

Bargaining for Battleships

The Washington Naval Treaty - 1922

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Presentation Overview

The Naval Background to the Conference

Relative Strength, and the Capital Ship Ratio Controversy

The Capital Ship Building Holiday, and Replacement Capital Ships

Qualitative Limitation of Capital Ships

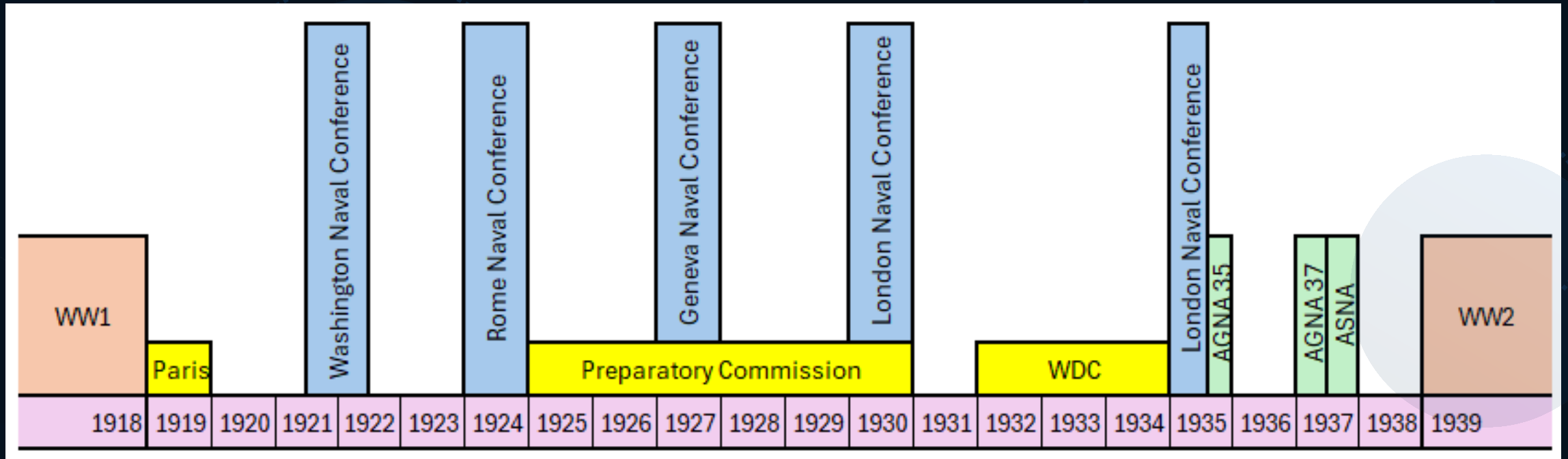
Reconstruction of Capital Ships

Provisions for Aircraft Carriers, Submarines and Cruisers

Conclusions

Washington Naval Conference Historical Context

- United States
- British Empire
- Japan
- France
- Italy



The Naval Background to the Conference

1918

Country	Battleships Built	Battleships Building	Battle Cruisers Built	Battle Cruisers Building	Total Capital Ships
British Empire	33	0	9	4	46
United States	16	4	0	0	20
Japan	5	2	4	0	11
France	7	5	0	0	12
Italy	5	1	0	0	6

- US: 1916 Programme (10 + 6)
- Japan: 8-8-8 Programme
- Britain / France / Italy: Cancellation of ships under construction

The Naval Background to the Conference

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1920

Country	Battleships Built	Battleships Building	Battle Cruisers Built	Battle Cruisers Building	Total Capital Ships
British Empire	28	0	8	0	36
United States	18	10	0	4	32
Japan	6	3	4	2	15
France	7	0	0	0	7
Italy	5	0	0	0	5

Triggers for Conference

- US
 - Loss of political support for completion of 1916 Program
 - Antipathy to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance
- Britain
 - Projected loss of Maritime Supremacy
 - Desire to avoid naval competition with the US
- Japan – Unaffordability of the 8-8 fleet
- France – Restoration of the Anglo/US security guarantee



Relative Strength and the Capital Ship Ratio Controversy

United States : Japan

United States : British
Empire

British Empire :
France/Italy

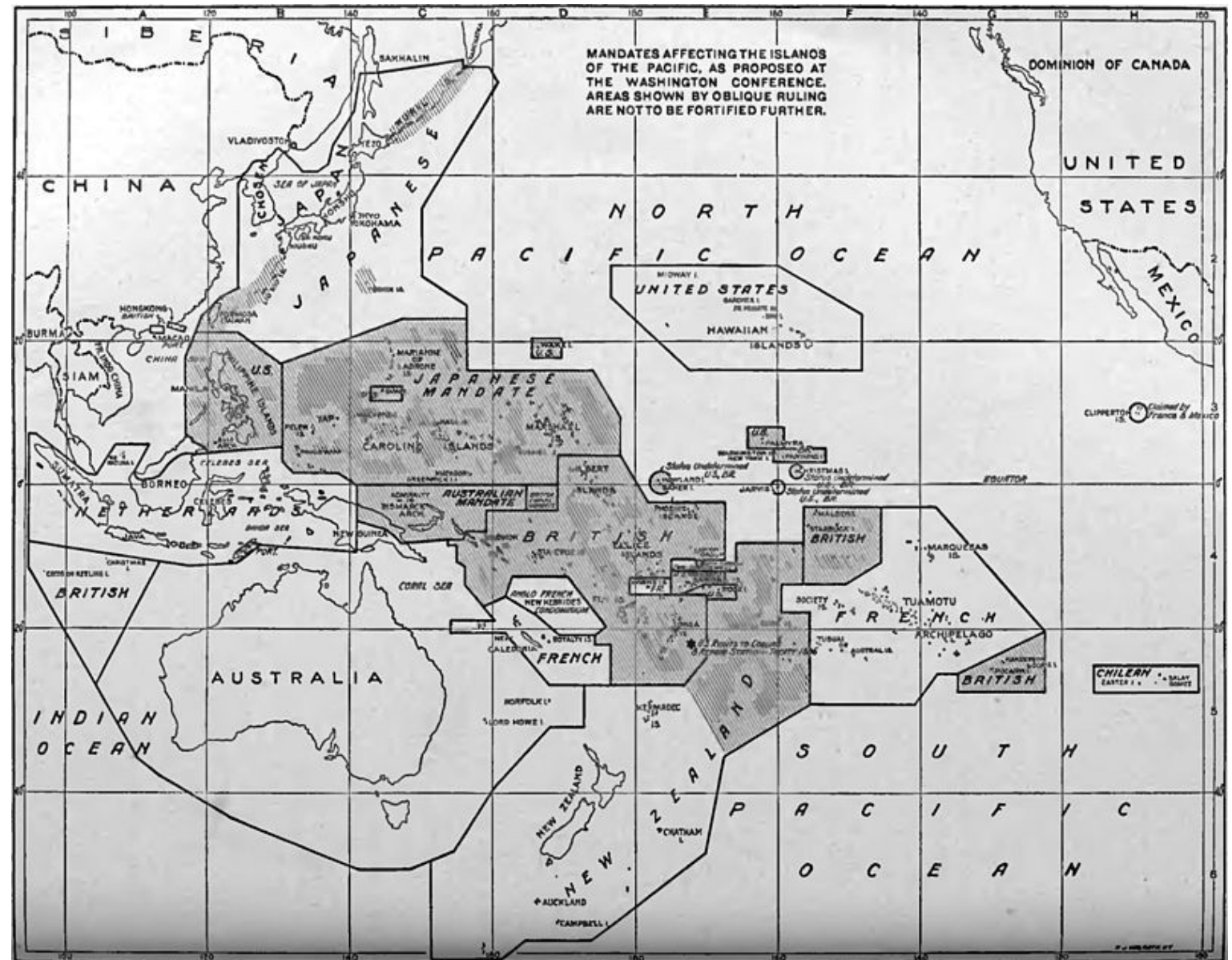
France : Italy

The Capital Ship Building Holiday, and Replacement Capital Ships



- US Proposal
 - Stop Now: – All ships under construction to be abandoned
 - Scrap Down: – Older ships to be disposed of to reduce size of navies, and give effect to desired ratios
 - Building Holiday: - No new capital ships to be constructed for 10 years
- Accepted by all parties “subject to reservations”
 - France – Ratios for Capital Ships not to be extended to other classes of warships
 - France & Italy – limited exception to ‘building holiday’
- Consequences
 - Availability of modern ships for weapon trials
 - Industrial atrophy
 - Opening doors to new entrants
 - Reconstruction of retained ships

Non-Fortification Zone



Termination of the Anglo- Japanese Alliance

"It would be a mistake to underestimate the influence of this particular factor ... with it was swept away one of the main buttresses against the pursuit by Japan of a policy of adventure and aggression."

Sir Robert Craigie

The Mutsu Compromise

US believed Mutsu 'incomplete' and therefore required to be disposed of under original proposals

Japan rushed completion of ship – commissioned and commenced trials – but not all weapons and equipment embarked. Asked to keep Mutsu and dispose of Settsu

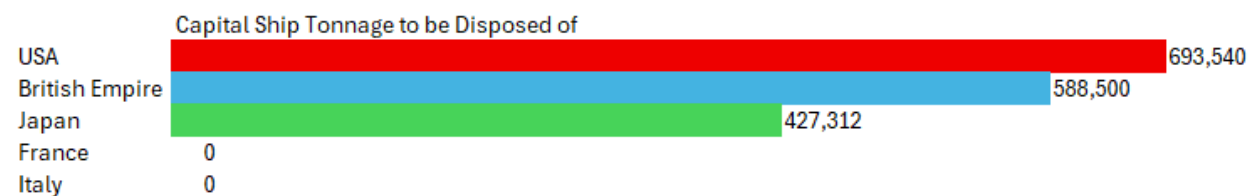
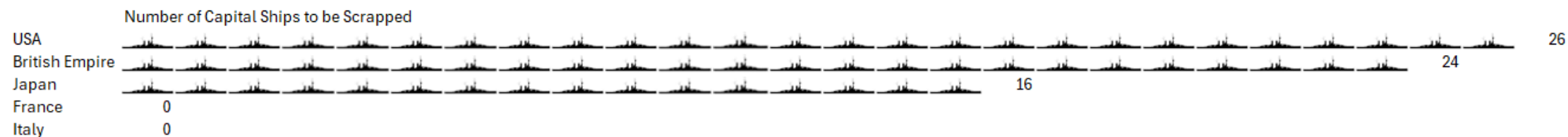
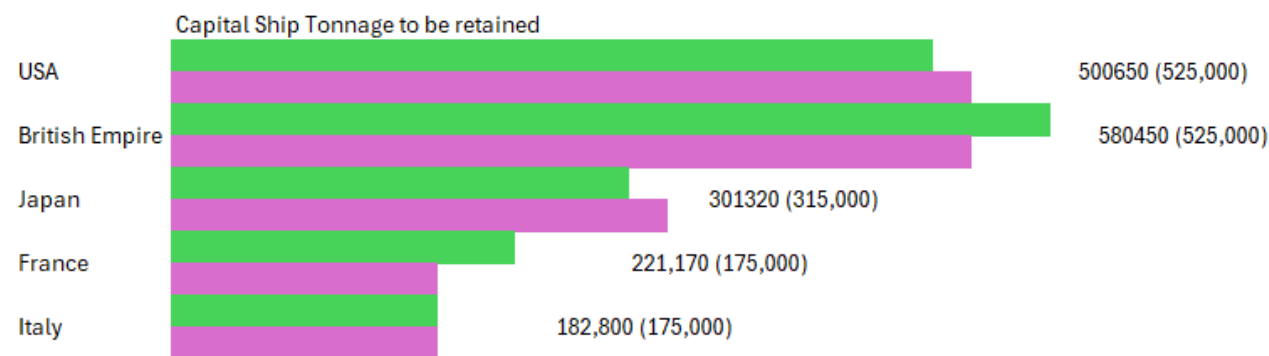
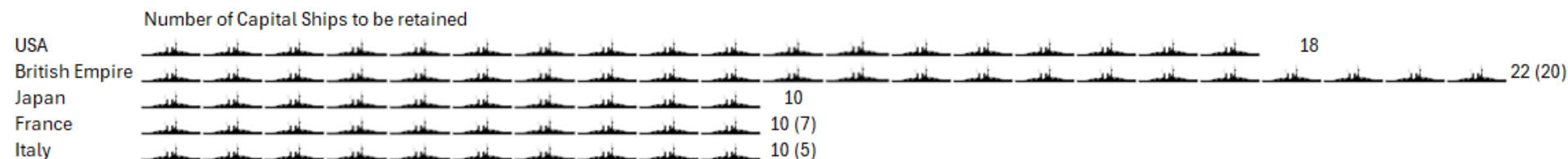
US 'stop now' proposal based on US, Britain, Japan each having a single post-Jutland ship (Maryland, Hood, Nagato). Adding Mutsu would disrupt this balance

Mutsu Compromise:

- Japan to keep Mutsu and dispose of Settsu
- US to complete two Maryland class battleships, and dispose of two older battleships
- Britain to be permitted to build two new Capital Ships and dispose of four older battleships.



Impact of the Treaty

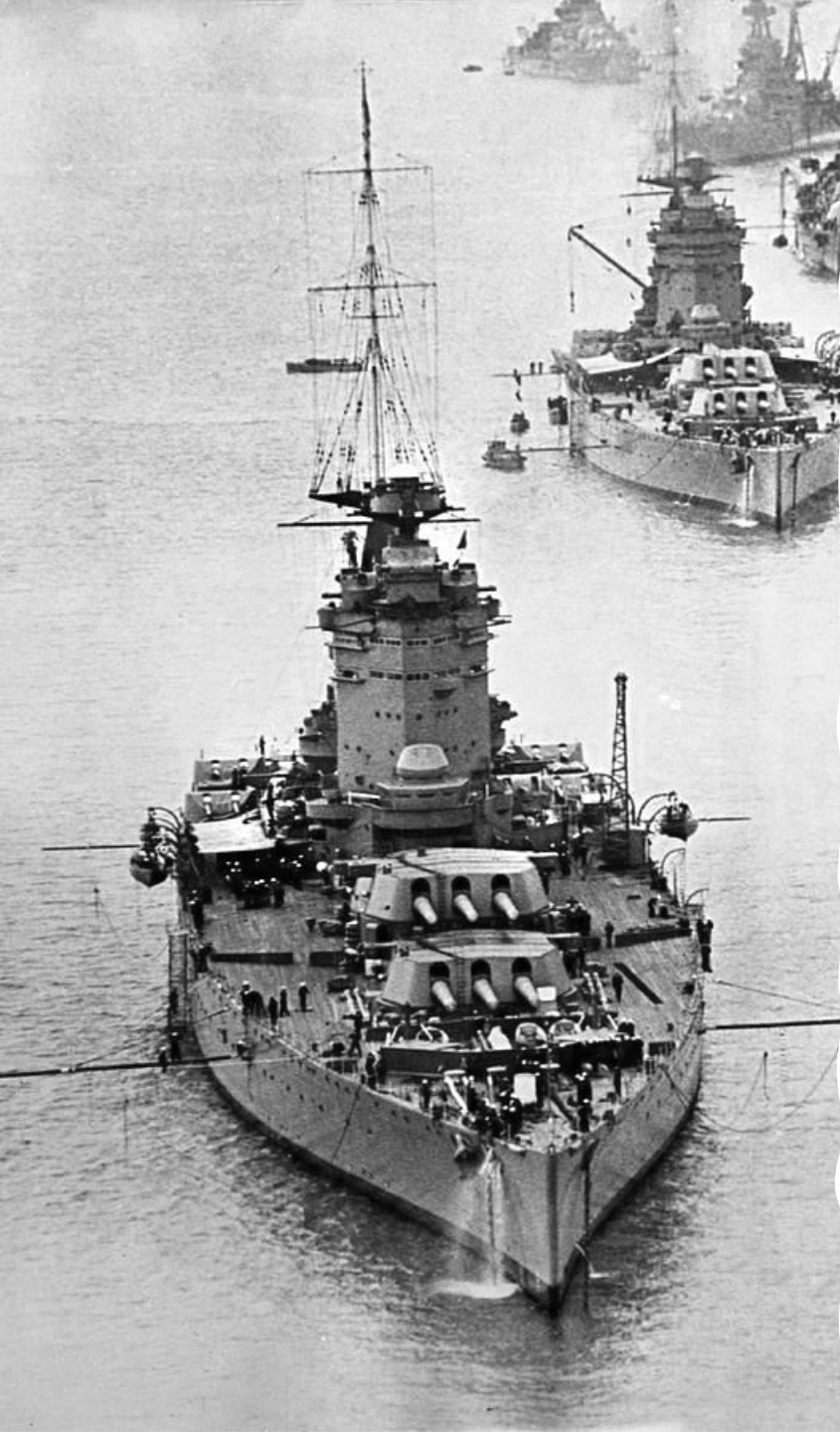


Qualitative Limitation of Capital Ships

35,000 tons
– 16-inch
guns

Not
retrospectiv
e

Standard
displacemen
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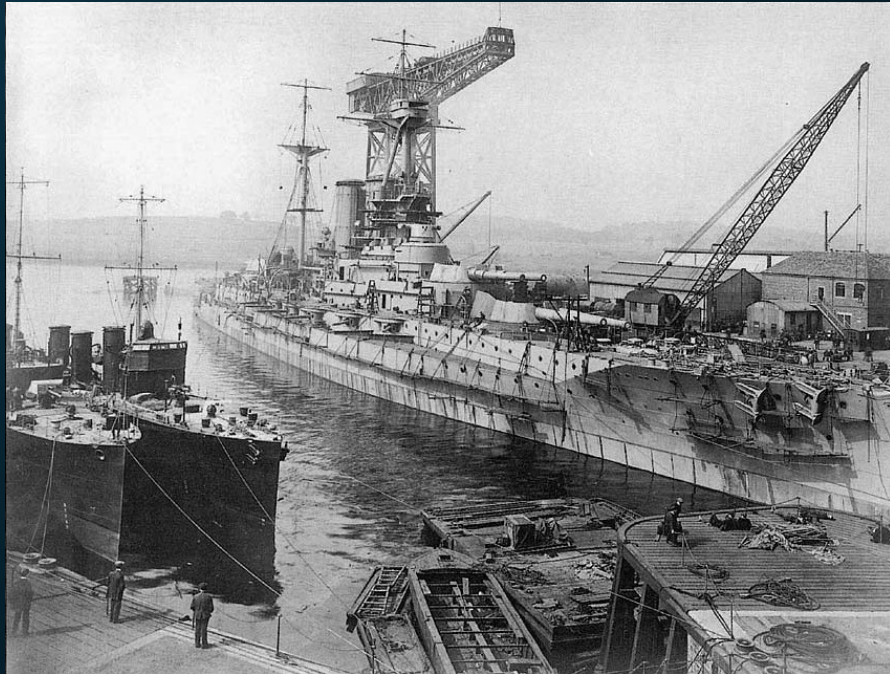


The Introduction of Standard Displacement

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

- Difficult to predict
- Fitting for but not with
- Coal/Water as protection
- Ammunition Allowances

Reconstruction of Capital Ships



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

Issues

- Increasing the elevation of main armament guns
- Conversion to oil fuel

Aircraft Carriers

Qualitative Limits

- 27,000 tons
- Guns limited to 8-inch calibre

Quantitative Limits

- | | |
|---|--------------|
| • US: | 135,000 tons |
| • British Empire: | 135,000 tons |
| • Japan: | 81,000 |
| tons | |
| • France: | 60,000 |
| tons | |
| • Italy: | 60,000 |
| tons | |
| • (Vessels under 10,000 tons unlimited) | |

Conversion of Aircraft Carriers

... any of the Contracting Powers may ... build not more than two aircraft-carriers, each of a tonnage of not more than 33,000 tons ... standard displacement, and in order to effect economy ... may use for this purpose any two of their ships, whether constructed or in course of construction, which would otherwise be scrapped ...



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Aircraft Carrier Compliance - US

Hull No	Name	Tonnage	Tonnage	Laid Down	Completed	Cumulative Tonnage (Declared)	Cumulative Tonnage (Actual)
		(Declared)	(Actual)				
CV2	Lexington	33,000	35,689	Converted from incomplete Battle Cruiser	14.12.27	33,000	35,689
CV3	Saratoga	33,000	35,544	Converted from incomplete Battle Cruiser	16.11.27	66,000	71,233
CV4	Ranger	14,500	14,500	26.9.31	4.7.34	80,500	85,733
CV5	Yorktown	19,900	19,900	21.5.34	30.9.37	100,400	105,633
CV6	Enterprise	19,900	19,900	16.7.34	12.5.38	120,300	125,533
CV7	Wasp	14,700	14,700	1.4.36	25.4.40	135,000	140,233

Aircraft Carrier Compliance - Japan

Name	Tonnage	Tonnage	Laid Down	Completed	Cumulative Tonnage (Declared)	Cumulative Tonnage (Actual)
	(Declared)	(Actual)				
Akagi	26,900	29,500	Converted from incomplete Battle Cruiser	25.3.27	26,900	29,500
Kaga	26,900	29,500	Converted from incomplete Battleship	31.3.28	53,800	59,000
Ryujo	7,100	10,600	26.1.29	9.5.33	60,900	69,600
Soryu	10,050	15,900	20.11.34	29.12.37	70,950	85,500
Hiryu	10,050	17,300	8.7.36	5.7.39	81,000	102,800

Submarines

US

Wanted them limited in the same ratio as capital ships

Britain

Wanted them completely eliminated (or failing that, limited to the smallest quotas possible)

France

Wanted to be able to operate large numbers of submarines

Cruisers

- No quantitative limits
- Qualitative Limit:
 - 10,000 tons
 - 8-inch guns



Why?

US

Recognition of Parity

Solved problem of uncompletable ships

Contained the Japanese fleet at 60%

Eliminated the Anglo-Japanese Alliance

Prevented Japan from fortifying the Mandates

British Empire

Appeased US demands at minimal cost

Retained freedom to build the cruisers needed

Locked in two-power standard (excluding US)

Obtained right to build two new battleships incorporating lessons of WW1

Why?

Japan

Negotiated termination of an unaffordable building program

Achieved relative security in home waters

Best American-Japanese relations for some time

France

Only sacrificed vessels there was no intention to build

Maintained the relevance of obsolescent battle fleet

Maintained sufficient strength to tip the balance in the event of an Anglo-US War

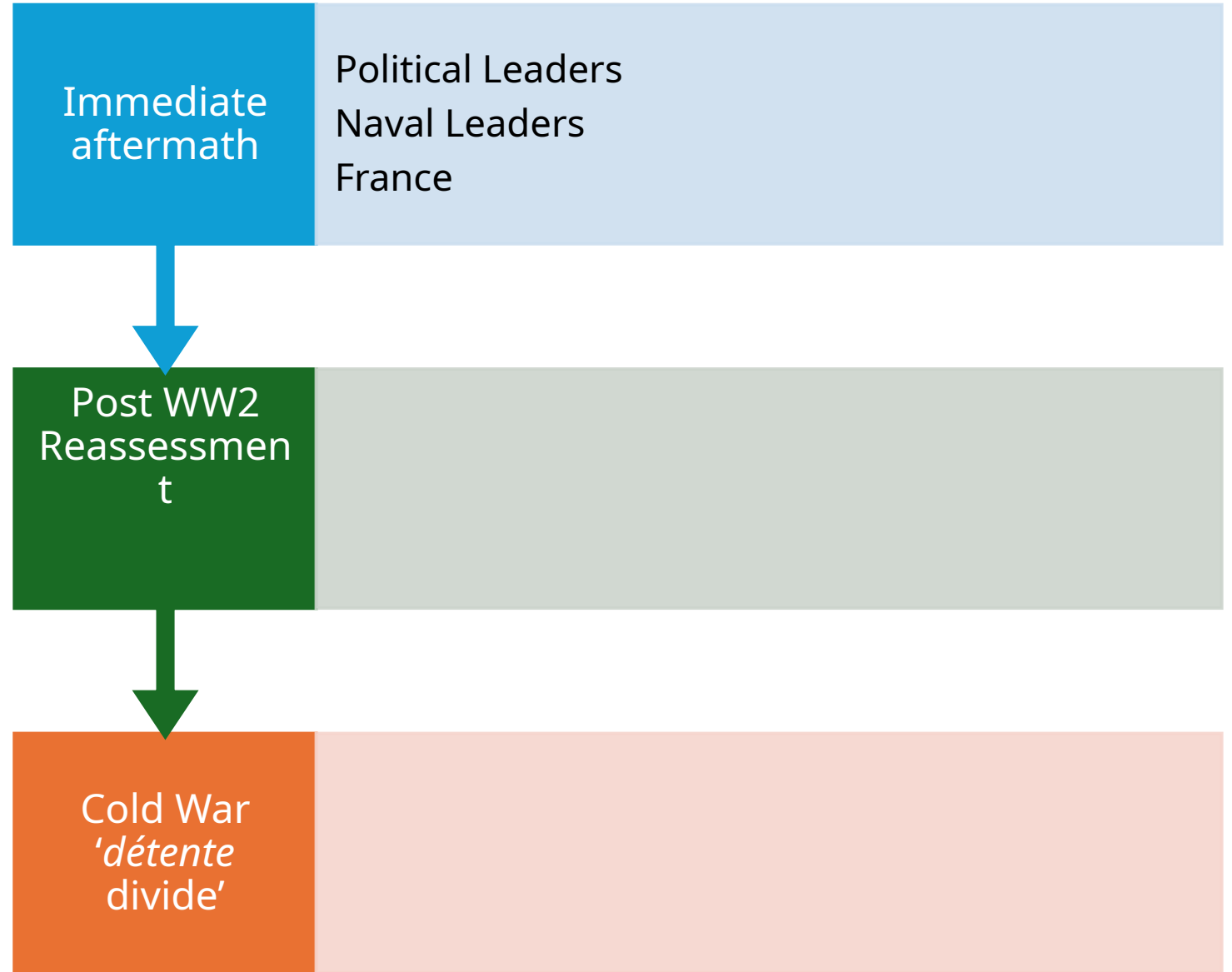
Italy

Achieved recognition of right to parity with France

Maintained the relevance of obsolescent battle fleet

Substantially changed the relative strength of the British and Italian navies

Assessments of the Treaty



Lessons for the Future



Compliance

The role of
National Pride
and 'Face'
culture

Circumvention

Questions?

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