

British merchant ships protected by the alert guns of their escort. Despite the convoy system, Britain's tonnage losses are enormous

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OLLIER'S in the last few weeks has had the honor of publishing articles by Charles A. Lindbergh and Wendell L. Willkie on opposite sides of the most important question now tormenting Americans.

Mr. Lindbergh took the so-called isolationist view of the European war and the United States' relation to it. Mr. Willkie took the interventionist, all-aid-to-Britain view. Our opinion of the two articles is that historians of later years will consult them as these times' most succinct, concrete and eloquent statements of these clashing interpretations of this war and what it means to us all.

Collier's belief, as we stated in editor's notes attached to both articles, is that Mr. Willkie is right and Mr. Lindbergh is wrong.

Lindbergh believes in American defense first and last, and fears that further extension of the aid-Britain policy will draw us into the war and eventually send another A.E.F. streaming across seas to fight, die and probably lose the war anyway. Willkie believes in helping Britain to the limit of our abilities with ships, planes and convoys, if necessary, and that British air and sea superiority can eventually beat Hitler without the need for huge expeditionary forces for large-scale invasions of Europe.

The great majority of our readers, we infer, from a multitude of letters, are of two minds concerning the war: (1) They favor all possible aid to Britain without stripping our own defenses; but (2) they do not want the United States to go officially into the war, or to draw down a Hitler declaration of war against itself. We believe that is the majority American opinion at this time.

Lindbergh vs. Willkie

Up to this writing, we've been able to do just that. We've helped England; we've stayed out of the war officially. But can that comparatively happy state of affairs go on indefinitely? What if we find that it can't? What do we do then quit helping England, or get into the war?

Yugoslavia was faced with a like choice. It chose to line up with the enemies of Hitler, the enemies of totalitarianism, though Yugoslavia was rubbed out as a nation twelve days later. The proceedings included a German air bombing of Belgrade, which is said to have killed 10,000 persons, after Belgrade was declared an open city. Why the Yugoslavs made this choice was explained afterward by their minister to the United States, Constantin Fotitch, in a letter to the New York Times:

Some nations, small and large, have never divided their liberty with others, even with incomparably stronger oppressors. They identified liberty with life. They preferred to fight for it even against impossible odds rather than accept an agreement under compulsion. Throughout history these were the same nations. For example, the Poles and Yugoslavs have always lived either in complete liberty or in slavery, while the Hungarians and Rumanians were satisfied with fictional liberty within the Turk-' ish and Germanic empires.

The time may be coming when we shall have to decide whether we want to be satisfied with what Mr. Fotitch calls fictional liberty, within a world-wide Axis orbit, or whether complete liberty is valuable enough to us to fight for it.

We hope that time may never come. But there isn't as much ground for optimism as there was two months ago. Since then, the Allies have fought the terrific Battle of the Balkans, the Axis has paraded back along most of the North African coast, taken last winter by General Wavell's Anzacs, and a real Axis threat to Britain's Mediterranean control has built up.

Suppose the Axis does just that. It won't necessarily have won the war. Mr. Willkie says positively that England can lose the Mediterranean and still win the war—IF American ships and planes, tanks and guns, get to England copiously enough and fast enough.

But a British loss of the Mediterranean would transfer the main battleground of the war to the Atlantic, where Mr. Churchill has long said it would eventually be anyway. It would release a lot of Axis planes and submarines to prey on Atlantic shipping, in addition to the swarms of them already sinking enormous tonnages per week. And it would ease Hitler's path to Dakar on the western bulge of Africa, nearest Eastern Hemisphere port to South America.

What would we choose to do then?

We cannot believe that the spirit of human freedom would crawl off to some hole, curl up and die quietly, simply because Hitler said it must.

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