

APPENDIX I

LORD D'ABERNON'S ADDRESS TO GERMAN DELEGATES REGARDING ANGLO-GERMAN TREATY OF COMMERCE

BEFORE entering upon detailed discussion, I desire to say a few words regarding the importance of this occasion. In my judgment the negotiations we are commencing to-day will have a decisive influence upon two questions : first, upon the future relations between the German people and the English people, governing the future policy of the two countries towards each other ; and secondly, upon the whole trend of commercial policy in Europe and possibly upon the general development of Europe. Whatever endeavours may be made to separate commercial relations from politics and to allow business to develop independently of political feeling or political prejudices, it is an undeniable fact that public feeling in the modern State depends to a large and increasing extent upon the commercial relations between countries, and these commercial relations will be powerfully influenced by the arrangements we have met to-day to discuss.

WHAT have been the commercial relations between Germany and England in the past ? Before the War, England imported from Germany goods to the value of £80,400,000, representing 16·4 per cent. of Germany's total exports. Germany bought from England goods to the value of £60,500,000, representing 11·7 per cent. of her total imports. In both directions trade was increasing year by year. Since the War the amount of commercial exchanges has fallen, but I am glad to say that during the present year there has been a marked increase in the development of commercial exchanges, comparing the present year with the average of years since the Armistice. That is a good and hopeful sign.

Now how are the goods imported by one country from the other treated in the respective countries of import ? In England the large majority of articles are admitted free of customs duty. This applies to 90 per cent. of German imports into England. In Germany the average duty amounts to 19 per cent. of the total value of dutiable goods imported ; at least, that is the 1913 proportion, which must in post-war years have become even higher. In order to illustrate my point, I may draw your attention to one or two examples taken at random : thus, dressed leather on entry from England into Germany pays a duty of Mk. 800 per ton, while from Germany

into England it is free ; pig-iron pays Mk. 10 per ton coming into Germany, into England it is free ; tin plates pay Mk. 50 per ton in Germany, in England they are free ; india-rubber driving belts pay Mk. 500 a ton in Germany, in England they are free ; and I could continue to take similar illustrations from every important category of goods. That is the first point which I desire to underline, and from which I shall later on draw certain deductions.

It is the fashion to say—and foreign representatives negotiating with English representatives have frequently said—“The absence of duty or the low customs duty imposed in England on foreign goods has been brought about by your fixed and immutable theoretical convictions as to free trade. Whatever duties foreign nations impose, you are powerless. You are hemmed in by your theory.” Two fallacies underlie this argument : first, the facts are not as stated ; secondly, if they were as stated they would not justify the conclusion usually drawn from them.

As to the first point, England is by no means unanimous on the free trade question. It may even be held that opinion is increasingly in favour of a non-continuation of the system which is at least superficially unfair, under which English exports are much worse treated in foreign countries than the exports of those countries are treated in England. Take care how you provide substantial ground for this opinion.

PEOPLE talk about difficulties created against them if they desire to trade with a foreign country. The phrase is often used that “the door of commerce is slammed in our face.” Is it not sometimes the case that when a door is slammed in anyone’s face the original cause is to be found in some action of the person who is thus abruptly excluded ? If I were a foreigner negotiating with England, I should be very careful that this criticism could not justifiably be applied to me. Whether the door of commercial exchange is open wide or whether it is half-shut or totally closed depends to a large extent upon the attitude of the would-be importer and the amount of reciprocity offered.

Now as to the second point. The conclusion usually drawn from the fact that England is free trade is that she is so tied by her theoretical considerations on this subject that she is incapable of modifying her policy even if her liberality does not meet with an adequate response. This conclusion is a false assumption. In the first place, we are not inclined, owing to theoretical preconception, to immobilisation on any subject.

EVEN if England were more unanimously free trade than is the case, she would, I hope and believe, not cease to be practical and to treat human affairs on human lines.

BUT as England is not unanimous the whole supposition falls to the ground, and you may take it as certain that some reciprocity and a certain equivalence of treatment in respect of commerce is a pre-condition to a continuance of present facilities. The matter is one beyond the power of Governments—it is a matter which public opinion will settle independently of the views of any political party or of any Minister.

THERE is another comparison to which I would like to draw your attention, namely, the treatment which German commerce receives in different countries with whom you are in large commercial relations. I find that while such important articles of German export as leather goods, dynamos and toys are subject in France and Italy to duties averaging 390, 160 and 250 gold marks per 100 kg. respectively, they are completely free of duty in the United Kingdom. Now, I do not bring this forward with a view to demand for England any privilege or any exemption not accorded to other nations, but I venture to submit that it does justify special attention being devoted to the maintenance of a free exchange of those articles in which England is largely interested. I believe that some guarantee for the future treatment of our trade is not only due to us for the attitude which we assume towards your trade, but it is most certainly in the interest of those who desire the development in England of feelings of confidence towards Germany.

IN this connection I would also refer to the existing system of import licences in Germany which is proving such a serious obstacle to British trade. There are still some 800 items on the so-called prohibited import list, and in the vast majority of cases the necessity for a licence proceeds from a purely protective basis. There are only some sixteen articles in the whole of the list which perhaps could be regarded as unnecessary luxuries.

THE history of commercial relations between Germany and the United Kingdom since the War shows two policies in very marked contrast. In England there has been a steady removal of one obstacle after another to German trade and intercourse—only this year the McKenna duties and Part II of the Protection of Industries Act have been allowed to lapse. The remaining obstacles to German trade in England are slight and temporary. In spite of this, the difficulty of entry for British goods into Germany is very nearly as great as it was when foreign trade control was first introduced; although in some cases the need for an import licence has been removed, such removal has invariably been replaced by a prohibitive duty. Thus, duty on the following goods, which now no longer require a licence, has been increased as follows :

ON silk tissues from 300 to 3,200 marks per 100 kg. ; silken velvet and plush from 800 to 3,200 marks ; felt shoes from 600 to 1,800 marks per 100 kg. ; leather goods from 80 to 240 marks per 100 kg. ; inner tubes for motor-cars from 60 to 240 marks per 100 kg.

THESE examples will, I think, sufficiently illustrate my argument. THE position of British banks and insurance companies in Germany is a matter which calls for settlement. It is true that German banks are temporarily prohibited from establishing themselves in the United Kingdom, but British banks both before the war and since have on no occasion received permission to establish themselves in Prussia, and have been compelled to confine themselves to a few centres, and, since the War, to occupied territory. Even these British banks in Germany, however, have never been allowed to become members of a German Stock Exchange. British insurance companies have, since the War, persistently been refused the right to establish themselves in Germany, although there is nothing to prevent a German insurance company having an office and doing business in the United Kingdom.

I DO not cite these cases in a hostile spirit—I desire not recrimination but reciprocity : reciprocity of a practical and effective nature, not a mere theoretical declaration of equality accompanied by a real inequality of treatment.

WHAT I ask you to do is to examine the position in the light of the facts I have adduced, and, after consultation with the competent Departments, to let us know what measures are possible to facilitate and develop the commercial relations between our two great trading communities.

BERLIN, *September 22, 1924.*

APPENDIX II

PROTOCOL OF ANGLO-GERMAN TREATY OF COMMERCE

(1)

THE Treaty of Commerce and Navigation signed this day being based on the principle of the most favoured nation, both parties to the treaty undertake to give the widest possible interpretation to that principle. In particular, while retaining their right to take appropriate measures to preserve their own industries, they undertake to abstain from using their respective Customs tariffs or any other charges as a means of discrimination against the trade of the other, and to give sympathetic consideration to any cases that may be brought to their notice in which, whether as a result of the rates of customs duties or charges themselves or of arbitrary or unreasonable customs classification, any such discrimination can be shown to have arisen.

(2)

WITHIN the limits of this undertaking each party agrees not to impose, reimpose or prolong any duties or charges which are specially injurious to the other party. Each party further agrees, when modifying its existing Customs tariff and fixing future rates of Customs duty as far as they specially affect the interests of the other party, to take due regard to reciprocity and to the development on fair and equitable terms of the commerce of the two countries, the German Government taking into full account the favourable treatment at present accorded to goods the produce or manufacture of Germany on importation into the United Kingdom. The parties will also have regard to the same considerations in applying any special prohibitions or restrictions which may be notified under Article 3 of this Protocol.

SHOULD either of the two Contracting Parties be of the opinion that particular rates of Customs duty fixed by the other party are not in accordance with the above undertaking both parties agree to enter immediately into verbal negotiations.

(3)

BOTH Contracting Parties agree to remove at the earliest possible opportunity, but not later than six months from the coming into force of the treaty signed this day, all forms of prohibition or restric-

tion of importation or exportation, except in those special cases mentioned in Article 10 of the treaty, or in such other special cases as may be notified by either party to the other party before the ratification of the treaty.

(4)

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT UNDERTAKE—

(a) TO recommend to Parliament the necessary legislation for the removal of the disabilities imposed by the legislation specified below affecting German citizens and German companies in the United Kingdom which do not extend to the subjects or citizens or companies of the most favoured foreign country, viz. :—

NON-FERROUS Metal Industries Act, 1918.

ALIENS Restriction (Amendment) Act, 1919. (Section 12.)

TRADING with the Enemy (Amendment) Act, 1918.
(Section 2.)

(b) IN the administration of the Overseas Trade Acts, 1920 to 1924, and the Trade Facilities Acts, 1921 to 1924, not to exclude trade between the United Kingdom and Germany from any benefits to which trade between the United Kingdom and any other foreign country is admitted.

(5)

THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT UNDERTAKE—

(a) THAT insurance companies constituted in accordance with the laws in force in the United Kingdom shall be admitted to carry on business in all parts of Germany, subject to the provisions of the German Insurance Law, and that the section regulating the admittance of foreign insurance companies will be interpreted in the most liberal way as far as insurance companies of the United Kingdom are concerned. The German Government will also give all necessary facilities compatible with German law for the work carried on by the agents in Germany on behalf of the underwriters of the United Kingdom.

(b) THAT banking companies constituted in accordance with the laws in force in the United Kingdom shall in the pursuance of their business be subjected only to the general German Law ; that new regulations against the flight of capital shall be so framed that the right to open accounts and to receive deposits may be conferred upon foreign banks ; and that they will use their influence with the State Governments to secure that United Kingdom banks shall be treated in a liberal way with regard to the permission to open branch offices and the right to deal in exchange, without prejudice to the right of

making the grant of such privileges to foreign banks subject to general reservations.

(6)

IN pursuance of the general principle of the mutual accord of national treatment in matters of navigation which is embodied in the treaty signed this day, both parties agree that in regard to the carriage from their respective territories of emigrants (including transmigrants) and to the establishment of agencies by companies engaged in the business of emigration, the vessels and shipping companies of either party shall be placed, in the territories of the other, on exactly the same footing in every respect as national vessels and national shipping companies.

(7)

BOTH parties hereby place on record their intention to adopt (in so far as they have not already done so) the provisions of—

- (1) THE conventions and statutes concluded at Barcelona in 1921 respecting freedom of transit and navigable waterways of international commerce ;
- (2) THE conventions and statutes concluded at Geneva in 1923 respecting customs formalities, maritime ports and railways ;
- (3) THE protocol on arbitration clauses drawn up at Geneva in 1923.

(8)

IT is agreed that the treaty signed this day shall come into force only after the necessary legislative or administrative measures have been passed by the appropriate authorities in the respective countries.

DONE at London in duplicate in English and German texts,
December 2, 1924.

STHAMER.

C. VON SCHUBERT.

AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

D'ABERNON.

APPENDIX III

GERMAN NOTE TO GREAT BRITAIN OF JANUARY 20, 1925

ORIGINAL GERMAN INITIATIVE WHICH AFTERWARDS BECAME THE TREATY OF LOCARNO

THE present acute questions of disarmament and evacuation are frequently considered in France from the standpoint of security against possible aggressive intentions on the part of Germany. For that reason it would probably be easier to find a solution for them if they were combined with an agreement of a general nature, the object of which would be to secure peace between Germany and France. Germany is perfectly ready to take this point of view into consideration. She is anxious to see the problems arising between her and France dealt with by no other method than that of friendly understanding, and is accordingly interested, for her part, in the establishment of a special treaty foundation for such a peaceful understanding.

IN considering the various forms which a Pact of Security might at present take, one could proceed from an idea cognate to that from which the proposal made in December 1922 by Dr. Cuno sprang. Germany could, for example, declare her acceptance of a pact by virtue of which the Powers interested in the Rhine, above all, England, France, Italy and Germany, entered into a solemn obligation for a lengthy period (to be eventually defined more specifically), *vis-à-vis* the Government of the United States of America, as trustee, not to wage war against a contracting State. A comprehensive arbitration treaty, such as has been concluded in recent years between different European countries, could be amalgamated with such a pact. Germany is also prepared to conclude analogous arbitration treaties providing for the peaceful settlement of juridical and political conflicts with all other States as well.

FURTHERMORE, a pact expressly guaranteeing the present territorial status ("gegenwärtiger Besitzstand") on the Rhine would also be acceptable to Germany. The purport of such a pact could be, for instance, that the interested States bound themselves reciprocally to observe the inviolability of the present territorial status on the Rhine, that they, furthermore, both conjointly and individually ("conjointement et séparément") guaranteed the fulfilment of this obligation, and finally, that they would regard any action running counter to the said obligation as affecting them jointly and individually.

In the same sense the treaty States could guarantee in this pact the fulfilment of the obligation to demilitarise the Rhineland which Germany has undertaken in Articles 42 and 43 of the Treaty of Versailles. Again, arbitration agreements of the kind defined above between Germany and all those States which were ready on their side to accept such agreements could be combined with such a pact.

To the examples set out above still other possibilities of solution could be linked. Furthermore, the ideas on which these examples are based could be combined in different ways. Anyhow, these examples should suffice to show that, if there be question of a desire for guarantees for peaceful evolution in all the States concerned, a secure treaty foundation for them cannot be difficult to find.

APPENDIX IV

MEMORANDUM COMMUNICATED ON
FEBRUARY 9, 1925, BY THE GERMAN
CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES IN PARIS TO M.
HERRIOT, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL
AND MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

(Strictly Confidential.)

IN considering the various forms which a Pact of Security might at present take, one could proceed from an idea cognate to that from which the proposal made in December 1922 by Dr. Cuno sprang. Germany could, for example, declare her acceptance of a pact by virtue of which the Powers interested in the Rhine—above all, England, France, Italy and Germany—entered into a solemn obligation for a lengthy period (to be eventually defined more specifically) *vis-à-vis* the Government of the United States of America as trustee not to wage war against a contracting State. A comprehensive arbitration treaty, such as has been concluded in recent years between different European countries, could be amalgamated with such a pact. Germany is also prepared to conclude analogous arbitration treaties providing for the peaceful settlement of juridical and political conflicts with all other States as well. FURTHERMORE, a pact expressly guaranteeing the present territorial status (“*gegenwärtiger Besitzstand*”) on the Rhine would also be acceptable to Germany. The purport of such a pact could be, for instance, that the interested States bound themselves reciprocally to observe the inviolability of the present territorial status on the Rhine; that they, furthermore, both jointly and individually (“*conjointement et séparément*”) guaranteed the fulfilment of this obligation; and, finally, that they would regard any action running counter to the said obligation as affecting them jointly and individually. In the same sense, the treaty States could guarantee in this pact the fulfilment of the obligation to demilitarise the Rhineland which Germany has undertaken in Articles 42 and 43 of the Treaty of Versailles. Again, arbitration agreements of the kind defined above between Germany and all those States which were ready on their side to accept such agreements could be combined with such a pact. To the examples set out above still other possibilities of solution could be linked. Furthermore, the ideas on which these examples

are based could be combined in different ways. Again, it would be worth considering whether it would not be advisable to so draft the Security Pact that it would prepare the way for a world convention to include all States along the lines of the "Protocole pour le Règlement pacifique de Différends internationaux" drawn up by the League of Nations, and that, in case such a world convention was achieved, it could be absorbed by it or worked into it.

APPENDIX V

THE LOCARNO AGREEMENTS

(OCTOBER 16, 1925)

FINAL PROTOCOL OF THE LOCARNO CONFERENCE

THE representatives of the German, Belgian, British, French, Italian, Polish and Czecho-Slovak Governments, who have met at Locarno from October 5 to 16, 1925, in order to seek by common agreement means for preserving their respective nations from the scourge of war and for providing for the peaceful settlement of disputes of every nature which might eventually arise between them,

HAVE given their approval to the draft treaties and conventions which respectively affect them, and which, framed in the course of the present conference, are mutually interdependent :

TREATY between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy.

ARBITRATION Convention between Germany and Belgium.

ARBITRATION Convention between Germany and France.

ARBITRATION Treaty between Germany and Poland.

ARBITRATION Treaty between Germany and Czecho-Slovakia.

THESE instruments, hereby initialled *ne varietur*, will bear to-day's date, the representatives of the interested parties agreeing to meet in London on December 1 next, to proceed during the course of a single meeting to the formality of the signature of the instruments which affect them.

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs of France states that as a result of the draft arbitration treaties mentioned above, France, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia have also concluded at Locarno draft agreements in order reciprocally to assure to themselves the benefit of the said treaties. These agreements will be duly deposited at the League of Nations, but M. Briand holds copies forthwith at the disposal of the Powers represented here.

THE Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain proposes that, in reply to certain requests for explanations concerning Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations presented by the Chancellor and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Germany, a letter,

of which the draft is similarly attached, should be addressed to them at the same time as the formality of signature of the above-mentioned instruments takes place. This proposal is agreed to.

THE representatives of the Governments represented here declare their firm conviction that the entry into force of these treaties and conventions will contribute greatly to bring about a moral relaxation of the tension between nations, that it will help powerfully towards the solution of many political or economic problems in accordance with the interests and sentiments of peoples, and that, in strengthening peace and security in Europe, it will hasten on effectively the disarmament provided for in Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

THEY undertake to give their sincere co-operation to the work relating to disarmament already undertaken by the League of Nations, and to seek the realisation thereof in a general agreement.
DONE at Locarno, October 16, 1925.

LUTHER.
STRESEMANN.
EMILE VANDERVELDE.
ARL BRIAND.
AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.
BENITO MUSSOLINI.
AL. SKRZYŃSKI.
EDUARD BENEŠ.

ANNEX A. TREATY OF MUTUAL GUARANTEE BETWEEN GERMANY, BELGIUM, FRANCE, GREAT BRITAIN AND ITALY

(Translation.)

THE President of the German Reich, His Majesty the King of the Belgians, the President of the French Republic, His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, His Majesty the King of Italy ;

ANXIOUS to satisfy the desire for security and protection which animates the peoples upon whom fell the scourge of the war of 1914-1918 ;

TAKING note of the abrogation of the treaties for the neutralisation of Belgium, and conscious of the necessity of ensuring peace in the area which has so frequently been the scene of European conflicts ;

ANIMATED also with the sincere desire of giving to all the signatory Powers concerned supplementary guarantees within the framework of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the treaties in force between them ;
 HAVE determined to conclude a treaty with these objects, and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries :

The President of the German Reich :

DR. HANS LUTHER, Chancellor of the Reich ;
 DR. GUSTAV STRESEMANN, Minister of Foreign Affairs ;

His Majesty the King of the Belgians :

M. EMILE VANDERVELDE, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The President of the French Republic :

M. ARISTIDE BRIAND, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India :

THE Right Honourable Stanley Baldwin, M.P., First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister ;
 THE Right Honourable Joseph Austen Chamberlain, M.P., Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

His Majesty the King of Italy :

THE Honourable Vittorio Scialoja, Senator of the Kingdom ;

WHO, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows :

ARTICLE I

THE high contracting parties collectively and severally guarantee, in the manner provided in the following articles, the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* resulting from the frontiers between Germany and Belgium and between Germany and France and the inviolability of the said frontiers as fixed by or in pursuance of the Treaty of Peace signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919, and also the observance of the stipulations of Articles 42 and 43 of the said treaty concerning the demilitarised zone.

ARTICLE 2

GERMANY and Belgium, and also Germany and France, mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other.

THIS stipulation shall not, however, apply in the case of—

1. THE exercise of the right of legitimate defence, that is to say, resistance to a violation of the undertaking contained in the previous paragraph or to a flagrant breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the said Treaty of Versailles, if such breach constitutes an unprovoked act of aggression and by reason of the assembly of armed forces in the demilitarised zone immediate action is necessary.
2. ACTION in pursuance of Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.
3. ACTION as the result of a decision taken by the Assembly or by the Council of the League of Nations or in pursuance of Article 15, paragraph 7, of the Covenant of the League of Nations, provided that in this last event the action is directed against a State which was the first to attack.

ARTICLE 3

IN view of the undertakings entered into in Article 2 of the present treaty, Germany and Belgium and Germany and France undertake to settle by peaceful means and in the manner laid down herein all questions of every kind which may arise between them and which it may not be possible to settle by the normal methods of diplomacy : ANY question with regard to which the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights shall be submitted to judicial decision, and the parties undertake to comply with such decision.

ALL other questions shall be submitted to a conciliation commission. If the proposals of this commission are not accepted by the two parties, the question shall be brought before the Council of the League of Nations, which will deal with it in accordance with Article 15 of the Covenant of the League.

THE detailed arrangements for effecting such peaceful settlement are the subject of special agreements signed this day.

ARTICLE 4

1. IF one of the high contracting parties alleges that a violation of Article 2 of the present treaty or a breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles has been or is being committed, it shall bring the question at once before the Council of the League of Nations.
2. As soon as the Council of the League of Nations is satisfied that

such violation or breach has been committed, it will notify its finding without delay to the Powers signatory of the present treaty, who severally agree that in such case they will each of them come immediately to the assistance of the Power against whom the act complained of is directed.

3. IN case of a flagrant violation of Article 2 of the present treaty or of a flagrant breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles by one of the high contracting parties, each of the other contracting parties hereby undertakes immediately to come to the help of the party against whom such a violation or breach has been directed as soon as the said Power has been able to satisfy itself that this violation constitutes an unprovoked act of aggression and that by reason either of the crossing of the frontier or of the outbreak of hostilities or of the assembly of armed forces in the demilitarised zone immediate action is necessary. Nevertheless, the Council of the League of Nations, which will be seized of the question in accordance with the first paragraph of this article, will issue its findings, and the high contracting parties undertake to act in accordance with the recommendations of the Council provided that they are concurred in by all the members other than the representatives of the parties which have engaged in hostilities.

ARTICLE 5

THE provisions of Article 3 of the present treaty are placed under the guarantee of the high contracting parties as provided by the following stipulations :

IF one of the Powers referred to in Article 3 refuses to submit a dispute to peaceful settlement or to comply with an arbitral or judicial decision and commits a violation of Article 2 of the present treaty or a breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles, the provisions of Article 4 shall apply.

WHERE one of the Powers referred to in Article 3 without committing a violation of Article 2 of the present treaty or a breach of Articles 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles, refuses to submit a dispute to peaceful settlement or to comply with an arbitral or judicial decision, the other party shall bring the matter before the Council of the League of Nations, and the Council shall propose what steps shall be taken ; the high contracting parties shall comply with these proposals.

ARTICLE 6

THE provisions of the present treaty do not affect the rights and obligations of the high contracting parties under the Treaty of Versailles or under arrangements supplementary thereto, including the agreements signed in London on August 30, 1924.

ARTICLE 7

THE present treaty, which is designed to ensure the maintenance of peace, and is in conformity with the Covenant of the League of Nations, shall not be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League to take whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world.

ARTICLE 8

THE present treaty shall be registered at the League of Nations in accordance with the Covenant of the League. It shall remain in force until the Council, acting on a request of one or other of the high contracting parties notified to the other signatory Powers three months in advance, and voting at least by a two-thirds' majority, decides that the League of Nations ensures sufficient protection to the high contracting parties; the treaty shall cease to have effect on the expiration of a period of one year from such decision.

ARTICLE 9

THE present treaty shall impose no obligation upon any of the British dominions, or upon India, unless the Government of such dominion, or of India, signifies its acceptance thereof.

ARTICLE 10

THE present treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be deposited at Geneva in the archives of the League of Nations as soon as possible.

IT shall enter into force as soon as all the ratifications have been deposited and Germany has become a member of the League of Nations.

THE present treaty, done in a single copy, will be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations, and the Secretary-General will be requested to transmit certified copies to each of the high contracting parties.

IN faith whereof the above-mentioned plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

DONE at Locarno, October 16, 1925.

LUTHER.

STRESEMANN.

EMILE VANDERVELDE.

A. BRIAND.

AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

BENITO MUSSOLINI.

APPENDIX VI

TURCO-SOVIET TREATY, SIGNED IN PARIS DECEMBER 17, 1925

THE Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Turkish Republics, recognising that in the interest of both parties the conditions conducive to the strengthening of normal relations and sincere friendship between the two countries should be defined, have appointed for this purpose M. George Tchitcherin (People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.), and Tewfik Rushdi Bey (Minister for Foreign Affairs in Turkey), and have concluded the following agreement.

ARTICLE I

IN the event of a military movement against one of the contracting parties on the part of one or several other Powers, the second contracting party is bound to remain neutral with regard to the first. (*Note.*—The term "military movement" should not include military manœuvres, as not being injurious to the other side.)

ARTICLE 2

EACH of the contracting parties binds itself to abstain from any attack against the other; likewise it binds itself not to take part in any alliance or agreement with one or several Powers directed against the military or naval safety of the other contracting party. Moreover, each of the contracting parties binds itself not to take part in any hostile attack of one or several Powers directed against the other contracting party.

ARTICLE 3

THE present Treaty enters into force from the date of its ratification, and will be valid for three years, after which the Treaty will be recognised as being automatically extended for another year, unless one of the contracting parties informs the other six months before the expiration of the term of its desire to end it.

APPENDIX VII

TREATY¹ OF GUARANTEE BETWEEN POLAND AND ROUMANIA, SIGNED AT BUCHA- REST MARCH 26, 1926

French official text communicated by the Permanent Delegates of Roumania and Poland accredited to the League of Nations. The registration of this Treaty took place March 7, 1927.

(Translation.)

THE PRESIDENT OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC and HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF ROUMANIA, noting with satisfaction the consolidation of the guarantees for the general peace of Europe, and anxious to satisfy the desire for peace by which the peoples are animated, desirous of seeing their country spared from war, and animated also with the sincere desire of giving to their peoples supplementary guarantees within the framework of the Covenant of the League of Nations and of the treaties of which they are signatories, have determined to conclude a Treaty with this object, and have agreed as follows :

ARTICLE 1

POLAND and Roumania undertake each to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of the other.

ARTICLE 2

IN the event of Poland or Roumania, contrary to the undertakings imposed by Articles 12, 13 and 15 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, being attacked without provocation, Poland and reciprocally Roumania, acting in application of Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, undertake to lend each other immediately aid and assistance.

IN the event of the Council of the League of Nations, when dealing with a question brought before it in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations, being unable to secure the acceptance of its report by all its Members other than the representatives of the Parties to the dispute, and in the event of Poland or Roumania being attacked without provocation, Poland or reciprocally Roumania, acting in application of Article 15, paragraph 7, of

¹ THE exchange of ratifications took place at Warsaw, February 9, 1927.

the Covenant of the League of Nations, will immediately lend aid and assistance to the other country.

SHOULD a dispute of the kind provided for in Article 17 of the Covenant of the League of Nations arise, and Poland or Roumania be attacked without provocation, Poland and reciprocally Roumania undertake to lend each other immediately aid and assistance.

THE details of application of the above provisions shall be settled by technical agreements.

ARTICLE 3

IF, in spite of their efforts to maintain peace, the two States are compelled to enter on a defensive war under the terms of Articles 1 and 2, each undertakes not to negotiate or conclude an armistice or a peace without the participation of the other State.

ARTICLE 4

IN order to co-ordinate their efforts to maintain peace, both Governments undertake to consult together on such questions of foreign policy as concern both Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE 5

NEITHER of the High Contracting Parties shall be at liberty to conclude an alliance with a third Power without having previously consulted the other Party.

ALLIANCES with a view to the maintenance of treaties already signed jointly by both Poland and Roumania are excepted from this provision.

SUCH alliances must, however, be notified.

ARTICLE 6

THE High Contracting Parties undertake to submit all disputes which may arise between them, or which it may not have been possible to settle by the ordinary methods of diplomacy, to conciliation or arbitration. The details of this procedure of pacific settlement shall be laid down in a special convention to be concluded as soon as possible.

ARTICLE 7

THE present Treaty shall remain in force for five years from the date of its signature, but either of the two Governments shall be entitled to denounce it after two years, upon giving six months' notice.

ARTICLE 8

THE present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Warsaw as soon as possible.

IN faith whereof the Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and have thereto affixed their seals.

DONE at Bucharest, in duplicate, the twenty-sixth day of March, One thousand nine hundred and twenty-six.

(L.S.) (Signed) J. WIELOWIEYSKI.

(L.S.) (Signed) I. G. DUCA.

PROTOCOL

THE Convention of Defensive Alliance which expires on April 3, 1926, being recognised to have had results beneficial to the cause of peace, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, holding full powers, found in good and due form, from the President of the Polish Republic and from His Majesty the King of Roumania, respectively, have agreed to conclude a Treaty of Guarantee for a further period of five years. THE present Protocol shall be communicated to the League of Nations (Covenant of the League of Nations).

THE present Protocol shall be ratified at the same time as the Treaty, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at Warsaw as soon as possible.

IN faith whereof the Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Protocol and have thereto affixed their seals.

DONE at Bucharest, in duplicate, the twenty-sixth day of March, One thousand nine hundred and twenty-six.

(Signed) J. WIELOWIEYSKI

(Signed) I. G. DUCA

APPENDIX VIII

TREATY BETWEEN GERMANY AND RUSSIA FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF QUESTIONS ARISING OUT OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES — RAPALLO, APRIL 16, 1922

[*Ratifications exchanged at Berlin, January 31, 1923*]

(*Translation.*)

THE German Government, represented by Dr. Walter Rathenau, Minister of the Reich, and the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, represented by Chicherin, Commissary of the People, have agreed to the following :

ARTICLE I

THE two Governments agree that the settlement between the German Reich and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic of questions arising from the time when a state of war existed between Germany and Russia shall be effected on the following basis :

(a) THE German Reich and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic renounce mutually all compensation in respect of the costs of the war and of war losses, that is, all losses incurred by them and their nationals in the war areas through military measures, including requisitions made in enemy country. Both parties also renounce all compensation in respect of civilian losses, caused to nationals of one party by the so-called exceptional war legislation or by compulsory measures taken by State Departments on the other side.

(b) THE public and private legal relations between the two States which were affected by the state of war, including the question of merchant ships captured by the other party, will be settled on a basis of reciprocity.

(c) GERMANY and Russia mutually renounce all compensation in respect of costs incurred on both sides for prisoners of war. The German Government also renounces repayment of the sums expended by it for soldiers of the Red Army interned in Germany. The Russian Government, on its side, renounces repayment of the proceeds from the sales effected by Germany of the army property brought into Germany by these interned Russians.

ARTICLE 2

GERMANY renounces all claims arising from the application up to the present of the laws and measures of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic to German nationals or their private rights and to the rights of the German Reich and States in regard to Russia, or from any measures taken by the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic or any of its organs against German nationals or their private rights, provided that the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic does not give satisfaction to like claims put forward by other States.

ARTICLE 3

DIPLOMATIC and consular relations will immediately be resumed between the German Reich and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. The reinstatement of consuls on both sides will be provided for in a separate agreement

ARTICLE 4

BOTH Governments agree further that with regard to the general legal status of nationals of the one party in the territory of the other party, and the general regulation of commercial and economic relations between the two countries, the principle of the most favoured nation shall apply. This principle shall not extend to the privileges or facilities granted by the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic to a Soviet Republic or any State which formerly formed part of the former Russian Empire.

ARTICLE 5

BOTH Governments will endeavour reciprocally to meet the economic needs of the other side in an accommodating spirit. In the event of a fundamental settlement of this question on an international basis, the said Governments will provide for a preliminary exchange of views. The German Government declares itself prepared in so far as possible to support the arrangements contemplated by private firms, of which it has recently been informed, and to facilitate the execution of these projects.

ARTICLE 6

ARTICLES 1 (b) and 4 shall come into force on ratification of this Treaty ; the other clauses shall take effect immediately.

DONE in two original texts at Rapallo, April 16, 1922.

(L.S.) RATHENAU.

(L.S.) CHICHERIN.

APPENDIX IX

ARTICLE XVI OF THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

“**S**HOULD any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.

“It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

“THE members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this article, in order to minimise the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are co-operating to protect the Covenants of the League.

“ANY Member of the League which has violated any Covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.”