


The convert $\begin{gathered}\text { at ions } \\ \text { between waodonsld and flyover have intro- }\end{gathered}$ duce a worldwide politian development which bill net genre to its completion. The Naval Conference in London will be only a continuetion of all that was begun in such a big way in 1929; it will not able to complete it. The building up of Anglo-American cooperation (with which a beginning hae clearly been made), is only
 atute relationships tancorentit, such a change, if suecensiful. would open new epoch in history,

For it it inposeibse to make a temple arrangement between England and America. There gene be noguality between, on the one hand an island state which is a great sa-powt, with its demands for worldwide political power, and all that this involve in idem of neutrality and fon-inim, and on the other hand rising continent, mapiring to position of equity with the island king com a continent which necemariliy hat its omb lien to the freedom of the mat and the right of a neutral. between two such poets a citivin 18 inevitable, except on the basis of an alliances.

Mat this is precisely wat appenrif in this case to be imposesable. As far as the nature of the differences between their respect-
 Indeed sven demand on alliance. The reason g which close this path are other, and are not to found in the region of the olajantumen -
 arises from the higher level of national organization achieved in the Argio-gazon countries. The whole lea of democracy is contrary
*o the idea of an allianee, both in home and foreign politian: at bome becouse it mates imposible full relit-detamination, and externaily because actisily it is incompatible aith the inea of interetato 1aw.

Io th possible to echieve, in serme of legal polley, that mesurare of secuzity which, up to now, him been achieved in term of powart or, more eameretely, how an fogiand and America attempt to organise wanis-law and world-ponce in mach way, that it will offor them all that in the old worle of a balance of powtry tumg nehieved throwdin open or aret alliancent the anner if destiny-laden for the wale maxid. A cimple wrangemint not nossitile.
 Whe is thratmed in thee of war by starvation within $n$ fem weets. OF at motet membit. The mpire is a atapower. It the kotheriand is mateto protect
 the tupire mant fall to pieces. Suck an oxganian is afteoted by everythiag that pocurs anywere on the glabe. Her ships travel along 12nes whioh together are three times as long athe Equator. And there ie almont alwayz war going on monewhere.

The stronget werfon for anch a atate is the blookede, for ker untequiled fleet ean wear an enemy dows. It is howevar alno her greatent weakness - that iz, the poanibility of being blockaded. Her flect, for which her oneqien olaia that it* oele purpose is to keop deathiy etrangehold on others (4) of gritain would inve in anghtmare.

 bat the $k$ egei form of that kind of cea-warfaxe which ia muited to
 Weaken the fleat, and een-law worke out to hangland's diagdvantage. How them is muality powible betwen med a power, and on meto applicable
 being eali-supporting an windraw from all oonzileta in foreiga
 wayg a way in progreat comewhere, as a mutral who carrien on her commerte beat durlag time of \#ar? It the cayse of strife betwenn these two wer world-power, ins posectsion of suF materialis, these oould be hared betwen them. But they wre realiy divided by the differing forma in wich their infe floww, and wimh iffect the whole globe, and doand coatrasting

 cuase to be a contineat.

Heace the fact that the lidem of parity has Lately bsoone of
 regard to Magiand the word implies willingneas to forgo the domand of the gons af far an amerion is ancerned. And, tita reapect to Ameriea it mean that whe it matisfied with this exprestion of wiljingress; zo that the only ancet one elain - that she need not alWaye forgo equality, though at the same tine she bas no intention of transiating thi parity into actuality. If sver there vere a
"gentlemen" agr*emant* it ia oertaiviy this one as to the particular




 parity is the importent point, it mat uot, whatever happone, be



Dut - neither it that way out, A gentiemente agrement about the otrength of navies dan heve meaning only if ofo can with certainty exclude all posatbility of mar betwen the partrers. The intention to do is present on moth sidec. But eqx it be done?

Ba we returi to feandian. For it is not enough to rewove all direet esumb of conflict between Figiand and Aserica as long as : Thagland atill axercise anywere in the seven sent ber right of hold upnctirn, coaflincation and prise courta. For chence must very woon bring some hutrigen morantile veatel acroas her phth. In that moment oonfilot would ariee, naval mgreement or not. That is thy Benat or Boynh melioves every attempt to reach a naval agreement to
 on the otbitr hand, is of the opinion that it would be winer not to wit for that. but rathor to athain the azale end by naval sgreement. Once that wert feathed, the other "old mistorsal problems" putetanding betreen figland and Answioa would, scooxding to the frmove HonverMactonald dechargtion of Dot. 9, phe approsched from a nem angle and
in a nez atmomphere*. "Old hiatoricel problemg" elaply mang, of course, sea-lan.

To resch anvel agreement it woula be quite enough to achieve " "gentlearen" sgrement" to the meaning of "parity" though even for that it woula be necessary to remove all direct ceunes of confitet between Yagland and kueries. It would amount to an implicit emente in time of peres.
 with sll the good-will in the world, there is here no formula for wh "ariangenent" an in the one with parity, Here. surposing Inglend to $70 /$ agree/ "the freedas of tha geas" Aneriea would have to offer no leas than a pleage for tha security of Kagiand in ease of a blockade ageinat her.

To mate thit fmportant peint quite clear. Jngland, iet ua may, agrece fundanentally to the freedow of the ever. Fhis means that no
 for contrabend. On the beste of thie new men-law, Ingland then meraps a part of her fioet se mporfiuous. for it an no longer be ued an

 would giarantee to England that this new gen-law would be obeyod were her devantage in gueation. other states would probably not feel this \$00 gyeat *rink \# 耳agiand an 1sland, coule not sun even the sifghtent sisk in the fan of the danger of atarvation. Nothing bat a naval
 gland": behnif, sny transgresser of the new law, ould poscibly bring

## 6.

the 路lish peopie to the double sacrifion of the ix fleet and their

self-imposed tuty, atandigg gecurity or whitever phrest one may use, what would thewe be, as betreen ingland ane America, but other names for on s. 11 iance?
gutron ailimes. WAhalagivomin
A. F. Hayghton, mbassador of the J. S.A. + first in Berlin and then in London, made the point quite olear and prooige, so there ooald be no dovit akout it, when he gadit "we mat not hope or seek to develop these wolly natural and hopeful relationa between the Britimh and the American peoples tato anything like an siliance, th (Hanchestex, 22. April 1927). The warmer anit elosex relationa heve grown in recent months, the oftener and racte emphatieally has witedonald repeated this. Ab wettor of fact auch an allyane is um-
 in the oid sense. Intw early atage in inter-atate Aevolopment they
 artse nev and grate diffitalites. Hughen, wo hem for deonde: in-



AK far as the United itqtes of IUxope are concarned, even this statemeat fppeara to us too weak. ameriesn denacracy xg, both in it ariging snd ite opinione, both intits constitution ond in the practical appliention of th, cuite incupabia of a policy of alinance,

## 7.



 groups and the forced divigion between executiveviogialative, can oniy tapt fareign policy in whion she ean rely on the "predaminats gentiment of the peopien . He imgiles that it im not treation af al1iance, nor the oatue belitwontherise from them, but rather the 1170 conscience of matehtill publio opinion which will in each eawe make decisions about war and peace. The warning agingt "foreign
 hat becoms for the t, A.A. wore and more an maression of a high deatiny.

For these reamon perpetan peate betwen Irgland and Anarien must be eecured by mans other than an alliance.

The search for nem sorla-formula.
 - The. (Worla court at tire fisgue, the codifying of asternetioncl isw - comfortlem gemeralitlen. pexhap: can manage without them?



There will doubtiees be hifh attempte to buila up Anglom Amertean comoperation, not by burteaing it with formulac, but rather by contining the ouestion to enauring peace. The importent point will
be，not the method，but that big was will be woided，or，at least，

 Hat the old methots of diplamecy provided they do not wrak down altagether one Iine day－are muficiext ta tecz oleaz of threatem niag conplicte，and to prevent thote in the waking frisiniz，if
 （Now all

 if there warn onjy Cnglina mad hatician in the world，wit there are




 of its thiving pon－ser if it were to lecit hios adamomean $L$ It is the Lexi to which，fohough in the revpetition fetwen


 at pregent is，doen not geet the cane，smerioant will have no part In sanctions of 12 the us of force as a mothod of kepping the peroce． And 虎gland would probabiy in amy given oase，retuae to unt her foros to earyy dut alockede the ingtance of the tu of W．f fot
 contilat rith Aherich ovet ser－1sw．Fingland has thorefore from the

point of auctions．And scarcely hat Macdonald entered the naval ne－ gotiations with america then he wade \＃lenderson in Genera propose that the
 forth to be allowed－that is an adjustment of the Collverifmif／to the Kelloge－Fget．There would remain only＂public ．warm＂－war of canc－ thong：which is no longer an＂inetixument of antionel peltry＂．In much a case there wold be only two kinds of wax－unjustified offensive ware．to be outlawed th which the offender would bo held in con－ tempt and outlawed my all atgneterlez of the kelloge－raot，and also the war of the（fight wginnet the pat law．But would thin tot change completely the aspect of gea－fant Could smertaw seriously claim the right to trade with the offender y Eye if as nonmember of the h．of $\mathrm{f}_{0}$ ．the questioned her duty to oppose hin？如t the with would eventually be the magical argument would emtaialy，an in clear， prove too much．for it mould subject America to the obligations of the Geneva convention to which ale does not，and never will，belong．
 It outlaws war an an instrument of nattoail policy，and binds the signatories to stale their emflitete by peaceful means．But all extsilig end centuries old neutral right，with everything they imply about the freedom of the mana，is built on the just as old，if not older idea of the rigintreat of war．？

Whoever traded with mich a state，takes pains to appear mather infer
 the freedom of the seas；and everything wo demands of England hes ग？
 the fallogerfact recognises wars which are not an instrument of nam tonal policy. Far example, ware in which, we hay so often been the
 the marycerfiea on without dechiarition of wax on either sites. All the same, under the Kelloferbact a contr ot between england and
 concerned tagline, sid net the but her the wee the offender. Eat
 (for England an unbearable one) that the cate would be judged by the one-sided rultag of factamefor.s.a.f.

The difficulty is still more obvious in the coss of the WorldCourt. For the court could only give jucgmente in asses of gea-lav if there vert already as agrees colificetion. The mat true of the possibility of arbitration* The violone oixcle in obvious.

* wo hold not be iqpettient if the progress 18 gradual. angla-annican even after the Laval conference, towards sumbinheratanding. tanwablet.


tr 3 in miner es This only mean that the arising unceratandin between England and its dunsele
America mut first final remember that we should never hove had tho dificuldive to face If the Argiomsaxon lands, git their higher forme of self-determination, had not powidithe primitive method of poriliance. In marion there is already in the making news kind of intonation


