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GERMANY.

January 8, 1940.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 1.

[C 316/7/62]

Copy No. 036a

Viscount Halifax to Sir R. Campbell (Paris).

(No. 48.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 8, 1940.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 2603 of the 23rd October, 1939, regarding the war aims of His Majesty's Government and the French Government, I transmit to your Excellency herewith a copy of a memorandum containing the observations of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom on this question.

2. The enclosed memorandum was communicated to the French Ambassador on the 22nd December last for the information of the French Government. It was suggested to M. Corbin that, although there was no special urgency in the matter, it might be useful if arrangements could subsequently be made for a further general exchange of views on this question, not with a view to any immediate decision on any of the points at issue, but in order to ensure that the views of the two Governments were on the same general lines.

I am, &c.
HALIFAX.

Enclosure.

~~Draft~~ Reply to the French Government.

BEFORE receiving the memorandum of the French Government, His Majesty's Government had already given some preliminary consideration to the question of war aims. They had been prompted to consider this matter not only in order that some guidance might be given at a suitable opportunity to certain sections of British public opinion, but in order that the cause, in whose defence His Majesty's Government stood united with the French Government, might gain a wider and more intelligent support.

2. The cause for which the Allied Governments of France and Great Britain have taken up arms is to stop acts of aggression on the part of the German Government in the present and to ensure against their repetition in the future. Two wars imposed on Britain and France in a single generation by the action of German Governments, differing in outward complexion but inspired by the same aggressive and dominating spirit, are a solemn warning that this spirit, if it be not extinguished and laid to rest by the Germans themselves, must be rendered harmless by those whom it threatens.

3. His Majesty's Government are therefore in agreement with the French Government in desiring to find the surest and most enduring guarantees against any further repetition of German aggression. They are convinced that such guarantees can only be based on close and continued co-operation between the French Government and His Majesty's Government during the period which will follow after the defeat of Germany. That co-operation, which during the war will have covered economic as well as military and political problems, should be extended after the war has ended, and should, as His Majesty's Government would hope, be inspired by a common purpose and outlook on the machinery required to enable the nations of Europe to regain or maintain their liberties, and to strengthen their political, social, and economic structures.

4. To achieve this common purpose His Majesty's Government and the French Government must, unless a German Government can be found which is willing and able voluntarily to accept their terms, secure the defeat of Germany, and this, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, constitutes the primary war aim of the two Governments. It is only in the light of the circumstances

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