



# Game Handbook

*by Dave Boundy*



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# Introduction

## **Outline of the Game**

Welcome to the Megagame of the Washington Conference of 1921. In this game, you will take on the role of a senior diplomat, a politician, a military chief or a member of the press. Your aim is to make the best deal for your country that you can. As usual, the aim of the press is to be as influential and highly regarded as possible.

The government of the United States of America has invited you to Washington to discuss the current international situation in the Pacific, to agree to ways of easing tension and, most importantly, to agree to limit expenditure on arms - particularly on the navy. The intention is to run two parallel tracks to the conference. The first track will deal with the naval and military matters while the second track will deal with political and diplomatic matters. Inevitably, the two will be closely linked - it is inconceivable that any agreement could be made on restricting fleet sizes without some accompanying way of reducing tension.

The conference is expected to achieve treaties on the limitation of naval expenditure and on the issue of China. Additionally, the conference is expected to set out the way that warfare should be conducted (rules for air warfare, submarine warfare, targeting of civilians and the use of gas).

## **Background**

The date is November 1921. In reality, the parties met through to February 1922 and each turn will represent a week each of wheeling, dealing, horse-trading and formal negotiation. The place is Washington DC - the hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution conference centre. You have been allocated an area for your own delegation and there are areas set aside for each part of the conference. You are also welcome to visit other delegations and to meet others anywhere in public. I would however, ask you to respect two exceptions to this - there is a time set aside in each turn to allow each team to talk internally and you are required to be in your team area in that time (the weekend). At some other times, delegations might need privacy, so please only enter a team area if you are invited to do so.



1918/19 saw the end of the "war to end wars". The United States was the architect of the peace settlement and of the League of Nations, but internal difficulties have stopped its participation. Nevertheless, the pressure to work with others has led to the USA initiating this conference - a conference that would otherwise have been led by Great Britain under the auspices of the League of Nations.

## **Issues**

There are two big issues in front of the conference: the size of the battleship fleets and the status of China. There are, however, many other issues on the other types of ship in the fleet, on fleet bases, on the use of submarines in warfare, the use of chemical gases in warfare, the status of the mandates agreed in Versailles and on and on. A number of these issues have been placed on the agenda by the League of Nations and those of you who are in the League (all of you except the USA) can regard this conference as a fully empowered committee of the League.



Every country wishes to cut arms expenditure. Each country has different pressures on it, and has different room for budgetary manoeuvre, but all are agreed that the post-war levels of arms should not be sustained. The world economy is fragile, and each country wishes to avoid disruption to its trade, indeed to see its trade increase as the best way to improve its situation. China is already important for trade and can be seen to be much more important in future. This will present a potential source of tension. It is important to make an agreement with the Chinese and everyone else about trading with China, because it is morally right but more important because failure to do so will result in conflict between the powers involved.

China is also seen as the source of many of the resources that are increasingly required by the industrial machines of the Powers. The Dutch East Indies is also a useful, or possibly troublesome source of oil, rubber and minerals, with the Netherlands being the key player there.

## **Style of Play**

I have no preconceptions about the outcome of the game. In a sense, my job has been very easy - I have just tried to produce a realistic set of briefings as possible and then imposed a minimal structure to get things going. You should have no worries about departing from any historical outcome (but I hope that you will take account of the real situation that your historical counterparts were in). If you go too far, then I feel sure that your government at home will have something to say about it - communications were not as good as now, but the newly laid submarine cables allowed true global communications. The American press was also very active and embarrassed a number of delegations by quoting them in ill timed or out of context statements.

You will be taking the part of one of the delegates to the conference. Your team handbook and your personal briefing will have a lot of information about the character: the game is partly a role-playing game. Please try to take on the attitudes and opinions of the character. Several of the teams have internal frictions caused by the characters involved and by their positions in the country governance: role-playing the character is therefore likely to bring some players into conflict with other members of the team when it comes to deciding negotiating strategy.

The participants in this game are all likely to become very involved. Please bear in mind that their role or their strategy might require them to be belligerent, stubborn, obstinate, 2-faced or just plain unpleasant - there will be nothing at all personal about it.



## **Game Material**

### **Background Reading**

There are few rules in this game, so most of the game material is by way of briefing. I hope that you will have time before the game to read about the period. As long as you have read the game material, this is not essential (I hope that I have written enough material to allow you to play the game anyway), but it will enhance your enjoyment. There is a bibliography to help at Annex A, but you will find any number of different excellent books on the subject.

### **Accuracy**

You might find that some of the material in the briefing is "wrong" i.e. it does not match history. There could be a number of reasons for this. It could be that sources disagree - not unheard of. It could be that I have changed the facts - possibly to simplify a subject. It could be that I have made a typo or even that I have made an error and I have not got my facts correct (or that I have been unable to find something and have taken an educated guess).



The Washington Conference is a game, so most of the time I would like to act as though everything in the briefing is gospel - if you know different, then I would be fascinated to hear it and I might change the game, but please don't be offended if I don't.

To make life easy, I have used a common currency of £, rather than quote in local currency. Costs, budgets and expenditure are also one area where I have occasionally given an interpretation.

### **Handbooks and Briefing**

This Game Handbook covers the way the game will be played and gives background briefing which is common to all countries and delegates. It is available to every player.

Each team has its own handbook, giving material specific to that country's delegates, such as a discussion of the negotiating options that could be considered. This will be given only to the members of that team. The team handbook also contains the important budgetary information.

A country briefing is available relating to each of the 7 countries represented in the game. Each country briefing is available to every player. Recent history, relevant important background and a summary of each member of that country's delegates is given.

Each player will also receive a personal briefing that gives a summary of the biography and career of each character, along with a "pen picture" of that character where I have been able to pull it together. The amount of information varies hugely between characters involved, but I have tried to give enough personal briefing to allow you to role-play the character and understand the pressures on that character. There is a brilliant little book called "Arms – and the Men" written by C A Player – a journalist at the time. That book contains articles on many of the delegates and I have reproduced those in the personal briefings (the book is out of copyright), as well as culling information from Wikipedia and elsewhere. I hope you find it all helpful and enlightening.

## Game Setup

### **The Teams**

There are 8 player teams:

Great Britain (and the Empire)	China
USA	Italy
Japan	Netherlands
France	Press

### **Country Teams**

Country teams comprise a head of delegation, one or more political delegates and one or more military delegates (except China). The head of delegation is a political appointee. There will be three strands of activity - the political meetings, the military meetings and the various negotiations around Washington outside those formal meetings. The head of delegation for the USA is the chairman of the overall conference and of the political meetings - unless agreed otherwise by the delegates. There is no chairman of the military meetings and it will be the first job of the teams to agree on the arrangements for those meetings.

### **China**

The Chinese delegation represents the recognised central Chinese government in Peking. They might well have sympathy with one of one of the warring factions, but they are career diplomats and politicians.

### **Press**

The Press team comprises journalists who will produce news stories from what is discussed and decided. The press have a right to sit in on any formal meeting. Players can ask them to stay out of any other discussions, but the players need to think carefully about their relations with the press. The press will affect the attitude of the public at home. The press can also give an informed opinion about any topic under consideration. They contain some very astute naval and political commentators, so any analysis will be worth reading.

### **Control**

There is a very small control team performing the following roles:

Game control	Home government control
Non-played countries control	Player support

The role of Player Support is to help any player that is having difficulty and to look after any new players so that they feel able to participate fully. Please talk to the Player Support Control if you feel “stuck”.

The more general role of Control is to provide any advice on facts that would have been known to the delegates. Any available control will also represent any non-played countries such as Belgium, Portugal, Germany and the Soviet Russia as well as giving the reaction of the home country to anything that is discussed and agreed. Control will also be available if a team wishes to consult with the home government. In extreme cases, a home government could change the head of delegation. All teams must consider the effects of their statements and agreements on the audience at home - the government, the different lobby groups and the public.

The Home Government control will want to know how far the team has gone to meeting their budget limitations for following years..

## ***Covid19***

The venue is large enough that we should not be too cramped together. I would ask that you come along only if you have been fully vaccinated. I would further ask that you take a test (the lateral flow test is absolutely fine) in the 24 hours before the game and only attend if you are clear. With these two measures in place, I am not going to make any rules about wearing masks, and I am very aware that some might find negotiations difficult with a mask on. However, if you wish to wear a mask then by all means do so.

Normally we would provide tea and coffee, but on this occasion there is an obvious risk to doing so. Could you therefore bring your own lunch, snacks and drinks. There are nearby small supermarkets but the only place, as far as I know, that can probably be persuaded to do take-away teas and coffee is a small cafe just over from the venue named “Rosie Lee”.

## ***Debrief***

In place of the normal debrief, the final turn of this game requires the delegation leaders to make a statement in a plenary session (see below for details of session types). There will then be a short debrief and clear-up session. After the event, you are invited to write after-action reports and comment generally in the game’s Facebook page.

**Layout of the Game****Timetable**

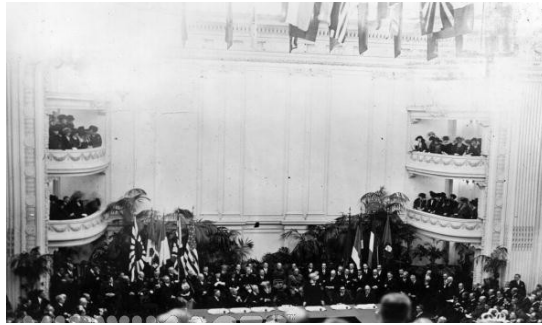
The day will start with a briefing at 10am. Teams will then be asked to meet in their team areas until the start of the game at 10:30. The first turn (from 10:30 to 11:00) will comprise opening statements from each of the heads of delegations (this will be the only formal business during this period, although – as for the whole day - I would expect a number of informal contacts and meetings to take place). After that, from 11:00, one turn will be one hour and will represent one week.

0930	reception open
1000	game briefing and team meetings in team areas prior to negotiations starting
1030	week of 12/11/21 - plenary and opening statements by heads of delegation
1100	week of 19/11/21 (1150-1200 weekend)
1200	week of 26/11/21 (1250-1300 weekend)
1300	week of 3/12/21 (1350-1400 weekend)
1400	week of 10/11/21 (1450-1500 weekend)
1500	week of 17/12/21 (1550-1600 weekend)
1600	week of 26/12/21
1630	final plenary – statements by heads of delegation (4 minutes each)

### Session Types

There are 4 different type of session:

- **Plenary:** a meeting of everyone. Only heads of delegation may speak. The Press attend.
- **Committee of the Whole.** This is a meeting which every country may attend. There is a military and a political committee, each of which is responsible for producing agreements in their areas. Only one delegate for each country may be at the table and speak, but delegates can be changed (any type of “musical chairs” approach would, however, be seen as very rude). Supporting members of each delegation may sit behind their spokesman and it is normal for there to be a great deal of chat between them, but without interrupting the flow of the committee. The Press attend.
- **Sub-committees.** These are meetings which are set up by one of the committees of the whole in order to deal with a detailed topic. A sub-committee is set up with one of the countries being nominated as chairman. That country must provide a delegate to chair every meeting and is responsible for the way the meeting is conducted – normally this is expected to be much less formal than committees of the whole or plenary sessions. Sub-committees can be set up at any time during the conference and to deal with any issue, but negotiations before the conference have led to initial setting up of several sub-committees. The Press should normally be allowed to attend, but if not then a press statement must be issued at the end of the turn covering the discussions.
- **Informal meetings.** Probably the largest number of meetings will occur between delegates outside the formal sessions. There are no rules covering conduct of these meetings and the press may be excluded. Please try to stay in role for these meetings.



The first week is dedicated to an initial plenary session. After that, there are a series of 5 standard weeks that have the following structure:

- xx:00 general discussions between teams
- xx:10 Committees of the Whole meet. Each should convene the meeting even if they have reached a stage where there is little to discuss (because negotiations are at a “behind the scenes” stage, for example). If this is the case, then the meeting should agree to close.
- xx:50 the weekend – teams should be in their team areas in private discussions. This will allow each team a period to reflect on what is going on, to plan their next moves and to brief each other on any development. Revised budget plans should be discussed with Home Government control during (or immediately after) the weekend.

Any delegate that is not specifically part of a meeting may spend time in informal discussions. As an example, if a country has a military delegate and a political delegate at the committees of the whole, then other team members (when not part of a sub-committee) could meet informally “behind-the-scenes” to resolve issues with another country.

The final week can be structured in any way that delegates wish – there is no requirement for a meeting of any committee and no requirement for a weekend. This is followed by the final plenary which is an opportunity for each head of delegation to lay out their review of the conference, understanding of the agreements made and hopes for the future – there will be a 4 minute limit to each delegation. The conference chairman decides on the order of speaking.

**Budget Forecasts and Plans**

During each weekend, each team should complete a budget forecast for the next 2 years. Copies of plans will be made available (an example is in Annex D) with the base expenditure completed. At the moment, plans have not been adapted for any new situation, but the budget available will almost certainly lower. More information is available in the team handbooks. The plan can then be amended to show the planned differences from the base forecast, with a note on how that is to be achieved. For much of the conference, it is expected that the planned expenditure will still be too high: that might bring pressure from the home government, but it will most definitely bring censure if it lasts until the end of the game. This process will be carried out in consultation with the Home Government control.

Annex D shows an example spreadsheet. Each team will be provided with this spreadsheet and a laminated copy. The team may keep track manually by annotating the laminated copy or by using the spreadsheet. It will not be possible to provide computers for this purpose, but a team may wish to provide their own. Please make sure you look after your equipment bearing in mind the risks of equipment in a semi-public space with a lot of people moving around.

**Home Approval**

As well as the military budget, delegates were constrained by considering the approval of their home government and the reaction of their home populace. In the game, as in practice, these two are largely combined. .

**Delegates**

The delegates from each country are:

Country	Head of delegation	Political delegates	Military delegates
Great Britain	Arthur Balfour	Sir Auckland C Geddes Mr. George F Pearce Sir Robert L Borden	Lord Lee of Fareham Admiral Sir David Beatty Admiral Pearce
USA	Charles Evans Hughes	Senator Henry Cabot Lodge Elihu Root Oscar Underwood	Theodore Roosevelt Jnr Rear Admiral William V. Pratt
Japan	Baron Tomosaburu Kato Prince Tokugawa	Baron Kijuro Shidehara Mr. Masanao Hanihara	Admiral Kato Kanji Captain Suesugu Nobumasa
France	Aristide Briand	M. Albert Sarraut M. Rene Viviani	Admiral Ferdinand de Bon Admiral Grasset
Italy	Senator Carlo Schanzer	Senator Vittorio Ricci Senator Luigi Albertini	Admiral Alfredo Acton Admiral Thaon di Revel
China	Sao-Ke Alfred Sze	V. E. Wellington Koo Chung-Hui Wang	
Netherlands	Jonkheer H A van Karnebeek	Jonheer Frans van Blokland Dr E. Moresco Dr. Everwijn	

Belgium and Portugal were also in attendance, but are not played in this game.



The assembled heads of delegation

### **Press**

Senior figures have been recruited to cover the conference, by the USA in particular. These include:

- H G Wells noted author, social commentator, forecaster and opinionated pundit
- F D Roosevelt recent (losing) presidential candidate
- Ida Tarbell high profile investigative journalist.
- H Bywater student of naval warfare – acknowledged expert
- Walter W Abell the publisher of the Baltimore Sun.

### **Control**

The roles of Control cannot be set out precisely, as they will rule on anything and change anything as the situation requires: their word is law. However, they also have three specific functions:

1. they take the role of any non-played country that delegates might wish to talk to,
2. they take the role of the home government and the home populace. Delegates should always have an eye to home opinion (and Control certainly will).
3. They ensure the formalities of the game are not forgotten in the heat of negotiations. They will therefore keep time, make sure people are back at their team table at team-time and make sure that players observe the niceties of formal negotiations.

**Meeting Arrangements**

Date: November 1921  
 Location: Washington DC, USA - hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution  
 Attendees: Diplomats/Politicians and Military Negotiators/Advisors from GB and the British Empire, USA, France, Italy, Japan, China, Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal.

**Organisation**



There will be two parallel tracks to the conference - a political track and a military track. Each state should attend both tracks - other than China which will not normally attend the military meeting

The senior USA delegate will start by chairing the conference and the political meetings, which will be needed to agree to any proposed treaty or protocol.

Chairmanship of the military meetings is open for discussion, but the overall chairman must take the lead in arranging this. At the initial session of any meeting, the chairman should be decided. A change of chairmanship is quite feasible - but to do so without the agreement of the existing chairman would make for impossibly frosty relations. Changes to the agenda are different - this is the initial draft agenda - delegates are free to change this as circumstances dictate, and that is regarded as a normal part of the negotiations. It is also quite normal to set up sub-committees to deal with a particular issue. The initial session of the political and the military meetings should agree whether to set up committees. Suggestions at the moment favour initial committees on submarine use, the use of poisonous gases and the tariff rate for Chinese maritime goods.

**Draft Agenda**

<p><u>Political Agenda</u></p> <p>China</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. the status of Chinese territory</li> <li>2. treaty ports (esp Shantung)</li> <li>3. trade with China</li> <li>4. China trade duties</li> <li>5. arm sales to China</li> </ol> <p>Pacific Tension</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. the Anglo-Japanese defensive naval alliance (expires 1923)</li> <li>7. adjustments to the Mandates (possible realignment of Mandate areas?)</li> </ol> <p>Conduct of war</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. rules for submarine warfare</li> <li>7. rules for use of poisonous gases</li> <li>8. rules for air warfare</li> <li>9. rules for civilian targets</li> </ol>	<p><u>Military Agenda</u></p> <p>Relative fleet sizes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. capital ships</li> <li>2. cruisers</li> <li>3. carriers</li> <li>4. escorts</li> <li>5. submarines</li> </ol> <p>Foreign Facilities</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6. naval Bases - numbers, locations</li> <li>7. fortifications - numbers, locations</li> </ol> <p>Size limits on capital ships</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8. gunnery limits per ship (14" or 15" or bigger)</li> <li>9. tonnage per ship</li> </ol>
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## Naval Power

### ***Fleet Bases***

A fleet needed base facilities to operate in a given area. These facilities included fuel/food etc. but crucially also required repair/refit facilities. Operational effectiveness of a fleet dropped, the further away from a base the fleet was operating. It was feasible to take base facilities with a fleet (with floating dry-docks etc.), but this increased the required logistic train of the fleet and increased the vulnerability of the fleet to a point where protection of the supply chain and base facilities would soak up huge proportions of the fleet's resources.

Naval bases also served a strategic role of their own. The functions of these bases were summarised by a contemporary source:

"

1. *They are used for docking and repairs to capital ships and auxiliaries*
2. *They are fuel and supply reserve depots*
3. *They are submarine-proof shelters in which a fleet can rest, take in stores, and where transports and supply ships collect in safety to be convoyed to given points*
4. *They are harbours of refuge and re-fuelling stations for smaller craft with a limited radius of action*
5. *They aid in the control of trade. By the ownership of most of the important fuelling stations of the world, placed on the main routes of trade, shipping can be compelled to take certain pathways in time of war, while enemy shipping can be stopped or forced to sail by more circuitous routes.* "

*(D H Cole: Imperial Military Geography p 60)*

The use of bases will depend on the strategy of any country and the doctrine of its navy. This will be covered in team briefings. A map of naval bases is shown as Annex B.

### ***Combat and the Balance of Forces***

Naval combat was about the projection of power. Attack had three roles: support for armed forces to invade including securing bases, reduction of enemy supplies by sinking merchant shipping and attrition of the opposing fleet. The difference between naval and land warfare was the need to dominate an area, rather than occupy it and concern yourself with frontiers. All naval strategists at the time agreed that domination of an area could only be achieved with a 50% excess of fleet power over an enemy. This was seen as a sharp divide: the difference between 40% and 50% advantage was seen as the difference between success and failure. The trade-off between different types of unit was less clear - thus, any strategist would generally reckon there was a need for 50% advantage in all ship types.

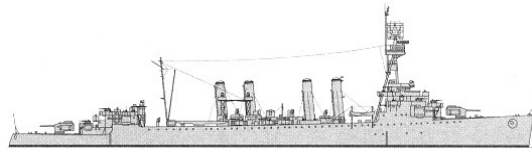
### ***Purposes of ship Types***

***Carriers:*** these were already recognised as powerful units, if heavy enough and modern enough to support bombing forces properly. However, the planes available were not sufficiently powerful - and the techniques for different weather not sufficiently advanced - that they were not as powerful as they would become later



**Capital Ships:** these were needed to be the ultimate ship-sinker. One unopposed capital ship could dominate an area unless other forces were overwhelmingly superior

**Cruisers:** with a large operational radius, high speed and good armament, these were trade-protection ships that could patrol and defend a trade route. Also used as scouts for the battle fleet, one cruiser would be no match for a capital ship, but a few cruisers together could delay the ship and require it to bring them to action.



**Escorts:** required for merchant shipping and for fleet screens, these were antisubmarine, anti-aircraft and anti-commerce raider ships

**Submarines:** generally an offensive weapon, these could be used to threaten enemy movements and to dramatically slow these movements or to sink merchant shipping. Properly dealt with, submarines did not unduly threaten a fleet but the fleet would require more escorts and would make slower progress

**Current Ships in Service**

	Capital Ships	Carriers	Heavy Cruisers	Light Cruisers	Escorts	Submarines
GB	30	5	4	41	337	92
USA	20	1	10	15	350	106
France	10		15	5	110	48
Italy	6		9	13	70	23
Japan	15	2	15	20	100	35
Belgium					15	
Portugal				4	19	4
Netherlands				9	40	23
Australia				7	20	6
New Zealand				1	3	
Canada			1	1	10	4
China				8	26	
China (provincial)					18	

***Ships Being Built (laid down or in build)***

	Capital Ships	Carriers	Heavy Cruisers	Light Cruisers	Escorts	Submarines
GB	4			5	10	20
USA	10			8	20	20
France	4		2	5	5	10
Italy	2		1	9	10	10
Japan	8	4	2	4	3	20
Netherlands				2		10

There is an intimate link between shipbuilding capacity and the number of large ships (capital ships and carriers) being built. At the moment, all capacity for large ships is being used. If orders fall off, then that capacity will soon disappear, but if orders pick up again then it will take some while before the expertise and the equipment and yards can become available.

***Foreign Naval Bases***

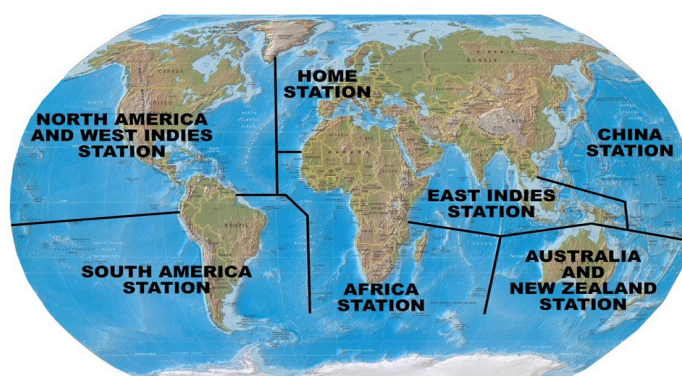
(see map at Annex B)

UK	Gibraltar, Aden, Colombo, Mauritius, Penang, Alexandria, Singapore, Hong Kong, Malta, Bermuda, Trinidad, Cape Coast, Port Stanley, Sierra Leone, Cape Town, Calcutta, Bombay, Victoria, Halifax, Sydney, Wei HaiPei
USA	Guam, Guantanamo Bay, Panama (Atlantic), Panama (Pacific), Honolulu, Manila
France	Saigon, Dakar, Beirut, Madagascar, Algiers, Oran
Japan	Chinkei (Korea), Kiao Chou (China), Ryujun (Port Arthur), Takao (Formosa)
Portugal	Sao Paolo de Loanda (Angola)
Netherlands	Surabaya (Java), Batavia (Java), Sabong (Sumatra)

Experience in the Great War has led a number of countries to plan fortifications for their bases. At the moment, bases are generally lightly defended against the modern ships and would depend on the fleet for defence - fortification dramatically increases the effectiveness of a fighting fleet, particularly if it is operating far from home.

***Deployment***

The RN separated the sea areas of the world into 7 "stations". The China station, for example, covered all of SE Asia and the western Pacific. The current deployment of ships of the main naval powers is shown below in terms of these stations (The British Empire is a combination of the forces of GB, Australia and New Zealand).



**China Station**

	<b>British Empire</b>	<b>USA</b>	<b>Japan</b>	<b>France</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>Netherlands</b>
Capital Ships	3	3	15			
Cruisers	8	10	35			
Carriers			2			
Escorts	70	100	100	10		
Submarines	15	60	35			

**North America and West Indies Station**

	<b>British Empire</b>	<b>USA</b>	<b>Japan</b>	<b>France</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>Netherlands</b>
Capital Ships		17				
Cruisers	8	10				
Carriers		1				
Escorts	80	170				
Submarines	12	46				

**GB Home Station**

	<b>British Empire</b>	<b>USA</b>	<b>Japan</b>	<b>France</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>Netherlands</b>
Capital Ships	19			10	6	
Cruisers	19			10	22	3
Carriers	5					
Escorts	130			40	70	10
Submarines	50			48	23	

**Australia and New Zealand Station**

	<b>British Empire</b>	<b>USA</b>	<b>Japan</b>	<b>France</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>Netherlands</b>
Capital Ships	2					
Cruisers	5					
Carriers						
Escorts	20					
Submarines	10					

**South America Station**

	<b>British Empire</b>	<b>USA</b>	<b>Japan</b>	<b>France</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>Netherlands</b>
Capital Ships	2					
Cruisers	5	5				
Carriers						
Escorts	20	80				
Submarines						

**Africa Station**

	<b>British Empire</b>	<b>USA</b>	<b>Japan</b>	<b>France</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>Netherlands</b>
Capital Ships	2					
Cruisers	5			4		
Carriers						
Escorts	20			20		
Submarines						

**East Indies Station**

	<b>British Empire</b>	<b>USA</b>	<b>Japan</b>	<b>France</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>Netherlands</b>
Capital Ships	2					
Cruisers	5			6		6
Carriers						
Escorts	30			40		30
Submarines	15					23

### **Battleship Gun Size**

In reality, there was a complex question of main armament size on capital ships. In the game, this will be simplified into a decision between 14", 15" and 16" guns. The current battleships in service can be reckoned to be fitted with 14" guns. New 14" battleships will be 5% more effective than those in service and any refits will achieve this 5%. A refit will take a year of standard cost. New 15" battleships (all those in build at the moment) are the same cost, but 15% more effective. New 16"+ battleships are a step change and cost 50% more, with a 25% increase in effectiveness. This is summarised in the following table:

	<i>effectiveness</i>	<i>cost p.a.*</i>	<i>cost*</i>	<i>time</i>
14" in service	100%		-	-
14" refit	105%	£2m	£2m	1 year
14" new build	105%	£2m	£6m	3 years
15" new build	115%	£2m	£6m	3 years
16" new build	125%	£3m	£9m	3 years

\*costs are given as an example – each country may have a different cost profile

If refits or 16" guns are planned, it will be necessary to make ad-hoc changes to the spreadsheet budget figures

### **Battleship Weight**

The weight of a battleship hull determines the effectiveness of the ship as a fighting unit. Extra weight is required for extra armour, for heavier armament and for extra fuel.

The current average battleship size is about 25,000 tons. Use of 15" guns requires an extra 10,000 tons and the use of 16" guns requires an extra 30,000 tons. Heavier armour would require 10,000 tons. The normal operational radius of a battleship is 2,000 miles. Each additional 100 miles radius requires an additional 2,000 tons. All new battleships in production are 15" guns, heavily armoured and with a 2,000 mile radius of operation. Each one is 45,000 tons.

The limiting factor on battleship production is the shipbuilding capacity. In particular, the facilities to build ships larger than 20,000 tons are very limited. All the available facilities are currently in use. If ships are cancelled, then the yards and slips will become unavailable within a year. If extra facilities are required, then it will take 3-5 years for them to come on stream.

### **Other Ships**

The average weights of other ships are:

Carriers	20,000 tons	2,000 mile radius
Light Cruisers	6,000 tons	4,000 mile radius
Heavy Cruisers	10,000 tons	3,000 mile radius
Escorts	1,100 tons	3,000 mile radius
Submarines	900 tons	4,000 mile radius

Light Cruisers generally carry 6" guns and heavy cruisers carry 8" guns. Any cruiser is suitable for trade protection or attack. Heavy cruisers can be expected to act in company to screen invasion forces or merchant convoys against battleships.

***Carrier Hulls***

There is a lot of talk in naval circles about aircraft carriers at the moment and the novel idea is taking hold that laid down battleship/battlecruiser hulls could be used as the platform for carriers.

In the game, a capital ship can be converted to a carrier after 1 year, at the cost of paying any difference in building costs. Thus, if a capital ship was laid down in 1921/22, payment of about £1m (depending on team) would allow it to be switched to production of a carrier after 3 years.

Allowing for this cost in the provided spreadsheets will need to be done on an ad-hoc basis.

***Moth-balling***

Ships that are surplus to requirements are able to be “moth-balled”. This involves keeping the ships in a secure location and surrounding them with a protective covering, generally using an inert gas. In reality, this required cost to carry out the process and a cost to return the ship to service, with a low maintenance cost in the intervening period. In the game, we will represent this by requiring the maintenance cost must be paid in the first year they are in store. After that they can be kept with no penalty until required. Ships taken out of moth-ball must start to pay the maintenance cost, but are not available for a year.

Allowing for this in the provided spreadsheets will need to be done on an ad-hoc basis.

***Submarine Warfare***

Submarines are a new weapon that proved very effective in the recent war. Effective, but morally questionable. Submarines were particularly effective when used by Germany against Atlantic trade and created a very severe threat to the British war effort – although the use of convoys and effective escorts seemed to deal largely with the problem. There is great uncertainty about how to approach this new weapon – it is seen as very effective but aggressive – and its use in defence can only be justified as a deterrent. Its proper use by a minor power can be argued to be defensive, but that is much less so for a power with a large navy. There are therefore three issues in submarine warfare:

- the size of a submarine force – a force of 20-40 submarines is probably usable as a force that will do damage as a reaction to an attack. A force of over 30 is probably a force that could mount an extended campaign and is therefore seen as more likely to be aggressive. The size of the force, of course, should be measured in a particular area – not necessarily right across the globe,
- the size of the escort force to deal with a submarine threat – about 3 escorts are required for every submarine opposing them to give an effective counter,
- the rules of engagement – unrestricted warfare has, by default, been tolerated and makes the submarine force much more effective, but is morally repugnant to the majority of people (if not naval officers), who would prefer to go back to the situation where a vessel has to be warned before being sunk and the crew and passengers evacuated.

***The Anglo-Japanese Treaty***

There has been a long-standing treaty between Great Britain and Japan. The agreement is in force at the time of the conference, being due to be renewed at any time. If it is not specifically abandoned or replaced it will continue.

The effect of the treaty was to release the Royal Navy from onerous obligations in the Pacific, although some ships would still be required for Australia, New Zealand, the GB territories and mandates in the region as well as to protect vital trade. The effect on the Japanese was to remove a potential threat, allowing them to concentrate on Korea (annexed in 1910) and China.

With deterioration of USA – Japanese relationships, partly because of expansionist sentiment in Japan, the treaty appears to the USA to be a dangerous combination of forces.

The treaty was signed in 1902, extended in 1905 and then again in 1911. There were changes between each occasion, but the 1905 version is clear and can be regarded as applying at the time of the conference. It is shown in Annex C.





***China and Trade***

Trade with China is growing and expected to grow very fast. The major trade routes inside China are:

1. Southern provinces via Hong Kong and the river route to Canton and then into the interior
2. Yangtse valley trade via the mouth of the Yangtse at Shanghai, then to Hankow and into the interior
3. Northern provinces via Tientsin and then by rail to Peking and onward
4. Maritime entrances to Peking via ports on the Kwangtung peninsula (Dalny and Port Arthur)

All trade with China goes through ceded or leased territories, treaty ports or concessions. These are operated by one of the foreign countries or are international – allowing all foreigners to trade there. The ceded and leased territories are

- Britain: Weihaiwei and Hong Kong
- France: Kwangchowan
- Japan: Tsingtao (Shantung, previously German) and Port Arthur (previously Russian)
- Portugal: Macao

The main treaty ports and concessions are:

- International: Shanghai, Foochow, Ningpo, Changsha, Wuhu, Nanking, Peking, Tsinanfu, Choutsun, Weihsein, Hangchow, Soochow
- British: Amoy, Canton, Hankow, Kiukiang, Chinkiang, Tientsin, Newchang
- Japan: Amoy, Hankow, Chungking, Tientsin
- France: Canton, Hankow, Tientsin
- Italy: Tientsin

a more detailed listing is shown as part of the China briefing and the map at Annex G shows locations.

## Coal

Coal is the key strategic material for any industrial and maritime nation. Coal is used by 60% of the world's shipping as fuel, while a further 15% can convert from coal to oil and vice versa as market conditions and availability dictate. Coal is also used by much shipping as ballast (being saleable at the distant port). Coal is used as the basis for most industrial power and for the chemical and associated industries.

The chief coal countries of the world are:

Country	Estimated Reserve (billion tons)	Annual Production (million tons)
USA	3,838	549
Canada	1,234	20
China	995	20
Germany	423	150
Great Britain	189	264
Siberia	173	situation uncertain because of civil war
Australia	165	14

## Oil

Oil is taking over from Coal for most uses. One day, it is likely to be as important. Oil production (millions of barrels per year) is:

USA	902	Colombia	20
Venezuela	106	Peru	12
Russia	88	India	8
Mexico	50	Trinidad	8
Persia	42	Sarawak	5
Rumania	31	Egypt	2
Dutch East Indies	29		

## Trade Dependency

The following table shows the trade carried out by the major powers as millions of tons of goods (+ is nett export, - is nett import)

	GB	British Empire	USA	France	Italy	Japan	Netherlands
Coal	+70	-14	+19	-20	-14	-0.5	-0.5
Oil	-9	-7	+10	-2	-1	-1	+1
Ores	-7	-1	+2	+14	-0.5	-1	+0.5
Metals	-0.2	-2	+2	+5	-1	-2	-0.4
Food	-11	+10	+8	-4	-3	-1	-0.4
Manufactured	+2	-1	+2	-0.5	-1	+1	-0.2
Rubber	-0.6	+0.3	-0.4	-0.1	-0.1	-0.2	+0.8

## Assessment of Naval Power for Trade Protection

The naval power to protect trade is not a simple calculation, but it depends, amongst other things, on:

- the home nation coastline length
- the length of trade routes to its colonies
- the amount of trade a country depends on
- the availability of strategic goods via trade (wartime forces will require coal, oil, rubber, ores and/or metals at least)
- the availability of naval bases
- the naval power of potential enemies

## Economies

### ***Economies***

The effect of the war had been very mixed. The economies of a number of countries had been devastated, while others had benefited from the war (a double-edged sword, as the transition to a peacetime economy led to a downturn in those countries).

This table gives an estimate of the manufacturing output in each country, indexed to the USA in 1913. The industrialisation of Japan, which really took hold in this period, comes through clearly.

<b>Index (US in 1913=100)</b>	<b>1913</b>	<b>1920</b>	<b>1921</b>
US	100	122	98
Germany	32	19	24
UK	30	28	16
France	16	11	10
Soviet Republics	19	2	4
Italy	11	10	11
Japan	5	10	11
Netherlands	3	3	3

### ***Debts and Repayments***

Most states had run a substantial deficit budget in order to fund the war. The exceptions to this were the USA and the UK - both had raised taxes and funded much of their war effort from current money, but the UK had still ended the war with large debts and large creditors (mainly France, who had borrowed hugely during the war). France in particular needed reparations from Germany in order to repay her debts to the UK and to the US - Britain needed French and Italian payments to allow her to repay the US.

The effect of this was to leave economies unstable. States relied on printing money to allow them to survive and this led to the well-know inflationary pressures of the time. The impact of this was that states became more and more dependent on relationships between each other. France could not afford to offend Britain too much because this had an impact on the way that Britain viewed the repayments and the way that Britain supported France in obtaining money from Germany (one way or another). The USA could not afford to lean too heavily on those that owed it money because they might well just refuse to pay anything if pushed too hard.

## Growth of Armed Forces

### Military and Naval Personnel ('000s)

	1880	1890	1900	1910	1914	1920
<b>France</b>	543	542	715	769	910	1200
<b>Britain</b>	367	420	624	571	532	700
<b>Italy</b>	216	284	255	322	345	400
<b>Japan</b>	71	84	234	271	306	400
<b>USA</b>	34	39	96	127	164	250
<b>Netherlands</b>	50	60	70	80	90	90

### Warship Tonnage (000 tons)

	1880	1890	1900	1910	1914	1920
<b>France</b>	271	319	499	725	900	1,100
<b>Britain</b>	650	679	1,065	2,174	2,714	3,400
<b>Italy</b>	100	242	245	327	498	900
<b>Japan</b>	15	41	187	496	700	1,200
<b>USA</b>	169	240	333	824	985	2,000
<b>Netherlands</b>	70	90	110	140	110	100

The dominance of the French army, and the Royal Navy, shows through here quite dramatically.

Growth in the Japanese and American fleets has brought those countries to 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> size in the world over 20 years, from being 5<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>.

The British strategy of having a fleet bigger than any other two fleets combined (the 2-power standard) can also be seen to hold.

## Mandates and Pacific Territories

### ***Versailles and the League of Nations***

The Versailles conference had defined a number of issues in some detail. These included international boundaries, mandates and protecting powers for less powerful parts of the world, particularly those that had previously been part of the German and Turkish territories. The various mandates were allocated to different powers – they were territories which were placed under the protection of a major power because the territory was not capable of governing itself, in particular it was incapable of resisting encroachment by itself. The mandating authority was the League of Nations who were intended to rule on any dispute.

### ***Mandates – Useful Territories***

Mandates in Europe, Africa and the Middle East were largely available for their resources. Mandates in the Pacific area were now seen as very important because they represent places where fleet bases can be built.

This seems from a modern perspective to be a cynical manipulation of the situation in order to benefit the victors, who wrote the Versailles settlement, and to expand their empires. I think there was a mixture of self-interest and benevolence (albeit horrendously misguided) in the attitude towards empire, and mandates were just an extension of that movement, but it is certainly true that any mandated power would have no qualms about, for example, building a military base in a mandate.

The mandates were:

- Palestine (United Kingdom)
- Syria (France)
- Mesopotamia (United Kingdom)
- Ruanda-Urundi (Belgium)
- Tanganyika (United Kingdom)
- British Cameroons (GB)
- French Cameroon (France)
- British Togoland (GB)
- French Togoland (France)
- New Guinea (Australia/United Kingdom)
- Nauru (Australia together with United Kingdom and New Zealand)
- Samoa (New Zealand/United Kingdom)
- South Pacific Mandate (Japan)
- South West Africa (South Africa/United Kingdom)

The preceding map shows the mandates and territories controlled by one or more of the great Powers in the Pacific area.

### ***USA Territories and the Mandates***

It should be noted that the USA had a rather “fuzzy” relationship with the mandates. As the USA had not ratified the Versailles treaty and was not a member of the League of Nations, then it did not need to recognise any mandate.

The USA did, of course, have its own territories in the Pacific. As a result of the Spanish – USA war, it had acquired territories in the Philippines and some minor islands such as Guam. Along with its territory of Hawaii, this formed a chain of fleet bases (see Annex B) and communications hubs for the rapidly growing network of undersea cables.

### ***The Yap Issue***

One of these islands that had been exercising the diplomatic skills of the USA and Japan was the island of Yap. Controlled by Japan as part of its south Pacific mandate, Yap was already the subject of Japanese activity as they militarised the local government there and maintained growing commercial and military presence. This aroused USA suspicions that Yap was being set up as a fleet base which would allow the Japanese and GB combined navy (they were part of a strong alliance at the time) to neutralise the effect of Guam and the Philippines.

Guam was being used as a cable hub. The strong suspicion was that the USA was tapping communications, so the Japanese closed that cable and transferred all signals to their hub in Yap. The USA and French saw this as threatening and wanted cable communications administered by all parties in an open way. Japanese and USA diplomats had been negotiating and had almost agreed a treaty which is summarised as:

1. USA nationals can work and live on Yap
2. USA would recognise the Japanese right to govern as a mandated power
3. Japan would not maintain monopolistic concessions (i.e. the cable would be available to all)
4. Freedom of worship and the rights of the Yap inhabitants would be protected
5. A “most favoured nation” clause would guarantee that any power would gain from future arrangements with any other power.

Japan wanted to add a final point – denouncing racism and welcoming the rights of any Japanese citizen to live freely in any mandate or in the USA. This was not acceptable to the USA who were just passing anti-immigration laws, so the issue was placed on the agenda of the Washington Conference.

## Country Briefings

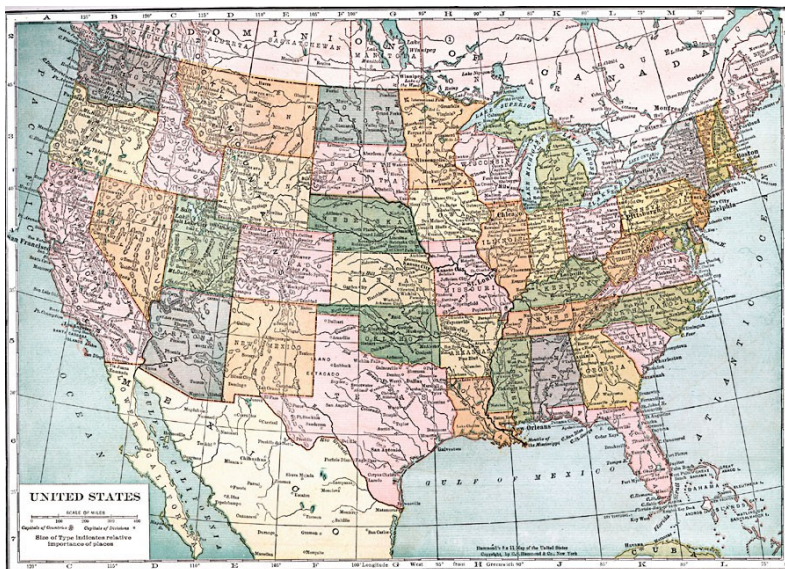
This section gives a broad outline of each country. The material is widely known and therefore available to all delegates. Each team will, separately, receive a team handbook containing more information, budgets and specific information.

In order, the countries are:

- USA
- GB
- Japan
- France
- Italy
- Netherlands
- China

There is a separate section about the delegates.

**Country Briefing for USA**



**Economy and Power**

American economic power had grown hugely in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the USA now occupied an undisputed position of economic muscle based on industrialisation, access to raw materials and financial strength as a result of trade surpluses with Europe being funded by acquiring investments in European countries which generated very large incomes.

The end of WW1 did, however result in a sharp recession for over a year, which has just ended at the time of the conference. Although the USA has enormous economic power, this recession has increased anxiety and led to pressure to restrain taxes and military expenditure.

**Foreign Policy**

US foreign policy was controlled by the tension between the need for a truly Great Power to be involved throughout the world and the natural isolationist and anti-central government tendencies of the population.

The USA went to war with Spain in 1898. The result was the acquisition of a position in the Philippines. The US acted as mediator in the Russo-Japanese war and insisted in involvement in international matters as a matter of course (e.g. the 1906 conference over Morocco).





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## China

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The US administration developed ambitions of domination by trade and economic strength of the potentially enormous Chinese markets and resources. The "Open Door" policy (see the country briefing for "China") was developed as a means to this end. The USA committed 2,500 troops to an international army which was sent to China to restore order in 1900.

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## Japan

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The Root–Takahira Agreement was an agreement between the United States and the Empire of Japan negotiated between United States Secretary of State Elihu Root and Japanese Ambassador to the United States Takahira Kogorō. Signed on November 30, 1908, the agreement consisted of an official recognition of the territorial status quo as of 1908, affirmation of the independence and territorial integrity of China (i.e. the "Open Door Policy" as proposed by John Hay), maintenance of free trade and equal commercial opportunities, Japanese recognition of the American annexation of the Kingdom of Hawaii and the Philippines and American recognition of Japan's position in north-east China. Implicit in the agreement was American acknowledgement of Japan's right to annex Korea and dominance over southern Manchuria, and Japan's acquiescence to limitations on Japanese immigration to California.

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## Domestic Events

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There has been a change of administration at the beginning of 1921, from Wilson to Harding.

Immigration is a national topic of debate and resulted in severe limitations on immigration being introduced.

America eventually declared the end of the state of war with Germany and the central powers. America had not wished to participate in the League of Nations and had not signed the treaty of Versailles, so had to form a separate peace.



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## Strategy

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Being a passionate advocate of the Open Door policy in China, they are very worried about China splitting into pieces and being annexed. This is what worries them about the Japanese approach as seen in Korea. and it will result in closing markets to the US. If a good Chinese agreement can be reached, it will lessen the need for naval armaments to secure forces in the area and to secure trade routes to and from the Chinese and SE Asian areas.

The US plans on the basis of likely enemies brought about by trade rivalries and conflicting interests. On this basis, there would appear to be possible conflict in the future with Japan or with the UK, but there is no reason to believe that these will become real enemies if the US deals with the diplomatic situation properly. It is, however, obvious that the US national interest requires forces to cover both east and west seaboard and to cover the trade links with Europe, Asia and with South America (particularly the Atlantic routes).

The likelihood of war with the UK might sound fanciful to the ears of 21<sup>st</sup> century people, but it was a very real possibility then - it was almost in living memory that the UK and USA had been at war - despite currently being allies, situations could change very quickly - there was every reason to expect trade rivalries to cause conflict.

Their policy is therefore to increase armaments to a level where the US is safe against any likely alliance. They might have difficulty with this because the USA population will not like the taxation level necessary. One solution could be to reduce the overall levels of armaments in all countries.

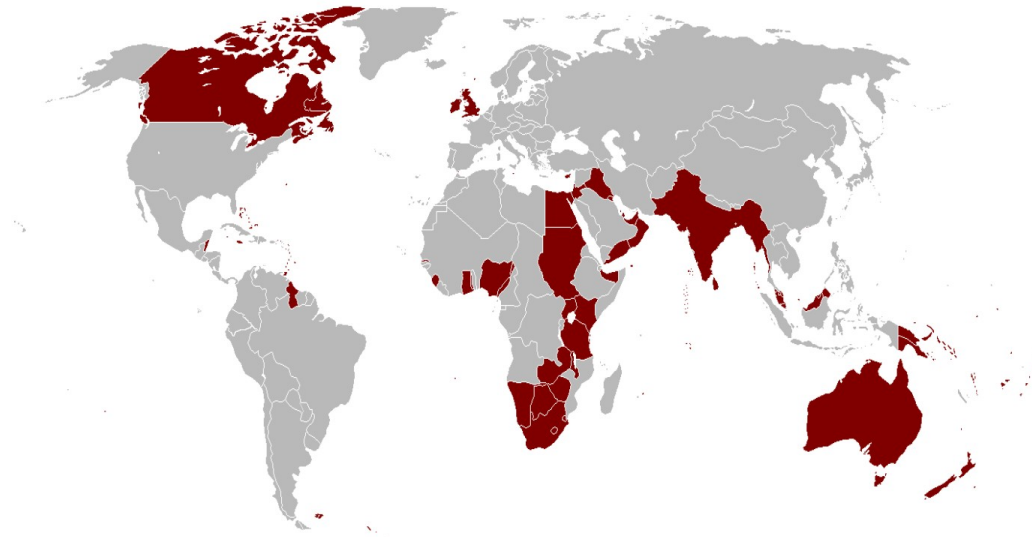
The US presidential elections are fresh in mind, and included a commitment to maintain low levels of arms expenditure, even to reduce them. However, it should be noted that the USA is probably the only country that could, theoretically, commit to increased arms expenditure if public opinion sees a threat: and intractable or irresponsible actions by other countries would be seen as a threat.

## Country Briefing for Great Britain

### Empire

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By 1900, the British Empire was 12 million square miles of land and a quarter of the population of the globe. This was the largest empire the world had ever seen and it was still growing (1/3 of the empire had been added in the previous 30 years). The national attitude was summarised in the following quote:



*... there had taken place, in the half-century or so before the 1914 war, a tremendous expansion of British power, accompanied by a pronounced lack of sympathy for any similar ambition on the part of other nations... If any nation had truly made a bid for world power, it was Great Britain. In fact, it had more than made a bid for it. It had achieved it. The Germans were merely talking about building a railway to Baghdad. The Queen of England was Empress of India. If any nation had upset the balance of world power, it was Great Britain."*

### Dependence on Trade

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The fairly sober-minded, capable and ruthless civil servants, military leaders and politicians who guided British destiny saw, however, problems and difficulties around every corner. The British position had been based on economic and trade domination.

The economic advantages it enjoyed had been eroded and others now commanded similar economic strength. The trade advantages had been built hand-in-hand with this - each feeding the other, but the British position was now vulnerable to any downturn in the growth of trade - whether caused by naval blockade (thus the importance of maintaining naval supremacy) or denial of expansion markets (thus the worries about China and Africa - the two next trade powerhouses). Trade was also inextricably linked to the empire (at least in the eyes of officials at the time) and the empire required more and more policing - both to keep it under control and to avoid incursion by other powers.

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## USA

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The challenge of the USA's economic weight, along with the increasing size of the US fleet, seemed to British politicians of the time to be a major difficulty, but it was not the only item on their agenda and the British were increasingly diverted from important areas by activities in all parts of the empire (and thus, by definition, in all parts of the globe).

The financial muscle of Britain was still considerable. Prior to the war, 43% of the foreign investment of the world was British - generating sufficient national wealth that Britain could absorb huge defence expenditure better than its European neighbours. The war, however, removed the appetite of Britain for military matters and high taxation to support the sort of military expansion needed to fully defend its interests abroad would not have been supportable at home.

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## British Attitudes

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British officials were hard-nosed professionals. certainly errors of judgement and mistakes were made, but this was a function of the size of the tasks they had. The basic beliefs of British officialdom were rooted in pragmatism - anything that needed to be done should be done if the balance of effect was positive for Britain. Britain did not understand the "naive attitudes" of other powers and assumed that everybody carried out their foreign policy by negotiation and horse-trading. This (which we would know understand as real politick) was the basis of the appeasement policy that worked so well in this era, but which came disastrously and notoriously unstuck later.

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## Ireland

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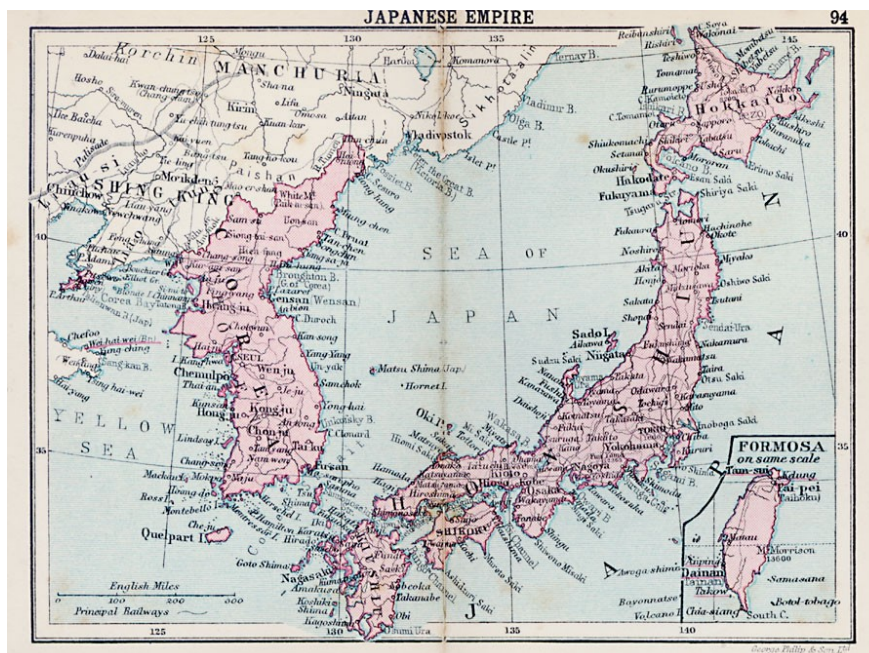
In 1918, the Irish republican party Sinn Fain won a landslide victory at an election in Ireland. In 1919 they formed a breakaway government and declared independence from Great Britain. Later that day, two members of the police force, were shot, signalling the start of civil war. While around 300 people had been killed in the conflict up to late 1920, there was a major escalation of violence in November that year. On Bloody Sunday, 21 November 1920, fourteen British intelligence operatives were assassinated in Dublin in the morning, and the RIC opened fire on a crowd at a football match in the afternoon, killing fourteen civilians and wounding 65. A week later, seventeen Auxiliaries were killed by the IRA in an ambush in County Cork. The British government declared martial law in much of southern Ireland. The centre of Cork City was burnt out by British forces in December 1920. Violence continued to escalate over the next seven months, when 1,000 people were killed and 4,500 republicans interned.

Both sides agreed to a ceasefire (or "truce") on 11 July 1921. In May, Ireland had been partitioned by an Act of the British Parliament, which created the six-county Northern Ireland polity. The post-ceasefire talks are going on at the time of the conference, following an initiative from Smuts of S. Africa and the King, as well as the prime minister and Winston Churchill, in his role as Secretary of War.

Ireland was a massive headache for the British, and was a distraction occupying many that had strong feelings about disarmament and the navy.



### Country Briefing for Japan



### World War

In 1914, the Empire of Japan declared war on the German Empire, in part due to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and Japan became a member of the Entente powers. The Imperial Japanese Navy made a considerable contribution to the Allied war effort; however, the Imperial Japanese Army was more sympathetic to Germany, and aside from the seizure of Tsingdao, resisted attempted to become involved in combat.

### Russia and Vladivostok

The overthrow of Tsar Nicholas II and the establishment of a Bolshevik government in Russia led to a separate peace Germany and the collapse of the Eastern Front. The spread of the anti-monarchical Bolshevik revolution eastward was of great concern to the Japanese government. Vladivostok, facing the Sea of Japan was a major port, with a massive stockpile of military stores, and a large foreign merchant community.



### Japanese participation

The Japanese were initially asked by the French in 1917, to intervene in Russia but declined the request. However, in February 1918, a "Siberia Planning Committee" was formed by the Imperial Japanese Army General Staff and the Army Ministry with the aim of exploring the possibility that the Tsarist collapse was an opportunity to free Japan from any future threat from Russia by detaching Siberia and forming an independent buffer state.[2] The Army proposed attacking on two fronts, from Vladivostok to Khabarovsk along the Amur River and also via the Chinese Eastern Railway to cut off the Russian Trans-Siberian Railway at Lake

Baikal. The Japanese government, then under the civilian leadership of Prime Minister Hara Takashi refused to undertake such an expedition.

### Competition Between Allies

In late 1917, the Japanese government was alarmed to find that the British government, despite the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, had approached the United States about a possible joint intervention at Vladivostok, without consulting Japan. In December 1917, the British agreed that such a force should include Japan, but before the details could be worked out, the British ordered HMS *Suffolk* from Hong Kong to Vladivostok. The Japanese government was outraged and ordered the Imperial Japanese Navy to reach Vladivostok first. Rear Admiral Katō Kanji, on the battleship *Iwami*. Managed to arrive at Vladivostok only two days before the HMS *Suffolk*. *Asahi* arrived a little later, and became Kato's flagship.

The Japanese became more and more involved, eventually deploying 70,000 troops - far more than any of the other Allied powers had anticipated. Furthermore, although the Allies had envisioned operations only in the vicinity of Vladivostok, within months Japanese forces had penetrated as far west as Lake Baikal and Buryatia, and by 1920 there were 50,000 civilian settlers in Vladivostok. After the international coalition withdrew its forces, the Japanese Army stayed on. However, political opposition prevented the Army from annexing the resource-rich region.

### Key Attitudes

Japan believes in the need for Japan to build influence covering the whole of SE Asia because she is the major power in the region. The main opportunity is obviously China, with the vast potential that area represents. There are tensions with the USA: Japan has been offended by her treatment at the Versailles conference (where it felt treated as a 2<sup>nd</sup> rate power) and by the various immigration laws that favour European whites and discriminate against Japanese nationals. Japan is entirely dependent on imports of raw materials for the industrialisation program and some in Japan press for a larger empire - believing that an empire is the best way to achieve security of trade and raw materials - taking the British Empire as their role model.

Japan has a valuable treaty with the UK, which it believes would deter aggressive moves by the USA. Japan clearly needs naval power sufficient to allow the rapid deployment of force. In particular, she needs a large enough capital ship and carrier force to protect herself in SE Asian waters, with cruiser and escort forces strong enough to protect trade with China and with the Philippines.

Japan regards China as in their "backyard" and part of the plans for an area of influence. It seems difficult for them to understand why this is a problem for other powers, or for China. China is an area, not a country - it is ruled by warlords and in a constant state of flux.

Japan has well-known plans to fortify a base in the Marshall Islands. This goes hand-in-hand with a very aggressive shipbuilding program, including building the largest capital ship the world has ever seen as part of the 8-8 programme (8 battleships and 8 battlecruisers). There are doubts about the ability of the Japanese economy to sustain this effort - arms expenditure is extremely high and is only sustainable because of the intense nationalist feeling behind it.



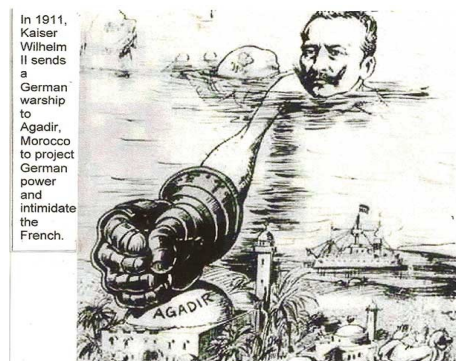
**Country Briefing for France****Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

In the late 1880s, France was challenging Britain for power in Egypt and West Africa, was challenging Britain for naval supremacy and was almost at blows with Italy and with the old adversary - Germany. Colonial clashes with Britain were reaching alarming proportions - Congo in 1884/5, Egypt from 1882 and Siam in 1893. In 1898, British and French armies squared off in the Nile valley, but the French backed down in the face of superior numbers. The rapid changes in French governments had left effective control of colonial matters to the civil service that therefore tried to follow a coherent policy but was often thwarted by an uncontrolled military. Differing government views, however, led to an unbalanced fleet. One government would favour reliance on a battle-fleet, while another would favour commerce raiding with cruisers and a submarine force. This oscillation of naval policy had been a feature of government planning since the last century

**Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

By 1914, the French position had changed with the British and, to a lesser extent with the Italians. They had allied with Russia and now faced the single enemy on her borders - Germany.

French financial muscle was second only to that of Britain. The mobility of capital in the French economy was particularly impressive and it could be directed by central government much more effectively than British capital. The use of this had weaned Italy away from the Central Powers' camp and to a more neutral position with France, by loaning Italy large sums of money. French money was funnelled through Russia to loan to China in return for Chinese concessions of railway and other



rights. France invested heavily in the Balkan area - securing arms contracts in the face of German competition.

In 1911 there was a crisis in Morocco that triggered a revival of French national fervour. This had left France with the ability to continue supporting a huge conscript army and a large share of the French GNP could be spent on arms. French nationalist fervour carried them through the war and they now regard themselves as the premier world military and political power.

## Strategy

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The main concern of the French is the balance of power in Europe. Their national doctrine calls for a large army and a network of alliances as an offset to any resurgent Germany - even with the Versailles settlement, this is seen as a possibility.

Their nightmare scenario is an Italian-German alliance because Germany will always try to be resurgent and cannot be contained forever and Italy has a well-known, if not formally stated, wish to dominate the Mediterranean - they will probably be joined by a hostile Soviet Union. They also assess the possibilities as including a war with the UK or a war between the UK and the USA - in some parts of the establishment, this has developed the strategy of the "flotte d'appoint" - a force sufficient to affect the balance of power between other larger powers and thus able to exert influence beyond its size.

Three factors have guided post-war French naval strategy:

1. If French worries about the onset of another European war become reality, then the navy needs to be able to carry large numbers of troops from the colonies to the Metropole.
2. The Mediterranean serves as the imperial road to the whole French Empire (the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest in the world). Deputies quote Louis XIV: "without the navy, one can neither sustain war or benefit from peace". There is a large lobby for increased naval power in the Mediterranean, calling the Mediterranean the "axis of French policy" and referring to Syria and Asia Minor as "the most important cross-roads of world routes"
3. There is an increasing realisation in the importance of oil. Henri Berenger, the Commissioner for Gasoline and Oil and a highly influential figure, reported to the French premier in 1919:
 

"...for the French, as for the English, oil has become the very condition for existence as a great nation... only Asia Minor can provide that resource, ... I urge that policy is focused on the Mediterranean Levant and the Black and Caspian seas"

There are also echoes of past Anglophobia and an unhelpful jingoism that will not allow major reductions - to do so would be political suicide because it goes against the grain for most Frenchmen.





**Country Briefing for Italy**

Italy has not long been a united nation. It has grown rapidly in stature, and is a recent addition to the club of Great Powers.

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### France, Britain and the Mediterranean

Their position is probably simpler than any other at the conference. There is an obvious possibility of a threat from France, who contends their position as the natural major Mediterranean maritime power. The future could also contain rivalry with the British and their nightmare scenario is opposition from a joint Anglo-French alliance. The French fleet, with the British Mediterranean squadron, is considerably more powerful than the Italian. Their doctrine emphasises very high quality ships - in particular, larger ships such as battleships, battle cruisers and heavy cruisers. There are, however, doubts about the ability of the Italian economy to sustain a prolonged shipbuilding race.

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### Opinions at Home

The Italian delegation has to have an eye on two factors at home: the internal debate in military circles about naval strategy and the domestic political problems evidenced by the rise of the fascist party. If the conference is seen to be damaging to the Italian international position, then this will weaken the government and it might well fall.

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### Doctrine

There is a heated debate in the Regia Marina (Italian Navy) about naval strategy which is crystallising into several points of view. These points of view are equally supported throughout the navy and anything that commits the navy to a particular one of the points of

view will be seen to be divisive and might well lead to senior officers being replaced. The naval part of the delegation is very much of the school of thought that that the effectiveness of submarines and carrier-based planes is dubious. They believe that existing battleships are vulnerable to attack by submarine and possibly by plane, but that more modern ships would not be, but they also believes that it is too soon to have absorbed all the lessons of the last war and that a few years are needed before sensible decisions can be made. There are deep divisions in the Regia Marina, however, and this position could well switch during the conference - particularly if any of the delegates are replaced.

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## Economy

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It has grown spectacularly over the period at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup>, but it still has severe economic weaknesses, with a lack of coal, iron and oil. Its industrialisation is concentrated in the north - the south is still a very backward area, with high illiteracy problems. The national cohesion is low, leading to a low regard for militarist views. Italians felt like a country very much in decline, despite their economic turn-round.

Substantial emigration to America drained enterprise and talent and a series of ill-judged minor military exploits (in Abyssinia and Libya) led to distrust of military and government leaders. Popular reaction to increased taxation could be high.

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## Fascists

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The instability of this situation has led to the new Fascist ideas taking hold in Italy. Mussolini became el duce of the Fascists on November 7<sup>th</sup> and Italian politicians are acutely aware that Fascists could be taking power at any moment - and many of them would support this move (as, most definitely, would the military).



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## Military

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The Italian military is regarded as inefficient and inflexible - the poor rail network and the lengthy coastline make home defence very difficult, so the strategic alliances have to be thought through carefully. The alliance with Britain and France is part of this and can probably be seen as an alliance of pragmatism and convenience.

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## Fragmentation

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After the war, general elections were held in Italy on 16 November 1919. The fragmented Liberal governing coalition lost the absolute majority in the Chamber of Deputies, due to the success of the Italian Socialist Party and the Italian People's Party. The old system of using single-member constituencies with two-round majority voting was abolished and replaced with proportional representation in 58 constituencies with between 5 and 20 members. This has hastened the fragmentation.

In the general election, the fragmented Liberal governing coalition lost the absolute majority in the Chamber of Deputies, due to the success of the Italian Socialist Party and the Italian

People's Party. This process continued into the 1921 election, held only a few months prior to the conference, which showed a fragmented electorate giving no clear mandate to anyone and creating electoral chaos in which nationalist bloc candidates were starting to do well.

### The Red Biennium

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The election took place in the middle of *Biennio Rosso* ("Red Biennium") a two-year period, between 1919 and 1920, of intense social conflict in Italy, following the First World War. The revolutionary period was followed by the violent reaction of the Fascist blackshirts militia under Benito Mussolini.

The *Biennio Rosso* took place in a context of economic crisis at the end of the war, with high unemployment and political instability. It was characterized by mass strikes, worker manifestations as well as self-management experiments through land and factories occupations. In Turin and Milan, workers councils were formed and many factory occupations took place under the leadership of anarcho-syndicalists. The agitations also extended to the agricultural areas of the Padan plain and were accompanied by peasant strikes, rural unrests and guerrilla conflicts between left-wing and right-wing militias.



### **Country Briefing for the Netherlands**



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### **WW1**

The Netherlands were not involved in the Great War. The Dutch had nothing to do with either of the roots that led to war. That's why the Dutch nation could once again rely on its neutral policy although the Dutch did fear a German invasion of the south. The Dutch had also mobilised its army when the murder of the Austrian crown-prince in Sarajevo happened. The whole of Europe was preparing for war.

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### **Devastation**

The war did not involve this small country directly, but the conflict did have a devastating effect on the economy of the Netherlands. Apart from the fact that the conscript army had to remain mobilised for the entire duration of the war - excluding many soldiers from their regular work - import and export came almost to a complete stop. The Netherlands was also depending on huge import of basic agriculture products for its daily meals and as such poverty and near starvation were common matters - especially in the last year of the war when the blockade of the Dutch merchant fleet was hard felt.

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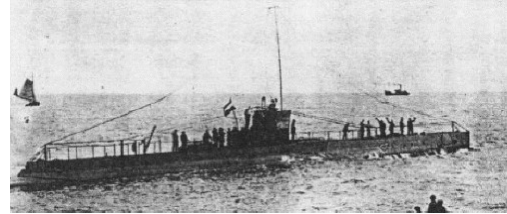
### **League of Nations**

The war is therefore a cause of some tension, building on pre-existing tensions (particularly with the British, following the Boer wars and with Belgium following that country's attempts to wrest land from the Dutch at Versailles), but the Dutch have involved themselves in foreign affairs and have acted as honest broker in the League of Nations. The Dutch are extremely active commercially and diplomatically.

## East Indies

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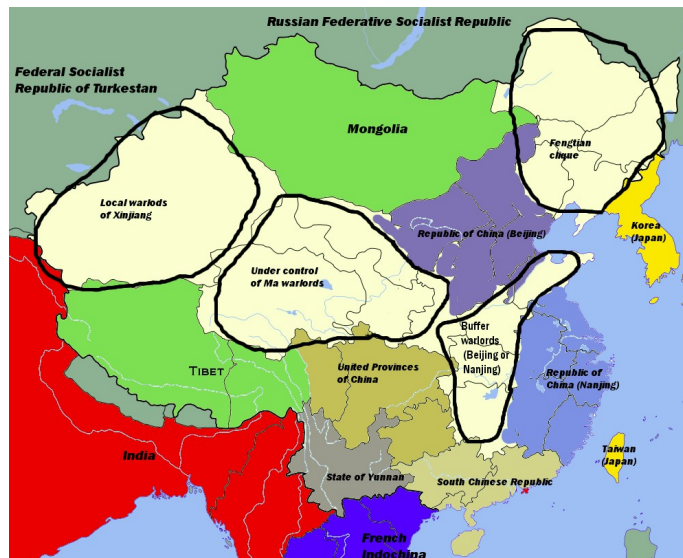
To them, the East Indies is extremely important. They treat the colony very well and reinvest large amounts of the created wealth there. . They do not have the fleet to guarantee its protection, so will need allies in any Pacific conflict - which they believe is likely to involve a number of nations. They have decided, therefore, to build a local fleet which they say is to inflict substantial damage on any aggressor while other nations are coming to their aid. They say that submarine fleet is a cheap way of achieving this objective, but they are one of the few nations to think of submarines in this way.



They have three bases in the Dutch East Indies covering the whole area (which is very spread-out and involves long sea distances). The bases can allow protection of their trade and , in particular, the developing movement of oil, rubber and other essential raw materials.

### Country Briefing for China

In Chinese, the word for "China" translates to "the Middle Kingdom" or, more idiomatically "the centre of the world". Any other state could only be dealt with as a vassal, so trade with other states was conducted on the basis of tribute received from the "vassal state" and magnanimous gifts back from the superior Chinese Empire. The word for "trade" in Chinese is the same as the word for "tribute".



As far as European powers were concerned, China was an obvious area for trade. It had huge resources, an enormous population, making for huge potential markets and it was so backward that European trade goods would have great value.

## China in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

### Unequal Treaties

The development of trade was, however, a threat to the status quo inside China and was stopped by the central authorities. This action led to a series of wars to enforce European rights to trade. The first was the Sino-British war in 1842 when Britain demanded that China increase its purchases of opium from British possessions in India and Burma. The use of gunboats and European firepower was a nasty shock. Military and diplomatic pressure led to a series of "unequal treaties" where a series of over 50 "treaty ports" and a number of "concession" areas within the major cities were established.

### Treaty Ports and Concessions

Treaty ports, settlements and concessions were areas of China within which the national law and conventions of the foreign port owner/ settler applied. Treaty ports and concessions were established by Britain, France, Germany, USA, Russia, Portugal, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Japan. Other participants in the treaties included Brazil, Denmark, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Spain and Sweden. The game handbook contains a map of the main treaty ports, concessions and colonies of foreign powers. Annex G gives a full listing of the status of



these places. All foreign trade was conducted through these ports so all taxes on trade were collected there by the foreign powers at a rate determined by the foreign powers.

### Extraterritoriality

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Foreigners in these ports - and later in all China - had "extraterritorial" status. Moreover, Chinese who dealt with the foreigners or lived with them were also granted extraterritoriality in the ports - making them a haven for Chinese criminals. That is, they were not subject to the laws of China at all but only to the laws of their own nation. An example of this is an extract from the treaty of Wangsia, 1844, between China and the USA.

*"Subjects of China who may be guilty of any criminal act towards citizens of the United States shall be arrested and punished by the Chinese authorities according to the laws of China, and citizens of the United States who may commit any crime in China shall be subject to be tried and punished only by the Consul or other public functionary of the United States thereto authorized according to the laws of the United States"*

### Other Conditions

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China had no right to set taxes on trade - import and export tax rates were set by the foreign power. China was expected, however, to pay for the buildings and maintenance of the areas and trade facilities, and to provide manpower to operate them. Any Chinese in the areas were treated as inferior beings (a notorious notice in a Shanghai park read "no dogs or Chinese"). The original treaty of Nanjing reduced import duties from 65% to 5%, effectively shattering some Chinese home industries.

China had to concede the stationing of foreign warships in the treaty ports (some of which were inland by thousands of miles, so effectively opening much of China to foreign military forces).

China had to pay war reparations (in the case of the treaty of Nanjing, this was a sum of 21 million Mexican dollars). Reparations to all foreigners accounts for £40m per annum.

From the first of the treaties (the treaty of Nanjing, 1842), they included a "most favoured nation" clause. This gave each foreign power any privileges extracted from China by any other foreign power.

### Open Door Policy

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In 1899, US Secretary of State John Hay became anxious that the arrangements for China would move more and more to actual partition of China. As a minor power in the area, this would lead to damage of American trade and would be against his belief in free trade between every power. He therefore set out to obtain agreement between all major international powers to keep equal access and privileges. He asked all major powers to uphold the free use by every nation of the treaty ports within their spheres of interest and to respect Chinese territorial and administrative integrity. Reaction to this policy so far ranges from reasonable support, through lip-service to flagrantly ignoring it. The USA will probably refer to this policy during conference negotiations



An extract from one of John Hay's original notes on this policy is shown in Annex E.

## Recent History of China

### 1900-1911 and the Boxer Rising

In 1900, the unequal treaties gave rise to an anti-foreigner movement known as the "Boxer Rising". The revolt by the Boxers was joined by the Manchu government, but was eventually crushed by an international army. The extent of the unrest in Chinese society and the failure of the Manchus to deal with the problem or even lead the Boxer rising led to revolutionary movements. Feeling against foreigners became very strong, as an example of which was the 1905 organisation of a boycott of US goods (organised as a protest against the adoption of immigration laws in the USA which specifically discriminated against Chinese). Eventually, a revolt in 1911 toppled the Imperial Manchus from power.



### 1911-1916 and the 21 Demands

The early republic, led by nationalist Yuan Shikai, was ineffectual and internally divided. It dealt with few of China's problems and opened China to further encroachment by foreign powers. Yuan borrowed from most major foreign powers and pledged large portions of China's internal revenues as security against the loans.

Japan had declared war on Germany in 1914, in response to a request from Britain. She then proceeded to seize German possessions, including territory in the Chinese province of Shantung. In 1915, the Japanese saw the opportunity to obtain a series of concessions and strengthen their position. This was a series of demands known as the "21 Demands". In summary, these demands were:

1. Japanese succession to Germany's former rights in Shantung, including the leasehold of an area there.
2. extension of the Japanese leases in southern Manchuria to 99 years and granting of rights to exploit Manchuria and Mongolia
3. half-ownership of the Han-Yeh-P'ing company (the iron and steel complex at Hanyang) and other state enterprises, including the control of Chinese coal deposits
4. exclusion of third powers from further territorial concessions and from further rights to access to any part of China's coastline
5. the appointment of Japanese advisers to the key positions in Chinese ministries and provincial governments and for railway leases in the Yangtze valley.



During negotiations, the 5<sup>th</sup> group was dropped following strong British and US representations. Chinese President Yuan Shi-Kai was forced to accept the remaining demands. An extract of the important parts of the original document is:



*The Chinese Government engages to give full assent to all matters upon which the Japanese Government may hereafter agree with the German Government relating to the disposition of all rights, interests, and concessions which... Germany possesses in relation to the province of Shantung...*

*Japanese subjects shall be free to reside and travel in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia and to engage in business and in manufacture of any kind whatsoever... the Chinese Government agrees that if it employs political, financial or military advisers or instructors in south Manchuria or eastern Inner Mongolia, the Japanese Government shall first be consulted...*

*Without the previous consent of Japan, the Chinese Government shall not by her own act dispose of the rights and property of whatsoever nature of {specific companies were mentioned} companies nor cause the said companies to dispose freely of the same...*

*The Chinese Central Government shall employ influential Japanese as advisers in political, financial and military affairs...*

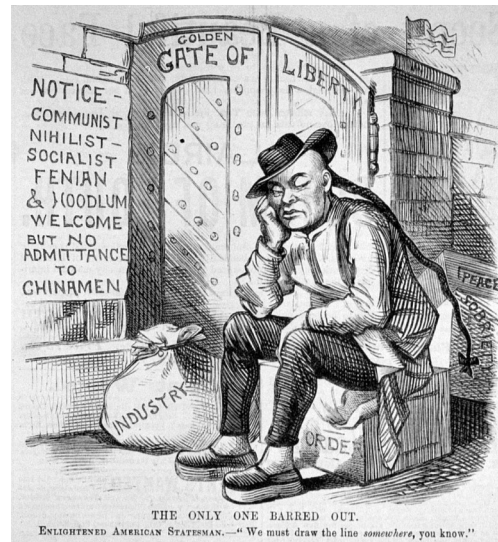
*The police departments of the important places in China shall be jointly administered by Japanese and Chinese and the police departments of these places shall employ numerous Japanese...*

*China shall purchase from Japan a fixed amount of munitions of war (50% or more of what is required by the Chinese)...*

*If China needs foreign capital to work mines, build railways, and construct harbour-works (including dockyards) in the province of Fukien, Japan shall be first consulted...*

*China agrees that Japanese subjects shall have the right to propagate Buddhism in China...*

Annex C gives the document listing the 21 demands in full, as amended.



## 1916-1921 and Versailles

Yuan Shikai declared himself as Emperor in 1916. This led to further revolt and to his death. The central government was by now so weak that the provincial governors, local army generals and other strong leaders took local control, becoming the so-called "warlords".



China entered World War I in 1917 on the clear understanding that the German territory of Shantung would be returned to them. This promise contradicted with promises made to the Japanese and the Versailles settlement honoured the Japanese promises. Public reaction in China was severe. China had provided a large number of men as labour battalions in Europe and had been eager to join in the fighting, although the other powers had refrained from arming them. Despite this, China has joined the League of Nations.

Erosion of the authority of the central government occurred at the same time as the rise in power of the warlords. Each warlord ruled a district (the boundaries of which were rather fluid) and controlled the local military. The British and US governments have banned all arms sales to China, and the French and Japanese have reluctantly given in to Anglo-American pressure and have also signed the treaty banning arms sales. Other arms suppliers have not - notably Germany, the Scandinavian countries and the Soviet Union. How much the treaty signatories are complying is anybody's guess, but there is a strong rumour that Japanese and French arms shipments are still going ahead. The central government is finding it increasingly difficult to operate because of lack of funds (the increased regionalisation results in fewer taxes being passed on to central government). The Japanese have relieved this situation by a large loan.

### China and the Warlords

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The situation in China at this time was very fluid because of the way that China was split between different warlords. The representatives of China are long-term diplomats, civil servants and politicians representing the central government but they are often also part of the warlord factional disputes. Like most things in China at this time, it is not easy to understand all the linked attitudes, but, at the risk of repeating some of the above material, this section sets out the issues arising from the warlords, the factions and their relationship with the central government and foreign powers.



The Chinese revolution of 1911 that deposed the imperial family was not based on any central person or body but on the power of the provincial governments. It was only when those governments declared, one after the other, for the revolution that anything happened. China has always been a very dispersed society and the sense of identification with the local area and then the province, before identifying with China, is profound. Add to this the splitting of the national army into different factions, the existence of a great number of local troops, the way that troops were loyal to their commander and not so much to a central authority and finally the way that Chinese provincial government was based around civil and military governors then there was an explosive mixture that led to the

warlord era.

A warlord ( a Tu'Chun) was a person with an army loyal to him who independently controlled an area of China. Warlords made great play of their loyalty to the central government, but in practice, their decisions had little to do with a government that was often a very long way away from them and which had difficulty raising enough troops to do anything of significance. Warlords raised their own taxes, recruited, trained and equipped their own armies and exercised their own rules of law.



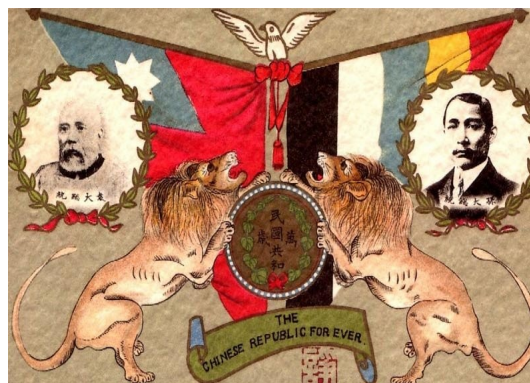
The factional splits in the national government became important because that was the only body of skilled, equipped soldiers. The political machinations for power based around those factions led to a fluid set of factions encompassing a large number of the warlords. Although there were two contending national governments, the minor one in Canton had adherents from the southern provinces but was ignored by all except the new Soviet Russia. The northern (Peking) government was recognised by all other foreign powers as the rightful government of China. The faction groupings vied with each other for control of this central government – it was often simply a case of naked force – the warlord and/or faction controlling Peking had great influence in deciding the head of government and thus effectively was the central

government. Not only was there considerable honour for the faction and warlord controlling the government, but there were very practical considerations – those that affected the Washington Conference arose from the “unequal treaties”.

### The Southern Government

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The government in Peking was rivalled by a government based in southern China. At the time of the conference, the government based in Nanking was in process of being replaced by a military government based in Guangzhou, led by Grand Marshal Sun Yat-sen. The southern government is based around the Kuomintang, backed by Soviet Russia and contained communists and communist sympathisers as well as generally more left-wing politicians and military leaders.



## China and the Conference

### The Unequal Treaties

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The process of opening China to trade with other nations was a difficult one that was accompanied by a number of wars in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Modern weaponry and organisation in these wars led to Chinese defeats and the imposition of conditions upon the Chinese – these became known as the “unequal treaties”. For the Washington Conference, the important aspects are:

- maritime customs
- indemnities
- foreign loans
- treaty ports – particularly Shantung
- extra-territoriality

### Foreign Possessions and Trade

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There are a number of foreign possessions – mostly leased areas such as Hong Kong, a number of foreign settlements and concessions and a number of treaty ports. These ports are sited on the coast and on the major rivers and have areas dedicated to trade with certain countries. The customs offices at these ports are administered by the Chinese Maritime Customs – a body largely staffed by British administrators. They are not subject to Chinese law, but to the law of the country holding the port.

All foreign trade with China is carried out through these ports and settlements. All this trade is taxed at a standard customs tariff for each product. For our purposes, we will regard this tariff as 5% - raising £100m per annum. This customs revenue is collected by the foreign powers and handed over to the legitimate Chinese government. From the point of view of foreign governments, this is a legitimate way of ensuring that taxes are collected properly and that customs duties do not become too high. From the point of view of the Chinese, this system is insulting and one which results in insufficient revenue and which is destabilising the country because the national government cannot recruit enough troops.

## Indemnities

Part of the settlement of different wars and incidents (particularly the orchestrated “Boxer” uprising) has been the imposition of indemnities. Payment of these indemnities amounts to £40 million per annum. This is draining the coffers of the central government. This is seen as very insulting to China and is fuelling the unrest and dissatisfaction with Peking.

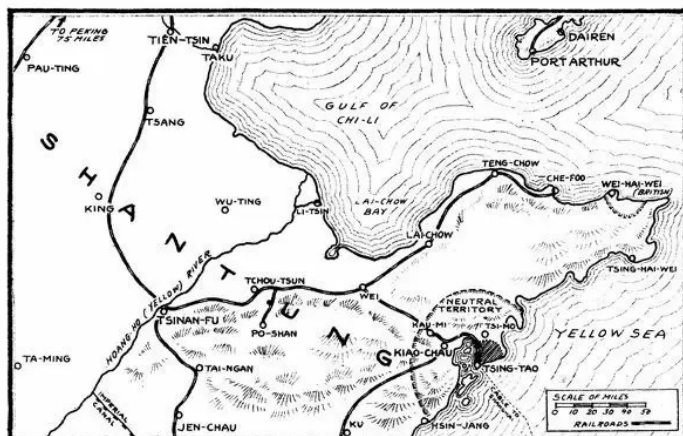
Foreign loans are raised by the central government. The ease of raising these loans depends on the perceived and expected stability of the country. Loans are also made available to different factions – there is a perception that this makes those factions effective “clients” of the loaning country. Loans can also be made to provincial governors, largely by way of investments in such things as railways and mines. This raises the possibility of those countries wanting to safeguard their investments by stationing troops in key locations. Loans raised in the past are being repaid at £200m per annum. In summary, the balance of payments included in the Chinese budget every year is:

Income:	£20m per 1% tariff i.e. £100m at the moment
Expenditure:	£40m indemnities plus £200m repayment of loans I.e. £240m

All changes to this affects the military budgets of the negotiating powers (see team handbooks).

## Shantung (Tsingtao)

During the First World War, China supported the Allies on condition that the Kiao-Chau Bay Leased Territory on the Shantung peninsula, which had belonged to Germany would be returned to China. Kiao-Chau includes the important port of Tsingtao. In 1915, however, China reluctantly agreed to thirteen of Japan's original Twenty-One Demands (see Annex F, particularly Group 1, article 1) which, among other things, acknowledged Japanese control of former German holdings. Britain and France promised Japan it could keep these holdings. In late 1918, China accepted payments from Japan as part of the settlement of the 21 Demands. Article 156 of the Treaty of Versailles transferred the territory of Kiao-Chau as well as the rights, titles and privileges acquired by virtue of a Sino-German treaty of 1898 to Japan rather than return them to the China.



China denounced the transfer of German holdings at the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919, with the strong support of President Woodrow Wilson of the United States. The Chinese ambassador to France, Wellington Koo, stated that China could no more relinquish Shantung, which was the birthplace of Confucius, than could Christians concede Jerusalem. He demanded the promised return of Shantung, but to no avail.

The US, finding itself isolated by all other Great Powers, acquiesced to the Japanese demands. As a result, Wellington Koo refused to sign the treaty.

The Chinese public became outraged by the eventual treaty, accusing the Chinese government of selling out. Chinese popular outrage over Article 156 led to demonstrations on 4 May 1919 and a cultural movement known as the May 4th Movement. This considerable unrest has the potential to flare into revolution.

Relevant articles of the Versailles peace treaty are shown in Annex H.

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### Stability

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China is a maelstrom of competing factions, unruly mobs, huge (but largely untrained and ill-equipped) armies, political turmoil and financial chaos. It is a country ripe for revolution with 2 competing claims to be the national government. The Kuomintang in the south are supported in their claim to be a national government by the USSR. The current recognised government (and therefore the one being given the import/export taxes) is the northern government based in Peking.

All the powers at the conference agree that the influence of communists is a threat that should be contained. All can also see that revolution would impact their national finances badly: China would renege on loans, would cancel indemnities and trade would virtually stop.

Unless something changes, the bitterness caused by all of these factors will cause revolution. Chinese hopes for the conference are high and any sign that those hopes will not be realised will increase the likelihood of revolution.

## Delegates

This section gives a broad outline of each delegate. The material is widely known and therefore available to all delegates. I have ordered them by country:

- USA
- GB
- Japan
- France
- Italy
- Netherlands
- China

There were a large number of journalists covering the event, but the Baltimore Sun went out of its way to recruit distinguished authors and commentators. In this game, therefore, I have chosen to play the Baltimore Sun. Please be aware that these people will express and be heavily affected by their own views and agendas.

### ***Press Team***

#### **Franklin D Roosevelt**

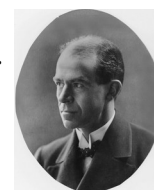
The 1920 Democratic National Convention chose Roosevelt as the candidate for Vice President of the United States on the ticket headed by Governor James M. Cox of Ohio, helping build a national base, but the Cox-Roosevelt ticket was heavily defeated by Republican Warren Harding in the presidential election. Roosevelt then retired to a New York legal practice, but few doubted that he would soon run for public office again.



In August 1921, while the Roosevelts were vacationing at Campobello Island, New Brunswick, Roosevelt contracted an illness, at the time believed to be polio, which resulted in Roosevelt's total and permanent paralysis from the waist down. For the rest of his life, Roosevelt refused to accept that he was permanently paralysed. At the time, when the private lives of public figures were subject to less scrutiny than they are today, Roosevelt was able to convince many people that he was in fact getting better, which he believed was essential if he was to run for public office again.

#### **Hector Bywater**

Bywater was a British writer who became a specialist in naval affairs at the beginning of the 20th century. Through his novel, "*The Great Pacific War*", Mr. Bywater detailed the future Pacific war between Japan and the United States.



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### H G Wells

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Wells called his political views socialist, but he occasionally found himself at odds with other socialists. He was for a time a member of the Fabian Society, but broke with them as he intended them to be an organisation far more radical than they wanted. He later grew staunchly critical of them as having a poor understanding of economics and educational reform. He also ran as a Labour Party candidate for London University in the 1922 and 1923 general elections, but even at that point his faith in that party was weak or uncertain.

His most consistent political ideal was the World State. He stated in his autobiography that from 1900 onward he considered a world-state inevitable.



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### Ida Tarbell

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Ida Tarbell was born on November 5, 1857. She was a teacher, an author and journalist. She was known as one of the leading "muckrakers" of her day, work known in modern times as "investigative journalism." She wrote many notable magazine series and biographies. She is best-known for her 1904 book *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, which was listed number five among the top 100 works of twentieth-century American journalism by the *New York Times* in 1999.



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### Walter William Abell

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Following the death of an influential member of the Abell family, the active management of the *Baltimore Sun* was gradually committed to W. W. Abell's hands. W. W. Abell became a member of the board of directors of the A. S. Abell Company on June 15, 1894, was elected vice-president on June 6, 1901, was elected president June 21, 1904, and was forced to resign as president on April 19, 1909 following a sale of shares by his cousin while he was on vacation in Egypt. The new owners kept him as the publisher, but he is the epitome of the irascible print-man as a result. He is a lifelong supporter of the Democratic party.



**USA Delegates**

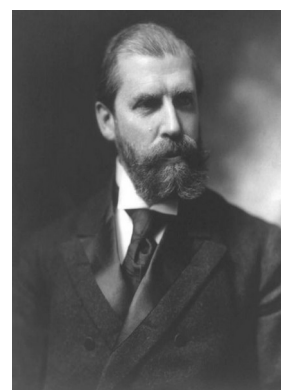
Head of delegation	Charles Evans Hughes - Secretary of State
Political delegates:	Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee) Elihu Root (ex Secretary of State) Oscar Underwood (Senate minority leader)
Military delegates	Theodore Roosevelt Jnr Assistant Secretary to the navy Rear Admiral William V. Pratt

**Charles Evans Hughes**

Charles Evans Hughes was 59 and the organiser of this conference as well as head of the USA delegation. He had worked hard to get senior representatives of the important foreign powers to attend. He was the de facto chairman of the plenary session of the conference and had to take the initiative on appointing the chairmen of the political and military Committees of the Whole.

**Career**

Hughes was the only Republican state-wide candidate to win office in 1907 as the [g](#)overnor of New York. An admirer of Britain's New Liberal philosophy, Hughes campaigned on a platform to move away from the tradition of laissez-faire towards social reforms similar to those enacted in Britain.



He was appointed as an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court between 1910 and 1916, when he stood to become the Republican candidate for President. He was also endorsed by the Progressive Party thanks to the support given to him by former President Theodore Roosevelt but even so failed in his attempt, losing by a close margin to Woodrow Wilson.

He was appointed as Secretary of State by President Harding in 1921. One of his first tasks was to set up this Washington Conference and to head the US delegation.

**Attitudes**

Hughes was a liberal republican. He was in favour of reduction in government powers, but was not prepared to see that translate to injustice. He also believed in due process and in the importance of law and sticking to agreements. Along with the rest of Harding's cabinet, he was looking to reduce military expenditure as an item of faith rather than an economic necessity.

Hughes believed in naval arms limitation. He was aware that others in the Cabinet believed that it would be impossible for the UK or Japan to agree to great cuts in their fleets - particularly at disadvantageous ratios, but he believed that an agreement could be crafted and he believed in the essential good sense of the others. He was, however, distrustful of the long-term aspirations of most other countries, and in particular of the British - he belongs to an Anglophobic faction in the Harding administration, but was himself more cautious of the British than he disliked them. He admired much British achievement and character, but believed that in the matter of the navy they had only self-interest.



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## Henry Cabot Lodge

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### *Early life*

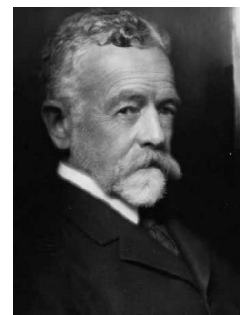
Lodge was born in 1850, in Beverly, Massachusetts. He grew up on Boston's Beacon Hill. In 1872, he graduated from Harvard College, and then from Harvard Law School in 1874, being admitted to the bar in 1875, practising in Boston.

### *Immigration*

Lodge was a vocal supporter of immigration restrictions because he was concerned about the assimilation of immigrants with an American culture.

### *World War I*

Lodge was a staunch advocate of entering World War I, attacking President Woodrow Wilson's perceived lack of military preparedness and accusing pacifists of undermining American patriotism. After the United States entered the war, Lodge continued to attack Wilson as hopelessly idealistic, assailing Wilson's Fourteen Points as unrealistic and weak. He contended that Germany needed to be militarily and economically crushed and saddled with harsh penalties so that it could never again be a threat to the stability of Europe.



### *Treaty of Versailles*

The summit of Lodge's Senate career came in 1919, when as the unofficial Senate majority leader, he did not want to secure approval of the Treaty of Versailles. He opposed the Treaty because it did not call for unconditional surrender. Lodge made it clear that the United States Congress would have the final authority on the decision to send American armed forces on a combat or a peacekeeping mission under League auspices.

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## Elihu Root

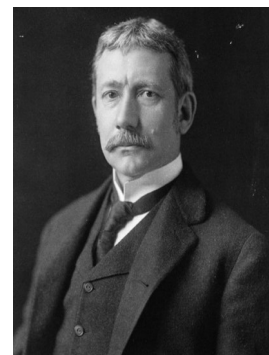
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### *Early life and education*

Root was born in 1845 in New York, to Oren Root and Nancy Whitney Buttrick, both of English descent. His father was professor of mathematics at Hamilton College. After studying at local schools, Elihu enrolled in college at Hamilton. He joined the Sigma Phi Society and was elected to the Phi Beta Kappa Society[4] After graduation, and despite his parents' encouragement to become a Presbyterian minister, Root went to New York City to attend New York University School of Law, from which he graduated in 1867. After admission to the New York bar, Root went into private practice as a lawyer.

### *U.S Attorney and Secretary of War*

Root received his first political appointment from President Chester A. Arthur, when he was named as the U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York. Root served as the United States Secretary of War 1899–1904. He reformed the organization of the War Department. He enlarged West Point and established the U.S. Army War College, as well as the General Staff.



### *Secretary of State*

In 1905, President Roosevelt named Root as the United States Secretary of State after the death of John Hay. As secretary, Root placed the consular service under the civil service. He maintained the Open Door Policy in the Far East. He worked with Japan to limit emigration to

the United States and on dealings with China. He established the Root–Takahira Agreement, which limited Japanese and American naval fortifications in the Pacific.

He worked with Great Britain in arbitration of issues between the United States and Canada on the Alaska boundary dispute, and competition in the North Atlantic fisheries. He supported arbitration in resolving international disputes.

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## Oscar Underwood

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### *Early life*

Underwood was born in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1862. He attended the University of Virginia at Charlottesville. After studying law, he was admitted to the bar in 1884 and practised law in Birmingham, Alabama.

### *Political career*

Underwood was elected from Alabama as a Democrat to the United States House of Representatives in 1894 and then from 1897 to 1915. He served as the first Democratic House Minority Whip from about 1900 to 1901. He was then House Majority Leader from 1911 to 1915. He was a losing candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1912. Following the election, he supported the progressive reforms of Wilson's first term, using his position as Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee to manage legislation and maintain party discipline. He stood with a small minority of House members in opposition to the President when he voted, as the Democrats had promised in their last campaign, to maintain an exemption from Panama Canal tolls for American ships travelling between American ports, despite British protests.




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## Theodore Roosevelt Jnr.

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### *Childhood*

"Teddy," as he was, in childhood, universally known, was the son of President Theodore Roosevelt. He was born in 1887, when his father was just starting his political career..

### *Education and early business career*

He attended a private school, and then graduated from Harvard College in 1909.

Ted then entered the business world. He took positions in the steel and carpet businesses before becoming branch manager of an investment bank. He had a flair for business and amassed a considerable fortune in the years leading up to World War I. The income generated by his investments positioned him well for a career in politics after the War.



### *First World War*

With a reserve commission in the army, soon after World War I started, Ted was called up. When the United States declared war on Germany, Ted volunteered to be one of the first soldiers to go to France. There, he was recognized as the best battalion commander in his division, according to the division commander. Roosevelt braved hostile fire and gas and led his battalion in combat. So concerned was he for his men's welfare that he purchased combat

boots for the entire battalion with his own money. He fought in several major battles, including America's first victory at Cantigny. He was gassed and wounded at Soissons during the summer of 1918. In July of that year, his youngest brother Quentin was killed in combat. Ted received the Distinguished Service Cross for his actions during the war. France conferred upon him the Chevalier Légion d'honneur on March 16, 1919.

### ***Political career***

After service in World War I, Roosevelt began his political career. He participated in every national campaign that he could. Elected as a member of the New York State Assembly in 1920 and 1921, Roosevelt was one of the few legislators who opposed the expulsion of five Socialist assemblymen in 1920. Anxiety about Socialists was high at the time.

On March 10, 1921, Roosevelt was appointed by President Warren G. Harding as Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

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## **Admiral William Pratt**

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William Veazie Pratt was born in Belfast, Maine, in 1869. After graduating from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1889, he served in several cruisers and gunboats, visiting Europe, South America and Asia.

During 1895-97, Ensign Pratt had the first of three instructor tours at the Naval Academy. He was assigned to the gunboat *Mayflower* during the Spanish-American War and to the cruiser *Newark* afterwards. While in the latter, he returned to Asiatic waters, where he saw action in the Philippines Insurrection. A second Naval Academy session followed in 1900-1902, after which he served in the North Atlantic Fleet flagship *Kearsarge*.



Lieutenant Commander Pratt's final Naval Academy tour took place in 1905-1908. He then was Executive Officer of the cruisers *Saint Louis* and *California*. Promoted to the rank of Commander in 1910, Pratt was an instructor at the Naval War College in 1911-1913 and spent the next two years in the Atlantic Torpedo Flotilla, much of that as Commanding Officer of its flagship, the scout cruiser *Birmingham*. Captain Pratt was assigned to the Army in Panama and at the Army War College in 1915-1917. During the First World War he served in Washington, D.C., where as Assistant Chief of Naval Operations in 1918, he played a very important role in running the wartime Navy.

Pratt was at sea in 1919-1921 as Commanding Officer of the battleship *New York* and as Commander Destroyer Force, Pacific Fleet. Following promotion to Rear Admiral in mid-1921, he was a member of the General Board in Washington, D.C.

***Great Britain and the Empire Delegates***

The British and Empire delegation comprises:

Head of Delegation	Arthur Balfour ex-Prime Minister and ex-Foreign Secretary
Political Members	Sir Auckland C Geddes Ambassador to the USA Senator George F Pearce Minister for Home and Territories, Australia Sir Robert Borden Canada (ex Prime Minister)
Military Members	Lord Lee of Fareham First Lord of the Admiralty Admiral Sir David Beatty First Sea Lord Admiral Chatfield

**Arthur Balfour**

Arthur James Balfour, 1st Earl of Balfour was born in Scotland in 1848. As a young man Balfour studied philosophy, and inherited a large fortune at 21 then became a Conservative politician who was Prime Minister from 1902 to 1905, and later Foreign Secretary.



In 1902 he succeeded his uncle, Lord Salisbury as Prime Minister. He oversaw reform of defence policy and the Entente Cordiale, an agreement with France that influenced Britain's decision to join the First World War. He was often seen as an ambivalent personality and a weak Prime Minister. He suffered from public anger at the later stages of the Boer war (counter-insurgency warfare characterized as "methods of barbarism") and the importation of Chinese labour to South Africa ("Chinese slavery").

He resigned as Prime Minister in 1905 but returned to the Cabinet as First Lord of the Admiralty in Asquith's coalition government (1915–16). In 1916 he became Foreign Secretary in David Lloyd George's wartime administration, but was frequently left out of the inner workings of government. He resigned as Foreign Secretary following the Versailles Conference in 1919.

**Sir Auckland C Geddes**

Geddes was born in 1879, the son of Auckland Campbell-Geddes and the brother of Sir Eric Campbell-Geddes (First Lord of the Admiralty during World War I and principal architect of the Geddes Axe, which led to the retrenchment of British public expenditure following the War). Geddes was educated at George Watson's College, in Edinburgh, and at Edinburgh University. From 1906 to 1914, he was professor of anatomy at several universities.



Geddes served in the Second Boer War in the Highland Light Infantry between 1901 and 1902. During the First World War he served in the 17th Northumberland Fusiliers and was on the staff of the General Headquarters in France as honorary Brigadier General. Geddes was Director of Recruiting at the War Office from 1916 to 1917.

In 1917 he was elected Unionist Member of Parliament for Basingstoke. He was a member of the Privy Council in 1917 and served under David Lloyd George as Director of National

Service from 1917, as President of the Local Government Board from 1918, as Minister of Reconstruction in 1919 and as President of the Board of Trade (with a seat in the cabinet) from 1919 to 1920 when he was appointed British Ambassador to the United States.

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### Senator George F Pearce

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George Foster Pearce was an Australian politician who was instrumental in founding the Australian Labour Party in Western Australia. Pearce, a carpenter, was born in 1870 in Mount Barker, South Australia, to a Cornish Australian family, and educated there until he was 11. He worked on farms and later became a carpenter in Adelaide, but lost that job in the depression of 1891, moved to Western Australia and soon became heavily involved in the union movement. In April 1897 he married Eliza Maud Barrett.



In 1893, Pearce helped found the Progressive Political League. Self-educated in politics and economics, in 1901 he was elected to the first Commonwealth Parliament as a Senator for Western Australia. In 1908, he became Minister for Defence and He oversaw the foundation of the naval college at Jervis Bay and Royal Military College, Duntroon. In 1914 Australia entered World War I. Pearce was named Deputy Leader of the party.

By this time, Australia's prosecution of the war made the introduction of conscription an intensely divisive issue. Pearce was convinced of the necessity of introducing conscription, but the majority of his party did not agree. For much of 1916, Prime Minister Hughes was out of the country as a member of the Imperial war cabinet. During this time, over seven months, Pearce was acting prime minister.

Most of the defectors to the Nationalists subsequently faded into obscurity, but Pearce went on to have a successful career in the party of his erstwhile opponents. After Hughes was deposed as Nationalist leader, Pearce accepted as Minister of Defence.

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### Sir Robert Borden

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Born in 1854 and educated in Nova Scotia, Borden was a teacher until the age of 20, when he trained as a lawyer, becoming highly successful. He entered politics in



As Prime Minister of Canada during the First World War, he transformed his government to a wartime administration and committed Canada to provide half a million soldiers for the war effort.

The war effort also enabled Canada to assert itself as an independent power. Borden wanted to create a single Canadian army, rather than have Canadian soldiers split up and assigned to British divisions as had happened during the Boer War. Canadian troops proved themselves to be among the best in the world, fighting at the Somme, Ypres, Passchendaele, and especially at the Battle of Vimy Ridge.

Borden demanded that Canada have a separate seat at the Paris Peace Conference. Despite being initially opposed not only by Britain but also by the United States, who perceived such a delegation as an extra British vote, Borden won the day. He was heavily involved, particularly with Australia and New Zealand over the issue of mandates and in discussions

about the possibility of Canada taking over the administration of Belize and the West Indies, although no agreement was reached.

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### Lord Lee of Fareham

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Arthur Hamilton Lee was born at Bridport, Dorset, in 1868. After attending Cheltenham College, Lee entered the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, before being commissioned into the Royal Artillery in 1888.



He was posted to the Far East China as Adjutant of the Hong Kong Volunteer 1881–1891 and then returned to England. In 1893, Lee became a professor of Strategy and Tactics, at the Royal Military College of Canada.

He became the British military attaché with the United States Army in Cuba during the Spanish–American War in 1898. He received the U.S. campaign medal, he was made an honorary member of the 1st U.S. Volunteer Cavalry, the famous Roosevelt's "Rough Rider" and met Theodore Roosevelt. In 1899 Lee was appointed military attaché at the British Embassy in Washington.

In 1899, Lee married Ruth Moore, daughter of a New York banker. Returning to England in 1900, Lee embarked on a political career. He represented the Fareham Division of Hampshire for eighteen years and served as Civil Lord of the Admiralty from 1903 to 1905.

At the beginning of World War I, Lee served as Lord Kitchener's personal commissioner to report on the Army Medical Services in France. From October 1915 he served David Lloyd George at the Ministry of Munitions, and followed him to the War Office in 1916. Lee joined the Cabinet and the Privy Council in 1919 and became First Lord of the Admiralty in 1921.

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### Admiral Sir David Beatty

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David Richard Beatty, 1st Earl Beatty was born in 1871. After serving in the Mahdist War and then the response to the Boxer Rebellion, he commanded the 1st Battlecruiser Squadron at the Battle of Jutland in 1916, a tactically indecisive engagement after which his aggressive approach was contrasted with the caution of his commander Admiral Sir John Jellicoe. He is remembered for his comment at Jutland that "There seems to be something wrong with our bloody ships today", after two of his ships exploded. Later in the war he succeeded Jellicoe as Commander in Chief of the Grand Fleet, in which capacity he received the surrender of the German High Seas Fleet at the end of the War. He then served as First Sea Lord.




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### Admiral Chatfield

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Admiral Alfred Chatfield was born in 1873 in Portsmouth, the only son of Admiral Alfred Chatfield. He entered the Royal Navy in 1886 and subsequently served as Beatty's flag officer in WW1 and was present at the Battles of Jutland, Heligoland Bight and Dogger Bank. As a through-and-through navy man, he shared many similar views with Beatty.



**Japanese Delegates**

- Head of delegation: Baron Tomosaburu Kato, Minister for the Navy  
Prince Tokugawa Head of the House of Peers
- Political delegates: Baron Kijuro Shidehara, Ambassador to the USA  
Mr. Masanao Hanihara, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs
- Military delegates: Vice-Admiral Kato Kanji - Navy Staff  
Captain Suesugu Nobumasa - Navy Staff

The split of responsibility between the Naval Ministry and the Navy was not at all clear. Nominally, Baron Kato was the senior representative, but the navy was not responsible to the Navy ministry, but to the government.



A further complication arises in the inclusion of Prince Tokugawa as part of the delegation. As Head of the House of Peers, descendent of the last Shogun and the highest ranked person in the Japanese delegation (by order of aristocratic rank), then he is the apparent head of the delegation – and in ceremonial terms he is, however... policy seems mainly decided by Baron Kato.

**Baron Tomosaburu Kato,**

Born in Hiroshima, to a *samurai* family, Katō enrolled in the Imperial Japanese Naval Academy. He specialized in both in naval artillery and in navigation. Katō served on the corvette *Tsukuba* in 1887, followed by the cruiser *Takachiho*.

During the First Sino-Japanese War, he served in a combat position as gunnery officer on the cruiser *Yoshino*. After the end of the war, he served in numerous staff positions before promotion to commander. He was executive officer on the battleship *Yashima*, and captain of the *Tsukushi*. He was promoted to rear admiral in 1904.



During the Russo-Japanese War, Katō served as chief of staff to Admiral Tōgō Heihachirō on the battleship *Mikasa*, assisting in Japan's victory at the Battle of Tsushima.

Katō became Vice Minister of the Navy in 1906, becoming Minister of the Navy in 1915 (being promoted to full admiral at the same time). He is serving in this post at the time of the conference. He was appointed a Baron of the Empire in 1920.

**Prince Iyesato Tokugawa**

Prince Tokugawa Iesato (born 1863) was the first head of the Tokugawa clan after the overthrow of the Tokugawa bakufu.

Tokugawa Iesato was born to the Tayasu branch of the Tokugawa clan and became its 16th head, following the resignation of the last *Shogun*, Tokugawa Yoshinobu. Iesato was also briefly the *daimyō* of the short-lived Shizuoka han, before the abolition of the han system in the early 1870s.



In 1877, Iesato was sent to Eton College in Great Britain for studies. He returned to Japan in 1882, and was given the title of *kōshaku* (prince) under the *kazoku* peerage system. He became a member of the House of Peers of the Diet of Japan from its creation in 1890, and served as President of the House of Peers from 1901.

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### Baron Kijuro Shidehara

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Baron Kijūrō was born in 1872 in Osaka. Shidehara attended Tokyo Imperial University, and graduated from the Faculty of Law. After graduation, he found a position within the Foreign Ministry and was sent as a consul to Korea in 1896. He subsequently served in the Japanese embassy in London, Antwerp, and Washington D.C. and as ambassador to the Netherlands, returning to Japan in 1915.



In 1915, Shidehara was appointed Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs and continued in this position during five consecutive administrations. In 1919, he was named ambassador to the United States and was Japan's leading negotiator at the conference. However, while he was ambassador, the United States enacted discriminatory immigration laws against Japanese, which created much ill will in Japan.

Shidehara was elevated to the title of *danshaku* (baron) under the *kazoku* peerage system in 1920. During his diplomatic career, Shidehara was known for his excellent command of the English language. Because his wife was a Quaker, Shidehara was rumoured to be one too, which might well be linked to the fact that he was a leading proponent of pacifism in Japan, a stance which did not endear him to the military.

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### Mr. Masanao Hanihara

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Masanao Hanihara (born 1876 ) was a Japanese diplomat, who was posted to the United States in 1902 as a member of the Japanese Embassy at Washington, D.C., was consul general at San Francisco in 1916–17, then returned to Japan as director of the Bureau of Commerce of the Japanese Foreign Office.

He was a member of the Ishii Mission from which came the Lansing–Ishii agreement which was a diplomatic note signed between the United States and the Empire of Japan on 2 November 1917 over their disputes with regards to China.



In the published text of the agreement, signed by United States Secretary of State Robert Lansing and Japanese special envoy Ishii Kikujirō, both parties pledged to uphold the Open Door Policy in China, with respect to its territorial and administrative integrity. However, the United States government also acknowledged that Japan had "special interests" in China due to its geographic proximity, especially in those areas of China adjacent to Japanese territory, which was in effect, a contradiction to the *Open Door* Policy.

In a secret protocol (that later became more widely known) attached to the public agreement, both parties agreed not to take advantage of the special opportunities presented by World War I to seek special rights or privileges in China at the expense of other nations allied in the war effort against Germany.



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### Vice-Admiral Kato Kanji

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Kato Kanji was navy through and through and was part of the “Fleet” faction. There was bitter rivalry between the “fleet” ( militaristic, opposed to any limitations )and “treaty” (wishing to compromise and agree treaties to reduce tension and arms) factions.

He was a fighting admiral, being given command of the Siberian expedition to Vladivostock (raising his flag in the battleship Asahi in January 1918).



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### Captain Suesugu Nobumasa

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Suesugu was born in Yamaguchi Prefecture as the younger son of a former samurai in the service of Tokuyama Domain. He graduated from the Imperial Japanese Naval Academy, then served as a junior officer on several smaller craft, including a combat tour during the Russo-Japanese War. After the war, he attended the Naval Staff College where he specialized in naval artillery, graduating with honours from the class of 1909 with the rank of lieutenant commander.



After serving as chief gunnery officer on the *Hizen* and *Tokiwa*, he was assigned to the Imperial Japanese Navy General Staff Office. In 1914, he was sent to Great Britain as a naval attaché during World War I and was promoted to commander. During the war, he served on the *Agamemnon* and the HMS *Queen Mary*, and reported on the Battle of Jutland. In December 1918, Suetsugu was promoted to captain and was given command of the cruiser *Tama* before being seconded to the delegation to the conference.

**French Delegates**

The French delegation comprises:

Head of Delegation      Aristide Briand President of the Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister

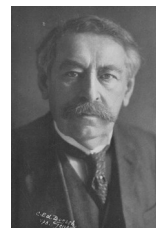
Political Members      M. Albert Sarraut - Minister of Colonies  
Rene Viviani

Military Members      Vice Admiral Ferdinand de Bon  
Vice Admiral Grasset - Naval General Staff

**Aristide Briand**

The eloquent and charismatic Briand had been the French prime minister on a number of occasions and was the President of the Council and Foreign Minister at the time of the conference.

He was born in Nantes, of a petit bourgeois family. Attending the Nantes Lycée, he became a close friend of Jules Verne. He studied law, then went into politics, writing articles and associating himself with progressive movements.



He was prominent in the movement for the formation of trade unions, and became one of the leaders of the French Socialist Party. In 1902, after several unsuccessful attempts, he was elected a deputy. He declared himself a strong partisan of the union of the left in what was known as the Bloc, in order to check the reactionary Deputies of the Right.

**Albert Sarraut**

A rising star of French radical politics, Sarraut has cut his teeth on colonial government, being Governor-general of French Indo-China just prior to the war, and at the very end of the war. As such he is a believer in the economic value of colonies, but also on the need to govern the colonies well, for the benefit of the governed people as well as for France.



He is ideally suited to be part of the French political delegation, particularly at a conference discussing matters in Asia.

**Rene Viviani**

As a previous French premier, Viviani adds weight to the political delegation from France.

Born in Algeria in a family of Italian immigrants, Viviani's parliamentary career began in 1893, when he was elected deputy of the fifth ward in Paris. At an early age he associated himself with the Socialist party, soon becoming one of its most brilliant orators and prominent leaders. When the party was reorganized in 1904 into the Unified Socialist party, Viviani, like fellow Socialist Aristide Briand, stayed outside, and thenceforth called himself an Independent Socialist.



In the spring of 1914 an exceptionally radical chamber was elected, and for a while it seemed that they would be unable to agree upon any one for Premier, but finally, he was appointed Prime Minister on a ticket of maintenance of the law requiring three years' service in the army and provision for a loan of 1.8bn francs for military preparations.

He retained the premiership for over a year, but by autumn 1915 his government was in trouble and he gave way to a government of Briand.

In April 1917 Viviani led a mission to the USA, which had just entered the war "associated with" the Allies.

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### Admiral de Bon

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If the French language has a translation for “old sea salt”, then it surely applied to de Bon. He was born in 1861 of a line of senior naval officers and could trace back directly to corsair captains during the American War of Independence. He even married an admiral's daughter and, from his entrance to the naval academy in 1877, to his status as Chief of the Naval Staff during the war and commander of French naval forces in the Gallipoli campaign, de Bon was a proud, bluff, patriotic naval man through and through.



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### Admiral Grasset

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Chief of Staff of the French Navy, Vice-admiral de Grasset is a natural for the military delegation. He worked closely with the US navy and naval staff during the war, liaising with them about actions where they could assist. He accompanied a naval delegation to Washington when the USA entered the war, so would have been well known to the Americans.



***Italian Delegates***

Head of Delegation	Senator Carlo Schanzer
Political Members	Senator Vittorio Rolandi Ricci    Ambassador to the USA Senator Luigi Albertini
Military Members	Admiral Alfredo Acton    ex Navy Chief of Staff Admiral Thaon di Revel    Chief of Naval Staff

**Senator Carlo Schanzer**

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Carlo Schanzer was born in 1865 in Vienna. He was a lawyer who entered the civil service, becoming an official in the Directorate of Statistics, then through several posts he became director-general of the civil administration from 1901. He became a member of the Italian parliament from 1900 to 1919, becoming a minister (of Posts and Telegraphs) from 1906 to 1909 and then President of the Council of State. In 1919, he was appointed a Senator of the Kingdom and was Minister of the Treasury and Finance. He had fascist sympathies.

**Senator Vittorio Rolandi Ricci**

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Born 1860 in Albenga, he studied law at the university of Genoa and became a highly successful corporate lawyer and businessman. He is a rich man, with estates in Tuscany, Umbria and Piedmont. He is a “cultured” individual, taking great delight in literature. He is also somewhat of an America-phile, being immersed in the links between Italy and the USA, making a study of Italian emigration to the USA and now becoming appointed as ambassador.

**Senator Luigi Albertini**

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Luigi Albertini was born in 1871 in Ancona, Italy. After reading law at the University of Turin, in 1894 he moved to London, where he was foreign correspondent for *La Stampa* of Turin. While in London he investigated labour conditions and studied the organization of The Times newspaper. In 1898 he joined the Milan newspaper, *Corriere della Sera*, as an editorial assistant. In the spring of 1900, Albertini took his position as managing editor, and a few weeks later director. He also invested in the paper. He installed modern equipment and updated the paper’s technical services. Under Albertini's direction, *Corriere della Sera* became the most widely read and respected daily paper in Europe. But, at the time of the conference, the paper's owners, the Crespi family, were becoming concerned because of his anti-Fascist views.



Albertini was an outspoken antifascist, even though at one time he did support the National Fascist Party in their opposition to the Left. From 1914 until the time of the conference, he was a member of parliament in the Italian Senate, where he was a key intellectual and moderating force. It was, however, clear that the possibility of a Fascist government under

Benito Mussolini would have caused him real problems in his journalistic and political careers.

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### Admiral Alfredo Acton

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Alfredo Acton (born 1867) was an Italian admiral, politician and Chief of Staff of the Italian Navy.

He was born in Castellammare di Stabia, a descendant of a noble family which had originated in England.

Alfredo Acton participated in the occupation of Massawa (1885), the International Squadron against Crete (1897), the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion (1900) and the Italo-Turkish War (1912).

During the First World War, he became a Rear Admiral, the Allied commander of an Italian-British-French force which fought the Battle of the Strait of Otranto (1917) against the Austrian-Hungarian Navy.

After the war, he was chief of staff of the Italian navy from 1919-1921.



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### Admiral Thaon di Revel

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Thaon di Revel was born in Turin from a noble family, he took part as Rear-admiral in the Italo-Turkish War, commanding Italian cruisers in the Battle of Beirut.

He twice served as Naval Chief of Staff during World War I and was reluctant to risk the Italian battle-fleet in anything other than a major surface action. On 3 February 1917, he became commander of the Italian Navy. After the Italian rout at Caporetto in November 1917, he secured the coastal area. He favoured the action of smaller vessels, such as the MAS which sunk the Austrian battleship *Szent István* in 1918. In the late days of the war he led the bombardment of Durazzo and the quick occupation of the coasts of Istria and Dalmatia.

In 1917 he was named to the Italian Senate. At the time of the conference, he was serving as the Chief of the Italian Naval Staff, taking over that post from Admiral Acton.



***Netherlands Delegates***

The Dutch delegation comprises:

Head of Delegation    Jonkheer H A van Karnebeek    minister of Foreign Affairs

Other Members        Jonkheer Frans Beelaerts van Blokland minister of the Colonies  
                               Dr. E. Moresco    secretary-general of the bureau of colonial affairs  
                               Dr. JCA Erverwijn envoy to the USA

(note: the delegation is fairly small and will deal with political and military matters)

**Jonkheer H. A. van Karnebeek**

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Jonkheer Herman Adriaan van Karnebeek was born in the Hague in 1874. He was Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs and is president of the League of Nations at the time of the conference.



He studied law at the University of Utrecht. A conservative liberal like his father, he served as Mayor of the Hague (1911-1918) before the staunchly pro-German Van Karnebeek became Minister of Foreign Affairs on 9 September 1918.

**Jonkheer Frans Beelaerts van Blokland**

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Jhr. mr. Beelaerts Frans van Blokland (to address him fully) was born in the Hague in 1872.

He was a member of the family Beelaerts , with two similarly distinguished brothers. All three were diplomats and politicians. He married Jkvr. Maria Adriana Snoeck in 1905 and had two sons. Maria Adriana was a maid of honour of Queen Wilhelmina.



He was in the public service ever since he was graduated with an LL. D. from Leiden University. His first post was no mean one, that of clerk of the Second Chamber of the States-General. From there, and without much delay he entered the diplomatic service,- climbing the ladder steadily until, in 1910, he was appointed minister to China and is minister for the colonies at the time of the conference.

He was close to the royal family and advised Queen Wilhelmina. He was a rather formal, almost “stuffy” person who even wanted officials to always be addressed by rank (e.g. "president").

**Dr. E. Moresco**

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Born in Amsterdam in 1869, Emanuel Moresco was Jewish, of Portuguese descent. After graduating from Amsterdam in 1887, he was an official in the department of the Navy and then trained in the diplomatic service, serving in the department for Political and Indigenous affairs. At the time of the conference, he is Secretary-General to the Minister for Colonies, following several appointments involving Batavia (Dutch East Indies).



He was awarded an honorary doctorate in political science at the university of Leiden in 1913 and then became a knight of the order of the Dutch Lion, in 1920

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### Dr. JCA Everwijn

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Born in 1872 and educated in law (holding a doctorate in law), Dr. Jan Charles August Everwijn (nicknamed Guus) was recently appointed as Minister of the Netherlands to the United States (i.e. envoy). He comes from an old aristocratic Dutch family and, prior to his appointment, was head of the commercial section of the Dutch Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce.



He is a shrewd businessman and was part of the team which negotiated a loan of 300 million guilders to Germany earlier in 1921.

**Chinese Delegates**

All delegates are political.

Sao-Ke Alfred Sze	Envoy to Washington
Wellington Koo	Envoy to London
Chung-Hui Wang	former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court

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**Sao-Ke Alfred Sze**


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Born in 1877, Sze became the first Chinese student to graduate from Cornell University before returning to China to work for the Peking government. Dr. Sze had been married to Yu-hua "Alice" Tang, the daughter of a lady in waiting to the Dowager Empress Cixi. Alice's uncle was prime minister Tang Shaoyi and her cousin was the wife of Wellington Koo.



Alfred's Sze's elder brother, Shi Sao (aka Chao) Tseng, born 1868, was also a prominent official and served as a diplomat in USA 1893-1897. Upon returning to China he held several senior railway posts.

From 1921, Sze was head of the Chinese legation to the U.S., representing the Peking Government. He had the unenviable task of securing U.S. support to contain Japanese aggression in northern China.

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**V. E. Wellington Koo**


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Born in Shanghai in 1887, Koo attended Saint John's University, Shanghai, and Columbia College. In 1912 he received his Ph.D. in international law and diplomacy from Columbia University.

Koo returned to China in 1912 to serve the new Republic of China as English Secretary to President Yuan Shikai. In 1915, Koo was made China's Minister to the United States and Cuba. In 1919, he was a member of the Chinese delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. Before the Western powers and Japan, he demanded that Japan return Shandong ( Tsingtao ) to China. He also called for an end to imperialist institutions such as extraterritoriality, tariff controls, legation guards, and lease holds. The Western powers refused his claims and, consequently, the Chinese delegation at the Paris Peace Conference was the only nation that did not sign the Treaty of Versailles at the signing ceremony.



Koo also was involved in the formation of the League of Nations as China's first representative to the newly formed League.

In 1908, Koo married his first wife, Chang Jun-e .They divorced in 1912.

Koo's second wife, Tang Pao-yu "May" , was the youngest daughter of the former Chinese prime minister Tang Shaoyi. Their marriage took place soon after Koo's return to China in 1912. She died in an influenza epidemic in 1918. They had two children: a son, Teh-chang Koo (b. 1916), and a daughter, Patricia Koo (b. 1918).



Koo's third wife was Oei Hui-lan she married Koo in Brussels, Belgium in 1921. Much admired for her adaptations of traditional Manchu fashion, which she wore with lace trousers and jade necklaces.

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### Chung-Hui Wang

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Wang was born in Hong Kong in 1881, and graduated in 1900 from Peiyang University where he studied law. After briefly teaching at Nanyang Public School, in 1901 he continued his study in Japan, and later travelled to the United States attending the University of California and Yale. He received the degree of Doctor of Civil Law from Yale Law School in 1905 and practised law from 1907. He made a translation of the German Civil Code (of 1896) into English and studied comparative law in Germany and France.



Returning to China from Europe in the autumn of 1911, when the anti-dynastic Xinhai Revolution of October 10 began, he became adviser to Chen Qimei, the revolutionary military governor of Shanghai. He represented Guangdong (the base of Kuomintang) at the Nanking convention which elected Dr. Sun Yat-sen provisional president of the Republic of China (the southern government).

In 1912, Wang was designated first minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of China. After the rise of Yuan Shih-k'ai, Wang was named minister of justice in the cabinet. He helped draft the republic's provisional constitution of 1912. The prime minister resigned in June 1912, and a month later Wang did the same. He moved to Shanghai to academic life and editing in the Chunghua Book Company.

Though he stayed out of some major political events during the early anti-Yuan era, in May 1916 he became deputy commissioner for foreign affairs of the military council in Canton. Wang served as chief justice of the Chinese supreme court in 1920 and was regarded favourably by the "Peking" or "northern" government, being mentioned as a potential justice minister or even prime minister.

It seems that Wang was a bridge between the rivals to govern China and an example of how the Chinese dealt with and regarded such matters.

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*End of Game Handbook. Annexes Follow*

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Annex B: World Maps Showing Foreign Naval Bases





## Annex C: The Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1905

The Governments of Great Britain and Japan, being desirous of replacing the Agreement concluded between them on the 30th January, 1902, by fresh stipulations, have agreed upon the following Articles, which have for their object--

- (a) The consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India;
  - (b) The preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China;
6. The maintenance of the territorial rights of the High Contracting Parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India, and the defence of their special interests in the said regions:--

### *Article I*

It is agreed that whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, any of the rights and interests referred to in the preamble of this Agreement are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly, and will consider in common the measures which should be taken to safeguard those menaced rights or interests.

### *Article II*

If by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action, wherever arising, on the part of any other Power or Powers either Contracting Party should be involved in war in defence of its territorial right or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this Agreement, the other Contracting Party will at once come to the assistance of its ally, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

### *Article III*

Japan possessing paramount political, military, and economic interests in Korea, Great Britain recognizes the right of Japan to take such measures of guidance, control, and protection in Korea as she may deem proper and necessary to safeguard and advance those interests, provided always that such measures are not contrary to the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations.

### *Article IV*

Great Britain having a special interest in all that concerns the security of the Indian frontier, Japan recognizes her right to take such measures in the proximity of that frontier as she may find necessary for safeguarding her Indian possessions.

### *Article V*

The High Contracting Parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the objects described in the preamble of this Agreement.

### *Article VI*

As regards the present war between Japan and Russia, Great Britain will continue to maintain strict neutrality unless some other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against Japan, in which case Great Britain will come to the assistance of Japan, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with Japan.

### *Article VII*

The conditions under which armed assistance shall be afforded by either Power to the other in the circumstances mentioned in the present Agreement, and the means by which such assistance is to be made available, will be arranged by the Naval and Military authorities of the Contracting Parties, who will from time to time consult one another fully and freely upon all questions of mutual interest.

### *Article VIII*

The present Agreement shall, subject to the provisions of Article VI, come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force for ten years from that date

## Annex D: Illustrative Budget and Plan

		Ship numbers			Costs			
		1922/23	1923/24	1924/25	1922/23	1923/24	1924/25	
<b>Capital Ships</b>	In service	5	5	5	Maintenance	£5.0m	£5.0m	£5.0m
	Decommissioned	1	1	1	Building	£2.0m	£2.0m	£2.0m
	Commissioned(Y3)	1	1	1	Building	£2.0m	£2.0m	£2.0m
	Building(Y2)	1	1	1	Building	£2.0m	£2.0m	£2.0m
	Laid down(Y1)	1	1	1	Building	£2.0m	£2.0m	£2.0m
<b>Total</b>						<b>£11.0m</b>	<b>£11.0m</b>	<b>£11.0m</b>
<b>Carriers</b>	In service	0	0	0	Maintenance	£0.0m	£0.0m	£0.0m
	Decommissioned	0	0	0	Building	£2.50m	£0.0m	£0.0m
	Commissioned(Y3)	0	0	0	Building	£2.50m	£0.0m	£0.0m
	Building(Y2)	0	0	0	Building	£2.50m	£0.0m	£0.0m
	Laid down(Y1)	0	0	0	Building	£2.50m	£0.0m	£0.0m
<b>Total</b>						<b>£0.0m</b>	<b>£0.0m</b>	<b>£0.0m</b>
<b>Heavy Cruisers</b>	In service	4	4	4	Maintenance	£0.60m	£2.4m	£2.4m
	Decommissioned	1	1	1	Building	£1.50m	£1.5m	£1.5m
	Commissioned(Y2)	1	1	1	Building	£1.50m	£1.5m	£1.5m
	Laid down(Y1)	1	1	1	Building	£1.50m	£1.5m	£1.5m
	<b>Total</b>						<b>£5.4m</b>	<b>£5.4m</b>
<b>Light Cruisers</b>	In service	15	15	15	Maintenance	£0.30m	£4.5m	£4.5m
	Decommissioned	4	4	4	Building	£1.00m	£4.0m	£4.0m
	Build and Commission	4	4	4	Building	£1.00m	£4.0m	£4.0m
	<b>Total</b>						<b>£8.5m</b>	<b>£8.5m</b>
<b>Escorts</b>	In service	100	100	100	Maintenance	£0.05m	£5.0m	£5.0m
	Decommissioned	10	10	10	Building	£0.10m	£1.0m	£1.0m
	Build and Commission	10	10	10	Building	£0.10m	£1.0m	£1.0m
	<b>Total</b>						<b>£6.0m</b>	<b>£6.0m</b>
<b>Submarines</b>	In service	80	80	80	Maintenance	£0.03m	£2.4m	£2.4m
	Decommissioned	30	30	30	Building	£0.10m	£3.0m	£3.0m
	Build and Commission	30	30	30	Building	£0.10m	£3.0m	£3.0m
	<b>Total</b>						<b>£5.4m</b>	<b>£5.4m</b>
<b>Bases</b>	In service unfortified	2	2	2	Maintenance	£1.00m	£2.0m	£2.0m
	In service fortified	0	0	0	Maintenance	£1.50m	£0.0m	£0.0m
	Closure unfortified	0	0	0	Building	£4.00m	£0.0m	£0.0m
	Closure fortified	0	0	0	Fortifying	£5.00m	£0.0m	£0.0m
	New Bases	0	0	0	Building	£4.00m	£0.0m	£0.0m
	Fortification	0	0	0	Fortifying	£5.00m	£0.0m	£0.0m
<b>Total</b>						<b>£2.0m</b>	<b>£2.0m</b>	<b>£2.0m</b>
<b>Other Factors</b> <small>(precis plans with cost in bottom right cell)</small>	Moth-balling	0	0	0		£0.0	£0.0	£0.0
	Refits	0	0	0		£0.0	£0.0	£0.0
	Other	0	0	0		£0.0	£0.0	£0.0
<b>Total Budget</b>						<b>£38.3m</b>	<b>£38.3m</b>	<b>£38.3m</b>
						<b>£35.0m ?</b>	<b>£32.0m ?</b>	

The diagram shows Freedonia's fleet. Taking 1922/23 capital ships, Freedonia starts with 5, of which one is decommissioned during the year. One has been in construction in previous years and is commissioned in the year, one is laid down, starting its 3 year build and one is being built ready to be commissioned next year. The cost to maintain 5 ships is £5m, and the cost to have ships in the building process is £2m each, making £6m on building capital ships. The £5m maintenance and the £6m building costs make a total of £11m on capital ships.

Freedonia will be proud of its more modern fleet, but there is a serious cost to keeping it. There is a lot of political pressure to reduce the shipbuilding, but the admirals are quick to point out that the effect of doing so will be to cripple the capability of Freedonia shipyards as capital ship slips will fall derelict.

**Annex E: Extract From John Hay's Letter on the Open Door Policy**

Sir: At the time when the Government of the United States was informed by that of Germany that it had leased from His Majesty the Emperor of China the port of Kiao-chao and the adjacent territory in the province of Shantung, assurances were given to the ambassador of the United States at Berlin by the Imperial German minister for foreign affairs that the rights and privileges insured by treaties with China to citizens of the United States would not thereby suffer or be in anywise impaired within the area over which Germany had thus obtained control.

More recently, however, the British Government recognized by a formal agreement with Germany the exclusive right of the latter country to enjoy in said leased area and the contiguous "sphere of influence or interest" certain privileges, more especially those relating to railroads and mining enterprises; but, as the exact nature and extent of the rights thus recognized have not been clearly defined, it is possible that serious conflicts of interest may at any time arise, not only between British and German subjects within said area, but that the interests of our citizens may also be jeopardized thereby.

Earnestly desirous to remove any cause of irritation and to insure at the same time to the commerce of all nations in China the undoubted benefits which should accrue from a formal recognition by the various powers claiming "spheres of interest" that they shall enjoy perfect equality of treatment for their commerce and navigation within such "spheres," the Government of the United States would be pleased to see His German Majesty's Government give formal assurances and lend its cooperation in securing like assurances from the other interested powers that each within its respective sphere of whatever influence—

First. Will in no way interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory it may have in China.

Second. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said "sphere of interest" (unless they be "free ports"), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

Third. That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its "sphere" on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such "sphere" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances.

The liberal policy pursued by His Imperial German Majesty in declaring Kiao-chao a free port and in aiding the Chinese Government in the establishment there of a customhouse are so clearly in line with the proposition which this Government is anxious to see recognized that it entertains the strongest hope that Germany will give its acceptance and hearty support.

The recent case of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia declaring the port of Ta-lien-wan open during the whole of the lease under which it is held from China, to the merchant ships of all nations, coupled with the categorical assurances made to this Government by His Imperial Majesty's representative at this capital at the time, and since repeated to me by the present Russian ambassador, seem to insure the support of the Emperor to the proposed measure. Our ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg has, in consequence, been instructed to submit it to the Russian Government and to request their early consideration of it. A copy of my instruction on the subject to Mr. Tower is herewith inclosed for your confidential information.

The commercial interests of Great Britain and Japan will be so clearly served by the desired declaration of intentions, and the views of the governments of these countries as to the desirability of the adoption of measures insuring the benefits of equality of treatment of all foreign trade throughout China are so similar to those entertained by the United States, that their acceptance of the propositions herein outlined and their cooperation in advocating their adoption by the other powers can be confidently expected.



**Annex F: The "21 Demands"**DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS MADE BY  
JAPAN ON CHINA IN 1915.

## (A) JAPAN'S REVISED DEMANDS ON CHINA

Presented April 26, 1915  
following the original Twenty-one Demands on China  
presented Jan. 18, 1915

## GROUP I

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, being desirous of maintaining the general peace in Eastern Asia and further strengthening the friendly relations and good neighbourhood existing between the two nations, agree to the following articles:

Art. I. The Chinese Government engages to give full assent to all matters upon which the Japanese Government may hereafter agree with the German Government, relating to the disposition of all rights, interests and concessions, which Germany, by virtue of treaties or otherwise, possesses in relation to the Province of Shantung (*note: Tsingtao is here*).

Art. 2. (Changed into an exchange of notes.)

The Chinese Government declares that within the Province of Shantung and along its coast no territory or island will be ceded or leased to any Power under any pretext.

Art. 3. The Chinese Government consents that as regards the railway to be built by China herself from Chefoo or Lungkow to connect with the Kiaochow-Tsinanfu Railway, if Germany is willing to abandon the privilege of financing the Chefoo-Weihsien line, China will approach Japanese capitalists to negotiate for a loan.

Art. 4. The Chinese Government engages, in the interest of trade and for the residence of foreigners, to open by China herself as soon as possible certain suitable places in the Province of Shantung as Commercial Ports.

(Supplementary Exchange of Notes)

The places which ought to be opened are to be chosen and the regulations are to be drafted, by the Chinese Government, but the Japanese Minister must be consulted before making a decision.

## GROUP II

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, with a view to developing their economic relations in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, agree to the following articles:

Art. 1. The two contracting Powers mutually agree that the term of lease of Port Arthur and Dalny and the terms of the South Manchuria Railway and the Antung-Mukden Railway shall be extended to 99 years.

(Supplementary Exchange of Notes)

The term of lease of Port Arthur and Dalny shall expire in the, 86th year of the Republic or 1997. The date for restoring the South Manchurian Railway to China shall fall due in the 91st year of the Republic or 2002. Article 12 in the original South Manchurian Railway Agreement stating that it may be redeemed by China after 36 years after the traffic is opened is hereby cancelled. The term of the Antung-Mukden Railway shall expire in the 96th year of the Republic or 2007.

Art. 2. Japanese subjects in South Manchuria may lease or purchase the necessary land for erecting suitable buildings for trade and manufacture or for prosecuting agricultural enterprises.

Art. 3. Japanese subjects shall be free to reside and travel in South Manchuria and to engage in business and manufacture of any kind whatsoever.

Art. 3-a. The Japanese subjects referred to in the preceding two articles, besides being required to register with the local authorities pass-ports which they must procure under the existing regulations, shall also submit to police laws and ordinances and tax regulations, which are approved by the Japanese consul. Civil and criminal cases in which the defendants are Japanese shall be tried and adjudicated by the Japanese consul; those in which the defendants are Chinese shall be tried and adjudicated by Chinese Authorities. In either case an officer can be deputed to the court to attend the proceedings. But mixed civil cases between Chinese and Japanese relating to land shall be tried and adjudicated by delegates of both nations conjointly in accordance with Chinese law and local usage. When the judicial system in the said region is completely reformed, all civil and criminal cases concerning Japanese subjects shall be tried entirely by Chinese law courts.

Art. 4. (Changed to an exchange of notes.)

The Chinese Government agrees that Japanese subjects shall be permitted forthwith to investigate, select, and then prospect for and open mines at the following places in South Manchuria, apart from those mining areas in which mines are being prospected for or worked; until the Mining Ordinance is definitely settled methods at present in force shall be followed.

PROVINCE OF FENG-TIEN

<i>Locality</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Mineral</i>
Niu Hsin Vai	Pen-hsi	Coal
Tien Shih Fu Kou	Pen-hsi	Coal
Sha Sung Kang	Hai-lung	Coal
T'ieh Ch'ang	Tung-hua	Coal
Nuan Ti Tang	Chin	Coal

An Shan Chan region From Liao-yang to Pen-hsi .....Iron

PROVINCE OF KIRIN

(Southern Portion)

Sha Sung Kang	Ho-lung	Coal and Iron
Kang Yao	Chi-lin (Kirin)	Coal
Chia P'i Kou	Hua-tien	Gold

Art. 5. (Changed to an exchange of notes.)

The Chinese Government declares that China will hereafter provide funds for building railways in South Manchuria; if foreign capital is required, the Chinese Government agrees to negotiate for the loan with Japanese capitalists first.

Art. 5-a. (Changed to an exchange of notes.)

The Chinese Government agrees that hereafter, when a foreign loan is to be made on the security of the taxes of South Manchuria (not including customs and salt revenue on the security of which loans have already been made by the Central Government), it will negotiate for the loan with Japanese capitalists first.

Art. 6. (Changed to an exchange of notes.)

The Chinese Government declares that hereafter if foreign advisers or instructors on political, financial, military or police matters, are to be employed in South Manchuria, Japanese will be employed first.

Art. 7. The Chinese Government agree speedily to make a fundamental revision of the Kirin-Chan-chun Railway Loan Agreement, taking as a standard the provisions in railroad loan agreements made heretofore between China and foreign financiers. If, in future, more advantageous terms than those in

existing railway loan agreements are granted to foreign financiers, in connection with railway loans, the above agreement shall again be revised in accordance with Japan's wishes.

All existing treaties between China and Japan relating to Manchuria shall, except where otherwise provided for by this Convention, remain in force.

1. The Chinese Government agrees that hereafter when a foreign loan is to be made on the security of the taxes of Eastern Inner Mongolia, China must negotiate with the Japanese Government first.
2. The Chinese Government agrees that China will herself provide funds for building the railways in Eastern Inner Mongolia; if foreign capital is required, she must negotiate with the Japanese Government first.
3. The Chinese Government agrees, in the interest of trade and for the residence of foreigners, to open by China herself, as soon as possible, certain suitable places in Eastern Inner Mongolia as Commercial Ports. The places which ought to be opened are to be chosen, and the regulations are to be drafted, by the Chinese Government, but the Japanese Minister must be consulted before making a decision.
4. In the event of Japanese and Chinese desiring jointly to undertake agricultural enterprises and industries incidental thereto, the Chinese Government shall give its permission.

#### GROUP III

The relations between Japan and the Hanyehping Company being very intimate, if those interested in the said Company come to an agreement with the Japanese capitalists for co-operation, the Chinese Government shall forthwith give its consent thereto. The Chinese Government further agrees that, without the consent of the Japanese capitalists, China will not convert the Company into a state enterprise, nor confiscate it, nor cause it to borrow and use foreign capital other than Japanese.

#### GROUP IV

China is to give pronouncement by herself in accordance with the following principle:

No bay, harbour, or island along the coast of China may be ceded or leased to any Power.

Notes to be exchanged.

#### A

As regards the right of financing a railway from Wuchang to connect with the Kiu-kiang-Nanchang line, the Nanchang-Hangchow railway, and the Nanchang-Chaochow railway, if it is clearly ascertained that other Powers have no objection, China shall grant the said right to Japan.

#### B

As regards the rights of financing a railway from Wuchang to connect with the Kiu-kiang-Nanchang railway, a railway from Nanchang to Hangchow and another from Nanchang to Chaochow, the Chinese Government shall not grant the said right to any foreign Power before Japan comes to an understanding with the other Power which is heretofore interested therein.

#### NOTES TO BE EXCHANGED

The Chinese Government agrees that no nation whatever is to be permitted to construct, on the coast of Fukien Province, a dockyard, a coaling station for military use, or a naval base; nor to be authorized to set up any other military establishment. The Chinese Government further agrees not to use foreign capital for setting up the above mentioned construction or establishment.

Mr. Lu, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated as follows:

1. The Chinese Government shall, whenever, in future, it considers this step necessary, engage numerous Japanese advisers.

2. Whenever, in future, Japanese subjects desire to lease or purchase land in the interior of China for establishing schools or hospitals, the Chinese Government shall forthwith give its consent thereto.

3. When a suitable opportunity arises in future, the Chinese Government will send military officers to Japan to negotiate with Japanese military authorities the matter of purchasing arms or that of establishing a joint arsenal.

## Annex G: Treaty Ports and Concessions in China

### List of Settlements and Concessions

(in China in 1921)

#### - The Original five Ports -

- Shanghai -  
International Settlement ( Created in 1863 by the consolidation of the British Concession-1843 and American Settlement-1854 )  
French Concession ( 1849 )  
Woosung ( 1898 )
- Amoy -  
British Concession ( 1851-52 )  
Japanese Concession ( 1900 )  
American Concession ( 1899 ) - Proposed. Never taken up or administered.  
Kulangsu International Settlement ( 1902 )
- Canton - ( Located at *Shameen Island* near the site of the old 17th and 18th Century factories )  
British Concession ( 1861 )  
French Concession ( 1861 )
- Foochow ( opened in 1842; no defined area )
- Ningpo ( *Campo* set apart in 1844; no defined area )

#### - Upper Yangtze Ports -

- Hankow -  
British Concession ( 1861, extended 1898 )  
Ex-Russian Concession ( 1886 ) - Chinese administration after 9.1920.  
French Concession ( 1886, extended 1902 )  
Ex-German Concession ( 1895, extended 1898 )  
Japanese Concession ( 1898, extended 1906 ).
- Changsha - General Foreign Settlement ( 1904 )
- Chungking - Japanese Settlement ( 1901 )

#### - Lower Yangtze Ports -

- Kiukiang - British Concession ( 1861 )
- Wuhu - General Foreign Settlement ( 1904, originally marked out in 1877 for a British Concession but never taken up )
- Nanking - General Foreign Settlement ( 1899 )
- Chinkiang - British Concession ( 1861 )

#### - Northern Ports & Peking -

- Peking - Legation Quarter ( 1861, restricted to diplomatic missions, customs and other government employees)
- Tsinanfu - General Foreign Settlement ( 1916 )
- Choutsun - General Foreign Settlement ( 1916 )
- Weihsein - General Foreign Settlement ( 1916 )
- Tientsin - British Concession ( 1861 )  
French Concession ( 1861 )  
Ex-German Concession ( 1899 ) - Chinese administration after 4.1917.  
Ex-Russian Concession ( 1903 ) - Chinese administration after 9.1920.  
Japanese Concession ( 1895 )  
Belgian Concession (1900)  
Ex-Austro-Hungarian Concession (1900) - Chinese administration after 4.1917.

Italian Concession ( 1898 )

American Concession - Locally Administered 1869 - 1880, Never officially recognised or accepted.

- Newchang - British Concession ( 1861 )  
Foreign Quarter ( 1900 )
- Hangchow - Japanese Concession ( 1895 )  
General Foreign Settlement
- Soochow - Japanese Concession ( 1895 )  
General Foreign Settlement

During the colonial era six foreign nations had possessions in addition to *concessions* and *treaty ports*.

- Great Britain - Hong Kong 1842 (Ceded and leased areas)  
Weihaiwei 1898 ( Leased area )
- France - Kwangchowan 1898 ( Leased area )
- Germany – Shantung/Tsingtao 1898 ( Former leased area occupied by Japan 1914)
- Russia - Port Arthur 1898 (Former leased area occupied by Japan 1905)
- Portugal - Macau 1557
- Japan - Taiwan 1895 (+ Shantung (Tsingtao) and Port Arthur)

Map of Concessions and Treaty Ports



## Annex H Extracts from Versailles Peace Treaty

*The following extracts from the Versailles treaty cover relevant issues of China and Shantung.*

### Section II. China

#### Article 128

Germany renounces in favour of China all benefits and privileges resulting from the provisions of the final Protocol signed at Peking on 7 September 1901, and from all annexes, notes and documents supplementary thereto. She likewise renounces in favour of China any claim to indemnities accruing thereunder subsequent to 14 March 1917.

#### Article 129

From the coming into force of the present Treaty the High Contracting Parties shall apply, in so far as concerns them respectively:

- (1) The Arrangement of 29 August 1902, regarding the new Chinese customs tariff;
- (2) The Arrangement of 27 September 1905, regarding Whang-Poo, and the provisional supplementary Arrangement of 4 April 1912.

China, however, will no longer be bound to grant to Germany the advantages or privileges which she allowed Germany under these Arrangements.

#### Article 130

Subject to the provisions of Section VIII of this Part, Germany cedes to China all the buildings, wharves and pontoons, barracks, forts, arms and munitions of war, vessels of all kinds, wireless telegraphy installations and other public property belonging to the German Government, which are situated or may be in the German Concessions at Tientsin and Hankow or elsewhere in Chinese territory.

It is understood, however, that premises used as diplomatic or consular residences or offices are not included in the above cession, and, furthermore, that no steps shall be taken by the Chinese Government to dispose of the German public and private property situated within the so-called Legation Quarter at Peking without the consent of the Diplomatic Representatives of the Powers which, on the coming into force of the present Treaty, remain Parties to the Final Protocol of 7 September 1901.

#### Article 131

Germany undertakes to restore to China within twelve months from the coming into force of the present Treaty all the astronomical instruments which her troops in 1900–1901 carried away from China, and to defray all expenses which may be incurred in effecting such restoration, including the expenses of dismounting, packing, transporting, insurance and installation in Peking.

#### Article 132

Germany agrees to the abrogation of the leases from the Chinese Government under which the German Concessions at Hankow and Tientsin are now held. China, restored to the full exercise of her sovereign rights in the above areas, declares her intention of opening them to international residence and trade. She further declares that the abrogation of the leases under which these concessions are now held shall not affect the property rights of nationals of Allied and Associated Powers who are holders of lots in these concessions.

#### Article 133



Germany waives all claims against the Chinese Government or against any Allied or Associated Government arising out of the internment of German nationals in China and their repatriation. She equally renounces all claims arising out of the capture and condemnation of German ships in China, or the liquidation, sequestration or control of German properties, rights and interests in that country since 14 August 1917. This provision, however, shall not affect the rights of the parties interested in the proceeds of any such liquidation, which shall be governed by the provisions of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the present Treaty.

#### Article 134

Germany renounces in favour of the Government of His Britannic Majesty the German State property in the British Concession at Shameen at Canton. She renounces in favour of the French and Chinese Governments conjointly the property of the German school situated in the French Concession at Shanghai.

#### Section VIII. Shantung

#### Article 156

Germany renounces, in favour of Japan, all her rights, title and privileges particularly those concerning the territory of Kiaochow, railways, mines and submarine cables which she acquired in virtue of the Treaty concluded by her with China on 6 March 1898, and of all other arrangements relative to the Province of Shantung. All German rights in the Tsingtao–Tsinanfu railway, including its branch lines together with its subsidiary property of all kinds, stations, shops, fixed and rolling stock, mines, plant and material for the exploitation of the mines, are and remain acquired by Japan, together with all rights and privileges attaching thereto. The German State submarine cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and from Tsingtao to Chefoo, with all the rights, privileges and properties attaching thereto, are similarly acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and encumbrances.

#### Article 157

The movable and immovable property owned by the German State in the territory of Kiaochow, as well as all the rights which Germany might claim in consequence of the works or improvements made or of the expenses incurred by her, directly or indirectly, in connection with this territory, are and remain acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and encumbrances.

#### Article 158

Germany shall hand over to Japan within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the archives, registers, plans, title-deeds and documents of every kind, wherever they may be, relating to the administration, whether civil, military, financial, judicial or other, of the territory of Kiaochow. Within the same period Germany shall give particulars to Japan of all treaties, arrangements or agreements relating to the rights, title or privileges referred to in the two preceding Articles.

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I hope you enjoy this game. If you do, it will be in no small part thanks to the long-suffering testers of Chestnut Lodge Wargames Group ([www.clwg.org.uk/](http://www.clwg.org.uk/)) and advice from Megagame Makers (<https://MegagameMakers.uk>).

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### *Use of this Megagame*

This game has been run and developed as part of the Megagame Makers series of Megagames. The first presentation of the game was in 2001 and the latest in 2018.

The game is provided as a series of .pdf files and may be used for any event that is not intended to make a profit. That means that people who wish to use this material may collect game fees in order to cover costs.

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