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Dominions and the League of Nations

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Dominions and the League of Nations, 1963.0001.00024

1. Why the Conference met

No Peace Treaty.

2. Two things locked together in the discussion -

Security and Disarmament.

the reasons: why nations

are:

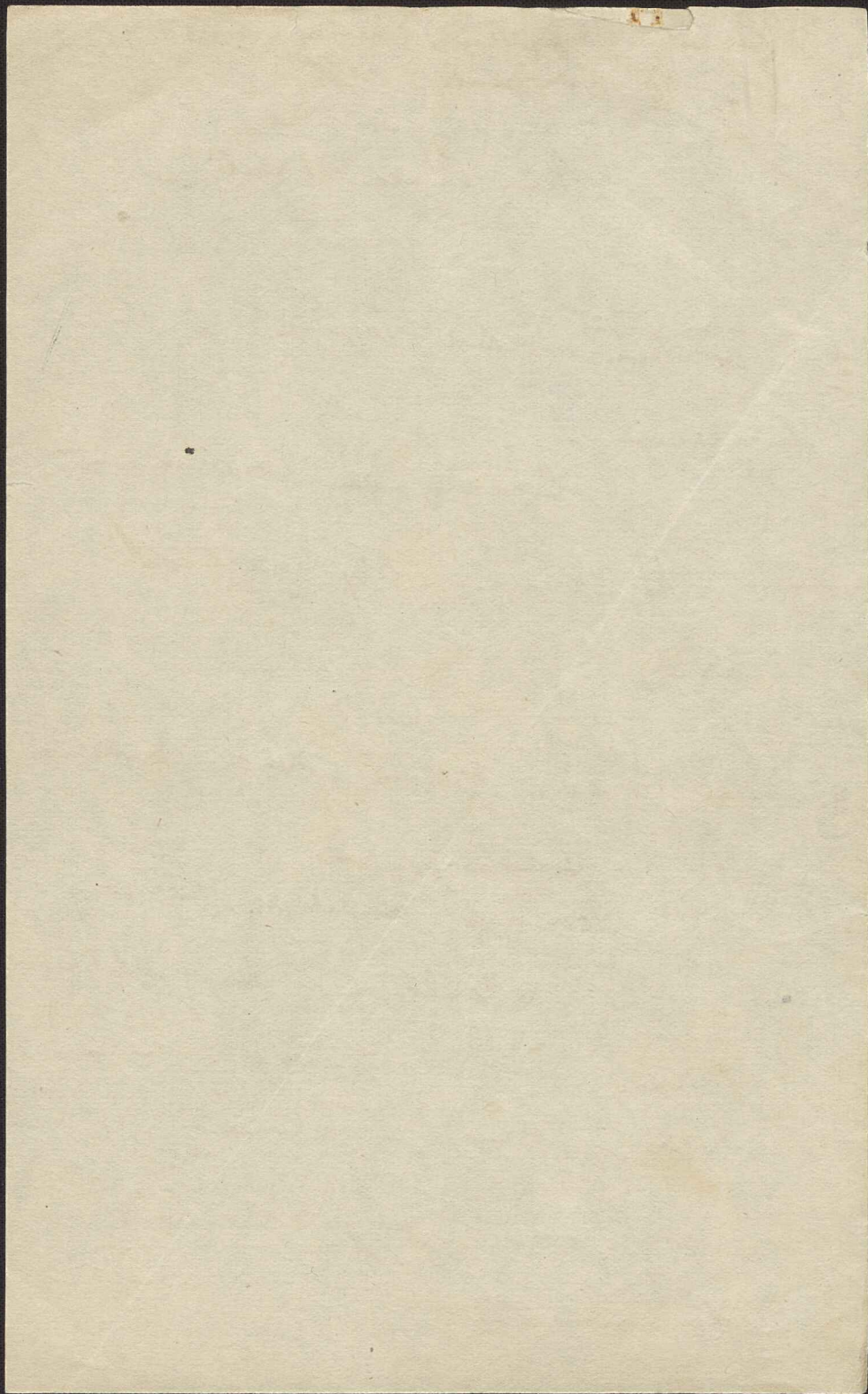
3. The onus for the peace Conference

Germany: and
Economic breakdown: Germany

and her reparations; her political

upset increased tension
between France & Germany.

the outbreak of economic
nationalism.



The Far East, and its threat
to security.

The Conference itself -

methods of disarmament.

The British - prohibit those
things which are the ~~source~~
mark of preparedness which
encourage the notion that a
knock out blow may be struck.
Fail accomplishing
The French :

(a) agreement in principle, but
difficult as to things e.g. submarines

(b) the arms & methods forbidden
nationally are to be available
to League as an international
force.





(c) greater guarantees of security.

German:

equality: level up or
down.

The United States

However (a) qualitative
(b) $\frac{1}{3}$ reduction

Result of discussion -

very general agreement that
certain arms & methods to be
ruled out:

which if the German disabilities
were taken as the basis might
help them to accept.



But, based on present forces

(a) proportionate reduction does not keep ~~the~~ ^{to} solution of German claims.

(b) does nothing to meet the French claim for an international force a guarantees of security.

On the other hand,

U. S. co-operation in reparation and debt settlement essential.

U. S. will do nothing there except as a condition that it will give a turn towards economic recovery.

No such improvement



possible without a reparations
settlement and removal of ^{these}
fears that armaments inspire.

Thus, we ~~have~~ ^{beginning} with
the linking of disarmament and
security,
we link these with
reparations and self settlement.



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Disarmament 1911. ^{Universal} ^{June 27: 1932}

Origin

Peace Treaty Art. 8

Amsterc Amsterc Signature
Locarno

Preparation

is difficult

Technical Political

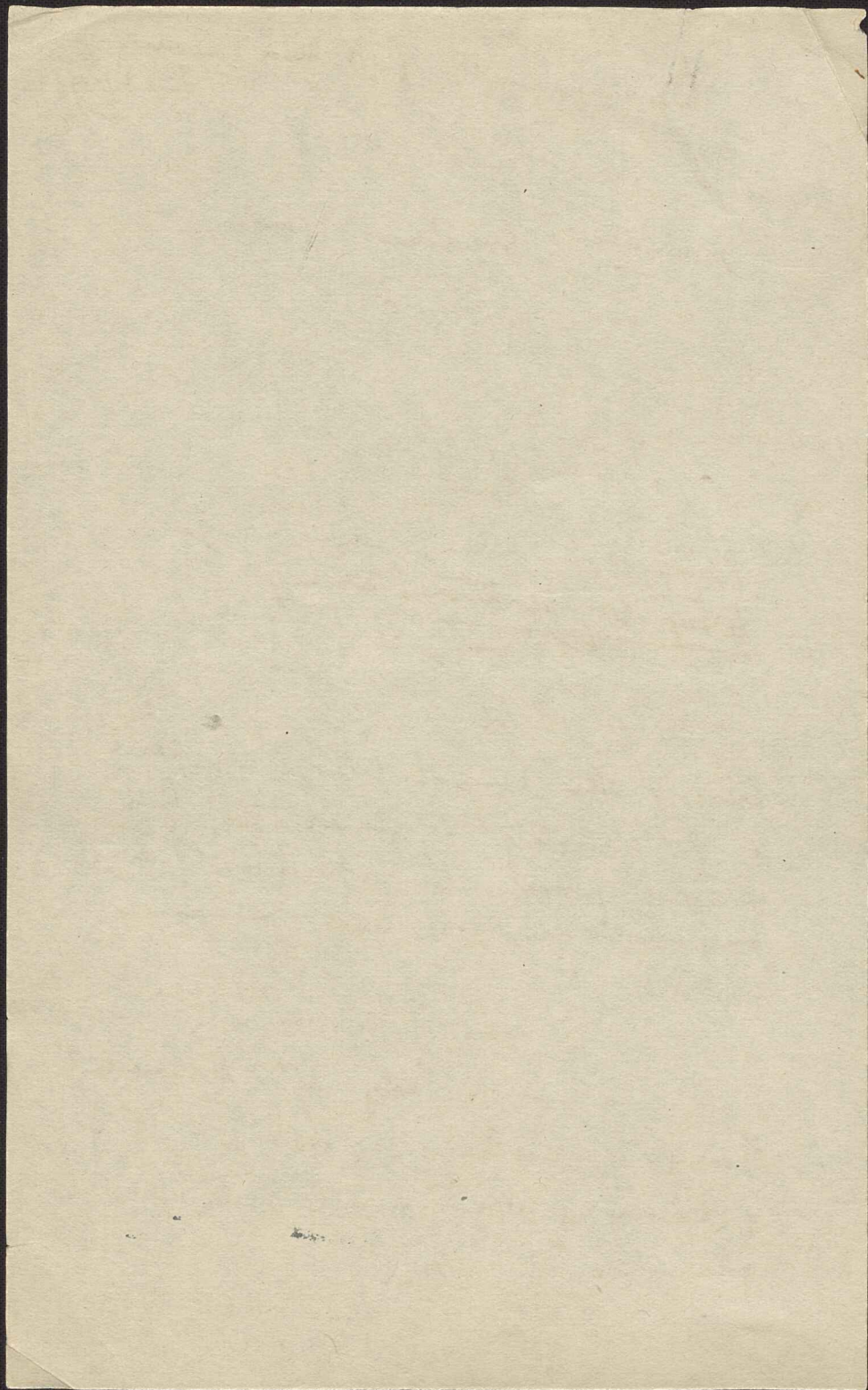
Why do nations arm:
for their: If I diminish my

armaments, I diminish my security.
Then, if others diminish theirs, my peril
is proportionately diminished. But
as no proportionate adjustment, and
one which can have any permanence
two other things vital:

i. What further security than my
own arms can I rely on? Alliances?

General guarantee: 1920 - Linking
of scheme of disarmament with general
guarantee of security.

ii. Value of these depends on



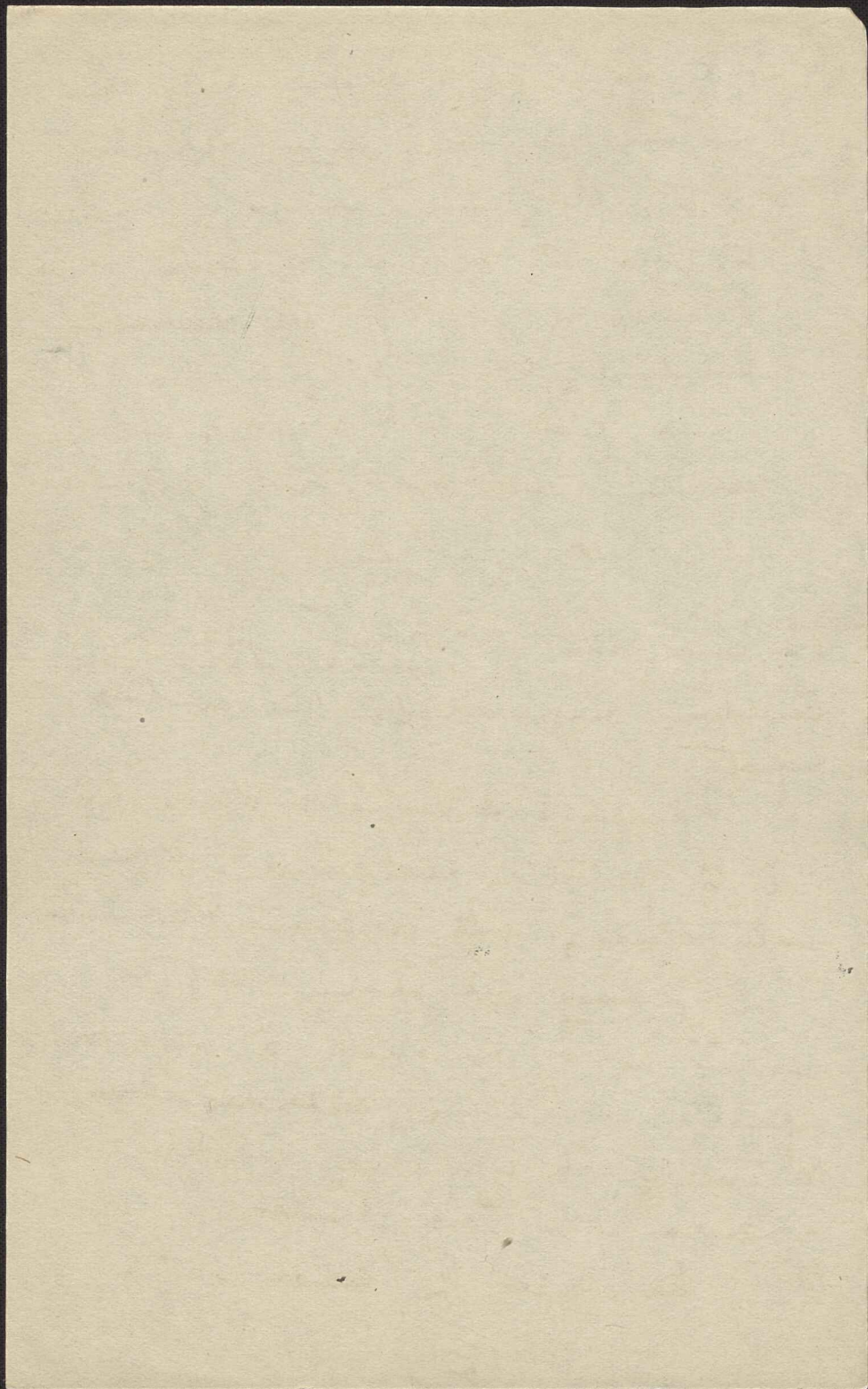
the definiteness & precision with which they are underwritten; and confidence in the ability and readiness of countries to fulfil their agreements: ~~peace~~ removal of causes of war by ~~the~~ ^{mutual} understanding & a policy directed towards peace, confidence that countries which have given guarantees will act upon them

Conference met in February 1932 in conditions unfavourable from all these respects.

Economic depression & debacle had led to protective developments of economic nationalism, with exasperation & recrimination

Germany was showing herself as unwilling as it was unable to fulfil her reparations commitments, ~~and was thus~~ ^{and was thus} threatening to become a complete repudiation of the Peace Treaties.

~~the~~ ^{the} ~~whole~~ ^{whole} the ~~whole~~ ^{whole} extreme



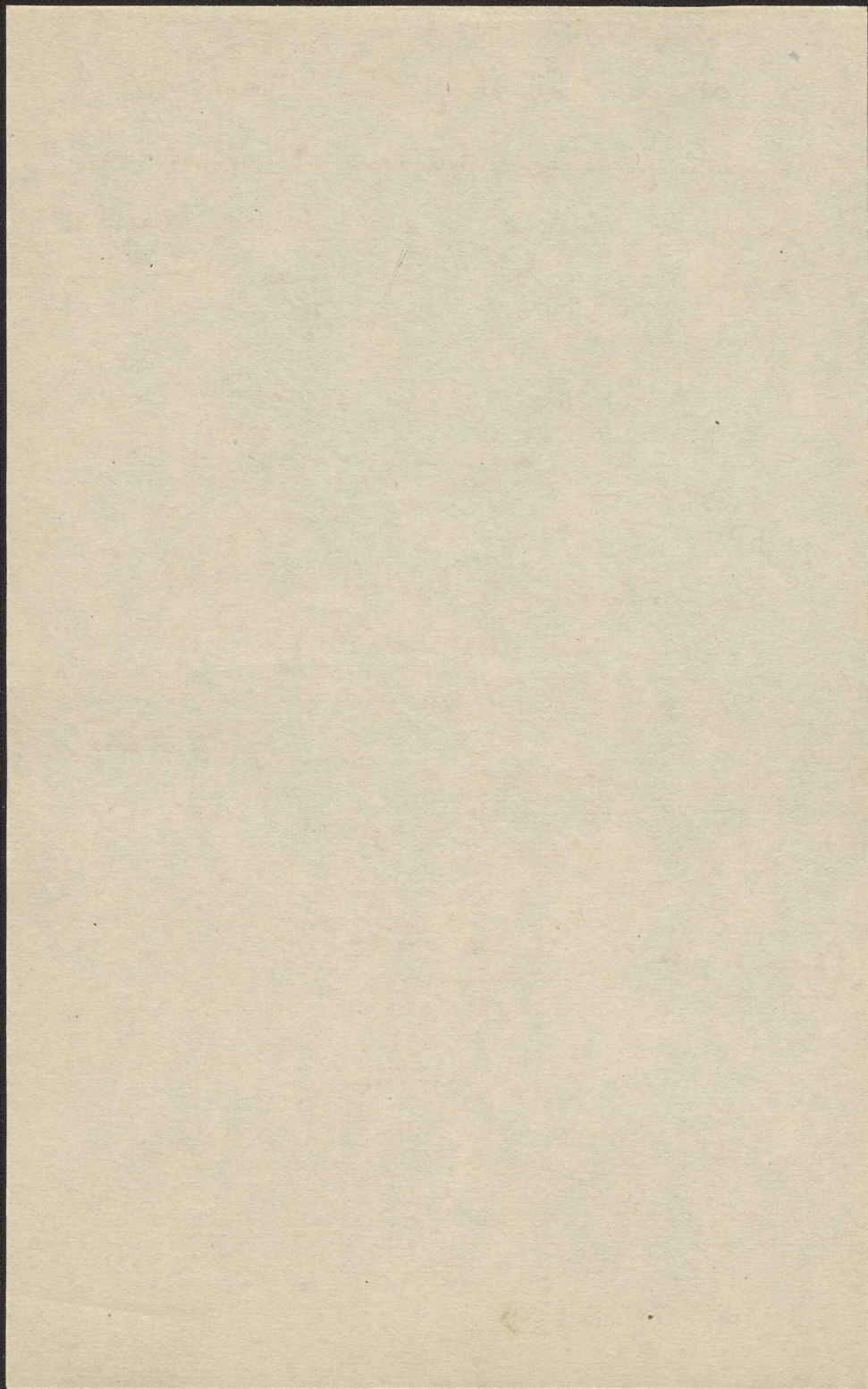
internal instability there was an
omen of what political & unrest and
economic distress might produce elsewhere.
Revolutionary govt: whose temper no one
could forecast.

The Far Eastern situation.

• cynical attitude of a
Great Power. Incapacity or
unwillingness of members of League to
recognize that they were under an
obligation to act effectively.

Exhibition of power of military
& naval strength against weakness.

Should the Conference meet?



General debate Feb. 28.th to Feb. 24.

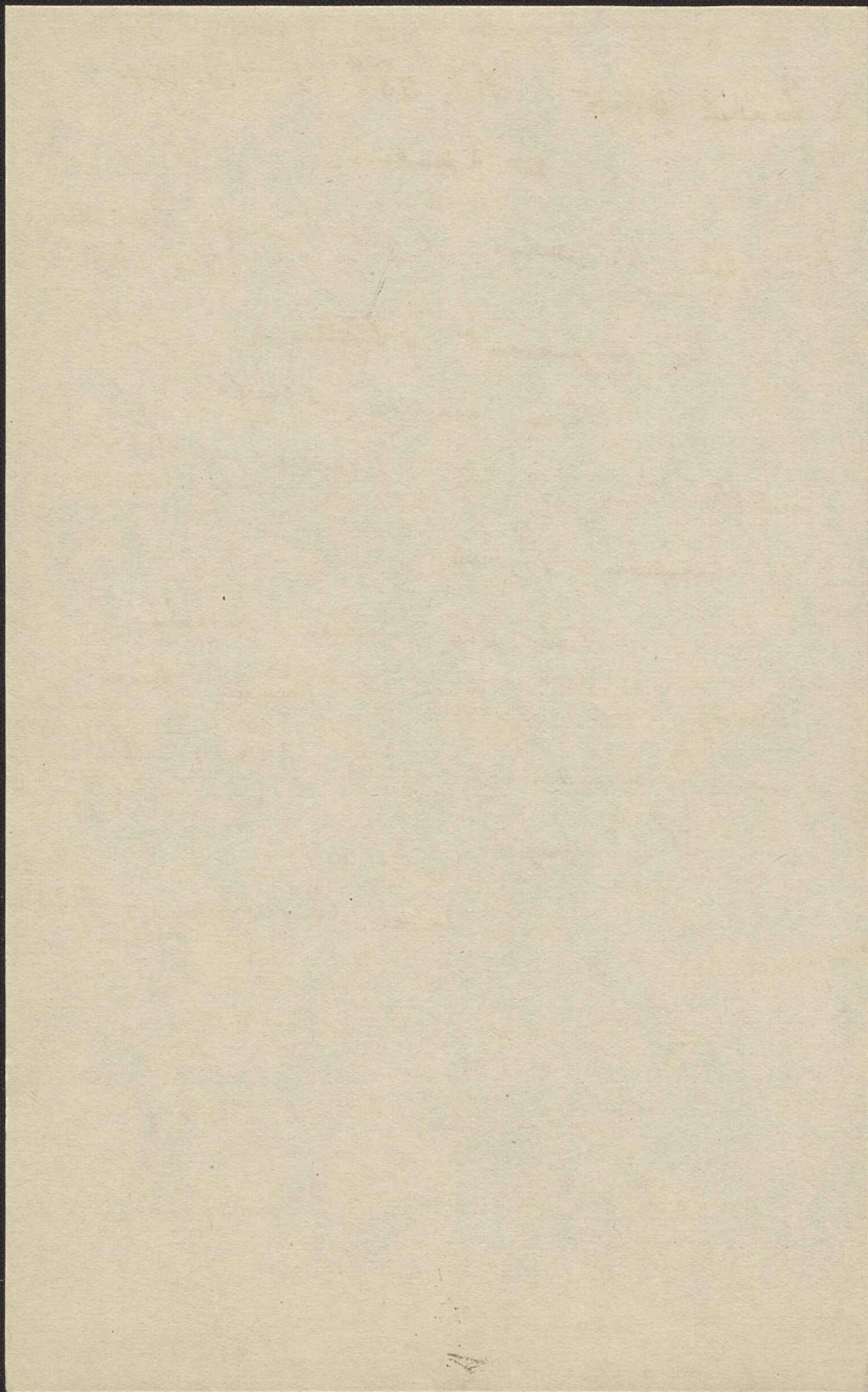
50 Speakers

Principal proposals: (L of R. Navar for Decrees
Feb.-March)

The alignment of States -
those under specific
restrictions by the Treaties of Peace:
European Powers.

those who under various
Treaties had agreed to limit their
naval armaments: the Treaty of
Washington

the Naval Conference of 1930.



Review by Simian: (H.P.) May 13: 1932

Qualitative and quantitative
methods

Quantitative:

fixing total number or
amount in the several ~~cases~~ categories -
no. of men, of ships of various tonnage,
of aircraft etc. - beyond which a State
may not go.

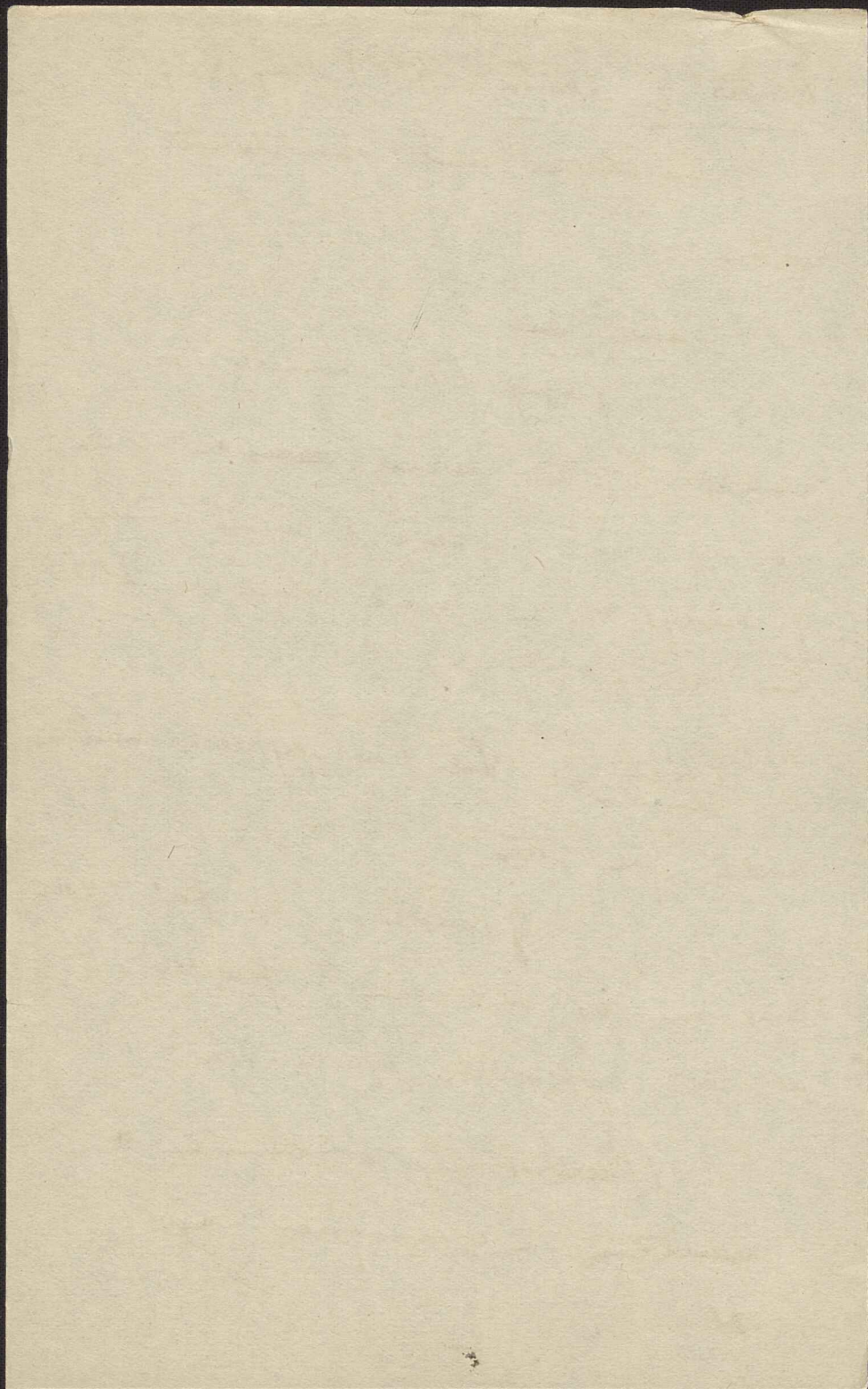
Effect - See how different countries
would fare this -

Tendency to put your
maximum as high as possible - to
get that approved: Maderaga

~~(Incidentally a country as
maintaining a large force might~~

~~off~~

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Qualitative method -

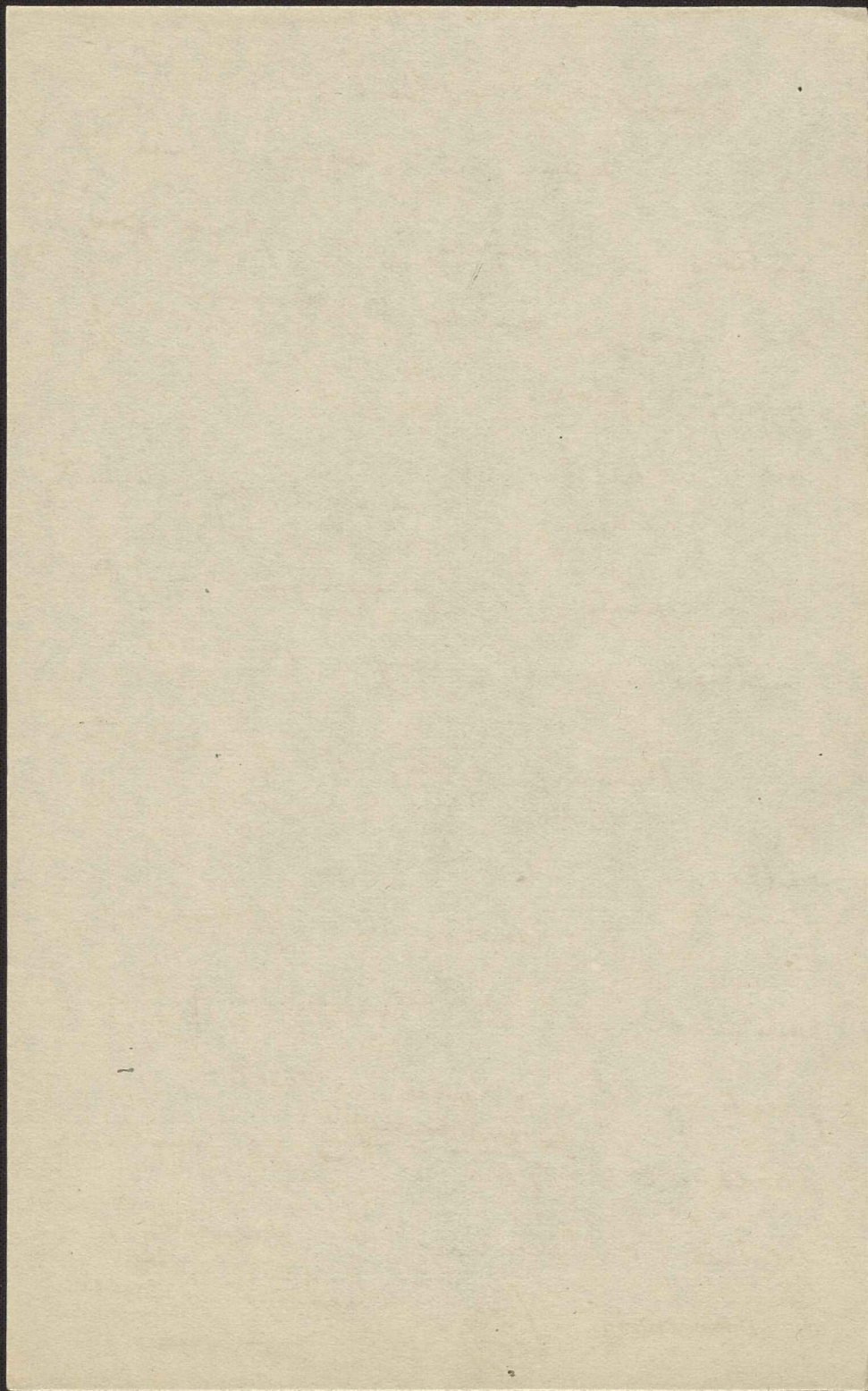
making out certain arms & methods of warfare e.g. poison gas, submarines, ~~bombing~~ bombardment of unprotected places, to bombing from the air.

Or, in a modified way - limiting the effectiveness of certain arms & methods e.g. range of guns.

Primary object of qualitative

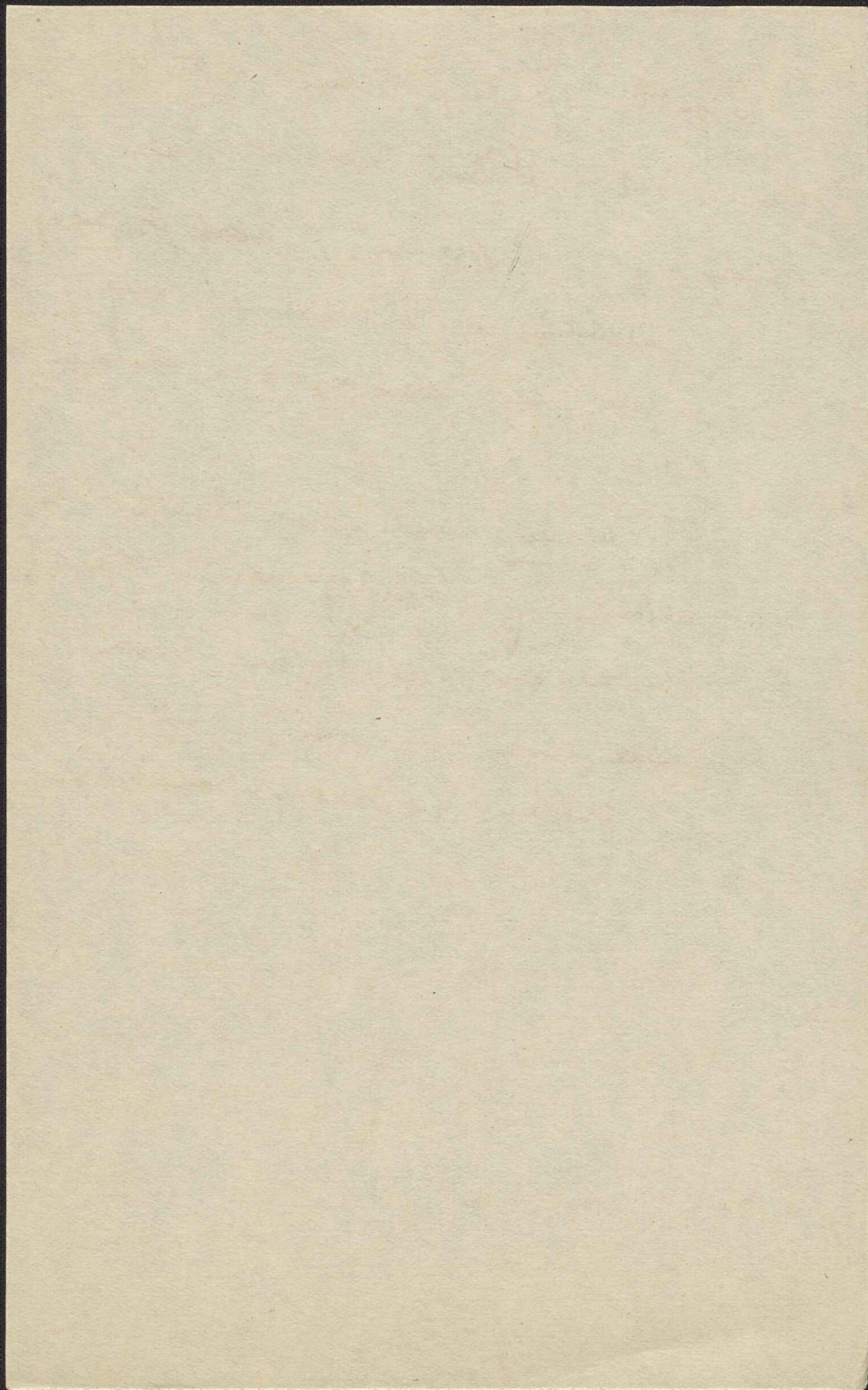
method:

to weaken the offensive particularly in the sense of weakening the surprise attack, the knock-out blow; ^{the fact accomplishes} thus, to make a definite contribution to security, by removing fear which is a cause of war.



Broadly speaking, this the
aim of the British views. at
opening of Conference: not proposing
abolition of submarines &
mobile guns ~~as~~ beyond a certain
calibre, &

inerting particular attention to
methods of limiting no. of effective
reducing size & gun power of
~~and ships~~ of war, and
problem of bombing from air.



Conflicting Needs of Security and Equality - France & Germany

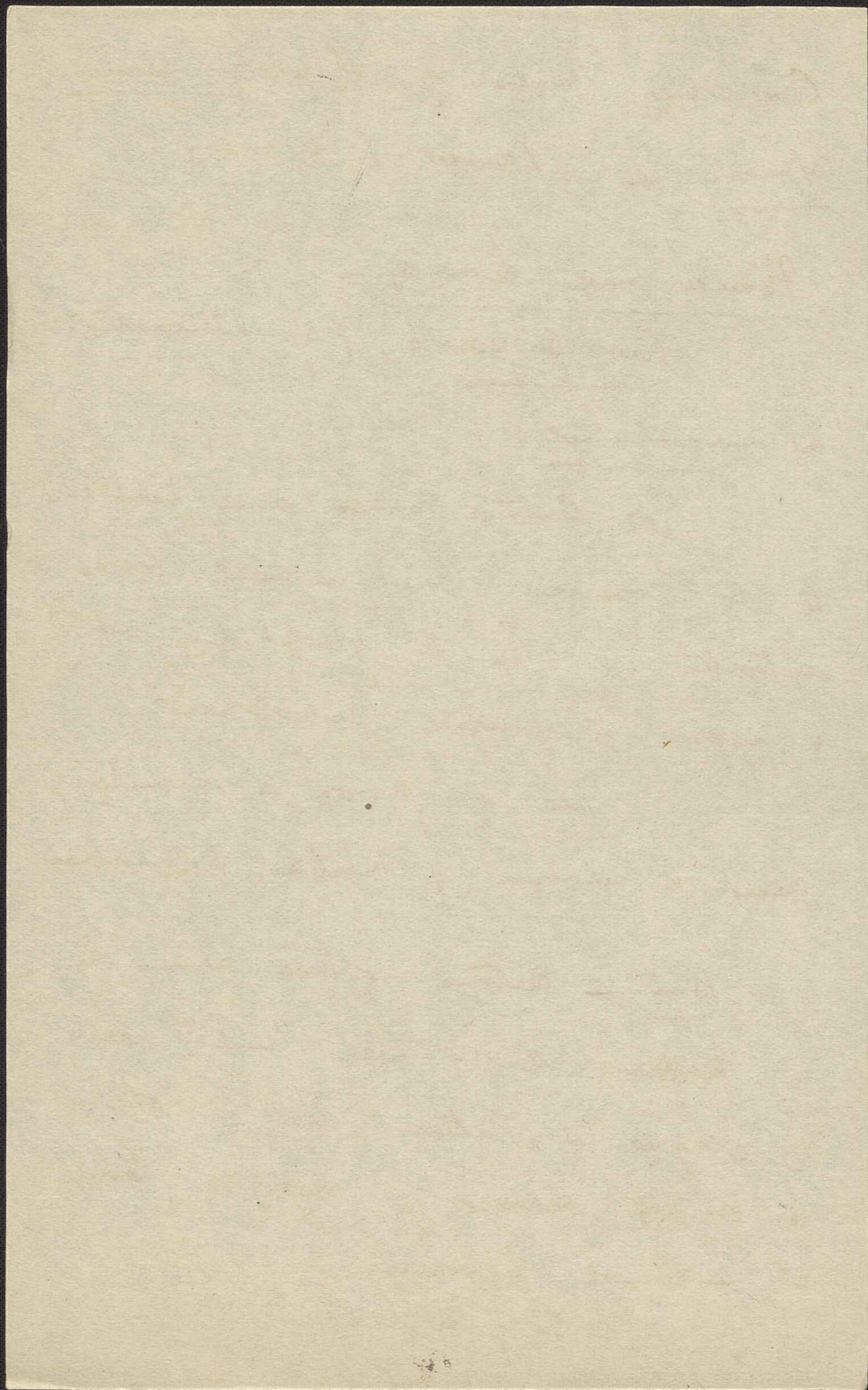
France and Security -

Two proposals, (not alternatives but cumulative)

(a) Certain arms and methods to be removed from national forces altogether: this the qualitative method & applied to aerial bombardment use of poison or incendiary gases to danger of civilian population

But - certain of these arms to be prepared & organized and used by League of Nations itself; others to be at service of League though in national possession, notably the larger & more

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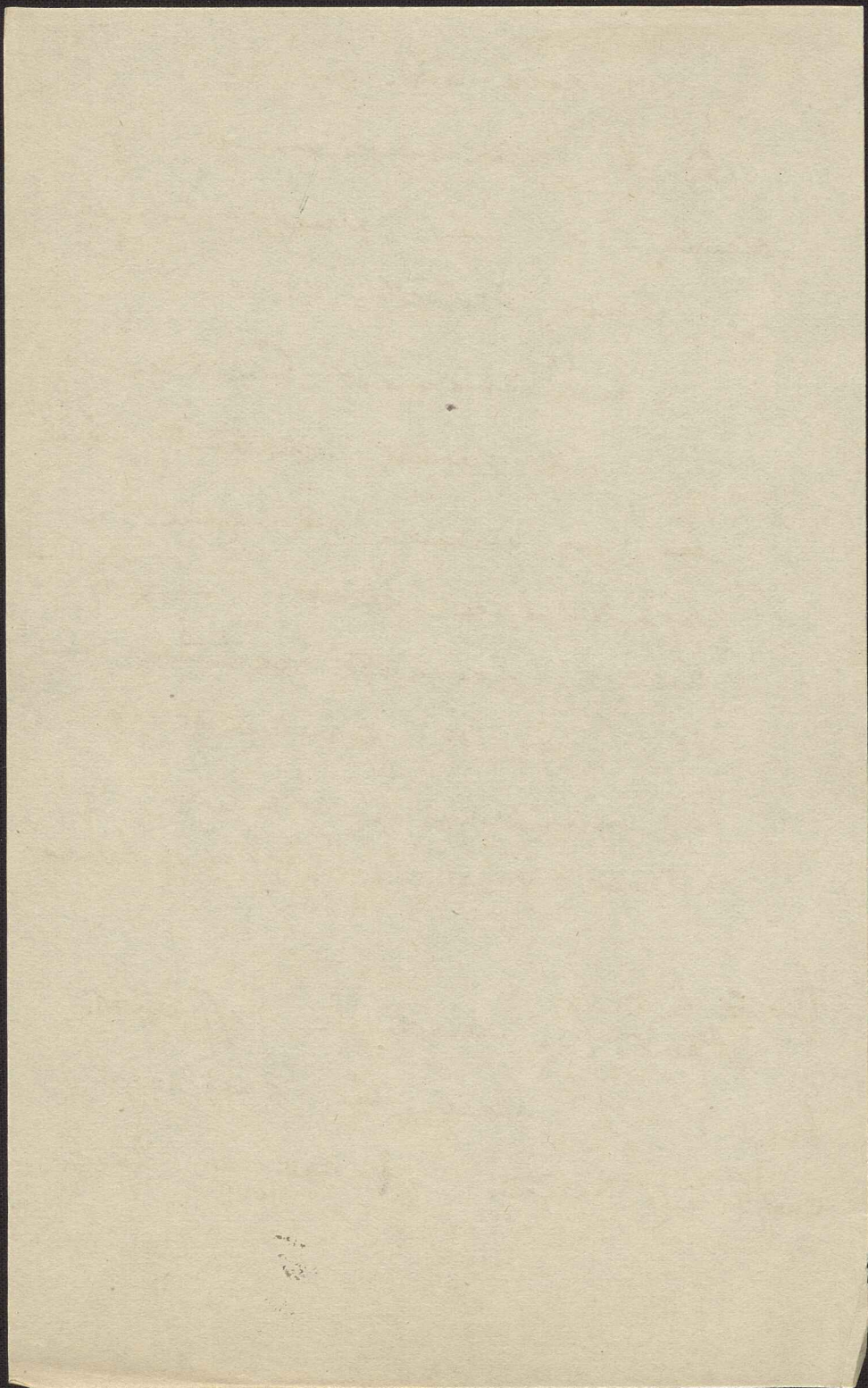
formidable air-craft

(b) A further development of security on lines already discussed esp. Geneva Protocol.

The Disarmament Conference

"the greatest opportunity which has ever occurred to make a definite choice between a S. of N. possessing executive authority and a S. of N. paralysed by the uncompromising attitude of national sovereignty" (Renel Mann)

Steps to
Apart from practical difficulties, steps to a head the challenge of conflicting interests of League itself.

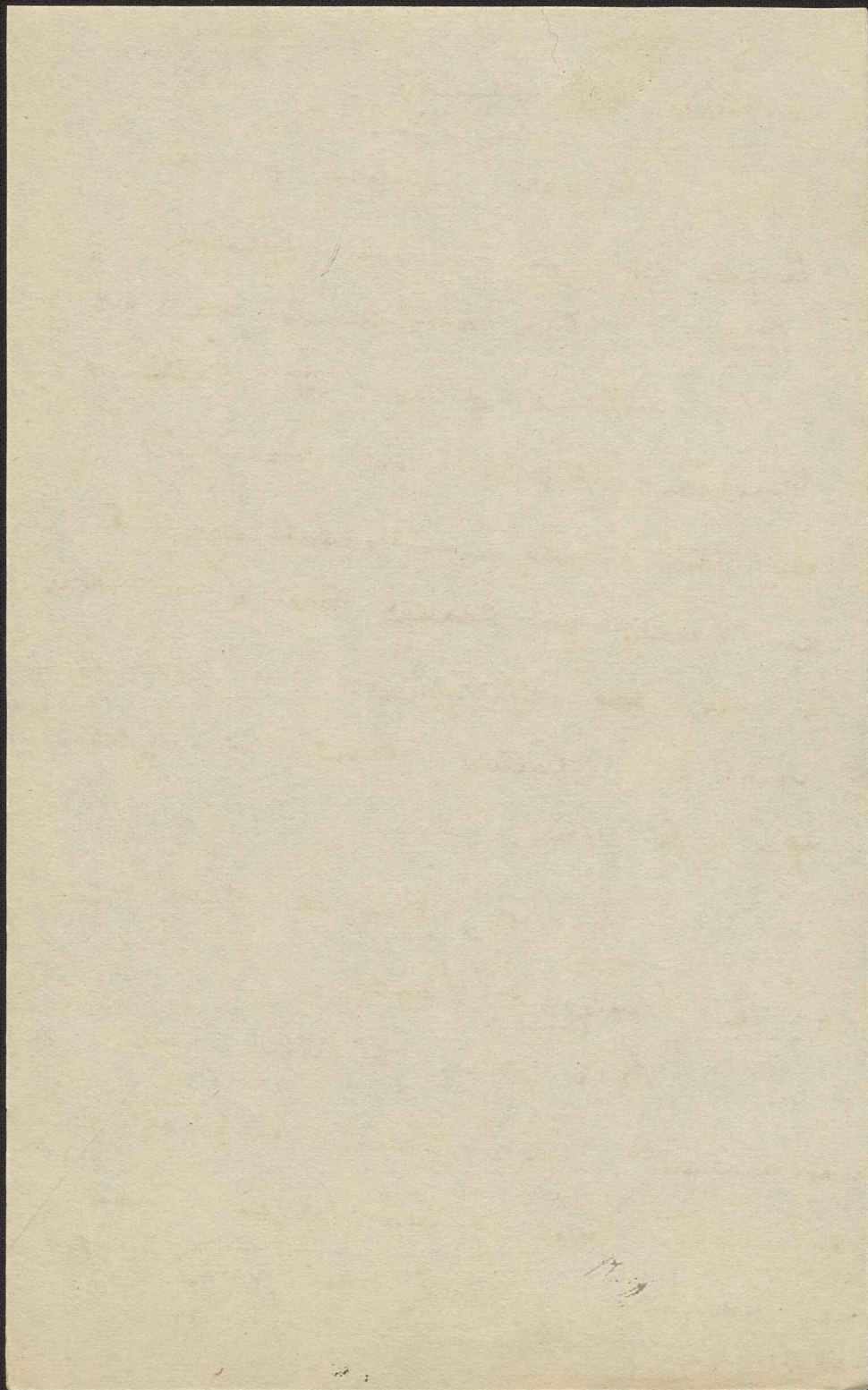


Germany and Equality -

we are members of the League & we claim equality of status. Our armaments are not to be disposed of as the basis of "conquered peoples" or "war guilt". In other words, a challenge to the Treaty of Peace. Our level down to our ~~own~~ disabilities, or let us arm on whatever basis is agreed upon for others.

In other words, a challenge to the Treaty of Peace.

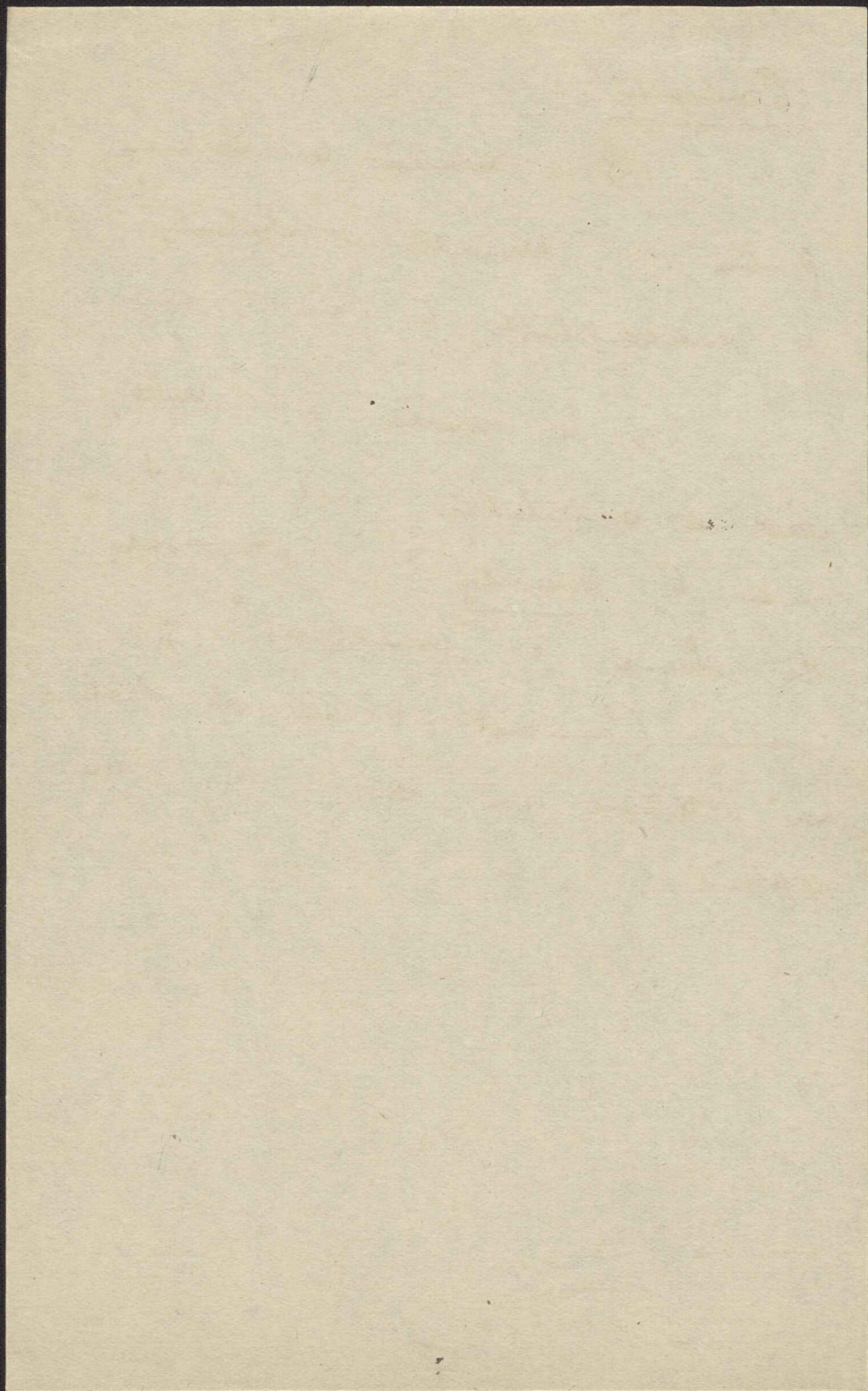
As a basis for all-round disarmament, the ~~wishes~~ abstention of submarines and air forces, and a limitation of land air forces with voluntary sub in st it u e n t .



Comments:

(a) in relation to German
sanctions: principle of "relativity" must
be unacceptable to them.

(b) in relation to France,
what contribution will U. S.
make to security? How does
she stand to "sanctions" of
existing Covenant: will she declare
her attitude in case they are
applied?



Danger of circle -

no disarmament without
security : no security without
disarmament.

no disarmament without
removal of political causes of
hostility & - the grievances & fears ;
no removal of political causes
without the ~~removal~~ removal of
inequalities and competition of
armaments.

without removal of Gtth,
the international co-operation which
has broken down cannot recover

400 4 500

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Great difficulty in distinguishing
arms & methods as between offensive
and defensive. But -

the method applied to Germany:
Warships over 1000 tons.

Submarines

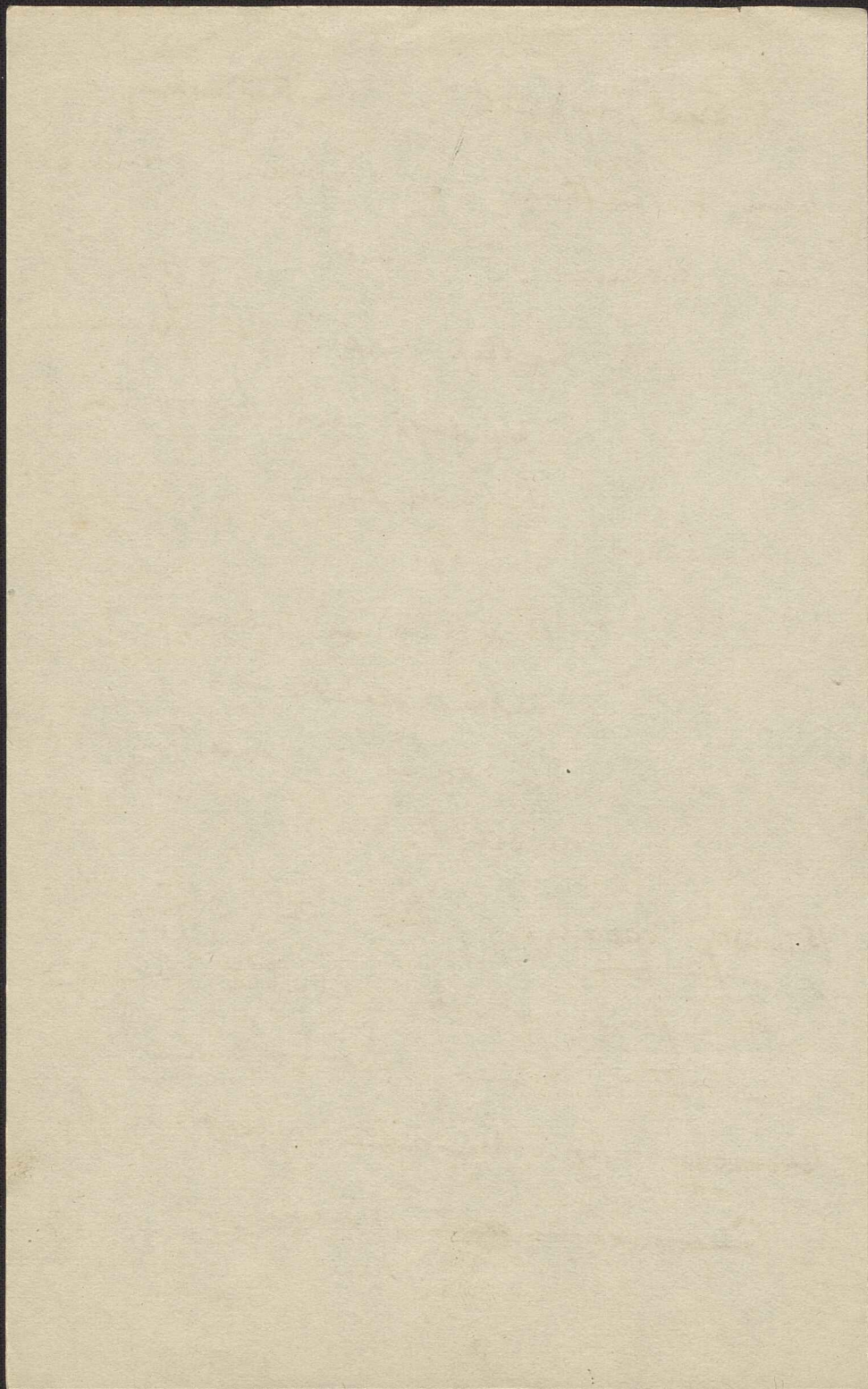
Tanks

Machine guns above a
certain calibre

All naval & military
aircraft.

~~Broadly speaking, then on the
stand point of the British delegation
is their Demo at opening.~~

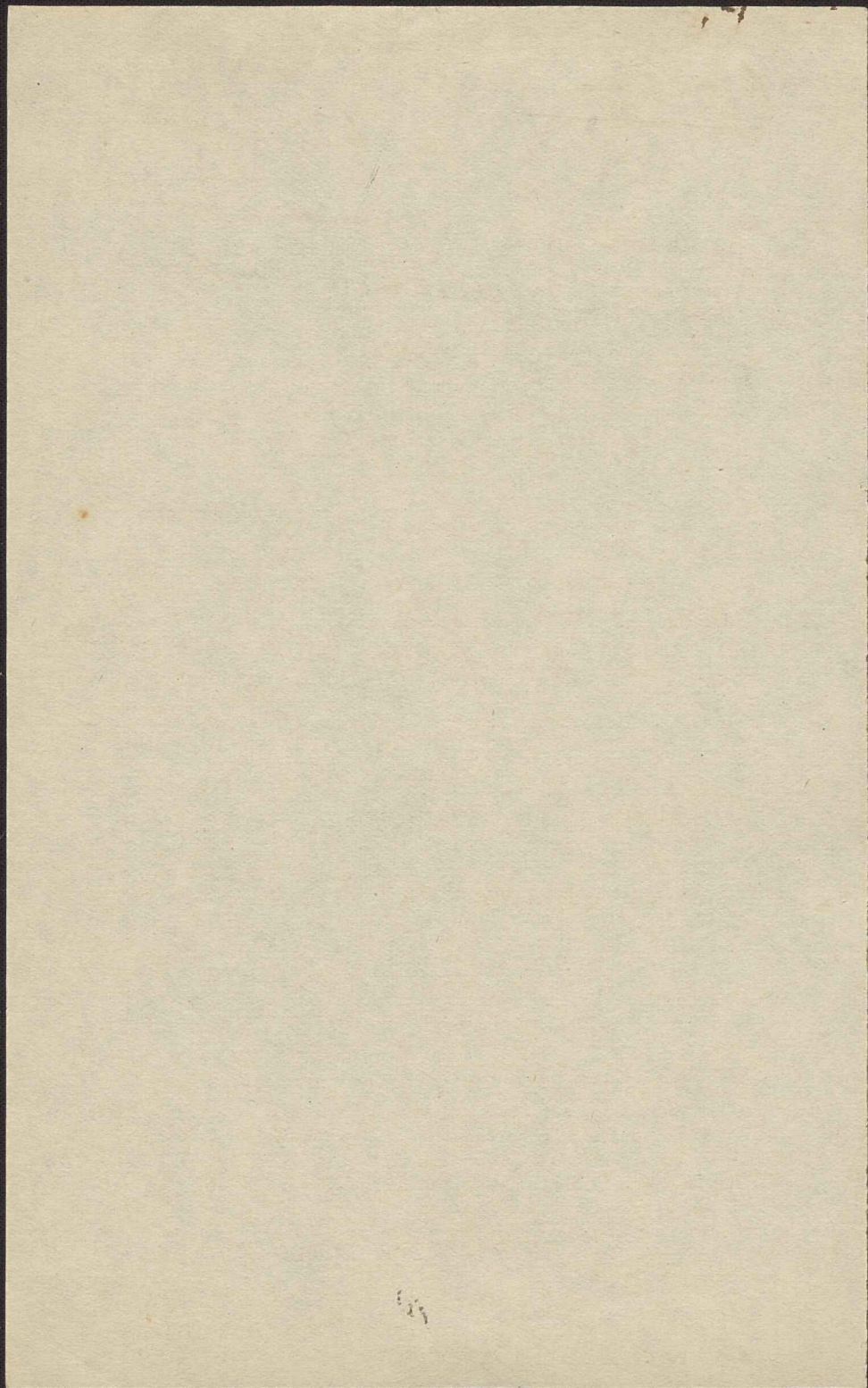
~~Broadly the principle accepted by
Conference, with however~~



Advantages -

(a) You have thus something to go on: an actual model that has been practically employed by Statesmen & Soldiers.

(b) You are making some advance to German standpoint: the disabilities already imposed on her are the model for general limitations.

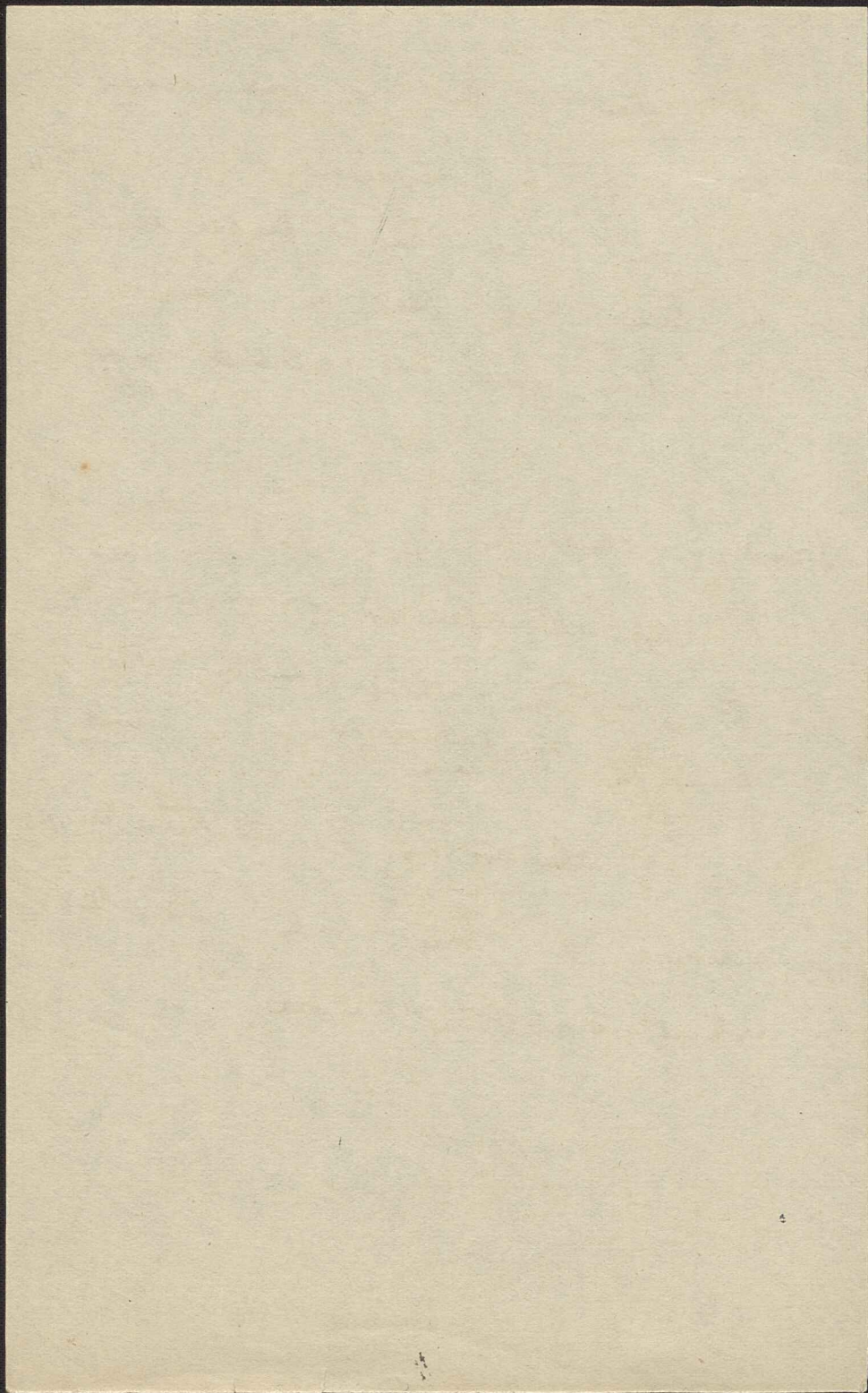


Objection: That if war comes,
these will be disregarded? Probably,
but you foster their preparation, &
at any rate their the dangers
from their peace time existence disappear.

Broadly, accepted by Conference, but

(a) with differences of principle as
to methods which fall under
principle; ^{s.g.} submarines; and

(b) ~~object~~ as to whether any
advance on these lines possible
without something more.



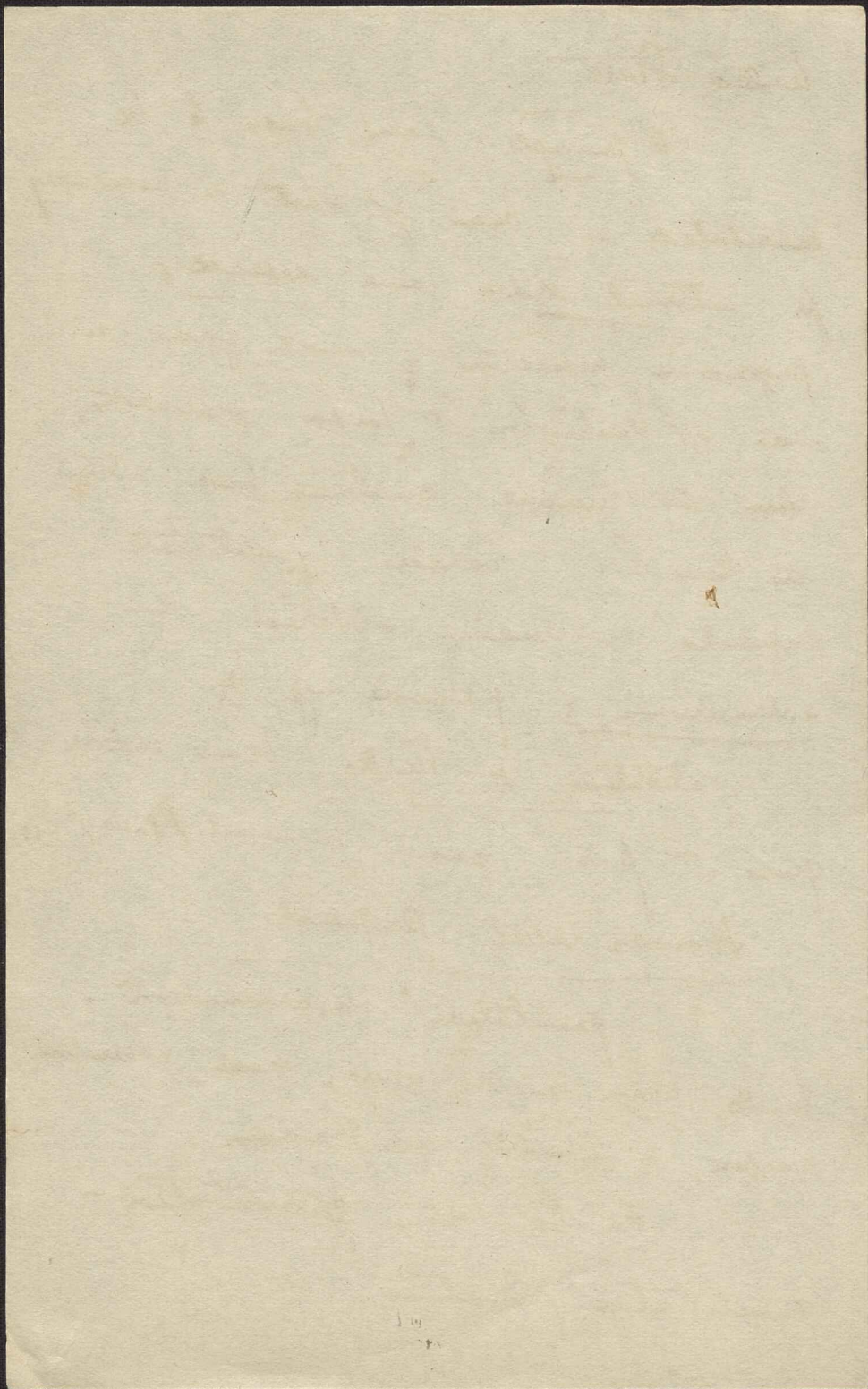
United States

to principles: land forces to be
calculated on basis of what is necessary
for internal order and defence;
progressive reduction of naval forces on
basis of Washington & London agreements,
where all naval countries have entered
into these: various "quantitative"
proposals, including abolition of
submarines; followed up by
abolition of tanks, heavy mobile
guns & poison gas. (Economist Apr. 16 p. 835)

Hoover's latest proposal

"quantitative" disarmament -
tanks, large calibre guns, and chemical
warfare, & bombing air planes.

For the rest, quantitative
quantitative reduction of $\frac{1}{3}$.



Disse
U. S. their co-operation necessary
no concession about bells until
assured that it will bring improvement
in economic condition

No such improvement possible
until an equitable official settlement
on reparations & disarmament
Times citing Sen Borah

May 22



Total burden of debt payments -

61 countries

\$4000 millions

= more £1100, ~~000~~ millions

= nearly £1500,000 Australian

