevitable, but the future of the U. S. is inevitable. We are as unprotected and unprepared as in 1776. And this fact of unprotectedness and unpreparedness is the platform of the Constitutional Convention that we should begin to hold in our hearts right now.

2. Productivity must win out over the prejudices of economists in the Treasury and in Teaching. By not-producing, and by unemployment, we have lost three times the debt of the United States. For, the work of ten million men, during seven years, would have netted some 125,000,000,000 dollars. But the Brookings Institute ~~has~~ ^{has} proved to Mr. Morgenthau's satisfaction, that Germany had to collapse, under her lack of gold, year after year.

3. Civilization cannot live without mental sufferings and physical hardships. The peace campaign life, the easy life, the prohibition life, the nonproduction life, the birth-control life, cannot be preached without destroying life itself. Life is not easy nor prohibited and never shall be;

4. Man is not known. Man is the uphill animal of creation. Man does the impossible. If he does not, he becomes superfluous, a ^{becomes} nuisance on this earth. He falls below the wild beasts, as mere livestock, when he relinquishes his role of being the unknown quantity of the universe. Then always, Mother Earth scratches herself and squashes man like a molesting fly, in some form of destruction; war or revolution or flu.

5. Man's actual health and turgor depends on his having something ~~important~~ unheard of to achieve on this earth, on his stemming from the infinite as a messenger into the finite.

Man falls ill if he is restricted to limited efforts and to a division of purpose. Limited efforts do not even produce limited results.

Now, I am willing to admit that this is the old Christian doctrine once more. For, these five points proclaim:

1. Cesar is not God even when Cesar happens to be disguised as a democracy.

2. The truest economic doctrines are not true enough when life is at stake. Economics do not deal with eternal truth, but with fleeting conditions. The economists have tried to fix that part of our existence that ~~shall~~ ^{will} not be fixed. At this moment, the resources, power, intelligence, and labor of this continent have to be brought together regardless of gold. In 'Out of Revolution', Thackeray ~~that~~ ^{that} at any given moment various economic systems must overlap and have overlapped, and that even today, this country does not live by capitalism alone.

3. All modern social planning or electioneering in this country omits the principle of human nature that man can outrun himself. Man varies from zero to infinite, according to our faith in man. The modern college, the modern factory, the modern politician, treat man according to I.Q.s, wages, and vested interests. They undo man, in all three ways of life. The only realm in which he is taken seriously is at our games. In sports, everybody is accepted to be the record-breaking animal that he is. Elsewhere, we practice disbelief.

Let us oppose these fallacies with our three tenets: We believe in man's divinity, gullibility, convertibility, all three. What does this mean? It means that we have faith, love, and hope.

1. Our faith says that man can accomplish the impossible, that he can shed his skin, burn his idols, die to his preferences and acquire new ones when he overcomes his worship of his own cleverness.

2. Our love says that this New World is stronger in all of us than any political, economical, doctrinal ~~homestrings~~. Our love declines to be frustrated by a mental *Non possumus*. We believe that the complete impotency of the educated classes in this country is not final because we love America, and believe that they love it, too. *habits.*

inward 3. We do hope that ^{inner passion} ~~the good will~~ may accomplish, in this Atlantic Revolution, what ~~violence~~ had to achieve elsewhere. Rejuvenation of thought, immigration into a new realm of thinking may take the place of the former frontier. Let everybody ask himself every evening: Into what unknown part of human life, have I immigrated today?

have This is the question put before the people in the rocking chairs that read the Atlantic Monthly for so many decades now that they have forgotten the waves ~~that~~ of which the Atlantic consists at the cliffs of Normandy. Marblehead gives a wrong picture of the Atlantic Revolution. The New Norman occupies France, and God is working his purpose out as the waters cover the sea. "The continents risen out of the waves can do no better than to follow the ocean's lesson and praise the Lord as unanimously as the waters that cover the sea."^e

This America is not one of the many nations that Hitler can destroy. It is a New World, a Hemisphere, a Continent. But in a vain attempt to bog down as a mere nation, America has lost faith and hope and has castrated her love.

* Out of Revolution, Autobiography of Western Man, p. 332.

(1938)

The tenets of a positive creed for the Atlantic Revolution, then, are obvious.

1. We must go back to 1776. Immigration as a spiritual power, as the power to rediscover the real world and not the world of Beacon Hill, must become our battle cry. By this slogan, we express our faith in the power of man to change, to overcome difficulties, to create a new environment. Immigration is the common denominator that may make America immune against Hitler's plan of a revolution here in which he would set up section against section, race against race, class against class.

The Adults should see to it that re-immigration becomes a moral and physical process in the lives of their children. This it can become when the children see their parents proud again of their immigrant quality (which these parents now try to suppress) and when the parents require service from their children before they recognize the children to be citizens of a continent that lives on our faith in the creative power of immigration. What do we ask from our children today? Examinations? Making money? Driving a Car? I suppose that we expect them to drive a car. That is about all. They must serve a year in the Civil Conservation Corps at least. Romans asked for twenty five years of service; is it not ridiculous that no child has to contribute to the 'immigrability' of this continent except when he is underprivileged? Before we can redistribute the powers of nature in the New World, we must have shown proof that we have helped to conserve them.

This immigration by service to the soil would be our first acceptance of the World Revolution and its demand for redistribution.

Only when we have asked ourselves and our children to make this contribution in mind and body, shall we ~~have reached the maturity~~ ^{enough} to discuss other New Frontiers. We would then dispose of ten million people with new eyes, new hopes, new ideas about life. Before we have them all discussions about what we should do or must do, are eyewash. We have brought ~~down~~ ^{discharged} people to zero. ~~Their~~ ^{Capable} Our electric battery is ~~run down~~. That causes the futility of all our political discussions. Among disillusioned people who only believe in facts, words are sterile. This is the real danger of all political decisions now advocated. They come without the backing of the youth of the country. We fail to produce first-class people who ~~are~~ ^{are} that they are of much more than what they are expected to do. ~~The~~ ^{new} children remain unborn in this country. And those who are born, are all underrated because they all are just rated. The Million Children from the vanquished nations in Europe: that would be a wonderful paragraph in the Atlantic Revolution. But will they be allowed in??? This country is dying from the slogan "Write the President", "Write your Congressman". The result of this jaggerment of letters is the allocation of money and more money and more money, and that is all.

until we have the new people.

The only discipline that can save us is the rethinking of every person. You and I must distinguish again: the superior forces, the inferior forces, the equal forces, or in other terms, Gods, economics, democratic forms. Man lives under superior powers, he manipulates the things and materials that are less integrated than he himself, he dominates lower forms of life (we may eat eggs and meat, dig iron, use fire etc. because these are inferior forms of life.) And man lives with his brothers through the ages of Man on this earth. The living God creates the earth and the waves of electricity, radium, human suffering, which illuminate our path. And we rediscover our obedience to him, in an unending task.

Matter is matter; economics are economics, and have to be manipulated, with gold or without gold, but certainly without any preference or dogma for any one form of economy. We pray for our daily bread and not for the gold standard because matter is inferior to Man and hence, it may be handled in many ways, according to circumstances.

Man and his equals are one Man through the Ages, in the power of Speech, Teaching, Writing. You parents, do you teach that which transcends your own time span of life? Do you speak beyond your children's happiness into the future? If you do, you make the only legitimate ~~use~~ language. Then, you immigrate daily into the Great Man whom we little ones form, by true speech. Do you believe in this fact of "Filius Sumus", "we are the son" as Augustine states it in two words which do away with all the wrong psychology of our century? If not, be silent about saving Christianity and Western Civilization. You do not know what deserves to be saved or what can be saved. use

Man can live in continuity and decency as long as he actually practices all three tenets of this creed. Because then he acts as Man, as the Son, and not as man, as a mere agglomeration. Relations between human beings without simultaneous relations to the inferior and the superior forces, remain sterile. A family in which everyone has a job outside the house, and in which not even the meals are ~~eaten~~ disintegrates because the material, ~~the~~ inferior life is not common. A family that does not look up to the tenets that subdue the individuals as cosmic laws, remains childless. In society, strikes, industrial spying, lobbying, are inevitable when people begin to talk about: "I am just a human being!" That is not very much, because the level of humanity is pegged between the higher and the lower. And the human being that is not responsible for anything, or responsible to any superior, goes mad or silly. In education, the omission of the three levels leads to the silly discussions between "equals" in which the teacher is not responsible for anything, and the student not responsible to anybody.

Can we build up a group of believers in man's power, authority and insight into change? If they, as one man, reimmigrate

That is gone now. But the New World can regain its old unbounded courage if it implants re-immigration into the life of every child. This should become our common present activity, arising out of our past and pointing to our future. From naive membership in one minority, from being natives of one state, we all must re-immigrate into the New World that lies beyond nationalism. This process must shape our whole thinking and doing: it is our way of believing in man's soul, his power to grow and to change. When we let it go, the minorities cluster around their separate interests and the melting pot loses its magic.

The American Era will last, the United States of America will last, through all the inevitable changes in politics and economics, as long as we make Immigration Without End the guiding star in the American flag. As long as courageous re-immigration rediscovers America, this Hemisphere may feel safe.

But safety is not the last word in life. We must also know that we are making a real contribution to Europe and Asia. And so we can. For those two worlds have given up the faith in man's power to be transformed personally, to become a person in the process of taking responsibility.

The early Christians emigrated from this world, as martyrs and monks. Racists and nationalists, natural men who rest on their first birth, hush up their migrations and get stuck in an accidental environment and a particular nationality. We are not deserters of this world. We are not part of this world. We immigrate into this world. The boundless hope that man is neither a class product nor a race product, that he is not the slave of his environment

but creates a new one day by day, has led the millions of immigrants to these shores. This is the center of our creed, and it is an indispensable tenet in the creed of all mankind. In this sense we indeed defend the freedom of humanity. The words spoken in 1776 by a young college graduate remain true: "The worst that can happen, is to fall on the last bleak mountain of America, and he who dies there, in defense of the injured rights of mankind, is happier than his conqueror."

It has been and must ever be the privilege of educators and students to ensoul this American way of life, as a courageous act by which every young man is initiated into the Great American Society of the Future.