

1922.

NEW ZEALAND.

CONFERENCE ON THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS,

HELD AT WASHINGTON FROM THE 12TH NOVEMBER, 1921, TO THE 6TH FEBRUARY, 1922.

REPORT OF THE HON. SIR JOHN SALMOND, DELEGATE FOR THE
DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND.

Presented to both Houses of the General Assembly by Command of His Excellency.

COMMISSION.

GEORGE, R.I.

GEORGE, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, &c. To all and singular to whom these presents shall come: Greeting.

WHEREAS, for the better treating of and arranging certain matters which are now in discussion, or which may come into discussion, between Us and other Powers and States to be represented at the Conference which is shortly to assemble at Washington to consider the limitation of armaments and other questions of international importance, We have judged it expedient to invest a fit person with full power to conduct the said discussion on our part in respect of our Dominion of New Zealand: Know ye, therefore, that We, reposing especial trust and confidence in the wisdom, loyalty, diligence, and circumspection of our trusty and well-beloved Sir John William Salmond, Knight Bachelor, one of our Counsel learned in the Law, Judge of the Supreme Court of our said Dominion, have named, made, constituted, and appointed, as We do by these presents name, make, constitute, and appoint, him our undoubted Commissioner, Procurator, and Plenipotentiary in respect of our Dominion of New Zealand; giving to him all manner of power and authority to treat, adjust, and conclude with such Ministers, Commissioners, or Plenipotentiaries as may be vested with similar power and authority on the part of any Powers or States as aforesaid, any Treaties, Conventions, or Agreements that may tend to the attainment of the above-mentioned end, and to sign for Us, and in our name in respect of our Dominion of New Zealand, everything so agreed upon and concluded, and to do and transact all such other matters as may appertain thereto, in as ample manner and form, and with equal force and efficacy, as We ourselves could do if personally present; engaging and promising, upon our Royal word, that whatever things shall be so

transacted and concluded by our said Commissioner, Procurator, and Plenipotentiary in respect of our Dominion of New Zealand shall, subject if necessary to our approval and ratification, be agreed to, acknowledged, and accepted by Us in the fullest manner, and that We will never suffer, either in the whole or in part, any person whatsoever to infringe the same, or act contrary thereto, as far as it lies in our power.

In witness whereof we have caused the Great Seal of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to be affixed to these presents, which we have signed with our Royal Hand.

Given at our Court of Saint James, the twenty-fourth day of October, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, and in the twelfth year of our reign.

REPORT.

SIR,—

Wellington, 24th July, 1922.

I have the honour to submit the following report on the proceedings of the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, held at Washington from the 12th November, 1921, to the 6th February, 1922, which I attended as representing the Dominion of New Zealand.

At this Conference, which was held at the instance and upon the invitation of the American Government, nine Powers were represented—namely, the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, and China. These Powers were represented by the following plenipotentiary delegates:—

For the United States of America:—

The Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State.
 The Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, Senator.
 The Hon. Oscar W. Underwood, Senator.
 The Hon. Elihu Root.

For the British Empire:—

The Right Hon. Arthur James Balfour, Lord President of the Council.
 The Right Hon. Lord Lee of Fareham, First Lord of the Admiralty.
 The Right Hon. Sir Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador to the United States.

Canada:—

The Right Hon. Sir Robert Borden.

Australia:—

The Right Hon. George Foster Pearce, Australian Minister of Defence.

New Zealand:—

The Hon. Sir John Salmond, Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand.

India:—

The Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, Member of the Indian Council of State.

For France:—

M. Aristide Briand, President of the Council, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
 M. René Viviani, Deputy, former President of the Council.
 M. Albert Sarraut, Senator, Minister of the Colonies.
 M. Jules Jusserand, French Ambassador to the United States.

For Italy:—

Signor Carlo Schanzer, Senator.
 Signor Vittorio Rolandi Ricci, Italian Ambassador to the United States.
 Signor Luigi Albertini, Senator.

For Japan :—

Baron Tomosaburo Kato, Minister of the Navy.
 Baron Kijuro Shidihara, Japanese Ambassador to the United States.
 Prince Iyesato Tokugawa, President of the House of Peers.
 Mr. Masanao Hanihara, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

For Belgium :—

Baron de Cartier, Belgian Ambassador to the United States.

For the Netherlands :—

Jonkheer H. A. van Karnebeek, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
 Jonkheer F. Beelaerts van Blokland, Chief of the Political Division
 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
 Dr. E. Moresco, Vice-President of the Council of the Netherlands East
 Indies.
 Dr. J. C. A. Everwijn, Netherlands Minister to the United States.
 Jonkheer W. H. de Beaufort.

For Portugal :—

Viscount d'Alte, Portuguese Minister to the United States.
 Captain E. de Vasconcellos.

For China :—

Mr. Sao-Ke Alfred Sze, Chinese Minister to the United States.
 Mr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese Minister to the Court of St. James.
 Mr. Chung-Hui Wang, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of China.

The presence of those nine Powers and of no others is explained by the purpose of the Conference. This purpose was twofold. Primarily the Conference was summoned and held with the object of devising a scheme for the limitation of naval armaments. In this branch of the work of the Conference only the five great Powers took part—namely, the British Empire, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy. The Committee charged with the negotiation and preparation of the Naval Treaty consisted of the plenipotentiary delegates of those Powers alone. The Conference, however, was also held for a secondary, though related, purpose—namely, that of settling by international agreement certain problems, disputes, and difficulties relating to the Pacific and the Far East, and so facilitating the proposal for the limitation of naval armaments by the great Powers. For the purpose of this branch of the work of the Conference the other Powers which possessed territorial interests in the Pacific—namely, China, Belgium, Holland, and Portugal—were invited to send representatives. The Committee which dealt with these Pacific and Far Eastern questions consisted accordingly of representatives of the whole nine Powers.

The Conference continued for nearly three months—that is to say, from the 12th November, 1921, to the 6th February, 1922. Important agreements were come to on most of the questions which were discussed. These agreements were embodied partly in a series of formal treaties and partly in a series of resolutions relative to matters in respect of which formal treaties were not required. In addition to the work so done by the Conference itself, the occasion was made use of for the purpose of collateral negotiations on related matters between certain of the Powers there represented, and those negotiations resulted in certain additional treaties supplementing the actual work of the Conference itself. The most notable of those supplementary agreements are the Pacific Treaty between the British Empire, the United States, Japan, and France, and the Shantung Treaty between Japan and China.

The following is a list of the most important of the treaties and other international instruments which have resulted from the Washington Conference :—

- (1.) The Naval Treaty, between the five great Powers, for the limitation of naval armaments.
- (2.) A treaty between the five great Powers relative to the use of submarines and poison gas.
- (3.) The Pacific Treaty, between the British Empire, the United States of America, Japan, and France.
- (4.) A treaty between the nine Powers for the preservation of the independence and territorial and administrative integrity of China.
- (5.) A treaty between the nine Powers relative to the Customs tariff in China.

(6.) The Shantung Treaty, between China and Japan.

(7.) Resolutions :—

- (a.) Appointing a Commission to report on the necessity of the regulation by international law of new agencies of warfare :
- (b.) Establishing in China a Board of Reference to secure the due execution of certain provisions contained in the treaties with China :
- (c.) Establishing a Commission to report on the expediency of abolishing extra-territorial jurisdiction in China :
- (d.) For the abolition of foreign post-offices in China :
- (e.) Establishing a Commission to report on the expediency of withdrawing all foreign troops from China :
- (f.) Limiting and regulating the establishment of foreign radio-stations in China :
- (g.) Recommending the unification of Chinese railways into a single system under Chinese control :
- (h.) Recommending the reduction of Chinese military forces and expenditure :
- (i.) Providing for the publication of treaties and agreements already made or hereafter to be made between China and any other Power or the nationals of any other Power :
- (j.) Relative to the Chinese Eastern Railway.

The text of the foregoing treaties and resolutions, except the Shantung Treaty, is contained in the Appendix to this Report.

THE NAVAL TREATY.

The most interesting and important of all those manifold results of the Washington Conference is the Naval Treaty between the British Empire, the United States of America, Japan, France, and Italy. The Treaty had its origin in a definite and detailed scheme of reduction of naval armament, prepared by the United States Government and submitted to the Conference at its first public meeting by the Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes. The main and essential features of the American proposals were adopted by the Conference, and are embodied in the Treaty, with such modifications as discussion showed to be necessary for securing the consent of the Powers concerned.

The scheme of the Treaty is based on the distinction between capital ships and auxiliary ships. A capital ship (or, to use the older term, which is adopted in the French text of the Treaty, a "ship of the line"), means a battleship or a battle-cruiser. The term "auxiliary ship" includes light cruisers, submarines, destroyers, and aircraft-carriers. The capital ships of any Power may be conveniently termed collectively its "battle fleet," all its other ships-of-war being termed collectively its "auxiliary fleet."

The Treaty provides for a large and immediate reduction in the size of the battle fleet of each of the five great Powers. Each of those Powers is permitted to retain only certain named capital ships, and all the others are to be forthwith destroyed or otherwise rendered permanently unfit for service. The following tables indicate the composition of the battle fleet of each Power as reduced in accordance with the Treaty :—

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Name of Ship.	Tonnage.	Name of Ship.	Tonnage.	Name of Ship.	Tonnage.
Royal Sovereign ..	25,750	Queen Elizabeth ..	27,500	Repulse	26,500
Royal Oak	25,750	Warspite	27,500	Tiger	28,500
Revenge	25,750	Benbow	25,000	Thunderer	22,500
Resolution	25,750	Emperor of India ..	25,000	King George V ..	23,000
Ramillies	25,750	Iron Duke	25,000	Ajax	23,000
Malaya	27,500	Marlborough	25,000	Centurion	23,000
Valiant	27,500	Hood	41,200		
Barham	27,500	Renown	26,500	Total tonnage..	580,450

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Name of Ship.	Tonnage.	Name of Ship.	Tonnage.	Name of Ship.	Tonnage.
Maryland ..	32,600	Pennsylvania ..	31,400	Florida	21,825
California ..	32,300	Oklahoma	27,500	Utah	21,825
Tennessee ..	32,300	Nevada	27,500	North Dakota ..	20,000
Idaho	32,000	New York	27,000	Delaware	20,000
New Mexico ..	32,000	Texas	27,000		
Mississippi ..	32,000	Arkansas	26,400	Total tonnage ..	500,650
Arizona	31,400	Wyoming	26,000		

JAPAN.		FRANCE.		ITALY.	
Name of Ship.	Tonnage.	Name of Ship.	Tonnage.	Name of Ship.	Tonnage.
Mutsu	33,800	Bretagne	23,500	Andrea Doria ..	22,700
Nagato	33,800	Lorraine	23,500	Caio Duilio ..	22,700
Hiuga	31,260	Provence	23,500	Conte di Cavour ..	22,500
Ise	31,260	Paris	23,500	Guilio Cesare ..	22,500
Yamashiro ..	30,600	France	23,500	Leonardo da Vinci	22,500
Fu-so	30,600	Jean Bart	23,500	Dante Alighieri ..	19,500
Kirishima ..	27,500	Courbet	23,500	Roma	12,600
Haruna	27,500	Condorcet	18,890	Napoli	12,600
Hiyei	27,500	Diderot	18,890	Vittorio Emanuele	12,600
Kongo	27,500	Voltaire	18,890	Regina Elena ..	12,600
Total tonnage ..	301,320	Total tonnage ..	221,170	Total tonnage ..	182,800

Summarizing these lists, the reduced battle fleets of the five Powers are as follows:—

					Ships.	Tonnage.
British Empire ..	..	..	..	..	22	580,450
America .. ..	..	..	..	..	18	500,650
Japan .. ..	..	..	..	..	10	301,320
France .. ..	..	..	..	..	10	221,170
Italy .. ..	..	..	..	..	10	182,800
Totals .. ..	..	..	..	..	70	1,786,390

With certain exceptions all other capital ships, whether already built or in course of construction, are to be forthwith totally destroyed either by sinking them or by breaking them up. The exceptions are that the United States, the British Empire, and Japan may each convert two of their capital ships to non-combatant uses, and use another as a target for gunnery practice. The ships so retained, however, must be rendered permanently unfit for offensive purposes. The capital ships to be destroyed or otherwise eliminated from the battle fleet of the United States are thirty in number. This number includes fifteen new battleships and battle-cruisers which are still in process of construction, and on which the American Government has already spent no less than 332 million dollars. The total tonnage of these thirty ships is 845,740 tons.

The British ships to be destroyed or rendered unfit for battle are twenty in number, with a total tonnage of over 400,000 tons. These vessels include the battle-cruisers "Australia" and "New Zealand." That the "New Zealand" is thus doomed to destruction will be a matter of natural regret in the Dominion whose name she bears, and by the gift of whose Government and people she was added to the British Fleet. I understand that certain appropriate relics of this battle-cruiser are to be presented by the Admiralty to the New Zealand Government as a permanent memorial of her existence and achievements.

The Japanese battle fleet is to be reduced by eighteen ships, built or in the course of construction, with a total tonnage of over 400,000.

France and Italy destroy none of their ships, as their battle fleets do not exceed the prescribed ratio with that of the other Powers.

It was part of the original American scheme that no new capital ships were to be built by any of the five Powers for a period of ten years—the so-called “naval holiday.” The negotiations and discussions of the Conference, however, showed that this proposal required modification. There is substituted for it in the Treaty a definite scheme for the gradual replacement of the capital ships of each Power by the building of new ships at fixed dates.

Under this scheme the British Empire is permitted forthwith to build two new capital ships, but is bound on their completion to destroy four of her older ships—namely, the “King George V,” the “Ajax,” the “Centurion,” and the “Thunderer.” The British battle fleet will then consist of twenty ships, three of which—namely, the “Hood” and the two new vessels—will be the largest and most powerful ships-of-war in the world. Thereafter no new capital ships may be laid down by Great Britain until the year 1931, when a beginning may be made with the construction of two. Two more may be laid down in 1932, one in 1933, two in 1934, one in 1935, two in 1936, one in 1937, two in 1938, and two in 1939. As each of these new ships is completed, an equivalent tonnage of the older ships is to be destroyed, so that the aggregate tonnage of the British battle fleet shall at no time exceed the ratio fixed by the Treaty. On this scheme of progressive replacement the battle fleet of the British Empire in the year 1942 will consist of fifteen ships of an aggregate tonnage not exceeding 525,000 tons.

Similarly, America is permitted forthwith to complete two of the capital ships now under construction, but must immediately thereafter destroy the “Delaware” and the “North Dakota.” America must lay down no other capital ship until the year 1931. By a scheme of progressive replacement similar to that provided for in respect of the British Navy the American battle fleet will in the year 1942 consist of fifteen ships of an aggregate tonnage not exceeding 525,000 tons.

Japan is not permitted to lay down any new capital ship until the year 1931. She may then lay down one in every year, destroying an equivalent of her older tonnage, with the result that in 1942 the Japanese battle fleet will consist of nine ships of an aggregate tonnage not exceeding 315,000 tons.

France and Italy are not permitted to lay down any new capital ship until the year 1927. Thereafter they may lay down certain capital-ship tonnage in each year, destroying an equivalent of the older tonnage, so that the total tonnage of each of those Powers shall at no time exceed 175,000 tons. The number of ships to be represented by this total tonnage is left to the discretion of those Powers. They are at liberty either to build a small number of large vessels or a larger number of smaller vessels.

The final and permanent ratio thus established between the battle fleets of the five Powers on the completion of the scheme of replacement is as follows:—

					Ships.	Tonnage.
The British Empire..	..	..	..	..	15	525,000
The United States ..	..	..	..	..	15	525,000
Japan ..	..	..	..	..	9	315,000
France ..	..	..	..	..	..	175,000
Italy ..	..	..	..	..	..	175,000

No new capital ship is to have a tonnage exceeding 35,000 tons, or to carry any gun exceeding 16 inches in calibre. That is a very substantial reduction as compared with the size of the newest ships whose construction was planned before the Treaty.

In order to prevent evasion of those restrictions on the building of new capital ships the Treaty contains restrictions on the alteration or reconstruction of existing ships. No capital ship may be reconstructed except for the purpose of providing means of defence against attacks from aircraft and submarines. For this purpose any existing ship may be equipped with that under-water bulge or blister which is the latest scheme of protection against torpedoes or mines, provided that the tonnage of the ship is not thereby increased by more than 3,000 tons. Each ship may also be equipped with new armoured-deck protection against aircraft. No

alteration in side armour or in the size or number of big guns is permitted in respect of the existing battle fleets of the British Empire, the United States, or Japan, but the rule does not apply to France or Italy.

Such are the Treaty's main provisions with respect to the battle fleets of the five Powers. As to their auxiliary fleets, comprising light cruisers, submarines, destroyers, and aircraft-carriers, the American proposal for their corresponding reduction to a fixed ratio has not been found capable of adoption except in the single case of aircraft-carriers: An aircraft-carrier is a vessel whose tonnage exceeds 10,000 tons and which is exclusively designed for carrying on its decks the aircraft attached to the fleet. The Treaty imposes restrictions on the number, size, armament, and construction of such ships. The aggregate tonnage of aircraft-carriers shall not exceed in the case of the British Empire or in that of the United States 135,000 tons, or in the case of Japan 81,000 tons, or in the case of France or Italy 60,000 tons. No such vessel shall carry guns of a calibre exceeding 8 inches, or shall, with certain exceptions, exceed 27,000 tons.

As to cruisers (other than battle-cruisers—which are capital ships and subject to restriction accordingly), no such cruiser shall exceed 10,000 tons, or shall carry guns of a calibre exceeding 8 inches. The Treaty, however, imposes no limitation either on the number or on the aggregate tonnage of the cruiser fleet of any of the Powers.

As to destroyers and submarines, the Treaty contains no restrictions either in respect of their size, numbers, or aggregate tonnage. It was proposed by the British Delegation that the submarine should be abolished altogether and declared an illegal weapon of war. This proposal gave rise to a discussion which excited much public interest, and disclosed a wide divergence of opinion between the Powers concerned. The argument of the British Delegation, based on the experience of the late war, was that the possession of a fleet of submarines leads inevitably to a form of warfare against non-combatants which is inconsistent with the dictates of humanity. These arguments did not prevail at the Conference, but they made a considerable impression on public opinion, and it is not unreasonable to hope that at some future time, before the memory of the "Lusitania" has faded from the public mind, the total prohibition of submarine warfare may find a place in the law of nations. In the meantime, although the unrestricted building of submarines is still allowed, severe restrictions upon the use of such weapons have been imposed by another of the Washington treaties, to which reference is made later in this report.

On the failure of the British proposal to abolish the submarine, it was intimated by the British Delegation that so long as such weapons existed it was impossible for the British Empire to agree to any limitation upon the number of cruisers, destroyers, or other auxiliary craft available for anti-submarine warfare. The fact was disclosed in the course of this memorable debate that although the average number of German submarines operating at any one time in the neighbourhood of the coasts of Great Britain had not been more than nine or ten, it had been necessary for the British Government to maintain an average of not less than three thousand anti-submarine craft to meet the menace so created.

It is a matter for regret that it was not found possible to impose any limitation upon the construction or use of aircraft. The discovery of the art of flying and the terrible possibilities involved in its future development for the purposes of war constitute a menace to the cause of civilization and humanity. In particular it is to be observed that the progressive increase in the power of these aerial weapons is a growing danger to ships-of-war, and renders uncertain the future efficiency of those fleets to which the Naval Treaty relates. The Treaty, notwithstanding all its advantages, is open to the criticism that, while restricting the further development of the battleship, it leaves unrestricted the growth of the most formidable enemy which that ship may have to encounter in the future.

In order to safeguard the national security of the contracting Powers in view of the great reduction in their naval strength effected by this Treaty, it is further provided that within certain defined areas in the Pacific Ocean it shall be unlawful for the British Empire, the United States, or Japan to create new fortifications or naval bases. These Powers are also prohibited within the same area from

increasing the existing naval facilities for the repair and maintenance of naval forces, and from increasing coast defences. The purpose of this provision is to prevent any of these three Powers from diminishing, by the construction of such naval bases, fortifications, and other instrumentalities of naval warfare, the effective distance which separates that Power from the territories of the others.

This prohibition extends, in the case of the United States, to the whole of the present or future possessions of that Power in the Pacific Ocean, with the exception of the Hawaiian Islands (where the American Government already possesses a powerful naval base), and with the further exception of territories adjacent to the coasts of the United States, Alaska, and the Panama Canal, but not including the Aleutian Islands. In the case of the British Empire, the prohibition extends to Hong Kong and to all present and future British possessions in the Pacific Ocean east of the meridian of 110° east longitude, except (a) those adjacent to the coast of Canada, (b) the Commonwealth of Australia and its territories, and (c) New Zealand. The prohibition covers, therefore, the possessions of this Dominion—namely, the Cook Islands and Western Samoa. In the case of Samoa, a similar prohibition is already and independently imposed by the Samoan mandate.

The following supplementary restrictions are also imposed by the Treaty :—

- (1.) The contracting Powers will not permit any capital ship of a tonnage exceeding 35,000 or carrying any guns of a calibre in excess of 16 inches, or any cruiser of a tonnage exceeding 10,000 tons or carrying guns of a calibre exceeding 8 inches, to be built within their dominions for any other Power.
- (2.) The contracting Powers will not make any preparations in merchant ships in time of peace for the installation of warlike armaments and the conversion of such ships into vessels-of-war, other than the necessary stiffening of decks for the mounting of 6-inch guns.
- (3.) If a contracting Power is engaged in war, such Power will not use as part of its fleet any vessel-of-war which may be under construction within its territories for any other Power, or which may have been constructed within its jurisdiction for any other Power and is not yet delivered.
- (4.) No contracting Power will dispose by way of gift, sale, or otherwise of any vessel-of-war in such manner that it may become part of the navy of any foreign Power.

The Naval Treaty is to continue in force until two years' notice of intention to terminate the Treaty is given by any one of the five Powers to the others. No such notice, however, can be given before the 31st December, 1934. The result is that the Treaty cannot be determined until the 31st December, 1936, at the earliest. Within one year after notice of termination has been given by any Power, all of the five Powers must meet together in a new Conference. It may be hoped that the result of such a Conference will be the renewal of the Treaty, with such modifications as may be necessitated by change of conditions.

After the Treaty has been in force for eight years a Conference of all the five Powers is to be called together by the Government of the United States for the purpose of considering what modifications should be made by mutual consent in view of any technical or scientific developments in the practice of naval warfare. Independently of this Conference in eight years, any of the five Powers may require a Conference at any time for the amendment of the Treaty by mutual consent, if the requirements of the national security of that Power in respect of naval defence are in its opinion materially affected by any change of circumstances.

As to the effect upon the Naval Treaty of an outbreak of war in which one of the contracting Powers is engaged, it is provided that if in the opinion of that Power the naval defence of its national security is affected by the war, such Power may, by notice to the other contracting Powers, suspend its own obligations under the Treaty during the war. In that case the other Powers shall confer together as to temporary modifications of the Treaty as between themselves; and if no agreement can be arrived at, each non-combatant Power will be likewise at liberty to suspend its obligations. No such suspension, however, shall entitle any Power to add to its fleet any ship-of-war built or building within its territories for a foreign

Power, or to take back into its fighting fleet any capital ship destined for destruction by the Treaty. These provisions presumably apply not merely to war between a contracting and a non-contracting Power, but also to a war between two of the contracting Powers themselves.

Such are the chief provisions of a treaty which will hold an important place in the history of international relations. Its primary purpose and significance is financial. It is designed to put an end to the ruinous cost of competition in naval armaments. Even before the war this cost was serious, but since the war it has become intolerable. The experiences of the war, and particularly the lessons learned at the Battle of Jutland, have shown the need of very important and very expensive changes in naval architecture in order to give adequate protection against gun-fire, torpedoes, mines, and aerial bombs. To meet these new requirements the British Government was preparing, before the Washington Conference, to build four new battleships which would have been the most powerful vessels in the world. Each of these would have had a tonnage approaching 50,000 tons, and would have cost about £10,000,000. Similarly, the American Government was at the date of the Conference building no less than fifteen capital ships of the latest type; while Japan was building, or was ready to build, no less than fourteen of these formidable engines of destruction. No sooner are such ships built than they begin to grow obsolete by the advance of scientific invention and by the building of more powerful vessels by rival States, and this process of ruinous competitive expenditure goes on indefinitely. The Washington Treaty has put a happy end to it. The Powers have agreed that the competitive building of battle fleets in time of peace is to cease once for all. Their battle fleets are to be of a fixed size, and to bear an agreed proportion to each other. This agreed proportion might have been based on various considerations. It might have been based on the relative needs of the rival Powers for naval defence and naval strength. Such a scheme of limitation would doubtless have allowed a larger navy to Great Britain than to the United States. Alternatively, the agreed proportion might have been based on the relative financial capacities of the rival Powers. Such a scheme, having regard to the financial position created by the war, would have allowed a larger navy to the United States than to Great Britain. Neither of these principles was adopted, and the agreed proportion was based on an approximate estimate of the actual strength of the existing navies at the date of the Conference. The result is an agreement for the permanent equality of the battle fleets of the British Empire and the United States, while the battle fleet of Japan is equal to three-fifths of that scale.

As I have said, the primary importance and significance of the Naval Treaty is to be found in its financial aspect. It relates to times of peace and to expenditure in preparation for a time of war. It is not an agreement to preserve the peace, nor is it designed for that end. Nations are not prevented or even discouraged from going to war with each other by a mutual and proportionate reduction in the scale of their armaments. Nor would the Treaty, save in respect of certain minor details, have any continuing operation in the event of an outbreak of war. In such a case there is nothing in the Treaty to prevent each belligerent State from fighting at sea with all the instruments which its power and wealth place within its reach. The Treaty in no way limits the weapons with which States may fight and defend themselves; it merely limits the weapons which they may prepare for that purpose in time of peace.

Still less may the Treaty be properly regarded as a step towards total naval disarmament. No such impracticable idealism inspired the Washington Conference. The agreement of the great Powers to destroy a large part of their existing fleets and to impose strict limitations on the building of new ships-of-war is not a confession of wrongdoing or a promise of amendment. It has no ethical significance. The right and the duty of every State to make proper provision for its national safety by land and sea remain as undisputed and as imperative as before. The Washington Naval Treaty doubtless has behind it, more especially in the United States of America, a considerable volume of pacifist public opinion which regards that Treaty as a step towards the total repudiation of any such right or duty of national defence, and as a practical recognition of the wrongfulness of military and naval preparations in time of peace. It is not on any such ground as this,

however, that the Treaty is to be justified. It is based on the reasonable and practical consideration that the purposes of national defence are better served by an agreed scheme for the limitation of armaments in fixed proportions than by a scheme of unrestricted and ruinous competition in time of peace. The abolition of such competition protects the nations not only from an insensate waste of their financial resources, but also from that permanent risk of war which results from the temptation to strike before it is too late at the growing power of a dangerous enemy.

TREATY AS TO THE USE OF SUBMARINES AND POISONOUS GAS.

As supplementary to the Naval Treaty there was signed at Washington another Treaty relative to the use of submarines and poison gas. This Treaty was signed by the same five Powers that are parties to the Naval Treaty, but it contains an invitation to all other civilized Powers to signify their adherence and their consent to be bound by it.

This Treaty commences with a formal declaration of the existing rules of international law as to the capture and destruction of merchant ships. It declares, that is to say, that a merchant vessel must be ordered to submit to visit and search before it can be seized; that a merchant vessel must not be attacked unless it refuses to submit to visit and search after warning, or to proceed as directed after seizure; and that a merchant vessel must not be destroyed unless the passengers and crew have been first placed in safety. The Treaty then proceeds to declare that submarines are not, under any circumstances, exempt from these rules, and that if a submarine cannot capture a merchant vessel in conformity with these rules the existing law of nations requires it to desist from attack and to permit the merchant vessel to proceed unmolested. In other words, the Treaty expressly and emphatically disallows that plea of necessity by which the Germans in the late war sought to justify acts of barbarity which horrified the conscience of the civilized world. In no circumstances whatever is an unresisting merchant ship to be sunk by a submarine without warning, or before the crew and passengers have been placed in safety, even if the result of this rule is that the capture or destruction of that ship is rendered impossible.

The Treaty proceeds to provide a fitting penalty for the violation of the rules so declared. Article III is in the following terms: "The signatory Powers, desiring to ensure the enforcement of the humane rules of existing law declared by them with respect to attacks upon and the seizure and destruction of merchant ships, further declare that any person in the service of any Power who shall violate any of those rules, whether or not such person is under orders of a governmental superior, shall be deemed to have violated the laws of war, and shall be liable to trial and punishment as if for an act of piracy, and may be brought to trial before the civil or military authorities of any Power within the jurisdiction of which he may be found."

The Treaty having thus declared the existing rules of international law as already binding on all nations, and having thus provided a penalty for the breach of those rules, proceeds in the next place to establish as between the five Powers which are parties to the Treaty a new rule prohibiting altogether the use of submarines for attacks on merchant ships. In other words, those five Powers have agreed as between themselves that they will in future conduct naval operations against commerce by means of cruisers and other surface ships and not by means of submarines. Article IV is as follows:—

"The signatory Powers recognize the practical impossibility of using submarines as commerce-destroyers without violating, as they were violated in the recent war of 1914–1918, the requirements universally accepted by civilized nations for the protection of the lives of neutrals and non-combatants; and to the end that the prohibition of the use of submarines as commerce-destroyers shall be accepted as a part of the law of nations, they now accept that prohibition as henceforth binding as between themselves, and they invite other nations to adhere thereto."

The Treaty then proceeds to deal with the use of poison gas—a practice which originated in the late war, and which with the advance of scientific knowledge and

ingenuity may become a most formidable menace not only for armies and fleets, but for the civilian population of belligerent nations. Article V is in the following terms :—

“The use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous, and other gases, and all analogous liquids, materials, and devices, having been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilized world, and a prohibition of such use having been declared in treaties to which a majority of the civilized Powers are parties, the signatory Powers, to the end that this prohibition shall be universally accepted as a part of international law, binding alike on the conscience and practice of nations, declare their assent to such prohibition, agree to be bound thereby as between themselves, and invite all other civilized nations to adhere thereto.”

How far these or any other rules of warfare will prove adequate to restrain belligerent States from doing in the grim necessity of war whatever their interests may be thought to require, is a question to which no confident answer can be given. At all events, this is clear: that if any signatory or adherent Power violates these rules in any future war it will stand convicted before the civilized world as guilty of a grave breach not only of humanity but of public honour.

THE PACIFIC TREATY.

The Pacific Treaty was signed at Washington on the 13th December, 1921, by the plenipotentiaries of the British Empire, the United States of America, Japan, and France. Two other documents must be read together with it and as virtually forming part of it—namely, an explanatory declaration signed by the same plenipotentiaries on the same day, and an amending Treaty signed at Washington on the 6th February, 1922. The Pacific Treaty, though negotiated and executed during the sittings of the Conference, did not form any part of the business of the Conference. In this respect it was in the same position as the Shantung Treaty, between Japan and China. The subject-matter of those treaties was closely connected with the objects of the Conference, and the occasion was therefore a suitable one for the discussion and settlement of the questions involved.

The Pacific Treaty was intended as a substitute for that Anglo-Japanese Alliance which was last renewed at London on the 13th July, 1911. That Alliance had outlived the occasion and purpose to which it owed its origin, and it had become an object of some suspicion and dislike on the part of other Powers. The British Government, however, was naturally reluctant to sever that bond of alliance which had for twenty years of war and peace existed between Great Britain and Japan, and desired that the Alliance, if it could not be preserved in its original form, should be merged in some more comprehensive scheme of international co-operation. To this end the Pacific Treaty was formulated and signed at Washington.

The Treaty departs in two essential respects from the scheme of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. In the first place it includes not merely the British Empire and Japan, but also the United States of America and France. The Treaty relates to the islands of the Pacific, and has been made between the four chief Powers by which those islands are possessed. In the second place the Treaty, unlike the Alliance, imposes no obligation of military or naval action in support of any party thereto. It is a treaty of harmonious consultation and co-operation, not a treaty of armed alliance.

The Treaty relates to the territorial rights of the four contracting Powers in respect of the islands of the Pacific Ocean. It contains only two operative provisions. The first deals with disputes between any of the contracting parties themselves affecting those territorial rights. The second deals with disputes between one of the contracting Powers and any other Power relative to such rights. In the first case it is provided that the dispute shall be referred to a joint Conference of all the contracting Powers for consideration and adjustment. In the second case it is provided that all of the four Powers shall “communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken, jointly or separately, to meet the exigencies of the particular situation.” In other words, the essential meaning and purpose of the Treaty is that any dispute as to the insular territorial rights of any of the four Powers

within the Pacific Ocean, whether that dispute is with another of the four Powers or with an outside Power, is to be regarded as the common business of all of the four Powers, and settled by joint consultation and by such joint action as may be deemed expedient.

The expression used in the Treaty to define its territorial scope is the "insular possessions and insular dominions" of each of the four Powers "in the region of the Pacific Ocean." This includes, of course, Australia and New Zealand. It was originally intended to include also the mainland of Japan. After the signature of the Treaty, however, some public discussion arose as to this matter, and it became apparent that the Japanese Government desired the exclusion of its mainland, so that in the case of Japan, as in that of the other Powers, the Treaty should apply only to insular dependencies or possessions and not to the main territory of the State. In order to give effect to this desire a supplementary and amending Treaty was executed on the 6th February, 1922, whereby the Japanese mainland was excluded.

The Treaty includes all islands held under mandate, as well as territorial possessions in the strict sense. This, however, is subject to a reservation on the part of the American Government. The United States, not having ratified the Treaty of Versailles, has had no voice in the allocation of those mandates, and it is provided that the signature of the United States to the Pacific Treaty shall not be deemed to be an assent to the mandates or to prejudice any rights which America may possess as one of the Allied and Associated Powers in respect of the territories conquered from Germany. If America desires to raise any question as to the mandates, she remains at liberty to do so by way of diplomatic action in the ordinary course, notwithstanding the Pacific Treaty.

It is also provided that the obligation of the four Powers to submit disputes to a joint Conference shall not extend to "questions which according to the principles of international law lie exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the respective Powers." This means in effect that none of the Powers is under any obligation to submit to a Conference any controversy as to action taken by it within its own territory in the exercise of its own sovereignty, and not amounting to any infringement of the rights of any other Power.

The Pacific Treaty remains in force for ten years from the date of its ratification, and thereafter till it is terminated by a year's notice given by any of the contracting Powers.

TREATIES WITH RESPECT TO CHINA.

The remaining acts and deeds of the Washington Conference relate to China. They comprise three treaties—namely, the Shantung Treaty, between China and Japan; the Chinese Customs Treaty, between the nine Powers; and the Treaty of the nine Powers for the preservation of the territorial and administrative integrity and independence of China. As supplementary to those treaties, and for the purpose of giving full effect to them, a number of resolutions were passed relative to the action of the Powers in China. All of these treaties and resolutions had their origin and justification in the disturbed and disorganized condition of China, and the weakness of its central Government. By reason of these circumstances Chinese territory has for many years lain open as a field for the competitive activities of the other Powers in securing territorial and administrative rights and privileges, in violation of the independence and autonomy of the Chinese Government, and in infringement of the principle of equal opportunities for all nations in the trade and commerce of the Far East. The rivalries and jealousies so created constituted a menace to the harmony of the Powers, and it was one of the express purposes of the Washington Conference to put an end to them by placing China, so far as possible, in a secure position of autonomous independence, and freeing her from all claims and activities on the part of the other Powers which were inconsistent with the normal position of a sovereign State.

THE SHANTUNG TREATY.

The Shantung Treaty was negotiated directly between China and Japan outside the doors of the Conference, but in the presence of selected representatives of the American and British Delegations. The negotiations were protracted and difficult,

but were ultimately completely successful. In 1898 Germany had, by convention with China, obtained a ninety-nine years' lease of part of the Chinese Province of Shantung, including the Bay of Kiaochow, together with certain railway concessions. In 1914 Japan conquered the leased territory from Germany, and has ever since remained in occupation of it. By the Treaty of Versailles Germany renounced in favour of Japan all her rights in respect of this territory. The Chinese Government refused, however, to consent to this settlement, and declined accordingly to be a party to the Treaty of Versailles. The claim of China to the restoration of this territory has ever since remained a source of trouble in the Far East. By the Shantung Treaty which has been happily arranged at Washington this difficulty has been settled to the satisfaction of both parties. Japan surrenders, upon terms agreed upon, all her interests, both territorial and economic, in the German leased territory of Kiaochow. The Shantung Railway is restored to China on payment of the value of the Japanese interest therein. All Japanese troops are to be withdrawn from the district, and the territory is to be opened by China to the foreign trade of all nations.

THE CHINESE CUSTOMS TREATY.

The Chinese Customs Treaty is designed to increase the power and stability of the Chinese Government by permitting that Government to raise further Customs revenue. For many years the Chinese maritime Customs have been withdrawn by international agreement from the unrestricted authority of the Chinese Government. The tariff was fixed by agreement with the Western Powers, and the administration of the Customs laws was in part controlled by those Powers. The maintenance of this system is still deemed necessary, but provision is now made for such modification of the tariff as will substantially increase the financial resources of the Chinese Government.

TREATY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE TERRITORIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE INTEGRITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF CHINA.

The third and last Chinese Treaty is of a general and residuary character. By the first Article the Powers agree—

- “ (1.) To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China :
- “ (2.) To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government :
- “ (3.) To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China :
- “ (4.) To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects and citizens of friendly States, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States.”

By Article 2 the Powers agree not to enter into any treaty, arrangement, or understanding which would infringe or impair the principles so declared. By Article 3 the Powers agree that they will not seek, or support their nationals in seeking, any such monopolies or preferential rights in Chinese territory as would be inconsistent with the principle of equal opportunity for all nations. By Article 4 the Powers agree not to support any agreements by their nationals designed to create spheres of influence or territorial monopolies in China. By Article 5 China undertakes not to exercise or permit in respect of Chinese railways any discrimination between the commerce of one nation and that of another. Article 6 contains an undertaking by the Powers to respect China's neutrality in any future war. By Article 7 the Powers bind themselves to full and frank communication with each other as to all questions arising out of this Treaty. By Article 8 all other Powers are invited to adhere to the Treaty.

RESOLUTIONS RELATIVE TO CHINA.

There remain certain Resolutions relative to China which are not embodied in any formal Treaty. The first of these provides for the establishment by the Powers of a Board of Reference to which questions arising out of the last-mentioned Treaty shall be referred. The second Resolution appoints a Commission to consider and report upon the expediency of abolishing in China that system of extra-territorial jurisdiction which withdraws the subjects of foreign Powers from the local jurisdiction of the Chinese Courts. The third Resolution is in favour of the abandonment by the Powers of the present system by which foreign post-offices are maintained in China. The fourth Resolution is an undertaking by the foreign Powers to withdraw all foreign troops from Chinese territory so soon as the Chinese Government has made satisfactory provision for the protection of the lives and property of foreigners in China. A Commission is appointed to report upon the conditions in China in this respect, and to advise the Powers as to the action that may be properly taken. A fifth Resolution imposes restrictions on the establishment and use of radio-stations in Chinese territory by foreign Powers. A sixth recommends the unification of the whole railway-system of China under Chinese control. A seventh urges upon the Chinese Government the necessity of reducing the size and cost of the Chinese military forces. An eighth provides for the publication by all the Powers of all treaties or other agreements already made or to be hereafter made between themselves and the Chinese Government, and also for the publication of all contracts now in force or hereafter to be made between nationals of any Power and the Chinese Government which involve any concession, franchise, option, or preference with regard to railway-construction, mining, navigation, electrical communications, or other public works or public services, or for the sale of arms or ammunition, or which involve a lien upon any of the public revenues or properties of the Chinese Government. Two final Resolutions relate to the protection of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the responsibility of China towards the foreign stockholders and creditors of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company.

GENERAL.

Questions of interest and importance arise as to the constitutional and international significance of the representation of the oversea Dominions at the Washington Conference. Suggestions have been made in certain quarters that by permitting the presence of the self-governing dependencies of the Crown at international conventions such as those of Versailles and Washington those Dominions have in some manner acquired a new international status—that they are now recognized for international purposes as independent States, although in their constitutional relations they remain portions of the British Empire. It is not easy to attach any definite meaning to this suggestion; but, whatever its precise significance may be, there seems no foundation for it in the facts as to the Washington Conference. The true significance of the presence of representatives of the Dominions at that Conference is not that those Dominions have acquired for either international or constitutional purposes any form of independent status, but that they have now been given a voice in the management of the international relations of the British Empire as a single, undivided unity—relations which were formerly within the exclusive control of the Government of Great Britain.

It is to be noticed that the invitation of the American Government to attend a Conference at Washington on the limitation of armaments and on Pacific questions was an invitation to the Government of Great Britain and to the other seven Powers—namely, France, Italy, Japan, China, Belgium, Holland, and Portugal. There was no invitation to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or any other Dominion of the Crown. The Government of every State so invited to Washington was left at liberty to send such and so many plenipotentiary delegates as it thought fit. The British Government thought fit to send seven, and to appoint four of these on the recommendation of the Governments of the overseas Dominions. These seven constituted jointly the British Delegation representing the British Empire, just as four plenipotentiaries represented France, and three represented Italy.

A copy of the Letters Patent under the Great Seal and the King's Sign-manual by which I was appointed a member of the British Delegation is prefixed to this Report. The appointment of Dominion delegates, though made on the nomination of the Dominion Governments, was made by the King himself, just as in the case of the delegates from Great Britain. The oversea possessions thus represented at Washington were Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, and South Africa. The last-named Dominion, however, was represented by Mr. Balfour, and not by a representative specially sent from South Africa. It will be noticed that each Washington Treaty is signed twice by Mr. Balfour—once in his general capacity as representing Great Britain or the Empire at large, and again in his special capacity as representing South Africa. It is to be observed that the list of oversea possessions so represented at Washington is not identical with the list of self-governing Dominions. Newfoundland is a self-governing Dominion, but was unrepresented. India, though represented, is not a self-governing Dominion. It would appear difficult, therefore, to base on such a system of representation any conclusion as to the acquisition of a new international status by the self-governing Dominions.

The procedure of the Washington Conference was in itself a clear indication that the Dominions were there not in their own right as quasi-independent States, but merely as constituent portions of an undivided Empire. When any question came to be voted upon for the purpose of ascertaining whether there existed that unanimous consent which was necessary for a treaty, the question was put to the British Delegation as a whole, and was answered "Yes" or "No" by Mr. Balfour as the head and spokesman of that Delegation, and on behalf of the British Empire as a whole. Although in the process of discussion and negotiation the representatives of the Dominions had and exercised the same right of audience as any other delegates, they never voted separately on behalf of their own Dominion on any question. The final decision in every case was that of the British Empire as an indivisible unity.

The position of the Dominions at Washington was essentially different from the position which they occupy at an assembly of the League of Nations. By the special and peculiar organization of that body, self-governing colonies are admitted as members in their own right as if they were independent States. Although by constitutional and international law such colonies are merely constituent portions of the Empire to which they belong, they are entitled by express agreement to be treated, so far as practicable, as if they were independent. But no such principle was recognized at Washington, or exists except for the special purposes of the League of Nations.

Although in its international aspect the British Delegation constituted a single body representing the Empire as an undivided State, it does not follow that in respect of the constitution of that Delegation and the relations of its members towards each other all of those members possessed an equal status or held co-ordinate authority. This, indeed, was not the case. An examination of the Letters Patent will show that a Dominion delegate is appointed to act only in respect of his own Dominion and not in respect of the Empire as a whole. The authority committed to the delegates from Great Britain is not subject to any corresponding limitation. Mr. Balfour, Lord Lee, and Sir Auckland Geddes were appointed *simpliciter* as the King's plenipotentiaries for all the purposes of the Conference. Their authority was general with respect to the whole Empire, and was not limited to Great Britain or to such portions of the Empire as were not separately represented. The British Delegation, therefore, did not consist of seven plenipotentiaries possessed jointly of co-ordinate and general authority. It consisted of three such plenipotentiaries, with whom were associated the four Dominion representatives, each of whom had authority in respect of his own Dominion only. The legal significance of this distinction is, as I understand the matter, that the Dominion delegates were present at Washington for the purpose of being heard and consulted as to all matters there in issue concerning the Empire, and of approving and confirming on behalf of their own Dominions the decisions of the King's general plenipotentiaries, and of testifying such approval and confirmation by signing on behalf of their own Dominions the treaties there negotiated.

The fullest opportunity was afforded to the Dominion delegates for the exercise of this right of audience and consultation, not merely by their presence at the plenary and public sessions of the Conference itself, and by their presence as members of the several committees in which the detailed negotiations proceeded, but also by the practice of holding repeated meetings of all the members of the British Delegation itself. At these meetings, of which there were no less than twenty-five during the period of the Conference, the Delegation associated with itself the chief technical advisers of the British Government. Full and free discussion took place as to all questions which had come or were likely to come before the Conference, and decisions were arrived at as to the policy to be adopted on behalf of the Empire at meetings of the Conference and of its committees.

These internal negotiations and discussions of the British Delegation proceeded throughout with the utmost harmony, and with the most ungrudging and courteous recognition on the part of the delegates from Great Britain of the right of the Dominion representatives to participate in the international policy of the Empire. No question ever arose on which it was found impossible to secure ultimate unanimity of decision within the British Delegation. If unfortunately it had been otherwise, and if any Dominion delegate, either of his own motion or under the instructions of his Government, had found himself unable to agree to some proposal which commended itself to the Delegation, it would then have been necessary for His Majesty's general plenipotentiaries from Great Britain to determine in their own discretion the action to be taken. If they were of opinion that the matter in dispute was of such minor importance, or related so exclusively to the Dominion itself, that the views of that Dominion ought to be acceded to for the sake of unanimity, this result could have been attained either by a modification of the terms of the proposed treaty or by excluding the dissentient Dominion from its operation unless and until it chose through its Government or Parliament to give its subsequent adherence. If, on the other hand, it was considered that the matter was of such general importance that dissent on the part of a Dominion should be disregarded in the interests of the whole Empire, it would have been within the authority of the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain to assent to the treaty on behalf of the Empire as a whole, without regard to such dissent. The fact that the delegate of one of the British Dominions had failed to sign the treaty on behalf of that Dominion would have had no effect on the international operation and obligation of the treaty. Any difficulty so unfortunately resulting would have been a matter for negotiation and settlement within the borders of the Empire itself, but would have in no way affected the external relations between the Empire and the other contracting Powers.

No legislation is required in New Zealand for the purpose of giving effect to the Washington Treaties or Resolutions. The only legislative action required is that of the Imperial Parliament, which will presumably find it expedient to legislate as to the building of ships-of-war for foreign Powers, and as to the criminal liability of persons guilty of violating the rules laid down at Washington for submarine warfare. Legislation as to the first of these matters is needless in New Zealand, and legislation on the second would be beyond the competency of a colonial Legislature as being extra-territorial in its operation.

The Washington Treaties, like all others which are negotiated by plenipotentiaries, come into force only on ratification. The ratification required by the constitutional law of the British Empire is that of His Majesty. No action in New Zealand is legally required. In view, however, of the direct participation of New Zealand in the negotiation and execution of those treaties, it may well be thought expedient that the treaties should be submitted to both Houses of the New Zealand Legislature in order that resolutions may be passed approving of their ratification by His Majesty.

I desire to add that on Armistice Day, immediately before the opening of the Conference, I had the privilege of attending, as the representative of this Dominion, the stately and moving ceremony of the burial at Arlington of America's "Unknown Soldier." On the preceding day at the Capitol, where his body lay in state, I attended along with the representatives of many foreign Governments, and laid a wreath upon his coffin in the name and on behalf of the people and Government of New Zealand.

While in Washington I had the advantage of the presence and services of Mr. E. O. Mousley as my official secretary, and I desire to acknowledge the valuable assistance which I obtained from him. The Dominion secretaries worked in conjunction with the British Secretariat under the control of Sir Maurice Hankey, and Mr. Mousley's expert knowledge of constitutional and international matters made him a very useful member of that body.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,
Your obedient servant,
JOHN W. SALMOND.

The Right Hon. W. F. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand.

APPENDIX.

TREATIES.

I. Treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan for the Limitation of Naval Armament.

Signed at Washington, 6th February, 1922.

THE United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, desiring to contribute to the maintenance of the general peace and to reduce the burdens of competition in armament, have resolved, with a view to accomplishing these purposes, to conclude a Treaty to limit their respective naval armament, and to that end have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries—

The President of the United States of America :

Charles Evans Hughes,	} Citizens of the United States :
Henry Cabot Lodge,	
Oscar W. Underwood,	
Elihu Root,	

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 Arthur James Balfour, O.M., M.P., Lord President of His Privy Council :

The Right Honourable Baron Lee of Fareham, G.B.E., K.C.B., First Lord of His Admiralty :

The Right Honourable Sir Auckland Campbell Geddes, K.C.B., His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America :

And

For the Dominion of Canada :

The Right Honourable Sir Robert Laird Borden, G.C.M.G., K.C. :

For the Commonwealth of Australia :

Senator the Right Honourable George Foster Pearce, Minister for Home and Territories :

For the Dominion of New Zealand :

The Honourable Sir John William Salmond, K.C., Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand :

For the Union of South Africa :

The Right Honourable Arthur James Balfour, O.M., M.P. :

For India :

The Right Honourable Valingman Sankaranarayana Srinivasa Sastri, Member of the Indian Council of State :

The President of the French Republic :

Mr. Albert Sarraut, Deputy, Minister of the Colonies :

Mr. Jules J. Jusserand, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, Grand Cross of the National Order of the Legion of Honour :

His Majesty the King of Italy :

The Honourable Carlo Schanzer, Senator of the Kingdom :

The Honourable Vittorio Rolandi Ricci, Senator of the Kingdom, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Washington :

The Honourable Luigi Albertini, Senator of the Kingdom :

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan :

Baron Tomosaburo Kato, Minister for the Navy, Junii, a member of the First Class of the Imperial Order of the Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun with the Paulownia Flower :

Baron Kijuro Shidehara, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Washington, Joshii, a member of the First Class of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun :

Mr. Masanao Hanihara, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Jushii, a member of the Second Class of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun :

Who, having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows :—

CHAPTER I.—GENERAL PROVISIONS RELATING TO THE LIMITATION OF NAVAL ARMAMENT.

ARTICLE I.

The contracting Powers agree to limit their respective naval armament as provided in the present Treaty.

ARTICLE II.

The contracting Powers may retain respectively the capital ships which are specified in Chapter II, Part 1. On the coming into force of the present Treaty, but subject to the following provisions of this Article, all other capital ships, built or building, of the United States, the British Empire, and Japan shall be disposed of as prescribed in Chapter II, Part 2.

In addition to the capital ships specified in Chapter II, Part 1, the United States may complete and retain two ships of the "West Virginia" class now under construction. On the completion of these two ships the "North Dakota" and "Delaware" shall be disposed of as prescribed in Chapter II, Part 2.

The British Empire may, in accordance with the replacement table in Chapter II, Part 3, construct two new capital ships not exceeding 35,000 tons (35,560 metric tons) standard displacement each. On the completion of the said two ships the "Thunderer," "King George V," "Ajax," and "Centurion" shall be disposed of as prescribed in Chapter II, Part 2.

ARTICLE III.

Subject to the provisions of Article II, the contracting Powers shall abandon their respective capital-ship-building programmes, and no new capital ships shall be constructed or acquired by any of the contracting Powers except replacement tonnage, which may be constructed or acquired as specified in Chapter II, Part 3.

Ships which are replaced in accordance with Chapter II, Part 3, shall be disposed of as prescribed in Part 2 of that chapter.

ARTICLE IV.

The total capital-ship-replacement tonnage of each of the contracting Powers shall not exceed in standard displacement—for the United States, 525,000 tons (533,400 metric tons); for the British Empire, 525,000 tons (533,400 metric tons); for France, 175,000 tons (177,800 metric tons); for Italy, 175,000 tons (177,800 metric tons); for Japan, 315,000 tons (320,040 metric tons).

ARTICLE V.

No capital ship exceeding 35,000 tons (35,560 metric tons) standard displacement shall be acquired by, or constructed by, for, or within the jurisdiction of, any of the contracting Powers.

ARTICLE VI.

No capital ship of any of the contracting Powers shall carry a gun with a calibre in excess of 16 inches (406 millimetres).

ARTICLE VII.

The total tonnage for aircraft-carriers of each of the contracting Powers shall not exceed in standard displacement—for the United States, 135,000 tons (137,160 metric tons); for the British Empire, 135,000 tons (137,160 metric tons); for France, 60,000 tons (60,960 metric tons); for Italy, 60,000 tons (60,960 metric tons); for Japan, 81,000 tons (82,296 metric tons).

ARTICLE VIII.

The replacement of aircraft-carriers shall be effected only as prescribed in Chapter II, Part 3; provided, however, that all aircraft-carrier tonnage in existence or building on the 12th November, 1921, shall be considered experimental, and may be replaced, within the total tonnage limit prescribed in Article VII, without regard to its age.

ARTICLE IX.

No aircraft-carrier exceeding 27,000 tons (27,432 metric tons) standard displacement shall be acquired by, or constructed by, for, or within the jurisdiction of, any of the contracting Powers.

However, any of the contracting Powers may, provided that its total tonnage allowance of aircraft-carriers is not thereby exceeded, build not more than two aircraft-carriers, each of a tonnage of not more than 33,000 tons (33,528 metric tons) standard displacement; and in order to effect economy any of the contracting Powers may use for this purpose any two of their ships, whether constructed or in course of construction, which would otherwise be scrapped under the provisions of Article II. The armament of any aircraft-carriers exceeding 27,000 tons (27,432 metric tons) standard displacement shall be in accordance with the requirements of Article X, except that the total number of guns to be carried in case any of such guns be of a calibre exceeding 6 inches (152 millimetres), except anti-aircraft guns and guns not exceeding 5 inches (127 millimetres), shall not exceed eight.

ARTICLE X.

No aircraft-carrier of any of the contracting Powers shall carry a gun with a calibre in excess of 8 inches (203 millimetres). Without prejudice to the provisions of Article IX, if the armament carried includes guns exceeding 6 inches (152 millimetres) in calibre the total number of guns carried, except anti-aircraft guns and guns not exceeding 5 inches (127 millimetres), shall not exceed ten. If,

alternatively, the armament contains no guns exceeding 6 inches (152 millimetres) in calibre the number of guns is not limited. In either case the number of anti-aircraft guns and of guns not exceeding 5 inches (127 millimetres) is not limited.

ARTICLE XI.

No vessel-of-war exceeding 10,000 tons (10,160 metric tons) standard displacement, other than a capital ship or aircraft-carrier, shall be acquired by, or constructed by, for, or within the jurisdiction of, any of the contracting Powers. Vessels not specifically built as fighting-ships nor taken in time of peace under Government control for fighting purposes, which are employed on fleet duties, or as troop transports, or in some other way for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of hostilities otherwise than as fighting-ships, shall not be within the limitations of this Article.

ARTICLE XII.

No vessel-of-war of any of the contracting Powers, hereafter laid down, other than a capital ship, shall carry a gun with a calibre in excess of 8 inches (203 millimetres).

ARTICLE XIII.

Except as provided in Article IX, no ship designated in the present Treaty to be scrapped may be reconverted into a vessel-of-war.

ARTICLE XIV.

No preparations shall be made in merchant ships in time of peace for the installation of warlike armaments for the purpose of converting such ships into vessels-of-war, other than the necessary stiffening of decks for the mounting of guns not exceeding 6 inches (152 millimetres) calibre.

ARTICLE XV.

No vessel-of-war constructed within the jurisdiction of any of the contracting Powers for a non-contracting Power shall exceed the limitations as to displacement and armament prescribed by the present Treaty for vessels of a similar type which may be constructed by or for any of the contracting Powers; provided, however, that the displacement for aircraft-carriers constructed for a non-contracting Power shall in no case exceed 27,000 tons (27,432 metric tons) standard displacement.

ARTICLE XVI.

If the construction of any vessel-of-war for a non-contracting Power is undertaken within the jurisdiction of any of the contracting Powers, such Power shall promptly inform the other contracting Powers of the date of the signing of the contract and the date on which the keel of the ship is laid; and shall also communicate to them the particulars relating to the ship prescribed in Chapter II, Part 3, Section I (b), (4) and (5).

ARTICLE XVII.

In the event of a contracting Power being engaged in war, such Power shall not use as a vessel-of-war any vessel-of-war which may be under construction within its jurisdiction for any other Power, or which may have been constructed within its jurisdiction for another Power and not delivered.

ARTICLE XVIII.

Each of the contracting Powers undertakes not to dispose by gift, sale, or any mode of transfer of any vessel-of-war in such a manner that such vessel may become a vessel-of-war in the navy of any foreign Power.

ARTICLE XIX.

The United States, the British Empire, and Japan agree that the *status quo* at the time of the signing of the present Treaty, with regard to fortifications and naval bases, shall be maintained in their respective territories and possessions specified hereunder:—

- (1.) The insular possessions which the United States now holds or may hereafter acquire in the Pacific Ocean, except (a) those adjacent to the coast of the United States, Alaska, and the Panama Canal Zone, not including the Aleutian Islands; and (b) the Hawaiian Islands:
- (2.) Hong Kong and the insular possessions which the British Empire now holds or may hereafter acquire in the Pacific Ocean east of the meridian of 110° east longitude, except (a) those adjacent to the coast of Canada, (b) the Commonwealth of Australia and its territories, and (c) New Zealand:
- (3.) The following insular territories and possessions of Japan in the Pacific Ocean, to wit: the Kurile Islands, the Bonin Islands, Amami-Oshima, the Loochoo Islands, Formosa, and the Pescadores, and any insular territories or possessions in the Pacific Ocean which Japan may hereafter acquire.

The maintenance of the *status quo* under the foregoing provisions implies that no new fortifications or naval bases shall be established in the territories and possessions specified; that no measures shall be taken to increase the existing naval facilities for the repair and maintenance of naval forces; and that no increase shall be made in the coast defences of the territories and possessions above specified. This restriction, however, does not preclude such repair and replacement of worn-out weapons and equipment as is customary in naval and military establishments in time of peace.

ARTICLE XX.

The rules for determining tonnage displacement prescribed in Chapter II, Part 4, shall apply to the ships of each of the contracting Powers.

CHAPTER II.—RULES RELATING TO THE EXECUTION OF THE TREATY: DEFINITION OF TERMS.

PART I.—CAPITAL SHIPS WHICH MAY BE RETAINED BY THE CONTRACTING POWERS.

In accordance with Article II, ships may be retained by each of the contracting Powers as specified in this Part.

SHIPS WHICH MAY BE RETAINED BY THE UNITED STATES.

Name.	Tonnage.	Name.	Tonnage.	Name.	Tonnage.
Maryland ..	32,600	Pennsylvania ..	31,400	Florida	21,825
California ..	32,300	Oklahoma	27,500	Utah	21,825
Tennessee ..	32,300	Nevada	27,500	North Dakota ..	20,000
Idaho	32,000	New York	27,000	Delaware .. .	20,000
New Mexico ..	32,000	Texas	27,000	Total tonnage ..	500,650
Mississippi ..	32,000	Arkansas .. .	26,000		
Arizona .. .	31,400	Wyoming .. .	26,000		

On the completion of the two ships of the "West Virginia" class and the scrapping of the "North Dakota" and "Delaware," as provided in Article II, the total tonnage to be retained by the United States will be 525,850 tons.

SHIPS WHICH MAY BE RETAINED BY THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Name.	Tonnage.	Name.	Tonnage.	Name.	Tonnage.
Royal Sovereign ..	25,750	Queen Elizabeth ..	27,500	Repulse	26,500
Royal Oak .. .	25,750	Warspite .. .	27,500	Tiger	28,500
Revenge	25,750	Benbow	25,000	Thunderer .. .	22,500
Resolution .. .	25,750	Emperor of India ..	25,000	King George V ..	23,000
Ramillies .. .	25,750	Iron Duke .. .	25,000	Ajax	23,000
Malaya	27,500	Marlborough .. .	25,000	Centurion .. .	23,000
Valiant	27,500	Hood	41,200	Total tonnage ..	580,450
Barham	27,500	Renown	26,500		

On the completion of the two new ships to be constructed and the scrapping of the "Thunderer," "King George V," "Ajax," and "Centurion," as provided in Article II, the total tonnage to be retained by the British Empire will be 558,950 tons.

SHIPS WHICH MAY BE RETAINED BY FRANCE.

Name.	Tonnage (Metric).	Name.	Tonnage (Metric).	Name.	Tonnage (Metric).
Bretagne .. .	23,500	France	23,500	Diderot	18,890
Lorraine .. .	23,500	Jean Bart .. .	23,500	Voltaire .. .	18,890
Provence .. .	23,500	Courbet	23,500	Total tonnage ..	221,170
Paris	23,500	Condorcet .. .	18,890		

France may lay down new tonnage in the years 1927, 1929, and 1931, as provided in Part 3, Section II.

SHIPS WHICH MAY BE RETAINED BY ITALY.

Name.	Tonnage (Metric).	Name.	Tonnage (Metric).	Name.	Tonnage (Metric).
Andrea Doria ..	22,700	Leonardo Da Vinci	22,500	Vittorio Emanuele	12,600
Caio Duilio ..	22,700	Dante Alighieri ..	19,500	Regina Elena ..	12,600
Conte Di Cavour	22,500	Roma	12,600	Total tonnage ..	182,800
Giulio Cesare ..	22,500	Napoli	12,600		

Italy may lay down new tonnage in the years 1927, 1929, and 1931, as provided in Part 3, Section II.

SHIPS WHICH MAY BE RETAINED BY JAPAN.

Name.	Tonnage.	Name.	Tonnage.	Name.	Tonnage.
Mutsu	33,800	Yamashiro	30,600	Hiyei	27,500
Nagato	33,800	Fu-so	30,600	Kongo	27,500
Hiuga	31,260	Kirishima	27,500		
Isc	31,260	Haruna	27,500	Total tonnage ..	301,320

PART 2.—RULES FOR SCRAPPING VESSELS-OF-WAR.

The following rules shall be observed for the scrapping of vessels-of-war which are to be disposed of in accordance with Articles II and III:—

I. A vessel to be scrapped must be placed in such condition that it cannot be put to combatant use.

II. This result must be finally effected in any one of the following ways:—

(a.) Permanent sinking of the vessel.

(b.) Breaking the vessel up. This shall always involve the destruction or removal of all machinery, boilers, and armour, and all deck, side, and bottom plating.

(c.) Converting the vessel to target use exclusively. In such case all the provisions of paragraph III of this Part, except subparagraph (6), in so far as may be necessary to enable the ship to be used as a mobile target, and except subparagraph (7), must be previously complied with. Not more than one capital ship may be retained for this purpose at one time by any of the contracting Powers.

(d.) Of the capital ships which would otherwise be scrapped under the present Treaty in or after the year 1931, France and Italy may each retain two seagoing vessels for training purposes exclusively—that is, as gunnery or torpedo schools. The two vessels retained by France shall be of the “Jean Bart” class; and of those retained by Italy one shall be the “Dante Alighieri,” the other of the “Giulio Cesare” class. On retaining these ships for the purpose above stated, France and Italy respectively undertake to remove and destroy their conning-towers, and not to use the said ships as vessels-of-war.

III. (a.) Subject to the special exceptions contained in Article IX, when a vessel is due for scrapping, the first stage of scrapping, which consists in rendering a ship incapable of further warlike service, shall be immediately undertaken.

(b.) A vessel shall be considered incapable of further warlike service when there shall have been removed and landed or else destroyed in the ship:—

(1.) All guns and essential portions of guns, fire-control tops, and revolving parts of all barbetstes and turrets;

(2.) All machinery for working hydraulic or electric mountings;

(3.) All fire-control instruments and range-finders;

(4.) All ammunition, explosives, and mines;

(5.) All torpedoes, war-heads, and torpedo-tubes;

(6.) All wireless-telegraphy installations;

(7.) The conning-tower and all side armour, or, alternatively, all main propelling machinery; and

(8.) All landing and flying-off platforms, and all other aviation accessories.

IV. The periods in which scrapping of vessels is to be effected are as follows:—

(a.) In the case of vessels to be scrapped under the first paragraph of Article II, the work of rendering the vessels incapable of further warlike service, in accordance with paragraph III of this Part, shall be completed within six months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, and the scrapping shall be finally effected within eighteen months from such coming into force:

(b.) In the case of vessels to be scrapped under the second and third paragraphs of Article II, or under Article III, the work of rendering the vessel incapable of further warlike service, in accordance with paragraph III of this Part, shall be commenced not later than the date of completion of its successor, and shall be finished within six months from the date of such completion. The vessel shall be finally scrapped, in accordance with paragraph II of this Part, within eighteen months from the date of completion of its successor. If, however, the completion of the new vessel be delayed, then the work of rendering the old vessel incapable of further warlike service, in accordance with paragraph III of this Part, shall be commenced within four years from the laying of the keel of the new vessel, and shall be finished within six months from the date on which such work was commenced, and the old vessel shall be finally scrapped, in accordance with paragraph II of this Part, within eighteen months from the date when the work of rendering it incapable of further warlike service was commenced.

PART 3.—REPLACEMENT.

The replacement of capital ships and aircraft-carriers shall take place according to the rules in Section I and the tables in Section II of this Part.

SECTION I.—RULES FOR REPLACEMENT.

(a.) Capital ships and aircraft-carriers twenty years after the date of their completion may, except as otherwise provided in Article VIII and in the tables in Section II of this Part, be replaced by new construction, but within the limits prescribed in Article IV and Article VII. The keels of

such new construction may, except as otherwise provided in Article VIII and in the tables in Section II of this Part, be laid down not earlier than seventeen years from the date of completion of the tonnage to be replaced; provided, however, that no capital-ship tonnage, with the exception of the ships referred to in the third paragraph of Article II, and the replacement tonnage specifically mentioned in Section II of this Part, shall be laid down until ten years from the 12th November, 1921.

(b.) Each of the contracting Powers shall communicate promptly to each of the other contracting Powers the following information:—

- (1.) The names of the capital ships and aircraft-carriers to be replaced by new construction:
- (2.) The date of governmental authorization of replacement tonnage:
- (3.) The date of laying the keels of replacement tonnage:
- (4.) The standard displacement in tons and metric tons of each new ship to be laid down, and the principal dimensions—namely, length at water-line, extreme beam at or below water-line, mean draft at standard displacement:
- (5.) The date of completion of each new ship, and its standard displacement in tons and metric tons, and the principal dimensions—namely, length at water-line, extreme beam at or below water-line, mean draft at standard displacement, at time of completion.

(c.) In case of loss or accidental destruction of capital ships or aircraft-carriers, they may immediately be replaced by new construction, subject to the tonnage limits prescribed in Articles IV and VII, and in conformity with the other provisions of the present Treaty, the regular replacement programme being deemed to be advanced to that extent.

(d.) No retained capital ships or aircraft-carriers shall be reconstructed except for the purpose of providing means of defence against air and submarine attack, and subject to the following rules: The contracting Powers may, for that purpose, equip existing tonnage with bulge or blister or anti-air-attack deck protection, providing the increase of displacement thus effected does not exceed 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons) displacement for each ship. No alterations in side armour, in calibre, number or general type of mounting of main armament, shall be permitted except—

- (1.) In the case of France and Italy, which countries, within the limits allowed for bulge, may increase their armour protection and the calibre of the guns now carried on their existing capital ships so as not to exceed 16 inches (406 millimetres); and
- (2.) The British Empire shall be permitted to complete, in the case of the "Renown," the alterations to armour that have already been commenced but temporarily suspended.

SECTION II.—REPLACEMENT AND SCRAPPING OF CAPITAL SHIPS.

United States.

Year.	Ships laid down.	Ships completed.	Ships scrapped (Age in Parentheses).	Ships retained: Summary.	
				Pre-Jutland.	Post-Jutland.
..	..	..	Maine (20), Missouri (20), Virginia (17), Nebraska (17), Georgia (17), New Jersey (17), Rhode Island (17), Connecticut (17), Louisiana (17), Vermont (16), Kansas (16), Minnesota (16), New Hampshire (15), South Carolina (13), Michigan (13), Washington (0), South Dakota (0), Indiana (0), Montana (0), North Carolina (0), Iowa (0), Massachusetts (0), Lexington (0), Constitution (0), Constellation (0), Saratoga (0), Ranger (0), United States (0)*	17	1
1922	..	A, B†	Delaware (12), North Dakota (12) ..	15	3
1923	..	..	..	15	3
1924	..	..	..	15	3
1925	..	..	..	15	3
1926	..	..	..	15	3
1927	..	..	..	15	3
1928	..	..	..	15	3
1929	..	..	..	15	3
1930	..	..	..	15	3
1931	C, D	..	..	15	3
1932	E, F	..	..	15	3
1933	G	..	..	15	3
1934	H, I	C, D	Florida (23), Utah (23), Wyoming (22) ..	12	5
1935	J	E, F	Arkansas (23), Texas (21), New York (21) ..	9	7
1936	K, L	G	Nevada (20), Oklahoma (20) ..	7	8
1937	M	H, I	Arizona (21), Pennsylvania (21) ..	5	10
1938	N, O	J	Mississippi (21) ..	4	11
1939	P, Q	K, L	New Mexico (21), Idaho (20) ..	2	13
1940	..	M	Tennessee (20) ..	1	14
1941	..	N, O	California (20), Maryland (20) ..	0	15
1942	..	P, Q	Two ships West Virginia class ..	0	15

* The United States may retain the "Oregon" and "Illinois" for non-combatant purposes, after complying with the provisions of Part 2, III (b).

† Two "West Virginia" class.

NOTE.—A, B, C, D, &c., represent individual capital ships of 35,000 tons standard displacement laid down and completed in the years specified.

British Empire.

Year.	Ships laid down.	Ships completed.	Ships scrapped (Age in Parentheses).	Ships retained : Summary.	
				Pre-Jutland.	Post-Jutland.
..	..	..	Commonwealth (16), Agamemnon (13), Dreadnought (15), Bellerophon (12), St. Vincent (11), Inflexible (13), Superb (12), Neptune (10), Hercules (10), Indomitable (13), Temeraire (12), New Zealand (9), Lion (9), Princess Royal (9), Conqueror (9), Monarch (9), Orion (9), Australia (8), Agincourt (7), Erin (7), four building or projected*	21	1
1922	A, B†	..	..	21	1
1923	..	..	..	21	1
1924	..	..	..	21	1
1925	..	A, B	King George V (13), Ajax (12), Centurion (12), Thunderer (13)	17	3
1926	..	..	..	17	3
1927	..	..	..	17	3
1928	..	..	..	17	3
1929	..	..	..	17	3
1930	..	..	..	17	3
1931	C, D	..	..	17	3
1932	E, F	..	..	17	3
1933	G	..	..	17	3
1934	H, I	C, D	Iron Duke (20), Marlborough (20), Emperor of India (20), Benbow (20)	13	5
1935	J	E, F	Tiger (21), Queen Elizabeth (20), Warspite (20), Barham (20)	9	7
1936	K, L	G	Malaya (20), Royal Sovereign (20)	7	8
1937	M	H, I	Revenge (21), Resolution (21)	5	10
1938	N, O	J	Royal Oak (22)	4	11
1939	P, Q	K, L	Valiant (23), Repulse (23)	2	13
1940	..	M	Renown (24)	1	14
1941	..	N, O	Ramillies (24), Hood (21)	0	15
1942	..	P, Q	A (17), B (17)	0	15

* The British Empire may retain the "Colossus" and "Collingwood" for non-combatant purposes, after complying with the provisions of Part 2, III (b).

† Two 35,000-ton ships, standard displacement.

NOTE.—A, B, C, D, &c., represent individual capital ships of 35,000 tons standard displacement laid down and completed in the years specified.

France.

Year.	Ships laid down.	Ships completed.	Ships scrapped (Age in Parentheses).	Ships retained : Summary.	
				Pre-Jutland.	Post-Jutland.
	Tons.	Tons.			
1922	..	..	..	7	0
1923	..	..	..	7	0
1924	..	..	..	7	0
1925	..	..	..	7	0
1926	..	..	..	7	0
1927	35,000	..	..	7	0
1928	..	..	..	7	0
1929	35,000	..	..	7	0
1930	..	35,000	Jean Bart (17), Courbet (17)	5	(*)
1931	35,000	..	..	5	(*)
1932	35,000	35,000	France (18)	4	(*)
1933	35,000	..	..	4	(*)
1934	..	35,000	Paris (20), Bretagne (20)	2	(*)
1935	..	35,000	Provence (20)	1	(*)
1936	..	35,000	Lorraine (20)	0	(*)
1937	..	..	..	0	(*)
1938	..	..	..	0	(*)
1939	..	..	..	0	(*)
1940	..	..	..	0	(*)
1941	..	..	..	0	(*)
1942	..	..	..	0	(*)

* Within tonnage limitations; number not fixed.

NOTE.—France expressly reserves the right of employing the capital-ship-tonnage allotment as she may consider advisable, subject solely to the limitations that the displacement of individual ships should not surpass 35,000 tons, and that the total capital-ship tonnage should keep within the limits imposed by the present Treaty.

Italy:

Year.	Ships laid down.	Ships completed.	Ships scrapped (Age in Parentheses).	Ships retained : Summary.	
				Pre-Jutland.	Post-Jutland.
	Tons.	Tons.			
1922	..	..	..	6	0
1923	..	..	..	6	0
1924	..	..	..	6	0
1925	..	..	..	6	0
1926	..	..	..	6	0
1927	35,000	..	..	6	0
1928	..	..	..	6	0
1929	35,000	..	..	6	0
1930	..	..	..	6	0
1931	35,000	35,000	Dante Alighieri (19)	5	(*)
1932	45,000	..	..	5	(*)
1933	25,000	35,000	Leonardo da Vinci (19)	4	(*)
1934	..	..	..	4	(*)
1935	..	35,000	Guilio Cesare (21)	3	(*)
1936	..	45,000	Conte di Cavour (21), Duilio (21)	1	(*)
1937	..	25,000	Andrea Doria (21)	0	(*)

* Within tonnage limitations; number not fixed.

NOTE.—Italy expressly reserves the right of employing the capital-ship-tonnage allotment as she may consider advisable, subject solely to the limitations that the displacement of individual ships should not surpass 35,000 tons, and the total capital-ship tonnage should keep within the limits imposed by the present Treaty.

Japan.

Year.	Ships laid down.	Ships completed.	Ships scrapped (Age in Parentheses).	Ships retained : Summary.	
				Pre-Jutland.	Post-Jutland.
..	..	..	Hizen (20), Mikasa (20), Kashima (16), Katori (16), Satsuma (12), Aki (11), Settsu (10), Ikoma (14), Ibuki (12), Kurama (11), Amagi (0), Akagi (0), Kaga (0), Tosa (0), Takao (0), Atago (0); projected programme eight ships not laid down*	8	2
1922	..	..	..	8	2
1923	..	..	..	8	2
1924	..	..	..	8	2
1925	..	..	..	8	2
1926	..	..	..	8	2
1927	..	..	..	8	2
1928	..	..	..	8	2
1929	..	..	..	8	2
1930	..	..	..	8	2
1931	A	..	..	8	2
1932	B	..	..	8	2
1933	C	..	..	8	2
1934	D	A	Kongo (21)	7	3
1935	E	B	Hiyei (21), Haruna (20)	5	4
1936	F	C	Kirishima (21)	4	5
1937	G	D	Fuso (22)	3	6
1938	H	E	Yamashiro (21)	2	7
1939	I	F	Ise (22)	1	8
1940	..	G	Hiuga (22)	0	9
1941	..	H	Nagato (21)	0	9
1942	..	I	Mutsu (21)	0	9

* Japan may retain the "Shikishima" and "Asahi" for non-combatant purposes, after complying with the provisions of Part 2, III (b).

NOTE.—A, B, C, D, &c., represent individual capital ships of 35,000 tons standard displacement laid down and completed in the years specified.

Note applicable to all the Tables in Section II.—The order above prescribed in which ships are to be scrapped is in accordance with their age. It is understood that when replacement begins according to the above tables the order of scrapping in the case of the ships of each of the contracting Powers may be varied at its option; provided, however, that such Power shall scrap in each year the number of ships above stated.

PART 4.—DEFINITIONS.

For the purposes of the present Treaty the following expressions are to be understood in the sense defined in this Part:—

CAPITAL SHIP.

A capital ship, in the case of ships hereafter built, is defined as a vessel-of-war (not an aircraft-carrier) whose displacement exceeds 10,000 tons (10,160 metric tons) standard displacement, or which carries a gun with a calibre exceeding 8 inches (203 millimetres).

AIRCRAFT-CARRIER.

An aircraft-carrier is defined as a vessel-of-war, with a displacement in excess of 10,000 tons (10,160 metric tons) standard displacement, designed for the specific and exclusive purpose of carrying aircraft. It must be so constructed that aircraft can be launched therefrom and landed thereon, and not designed and constructed for carrying a more powerful armament than that allowed to it under Article IX or Article X, as the case may be.

STANDARD DISPLACEMENT.

The standard displacement of a ship is the displacement of the ship complete, fully manned, engined, and equipped ready for sea, including all armament and ammunition, equipment, outfit, provisions and fresh water for crew, miscellaneous stores and implements of every description that are intended to be carried in war, but without fuel or reserve feed-water on board.

The word "ton" in the present Treaty, except in the expression "metric tons," shall be understood to mean the ton of 2,240 pounds (1,016 kilos).

Vessels now completed shall retain their present ratings of displacement tonnage in accordance with their national system of measurement. However, a Power expressing displacement in metric tons shall be considered for the application of the present Treaty as owning only the equivalent displacement in tons of 2,240 pounds.

A vessel completed hereafter shall be rated at its displacement tonnage when in the standard condition defined herein.

CHAPTER III.—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.

ARTICLE XXI.

If during the term of the present Treaty the requirements of the national security of any contracting Power in respect of naval defence are, in the opinion of that Power, materially affected by any change of circumstances, the contracting Powers will, at the request of such Power, meet in conference with a view to the reconsideration of the provisions of the Treaty and its amendment by mutual agreement.

In view of possible technical and scientific developments, the United States, after consultation with the other contracting Powers, shall arrange for a conference of all the contracting Powers, which shall convene as soon as possible after the expiration of eight years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, to consider what changes, if any, in the Treaty may be necessary to meet such developments.

ARTICLE XXII.

Whenever any contracting Power shall become engaged in a war which in its opinion affects the naval defence of its national security, such Power may, after notice to the other contracting Powers, suspend for the period of hostilities its obligations under the present Treaty, other than those under Articles XIII and XVII; provided that such Power shall notify the other contracting Powers that the emergency is of such a character as to require such suspension.

The remaining contracting Powers shall in such case consult together with a view to agreement as to what temporary modifications, if any, should be made in the Treaty as between themselves. Should such consultation not produce agreement, duly made in accordance with the constitutional methods of the respective Powers, any one of said contracting Powers may, by giving notice to the other contracting Powers, suspend for the period of hostilities its obligations under the present Treaty, other than those under Articles XIII and XVII.

On the cessation of hostilities the contracting Powers will meet in conference to consider what modifications, if any, should be made in the provisions of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE XXIII.

The present Treaty shall remain in force until the 31st December, 1936, and in case none of the contracting Powers shall have given notice two years before that date of its intention to terminate the Treaty it shall continue in force until the expiration of two years from the date on which notice of termination shall be given by one of the contracting Powers, whereupon the Treaty shall terminate as regards all the contracting Powers. Such notice shall be communicated in writing to the Government of the United States, which shall immediately transmit a certified copy of the notification to

the other Powers and inform them of the date on which it was received. The notice shall be deemed to have been given and shall take effect on that date. In the event of notice of termination being given by the Government of the United States, such notice shall be given to the diplomatic representatives at Washington of the other contracting Powers, and the notice shall be deemed to have been given and shall take effect on the date of the communication made to the said diplomatic representatives.

Within one year of the date on which a notice of termination by any Power has taken effect all the contracting Powers shall meet in conference.

ARTICLE XXIV.

The present Treaty shall be ratified by the contracting Powers in accordance with their respective constitutional methods, and shall take effect on the date of the deposit of all the ratifications, which shall take place at Washington as soon as possible. The Government of the United States will transmit to the other contracting Powers a certified copy of the *procès-verbal* of the deposit of ratifications.

The present Treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States, and duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the other contracting Powers.

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at the City of Washington, the sixth day of February, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES. [L.S.]	ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR. [L.S.]
HENRY CABOT LODGE. [L.S.]	V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI. [L.S.]
OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD. [L.S.]	A. SARRAUT. [L.S.]
ELIHU ROOT. [L.S.]	JUSSERAND. [L.S.]
ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR. [L.S.]	CARLO SCHANZER. [L.S.]
LEE OF FAREHAM. [L.S.]	V. ROLANDI RICCI. [L.S.]
A. C. GEDDES. [L.S.]	LUIGI ALBERTINI. [L.S.]
R. L. BORDEN. [L.S.]	T. KATO. [L.S.]
G. F. PEARCE. [L.S.]	K. SHIDEHARA. [L.S.]
JOHN W. SALMOND. [L.S.]	M. HANIHARA. [L.S.]

5-Power Treaty II. Treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan as to the Use of Submarines and Poisonous Gas.

Signed at Washington, 6th February, 1922.

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan (hereinafter referred to as the signatory Powers), desiring to make more effective the rules adopted by civilized nations for the protection of the lives of neutrals and non-combatants at sea in time of war, and to prevent the use in war of noxious gases and chemicals, have determined to conclude a Treaty to this effect, and have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries—

* * * * *

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

ARTICLE I.

The signatory Powers declare that among the rules adopted by civilized nations for the protection of the lives of neutrals and non-combatants at sea in time of war, the following are to be deemed an established part of international law :—

(1.) A merchant vessel must be ordered to submit to visit and search to determine its character before it can be seized.

A merchant vessel must not be attacked unless it refuse to submit to visit and search after warning, or to proceed as directed after seizure.

A merchant vessel must not be destroyed unless the crew and passengers have been first placed in safety.

(2.) Belligerent submarines are not, under any circumstances, exempt from the universal rules above stated; and if a submarine cannot capture a merchant vessel in conformity with these rules the existing law of nations requires it to desist from attack and from seizure, and to permit the merchant vessel to proceed unmolested.

ARTICLE II.

The signatory Powers invite all other civilized Powers to express their assent to the foregoing statement of established law, so that there may be a clear public understanding throughout the world of the standards of conduct by which the public opinion of the world is to pass judgment upon future belligerents.

ARTICLE III.

The signatory Powers, desiring to ensure the enforcement of the humane rules of existing law declared by them with respect to attacks upon and the seizure and destruction of merchant ships, further declare that any person in the service of any Power who shall violate any of those rules, whether or not such person is under orders of a governmental superior, shall be deemed to have violated the laws of war, and shall be liable to trial and punishment as if for an act of piracy, and may be brought to trial before the civil or military authorities of any Power within the jurisdiction of which he may be found.

ARTICLE IV.

The signatory Powers recognize the practical impossibility of using submarines as commerce-destroyers without violating, as they were violated in the recent war of 1914–1918, the requirements universally accepted by civilized nations for the protection of the lives of neutrals and non-combatants, and, to the end that the prohibition of the use of submarines as commerce-destroyers shall be universally accepted as a part of the law of nations, they now accept that prohibition as henceforth binding as between themselves, and they invite all other nations to adhere thereto.

ARTICLE V.

The use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases, and all analogous liquids, materials, or devices, having been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilized world, and a prohibition of such use having been declared in treaties to which a majority of the civilized Powers are parties, the signatory Powers, to the end that this prohibition shall be universally accepted as a part of international law, binding alike the conscience and practice of nations, declare their assent to such prohibition, agree to be bound thereby as between themselves, and invite all other civilized nations to adhere thereto.

ARTICLE VI.

The present Treaty shall be ratified as soon as possible in accordance with the constitutional methods of the signatory Powers, and shall take effect on the deposit of all the ratifications, which shall take place at Washington.

The Government of the United States will transmit to all signatory Powers a certified copy of the *procès-verbal* of the deposit of ratifications.

The present Treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States, and duly certified copies thereof will be transmitted by that Government to each of the signatory Powers.

ARTICLE VII.

The Government of the United States will further transmit to each of the non-signatory Powers a duly certified copy of the present Treaty, and invite its adherence thereto.

Any non-signatory Power may adhere to the present Treaty by communicating an Instrument of Adherence to the Government of the United States, which will thereupon transmit to each of the signatory and adhering Powers a certified copy of each Instrument of Adherence.

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at the City of Washington, the sixth day of February, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES. [L.S.]	ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR. [L.S.]
HENRY CABOT LODGE. [L.S.]	V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI. [L.S.]
OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD. [L.S.]	A. SARRAUT. [L.S.]
ELIHU ROOT. [L.S.]	JUSSERAND. [L.S.]
ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR. [L.S.]	CARLO SCHANZER. [L.S.]
LEE OF FAREHAM [L.S.]	V. ROLANDI RICCI. [L.S.]
A. C. GEDDES. [L.S.]	LUIGI ALBERTINI. [L.S.]
R. L. BORDEN. [L.S.]	T. KATO. [L.S.]
G. F. PEARCE. [L.S.]	K. SHIDEHARA. [L.S.]
JOHN W. SALMOND. [L.S.]	M. HANIHARA. [L.S.]

9 Power
Treaty

III. Treaty between the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal, with regard to China.

Signed at Washington, 6th February, 1922.

The United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal, desiring to adopt a policy designed to stabilize conditions in the Far East, to safeguard the rights and interests of China, and to promote intercourse between China and the other Powers upon the basis of equality of opportunity, have resolved to conclude a Treaty for that purpose, and to that end have appointed as their respective Plenipotentiaries—

The President of the United States of America :

Charles Evans Hughes,	} Citizens of the United States :
Henry Cabot Lodge,	
Oscar W. Underwood,	
Elihu Root,	

His Majesty the King of the Belgians :

Baron de Cartier de Marchienne, Commander of the Order of Leopold and of the Order of the Crown, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Washington :

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 Arthur James Balfour, O.M., M.P., Lord President of His Privy Council :

The Right Honourable Baron Lee of Fareham, G.B.E., K.C.B., First Lord of His Admiralty :

The Right Honourable Sir Auckland Campbell Geddes, K.C.B., His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America :

And

- For the Dominion of Canada :
The Right Honourable Sir Robert Laird Borden, G.C.M.G., K.C. :
- For the Commonwealth of Australia :
Senator the Right Honourable George Foster Pearce, Minister for Home and Territories :
- For the Dominion of New Zealand :
The Honourable Sir John William Salmond, K.C., Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand :
- For the Union of South Africa :
The Right Honourable Arthur James Balfour, O.M., M.P. :
- For India :
The Right Honourable Valingman Sankaranarayana Srinivasa Sastri, Member of the Indian Council of State :
- The President of the Republic of China :
Mr. Sao-Ke Alfred Sze, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington :
Mr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at London :
Mr. Chung-Hui Wang, former Minister of Justice.
- The President of the French Republic :
Mr. Albert Sarraut, Deputy, Minister of the Colonies :
Mr. Jules J. Jusserand, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, Grand Cross of the National Order of the Legion of Honour :
- His Majesty the King of Italy :
The Honourable, Carlo Schanzer, Senator of the Kingdom :
The Honourable Vittorio Rolandi Ricci, Senator of the Kingdom, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Washington :
The Honourable Luigi Albertini, Senator of the Kingdom :
- His Majesty the Emperor of Japan :
Baron Tomosaburo Kato, Minister for the Navy, Junii, a member of the First Class of the Imperial Order of the Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun with the Paulownia Flower :
Baron Kijuro Shidehara, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Washington, Joshii, a member of the First Class of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun :
Mr. Masanao Hanihara, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Jushii, a member of the Second Class of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun :
- Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands :
Jonkheer Frans Beelaerts van Blokland, Her Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary :
Jonkheer Willem Hendrik de Beaufort, Minister Plenipotentiary, Chargé d'Affaires at Washington :
- The President of the Portuguese Republic :
Mr. José Francisco de Horta Machado da Franca, Viscount d'Alte, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington :
Mr. Ernesto Julio de Carvalho de Vasconcellos, Captain of the Portuguese Navy, Technical Director of the Colonial Office :

Who, having communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows :—

ARTICLE I.

The contracting Powers, other than China, agree—

- (1.) To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China ;
- (2.) To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government ;
- (3.) To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China ;
- (4.) To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly States, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States.

ARTICLE II.

The contracting Powers agree not to enter into any treaty, agreement, arrangement, or understanding, either with one another, or, individually or collectively, with any Power or Powers, which would infringe or impair the principles stated in Article I.

ARTICLE III.

With a view to applying more effectually the principles of the "open door" or equality of opportunity in China for the trade and industry of all nations, the contracting Powers, other than China, agree that they will not seek, nor support their respective nationals in seeking—

- (a.) Any arrangement which might purport to establish in favour of their interests any general superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated region of China ;

(b.) Any such monopoly or preference as would deprive the nationals of any other Power of the right of undertaking any legitimate trade or industry in China, or of participating with the Chinese Government or with any local authority in any category of public enterprise, or which by reason of its scope, duration, or geographical extent is calculated to frustrate the practical application of the principle of equal opportunity.

It is understood that the foregoing stipulations of this Article are not to be so construed as to prohibit the acquisition of such properties or rights as may be necessary to the conduct of a particular commercial, industrial, or financial undertaking, or to the encouragement of invention and research.

China undertakes to be guided by the principles stated in the foregoing stipulations of this Article in dealing with applications for economic rights and privileges from Governments and nationals of all foreign countries, whether parties to the present Treaty or not.

ARTICLE IV.

The contracting Powers agree not to support any agreements by their respective nationals with each other designed to create spheres of influence or to provide for the enjoyment of mutually exclusive opportunities in designated parts of Chinese territory.

ARTICLE V.

China agrees that throughout the whole of the railways in China she will not exercise or permit unfair discrimination of any kind. In particular there shall be no discrimination whatever, direct or indirect, in respect of charges or of facilities on the ground of the nationality of passengers, or the countries from which or to which they are proceeding, or the origin or ownership of goods, or the country from which or to which they are consigned, or the nationality or ownership of the ship or other means of conveying such passengers or goods before or after their transport on the Chinese railways.

The contracting Powers, other than China, assume a corresponding obligation in respect of any of the aforesaid railways over which they or their nationals are in a position to exercise any control in virtue of any concession, special agreement, or otherwise.

ARTICLE VI.

The contracting Powers, other than China, agree fully to respect China's rights as a neutral in time of war to which China is not a party; and China declares that when she is a neutral she will observe the obligations of neutrality.

ARTICLE VII.

The contracting Powers agree that whenever a situation arises which in the opinion of any one of them involves the application of the stipulations of the present Treaty, and renders desirable discussion of such application, there shall be full and frank communication between the contracting Powers concerned.

ARTICLE VIII.

Powers not signatory to the present Treaty, which have Governments recognized by the signatory Powers and which have treaty relations with China, shall be invited to adhere to the present Treaty. To this end the Government of the United States will make the necessary communications to non-signatory Powers, and will inform the contracting Powers of the replies received. Adherence by any Power shall become effective on receipt of notice thereof by the Government of the United States.

ARTICLE IX.

The present Treaty shall be ratified by the contracting Powers in accordance with their respective constitutional methods, and shall take effect on the date of the deposit of all the ratifications, which shall take place at Washington as soon as possible. The Government of the United States will transmit to the other contracting Powers a certified copy of the *procès-verbal* of the deposit of ratifications.

The present Treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States, and duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the other contracting Powers.

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at the City of Washington, the sixth day of February, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES.	[L.S.]	V. K. WELLINGTON KOO.	[L.S.]
HENRY CABOT LODGE.	[L.S.]	CHUNG-HUI WANG.	[L.S.]
OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD.	[L.S.]	A. SARRAUT.	[L.S.]
ELIHU ROOT.	[L.S.]	JUSSERAND.	[L.S.]
BARON DE CARTIER DE MARCHIENNE.	[L.S.]	CARLO SCHANZER.	[L.S.]
ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.	[L.S.]	V. ROLANDI RICCI.	[L.S.]
LEE OF FAREHAM.	[L.S.]	LUIGI ALBERTINI.	[L.S.]
A. C. GEDDES.	[L.S.]	T. KATO.	[L.S.]
R. L. BORDEN.	[L.S.]	K. SHIDEHARA.	[L.S.]
G. F. PEARCE.	[L.S.]	M. HANIHARA.	[L.S.]
JOHN W. SALMOND.	[L.S.]	BEELAERTS VAN BLOKLAND.	[L.S.]
ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.	[L.S.]	W. DE BEAUFORT.	[L.S.]
V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.	[L.S.]	ALTE.	[L.S.]
SAO-KE ALFRED SZE.	[L.S.]	ERNESTO DE VASCONCELLOS.	[L.S.]

IV. Treaty between the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal, relating to the Chinese Customs Tariff.

Signed at Washington, 6th February, 1922.

The United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal, with a view to increasing the revenues of the Chinese Government, have resolved to conclude a Treaty relating to the revision of the Chinese Customs tariff and cognate matters, and to that end have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries—

* * * * *

Who, having communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:—

ARTICLE I.

The representatives of the contracting Powers having adopted, on the 4th day of February, 1922, in the City of Washington, a Resolution, which is appended as an annex to this Article, with respect to the revision of Chinese Customs duties, for the purpose of making such duties equivalent to an effective 5 per centum *ad valorem*, in accordance with existing treaties concluded by China with other nations, the contracting Powers hereby confirm the said Resolution, and undertake to accept the tariff rates fixed as a result of such revision. The said tariff rates shall become effective as soon as possible, but not earlier than two months after publication thereof.

Annex.

With a view to providing additional revenue to meet the needs of the Chinese Government, the Powers represented at this Conference—namely, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal—agree—

That the Customs schedule of duties on imports into China adopted by the Tariff Revision Commission at Shanghai on the 19th December, 1918, shall forthwith be revised so that the rates of duty shall be equivalent to 5 per centum effective, as provided for in the several commercial treaties to which China is a party.

A Revision Commission shall meet at Shanghai at the earliest practicable date to effect this revision forthwith, and on the general lines of the last revision.

This Commission shall be composed of representatives of the Powers above named, and of representatives of any additional Powers having Governments at present recognized by the Powers represented at this Conference, and who have treaties with China providing for a tariff on imports and exports not to exceed 5 per centum *ad valorem* and who desire to participate therein.

The revision shall proceed as rapidly as possible, with a view to its completion within four months from the date of the adoption of this Resolution by the Conference on the Limitation of Armament and Pacific and Far Eastern Questions.

The revised tariff shall become effective as soon as possible, but not earlier than two months after its publication by the Revision Commission.

The Government of the United States, as convener of the present Conference, is requested forthwith to communicate the terms of this Resolution to the Governments of Powers not represented at this Conference but who participated in the revision of 1918 aforesaid.

ARTICLE II.

Immediate steps shall be taken, through a Special Conference, to prepare the way for the speedy abolition of likin, and for the fulfilment of the other conditions laid down in Article VIII of the Treaty of the 5th September, 1902, between Great Britain and China, in Articles IV and V of the Treaty of the 8th October, 1903, between the United States and China, and in Article I of the Supplementary Treaty of the 8th October, 1903, between Japan and China, with a view to levying the surtaxes provided for in those articles.

The Special Conference shall be composed of representatives of the signatory Powers, and of such other Powers as may desire to participate and may adhere to the present Treaty, in accordance with the provisions of Article VIII, in sufficient time to allow their representatives to take part. It shall meet in China within three months after the coming into force of the present Treaty, on a day and at a place to be designated by the Chinese Government.

ARTICLE III.

The Special Conference provided for in Article II shall consider the interim provisions to be applied prior to the abolition of likin and the fulfilment of the other conditions laid down in the articles of the treaties mentioned in Article II; and it shall authorize the levying of a surtax on dutiable imports, as from such date, for such purposes and subject to such conditions as it may determine.

The surtax shall be at a uniform rate of 2½ per centum *ad valorem*; provided that, in cases of certain articles of luxury which, in the opinion of the Special Conference, can bear a greater increase without unduly impeding trade, the total surtax may be increased, but may not exceed 5 per centum *ad valorem*.

ARTICLE IV.

Following this immediate revision of the Customs schedule of duties on imports into China mentioned in Article I, there shall be a further revision thereof, to take effect at the expiration of four years following the completion of the aforesaid immediate revision, in order to ensure that the Customs duties shall correspond to the *ad valorem* rates fixed by the Special Conference provided for in Article II.

Following the further revision there shall be, for the same purpose, periodical revisions of the Customs schedule of duties on imports into China every seven years, in lieu of the decennial revision authorized by existing treaties with China.

In order to prevent delay, any revision made in pursuance of this Article shall be effected in accordance with rules to be prescribed by the Special Conference provided for in Article II.

ARTICLE V.

In all matters relating to Customs duties there shall be effective equality of treatment and of opportunity for all the contracting Powers.

ARTICLE VI.

The principle of uniformity in the rates of Customs duties levied at all the land and maritime frontiers of China is hereby recognized. The Special Conference provided for in Article II shall make arrangements to give practical effect to this principle; and it is authorized to make equitable adjustments in those cases in which a Customs privilege to be abolished was granted in return for some local economic advantage.

In the meantime, any increase in the rates of Customs duties resulting from tariff revision, or any surtax hereafter imposed in pursuance of the present Treaty, shall be levied at a uniform rate *ad valorem* at all land and maritime frontiers of China.

ARTICLE VII.

The charge for transit passes shall be at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per centum *ad valorem* until the arrangements provided for by Article II come into force.

ARTICLE VIII.

Powers not signatory to the present Treaty whose Governments are at present recognized by the signatory Powers, and whose present treaties with China provide for a tariff on imports and exports not to exceed 5 per centum *ad valorem*, shall be invited to adhere to the present Treaty.

The Government of the United States undertakes to make the necessary communications for this purpose, and to inform the Governments of the contracting Powers of the replies received. Adherence by any Power shall become effective on receipt of notice thereof by the Government of the United States.

ARTICLE IX.

The provisions of the present Treaty shall override all stipulations of treaties between China and the respective contracting Powers which are inconsistent therewith, other than stipulations according most favoured nation treatment.

ARTICLE X.

The present Treaty shall be ratified by the contracting Powers in accordance with their respective constitutional methods, and shall take effect on the date of the deposit of all the ratifications, which shall take place at Washington as soon as possible. The Government of the United States will transmit to the other contracting Powers a certified copy of the *procès-verbal* of the deposit of ratifications.

The present Treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States, and duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the other contracting Powers.

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at the City of Washington, the sixth day of February, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES.	[L.S.]	V. K. WELLINGTON KOO.	[L.S.]
HENRY CABOT LODGE.	[L.S.]	CHUNG HUI WANG.	[L.S.]
OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD.	[L.S.]	A. SARRAUT.	[L.S.]
ELIHU ROOT.	[L.S.]	JUSSERAND.	[L.S.]
BARON DE CARTIER DE MARCHIENNE.	[L.S.]	CARLO SCHANZER.	[L.S.]
ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.	[L.S.]	V. ROLANDI RICCI.	[L.S.]
LEE OF FAREHAM.	[L.S.]	LUIGI ALBERTINI.	[L.S.]
A. C. GEDDES.	[L.S.]	T. KATO.	[L.S.]
R. L. BORDEN.	[L.S.]	K. SHIDEHARA.	[L.S.]
G. F. PEARCE.	[L.S.]	M. HANIHARA.	[L.S.]
JOHN W. SALMOND.	[L.S.]	BEELAERTS VAN BLOKLAND.	[L.S.]
ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.	[L.S.]	W. DE BEAUFORT.	[L.S.]
V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.	[L.S.]	ALTE.	[L.S.]
SAO-KE ALFRED SZE.	[L.S.]	ERNESTO DE VASCONCELLOS.	[L.S.]

4 Power Treaty

V. The Pacific Treaty between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, and Japan.

Signed at Washington on 13th December, 1921.

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, and Japan, with a view to the preservation of the general peace and the maintenance of their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean, have determined to conclude a Treaty to this effect, and have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries—

The President of the United States of America :

Charles Evans Hughes, Henry Cabot Lodge, Oscar W. Underwood, Elihu Root,	}	Citizens of the United States :
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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 Arthur James Balfour, O.M., M.P., Lord President of His Privy Council :

The Right Honourable Baron Lee of Fareham, G.B.E., K.C.B., First Lord of His Admiralty :

The Right Honourable Sir Auckland Campbell Geddes, K.C.B., His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America :

And

For the Dominion of Canada :

The Right Honourable Robert Laird Borden, G.C.M.G., K.C. :

For the Commonwealth of Australia :

The Honourable George Foster Pearce, Minister of Defence :

For the Dominion of New Zealand :

Sir John William Salmond, K.C., Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand :

For the Union of South Africa :

The Right Honourable Arthur James Balfour, O.M., M.P. :

For India :

The Right Honourable Valingman Sankaranarayana Srinivasa Sastri, Member of the Indian Council of State :

The President of the French Republic :

Mr. René Viviani, Deputy, former President of the Council of Ministers :

Mr. Albert Sarraut, Deputy, Minister of the Colonies :

Mr. Jules J. Jusserand, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, Grand Cross of the National Order of the Legion of Honour :

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan :

Baron Tomosaburo Kato, Minister for the Navy, Junii, a member of the First Class of the Imperial Order of the Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun with the Paulownia Flower :

Baron Kijuro Shidehara, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Washington, Joshii, a member of the First Class of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun :

Prince Iyesato Tokugawa, Junii, a member of the First Class of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun :

Mr. Masanao Hanihara, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Jushii, a member of the Second Class of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun :

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

I.

The High Contracting Parties agree as between themselves to respect their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean.

If there should develop between any of the High Contracting Parties a controversy arising out of any Pacific question and involving their said rights which is not satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, and is likely to affect the harmonious accord now happily subsisting between them, they shall invite the other High Contracting Parties to a joint conference, to which the whole subject will be referred for consideration and adjustment.

II.

If the said rights are threatened by the aggressive action of any other Power the High Contracting Parties shall communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken, jointly or separately, to meet the exigencies of the particular situation.

III.

This Treaty shall remain in force for ten years from the time it shall take effect, and after the expiration of said period it shall continue to be in force subject to the right of any of the High Contracting Parties to terminate it upon twelve months' notice.

IV.

This Treaty shall be ratified as soon as possible in accordance with the constitutional methods of the High Contracting Parties, and shall take effect on the deposit of ratifications, which shall take place at Washington, and thereupon the agreement between Great Britain and Japan which was

concluded at London on the 13th July, 1911, shall terminate. The Government of the United States will transmit to all the signatory Powers a certified copy of the *procès-verbal* of the deposit of ratifications.

The present Treaty, in French and in English, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States, and duly certified copies thereof will be transmitted by that Government to each of the signatory Powers.

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at the City of Washington, the thirteenth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES.	[L.S.]	ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.	[L.S.]
HENRY CABOT LODGE.	[L.S.]	V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.	[L.S.]
OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD.	[L.S.]	RENE VIVIANI.	[L.S.]
ELIHU ROOT.	[L.S.]	A. SARRAUT.	[L.S.]
ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.	[L.S.]	JUSSERAND.	[L.S.]
LEE OF FAREHAM.	[L.S.]	T. KATO.	[L.S.]
A. C. GEDDES.	[L.S.]	K. SHIDEHARA.	[L.S.]
R. L. BORDEN.	[L.S.]	TOKUGAWA IYESATO.	[L.S.]
G. F. PEARCE.	[L.S.]	M. HANIHARA.	[L.S.]
JOHN W. SALMOND.	[L.S.]		

VI. Declaration by the United States of America, the British Empire, France, and Japan, accompanying the Pacific Treaty of the 13th December, 1921.

Signed at Washington, 13th December, 1921.

In signing the Treaty this day between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, and Japan, it is declared to be the understanding and intent of the signatory Powers—

1. That the Treaty shall apply to the mandated islands in the Pacific Ocean; provided, however, that the making of the Treaty shall not be deemed to be an assent on the part of the United States of America to the mandates, and shall not preclude agreements between the United States of America and the mandatory Powers respectively in relation to the mandated islands.

2. That the controversies to which the second paragraph of Article I refers shall not be taken to embrace questions which, according to principles of international law, lie exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the respective Powers.

Washington, D.C., 13th December, 1921.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES.	[L.S.]	ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.	[L.S.]
HENRY CABOT LODGE.	[L.S.]	V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.	[L.S.]
OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD.	[L.S.]	RENE VIVIANI.	[L.S.]
ELIHU ROOT.	[L.S.]	A. SARRAUT.	[L.S.]
ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.	[L.S.]	JUSSERAND.	[L.S.]
LEE OF FAREHAM.	[L.S.]	T. KATO.	[L.S.]
A. C. GEDDES.	[L.S.]	K. SHIDEHARA.	[L.S.]
R. L. BORDEN.	[L.S.]	TOKUGAWA IYESATO.	[L.S.]
G. F. PEARCE.	[L.S.]	M. HANIHARA.	[L.S.]
JOHN W. SALMOND.	[L.S.]		

VII. Agreement between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, and Japan, supplementary to the Pacific Treaty of the 13th December, 1921.

Signed at Washington, 6th February, 1922.

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, and Japan have, through their respective Plenipotentiaries, agreed upon the following stipulations supplementary to the Quadruple Treaty signed at Washington on the 13th December, 1921:

The term "insular possessions and insular dominions" used in the aforesaid Treaty shall, in its application to Japan, include only Karafuto (or the southern portion of the Island of Sakhalin), Formosa, and the Pescadores, and the islands under the mandate of Japan.

The present agreement shall have the same force and effect as the said Treaty to which it is supplementary.

The provisions of Article IV of the aforesaid Treaty of the 13th December, 1921, relating to ratification shall be applicable to the present Agreement, which, in French and English, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States, and duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to each of the other contracting Powers.

In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Agreement.

Done at the City of Washington, the sixth day of February, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES.	[L.S.]	JOHN W. SALMOND.	[L.S.]
HENRY CABOT LODGE.	[L.S.]	ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.	[L.S.]
OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD.	[L.S.]	V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.	[L.S.]
ELIHU ROOT.	[L.S.]	A. SARRAUT.	[L.S.]
ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.	[L.S.]	JUSSERAND.	[L.S.]
LEE OF FAREHAM.	[L.S.]	T. KATO.	[L.S.]
A. C. GEDDES.	[L.S.]	K. SHIDEHARA.	[L.S.]
R. L. BORDEN.	[L.S.]	M. HANIHARA.	[L.S.]
G. F. PEARCE.	[L.S.]		

RESOLUTIONS.

I. Resolution to constitute a Commission to consider the Rules of International Law respecting New Agencies of Warfare.

Adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session, Conference on the Limitation of Armament, Washington, 4th February, 1922.

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan have agreed—

- I. That a Commission composed of not more than two members representing each of the above-mentioned Powers shall be constituted to consider the following questions :—
 - (a.) Do existing rules of international law adequately cover new methods of attack or defence resulting from the introduction or development, since the Hague Conference of 1907, of new agencies of warfare ?
 - (b.) If not so, what changes in the existing rules ought to be adopted in consequence thereof as a part of the law of nations ?

- II. That notices of appointment of the members of the Commission shall be transmitted to the Government of the United States of America within three months after the adjournment of the present Conference, which, after consultation with the Powers concerned, will fix the day and place for the meeting of the Commission.

- III. That the Commission shall be at liberty to request assistance and advice from experts in international law and in land, naval, and aerial warfare.

- IV. That the Commission shall report its conclusions to each of the Powers represented in its membership.

Those Powers shall thereupon confer as to the acceptance of the report and the course to be followed to secure the consideration of its recommendations by the other civilized Powers.

II. Resolution to exclude the said Commission from reviewing the Rules already adopted by the Conference relating to Submarines or the Use of Noxious Gases and Chemicals.

Adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session, Conference on the Limitation of Armament, Washington, 4th February, 1922.

Resolved, That it is not the intention of the Powers agreeing to the appointment of a Commission to consider and report upon the rules of international law respecting new agencies of warfare that the Commission shall review or report upon the rules or declarations relating to submarines, or the use of noxious gases and chemicals, already adopted by the Powers in this Conference.

III. Resolution to establish in China a Board of Reference in connection with the Execution of the Far Eastern Treaty.

Adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session, Conference on the Limitation of Armament, Washington, 4th February, 1922.

The representatives of the Powers assembled at the present Conference at Washington—to wit, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal—desiring to provide a procedure for dealing with questions that may arise in connection with the execution of the provisions of Articles III and V of the Treaty to be signed at Washington on the 6th February, 1922, with reference to their general policy designed to stabilize conditions in the Far East, to safeguard the rights and interests of China, and to promote intercourse between China and the other Powers upon the basis of equality of opportunity, resolve—

That there shall be established in China a Board of Reference to which any questions arising in connection with the execution of the aforesaid Articles may be referred for investigation and report.

The Special Conference provided for in Article II of the Treaty to be signed at Washington on the 6th February, 1922, with reference to the Chinese Customs tariff, shall formulate for the approval of the Powers concerned a detailed plan for the constitution of the Board.

IV. Resolution to establish a Commission to inquire into the present Practice of Extra-territorial Jurisdiction and the Administration of Justice in China, with Supplementary Declaration by China.

Adopted at the Fourth Plenary Session, Conference on the Limitation of Armament, Washington, 10th December, 1921.

The representatives of the Powers hereinafter named, participating in the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions in the Conference on the Limitation of Armament—to wit, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal—having taken note of the fact that in the Treaty between Great Britain and China dated 5th September, 1902, in the Treaty between the United States of America and China dated 8th October, 1903, and in the Treaty between Japan and China dated 8th October, 1903, these several Powers have agreed to give every assistance towards the attainment by the Chinese Government of its expressed desire to reform its judicial system and to bring it into accord with that of Western nations, and have declared that

they are also "prepared to relinquish extra-territorial rights when satisfied that the state of the Chinese laws, the arrangements for their administration, and other considerations warrant" them in so doing; being sympathetically disposed towards furthering in this regard the aspiration to which the Chinese Delegation gave expression on the 16th November, 1921, to the effect that "immediately, or as soon as circumstances will permit, existing limitations upon China's political, jurisdictional, and administrative freedom of action are to be removed"; considering that any determination in regard to such action as might be appropriate to this end must depend upon the ascertainment and appreciation of complicated states of fact in regard to the laws and the judicial system and the methods of judicial administration of China, which this Conference is not in a position to determine; have resolved—

That the Governments of the Powers above named shall establish a Commission (to which each of such Governments shall appoint one member) to inquire into the present practice of extra-territorial jurisdiction in China, and into the laws and the judicial system and the methods of judicial administration of China, with a view to reporting to the Governments of the several Powers above named their findings of fact in regard to these matters, and their recommendations as to such means as they may find suitable to improve the existing conditions of the administration of justice in China, and to assist and further the efforts of the Chinese Government to effect such legislation and judicial reforms as would warrant the several Powers in relinquishing, either progressively or otherwise, their respective rights of extra-territoriality;

That the Commission herein contemplated shall be constituted within three months after the adjournment of the Conference, in accordance with detailed arrangements to be hereafter agreed upon by the Governments of the Powers above named, and shall be instructed to submit its report and recommendations within one year after the first meeting of the Commission;

That each of the Powers above named shall be deemed free to accept or to reject all or any portion of the recommendations of the Commission herein contemplated, but that in no case shall any of the said Powers make its acceptance of all or any portion of such recommendations either directly or indirectly dependent on the granting by China of any special concession, favour, benefit, or immunity, whether political or economic.

ADDITIONAL RESOLUTION.

That the non-signatory Powers having by treaty extra-territorial rights in China may accede to the Resolution affecting extra-territoriality and the administration of justice in China by depositing, within three months after the adjournment of the Conference, a written notice of accession with the Government of the United States, for communication by it to each of the signatory Powers.

ADDITIONAL RESOLUTION.

That China, having taken note of the Resolutions affecting the establishment of a Commission to investigate and report upon extra-territoriality and the administration of justice in China, expresses its satisfaction with the sympathetic disposition of the Powers hereinbefore named in regard to the aspiration of the Chinese Government to secure the abolition of extra-territoriality in China, and declares its intention to appoint a representative who shall have the right to sit as a member of the said Commission, it being understood that China shall be deemed free to accept or to reject any or all of the recommendations of the Commission. Furthermore, China is prepared to co-operate in the work of this Commission, and to afford to it every possible facility for the successful accomplishment of its tasks.

V. Resolution to provide for the Abandonment of Foreign Postal Agencies in China.

Adopted at the Fifth Plenary Session, Conference on the Limitation of Armament, Washington, 1st February, 1922.

A. Recognizing the justice of the desire expressed by the Chinese Government to secure the abolition of foreign postal agencies in China, save or except in leased territories or as otherwise specifically provided by treaty, it is resolved—

(1.) The four Powers having such postal agencies agree to their abandonment, subject to the following conditions:—

(a.) That an efficient Chinese postal service is maintained:

(b.) That an assurance is given by the Chinese Government that they contemplate no change in the present postal administration so far as the status of the foreign Co-Director-General is concerned.

(2.) To enable China and the Powers concerned to make the necessary dispositions, this arrangement shall come into force and effect not later than the 1st January, 1923.

B. Pending the complete withdrawal of foreign postal agencies, the four Powers concerned severally undertake to afford full facilities to the Chinese Customs authorities to examine in those agencies all postal matter (excepting ordinary letters, whether registered or not, which upon external examination appear plainly to contain only written matter) passing through them, with a view to ascertaining whether they contain articles which are dutiable or contraband, or which otherwise contravene the Customs regulations or laws of China.

VI. Resolution to provide for an Inquiry by the Diplomatic Representatives of the Powers in China concerning the Presence of Foreign Armed Forces.

Adopted at the Fifth Plenary Session, Conference on the Limitation of Armament, Washington, 1st February, 1922.

Whereas the Powers have from time to time stationed armed forces, including police and railway guards, in China to protect the lives and property of foreigners lawfully in China :

And whereas it appears that certain of these armed forces are maintained in China without the authority of any treaty or agreement :

And whereas the Powers have declared their intention to withdraw their armed forces now on duty in China without the authority of any treaty or agreement whenever China shall assure the protection of the lives and property of foreigners in China :

And whereas China has declared her intention and capacity to assure the protection of the lives and property of foreigners in China :

Now, to the end that there may be clear understanding of the conditions upon which in each case the practical execution of those intentions must depend, it is resolved—

That the Diplomatic Representatives in Peking of the Powers now in Conference at Washington—to wit, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal—will be instructed by their respective Governments, whenever China shall so request, to associate themselves with three representatives of the Chinese Government to conduct collectively a full and impartial inquiry into the issues raised by the foregoing declarations of intention made by the Powers and by China, and shall thereafter prepare a full and comprehensive report, setting out without reservation their findings of fact and their opinion with regard to the matter hereby referred for inquiry, and shall furnish a copy of their report to each of the nine Governments concerned, which shall severally make public the report, with such comment as each may deem appropriate. The representatives of any of the Powers may make or join in minority reports stating their differences, if any, from the majority report.

That each of the Powers above named shall be deemed free to accept or reject all or any of the findings of fact or opinions expressed in the report, but that in no case shall any of the said Powers make its acceptance of all or any of the findings of fact or opinions either directly or indirectly dependent on the granting by China of any special concession, favour, benefit, or immunity, whether political or economic.

VII. Resolution to limit the Use and Maintenance of Foreign Radio-stations in China, with Supplementary Declarations by the Powers other than China and by China.

Adopted at the Fifth Plenary Session, Conference on the Limitation of Armament, Washington, 1st February, 1922.

The representatives of the Powers hereinafter named participating in the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions in the Conference on the Limitation of Armament—to wit, the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal—have resolved—

1. That all radio-stations in China, whether maintained under the provisions of the international protocol of the 7th September, 1901, or in fact maintained in the grounds of any of the foreign legations in China, shall be limited in their use to sending and receiving Government messages, and shall not receive or send commercial or personal or unofficial messages, including Press matter : Provided, however, that in case all other telegraphic communication is interrupted, then, upon official notification accompanied by proof of such interruption to the Chinese Ministry of Communications, such stations may afford temporary facilities for commercial, personal, or unofficial messages, including Press matter, until the Chinese Government has given notice of the termination of the interruption.

2. All radio-stations operated within the territory of China by a foreign Government, or the citizens or subjects thereof, under treaties or concessions of the Government of China, shall limit the messages sent and received by the terms of the treaties or concessions under which the respective stations are maintained.

3. In case there be any radio-station maintained in the territory of China by a foreign Government, or citizens or subjects thereof, without the authority of the Chinese Government, such station, and all the plant, apparatus, and material thereof, shall be transferred to and taken over by the Government of China, to be operated under the direction of the Chinese Ministry of Communications, upon fair and full compensation to the owners for the value of the installation, as soon as the Chinese Ministry of Communications is prepared to operate the same effectively for the general public benefit.

4. If any questions shall arise as to the radio-stations in leased territories, in the South Manchurian Railway zone, or in the French concession at Shanghai, they shall be regarded as matters for discussion between the Chinese Government and the Governments concerned.

5. The owners or managers of all radio-stations maintained in the territory of China by foreign Powers, or citizens or subjects thereof, shall confer with the Chinese Ministry of Communications for the purpose of seeking a common arrangement to avoid interference in the use of wave-lengths by wireless stations in China, subject to such general arrangements as may be made by an international conference convened for the revision of the rules established by the International Radio Telegraph Convention signed at London, 5th July, 1912.

DECLARATION CONCERNING THE RESOLUTION ON RADIO-STATIONS IN CHINA OF THE 7TH DECEMBER, 1921 [*i.e., the above Resolution*].

The Powers other than China declare that nothing in paragraph 3 or 4 of the Resolution of the 7th December, 1921, is to be deemed to be an expression of opinion by the Conference as to whether the stations referred to therein are or are not authorized by China.

They further give notice that the result of any discussion arising under paragraph 4 must, if it is not to be subject to objection by them, conform with the principles of the "open door," or equality of opportunity, approved by the Conference.

CHINESE DECLARATION CONCERNING RESOLUTION OF THE 7TH DECEMBER REGARDING RADIO-STATIONS IN CHINA.

The Chinese Delegation takes this occasion formally to declare that the Chinese Government does not recognize or concede the right of any foreign Power, or of the nationals thereof, to install or operate, without its express consent, radio-stations in legation grounds, settlements, concessions, leased territories, railway areas, or other similar areas.

VIII. Resolution relating to the Unification of Railways in China, with a Supplementary Declaration by China.

Adopted at the Fifth Plenary Session, Conference on the Limitation of Armament, Washington, 1st February, 1922.

The Powers represented in this Conference record their hope that, to the utmost degree consistent with legitimate existing rights, the future development of railways in China shall be so conducted as to enable the Chinese Government to effect the unification of railways into a railway-system under Chinese control, with such foreign financial and technical assistance as may prove necessary in the interests of that system.

STATEMENT REGARDING CHINESE RAILWAYS MADE ON THE 19TH JANUARY, 1922, BY THE CHINESE DELEGATION.

The Chinese Delegation notes with sympathetic appreciation the expression of the hope of the Powers that the existing and future railways of China may be unified under the control and operation of the Chinese Government, with such foreign financial and technical assistance as may be needed. It is our intention as speedily as possible to bring about this result. It is our purpose to develop existing and future railways in accordance with a general programme that will meet the economic, industrial, and commercial requirements of China. It will be our policy to obtain such foreign financial and technical assistance as may be needed from the Powers in accordance with the principles of the "open door" or equal opportunity; and the friendly support of these Powers will be asked for the effort of the Chinese Government to bring all the railways of China, now existing or to be built, under its effective and unified control and operation.

IX. Resolution relating to the Reduction of Chinese Military Forces and Expenditures.

Adopted at the Fifth Plenary Session, Conference on the Limitation of Armament, Washington, 1st February, 1922.

Whereas the Powers attending this Conference have been deeply impressed with the severe drain on the public revenue of China through the maintenance, in various parts of the country, of military forces excessive in number, and controlled by the military chiefs of the provinces without co-ordination:

And whereas the continued maintenance of these forces appears to be mainly responsible for China's present unsettled political conditions:

And whereas it is felt that large and prompt reductions of these forces will not only advance the cause of China's political unity and economic development, but will hasten her financial rehabilitation:

Therefore, without any intention to interfere in the internal problems of China, but animated by the sincere desire to see China develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government alike in her own interest and in the general interest of trade, and being inspired by the spirit of this Conference, whose aim is to reduce, through the limitation of armament, the enormous disbursements which manifestly constitute the greater part of the encumbrance upon enterprise and national prosperity, it is resolved:

That this Conference express to China the earnest hope that immediate and effective steps may be taken by the Chinese Government to reduce the aforesaid military forces and expenditures.

X. Resolution to provide for Full Publicity with respect to the Political and other International Obligations of China and of the several Powers in relation to China.

Adopted at the Fifth Plenary Session, Conference on the Limitation of Armament, Washington, 1st February, 1922.

The Powers represented in this Conference, considering it desirable that there should hereafter be full publicity with respect to all matters affecting the political and other international obligations of China and of the several Powers in relation to China, are agreed as follows:—

I. The several Powers other than China will at their earliest convenience file with the Secretariat-General of the Conference, for transmission to the participating Powers, a list of all treaties, conventions, exchange of notes, or other international agreements which they may have with China, or with any other Power or Powers in relation to China, which they deem to be still in force and upon which they may desire to rely. In each case citations will be given to any official or other publication in which an authoritative text of the documents may be found. In any case in which the document may not have been published, a copy of the text (in its original language or languages) will be filed with the Secretariat-General of the Conference.

Every treaty or other international agreement of the character described which may be concluded hereafter shall be notified by the Governments concerned within sixty days of its conclusion to the Powers who are signatories of or adherents to this agreement.

II. The several Powers other than China will file with the Secretariat-General of the Conference at their earliest convenience, for transmission to the participating Powers, a list, as nearly complete as may be possible, of all those contracts between their nationals, of the one part, and the Chinese Government or any of its administrative subdivisions or local authorities, of the other part, which involve any concession, franchise, option, or preference with respect to railway-construction, mining, forestry, navigation, river conservancy, harbour-works, reclamation, electrical communications, or other public works or public services, or for the sale of arms or ammunition, or which involve a lien upon any of the public revenues or properties of the Chinese Government or of any of its administrative subdivisions. There shall be, in the case of each document so listed, either a citation to a published text, or a copy of the text itself.

Every contract of the public character described which may be concluded hereafter shall be notified by the Governments concerned within sixty days after the receipt of information of its conclusion to the Powers who are signatories of or adherents to this agreement.

III. The Chinese Government agrees to notify in the conditions laid down in this agreement every treaty agreement or contract of the character indicated herein which has been or may hereafter be concluded by that Government or by any local authority in China with any foreign Power or the nationals of any foreign Power, whether party to this agreement or not, so far as the information is in its possession.

IV. The Governments of Powers having treaty relations with China which are not represented at the present Conference shall be invited to adhere to this agreement.

The United States Government, as convener of the Conference, undertakes to communicate this agreement to the Governments of the said Powers, with a view to obtaining their adherence thereto as soon as possible.

XI. Resolution relating to the Preservation of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

Adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session, Conference on the Limitation of Armament, Washington, 4th February, 1922.

Resolved, That the preservation of the Chinese Eastern Railway for those in interest requires that better protection be given to the railway and the persons engaged in its operation and use, a more careful selection of personnel to secure efficiency of service, and a more economical use of funds to prevent waste of the property.

That the subject should immediately be dealt with through the proper diplomatic channels.

XII. Resolution relating to the Responsibility of China towards the Foreign Stockholders, Bondholders, and Creditors of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company.

Adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session, Conference on the Limitation of Armament, Washington, 4th February, 1922.

The Powers other than China, in agreeing to the Resolution regarding the Chinese Eastern Railway, reserve the right to insist hereafter upon the responsibility of China for performance or non-performance of the obligations towards the foreign stockholders, bondholders, and creditors of the Chinese Eastern Railway Company which the Powers deem to result from the contracts under which the railroad was built, and the action of China thereunder, and the obligations which they deem to be in the nature of a trust resulting from the exercise of power by the Chinese Government over the possession and administration of the railroad.

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