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America and The War

By A. MAURICE LOW, in "National Review"

by the Washington stood. I find in talking to men and for the relief of the Belgians. I think ment to the British Gov- women of more than average intelli- if they had been told that by stopping ernment on the 26th of Decem- gence that they resent the idea, a single cargo of copper to Germany ber protesting against the seizure of which is undoubtedly prevalent, that the war would be over that much ships and the detention of American we have resorted to arbitrary methods sooner and the necessity of furnishing cargoes on suspicion of being contra- and created a code of our own which, food to the distressed Belgians would band intended for enemy purposes, so many people believe, is as flagrant be to that extent lightened, they would appears to have been as great a sur- a violation of the law of nations as have shown less objection to the necprise to the Foreign Office as to the Germany's violation of the neutrality essarily rigorous measures Britain man in the street. Neither ought to of Belgium. In fact, I have been told was forced to adopt. More real good have been surprised, that is if either by more than one person that while can be done to Belgium, for whom keep fairly current with the best we pretend to be horrified by Ger- every American has profound symsources of information Governments, many's derisive reference to a treaty pathy, by making it impossible for of course, in their collective capacity as a scrap of paper, we have done the Germany to obtain copper than even never read the newspapers; the Gov- very thing on the sea for which we by sending food, great and urgent as ernment officials when they do read have so severely criticised Germany is the demand of Belgium. the newspapers read them in their un on land. Finding the Declaration of The President dwells upon the inofficial capacity and with a heretical London inconvenient we tore it up; jury that has been done to Ameri-

mind-prepared to believe nothing seeing that the laws in force were not can trade. I think it is unfortunate

that would appear to be inherently sufficient we made new laws to suit that the American people have not probable and to square with precon- our own particular needs. Intricate questions of law are not jury has been brought about by Ger-Through the pages of this Review easily comprehensible to the lay mind, many and not because Britain has and the columns of the "Morning Post" It is difficult, it may be admitted, to been required to search ships and I have repeatedly during the last few make the average person understand confiscate contraband. That fact, the months tried to impress upon British that belligerents have rights no less real truth, is being lost sight of. Peoreaders the wisdom of not taking too than neutrals, but the task is not im- ple quickly forget. Americans now much for granted regarding the atti- possible. Because of the pragmatism seem to be forgetting on whom the retude of the United States toward of the official mind, which seldom has sponsibility for the war rests and only Birtain and the war and I have en- imagination and too often is without to remember that their cargoes are bedeavored to make it civar that we ran sympathy, the American has been al- ing interfered with by Britain and the risk of American sympathy being lowed to nurse a grievance, and that therefore to hold Britain blamable alienared unless we showed some con- grievance would never have existed for everything that has happened. It sideration for the feelings of Armin- had more foresight been displayed. is dangerous when this impression beuns. Unfortunately we have taken What is uppermost in the American comes widespread; it can easily result

il is of Americans, and the result is inherently his, have been trampled whether American sympathy for Brie Note which has fluttered the upon. He is rather vague as to what tain is less pronounced now than it cition tic dovecotes, startled the man those rights are. His ideas are nebu- was at the beginning of the war. Sena the cireet, caused great rejoicing in lous and inchoate. He cannot very timent in the United States is still butin, and stiffered the German-clearly or convincingly advance his heavily in favor of the Allies, but it And ricans in the United States to re- argument, but he is quite certain that is not so one-sided as it was, I believe. newed efforts and a greater determina- something almost as precious to him With the breaking out of hostilities tion to use their political power and as his birthright is in danger. their commercial influence to put pres- In the discussion in the Press on rageous things that Americans were sure on American public opinion detri- the American Note this question of disgusted and horrified, and public

business men and working men, suffer- set, as the majority of the papers do, to be dazed by the catastrophe the ing from the effects of the war in that there has been an invasion of had invited and to have lost the power the falling off of trade and the American rights by Britain we are to gauge the temper of the people scarcity of employment, will be made immediately placed on the defensive whose support they were so anxious to believe that Britain, and not Ger- before American public opinion. No to gain. Since then they have pulled brought them suffering and hunger." strained to say:

The foregoing paragraph was writ- "Our sincere desire to avoid any-advantage. ten on October 5 last and appears in thing approaching ill-feeling does not It would be unfair to President the November issue of the "National mean that we are willing to retreat Wilson to say that he was inspired by Review." Now read the American from our unquestioned rights as a neu-political considerations to send his

"There is an increasing belief, doubt- contains a large borderland of doubt. foolish not to recognize the influence less not entirely unjustified, that the But it leaves the broad right of neu- of politics in shaping American present British policy toward Ameri- trals unimpaired. It is at the most thought and affecting American action. can trade is responsible for the de- an exception to the general right of I am convinced that Mr. Wilson is pression in certain industries which a nation not at war to go about its honestly desirous of maintaining strict depend upon European markets. The business as usual. That right we shall and impartial neutrality and doing attention of the British Government is unquestionably insist upon maintain- nothing that can be construed as showcalled to this possible result of their ing, however ready we stand to dis- ing preference to either side. A great present policy to show how wide- cuss the mooted terms of the law of deal of criticism has been levelled at spread the effect is upon the indus- contraband in fairness and good-will." the President because he induced an trial life of the United States and to An equally sympathetic supporter American to abandon his contract to emphasize the importance of removing and well-wisher of the Allies has build submarines for the British Gov-

In the December issue of the Re- is therefore not without significance remarked that an American who obview, writing almost two months that a leader in this friendly news- tains a large contract from the British before the American protest was des- paper should be entitled "Scraps of Government and then advertises it to

Paper at Sea," and that the writer allthe world and our enemies is the "A sentiment hostile to us could be should say: easily created because there are bound! "Britain enjoys the command of how little confidence can be placed in to rise questions of vital importance the sea. True, but that does not make his discretion, but that apart, those to Americans. So long as the war her whim the law at sea. The rules persons who attack Mr. Wilson for lasts we shall be compelled to inter-carefully worked out through all the having made it impossible for the subtere with their shipping and to dis- years, with the decisions made by marines to be built are convicted by turb their commerce, no doubt causing British courts as well as American their own ignorance. thing that we do we must be frank by British statesmen as well as our covering to our cost, is not a legal and above board. This is no time for own, cannot be brushed aside as if code and cannot be internationally secrecy or the mysteries of diplomacy they were but scraps of paper. They enforced. It ties the hands of na which is the cloak of small men to represent the consensus of nations, tions willing to respect it and frees hide their incompetence...... Many No piea of extreme necessity, or of from obligation those without conother questions will arise. While life or death for Britain or any other science. It is largely ridiculous and Britain and America are unite'i in Power, can avail to set aside the in- usually ineffective. Why a neutral sentiment their policy is antagonistic. defeasible rights of neutrals at sea. pations should be permitted to sell to

they need, and to profit from the please at sea. Your conduct there in which that cannon and shell can be trade hitherto enjoyed by Britain time of war, as upon the land, no mat-used is not obvious to the lay mind, course, is to prevent anything from able to mobilize, or how many big may sell cannon that can blow a fort reaching our enemies, to starve them guns your battleships may carry." to pieces or torpedoes that can send a out, to weaken them at home as well When newspapers that hope for the battleship to the bottom, but if a popas in the field, to make them feel the success of the Allies so stoutly assert gun that could not make a dent on the effects of the war in every way possi- Britain has exceeded her legitimate side of a gunboat is mounted on a ble. It is almost sure that these powers, one can very well imagine launch she becomes a "war ship," and opposing interests will raise issues what the comment is of newspapers under the absurdities of international certain to create friction unless abil- that are pro-German or indifferent to law it is the duty of a neutral nation

ity, forbearance, and frankness are British success. The President's pro- to prevent the departure of that In substantiation of this view the newspaper cease to be pro-British or Remembering, as Mr. Wilson must President writes—or at least author- pro-Ally or pro-German, but to become very well have remembered, the izes to be officially written-to the pro-American. A question has arisen 'Alabana' case and the heavy damages

United States, but many of the great Government; every newspaper must haps not surprising that he should industries of this country are suffer- believe and insist that the United have prevented the building of subing because their products are denied States is in the right and the foreign marines in this country rather than long-established markets in European Government is in the wrong. risk having to pay a heavy indemnity countries, which, though neutral, are It is a great pity that some of the to Germany at the conclusion of the contiguous to the nations at war, energy and space that were used to war. Producers and exporters, steamship answer German arguments about the The Germans accuse Mr. Wilson of and insurance companies are pressing, responsibility for the war were not favoring the Allies because he did and not without reason, for relief employed to deal with questions of nothing to prevent the exportation of from the menace to Transatlantic more practical interest to Americans, munitions of war sanctioned by intertrade which is gradually but surely More would have been gained in that national law, and they resented his destroying their business and threat- way. Most Americans are anxious to refusal to receive delegations who

town little consideration for the feel- tain "rights," which he believes are Many Britishers will no doubt ask "rights" is the pivot of the whole opinion was quickly formed. The Ger-"There is always the danger that argument, and by assuming at the out- mans in the United States appeared

tral Power. The law of contraband protest to London, but it would be

been the New York "Evening Post." It ernment. Parenthetically it may be

The aim of America is to sell every- Command of the sea does not a belligerent cannon and shell and yet thing to Germany and Austria that mean that you may do whatever you not be permitted to sell a vessel on

test has for the time being made every formidable "warship" from its ports. between a foreign Government and in which Great Britain was mulcted "Not only is the situation a critical the United States. Naturally every for having permitted that vessel to be one to the commercial interests of the newspaper upholds the hands of its outfitted in a British port, it is per-

ening them with financial disaster." have the war ended. They have con- wanted to enlist his support in behalf 000 position has never been under-tributed with extraordinary generosity

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