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London,
Received, 23rd, May a.m. 1928.

Gaimudaijin, Tokio.

(4) After studying the wording of Article 1. of the United States' draft, His Majesty's Government do not think that its terms exclude action which a state may be forced to take in self-defence, for Kellogg has made it clear in the speech to which I have referred above that he regards the right of self-defence as inalienable, and His Majesty's Government are disposed to think that on this question no addition to the text is necessary.

(10). The language of Article 1. as to the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy renders it desirable that I should remind Your Excellency that there are certain regions of the world, the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety. His Majesty's Government have been at pains to make it clear in the past that interference with these regions cannot be suffered. Their protection against attack is to the British Empire a measure of self-defence. It must be clearly understood that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain accept the new treaty upon the distinct understanding

that

that it does not prejudice their freedom of action in this respect. The Government of the United States have comparable interests, any disregard of which by a foreign Power they have declared that they would regard as an unfriendly act. His Majesty's Government believe therefore that in defining their position, they are expressing the intention and meaning of the United States' Government.

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MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

The Suez Canal is to the British Empired exactly what the Panama

Austen Champeriam also compared the British reservations with the Monroe Doctrine. If the Monroe Doctrine applied only to Panama and Nicaragua this comparison would be valid, But the Monroe Panama and Nicaragua this comparison would be valid, But the Monroe Panama in the Monroe Pan would be yand, Due the monitored.

Doctrine is something quite different.

It is a unliateral declaration of policy against European imperialist penetration into Latin America. The effect of this Doctrino

ation of a doctring proclaimed by Power only is clearly impossi The Bues Canal is to the British Empire! exactly what the Panama Canal is and the Nicaragua Canal will be to the U.S.A. Nevertheless, the U.S.A., in signing the Pact for the Outlawry of War, have not found it necessary to make reservations on behalf of their special interests in Panama and in Nicaragua. But the British Government has made reservations on behalf of its special interests in Egypt. Not that Egypt has been specifically mentioned, but it is understood, and has not been denied, that Egypt is the region, or one of the regions, covered by the reservations made in the British reply to Mr. Kellogg's Note. Bir Austen Chamberlain also compared the British reservations with the Monroe Doctrine applied only to Panama and Nicaragua this comparison would be valid. But the Monroe Doctrine applied only to Panama and Nicaragua this comparison would be valid. But the Monroe Doctrine applied only to Panama and Nicaragua this comparison would be valid. But the Monroe Doctrine applied only to Panama and Nicaragua this comparison would be valid. But the Monroe Doctrine applied only to Panama and Nicaragua this comparison would be valid. But the Monroe Doctrine applied only to Panama and Nicaragua this comparison would be valid. But the Monroe Doctrine applied only to Panama and Nicaragua this comparison would be valid. But the Monroe local conferences or by the League rather than by any Pan-American

Congress,
Thus the mistake made in dragging
the Montoe Doctrine into the Covenant It is a unliateral declaration of policy against European imperialist penetration into Latin America. The effect of this Doctrine has been that the South American Republics have been able to develop freely and without interference from outside. None of these Republics would deny the beneficent protective power of the Monroe Doctrine in the past, although some of them do not accept it now that they are in no danger from interference by any European Power. The Doctrine in the past, although some of them do not accept it now that they are in no danger from interference by any European Power. The Doctrine is also growing obsolete, having almost fulfilled its great historic purpose. If it were to be abrogated formally by the U.S.A. there would be little or no change in the political status of Latin America. No European Power would proceed to annex Brazil or the Argentine. But in case there should be any doubt on this score it is just as well that the Doctrine should be upheld. It can be left to become superfluous as a thing that has achieved its own object. Formal abrogation is unnecessary.

But if it is to remain there should be no confusion with regard to its mean!

Thus the Monco Doctrine into the Covenant is lesing paid for heavily, But an even graver mistake was made in dragging the sing paid for heavily. But an even graver mistake was made in dragging the sing paid for heavily. But an even graver mistake was made in dragging the sing paid for heavily. But an even description of the Monroe Doctrine into the Covenant accompanying the British acceptance of the Dectrine into the covenant accompanying the British acceptance of the Dectrine into the covenant accompanying the British acceptance of the Dectrine into the covenant accompanying the British acceptance of the Dectrine into the reservations accompanying the British acceptance of the Dectrine into the reservations accompanying the British acceptance of the Dectrine into the reservations accompanying the British acceptance of the Dectrine into the Reservation own object. Formal abrogation is unnecessary.

But if it is to remain there should be no confusion with regard to its meaning. Such confusion there is in plenty, In the hope, presumably, that the League Covenant should appear palatable to the U.S.A., a reservation in favour of the Monroe Doctrine is embodied in the text of the Covenant itself. Thus what was a unilateral declaration has been universalised. The result is that several of the American States have felt compelled to remain outside the League. Thus Costa Rica, in a recent letter to the President of the League Council, has declared its inability to become a member of the League unless the meaning of the term Monroe Doctrine as used in article 21 Monroe Doctrine as used in article 21 Monroe Doctrine as seed in article 21 tuth in them, for to include Egypt in

a reservation to the Pact without consulting her is consistent neither with her dignity nor her sovereignty. It seems that the reply sent by the It seems that the reply sent by the U.S.A. was not unfavourable, but with the suppression of constitutional government in Egypt the matter has come to nothing. But it does nevertheless emphasise two things—that the present status of Egypt is, as Mr. W. H. Dawson pointed out in our columns recently, "a constant source of political and social unsettlement" and that there can he no British Monroe Doctrine. The real and the only Monroe Doctrine is an exclusively American affair. What the Old World American affair. What the Old World needs to cover special cases like Egypt is to bring them to the utmost extent possible under the jurisdiction of the League of Nations. That is the best ultimate guarantee in the present case, alike for our own larger interests and for the lesser interests of the other Powers, and the most statesmanlike part of Sir Austen Chamberlain's own recent proposals to Egypt was that opening the door, though but a little way, to a League solution.

Exceptions of the initial control of the property of the control of the initial control of

first part of the Commony. which had lasted disbut 40 minutes; was founded. Then Herri Stressmann slowly rose from his place, and walking round the conference, table, say down at the small table between the arms of the horseshoe on which lay the text of the Pact. One of the sceretaries of the Protocol handed Herr Stressmann the gold pen presented to Mr. Kellogs by the people of Havre, and he affixed his signature in the name of the German Republic. After Herr Stressmann had returned to his seat Mr. Kellogg advanced and signed on behalf of the United States.

The plenipotentiaries then followed in the alphabetical order of the countries they represented—M. Briand, on behalf of France, and Lord Cushendun, on behalf of Great Britain, followed imnediately by the representatives of the Dominions. The same procedure was adopted in each case, the pen being landed to and taken back from each plenipotentiary by one of the three sceretaries of the Protocol, who were at the table upon which the text lay, and on each occasion the act of signing was greeted by loud applause from the body of the room. During all this time the reflectors were ablaze, and, as the eyes got used to this unaccustomed glare, it was possible to study the expressions of the statesmen. M. Briand and Mr. Kellogg showed evident delight as they talked to each other and to the other plenipotentiaries that the scheme, of which they were the original inspirers, should have been brought successfully to fruition. Herr Stressmann was evidently conscious of the historic significance of his presence in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and of the nature of the great table as of men who were conscious of being instrumental in the conclusion of a treaty whose object was not merely national but aimed at ensuring the welfare and prosperity of humankind in general.

When the last signature had been affixed, M. Briand turned to the other plenipotentiaries with the gesture of one asking whether they had anything turther to add, and, receiving no affirmative roph

State banquet at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and afterwards attended a reception which for the eminence of the guests cannot have been equalled in Paris since the conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles.

LORD CUSHENDUN'S VIEW.

In a statement made after the ceremony of signing the Treaty, Lord Cushendun expressed the view that the Pact would suffer only if it were burdened with extravagant interpretations. Nobody, he said, imagined that by the signing of this Treaty war would be finally abolished, and if this were borne in mind people would not be subject to terrifibe disappointment on the first occasion on which some little minor war broke out. But the very significant and impressive demonstration that had ever been made of the world's earnest desire to maintain peace and avoid war. It was a recognition of the fact that by now we ought to have reached a stage in the world's history in which we could do without war either as an instrument

or manniar policy for in the sottlement of disputes. The state of the attitude of a freat Britain; which had been somewhat wrongly represented in many quarters. Lord Cushendun said the Britain of the had been in favour of the Pact from the very first, but it desired to be quite cortain as to the exact meaning of what it was asked to sign. In this respect it had received full satisfaction in the correspondence exchanged.

Discussing the ceremony, Lord Cushendun said that the presence of Herr Stressmann at the Quai d'Orsay, seated next to the French Foreign Minister, and signing the Pact with his former antagonists only ten years after the greatest war in history, had a significance which could not be lost upon the world. It was a twofold act of courage. Not only was Herr Stressmann the cattade by the highest motives of statesmanship and political courage, but in view of the state of his health it was an act of physical courage also.

Discussing the attitude of the United

motives of statesmanship and political courage, but in view of the state of nishealth it was an act of physical courage also.

Discussing the attitude of the United States towards the Pact, Lord Cushendundeclared that it was important that people should realize that nothing Mr. Kellogg had done or said in connexion with the initiation and completion of the Pact could be taken to imply any modification of the traditional American aloofness from European complications. The extent to which the United States participated in European affairs was a matter for themselves, and this was in no way modified by the provisions or circumstances of the Pact. M. Briand in his speech had made the point that the Pact was dedicated to the memory of the men who fell in the War. Lord Cushendun pointed out that alone of the signatories he had twice put his name to the Pact, once in his capacity as representative of the King of Horat Britain and the Donuinions which were not self-governing and again as representative of the King in his capacity of Emperor of India. In signing thus he had been reminded of the great contribution made by our Indian fellow-subjects, who in the War land borne their full share of sacrifice and casualties. No people, he declared, stood, to benefit from the Pact more than the people of India, whose country in the past had so often been subjected to devastation.

Earlier in the day M. Poincaré received the delegates, including Lord Cushendun, Count Uchida, M. Hymans, and Herr Stressmann, who remained with M. Poincaré for over an hour.

MR. COOLIDGE'S MESSAGE.

In celebration of the signing of the pact

THE TIMES 28 AUG 1928 Droud



GREAT CEREMONY IN PARIS.

M. BRIAND'S APPEAL.

A DEDICATION TO THE WAR DEAD.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

PARIS, Aug. 27.

A FILM OF THE SCENE.

Early in the afternoon the guests who had been invited to witness the ceremony of the signature began to arrive and take their places in the Salle de l'Horloge. Among the first comers were Mr. Myron T. Herrick, the United States Ambassador, who, accompanied by Mrs. Kellogg, took his place in the front row of chairs, facing

for the French Goyarment, the diplematic foliation of the French Goyarment, the diplematic felicis de viission, and their wives. At 2.55 M. P. Goincaré Leame in and their wives. At 2.55 M. P. Goincaré Leame in and friends. The scene was now ready for the entrance of the leading characters.

As the clock began to strike three a hush fell on the assembled company, and the plempotentiaries entered the room and took their seats round the table. Immediately the eight enormous reflectors which had been installed—four opposite the plempotentiaries and one in each window along the side of the room—flashed into action, and the room was illuminated by an almost blinding glare. For a moment nothing was to be heard but the whirr of the elemenatograph and "movietone" apparatus and the click of innumerable cameras.

M. Briand sat in the middle of the table, his back to the monumental chimney-piece surmounted by a vast clock and a marble figure, presumably of Truth, bearing a torch in her hand; on his right sat Herr Stresemann, on his left Mr. Kellogg. To the right of Herr Stresemann came M. Hymans (Belgium), Count Manzoni (Italy), Count Uchida Jopann), M. Zaleski (Poland), and M. Benesh (Czechoslovakia). To the left of Mr. Kellogg were Lord Cushendun (representing Great Britain, Northern Ireland, and those parts of the British Empire which are not represented at the League of Nations), Mr. McLachlan (Australia), Sir James Parr (New Zealand), Mr. J. S. Smit (South Africa), and Mr. Cosgrave (Irish Free State). As soon as sufficient time had been allowed for the scene to be photographed the reflectors were extinguished, and only a spat light was left turned on to M. Briand, who then roso to speak.

M. BRIAND'S SPEECH.

FARIS, AUG. 27.

The Pact for the renunciation of war as an instrument of policy was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the fifteen original signatories at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the Quai d'Orsay this afternoon. Short and simple as were the proceedings, the eremony was most impressive, and those who were present in the Salle de l'Horloge will not easily forget the occasion when the plenipotentiaries of the greatest Powers of the modern world "solemnly declared, in the names of their respective peoples; that they condemned recourse to war as o'clock, and by half-past 2 crowds had collected along the quai opposite the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to watch the arrival of the plenipotentiaries and to cheer them as they passed. The long and dignified Jaçade of the Ministry had been lavishly decorated with the colours of the signatory Powers, and on the roof futtered as many standards of other hands as the place would accommodate. Particularly noticeable were the black and white of Afghanistan and the red of Soviet Russia.

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