

# NEW MASSES

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*Long, too long, America,  
Traveling roads all even and peaceful you learn'd from joys  
and prosperity only,  
But now, ah now, to learn from crises of anguish, advancing,  
grappling with direst fate and recoiling not,  
And now to conceive and show to the world what your children  
en-masse really are. . . .*

*Walt Whitman.*

ONE hundred and sixty-six years after the first Fourth of July America is at war again. Once more we are fighting for our national life, but under far different conditions. The invader is not physically on our soil—thanks to the resistance of our allies—yet the tramp of his blood-drenched boots is loud in our lives, heralding a slavery, if we lose this war, more terrible than any our forefathers conceived of. But no more than the patriots of '76 can we submit; no more than they can we fail to make danger our opportunity and strike out for victory and freedom.

What does it mean to be an American in this year of crisis? It is to know with a large, unwavering clarity that everything we have, everything we love is in mortal danger. It is to act on that knowledge, to act with a strength, a courage, a decisiveness worthy of those who hold in their cities and fields and in their hearts the mighty heritage of the heroic men and women who challenged the greatest power in Europe in order to build a free nation here in the new world.

To be an American in 1942 means to be tough. Tough as George Washington was tough when, after being driven out of New York, through New Jersey and into Pennsylvania, he crossed the Delaware that cold Christmas night, took the enemy unaware, and scored his brilliant victories at Trenton and Princeton. Tough as Thomas Jefferson was tough when he wrote the iron words of the Declaration of Independence, sounding the call to arms against tyranny. Tough as Benjamin Franklin was tough when he pitted his wits against those of the wiliest diplomats of Europe and stood fast in the darkest days of the war to win the French alliance. Tough as Francis Marion was tough when he waged guerrilla warfare in the forests and swamps of South Carolina. Tough as John Paul Jones was tough when he replied to a demand for surrender with: "I have only just begun to fight."

To be an American in 1942 means to work for national unity within our land and for international unity among the countries fighting Hitlerism. In our War of Independence conservatives like John Dickinson and Alexander Hamilton joined hands with radicals like Thomas Jefferson and Sam Adams. They knew—as we must know today—how they would hang if they failed to hang together. And they also knew how to deal with the enemy within—they confiscated the estates of Tories, put many of them into jail and drove 100,000 into exile.

AND the founding fathers were internationalists. "The independence of America," wrote Tom Paine in *Rights of Man*, "considered merely as a separation from England, would have been a matter of but little importance had it not been

## THE OFFENSIVE SPIRIT: '76-'42

### An Editorial

accompanied by a revolution in the principles and practice of government. She made a stand, not for herself only, but for the world, and looked beyond the advantages which *she* could receive."

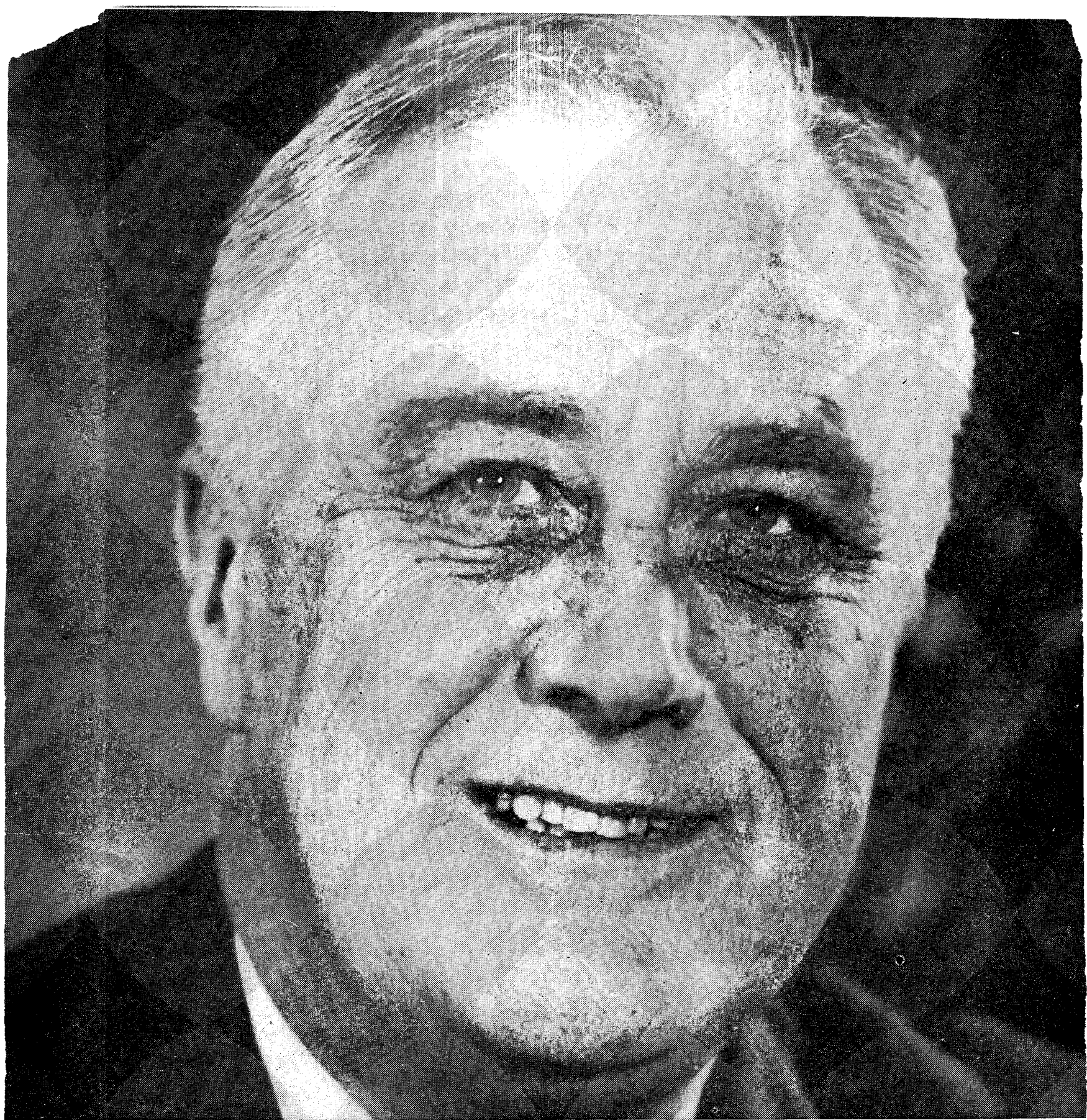
Today, as in 1776, to be an American means to be a citizen not only of a free nation, but of a free world, with all that this implies. We fight for our own future and the world's. Freedom has become indivisible, and our fate is inseparable from the fate of all other peoples threatened by fascism. And so this Fourth of July we are proud to march side by side with our brothers of Britain, Russia, China, and the other United Nations—in war and in peace. May we not fail them as they will not fail us.

Hard after the anniversary of our independence comes the fifth anniversary of China's fight for freedom. To be an American in the truest sense we must right the wrong we have done our great Chinese ally. Words of sympathy and good wishes are no substitute for planes and tanks and guns. Our own self-interest demands that while we concentrate our major energies on opening a western front in Europe within the next weeks, we send to China, and find the means of transporting to that beleaguered land, the weapons of war that its gallant fighting men will use so well against the common enemy.

Today America is an international battleflag, flying high over the earth's ramparts, symbol of hope to millions. Let us rise to the stature of our past. On land and sea and in the air let us strike hard together with our allies, so that long before the next Fourth of July fascism in Europe and Asia will have met its doom.

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**I**N THE future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear, which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression

against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.—*Franklin D. Roosevelt, message at opening of Congress, Jan. 6, 1941.*

**W**E MUST guard against divisions among ourselves and among all the other United Nations. We must be particularly vigilant against racial discrimination in any of its ugly forms. Hitler will try again to breed mistrust and suspicion between one individual and another, one group and another, one race and another, one government and another. He will try to use the same technique of falsehood and rumor-mongering with which he divided France from Britain. He is trying to do this even now; but he will find a unity, a unity of will and purpose against him which will persevere until the destruction of all his black designs upon the freedom and people of the world.—*Message to Congress, Jan. 5, 1942.*

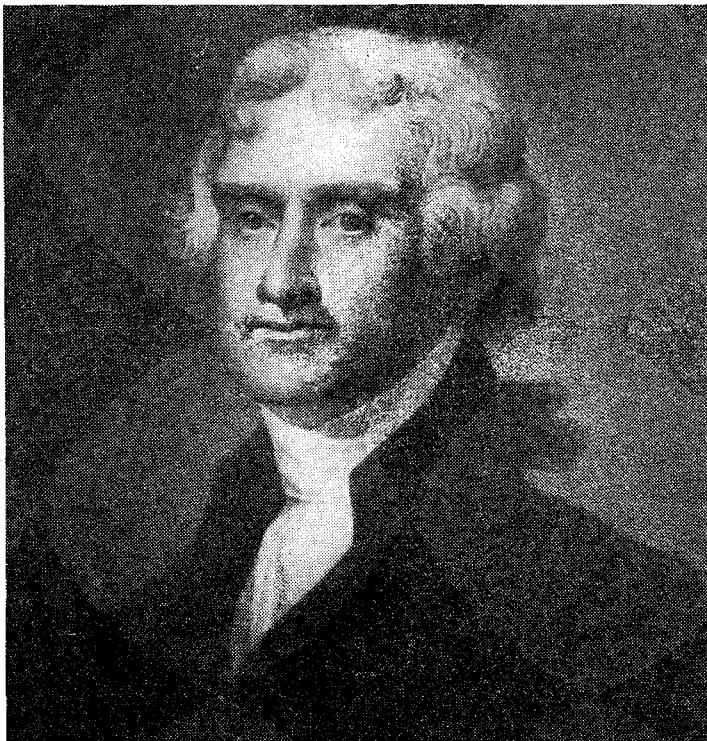


# OUR ALLIES THEN

Kosciusko, von Steuben, Lafayette were the representatives of other peoples who aided the founders of our Republic. How our own Revolution helped inspire France. Our international solidarity today carries on the tradition of the War of Independence.

**"S**UCH," says H. G. Wells in his *Outline of History* after a page listing the diverse nationalities which went to make up colonial America, "were the miscellaneous origins of the citizens of the Thirteen Colonies. The possibility of their ever becoming closely united would have struck an impartial observer in 1860 as being very slight." Yet we know that by 1776 the Americans were united in declaring that "all men are created equal," addressing their message "to a candid world" out of "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind." Jefferson's terse language goes far to remind us that our War of Independence was a great landmark in the world-wide people's revolution whose history was so sharply etched in Henry Wallace's recent classic address. Our struggle cut across national lines, not only at home but throughout the world. Its allies, and of course, its enemies, were everywhere. It was not merely a war between something called America and something called England; its implications and its influence were truly global.

The colonists themselves, of course, were a veritable league of nations, already a typically American melting pot of countless nationalities, languages, and religions. Indeed, the Americans of that day, the Americans who made our Revolution, constituted proportionately far less of an English-speaking society than do the Americans of today. This alone would have saved them from any narrow conception of their role in world politics. But in addition, they had a sophisticated understanding of kings and peoples in an age of contradictory international cross-currents. They knew that success required involvement in these cross-currents, and they "looked upon such involvement as a matter of course, an ineluctable turn of fate." *They were certainly not*



Thomas Jefferson was the outstanding representative of the international spirit of our War of Independence. In the years after the war he sought to align this country with revolutionary France and with the liberating forces in every country. Supported by a majority of the people, this became a major point of dispute between him and Hamilton. Jefferson's election to the Presidency in 1800 marked the triumph of his principles.

deterred by speculations about possible future differences between themselves and their allies over blueprints for a postwar planned world. For as it turned out, the Revolution itself—i.e., the war itself—did some unexpected planning, bringing revolutionary forces to a head in more than one of the non-revolutionary allies of America. The forces of freedom, unleashed in the United States, swept through the Old World and through Latin America.

**A**S EARLY as November 1775, when independence was still a shocking idea whispered about in radical circles, Congress had instituted the American Committee for Secret Correspondence "for the purpose of corresponding with friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and other parts of the world." And when conflict broke out into the open, Thomas Paine, who had just arrived from England, symbolized the support given us by many other British friends in the deathless pamphlets which he signed as "an Englishman" and which guided the revolutionary leaders through difficult channels. From Ireland there flocked to our shore thousands of fighters for freedom. But when Walpole commented "Ireland is *America mad*," someone added, "so is all the continent," for from the "other parts of the world" came such friends as Rochambeau, deKalb, and Lafayette from France; Kosciusko and Pulaski from Poland; von Steuben from Prussia, and countless lesser lights. Some of these heroes gave their lives to American freedom. All of them suffered the extreme hardships of which Valley Forge forever stands as a symbol. For this they had in most cases left comfortable, ruling class lives at home—to which they often returned as rebels, applying (as did Pulaski in the struggle against czarism and Lafayette against the Old Regime in France) what they had learned in the New World to help wipe out the ills of the old.

Indeed, in Britain itself there was a very clear understanding among large sections of the public that the Americans and their allies who were fighting the British army were in fact fighting a war for the freedom of all peoples, including the British. This has been well expressed by so conservative a commentator as John Morley, who has pointed out that "a patriotic Englishman may revere the memory of Patrick Henry and George Washington no less than the patriotic American." When in the midst of the struggle against reaction in England came a report that the Redcoats had gained a victory over the Americans, Charles Fox spoke for many Britons when he referred to "the bad news from Long Island." And King George paid grudging tribute to the true feelings of the English masses when, in announcing peace terms with an independent America, he lamented, "I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinion of the People." The American victory gave heart, encouragement, and a series of successes to the English liberals at home. It was an English as well as an American revolution.

It was not "wishes and opinion" alone which brought about an independent America, however. It was also the military participation of united nations that did not permit social and political differences to stand in the way of common action. In 1778 France became our ally. In 1779 Spain joined the coalition, and Holland the next year, while Russia, Denmark, and Sweden joined in an armed neutrality friendly to the United States and hostile to British sea power. The War of the American Revolution was fought not only in Brooklyn and Philadelphia and Saratoga but also on the coasts of India, in the islands of