The conversations between Macdonald and Hoover have introduced a world-wide political development which will need years to its completion. The Naval Conference in London will be only a continuation of all that was begun in such a big way in 1929; it will not be able to complete it. The building up of Anglo-American cooperation (with which a beginning has clearly been made), is only many formed of that at the same time e-general others in interate formed of the sume time e-general others in interetate relationships to the same time e-general others in interwould open a new epoch in history.

Charles Polanyi (Vienna, Justris) on the Staff of Der Opsterreichische Volken Pax Anglo - Americana.

For it is impossible to make a simple arrangement between England and America. There gan be no equality between, on the one hand an island state which is a great sea-power, with its demands for world-wide political power, and all that this involves in ideas of neutrality and demakaw, and, on the other hand a rising continent, aspiring to a position of equality with the island kingdom a continent which necessarily has its own ideas as to the freedom of the seas and the rights of a neutral. Hetween two such powers a manufact is inevitable, except on the basis of an alliance.

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But this is precisely what appears in this case to be impossible. As far as the nature of the differences between their respectwhigh politics" are concerned, it is not impossible; these might indeed even demand an alliance. The reasons which close this path are other, and are not to be found in the region of the old the power of the old the second in the region of the old the arises from the higher level of national organization achieved in the Anglo-Saxon countries. The whole idea of democracy is contrary to the idea of an alliance, both in home and foreign politics: at home because it makes impossible full self-determination, and externally because actually it is incompatible with the idea of interstate law.

Is it possible to achieve, in terms of legal policy, that measure of security which, up to now, has been achieved in terms of power? Or, more concretely, how can England and America attempt to organize world-law and world-peace in such a way, that it will offer them all that in the old world of a balance of powery they achieved through open or secret alliances? The answer is destiny-laden for the whole world. A simple arrangement and possible. /

England is an island state. Without her command of the seas she is threatened in time of war by starvation within a few weeks, or at most months. The empire is a sea-power. If the Ketherland is until to profect loses this commend, and Ther daughters, **demonstration approximation of** the Empire must fall to pieces. Such an organism is affected by everything that occurs anywhere on the globe. Her ships travel along lines which together are three times as long as the Equator. And there is almost always war going on somewhere.

The strongest weapon for such a state is the blockede, for her unequalled fleet can wear an enemy down. It is however also her greatest weakness - that is, the possibility of being blockaded. Her fleet, for which her enemies claim that its sole purpose is to keep a deathly strangehold on others **biblockets biblockets biblockets**, is the one weapon of defence without which the inhabitants of Britain would live in a nightmare.

in Island position, a wide-flung Sapire, command of the seat. seaflay, these are all interdependent. English sea-law is nothing but the legal form of that kind of ees-warfare which is suited to an overwhelming fleet. If wea daw is altered, the fleet is crippled. Weaken the flest, and sea-law works out to England's disadvantage. How then is equality possible between such a power, and one and 70 which not one of these sets of facts is hypelicable a power which, being self-supporting can withdraw from all conflicts in foreign waters, and which is only affected by the fact, that there is always a war in progress comembere, as a neutral who carries on her commerce best during time of war. If the cause of strife between these two were world-power, influence among coloured races, the possession of raw materials, these could be shared between them. ביי אינער אינ But they are really divided by the differing forms in which their life flows, and which affect the whole globe, and domand contrasting regulations on those high ways of mankind, the seas. But just as England can not come to be an island so neither can the U.S.A. cease to be a continent.

-the linglich people profer to cale

Hence the fact that the idea of parity has lately become of first importance in the Anglo-American conversations. Parity - with regard to England the word implies willingness to forgo the command of the seas as far as America is concerned. And, with respect to America it means that she is satisfied with this expression of willingness; so that she only makes one claim - that she need not always forgo equality, though at the same time she has no intention of translating this parity into actuality. If ever there were a

"gentlemen"s agreement" it is certainly this one as to the particular meaning of the word "parity". The alightent step towards actualizing anch equality between the two flocts would being England into a hopeless strategic position (for the iscompated to certar her ships over all the work. This agreement is because it

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parity is the important point, it must not, whatever happens, be mathematically understood, could deserge define and the second problem is important.

But - neither is that a way out, A gentlemen's agreement about the strength of pavies can have meaning only if one can with certainty exclude all possibility of war between the partners. The intention so to do is present on both sides. But can it be done?

So we return to descing. For it is not enough to remove all direct cause of conflict between England and America as long as England still exercises anywhere in the neven seas her right of hold up this confiscation and prime courts. For chance must very soon bring some American morgantile vessel across her path. In that moment a conflict would arise, naval agreement or not. That is why Senator Borah believes every attempt to reach a naval agreement to be useless as long as there is no understanding as to sen-law. Hoover on the other hand, is of the opinion that it would be wiser not to wait for that, but rather to attain the same end by a naval agreement. Cace that were reached, the other "old historical problems" outstanding between England and America would, according to the famous Hoover-Kasdonald declaration of Dot. 9, the approached from a new angle and in a new atmosphere". "Old historical problems" simply means, of course, sea-law.

To reach a naval agreement it would be quite enough to achieve a "gentlemen's agreement" as to the meaning of "parity" though even for that it would be necessary to remove all direct causes of conflict between England and America. It would amount to an implicit entents in time of peace.

But this is not enough for an understanding as to sea-law. For with all the good-will in the world, there is here no formula for an "arrangement" as is the case with parity. Here, supposing England to agree/"the freedom of the seas" America would have to offer no less then a pledge for the security of England in case of a blockade against her.

To make this important point quite clear. England, let us say, agrees fundamentally to the freedom of the seas. This means that no neutral serchant vessel, even in war time, can be held up and searched for contraband. On the basis of this new sea-law, England then screps a part of her fleet as superfluous. For it can no longer be used as an offensive of capture and blockade, nor need it be usintained as a defensive meapon in case of the danger of being blockaded. But who would guarantee to England that this new sea-law would be obeyed were her advantage in question? Other states would probably not feel this too great a risk; England an island, could not run even the slightest risk in the face of the danger of starvation. Nothing but a naval guarantee offered by America, a self-imposed duty to oppose on England's behalf, any transgresser of the new law, could possibly bring

the English people to the double sacrifice of their fleet and their sea-law.

Self-imposed duty, standing security or whatever phrase one may use, what would these be, as between England and America, but other names for an alliance!

But Ven all Lance. MAMAMARSY BOAN

A. D. Houghton, subassador of the U.S.A., first in Berlin and then in London, made the point quite clear and precise, so there could be no doubt about it, when he said: "We must not hope or seek to develop these wholly natural and hopeful relations between the British and the American peoples into anything like an alliance." (Manchester, 22. April 1927). The warmer and closer relations have grown in recent months, the oftener and more emphatically has Macdonald repeated this. As a matter of fact such an alliance is unthinkable, Baither England nor America can now carry out an alliance in the old sense. This early stage in inter-state development they have finally left behind. Yet from this higher stage itself there arise new and great difficulties. Hughes, who has for decades inannounces corporated the American tradition in foreign affairs, whe ms with resignation in his political testament "The Palkway of Gence"

As far as the United States of Europe are concerned, even this statement appears to us too weak. American democracy bs, both in its origins and its opinions, both in its constitution and in the practical application of it, quite incapable of a policy of allence,

even in the pure interasts of peace. This fact is bound up with things of which the U.S.A. are justly proud. Then Huppes, in the same work, announced that the U.S.A. as a result of differing recisl groups and the forced division between executive legislative, can only adopt a foreign policy in which she can rely on the "predominan sentiment of the people", he implies that it is not treaties of alliance, nor the same belli which arise from them, but rather the live conscience of a watchful public opinion which will in each case make decisions about war and peace. The warning against "foreign entanglements" originally spoken as something like a prophetic law, has become for the U.S.A. more and more an expression of a high destiny.

For these reasons perpetual peace between England and America must be secured by means other than an alliance.

The search for a new World-formula.

So here we are, Deck to the Mellog-Fact, Theague of Nations, The World Court at the Hague, the codifying of international iss - comfortiess generalities. Perhaps we can manage without them? Commander July Januarthy in his book The Next War describes

AL ACCTREVOLUTY AND TEXTINGTICS HITS

There will doubtless be **will** attempts to build up Anglo-American co-operation, not by burdening it with formulae, but rather by confining the question to ensuring peace. The important point will

be, not the method, but that big wars will be avoided, or at least, that in a war in which England but not America was implicated, no conflict should arise between these two on the question of sea-lex. But the old methods of diplomacy - provided they do not break down altogether one fine day - are sufficient to steer olear of threatening conflicts, and to prevent those in the making. Firtainly, if necessary, fundamentals might be sacrificed, and a common-sense po-New All liey be carried through this is useless for a conception which has got to lest us for years and decades. It might conceivably work if there were only England and America in the world, but there are dozens of other states, and among them great powers which have just formed inter-state erganizations with their own fundamental principles, and in which, indeed, England even plays some part. And further if whe high the ist of the to for down if actuated by work if the state of the state o

It is the land to which Sthough in the competition between the Keldsg-Faot and the League of Mations we forget it too easily), we one both. No, we are in for a unique of Mations of Mations of Mations of Mations and all the league of Mations as it at present is, does not meet the case. Americans will have no part in sanctions or in the use of force as a method of keeping the peace. And Angland would probably in any given case, refuse to use her force to carry out a blockade at the instance of the L. of M.; for to please that body she would certainly not involve herself in a conflict with America over see-law. England has therefore from the beginning prevented the L. of M. from becoming explicit on this

name.

point of sanctions. And scarcely had Macdonald entered the naval negotistions with America then he made Henderson in Geneva propose that He forth to be allowed - that is an adjustment of the convention to the Kellogg-Fact. There would remain only "public wars" - a war of sanctions, which is no longer an "instrument of national policy". In such a case there would be only two kinds of war - unjustified offensive wars, to be outlawed, in which the offender would be held in contempt and outlawed by all signatories of the Kellogg-Paot, and also the war of the Fight seminst the outlaw. But would this not change completely the aspect of sca-law? Could America seriously claim the right to trade with the offender? Even if as a non-member of the L. of N., she questioned her duty to oppose him? But this which would eventually be the English argument would certainly, as is clear, prove too much. For it would subject America to the obligations of the Geneva convention to which she does not, and never will, belong.

> But neither does the Kellogg-Pact work as it at present stands. it outlaws war as an instrument of national policy, and binds the signatories to settle their conflicts by peaceful means. But all existing end conturies old neutral rights, with everything they imply about the freedom of the seas, is built on the just as old, if not

older idea of the rightness of ver. A going to war was hypered march to earnine it rights which whoever traded with such a state, takes phine which was not wrong, but Jingh indifficur. morelly months. And so everything that america thinks and feels about TOL the freedom of the seas, and everything she demands of England has 37

since the outlaw of war in truth become a Teged and the Kellogg-Pact recognises wars which are not an instrument of national policy. For example, were in which, as has so often been the case, neither side has admitted the same of the same, or in which the wary carried on without declaration of war on either side. All the same, under the Kellogg-Pact a conflict between England and America would be avoided as soon as it was clear that in a war which concerned England, and not she but her the war when the offender. But unfortunately in a conclusion so desired would have this premise (for England an unbearable one) that the case would be judged by the one-sided ruling of in the U.S.A.

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The difficulty is still more obvious in the case of the World-Court. For the Court could only give judgments in cases of sea-law if there were slready an agreed codification. The same is true of the possibility of arbitration. The vicious circle is obvious.

the should not be impatient if the progress is gradual, duple- Americanderstanding. even after the Maval Conference, towards which in the present world situation is, after all meretlet. peace. Die could with think that in a state t one is is string of questions, without ever getting nearer their solution. But This only means that the artsing understanding between England and ma legel and moral form, We must America sust first findy remember that we should never have had these multicallies to face if the Anglo-Saxon lands, with their higher forms of self-determivaluded the primitive method of a powerful alliance. nation, had not stat In America there is already in the making a new kind of internationel law, lying somewhere between law and morals. The superior (Somewhat deal