20. Thirdly, in place of the third sentence of the second paragraph a new paragraph is added retaining the idea of a guarantee of an arbitration treaty, and making clear the implication of such a guarantee.

21. The alterations made in section V are two in number. In the first place, the words in the second paragraph "the object of the pact could not be attained" have been omitted because it was felt that they were unnecessarily pessimistic. The idea which the words were presumably intended to convey has been retained, however, by the insertion of words to show that while the Rhineland Pact is an essential step towards the attainment of European peace, that peace cannot be completely guaranteed if the Rhineland Pact remains unsupported by other regional settlements.

22. The second alteration in this section consists in the omission of the final paragraph of the original draft. The paragraph provided for the guarantee by the signatories of the Rhineland Pact of arbitration treaties between Germany and her other neighbours. This, for reasons already explained

in this despatch, is unacceptable to His Majesty's Government.

23. A new section has been inserted at this point, numbered VI. Its only object is, by a clear statement, to prevent misunderstanding. There can, of course, be no question that it expresses a view

on which the Allied Governments are unanimously agreed.

24. Section VII is based on the original section VI in the French draft. The first two paragraphs of the latter section were in contradiction with the principle of limited obligations which His Majesty's Government have adopted, and were therefore unacceptable. They have been replaced by the first paragraph of section VII which expresses the view that the various agreements in contemplation, whether relating to the Rhineland or to the other frontiers of Germany, should come into force simultaneously.

25. The rest of the original section VI is reproduced in section VII, with only one alteration, viz.,

25. The rest of the original section VI is reproduced in section VII, with only one alteration, viz., in the last paragraph the phrase "French Government" has been substituted for "Allied Governments" as being more in accordance with the form of a note which is to be sent to Germany by France

alone, but in agreement with the Allies.

- 26. His Majesty's Government earnestly hope that the French Government will see their way to accept the modifications proposed above. It is, of course, far from being their intention to suggest that the French Government should renounce those ideas in their original draft, which His Majesty's Government have been unable to accept, and an acceptance of the modified draft would not be construed by His Majesty's Government as a renunciation by the French Government of those ideas. His Majesty's Government are solely actuated by the consideration that it would be of great advantage if at this stage a note were sent to Germany setting out the basic principles on which the Allies are in agreement. They urge this course because they believe that it will serve a more useful purpose than the despatch of separate notes which, while having the advantage of showing the maximum limit to which each Allied Power was prepared to go, would have the disadvantage of laying undue emphasis on such divergence of views as may exist between the Allies.
- 27. I request that, in communicating to M. Briand the enclosed revised draft, your Lordship will read this despatch to him and leave with him a copy.

I am, &c., AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

Enclosure in No. 6.

Draft Reply to the German Memorandum.

As they have informed the German Government in their note of the 20th February last, the French Government have studied, in common with their allies, the suggestions contained in the memorandum forwarded to them on the 9th February by his Excellency M. von Hoesch

The French Government and their allies regard the step taken by the German Government as an earnest of pacific intentions which agree with their own.

Wishing to give to all the States concerned supplementary guarantees of security within the framework of the Treaty of Versailles, they have examined the German proposals with all the attention that they merit in order to judge what elements they may afford for the consolidation of peace.

Before embarking, however, on an examination in detail of the German note, it has appeared desirable to set out clearly the questions which it raises, or may raise, and on which it is important to know the views of the German Government because a preliminary agreement concerning them appears to be the necessary basis for any future negotiations:—

Suggested Alternative Draft.

[*.B.—The passages which differ from the French draft are printed in italies.]

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