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## THE U. S. S. R. AND DISARMAMENT

By

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## PREFACE

At a time when increasing attention is being given in the United States of America to the question of possible recognition of the Soviet Government, it will be useful to make available a clear and simple statement of the record of the U.S.S.R. on the subject of disarmament. Such a statement is contained in the following article by Eugene A. Korovine, formerly of the University of Moscow and now professor of international law at the Institute of Soviet Law.

It is to be noted that all the official proposals of the Soviet representatives consistently urge the greatest possible measure of limitation of armaments of all kinds. It is unfortunate that when the Soviet proposals on this subject of vital importance to the present and to future generations were placed before the formal councils of the nations at Geneva there did not exist confidence in the continuity of Soviet policy through succeeding decades. The Soviet Government has maintained itself in power for fifteen years. Its principal objects are to establish Communism and to industrialize a great territory that has for centuries been devoted mainly to agriculture. In the course of these fifteen years sudden changes of method have taken place, but these two principal objects have been steadily pursued. Has not the time come for those controlling Soviet foreign policy to make new efforts to convince the other governments of the world that their disarmament proposals are not only sincerely offered by the present administration but that they will also be supported by those that may come after it?

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

New York, August 9, 1933.

## THE U.S.S.R. AND DISARMAMENT

By

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## THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, 1917-1921

"Peace" was one of the watch words of the October Revolution. On the 8th of November, 1917, the second All-Russian Congress of Soviets voted unanimously a "peace decree." In this document, drafted on the day following the organization of the Soviet Government, the 7th of November—the 25th of October, according to the Julian Calendar—the new government "invites all the belligerent peoples and their governments immediately to begin" negotiations to bring about an "equitable, democratic peace," which is defined as "an immediate peace without annexations and without indemnities."

On the 21st of November, 1917, the Soviet Government, in a note addressed to the diplomatic missions of the allied governments at Petrograd, formally proposed an immediate armistice, and on the 23rd of November it invited the governments of neutral states to offer their mediation with the purpose of hastening the conclusion of peace. On the same day the military attachés of the Entente governments with the Russian armies, addressed directly to the Russian Commander-in-Chief, General Douchonine, a joint protest against the pacific moves of the revolutionary government.

The Central Empires on their part, declared, on the 27th of November, that they were ready to discuss propositions for peace.

On the 28th of November, the Council of Commissars of the People of the Russian Republic addressed a manifesto to the peoples of the belligerent nations, inviting them anew to join the preliminary discussions for an armistice. Before the categorical refusal of the great powers of the Entente and the evident powerlessness of the neutral states, the Government of the Soviets found itself obliged to enter into separate discussions with the governments of the Central Powers, endeavoring at the same time to secure the participation of all the

belligerents in its moves for peace. On the 15th of December was signed the armistice between the Russian Republic and Germany and her allies. On the 19th of December the Russian Government again appealed to the peoples of Europe: "We invite you to combat with us for the immediate cessation of the war on every front." On the 30th of December the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs informed the allied governments that the "peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk [with the Central Powers] have been suspended for ten days to give the Allies a last opportunity to take part in them." This appeal met the same response as its predecessors. On the 3rd of March, 1918, the Treaty of Peace with the Central Powers was signed at Brest-Litovsk. On the 5th of April, the first Japanese detachments entered Vladivostok, giving the signal for the civil war aggravated by foreign intervention.

From the first day of the intervention and of the civil war, the Soviet Government sought constantly for a peaceful settlement with its numerous enemies. There may be cited, for example, the manifesto of the Council of the Commissars of the People of the 1st of August, 1918; the letter addressed by the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, M. Tchitcherin, to the United States Consul, Mr. Pool, on the 6th of August, 1918; the note of M. Tchitcherin to President Wilson, dated October 24, 1918; the proposal to the Allies for an armistice adopted by the Sixth All-Russian Congress of Soviets on the 8th of November, 1918; the note of M. Litvinov to President Wilson on the 24th of December, 1918; the telegram of M. Tchitcherin to the American Secretary of State on the 12th of January, 1919; the peace proposals of the Russian Government addressed to the American, English, French, Italian, and Japanese Governments on the 17th of January; the answer of the Soviet Government, dated February 4, 1919, in respect to the Conference of the Isle of Princes; the proposed treaty of March 12, 1919, drafted by the Russian Government and William Bullitt, representative of President Wilson; the statements of April 18, 1919, and January 28, 1920, addressed by M. Tchitcherin "to the workers of the Entente countries," protesting against the imperialist policy of the Entente governments, their blockade and the aid granted to the counter revolution in Russia. These documents have been often published in different Russian collections and in the French collection, "L'URSS et la paix."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Published by les Amis de l'Union Soviétique, Paris, 1929. English translation, "The Soviet Union and Peace," International Publishers, New York, 1929. See also "La Politique internationale du temps nouveau" de J. Klutchnikov et A. Sabanine, Vol. II.



It would be superfluous to cite all the moves toward peace of the Soviet Government during this period, termed the period "of the peace offensive." The resolution of the Allied Supreme Council of the 16th of January, 1920, raising the economic blockade, and permitting trade with Soviet Russia may be considered as marking its end. The Treaties of Peace of 1920 and 1921 between the Soviet Government and the governments of neighboring states, from Esthonia to Poland, marked the success of the move for peace on the part of Soviet diplomacy.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE STRUGGLE FOR DISARMAMENT, 1921-1927

The re-establishment of normal relations with a number of states permitted the Soviet Republic to carry on its policy for peace, by developing a wide program of pacifism on a world scale through general disarmament.

On the 19th of July, 1921, protesting in the name of the Russian Government against the calling of the Washington Conference on Disarmament without its participation, M. Tchitcherin, in his telegram addressed to the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, France, China, and Japan, said, "The Russian Government has also learned that a more general question, that of disarmament, at least of naval disarmament, will be considered at the future conference. The Russian Government will be happy to welcome any disarmament or reduction of the military charges which burden the workers of all countries. This constitutes one of the results to which should lead social changes such as those that have taken place in Russia. If, however, the Russian Government is not present at an international conference on this subject, it could not take into consideration the decisions made in which, as it was not present, it could have had no part."

Invited to the European Conference at Genoa, the Russian Government on the 30th of March, 1922, signed the Protocol of Riga providing for collaboration at the conference of the Russian, Esthonian, Latvian, and Polish delegations. The protocol contains "a solemn declaration of a sincere desire for universal peace" and for the settlement of disputes by pacific means. "For this end [the signatory states] will fully support the principle of the reduction of armaments in all states."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> These treaties may be found in "Soviet Security System" by Malbone W. Graham, Jr., *International Conciliation*, September, 1929, No. 252.

<sup>3</sup> M. W. Graham, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 58.



On April 10, 1922, M. Tchitcherin, in his speech at the first session of the Genoa Conference, declared that "Russia desires to contribute to the consolidation of peace so far as it is possible, and within the framework of the social and political organization which exists in most countries. The Russian delegation intends during the Conference to propose the general reduction of armaments and to support every proposition which tends to lighten the burden of militarism, on the condition that this reduction is applied to the armies of all countries, and that the rules of war are completed by absolute prohibition of the most barbarous forms of warfare, such as gas, and aerial warfare, and also the use of means of destruction against the non-combatant population." Because of the position of the French delegation supported by that of Great Britain, the Soviet motion was not discussed at Genoa.

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee, commenting on the 18th of May, 1922, on the report of the Soviet delegation at the Genoa Conference, declared that it "considers it peculiarly just and timely that the delegation, when it first took part in the Conference, proposed general disarmament."

Following up the Riga Protocol the Government of the Soviets proposed, on the 12th of June, 1922, to the Governments of Esthonia, Finland, and Poland a conference at Moscow on the limitation of armaments. In his speech on the 2nd of December, 1922, at the first session of the Moscow Conference, M. Litvinov, President of the Russian delegation, explained the Russian proposal "to establish a definite plan for the reciprocal reduction of military effectives, a plan based on the reduction of its army to 200,000 men on the condition that there be a reciprocal reduction of the armies of the states on the western boundary of Russia."

On the 8th of December, 1922, the Soviet delegation submitted to the Conference a draft convention of non-aggression and arbitration. However, the neighbor states held to the thesis that material disarmament should be preceded by political disarmament, "moral disarmament," and considered a limitation of their armies as premature. The Conference was dissolved on the 12th of December, 1922.<sup>4</sup>

Assembled on the 27th of December, 1922, the Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets issued an appeal "to all the peoples of the world" confirming again the will for "peace and for peaceful labor" of the

<sup>4</sup> M. W. Graham, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 63.

Soviet Republic. The Congress recalled the moves for peace of the Russian Government, which had not met with a friendly reception from the other powers, and gave as a new proof of the sincerity of its pacifism the reduction of its military forces from 5,000,000 to 800,000 and from 800,000 to 600,000. "Not in words, not in resolutions, not in promises, but in fact," Soviet Russia proved "its attachment to the cause of peace."

During the same year, on June 1, 1922, an agreement was concluded between the Governments of the Soviets and of Finland on measures to assure the safety of their frontiers. The agreement established frontier zones in which the armed force was strictly limited to 2500 men without artillery, forbade military depots therein, and restricted the activity of volunteer organizations.

On the 17th of February, 1923, the Soviet Government was informed by the Secretary General of the League of Nations of the proposal for a conference for the limitation of naval armaments, and answered,<sup>5</sup> on the 15th of March, 1923, that it was ready to participate in the conference, since it did not wish to lose the possibility of contributing in any measure whatever to the work of the reduction of armaments.<sup>6</sup>

On the 19th of October, 1923, the Government was formally invited to be represented on the Commission of Experts formed to study the application of the principle of the Washington agreements to the states which had not participated in that conference. After the acceptance of the invitation by M. Tchitcherin on the 15th of December, 1923, a Russian naval expert, M. Berens, in February, 1924, took part in the work of the sub-committee at Rome, where he supported the reciprocal limitation of tonnage, for Russia a reduction from 490,000 to 280,000 tons, the neutralization of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, the prohibition of the entry into the Baltic of war vessels of non-riparian states, and the demilitarization of the Straits of Korea.<sup>7</sup>

Requested in 1924 to express its opinion on the Treaty of Mutual Assistance drafted by the Commission, the Russian Foreign Office issued a detailed criticism of the treaty, urging that the problem of the reduction of armaments "is the most serious and immediate task

<sup>5</sup> See p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> *The Soviet Union and Peace*, pp. 126-128.

<sup>7</sup> See "Post War Movements to Reduce Naval Armaments," by John C. Shillock, Jr., *International Conciliation*, December, 1928, No. 245, p. 37.

of all governments" and one which it believes should be immediately taken up. The Government considered that it was entirely possible to fix at once the maximum strength of armies and of naval and air fleets of all countries. "The Soviet Government thinks that this reduction of armaments should be accompanied by a strict limitation of military budgets" and that "all military organizations not in the regular forces of the state should be dissolved." The Secretary General of the League of Nations on the 12th of December, 1925, invited the Soviet Government to take part in the Disarmament Conference and in the work of the preparatory commissions. In its answer on the 16th of January, 1926, the Government expressed its readiness to participate, although it had certain doubts as to the capacity of the League in its present form to undertake that task.<sup>8</sup>

#### THE U.S.S.R. AT THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT, 1927-1930

After the protocol of April 14, 1927, had settled the dispute between the U.S.S.R. and the Swiss Government over the assassination on Swiss territory of M. Vorovsky, delegate to the Conference at Lausanne, the Soviet delegation appeared on the 31st of October, 1927, at the fourth session of the Preparatory Commission of the Disarmament Conference. In its meeting of November 30, 1927, M. Litvinov read the declaration of his government. This document, after a brief historical review of the work of the League on disarmament and the efforts for peace of the Soviet since 1921, laid down a "plan of general and complete disarmament." The plan included "the complete abolition of all armed forces on land, on the sea and in the air." In order to secure the realization of this principle the government of the Union proposed a series of concrete measures: dismissal of all armed men, destruction of all means of combat, scrapping of all warships and military airplanes, prohibition of military instruction, abolition of military service, the dismantling of fortresses, demolition of factories for the supply of equipment, the suppression of military budgets, war ministries, the prohibition of military propaganda and giving of patents for means of destruction, etc.<sup>9</sup>

Disarmament should be carried out simultaneously in all the states

<sup>8</sup> *The Soviet Union and Peace*, p. 130.

<sup>9</sup> League of Nations. *Documents of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference*. Series 5, p. 10, Geneva, 1928.



by successive stages during a period of four years. Finally, the Soviet delegation proposed to the Commission the adoption of a resolution that the Commission should proceed immediately to the working out in detail of a draft convention for complete and general disarmament, taking as a basis the principles proposed by the Russian delegation; and that the Disarmament Conference be called for the month of March, 1928, at latest, to discuss and adopt the proposed convention. After the speeches of M. Paul-Boncour, M. Beneš, and M. Politis, the debate on the Russian proposals was adjourned till the fifth session of the Preparatory Commission. While he was at Geneva, M. Litvinov made another important declaration concerning the prohibition of chemical warfare.<sup>10</sup> "The Government of the Union wholly approves the convention for the prohibition of the use of chemical and bacteriological methods of warfare; it is ready to sign the convention immediately and insists that a very short period be fixed for its ratification by all the states. It considers that as a good means of guaranteeing its effectiveness, there should be considered the question of the supervision of the chemical industry by workers." The 2nd of December, 1927, M. Litvinov signed the protocol which was ratified on the 7th of March, 1928, by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets.

On the 15th of February, 1928, a detailed draft of a convention for disarmament which should be immediate, complete and general, was sent by the Government of the U.S.S.R. to the Secretary General of the League.<sup>11</sup> This project was referred to the fifth session of the Preparatory Commission, March, 1928, and defended by M. Litvinov as President of the Russian delegation. The project was composed of five chapters containing sixty-three articles which carry out the principles of the declaration of the 30th of November, 1927. The order in which the technical operation of disarmament should be carried out was set forth; as for example, within one year, one-half of the military forces were to be discharged, capital ships, cruisers, aircraft-carriers and submarines were to be withdrawn from the naval establishments, and dirigibles and bombing planes from the air force. Fortresses were to be dismantled within three years and no new fortified works were to be constructed. Police forces were not to be increased beyond those existing on the 1st of January, 1928.

<sup>10</sup> Protocol of Geneva, June 17, 1925.

<sup>11</sup> See pp. 34-46 for text.



Policing of the sea was to be confided to regional groups of states. The execution of the convention was to be assured by permanent commissions of control, a central international commission and local commissions. These commissions were to be composed of representatives of international pacifist organizations, delegates of legislatures and of labor unions, and peasants' organizations. Military and naval officers and owners of factories making military supplies could not be members of these commissions. Although supported by 119 world pacifist organizations, the Soviet project was rejected by the Commission.

The delegation of the U.S.S.R., accepting the thesis advanced by several delegations that complete disarmament was incompatible with the Covenant of the League of Nations and was especially dangerous for weak states, presented to the Commission on the 23rd of March, 1928, a new project for partial disarmament which it looked upon as the first stage of complete disarmament.<sup>12</sup> This draft convention which contained eight chapters and forty-nine articles provided for a reduction of armaments in a fixed proportion: the great powers, Group A, those having more than 200,000 men as an active army in peace time, would be required to reduce their forces by one-half; Group B, the states which had a peace establishment of more than 40,000 men, by one-third; Group C, other states, by one-fourth. Similar restrictions were to be applied to the ships of war: countries having more than 200,000 tons would lose half of their tonnage; the others, one-fourth. The war air fleets of states having more than 200 military aeroplanes would be reduced by one-half; those having from 100-200 aeroplanes, by one-third; those having fewer than 100, by one-fourth. All war machines especially dangerous to the peaceful population, such as means of carrying on aerial and chemical warfare should be completely destroyed.

Without taking up for discussion the second Soviet project the Commission preferred to put off its study till the next session, and did not fix the date of that session, in spite of all the efforts of the Russian delegation.

The Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. in a resolution of April 21, 1928, "approves the activity which the Soviet delegation has shown" and requested the Russian Government to "follow up the program of complete disarmament without neglecting any possi-

<sup>12</sup> See pp. 50-62 for text.

bility of accomplishing positive results in this field, even were they but partial and provisional." Twice during the same year, on the 20th of August and the 6th of December, 1928, the Soviet Government sent a note to the President of the Preparatory Commission, M. Loudon, requesting that the Commission be called together as soon as possible. The sixth session of the Commission began on the 15th of April, 1929; on the 17th the Soviet delegation reduced its project to the "three fundamental bases for any real reduction in armaments:" (1) that the reduction be put into effect; (2) that it be proportional and objective; and (3) that the figures of the reduction to be made should be fixed in the draft convention.<sup>13</sup> On the 19th the Soviet project for partial reduction of armaments was rejected by the Commission, for various reasons, such as that the Commission was not competent to consider it, that there were defects in the principle of proportional reduction, etc. The Soviets proposed that the draft convention prepared by the League of Nations be strengthened by certain amendments, such as the prohibition of all preparation for chemical warfare or for bombing from the air. These proposals met the same fate. Faced with this attitude of the Commission, and its results, or rather, adopting the expression of M. Litvinov, "the absence of results," the President of the Soviet delegation in his speech of May 6, 1929, felt obliged to state the policy which had been pursued by the U.S.S.R. during the three sessions of the Preparatory Commission. "Of all the countries represented here," said he, "the Soviet Union is the one that is the most threatened. It is the object of hostility and ill-feeling on the part of the whole bourgeois world. Its enemies are legion, its friends few. In case of attack, it can count only on its own armed forces, the Red Army and the Red Fleet. Nevertheless the Soviet delegation has not put forward the insecurity of the U.S.S.R. and the special conditions in which the country finds itself; it has demanded no exception from the general rule; on the contrary, it has not only applauded, but far more, it has itself proposed, the most radical forms of disarmament."

The Fifth Congress of the Union in its resolution of May 22, 1929, declared that the rejection of the Soviet proposals by the Preparatory Commission and the refusal of the member states "to make the least step in the reduction of land and naval armaments . . . constitute a new proof that those states base their policies on the preparation for

<sup>13</sup> *Documents of the Preparatory Commission*, Series 8, p. 23.

a new world war." For its part the Congress approved "the efforts of the Government of the Union to maintain world peace," and "its struggle for disarmament." At the last session of the Preparatory Commission, after the majority of the Commission had approved a draft convention to be presented to the coming conference, the Soviet delegation, on the 9th of December, 1930, made a declaration. In this document the delegation gave its opinion of the project of the majority as "clearly negative" and refused any responsibility for its drafting. Recalling its earlier efforts and their systematic checks, the delegation made in its statement a detailed criticism of the Commission's draft. Finally the delegation expressed "its firm resolution to continue its tireless struggle for peace and to defend before the future Conference its own propositions for disarmament." Among other facts of the "pre-history" of the Conference of 1932, there should be noted the project of the Italian Foreign Minister, M. Grandi, of the 8th of September, 1931, for "a truce of armaments." In his note of October 21, 1931, M. Litvinov declared to the Secretary General of the League that the Russian Government "is ready to assume, with the other governments and under equal conditions, the obligation to cease increasing its armaments during the Conference on Disarmament," as it was always "ready for complete disarmament or the maximum reduction of armaments."

#### THE U.S.S.R. AT THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE, 1932

In his first speech at the General Conference for Disarmament on the 11th of February, 1932, the chief of the Soviet delegation, M. Litvinov, made a detailed criticism of the various suggestions destined to sabotage the realization of disarmament and substituting for it questions of international security or of moral disarmament, and defended the Soviet thesis of general security by general disarmament.

On the 25th of February, 1932, the Russian delegation submitted to the conference a draft of a resolution in which, after showing the obvious perils of the race of armaments and calling attention to the Pact of Paris, it proposed to the Conference "to base its work on the principle of general and complete disarmament."<sup>4</sup> This resolution was rejected by the Conference so the delegation proposed to the Conference, on the 11th of April, 1932, a second draft of Article I of

<sup>4</sup> See p. 62 for text of resolution.



a Convention in which it was proposed to make a substantial reduction of existing armaments on the progressive-proportional principle.<sup>15</sup> At the same time the delegation presented to the Conference the Soviet proposal for partial disarmament similar to the project of the 23rd of March, 1928, with certain modifications; for example, that armies of over 200,000 men should be cut in half, armies between 200,000 and 30,000 men should be reduced according to a definite ratio which would require an army of 30,000 men to be limited to its present level and would proportionately decrease the effectives in armies up to 200,000 at which point the 50 per cent reduction would take effect. The reduction of naval tonnage was to be both global and special for each category. There was to be no reduction for navies totaling only 100,000 tons but from that point on progressive reduction up to 500,000 tons. Fleets of an aggregate tonnage exceeding 500,000 tons must be reduced by 50 per cent. The same proportional cut was established for military aviation beginning with fleets of 100 planes. The states partially disarmed under the Treaty of Peace were to maintain their armament at its present level. The military forces of states forming an alliance was to be considered as a bloc from the point of view of disarmament.

By the Resolution of its General Commission on the 20th of April, 1932, the Conference rejected the principle of proportional disarmament, having replaced the objective principle of disarmament "by the subjective principle," that is, the principle of an "armament consistent with national security" following Article VIII of the Covenant under which the Members of the League "recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national security."

When the principle of proportional disarmament was again placed before the Conference by President Hoover, the Soviet delegation, on the 20th of July, 1932, by its first amendment to the final resolution of the General Commission, proposed a reduction of all existing armaments by 33 per cent, except in the case of states disarmed by the Treaties of Peace, or of those whose armies were not greater than 30,000 men and whose fleets did not consist of more than 100,000 tons.

In addition to these proposals of quantitative disarmament the Soviet delegation during the Conference made several proposals

<sup>15</sup> See p. 63 for text of amendments.



intended to assure "qualitative" disarmament. These proposals included first, the destruction of mobile artillery of a calibre greater than 100 millimetres, second, the suppression of tanks and armored automobiles, third, the abolition of battleships of more than 10,000 tons with cannon of more than 12 inch calibre, fourth, of airplane carriers, fifth, of submarines, particularly those of more than 600 tons, sixth, of all military aviation, seventh, of all the means of chemical, bacteriological and incendiary warfare.

During the discussion of the final resolution of the General Commission at the end of the first period of the Conference, the Soviet delegation proposed to the Conference to accept as a minimum, first, the prohibition of bombing planes and of all bombing from the air, together with the immediate application by all states of the Protocol of Geneva of 1925, prohibiting chemical and bacteriological warfare. These propositions were rejected by the Conference and the Soviet delegation was, therefore, obliged to vote against the final Resolution of the General Commission, considering it defective as was explained in the speech of M. Litvinov on the 23rd of July, 1932.

One of the last acts of the Government of the U.S.S.R. at the Conference was its proposal of a "Charter of the Rights of Peoples," which the delegation proposed under the form of a draft resolution of the General Commission at the sitting of the Commission on the 6th of February, 1933.<sup>16</sup> This document was intended to complete the Pact of Paris in making clear the notion of international aggression in all its possible modifications: declaration of war, armed occupation of territory, bombardment or attack by armed forces, military invasion without permission of the local government, blockade, either peaceful or belligerent. According to M. Litvinov's proposal, hostile operations may not be justified for political, strategic, or economic reasons. They cannot be supported by reasons relating to the interior condition of a foreign state, such as any kind of inferiority, defects of its administration, revolutions, etc., or to acts of sovereignty such as violation of agreements, breaking off diplomatic relations, boycotts, measures taken against immigration, position of foreigners, etc. The prohibition of war and international aggression should be world-wide and include not only European states but those of the other continents.

<sup>16</sup> See p. 65 for text.

THE U.S.S.R. AND THE PACTS OF NEUTRALITY AND  
NON-AGGRESSION, 1921-1932

In the first international agreements concluded by the Republic of the Soviets, there is contained a clause of non-aggression, as for example, Article II, of the Russo-Afghan Treaty of the 20th of February, 1921; Article IV of the Russo-Latvian Treaty of Peace, of the 11th of August, 1920; Article V of the Treaty of Peace between the Soviet Republic and Poland, of the 18th of March, 1921; and others. A step further was made in the autumn of 1923, when the internal position in Germany was extremely aggravated and the intervention of the neighboring states was to be feared. The Government of the Soviets sent its plenipotentiary, M. Kopp, to Warsaw and the capitals of the Baltic States, offering to conclude with them a pact of non-intervention, either military or economic. The negotiations at that time contributed to the elaboration of the model of Soviet treaties of non-aggression, called "Treaties of Guarantee," which were put into effect two years later. On the 17th of December, 1925, the first treaty of guarantee was signed with Turkey, and on the 24th of April, 1926, with Germany. Subsequently similar treaties were made with all the Baltic States, including Lithuania and Finland. The last of these agreements are those concluded in 1932 with Poland and France. Proposals for a similar treaty made by the Russian Government to the Governments of Rumania and Japan have been refused up to the present, Rumania demanding as a condition that Russia recognize its annexation of Bessarabia; Japan judging that the conclusion of a treaty at the present time is premature. In comparison with the model treaties approved by the Committee of Arbitration and Security at Geneva in its third session in June and July, 1928, which contain reservations in accordance with the provisions of Article XV, section 7, and Article XVI of the Covenant, the Russian treaties include a section completely renouncing war, without any exception. This section would forbid the carrying on of any hostile action, whatever its form, or participation in any alliance or agreement directed against the other party or its military or naval security. Each contracting state further agrees not to join in a boycott, either economic or financial, against the other.

Mr. Malbone W. Graham, Jr., has already dealt with this group of Soviet agreements in an interesting and well documented number

of *International Conciliation* entitled "Soviet Security System,"<sup>17</sup> so that it is not necessary to dwell at greater length on this subject here. In the same number of *International Conciliation* Mr. Graham has also covered the subject of the adherence of the U.S.S.R. to the Pact of Paris, and the measures intended to guarantee its immediate application.<sup>18</sup>

We shall therefore limit our study to the analysis of the problem of disarmament as it is treated in several of these documents. On the 7th of March, 1931, a maritime agreement was made between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey completing the Protocol of the 17th of December, 1929, which in its turn supplemented the agreement of the 17th of December, 1925. In the maritime agreement the two States, "firmly convinced that the only solid guaranty of durable peace is the actual reduction of all kinds of armament now existing," declared "their firm intention to direct all their efforts towards a general reduction of armaments," and each agreed not to increase its naval forces on the seas adjacent to the territory of both states without 6 months notice to the other party.

Several circumstances are worth considering bearing on the adherence of the U.S.S.R. to the Pact of Paris. During the preliminary discussions between the initiators of the Pact, M. Litvinov, on the 21st of April, 1928, in a speech made at a session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, questioned in how far the suggested pact would advance peace "so long as the peoples are forced to pay the same taxes or even increased taxes" to continue and develop existing armed forces. M. Tchitcherin in an interview of the 5th of August, 1928, declared that since the purpose of the Soviet policy was the prevention of war, and in particular "war which served as an instrument of national policy," the Government of the U.S.S.R. "is ready to enter into negotiations and the possibility of the signature of the Pact by our Government may be admitted." On the 27th of August, through the French Ambassador at Moscow, the U.S.S.R. was invited to adhere to the Pact. On the 29th of August, the Central Executive Committee ratified the adherence of the U.S.S.R., on the 31st of August, the French Government was so informed, and on the 6th of September, 1928, it received the formal document of adherence.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> No. 252, September, 1929.

<sup>18</sup> The Litvinov Protocol, February 9, 1929, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>19</sup> Text of Soviet note to France in "The Pact of Paris," by James T. Shotwell, *International Conciliation*, No. 243, October, 1928, p. 91.



In a note accompanying this document the Soviet Government made certain remarks concerning the accomplishment of the purpose of the Pact of which the principal are: 1. Without disarmament, or at least, without limitation of the steady development of armaments, the Pact will remain "a dead letter without any reality"; 2. Article I of the Pact leaves much to be desired from the point of view "of precision and clarity"; there should be forbidden not only war "as an instrument of national policy, but every war whatever may be its purpose. This prohibition should include not only war in the technical sense of the word, but any unfriendly international operation, as for example, intervention, blockade, or occupation of territories." Closing its remarks the Government of the Soviet declared that it was ready to sign the Pact because it "imposes certain obligations" on the powers before public opinion and gives to the Soviet Government a new occasion to put before the States which have adhered to the Pact, "the gravest question for the cause of peace, that of disarmament, the solution of which is the only guarantee against war." In comparing the Soviet reservations with those made by the English, French, Polish, and other governments, it should be observed that while these latter all tend to restrict the application of the Pact, the Soviet reservations on the contrary have but one purpose, that of widening the field of its application.

Invited to the Third Session of the Commission of Study of the European Union, the famous "Pan-Europe" of M. Briand, the delegation of the U.S.S.R. presented on the 18th of May, 1931, a draft of a convention of economic non-aggression, a prohibition of all kinds of economic discrimination, which, according to its preamble and to the explanation made in an address by M. Litvinov, should complete the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. Almost two years have passed but the Soviet draft remains up to the present only the object of more or less thorough study.

In face of these facts the Soviet Government has but one path to follow, as M. Molotov said in a speech on the 23rd of January, 1933, that of continuing "to apply in its relations with other states consecutively and firmly, a policy of peace, however it may be appreciated by one or another government." M. Litvinov said to the correspondent of the newspaper *Petit Parisien* on the 30th of November, 1932, "We are profoundly convinced that the best guarantee of peace and universal security is no other than complete disarma-



ment or at least an immediate and real reduction of armaments. But this does not mean that we refuse to discuss and to put into practice other guarantees of peace even though they be less efficacious."

CONCLUSION. THE SOVIET STATE AND THE PROBLEM  
OF DISARMAMENT

There have been cited in this pamphlet official documents of the Government of the U.S.S.R. and also numerous declarations by the men who direct its destiny. In order to make clear the principles which are the base of the peace policy of the Soviet State, reference should also be made to certain pronouncements in recent years by leading Soviet statesmen.

On the 9th of September, 1927, the Secretary General of the Communist party of the Union, M. Stalin, talked with a delegation of American workmen. Answering a question in respect to possible forms of economic collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and other countries, M. Stalin said, "We are following a policy of peace and we are ready to sign with bourgeois states pacts of mutual non-aggression. We are following a policy of peace and we are ready to join in an agreement on disarmament going as far as the complete abolition of permanent armies as we stated before the world at the Conference of Genoa." On the 5th of August, 1928, M. Tchtcherin, Commissar of the People for Foreign Affairs, said to representatives of the press, "The fundamental object of Soviet international policy is the maintenance of peace. The proposition of our Government in respect to disarmament is a clear manifestation of that policy."

In an address on the 10th of December, 1928, M. Litvinov, now Commissar of Foreign Affairs, said, "We are following this policy of peace not because of our weakness nor because of a feeling of sentimental pacificism, but because it is inherent in the very nature of the Soviet policy, because it corresponds to the interest of the masses of workers of the whole world."

On the 4th of December, 1929, M. Litvinov in a speech at the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., explained the foreign policy of the country: "The basis of that policy today, as twelve years ago when the Soviet State was born, is the defence of the accomplishments of the revolution of October against foreign aggression, the intention to guarantee peaceful conditions for the development at home of socialism and to preserve the workers of the world from

the horrors and the burden of war. Power in the hands of the proletariat, constant defender of international peace; a policy in unflinching conformity with the great principles of the October revolution and of Lenin; a refusal to participate in any way in groups and political combinations setting states in opposition one to another; the absence of every imperialistic aspiration and of any tendency towards control or domination of another state; the national interest considered from the point of view of maximum toleration and respect for the national culture of even the small nations; such are the factors contributing to the foreign policy of the Soviet Government. The Five-Year Plan is an additional and an entirely objective evidence of our pacific tendencies. We want peace to carry it through."

Since then the U.S.S.R. has carried out its first Five-Year Plan of socialistic reconstruction and is going ahead with the second. The principles of this plan were explained at the last session of the Central Executive Committee of the Union by the President of the Council of Commissars of the People, M. Molotov. In that portion of his speech of the 23rd of January, 1933, which he devoted to the international relations of the U.S.S.R., M. Molotov recalled to his hearers "the special attention and the peculiar sensitiveness" manifested by the U.S.S.R. on questions of peace and disarmament. After mentioning the efforts of the U.S.S.R. at the Conference of Geneva, and especially its propositions in February, 1932, the chief of the Soviet Government concluded: "In this proposal of the Soviet delegation was contained the expression of the aspiration toward universal peace not only on the part of the peoples of the Union but also of the peoples of other countries. Equally, in the proposals of the Soviet Government made at the Conference of Disarmament at Geneva, we have the expression of the true interest of the world peace and the expression of the interest of the popular masses of all countries."

A last question is that of the practical value of the steady pressure for peace of the U.S.S.R. during the fifteen years of its "militant pacifism." The best answer to this question was given by M. Litvinov in his address on the 10th of December, 1928: "The Government of the Soviets has rendered great services to the cause of peace since, thanks to its initiative, the problem of general and complete disarmament has been placed before the world for the first time. Although the problem has not been solved as yet, the fact that it has been clearly stated will stimulate enormously both the will for peace of the peoples and their efforts to assure it."

## APPENDICES

DECREE OF PEACE ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN  
CONVENTION OF SOVIETS OF WORKERS', SOLDIERS' AND  
PEASANTS' DEPUTIES ON NOVEMBER 8TH, 1917<sup>1</sup>

The Workers' and Peasants' Government, created by the revolution of October 24th and 25th (November 6th and 7th), and based on the Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, proposes to all warring peoples and their Governments to begin immediately negotiations for a just and democratic peace.

An overwhelming majority of the exhausted, wearied, and war-tortured workers and the labouring classes of all the warring countries are longing for a just and democratic peace—a peace which in the most definite and insistent manner was demanded by Russian workers and peasants after the overthrow of the Tsar's monarchy. Such a peace the Government considers to be an immediate peace without annexations (*i.e.*, without seizure of foreign territory, without the forcible annexation of foreign nationalities) and without indemnities.

The Government of Russia proposes to all warring peoples immediately to conclude such a peace. It expresses its readiness to take at once without the slightest delay, all the decisive steps until the final confirmation of all terms of such a peace by the plenipotentiary conventions of the representatives of all countries and all nations.

By annexation or seizure of foreign territory the Government understands, in accordance with the legal consciousness of democracy in general, and of labouring classes in particular, any addition to a large or powerful state of a small or weak nationality, without the definitely, clearly, and voluntarily expressed consent and desire of this nationality, regardless of when this forcible addition took place, regardless also of how developed or how backward is the nation forcibly attacked or forcibly retained within the frontiers of a given state, and finally regardless of the fact whether this nation is located in Europe or in distant lands beyond the seas.

If any nation whatsoever is retained within the frontiers of a certain state by force, if it is not given the right of free voting in accordance with its desire, regardless of the fact whether such desire was expressed in the press, in people's assemblies, in decisions of political parties, or rebellions and insurrections against national oppression, such plebiscite to take place under the condition of the complete removal of the armies of the annexing or the more powerful nation; if the weaker nation is not given the oppor-

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted by permission from *The Soviet Union and Peace*, International Publishers, New York, 1929, pp. 22-25. This decree was issued immediately after the seizure of power by the Petrograd workers headed by the Bolshevik Party.



tunity to decide the question of the forms of its national existence, then its adjoining is an annexation, that is, seizure—violence.

The Government considers it to be the greatest crime against humanity to continue the war for the sake of dividing among the powerful and rich nations the weaker nationalities which were seized by them, and the Government solemnly states its readiness to sign immediately the terms of peace which will end this war, on the basis of the above-stated conditions, equally just for all nationalities without exception. At the same time the Government announces that it does not consider the above-stated conditions of peace as in the nature of an ultimatum, that is, it is ready to consider any other terms of peace, insisting, however, that such be proposed as soon as possible by any one of the warring countries and on condition of the most definite clarity and absolute exclusion of any ambiguity, or any secrecy when proposing the terms of peace.

The Government abolishes secret diplomacy and on its part expresses the firm intention to carry on all negotiations absolutely openly before all the people, and immediately begins to publish in full the secret treaties concluded or confirmed by the Government of landowners and capitalists from February up to November 7th, 1917. The Government abrogates absolutely and immediately all the provisions of these secret treaties in as much as they were intended in the majority of cases for the purpose of securing profits and privileges for Russian landowners and capitalists and retaining or increasing the annexations by the Great-Russians.

While addressing the proposal to the Governments and peoples of all countries to start immediately open negotiations for the conclusion of peace, the Government expresses its readiness to carry on these negotiations by written communications, by telegraph, as well as by parleys of the representatives of various countries, or at a conference of such representatives. To facilitate such negotiations the Government appoints a plenipotentiary representative in neutral countries.

The Government proposes to all the Governments and peoples of all the warring countries to conclude an armistice immediately; at the same time, it considers desirable that this armistice should be concluded for a period of not less than three months—that is, a period during which it would be fully possible to terminate the negotiations for peace with the participation of the representatives of all peoples and nationalities drawn into the war or compelled to participate in it, as well as to call the plenipotentiary conventions of people's representatives of all countries for the final ratification of the terms of peace.

While addressing this proposal of peace to the Governments and peoples of all the warring countries, the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia appeals also in particular to the class-conscious workers of the three most forward nations of the world and the largest states parti-

icipating in the present war—England, France, and Germany. The workers of these countries have been of the greatest service to the cause of progress and socialism. We have the great example of the Chartist movement in England, several revolutions which were of universal historic importance accomplished by the French proletariat, and finally the heroic struggle against the exclusive law in Germany and the prolonged, stubborn, disciplined work—a work setting an example for the workers of the whole world—of creating mass proletarian organisations in Germany. All these examples of proletarian heroism and historic creative work serve as a guarantee that the workers of the above-mentioned countries understand the duties which devolve upon them now in the cause of the liberation of humanity from the horrors of war and its consequences, a cause which these workers by their resolute and energetic activity will help us to bring to a successful end—the cause of peace, and, together with this, the cause of the liberation of the labouring and exploited.

CONSENT OF GOVERNMENT OF R.S.F.S.R. TO ATTEND CONFERENCE ON  
REDUCTION OF NAVAL ARMAMENTS. NOTE SENT BY PEOPLE'S  
COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO GENERAL SECRETARY OF  
LEAGUE OF NATIONS, MARCH 15TH, 1923<sup>2</sup>

. . . The attitude of the Soviet Government to the so-called League of Nations has frequently been expressed in the declarations of its responsible representatives. The Soviet Government's attitude to the so-called League of Nations remains unaltered. It regards it as a coalition of certain states, endeavouring to usurp the power over other states and masking their attempts on the rights and independence of other nations by a false appearance of groundless legality and in the form of the mandates issued by the Council or . . . Assembly of the League of Nations, etc. The Soviet Government maintains its conviction that this pseudo-international body really serves as a mere mask to conceal from the broad masses the aggressive aims of the imperialist policy of certain Great Powers or their vassals. The Soviet Government finds confirmation for its convictions every time that a State assuming the leading rôle in the League of Nations makes a decision on international questions, touching the interests of the Soviet Republic.

The Soviet Government cannot, however, sacrifice to such conceptions its constant aspirations to afford, by every means at its disposal, all possible assistance in the task of easing the burden of militarism lying upon all peoples, the task of preventing armed conflicts and the consolidation of general peace. Weak as are the hopes of the Soviet Government for the achievement of these aims in the present world situation, it would consider

<sup>2</sup> From *The Soviet Union and Peace*, pp. 126-128.

it out of the question to refrain from taking the least possible opportunity for doing something, however little, to assist the matter of the reduction of armaments. The Soviet Government, as the interpreter of the will of the toiling masses, has determined never to let slip a single opportunity for easing in any way the burden of armaments and world conflicts pressing upon the toiling masses the world over. Taking this stand, the Soviet Government endeavoured at the Genoa Conference to bring forward the question of general disarmament. At the Lausanne Conference it defended the principle of closing the Straits for warships, the result of which would have been a diminution of the chances of armed conflicts at sea and the reduction of naval armaments. A special conference was convoked at Moscow by the Soviet Government with neighbouring States for the purpose of simultaneous mutual reduction of armaments, and the responsibility for the failure of this conference lies in its entirety at the doors of the other participants.

While in no degree going back upon its expressed attitude to the League of Nations, the Soviet Government is ready to regard the proposed conference as a meeting of representatives of individual States, despite the fact that certain of these States composed a hypothetical League of Nations. The Soviet Government therefore expresses its entire readiness to take part in the aforesaid conference, independent of whether it is called by the Government of the United States of America, the initiators of the first conference on naval disarmament, or by any other group of powers. The Soviet Government, moreover, considers that without the participation of Russia and her Allies the before-mentioned conference will be meaningless, since the measures proposed by its initiators can only be carried out with the participation of all States without exception. Therefore, although the agenda of the above-mentioned conference only mentions members of the so-called League of Nations, the Soviet Government considers that the participation of Russia and her Allies, like that of all other States, at the above-mentioned conference, is desirable and essential.

#### RUSSIAN DECLARATION OF NOVEMBER 30, 1927<sup>3</sup>

The Soviet Government has systematically endeavoured to get the question of disarmament definitely and practically formulated. Its endeavours have, however, always encountered determined resistance from other States. The Soviet Government—the only one to show in deeds its

<sup>3</sup> League of Nations. *Documents of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference entrusted with the Preparation for the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments*, Series V, Minutes of the Fourth Session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and of the First Session of the Committee on Arbitration and Security (Publications of the League of Nations, IX. Disarmament, 1928. IX.2), Geneva, January 16th, 1928. C.667.M.225.1927.IX, (C. P. D. 1 (d).) pp. 9-12.



will to peace and disarmament—was not admitted to the Washington Conference of 1921–1922, devoted to questions of the curtailment of naval armaments. The proposal of general disarmament made by the Soviet delegation to the Genoa Conference on April 10th, 1922, was rejected by the Conference. Despite this opposition, the Soviet Government has never relaxed in its determined endeavours with regard to disarmament. In December 1922 a Conference was called in Moscow, by the Soviet Government, of representatives of the border States for the joint discussion of the problem of proportional curtailment of armaments. The Soviet Government agreed to a considerable diminution of its armaments despite the fact that this would not affect many great Powers always ready, whether under the obligation of treaties or not, to come to the assistance of the other countries represented at the Moscow Conference should these be involved in conflicts with the Soviet State. A definite scheme for the limitation of armaments was proposed at that Conference by the Soviet Government. This scheme was, however, rejected.

Despite the sceptical attitude of the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics towards the labours of the League of Nations, it accepted the invitation of December 12th, 1925, to attend the coming Disarmament Conference, and only the Soviet-Swiss conflict, evoked by the assassination of M. Vorovsky, Minister Plenipotentiary, and the subsequent acquittal of the assassins by the Swiss Court, prevented the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics from attending the previous sessions of the Preparatory Commission.

In now sending its delegation to the fourth session of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament, the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has authorised it to present a scheme for general and complete disarmament.

II. The delegation of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is authorised by its Government to propose the complete abolition of all land, naval and air forces.

The Government of the Union suggests the following measures for the realisation of this proposal:

(a) The dissolution of all land, sea and air forces and the non-admittance of their existence in any concealed form whatsoever.

(b) The destruction of all weapons, military supplies, means for chemical warfare and all other forms of armament and means of destruction in the possession of troops or in military or general stores.

(c) The scrapping of all warships and military air vessels.

(d) The discontinuance of calling up citizens for military training either in armies or public bodies.

(e) Legislation for the abolition of military service, either compulsory, voluntary or recruited.

(f) Legislation prohibiting the calling up of trained reserves.

(g) The destruction of fortresses and naval and air bases.

(h) The scrapping of military plants and factories and of war industry equipment in general industrial works.

(i) The discontinuance of assigning funds for military purposes both on State budgets and those of public bodies.

(k) The abolition of military, naval and air ministries, and the dissolution of general staffs and military administrations, departments and institutions of every kind.

(l) The legislative prohibition of military propaganda and military training of the population and of military education both in State and public bodies.

(m) The legislative prohibition of the patenting of all kinds of armaments and means of destruction with a view to the removal of incentives to the invention of the same.

(n) Legislation making the infringement of any of the above stipulations a grave crime against the State.

(o) The withdrawal or corresponding alteration of all legislative acts, both of national or international scope, infringing the above stipulations.

III. The delegation of the Union is empowered to propose the execution of the above programme of complete disarmament as soon as the Convention in question comes into force, in order that all the necessary measures for the destruction of military stores be completed in a year's time.

The Soviet Government considers that the above scheme for the execution of complete disarmament is the simplest and the most conducive to peace.

In the case, however, of capitalist States rejecting immediate actual abolition of standing armies, the Soviet Government, in its desire to facilitate the achievement of a practical agreement on complete disarmament, is prepared to make a proposal for complete disarmament to be carried out simultaneously by all contracting States, by gradual stages, during a period of four years, the first stage to be accomplished in the course of the coming year.

National funds, freed from war expenditure, to be employed by each State at its own discretion, but exclusively for productive and cultural purposes.

IV. Whilst insisting upon the views just stated, the delegation of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is nevertheless ready to participate in any and every discussion of the question of the limitation of armaments whenever practical measures really leading to disarmament are proposed.

V. The delegation declares that the Government of the Union fully subscribes to the Convention on the prohibition of the application to military purposes of chemical and bacteriological substances and processes, expresses its readiness to sign the Convention immediately while insisting on an early date being fixed for its ratification by all States, and considers that, in order to ensure the practicability of the Convention, it would be necessary to raise the question of the establishment of workers' control

over those chemical industries susceptible of being rapidly converted to war purposes in States having a highly developed chemical industry.

We have laid before you our programme of disarmament, but realise that its radical and exhaustive nature may make it appear at the first glance complex, difficult of realisation and perhaps even Utopian. This, however, is merely because the problem of complete disarmament has always been treated as a forbidden subject and never yet thoroughly dealt with. We understand perfectly that the realisation of this programme may not be compatible with certain political interests, chiefly those of the great Powers, the interests of war industries or those of the numerous groups of speculators, but I contend that in itself the problem of complete disarmament presents no difficulties and is capable of rapid and easy solution.

It is in any case a great deal simpler, and would require far less time to work out in detail, than the schemes which have so far been used as a basis for the work of the Preparatory Commission. I confess that, on acquainting myself with the findings of this Commission, I was aghast at the complexity, confusion and multiplicity of the questions with which that of disarmament had become involved. The Commission has, in effect, devoted several sessions to the discussion of the enumeration and headings of the clauses to make up an international Convention for limitation of armaments. Unanimity has only been achieved with regard to certain trivial and common points. The overwhelming majority of the clauses—or rather their headings—evoked dissensions which have so far failed to be reconciled either by the Commission itself or by private negotiations between the Governments concerned. If and when, however, these dissensions have been reconciled, the Commission will still only be at the threshold of its real difficulties. The Commission will have to agree to the satisfaction of all as to what constitutes security for each country and, individually, the extent and importance of its international obligations, its geographical peculiarities and other special features, before the level of its effectives, technical armaments, military and air vessels, etc., can be established.

The mere enumeration of these questions will suffice to bring before us the utter hopelessness—more, the Utopianism—of expecting this question to be solved within any imaginable period.

The latest manifestations of international life, various international treaties recently concluded, lead not to the unification but rather to the still further division of the European and non-European countries into political groupings, and to the intensification of their mutual antagonisms, and do not afford the slightest grounds for optimism as to the outcome of the questions before the Preparatory Commission.

To crown all, attempts are still being made to delay for a long time to come the work of the Preparatory Commission pending the solution of a



series of political questions not less confused and complex than those I have already mentioned.

One thing is certain: if the present basis of the Preparatory Commission's work is not changed, it is—even if not exploded by the abundance and weight of its own internal differences—condemned to years, if not decades, of work either completely sterile or productive of quite intangible results.

We live in a time in which the outbreak of fresh wars is no mere theoretical danger. This is not merely our opinion; many responsible statesmen in capitalist countries have expressed the same fears quite recently. The imminence of war is making itself felt everywhere. If it is to be averted, something will have to be done. In our opinion, the best guarantee of security for all peoples and all countries is immediate complete disarmament. This problem should be faced immediately and solved in the shortest possible time. Those countries postponing the solution of this problem are taking upon themselves an enormous responsibility. I therefore beg to move on behalf of the Soviet delegation the following resolution:

"Whereas the existence of armaments and the tendency they show to growth by their very nature inevitably lead to armed conflicts between nations, diverting the workers and peasants from peaceful productive labour and bringing in its train countless disasters;

"Whereas armed force is a weapon in the hands of great Powers for the oppression of peoples in small and colonial countries; and

"Whereas the complete abolition of armaments is at present the only real means of guaranteeing security and affording a guarantee against the outbreak of war;

"The Fourth Session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference resolves:

"(1) To proceed immediately to the working out in detail of a draft Convention for complete and general disarmament on the principles proposed by the Delegation of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics;

"(2) To propose the convocation, not later than March 1928, of a Disarmament Conference for the discussion and confirmation of the proposals provided for in paragraph (1)."

We are fully aware that certain circles will endeavour to stigmatise our programme and resolution as propaganda. We are quite ready to accept this challenge and declare that we are making propaganda for peace and shall continue to do so. If the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference is not a suitable place in which to make peace propaganda, then apparently we are here under a misunderstanding. The Soviet Government pursues, and has always pursued, a resolute peace policy which it has always shown, and is still showing, in deeds as well as in words. Only a few days ago, when the clouds of war seemed to be darkening the horizon on the east of Europe more ominously than ever, everything

in its power was done by the Soviet Government to avert a calamity. It brought all possible arguments to bear upon the Lithuanian Government to persuade it immediately to declare the cessation of the state of war between Lithuania and Poland. The Soviet Government was also instrumental in persuading Lithuania's other two neighbours to offer the same advice, and steps were also taken by it in Warsaw tending towards the maintenance of peace. This peace policy of my Government gives us a special right to declare that we shall not let a single opportunity slip for making the most intensive propaganda for peace and disarmament.

DRAFT DISARMAMENT CONVENTION SUBMITTED BY THE DELEGATION OF THE UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS [FEBRUARY 15, 1928]<sup>4</sup>

DRAFT CONVENTION FOR IMMEDIATE, COMPLETE AND GENERAL DISARMAMENT

Being animated by the firm desire to safeguard general peace;

Considering that the existence and increase of armed forces constitute an immense danger, and must inevitably lead to further armed conflicts;

Considering that attempts to go too deeply into the question and to examine in detail every factor relating to the existence and increase of armaments have ended in failure or have retarded the solution of disarmament questions:

The Contracting States

. . . . .

Solemnly acknowledge that the only true method which can contribute to the safeguarding of peace is the general and complete abolition of all armed forces, and conclude the present Convention, having for this purpose appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

. . . . .

Who, having communicated their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed that complete disarmament shall be undertaken, as from the date of entry into force of the present Convention, and shall be terminated within a period of four years so as to restrict the possibility of armed conflicts from the first year onwards.

<sup>4</sup> From League of Nations. *Documents of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference entrusted with the Preparation for the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments*, Series V, Minutes of the Fourth Session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and of the First Session of the Committee on Arbitration and Security (Publications of the League of Nations, IX. Disarmament, 1928.IX.2), Geneva, January 16th, 1928 C.667.M.225. 1927 IX, (C.P.D.1 (d).), pp. 324-330. 334-339.

## CHAPTER I.

## EFFECTIVES OF THE ARMED FORCES

Article 1. All military units and formations, as well as all the effectives of the land, naval and air forces, whether of the home country or of its oversea possessions, shall be disbanded within four years as from the entry into force of the present Convention, and shall not in future be allowed in any form, whether open or secret.

The disbandment of the effectives shall be carried out in four successive stages:

(a) In the first year, as from the entry into force of the present Convention, one-half of the effectives in service, whether officials, officers, or other ranks, shall be disbanded, and

(b) In the following years the remaining effectives in equal parts.

REMARK.—By effectives of the armed forces is meant effectives serving with the colours in the active army, as well as the trained military reserves in each of the Contracting States entered on the muster-rolls of the various military and public organisations.

Article 2. The Ministries of War, Marine and Aviation, as well as general staffs, all military schools and all kinds of military commands, institutions and establishments shall be abolished, except as provided for in Article 5 of the present Convention, within one year from the entry into force of the present Convention, and may not be reconstituted.

Article 3. Within a period of one year as from the entry into force of the present Convention, all returns and documents relating to military trained reserves, and kept by Government institutions and public organisations, shall be destroyed.

Within the same period, all laws concerning the organisation of recruitment shall be repealed.

Article 4. Within one year from the entry into force of the present Convention, all documents relating to the mobilisation of armed forces shall be destroyed; all mobilisation measures shall be prohibited in future.

Article 5. For four years as from the entry into force of the present Convention, it shall be permissible, in accordance with a special convention, to maintain staffs, commands, institutions and establishments to the extent strictly necessary for the application of the technical measures required by the disbandment of the armed forces, and by the performance of the necessary administrative and economic work relating to disarmament.

Article 6. All the files concerning the disbandment of the armed forces shall be forwarded to the civilian Ministries within four years as from the entry into force of the present Convention.

All the files and archives of the Ministries of War, Marine and Aviation, of the Army units and of the staffs, commands, institutions and establishments, shall be destroyed within the same period.



Article 7. The personnel of the disbanded armed forces shall be provided with employment in other spheres of social and economic work.

Until they are provided with employment, they may be provisionally maintained at the expense of the general State budget.

When the aforesaid persons are awarded pensions based on the number of years of service, the years spent in military service shall be reckoned as spent in the service of the State.

Article 8. The credits assigned for the upkeep of the armed forces, either in the State budget or out of the funds of the various associations, must be confined to the sums strictly necessary for the upkeep of the armed forces remaining in actual military service in accordance with a special convention.

Within four years, the budget for the upkeep of the armed forces must be abolished, and may not figure under any heading in the State budget.

Article 9. Within a period of one year from the entry into force of the present Convention, all laws concerning military service, whether compulsory, voluntary or by recruiting, shall be abrogated.

The conditions of service in the armed forces until the completion of total disarmament shall be laid down in special regulations by each of the contracting States.

Article 10. Immediately after the entry into force of the present Convention the following shall be prohibited by law:

1. Special military publications:

(a) Scientific research and theoretical treatises;

(b) Works on military history;

(c) Manuals of military training;

(d) Military regulations;

(e) Manuals of all kinds for the study of the technical implements of war.

2. The military training of the population, including the calling up of trained reserves, and military propaganda among the population.

3. The military training of young people, either by the State or by public associations.

## CHAPTER II.

### MATERIAL

#### Part I.—Land Armaments

Article 11. Within one year of the entry into force of the present Convention, the reserves of arms, ammunition and other instruments of armament and destruction enumerated below and at the disposal of the Ministry of War shall be destroyed. Tanks, poisonous war materials and the appliances by which these materials are diffused (gas projectors, pulverisers,

balloons and other apparatus), whether in service or in reserve, shall first be destroyed.

The arms strictly necessary for the effectives remaining with the colours may be retained by the armed forces of each of the contracting States. The proportion between the armed forces of each State and the quantity of technical implements of war enumerated in the list given below shall be determined in a special convention.

In the second, third and fourth years as from the entry into force of the present Convention, the destruction of all the types of armament shall be carried out by consecutive stages in proportion to the limitation of personnel.

After the completion of disarmament in each of the contracting States, the minimum quantity of arms and ammunition required for all kinds of police forces and for personal use may be retained in accordance with Articles 39, 43 and 44.

*List of war material to be destroyed:*

1. Automatic and magazine rifles.
2. All kinds of machine-guns, including machine rifles and light and heavy machine guns.
3. Mine throwers and grenade and bomb throwers.
4. Revolvers and automatic pistols issued to troops.
5. Rifle and hand grenades.
6. Rifle and military revolver ammunition.
7. Guns of all calibres and types, and ammunition for same, whether complete or in component parts.
8. Tanks.
9. Gunpowder and explosives employed for exclusively military purposes.
10. All poisonous materials for war, as well as the appliances by which they are diffused, such as gas projectors, pulverisers, balloons, and other apparatus.
11. Flame throwers.
12. All technical military implements not enumerated above and intended for the wounding and destruction of man by man, as well as all parts of the articles enumerated above.

Article 12. All orders placed by the Ministries of War, Marine and Aviation for any of the armaments enumerated in the Annex to Article 11 of the present Convention shall be cancelled.

War material for the manufacture of which orders have been placed abroad shall be destroyed in the country in which it is manufactured.

Article 13. Compensation shall be paid for loss due to the cancelling of the orders mentioned in Article 12, and of the orders for the special naval and air force armaments enumerated in Articles 21 and 27, placed by the Ministries of War, Marine and Aviation. Such compensation shall

be given either in conformity with the legislative practice of the several contracting States or in accordance with the terms of the contracts.

Article 14. Armoured cars and all other armoured means of transport, except tanks, must be disarmed, that is to say, stripped of their armour-plating and their weapons, which must be destroyed. This must be effected within one year of the coming into force of the present Convention.

Article 15. Revolvers and sporting guns (of a non-military pattern), intended respectively for personal defence and sport, may be left in the hands of private persons in virtue of special permits. The number of these revolvers and sporting guns which each of the contracting States may possess shall be fixed by a special convention in proportion to the number of the population.

Article 16. Explosives capable of being used for industrial, agricultural or other socially useful purposes shall not be liable to destruction, but shall be handed over by the Ministries of War, Marine and Aviation to the respective economic organisations within one year of the coming into force of the present Convention.

#### Part 2.—Naval Armaments

Article 17. Within one year of the coming into force of the present Convention, all capital ships, cruisers, aircraft-carriers and submarines shall be withdrawn from the naval establishments.

Article 18. All other vessels and floating material constructed for the special purpose of war and enumerated in the annexed list, together with naval aircraft, shall be withdrawn from the naval establishments within four years, withdrawal proceeding in equal parts each year, in conformity with a special convention.

##### *List of vessels to be disarmed:*

1. Coast-defence battleships.
2. Torpedo craft of all types.
3. Monitors.
4. Gunboats of over 3,000 tons.
5. Floating batteries.
6. Hydroplanes of all types.

Article 19. The personnel of vessels withdrawn from the naval establishments shall be immediately disbanded.

At the end of three months from the removal of the vessels from the naval lists, the ordnance of such vessels and their mines and torpedo appliances shall be rendered useless in accordance with special technical arrange-

*Note.*—Vessels and their armaments may be retained under the conditions laid down in Articles 43 and 44 of the present Convention for the establishment of a maritime police force and for the protection of frontiers.



ments; the reserve naval ordnance intended for these vessels, and torpedoes and mines, shall be destroyed.

During the nine following months the ordnance rendered useless and the mines and torpedo appliances shall be removed from the vessels and destroyed.

Article 20. Within three months of the removal from the naval establishment of vessels which cannot be employed for pacific purposes, all the machinery on board shall be rendered useless in accordance with special technical arrangements. During the following nine months, the machinery on board shall be removed, after which the vessels themselves shall be entirely dismantled.

Article 21. As from the entry into force of the present Convention, the existing naval programmes shall be cancelled; any new construction of warships shall be forbidden.

All warships under construction or undergoing repair on orders given either in the home country or abroad shall be disarmed in the same way as vessels of the service fleet of the contracting States.

Article 22. The armament of vessels belonging to the mercantile marine shall be destroyed in the same way as that of warships during the first year of the coming into force of the present Convention.

It shall be forbidden in the future to adapt and arm vessels belonging to the mercantile marine for military purposes.

### Part 3.—Air Armaments

Article 23. During the first year of the coming into force of the present Convention, heavy bombing aircraft, torpedo-carriers and dirigibles shall be removed from the air force lists.

Article 24. All other military aircraft not mentioned in Article 23 above and which, by reason of their specifically military properties, cannot be used for social or economic purposes shall be destroyed within four years, destruction proceeding in equal parts each year, in conformity with special technical arrangements.

Article 25. Within one year of the coming into force of the present Convention, all stocks of aircraft bombs and other weapons intended to be discharged from aircraft shall be destroyed.

Article 26. The whole of the armament of military aircraft which are to be preserved for social or economic uses must be removed and destroyed at the end of three months from the time of their withdrawal from the air force effectives. Such aircraft shall then be handed over to the respective civil organisations.

Article 27. All the aircraft belonging to the active air force must be disarmed, as well as all aircraft which are in reserve or under construction on orders given in the home country or abroad.

Article 28. The arming of aircraft and all fittings for mounting weapons on aircraft shall be prohibited in future.

Aircraft intended for peaceful purposes may only be retained to an extent which is strictly in accordance with the real economic or social requirements of each country. The number to be allowed to each contracting State shall be determined by a special convention.

#### Part 4.—Fortifications and Bases

Article 29. Within three years of the entry into force of the present Convention, the whole of the armament of fortresses and other fortified works and of naval and air force bases shall be rendered useless in conformity with a list contained in a special convention.

During the following year, the armament shall be removed and destroyed and the fortifications dismantled and demolished; it shall in future be forbidden to construct new fortified works of any kind.

#### Part 5.—Armament Industries

Article 30. With the entry into force of the present Convention, all State and private undertakings shall cease to produce any of the armaments enumerated in the list annexed to Article 11 or any of those mentioned in Article 19, 23, 24 and 25; preparations shall be made to convert these undertakings for purposes of peaceful manufacture.

Until these undertakings are re-equipped for peaceful purposes or until the workers in armament undertakings have found employment in other enterprises, these workers shall be supported by the State, which shall provide for their requirements out of the defence budget.

Article 31. During the first year following the entry into force of the present Convention, the plans, testing apparatus and models intended for armament industries shall be destroyed.

Article 32. Within two years of the coming into force of the present Convention, factories and enterprises engaged in the manufacture of war material and also arsenals shall cease to operate, except in the cases provided in Article 34 of the present Convention.

In State or private undertakings, all frames, machines, tools, and appliances intended exclusively for the manufacture of the war material enumerated in the Annex to Article 11 of the present Convention and in Articles 19, 23, 24 and 25 shall be destroyed.

Article 33. It shall be forbidden in future to restore any factories, enterprises and arsenals engaged in the manufacture of war material or to prepare any State or private productive undertakings for the manufacture of the war material enumerated in Articles 11, 19, 23, 24 and 25.

Article 34. In order to produce the minimum of arms and ammunition

necessary for the police forces of all kinds provided for in Chapter III of the present Convention, and for the personal use of citizens for the purposes referred to in Article 15 of the present Convention, each contracting State shall be authorised to retain the necessary undertakings, of which the number, productive capacity and method of production, as well as the arrangements concerning the trade in arms, shall be laid down in a special convention.

Article 35. The production of the explosives required for the building and mining industries shall be regulated by the several contracting States in strict conformity with economic requirements, and shall be subject to control in virtue of a special convention.

Article 36. It shall be forbidden by law to patent any form of armament or any means of destruction.

### CHAPTER III.

#### ORGANISATION OF PROTECTION

##### Part I.—Protection on Land

Article 37. The effectives of the Customs guards, local police and forest and other guards, in each of the contracting States, and the amount of their armament, shall not for a period of four years after the conclusion of the present Convention exceed the number and amount as at January 1st, 1928; these effectives shall not be organised in such a way that they can be utilised for war.

Article 38. On the expiry of the period of four years laid down in the present Convention for effecting complete and general disarmament, the maintenance of a protective and police service, the personnel of which shall be engaged by voluntary contracts of service, shall be authorised in the territory of each of the contracting States, for the purpose of Customs and revenue police supervision, internal police and the protection of State and private property; the amount of weapons and simple armament strictly necessary may also be retained.

The effectiveness of these categories of services shall be laid down in a special convention and shall be proportionate to the population of the several contracting States, the length of the means of communication, the existence of objects which are deemed by the State to require protection, the development of forestry, etc.

Article 39. Magazine rifles firing ten rounds and pistols of a calibre not exceeding 0.8 cm. may be retained for arming the police forces and guards.

Reserve ammunition may be stored in places laid down in a special convention, but must not exceed 1,000 rounds per rifle and 100 rounds per pistol.



The annual supply of munitions must not exceed the amount strictly required to replace worn-out armament and the actual consumption of ammunition.

#### Part 2.—Protection at Sea

Article 40. On the expiry of the period of four years laid down in the present Convention for effecting complete and general disarmament, a maritime police service shall be organised which shall exercise its functions in conformity with a special convention and which is intended for the necessary protection of the natural products of the sea and of submarine cables, the suppression of piracy and of the slave trade, and other objects which may in future form the subject of international protection on the high seas.

Article 41. With a view to protection at sea, the waters of the globe shall be divided into sixteen zones, . . . \*

Article 42. The safeguarding of the international interests mentioned in Article 40 shall be entrusted in accordance with a special convention, to regional groups of States having access to the waters enumerated in the list annexed to Article 31 of the present Convention.

Article 43. Supervision shall be exercised by maritime police vessels with a tonnage not exceeding 3,000 tons and armed with not more than two guns the calibre of which shall not exceed 50 mm.

The crews of police vessels shall be recruited by voluntary enlistment.

A maximum of 20 rifles or pistols may be retained for the armament of the crew in conformity with Article 39 of the present Convention.

Article 44. Customs supervision in territorial waters shall be exercised by unarmed vessels of the maritime Customs police having a tonnage of not more than 100 tons.

The number of the above-mentioned vessels in the possession of each contracting State shall be determined by a special convention and shall be proportionate to the length of coastline.

- \* Zone 1. Baltic Sea;
- Zone 2. North Sea;
- Zone 3. Eastern Section of the Arctic Ocean;
- Zone 4. Western Section of the Arctic Ocean;
- Zone 5. Mediterranean Sea;
- Zone 6. North-East Section of the Atlantic Ocean;
- Zone 7. North-West Section of the Atlantic Ocean;
- Zone 8. South-East Section of the Atlantic Ocean;
- Zone 9. South-West Section of the Atlantic Ocean;
- Zone 10. Black Sea;
- Zone 11. Northern Section of the Indian Ocean;
- Zone 12. Southern Section of the Indian Ocean;
- Zone 13. North-West Section of the Pacific Ocean;
- Zone 14. North-East Section of the Pacific Ocean;
- Zone 15. South-West Section of the Pacific Ocean;
- Zone 16. South-East Section of the Pacific Ocean;

*Note.*—Protection on inland seas washing the coasts of two or more States shall be regulated by special agreement between such States.

The personnel of the maritime Customs police may be armed with rifles and pistols and shall serve on the terms laid down in Article 43 of the present Convention.

*Note.*—The limits of territorial waters shall be fixed by a special agreement.

## CHAPTER IV.

### CONTROL

Article 45. Within three months of the coming into force of the present Convention, there shall be organised a Permanent International Commission of Control, Commissions of Control in each of the contracting States, and local Commissions of Control.

Article 46. The Permanent International Commission of Control shall be entrusted with:

(a) The Supervision and control of the normal and proportional progress of disarmament, with the general co-ordination of measures for carrying out the provisions of the present Convention, and with the notification to each State of offences against its stipulations;

(b) The preparation of an agreement for bringing pressure by non-military measures upon any States which disturb the normal progress of disarmament as laid down by the present Convention and conventions supplementary thereto;

(c) The selection of localities, the procedure and the technical conditions for the destruction of material, and the preparation of all the necessary supplementary technical agreements;

(d) The selection of centres for the manufacture of arms, the volume of such manufacture and the regulation of the trade in arms;

(e) The publication of information concerning progress in the work of disarmament.

Article 47. The Permanent International Commission of Control shall consist of an equal number of representatives of the legislative bodies and of the trade unions and other workmen's organisations of all the States participating in the present Convention.

Later, the Permanent International Commission of Control may be supplemented by representatives of international associations whose aim it is to establish pacific relations between States and which have pursued this aim with success, provided that these organisations express a wish to participate in the work of the Permanent International Commission of Control.

The seat of the Permanent International Commission of Control shall be at . . . . .

Article 48. The Permanent International Commission of Control shall be assisted by a Permanent International Committee of Experts, con-

sisting of an equal number of military, naval, air and other experts belonging to all the States acceding to the present Convention.

Article 49. The Permanent International Committee of Experts shall act under the orders of the Permanent International Commission of Control; it shall give opinions and shall deal with all especially technical questions referring to the execution of the present Convention.

Article 50. The Commission of Control in each of the States shall consist of representatives of the Permanent International Commission of Control appointed by the Commission, representatives of public associations, trade unions and workmen's organisations, and of representatives of the peasants and of the rank and file of the armed forces of the State in question.

The appointment of members of the Commission of Control shall be confirmed by the Permanent International Commission of Control.

The seat of the Commission of Control shall be the capital of the State concerned.

Article 51. The Commissions of Control in each State shall co-ordinate the disarmament work of the local Commissions of Control in absolute conformity with the present Convention and in accordance with the instructions of the Permanent International Commission of Control.

Article 52. The local Commissions of Control shall consist of representatives of municipal and public organisations, trade unions and workmen's associations, and of representatives of the peasants and of the rank and file of the army.

The number of local Commissions of Control, their headquarters and the radius of their activities shall be determined by the Commission of Control of the State in question. The latter Commission shall approve the composition of the local Commissions of Control.

Article 53. The local Commissions of Control shall proceed directly with the work of disarmament within the radius of their activities, in accordance with the instructions of the Commission of Control in their country.

Article 54. The following may not be members of central or local Commissions of Control:

(a) Professional ex-soldiers and officials of the Ministries of War, Marine and Military Aviation;

(b) Owners of and large shareholders in military industrial undertakings, owners of and large shareholders in banking and commercial enterprises with interests in military undertakings and the trade in arms, and higher employees in all these undertakings.

Article 55. All the contracting States shall seek to give the widest publicity to the progress of disarmament, and shall afford the organs of the Permanent International Commission of Control every facility for the full investigation of all activities of the State, of public associations and of



private persons which are connected with the application of disarmament, or which, in the view of the Permanent International Commission of Control or its organs, give rise to doubts concerning the observance of the undertakings solemnly entered into with regard to disarmament and the discontinuance of all military preparations.

Article 56. The decisions of the Permanent International Commission of Control shall be taken by a majority vote and shall be binding on all the contracting States.

Article 57. The costs of maintenance of the Permanent International Commission of Control and its organs, as well as the expenses relating to the work of control, shall be defrayed by all the contracting States in a proportion to be settled in a special convention.

The expenses of the national and local Commissions of Control shall be defrayed by each of the contracting States.

## CHAPTER V.

### SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENTS; BREACHES OF THE CONVENTION; RATIFICATIONS

Article 58. Within one year of the entry into force of the present Convention, all the contracting States shall enact legislation providing that a breach of any of the stipulations of the Convention shall be regarded as a grave offence against the State.

At the same time, all acts of national or international importance which are contrary to the above-mentioned clauses shall be repealed or amended.

Article 59. Within nine months of the entry into force of the present Convention, the following conventions shall be concluded:

(a) In conformity with Article 8 of the present Convention, a convention on the number of staffs, commands, establishments and institutions left to each of the contracting States until the completion of full and general disarmament.

(b) In conformity with Article 15 of the present Convention, a convention on the quantity of arms allowed for personal defence and sport.

(c) In conformity with Article 28 of the present Convention, a convention on the number of aircraft required for the social and economic needs of each of the contracting States.

(d) In conformity with Article 29 of the present Convention, a convention giving a list of the fortresses, fortifications and naval and air bases to be destroyed.

(e) In conformity with Articles 34, 35 and 39 of the present Convention, a convention concerning the storage and production of, and trade in, a minimum quantity of war material.

(f) In conformity with Articles 41, 42, 43 and 44 of the present Convention, a convention concerning protection at sea, the allocation of the areas of protection at sea and the number of vessels required for maritime police and Customs purposes.

(g) A convention laying down the constitution of the Permanent International Commission of Control and of its organs, as well as the allocation of the costs connected therewith.

(h) A convention regarding the measures of non-military pressure to be taken against States disturbing the normal progress of disarmament as provided for in the present Convention and in the supplementary agreements thereto.

*Note.*—The International Commission of Control shall be responsible for arranging to summon the States participating in the present Convention to a Conference for the conclusion of all the supplementary conventions mentioned in the present article.

Article 60. In the case of a direct breach of the present Convention by one of the contracting States, an extraordinary assembly of the representatives of the contracting States participating in the present Convention shall be summoned as expeditiously as possible by the Permanent International Commission of Control to decide upon the steps to be taken.

The steps taken to exercise pressure must not be of a military character.

All disputes between States shall be settled by the Permanent International Commission of Control.

Article 61. The present Convention shall enter into force as from its ratification by all the States in conformity with the legislative practice of each of the contracting States.

Article 62. In order to determine the attitude to be taken in regard to States not ratifying the present Convention, the contracting States shall convene a world Congress in the month of.....192..... at.....

Article 63. The instruments of ratification shall be drawn up in five copies and shall be deposited in the capital of one of the States in the five continents.

The ratification of the present Convention in conformity with the provisions of Article 61 shall be notified to all the contracting States by.....

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MEMORANDUM EXPLAINING THE DRAFT CONVENTION FOR IMMEDIATE,  
COMPLETE AND GENERAL DISARMAMENT

I. The Draft Convention on General, Complete and Immediate Disarmament is based on the destruction of the principal elements which form the armed strength of a country, that is to say, the organised armed forces on land, on sea and in the air, their material, and the industries connected with the production of armaments.

The Draft Convention further provides that, at the expiry of a year after its coming into force, the land, naval, and air forces of all countries shall be reduced to an establishment which would be useless for warfare, thus limiting the possibility of armed conflict, even before disarmament has been completed.

2. The Draft Convention merely sets forth the general principles of disarmament applicable to the armed forces of all countries, without going into the details of each, on the supposition that, when the essential principles have been adopted, all these details will be dealt with in a subsequent discussion of the whole question of disarmament.

Thus in any case there is no need to work out the technical details, this being a matter for a special body to be set up after the Convention has come into force.

3. Chapter I of the Draft Convention embodies the principles of disarmament so far as they relate to effectives.

For the first year, it provides for the discharge of half the total establishment of officers, officials, and other ranks, the closing-down of military schools, Ministries of War, Marine and Military Aviation, military staffs, commands, institutions and establishments, and, at the same time, the destruction of mobilisation plans for the armed forces and trained reserves.

By these means, armies and fleets will be reduced to a condition in which they cannot easily be used for attacks by one country on another. What is left of them will be principally occupied in effecting disarmament in connection with the destruction of material, which requires a certain amount of personnel for various kinds of work.

In this connection, questions concerning the organisation of armed forces for carrying out the first state of disarmament are looked upon as domestic questions for each country.

As regards armies organised on the territorial system, with small cadres periodically supplemented by variable effectives, disarmament will be carried out on the same principle, namely, that at the end of the first year 50 per cent of the cadres and 50 per cent of the trained reserves included in the variable effectives will be discharged.

For the rest, Chapter I of the Draft Convention develops and explains in detail the proposals put forward by the U.S.S.R. delegation at the fourth session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

4. Chapter 2 contains the most important provisions regarding the destruction of material:

(a) This chapter again deals with the principal aspect of disarmament during the first stage—the destruction of all reserve stores intended for mobilisation, of which the first to be destroyed are to be those that might be employed against the civil population.

(b) After the first stage of disarmament, the army of each country



will retain such arms and munitions as are strictly necessary for the establishment maintained during the succeeding years. The scale of technical war material will be limited by a special convention. The object of this limitation, as of all the measures contemplated in Chapter I, is to prevent the armaments maintained during those years from being used for purposes of war.

(c) By the destruction of material is meant its reduction to a condition in which it cannot possibly be used for purposes of war.

The technique of the destruction of material will be worked out later in all its details, on the principle that the utmost possible use should be made of material which has value for purposes of other than military production, and for the increased welfare of peoples.

(d) Article 15 of the Draft Convention provides that sporting guns of non-military pattern and revolvers for sporting purposes and for self-defence may be retained. In view of the general social situation, these measures are particularly necessary in countries where communications are undeveloped.

(e) As regards naval armaments, the Draft Convention provides in the first place for the destruction of capital ships, cruisers, aircraft-carriers, etc., all of which are mostly used in the pursuit of imperialistic aims. The classes of warship enumerated above are removed from the effective battle fleet by the immediate discharge of the entire ship's company, which will limit the possibility of using the vessels; thereafter, all the ship's ordnance will be rendered useless and then removed and destroyed (the first to be removed will be the indispensable parts of the guns, gun-laying apparatus, fire-control apparatus, mine-laying and torpedo-firing apparatus, etc.). When the material is rendered useless, the ammunitions, mines and torpedoes will at the same time be destroyed. It will thus become impossible to use these warships for war purposes without lengthy preparation.

The Draft Convention allows of the use of disarmed warships as merchant vessels when necessary alterations have been made.

By dismantling warships is meant their disarmament by the removal of their armour-plating, the destruction of special apparatus such as turrets, gun platforms, control positions (*roufs de guerre*), aircraft platforms, war signalling apparatus, and any other special devices for war purposes.

(f) The disarmament of military air forces involves in the first place the destruction of heavy aircraft as engines of war. Taking into consideration the social importance of aircraft as a means of communication, the Draft Convention does not make the destruction of the material essential to disarmament, since some of the aircraft can be converted to social and economic uses; but as there is no great difficulty in fitting

aircraft for bomb-dropping, and as this can be done very quickly, the number of aircraft in the civil fleet must admittedly be proportionate to the country's genuine needs, and this is provided for in Article 28 of the Draft Convention.

(g) Fortifications and bases must be destroyed, since they can be used as bases for aggression.

(h) The question of the destruction of war industries is particularly complicated, because a highly developed industry contains great potential forces for the production of armaments. Here, again, however, there are a number of essential appliances by the destruction of which the manufacture of armaments can be made very difficult. These include drawings, measuring instruments, models, frames, machines, tools and appliances specially designed for the manufacture of armaments. Further, the actual demilitarisation of military factories, their use for the manufacture of non-military products, the employment in other factories of plant that is not specifically military, and the destruction of everything necessary for mobilisation preparations, will make it a very complicated matter to use these factories for war purposes.

5. Chapter 3 deals with the organisation of protection and, in this connection, in order to prevent any possibility of using the various forces for military purposes or as a nucleus for disguised military forces, the establishments of the police forces or militia, gendarmerie and other kinds of guards must be kept strictly within their present limits throughout the period of four years provided for the completion of general disarmament. Subsequently, the establishments of the Customs and revenue guards and local police will be fixed by a special convention on a scale proportionate to population, length of communications, property to be protected, and development of forestry.

Police forces of every kind must be armed with modern weapons of the simplest pattern, because, if a more complicated armament were retained, it might be easier for these formations to be used as armed forces in attacks by stronger upon weaker countries.

Naval policing is regarded not as a matter to be dealt with separately by each country, but as providing for the needs of a whole group of countries, so that it cannot possibly be turned to imperialistic ends. Maritime police will only be provided with the armament strictly necessary for the performance of their duties.

6. Although complete and general disarmament is wholly conditional upon the goodwill of all countries, it seems necessary to make definite arrangements for its successive stages and for the maintenance of proportions, and to establish a special body to work out the technical details of disarmament and settle any disputes that may arise.

With this object, Chapter 4 of the Draft Convention lays down the

principles of the control which is based upon the widest reciprocity, full publicity, and participation in the work by those classes of the population which are most interested in the speedy completion of disarmament.

As there is at present in the world no authority whose decisions must be obeyed by all countries, this status might be conferred upon a Permanent International Commission of Control—which of course presupposes the good will and the consent of all countries. The composition of this Commission would be a guarantee of the impartiality of its decisions and, as there would be a Committee of Experts attached to it, technical questions could be quickly settled.

7. Chapter 5 contains suggestions for the conclusion of supplementary conventions on various questions connected with disarmament, and indicates the procedure for ratifying conventions and settling any questions arising out of violations.

It is this group of questions that are the most complicated; but the Draft Convention does not allow of any military pressure being brought to bear on any country, because such measures are apt to give rise to serious international conflicts, and it is hoped that most countries are so genuinely anxious to effect complete and general disarmament that other means will always be found to compel any country seeking to violate the obligations it has assumed to discharge them faithfully.

#### DRAFT CONVENTION ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS SUBMITTED BY THE DELEGATION OF THE UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS<sup>5</sup>

Considering that the immense growth in armaments and in militarism imposes a general and heavy burden on the peoples of the entire world and lowers the level of their culture and their material well-being;

And considering that the atrocious struggle between the various States for predominance in armaments and the tendency to increase the number of weapons for murderous and destructive military purposes are one of the factors which increase the possibility and the likelihood of armed outbreaks;

And desiring to protect to the fullest possible extent the peaceful population of workers against the immediate dangers which threaten their life and property in the event of the outbreak of armed strife;

The Contracting States have decided, with the object of taking a first serious and genuine step towards general and complete disarmament, to

<sup>5</sup> From League of Nations. *Documents of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference entrusted with the Preparation for the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments*, Series V, Minutes of the Fourth Session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and of the First Session of the Committee on Arbitration and Security (Publications of the League of Nations, IX. Disarmament, 1928.IX.2), Geneva, January 16th, 1928 C. 667. M.225. 1927 IX, (C.P.D.1 (d).), pp. 347-355.



conclude the present Convention by appointing as their representatives  
 .....  
 .....  
 who, having communicated to each other their full powers found in good  
 and due form, have agreed as follows:

### General Provisions

Whereas a comparatively small number of the most powerful States, which aspire to a rôle of world domination, which expend on land, naval and air armaments a large portion of the national budgets, and which possess the power at any moment to increase unduly the armaments which support their aggressive policies by availing themselves of highly developed industries, have at their disposal by far the greater proportion of land, naval and air armaments,

The Contracting States recognize that the only just course to pursue is that of a progressive reduction of all kinds of armaments as regards their composition and number, this method being the least injurious to the interests of the weakest States, which are economically dependent on the stronger, and it is accordingly desirable to take this principle as a basis for the reduction of armaments.

## CHAPTER I.—ARMED LAND FORCES

### Section I.—Effectives

Article I. In accordance with the Preamble to the present Convention, the Contracting States, when effecting the reduction of the armed land forces, agree to divide all States into the following main groups:

(a) Group A: States maintaining armed land forces numbering over 200,000 men serving with the colours in the active army, or having in the cadres of the armed land forces more than 10,000 regular officers or more than 60 regiments of infantry (180 battalions);

(b) Group B: States maintaining armed land forces numbering over 40,000 men serving with the colours in the active army, or having in the cadres of the armed forces more than 2,000 regular officers or more than 20 regiments of infantry (60 battalions);

(c) Group C: All other States maintaining armed forces inferior in number and composition to the figures given for Group B.

(d) Group D: States disarmed after the world war.

REMARKS.—1. In all the calculations mentioned above, account shall be taken of the total number of the armed land forces maintained by the State in question in the home country, in occupied territories and in the colonies, including military police, military gendarmerie corps and depot guards.

The numbers of the police forces organised on a military basis, gendarmerie, Customs guards, train guards, forest guards and other armed corps organised for the needs of the Customs preventive service, for the maintenance of order within the country and the protection of Government and public property shall be determined by means of a special Convention.

2. By persons "serving with the colours in the active army" are understood all persons serving permanently in the cadres of the armed forces and all persons serving in the army cadres as conscripts.

3. By "officers" (commanders) are understood all persons who have received specific military training and are described as "officers" (commanders) under the military law of the contracting countries.

Article 2. Recognising that, among the methods of reducing armed land forces, the simplest and the fairest for all the States concerned, and that which at the same time least affects the system of organising, recruiting and training such forces, consists in applying the same coefficient of reduction to all States in the same group (Article 1 of the present Convention), the Contracting States agree to fix the coefficient at the following figures:

- (a) States in Group A shall reduce their armed land forces by one-half;
- (b) States in Group B by one-third;
- (c) States in Group C by one-fourth.

REMARKS.—The proportionate strength of the armed land forces for States in Group D shall be fixed under special conditions to be determined by the Disarmament Conference.

Article 3. The armed land forces of the Contracting States shall be reduced by applying the coefficients mentioned in Article 2 of the present Convention to the following totals:

(a) To the aggregate total of the effectives serving with the colours in the active army, men belonging to the variable militia formations, the territorial formations, the organised reserves and other military formations receiving military training with the colours or elsewhere; officers, non-commissioned officers and other ranks shall be reckoned separately in each case;

(b) To the number of the organised units and corps of the main categories of field troops in the regular or territorial armies, in the militia forces, in the organised reserves and in other military formations which can be employed immediately without an order for mobilisation or which exist and are recognised in peace-time as cadres of the armed forces in war.

Article 4. The number of the effectives and units and the corps of the land forces which the Contracting Parties must not exceed shall be laid down in a supplementary Convention based on the following principles:

(a) The coefficients of reduction mentioned in Article 2 of the present Convention shall be applied to the several States according to the group to which they belong (Article 1 of the present Convention) separately in the case of:

(1) Each category of armed land forces (regular army, territorial militia, organised reserves, etc.);

(2) The total number of the armed land forces stationed in the home country, in occupied territories and in the colonies;

(3) The total number of regular officers and regular non-commissioned officers and officers of the variable effectives;

(4) The number of units and corps of each category of troops.

(b) In accordance with the foregoing, the following tables shall be annexed to the supplementary Convention. Each table shows, after the reduction of each category of armed forces, the remaining number of units and corps of infantry, field artillery and cavalry which make up the general effectives classified under the headings of officers, non-commissioned officers and voluntarily enlisted other ranks (total number), of the administrative services, civic education service, intendance, chaplains department, etc.:

Table I: Maximum home forces;

Table II: Maximum oversea forces stationed in the home country;

Table III: Maximum forces of dominions and other overseas possessions;

Table IV: Maximum forces of the home country stationed in the several colonies, dominions or other overseas possessions;

Table V: Maximum of the total forces of each State.

(c) The aforesaid coefficients of reduction used in calculating effectives will be applied to the effectives of the armed forces as shown in the returns on January 1st, 1928.

Article 5. With the object of limiting the accumulation of trained reserves, the Contracting States agree:

(a) To reduce in each class, according to the coefficients of reduction given above, the aggregate number of men who have received military training and of officers who have received military training either with the colours or elsewhere;

(b) To pass legislation prohibiting the existence of any civil bodies organised on a military basis by specialised instructors drawn from the army, and the assembly of such bodies for training, as also the military training of the civilian population at the instance of civil associations.

#### Section 2.—Material

Article 6. For the armament of land forces, the existing patterns shown in the tables at January 1st, 1928, shall be retained, except tanks and heavy artillery with very long range, which are essentially designed for aggression.

Article 7. All implements of war directed primarily against the civilian population which does not directly take part in the armed conflict (military



aircraft and chemical weapons) must be destroyed as provided in the special Convention.

Article 8. The quantities of arms for the land armies shall be strictly limited according to:

(a) The needs of the army in time of peace;

(b) The number of trained reservists in each year-class, the number of such classes being the same for all countries in any one group (Article 1 of the present Convention) and not exceeding ten classes for countries in Group A, with a subsequent progressive increase of 50 per cent and 100 per cent respectively for Groups B and C.

Article 9. The maximum number of weapons allowed for every thousand trained reservists shall be fixed for each country in strict conformity with the normal proportions existing in the principal arms in different countries and for different forms of armament.

Article 10. The actual maximum quantities of arms allowed for troops at depots and elsewhere in the territory of the State, which quantities may not be exceeded, shall be fixed on the basis laid down in Articles 8 and 9 of the present Convention, by an additional Convention and by annexed tables according to the list in paragraph (b) of Article 5 of the present Convention.

Each table must contain general summarised figures under the following heads:

(1) Rifles, carbines and pistols:

(a) Automatic;

(b) Non-automatic.

*Note.*—Automatic rifles, carbines and pistols are to be classified as light machine guns.

(2) Machine-guns:

(a) Heavy;

(b) Light.

(3) Artillery:

(a) Light field guns (76-millimeter guns and 122-millimeter howitzers);

(b) Heavy field guns (105-millimeter guns and 150-millimeter howitzers);

(c) Heavy guns and howitzers (over 150 millimeters and up to 204 millimeters);

(d) Mortars and trench mortars of all patterns;

(e) Guns accompanying the infantry:

(aa) Guns and howitzers;

(bb) Mine-throwers, grenade-throwers and bomb-throwers;

(4) Armoured cars;

(5) Spare parts, machinery, gun carriages and gun barrels;

(6) Cartridges (for rifles and pistols);

(7) Grenades (hand and rifle);

- (8) Shells for guns of the calibres and patterns mentioned above;  
 (9) *Armes blanches*.

Article 11. All arms in the territory of the Contracting States over and above the quantities specified in Article 9 of the present Convention shall be destroyed.

## CHAPTER II.—NAVAL FORCES

Article 12. In accordance with the principles set forth in the preamble to the present Convention, the Contracting States agree to effect a reduction of their naval forces on the following basis:

(a) Countries which on January 1st, 1928, had a fleet whose aggregate tonnage exceeded 200,000 tons shall reduce their naval forces by one-half, such reduction to affect both the aggregate tonnage of the entire fleet and the tonnage in each of the following classes of warship:

Capital ships;  
 Other warships of displacement exceeding 10,000 tons;  
 Light forces;  
 Submarines.

(b) Countries which on January 1st, 1928, had a fleet whose aggregate tonnage was less than 200,000 tons shall reduce their naval forces by one-fourth of the aggregate tonnage of the entire fleet.

(c) As soon as the present Convention comes into force, aircraft-carriers shall be struck off the establishment of the navy. Within six months they must be disarmed and so converted as to make it quite impossible for them to be used for warlike purposes.

*Note.*—The strength of the naval forces of those countries which were disarmed after the war of 1914-18 shall be fixed in accordance with special principles to be laid down by the Disarmament Conference.

Article 13. The maximum specific tonnage which must not be exceeded by the Contracting States shall be fixed in accordance with the above-mentioned principles by a special Convention, to be concluded within three months from the day on which the present Convention comes into force.

Article 14. The division of the fleet into vessels which are to be struck off the naval establishment and vessels which are to remain on the establishment, the names of the vessels being given (within the limits of the tonnage allowed under Article 12 of the present Convention), shall be effected by each Contracting Party. Within one year from the coming into force of the present Convention, those warships which each Party designates to be struck off the establishment of the navy must be disarmed and put into such a condition that they cannot possibly be used for warlike purposes.

*Note.*—The disarmament of warships comprises the removal of the armour, guns and torpedoes, the destruction of special fittings, armoured turrets, conning towers, fire-control instruments, communications for use in battle, and aircraft-launching devices.

Article 15. The procedure for striking vessels off the naval establishment and putting them into such a condition that they cannot possibly be used for warlike purposes shall be fixed by an additional technical agreement which shall be attached to the present Convention, and shall be concluded in accordance with Article 13 of the present Convention.

Article 16. The Contracting States agree that, as from the entry into force of the present Convention, warships (both those which are to be constructed in future and those which are now on the stocks) shall only be constructed to replace vessels of the corresponding classes or categories which have been retained on the establishment of the fleet after the reduction has been effected as provided in Articles 12 and 13. Such vessels must satisfy the following conditions:

(a) Except in case of total loss, no vessel may be replaced until it has reached the age-limit, as specified below:

Capital ships . . . . .	}	25 years
Other warships of over 10,000 tons . . . . .		
Cruisers of over 7,000 tons . . . . .		
Cruisers of under 7,000 tons . . . . .	}	20 years
Flotilla leaders . . . . .		
Torpedo-boat destroyers . . . . .		
Torpedo-boats . . . . .	}	15 years
Submarines . . . . .		

(b) The maximum standard displacement for a warship shall be fixed at 10,000 metric tons. Vessels of more than 10,000 tons displacement now included in the naval forces shall be struck off when they reach the age-limit specified in paragraph (a) of this article, but in any case not later than . . . ;

(c) The maximum calibre of the guns mounted in warships shall be fixed at 12 inches (304.8 millimeters);

(d) No warship may be fitted with appliances for the carrying of aircraft;

(e) The maximum limits for vessels by classes and categories are laid down as follows:

Class or category of vessel	Standard displacement	Calibre of guns	Age-limit
Capital ships . . . . .	10,000 tons	12 inches (304.8 millimeters)	25 years
Coast defence vessels . . . . .			
Cruisers of over 7,000 tons		8 inches (203.2 millimeters)	25 years
Cruisers of under 7,000 tons		6 inches (152.4 millimeters)	20 years



Class or Category of vessel	Standard displacement	Calibre of guns	Age-limit
Flotilla leaders . . . . .	1,200 tons	4 inches	20 years
Torpedo-boat destroyers } Torpedo-boats . . . . . }		(101.6 millimeters)	
Submarines . . . . .	600 tons	4 inches (101.6 millimeters)	15 years

*Note.*—The standard displacement of a ship is the displacement of the ship complete, fully manned, with engines and boilers, equipped ready for sea, including all armament and ammunition, equipment, outfit, provisions and fresh water for crew, miscellaneous stores and implements and supplies of every description that are intended to be carried in war, including fuel and reserve feed water for engines and boilers. The calculation must be made in metric tons.

Article 17. The Contracting States agree to assume the following obligations:

(a) Not to use for warlike purposes warships which have been struck off the establishment of the fleet and replaced by new constructions (except in cases which may be specially provided for in supplementary technical Agreements);

(b) Not to hand over or sell their warships to foreign countries if the latter can use them as warships supernumerary to the establishment laid down for each State by the present Convention;

(c) Not to build or allow to be built in their territories any warships exceeding any of the limits laid down in Article 16 of the present Convention;

(d) Not to cause new vessels to be constructed in foreign yards over and above the limit laid down for each Contracting State;

(e) Not to equip merchant vessels with any apparatus or appliance enabling such vessels to be used for warlike purposes.

Article 18. The Contracting States agree to limit the quantity of shells and torpedoes as follows:

(a) For guns of calibres from 8 to 12 inches (203.2 to 304.8 millimeters), 200 rounds each;

(b) For guns of calibres from 4 to 7.9 inches (101.6 to 200.7 millimeters), 500 rounds each;

(c) For guns of calibres less than 4 inches (101.6 millimeters), 1,000 rounds each;

(d) For each torpedo-tube, two torpedoes.

Article 19. All supplies of ammunition and torpedoes over and above the quantities specified in Article 18 must be destroyed.

### CHAPTER III—AIR ARMAMENTS

Article 20.—Within one year from the entry into force of the present Convention, all military dirigibles and aircraft (whether heavier or lighter

than air) shall be disarmed and placed in a condition precluding their utilisation for military purposes.

*Note.*—The Disarmament of aircraft belonging to the armed forces includes the removal of guns, machine-guns and special appliances for the discharge of bombs and other instruments of destruction.

Article 21.—In conformity with the Preamble to the present Convention, the Contracting States agree, when carrying into effect the reduction of air armaments, to divide all States into the following main groups:

(a) Group E: States having more than 200 aeroplanes in service in their armed forces;

(b) Group F: States having from 100 to 200 aeroplanes in service in their armed forces;

(c) Group G: States having fewer than 100 aeroplanes in service in their armed forces.

States in Group E shall reduce their air forces by one-half; States in Group F by one-third, and States in Group G by one-quarter, with a simultaneous reduction of the engine-power of each aeroplane to 400 horse-power on the ground.

Article 22. In addition to the standard laid down in Article 21, reserve machines, and engines for these machines, up to a number not exceeding 25 per cent of the total number of aeroplanes in service after their reduction, may be maintained in the establishment of the air forces.

Article 23. All other machines, whether in service or in reserve, together with the engines for these machines, in excess of the limits laid down in Articles 21 and 22 of the present Convention shall be destroyed.

Article 24. When applying Articles 21, 22 and 23 of the present Convention, aeroplanes with engines of over 400 horse-power shall be the first to be destroyed.

Article 25. All arming of civil aircraft and all fittings enabling them to be armed or to be utilised for war are prohibited.

Article 26. With regard to the types of aeroplanes and their armaments, Article 6 of the present Convention shall apply. The armament of military air forces is included in the standards laid down in Article 10 of the present convention.

Article 27. All stocks of air bombs and other instruments of destruction intended to be discharged by aircraft shall be destroyed within three months of the entry into force of the present Convention. It shall henceforth be prohibited to manufacture or retain them in the army or in the reserve of the military air forces.

Article 28. The effectives of the military air forces must be reduced in proportion to the decrease in the number of machines in service.

Article 29. The precise maximum numbers of machines in service and in reserve, of the engines intended for their use, and of the military air

force effectives, classified as officers, pilots and other personnel serving on board aircraft, which must not be exceeded by the Contracting States shall be fixed in conformity with Articles 21 and 28 of the present Convention in a supplementary Convention.

To the latter shall be annexed the following tables:

Table I: Maximum armed air forces stationed in the home country;

Table II: Maximum armed air forces stationed in each colony, dominion or other oversea possession;

Table III: Maximum of all armed air forces.

Article 30. With a view to restricting the production of military aeroplanes and the trade therein, the Contracting States agree to conclude within three months from the entry into force of the present Convention, a supplementary Convention on the limitation to be imposed on the manufacture and trade in war aeroplanes in proportion to the legitimate requirements of the new effectives of the military air forces as fixed in the tables indicated in Article 29.

#### CHAPTER IV.—CHEMICAL METHODS OF WARFARE

Article 31. All methods of and appliances for chemical aggression (all asphyxiating gases used for warlike purposes, as well as all appliances for their discharge, such as gas-projectors, pulverisers, balloons, flame-throwers and other devices) and for bacteriological warfare, whether in service with troops or in reserve or in process of manufacture, shall be destroyed within three months of the date of the entry into force of the present Convention.

Article 32. The industrial undertakings engaged in or adapted for the production of the means of chemical aggression or bacteriological warfare indicated in Article 31 of the present Convention shall be converted to other uses within one year from the entry into force of the present Convention on the basis of an additional technical agreement.

Article 33. The Contracting States undertake, within three months of the entry into force of the present Convention, to ratify the Protocol on the Prohibition of Chemical Warfare signed at Geneva in 1925.

#### CHAPTER V.—ARMAMENTS BUDGETS

Article 34. The total amounts of the armaments budgets calculated at their true values shall be reduced in proportion to the reduction of land forces in Groups A, B and C, of air forces in Groups E, F and G, and of naval forces as provided for in Articles 12 and 13 of the present Convention. The said reduction in budgets shall also apply to the items of expenditure on personnel (pay, clothing, victualling, quarters) and those relating to orders for implements of war and ammunition and to their upkeep.



Article 35. No secret funds intended to disguise extraordinary expenditure on special preparations for war and the strengthening of armaments may be excluded in State budgets.

In conformity with the above stipulation, all expenditure on the upkeep of the armed forces of each State shall be brought together in a single chapter of the State budget; it shall be open to publicity in all respects.

Article 36. The reduction of the armaments budgets shall be carried out as from the year 1929 *pari passu* with the reduction of armed forces and of war material. As from 1930, the maximum figures of these budgets shall be fixed separately for each of the Contracting States. Thereafter, no increase shall be made in them.

#### CHAPTER VI.—TIME-LIMITS FOR THE EXECUTION OF THE CONVENTION

Article 37. The reduction of land, naval and air armaments in conformity with Articles 2, 5, 11, 21, 22, 23, and 28 of the present Convention shall be carried out by the Contracting States in the course of two years, the first year being devoted to preparatory work and the second to the practical application of all the measures relating to the reduction of armaments.

Article 38. All the other measures for the reduction of armaments shall be carried out within the periods provided for in the relevant articles of the present Convention (Articles 20, 27, 31, 32 and 36).

#### CHAPTER VII.—CONTROL

Article 39. Within three months from the date of entry into force of the present Convention, a Permanent International Commission of Control shall be organised, with the following duties:

(a) The supervision, control and general co-ordination of the measures relating to the application of the present Convention, and the notification to each State of breaches of the provisions of the present Convention;

(b) The preparation of an agreement concerning the pressure to be brought to bear upon States which may fail to carry out the provisions of the present Convention and of the supplementary Conventions and technical Arrangements completing it;

(c) The selection of the places, the procedure and the technical conditions for the destruction of material, and the preparation of all the necessary supplementary technical Agreements;

(d) The study of questions relating to further reductions of armaments and the preparation of international Agreements relating thereto;

(e) Communication to the Contracting States and the public of information concerning progress in the work of reducing armaments.

Article 40. The Permanent International Commission of Control shall

consist of an equal number of representatives of the legislative bodies and of the trade unions and other workers' organisations of all States participating in the present Convention.

The Permanent International Commission of Control will later include representatives of international associations whose aim it is to establish pacific relations between States and which have pursued this aim with success, provided that these organisations express a wish to participate in the work of the Permanent International Commission of Control.

Article 41. The Permanent International Commission of Control shall be assisted by a Permanent International Committee of Experts, consisting of an equal number of military, naval, air and other experts belonging to all the States acceding to the present Convention.

The Permanent International Committee of Experts shall act under the orders of the Permanent International Commission of Control.

Article 42. The following may not be members of the Permanent International Commission of Control:

(a) Professional soldiers and officials of Ministries of War, Marine and Military Aviation;

(b) Owners of and shareholders in military industrial undertakings, owners of and large shareholders in banking and commercial enterprises with interests in military undertakings and the traffic in arms, and higher employees in all these undertakings.

Article 43. With a view to ensuring genuine control, the Permanent International Commission of Control shall be entitled to carry out investigations on the spot in the event of reasonable suspicion of a breach of the present Convention and of the subsequent supplementary Agreements on the reduction and limitation of armaments, and to appoint for this purpose special commissions of enquiry.

Article 44. In enterprises for the production of war material or in enterprises capable of being utilised for the manufacture of armaments, a permanent labour control may be organised by the workers' committees of the factories or by other organs of the trade unions operating in the respective enterprises, with a view to limiting the possibility of breaches of the corresponding articles of the present Convention.

A similar control shall be set up in the various branches of the chemical industry, of which a list shall be drawn up by the Permanent International Commission of Control.

Article 45. The Contracting States undertake to furnish the Permanent International Commission of Control, within the time-limits fixed by it, with full information as to the situation of their armed forces, in accordance with the list and tables prescribed by the present Convention and the subsequent supplementary Agreements on the reduction and limitation of armaments, as well as with particulars of the number of aeroplanes and

dirigibles in civil aviation registered as such in the territory of each of the Contracting States.

Article 46. The statutes of the Permanent International Commission of Control, the procedure for examining complaints concerning the non-observance of the obligations entered into for the reduction and limitation of armaments, the organisation of the procedure to be followed in local investigations, and the nature of labour control in regard to production (Article 44) shall be settled by means of a supplementary Convention within not more than three months from the date of the entry into force of the present Convention.

#### CHAPTER VIII.—RATIFICATION AND APPLICATION OF THE CONVENTION

Article 47. The present Convention shall enter into force as from the date of its ratification, in conformity with the legislative practice of the Contracting States, by all the States in Groups A and B for the reduction of land armaments, as laid down in Article I of the present Convention, or in the first group for the reduction of naval armaments, as laid down in paragraph (a) of Article 12 of the present Convention.

Article 48. All subsequent supplementary Conventions to be concluded in consequence of the present Convention shall be signed and ratified within not less than six months from the date of the entry into force of the latter.

Article 49. The instruments of ratification shall be drawn up in five copies and shall be deposited in the capital of a State in each of the five continents.

The ratification of the present Convention in conformity with the provisions laid down in Article 47 shall be notified to all the Contracting States by . . . . .

#### DRAFT RESOLUTION PRESENTED ON FEBRUARY 25, 1932<sup>4</sup>

"Animated by the firm desire for an effective and solidly organised peace;

"Actuated by the determination to create genuine security for all States and all peoples by preventing the possibility of future wars;

"Convinced that the very existence of armaments and the tendency they show constantly to increase inevitably lead to armed international conflicts which tear the workers from their peaceful occupations and bring innumerable calamities in their train;

<sup>4</sup> From League of Nations: *Records of the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments*, Series B, Minutes of the General Commission, Volume I, February 9th–July 23rd, 1932 (Pages I to VIII and 1–206) Series of League of Nations Publications, IX. Disarmament, 1932.IX. 64. Geneva, December, 1932.



"Considering that military expenditure, which imposes an intolerable burden upon the masses of the people, fosters and enhances the economic crisis with all its consequences;

"Noting that the States which it represents have renounced war as an instrument of national policy;

"Believing that the only effective means of contributing to the organisation of peace and the establishment of security against war is the general, complete and rapid abolition of all armed forces, setting out from the principle of equality for all;

"Convinced that the idea of general and complete disarmament answers to the sincere aspirations of the masses towards peace:

"The Conference decides to base its work on the principle of general and complete disarmament."

#### AMENDMENTS TO THE SOVIET DRAFT CONVENTION ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS (CONF. D. 87)<sup>7</sup>

*Article 1* of the draft to be modified as follows:

"In accordance with the preamble to the present Convention, the Contracting States, when effecting the progressive and proportional reduction of the effectives or their armed land forces, agree to divide all the Contracting States into the following groups:

"States maintaining in peace time armed land forces:

"A. Of over 200,000 men;

"B. Of 30,000 to 200,000 men;

"C. Of 30,000 men or less.

"REMARKS.—1. States disarmed as a result of the world war are not included in any of the groups provided for in the present article.

"2. States having contracted alliances or agreements of mutual military assistance in case of armed conflicts shall be classified in the groups provided for in the present article, for the purpose of the reduction of their armaments, on the basis of a figure representing the total land forces of these States added together.

"Remarks 1, 2 and 3 of the draft shall be maintained and shall become Remarks 3, 4 and 5 respectively."

*Article 2* of the draft shall be modified as follows:

"The effectives of the land armed forces shall be reduced:

"1. For States in Group A, by 50 per cent;

"2. For States in Group B, from 0 to 50 per cent according to the number of their effectives and to the scale of progressive and proportional reduction attached;

<sup>7</sup> From League of Nations. *Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. Proposals of the Soviet Delegation.* Series of League of Nations Publications IX. Disarmament 1932.IX.23. Official No.: Conf.D.82, Geneva, February 19th, 1932, pp. 2-3.

"3. For States in Group C, the effectives shall be limited to the present level.

"REMARK.—The effectives of the armed land forces of the States disarmed as a result of the world war are not included in the above schedule and shall be fixed separately."

*Article 12* of the draft shall be modified as follows:

"In accordance with the preamble to the present Convention, the Contracting States agree to effect a reduction of their naval forces on the following basis:

"A. Countries having a fleet of an aggregate tonnage exceeding 500,000 tons shall reduce it by 50 per cent, such reduction to affect both the aggregate tonnage of the entire fleet and the tonnage of each category without right of transfer.

"B. Countries having a fleet with an aggregate tonnage of 100,000 to 500,000 tons shall reduce it both as regards aggregate tonnage and the tonnage of each of the categories from 0 per cent to 50 per cent in accordance with the scale of progressive and proportional reduction attached.

"These countries shall enjoy a right of transfer from 0 per cent to 100 per cent in inverse proportion to the ratio of reduction of their respective fleets.

"C. States having a fleet whose aggregate tonnage does not exceed 100,000 tons shall retain their fleet at the present level with unlimited right of transfer.

"D. States having aircraft carriers shall destroy them within a period of six months as from the entry into force of the present Convention."

"REMARKS.—1. Standards for the naval armed forces of the States disarmed as a result of the world war are not contained in the above schedule and shall be fixed separately.

"2. States having contracted alliances or agreements of mutual military assistance in the case of armed conflicts shall be classified in the groups provided for in the present article, for the purpose of the reduction of their armaments, on the basis of a tonnage equal to the total tonnage of these States added together."

*Article 21* of the draft shall be modified as follows:

"In conformity with the preamble to the present Convention, the Contracting States agree, when carrying into effect the progressive and proportional reduction of air armaments, to divide all the Contracting States into the following groups:

"States possessing in peace time air armed forces:

"E. Of more than  $N^8$  aeroplanes in service;

"F. From 100 to  $N$  aeroplanes in service;

"G. Not more than 100 aeroplanes in service.

"States in Group E shall reduce their armed air forces by 50 per cent.

<sup>8</sup> The figure  $N$  will be fixed according to the decision taken by the Conference with regard to the abolition of bombing-machines.

"States in Group F shall reduce their armed air forces from 50 to 0 per cent in proportion to the number of aeroplanes in service and according to a scale of progressive and proportional reduction.

"States in Group G shall retain their armed air forces at the present level.

"This reduction shall apply both to the number of aeroplanes in service and to the total horse-power of these aeroplanes. In estimating this reduction, account shall be taken of the number and total horse-power both of aeroplanes in service in the armed air forces and of aeroplanes in service capable of use for war purposes and employed in formations organised on a military basis.

"The total engine-power of each aeroplane shall not exceed 600 h.p. on the ground.

"REMARK.—States having contracted alliances or agreements of mutual military assistance in case of armed conflicts shall be classified in the groups provided for in the present article, for the purpose of the reduction of their armaments, on the basis of a figure equal to the total number of aeroplanes in service in the armed air forces of these States added together and to the total aggregate engine-power of these aeroplanes."

*Article 24* of the draft shall be modified as follows:

"When the number of aeroplanes in service is reduced in virtue of Articles 21, 22 and 23 of the present Convention, aeroplanes with engines of over 600 h.p. shall be scrapped first."

#### DEFINITION OF "AGGRESSOR" DECLARATION<sup>9</sup>

The General Commission,

Considering that, in the interests of general security and the facilitation of the attainment of an agreement for the maximum reduction of armaments, it is necessary, with the utmost precision, to define aggression, in order to remove any possibility of its justification;

Recognizing the principle of equal right of all States to independence, security and self-defense;

Animated by the desire of ensuring to each nation, in the interests of general peace, the right of free development according to its own choice and at the rate that suits it best, and of safeguarding the security, independence and complete territorial inviolability of each State and its right to self-defense against attack or invasion from outside but only within its own frontiers, and

Anxious to provide the necessary guidance to the international organs which may be called upon to define the aggressor;

Declares:

<sup>9</sup> From *Soviet Union Review* for March, 1933 (published by Soviet Union Information Bureau, Washington, D.C.), pages 58-59. Extract from article "Litvinov on French Proposals," Statement by Maxim Litvinov, Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, at the meeting of the General Commission of Disarmament Conference at Geneva, February 6, 1933.



1. The aggressor in an international conflict shall be considered that State which is the first to take any of the following actions:

- (a) Declaration of war against another State;
- (b) the invasion by its armed forces of the territory of another State without declaration of war;
- (c) bombarding the territory of another State by its land, naval or air forces, or knowingly attacking the naval or air forces of another State;
- (d) the landing in or introduction within the frontiers of another State, of land, naval or air forces, without the permission of the government of such a State, or the infringement of the conditions of such permission, particularly as regards the duration of sojourn or extension of area;
- (e) the establishment of a naval blockade of the coast or ports of another State.

2. No consideration whatsoever of a political, strategical or economic nature, including the desire to exploit natural riches or to obtain any sort of advantages or privileges on the territory of another State, no references to considerable capital investments or other special interests in a given State, or to the alleged absence of certain attributes of State organization in the case of a given country, shall be accepted as justification of aggression as defined in clause 1.

In particular, justification for attack cannot be based upon:

A. The internal situation in a given State, as for instance:

- (a) political, economic or cultural backwardness of a given country;
- (b) alleged mal-administration;
- (c) possible danger to life or property of foreign residents;
- (d) revolutionary or counter-revolutionary movement, civil war, disorders or strikes;
- (e) the establishment or maintenance in any State of any political, economic or social order.

B. Any acts, laws, or regulations of a given State as for instance:

- (a) the infringement of international agreements;
- (b) the infringement of the commercial, concessional or other economic rights, or interests of a given State or its citizens;
- (c) the rupture of diplomatic or economic relations;
- (d) economic or financial boycott;
- (e) repudiation of debts;
- (f) non-admission or limitation of immigration, or restriction of rights or privileges of foreign residents;
- (g) the infringement of the privileges of official representatives of other States;

- (h) the refusal to allow armed forces transit to the territory of a third State;
- (i) religious or anti-religious measures;
- (j) frontier incidents.

3. In the case of the mobilization or concentration of armed forces to a considerable extent in the vicinity of its frontiers the State which such activities threaten may have recourse to diplomatic or other means for the peaceful solution of international controversies. It may at the same time take steps of a military nature, analogous to those described above, without, however, crossing the frontier.

The General Commission decides to embody the above principles in the convention on security and disarmament, or in a special agreement, to form an integral part of the said convention.

#### CONVENTIONS FOR THE DEFINITION OF AGGRESSION<sup>10</sup>

On July 3, the convention for the definition of aggression proposed on behalf of the Soviet Government by Maxim Litvinov, was signed on the premises of the Soviet embassy in London by representatives of eight nations. The text of the convention follows:

The Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, the President of the Esthonian Republic, the President of the Latvian Republic, His Majesty the Shah of Persia, the President of the Polish Republic, His Majesty the King of Rumania, and the President of the Turkish Republic,

Impelled by the desire to strengthen the peace existing between their countries,

Believing that the Briand-Kellogg Pact [Pact of Paris] to which they are signatories forbids all aggression.

Deeming it necessary in the interests of universal security to define as closely as possible the conception of aggression, in order to eliminate every pretext for its justification,

Declaring that every State has an equal right to independence, security, defence of its territory and free development of its State system,

Inspired by the desire in the interests of universal peace to assure all nations of the inviolability of the territory of their countries,

Considering it useful in the interests of universal peace to put into force as between their countries precise rules for the definition of aggression, pending the universal recognition of these rules,

Have decided for this purpose to conclude the present convention and have duly accredited: The Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.—Maxim Litvinov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs; His Majesty

<sup>10</sup> From *Soviet Union Review*, Special Supplement, July-August, 1933.

the King of Afghanistan—Ali Mohammed Khan, Minister of Education; the President of the Esthonian Republic—Dr. Oscar Kallas, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London; the President of the Latvian Republic—Mr. Waldemar Salnais, Minister of Foreign Affairs; His Majesty the Shah of Persia—Fatolla-Khan Nury Esfendiary, Chargé d'Affaires in London; the President of the Polish Republic—M. Edouard Raczinski, Permanent Polish Representative to the League of Nations and Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary; His Majesty the King of Rumania—M. Nikolas Titulescu, Minister of Foreign Affairs; the President of the Turkish Republic, Tewfik Rustu-Bey, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Who have agreed upon the following provisions:

Article I. Each of the high contracting parties undertakes to recognize in its relations with each of the other parties, beginning with the day this convention enters into effect, the definition of aggressor outlined in the report of the Security Committee of May 24, 1933 (the Politis Report), at the Disarmament Conference, based upon the proposal of the Soviet delegation.

Article II. In accordance with the above, the aggressor in an international conflict, with due consideration to the agreements existing between the parties involved in the conflict, will be considered the State which will be the first to commit any of the following acts:

1. Declaration of war against another State;
2. Invasion by armed forces, even without a declaration of war, of the territory of another State;
3. An attack by armed land, naval or air forces, even without a declaration of war, upon the territory, naval vessels or air craft of another State;
4. Naval blockade of the coasts or ports of another State;
5. Aid to armed bands formed on the territory of a State and invading the territory of another State, or refusal, despite demands on the part of the State subjected to attack to take all possible measures on its own territory to deprive the said bands of any aid and protection.

Article III. No considerations of a political, military, economic or any other nature can serve as an excuse or justification of aggression as specified in Article II (see below for explanation).

Article IV. This convention will be ratified by the high contracting parties in accordance with the laws of each of them.

Ratification papers will be deposited by each of the high contracting parties with the government of the U.S.S.R. As soon as ratification papers are deposited by two of the high contracting parties, the present convention enters into force between the said two parties. As each of the other high contracting parties deposits its ratification papers the convention will enter into force for it.



Notice of each deposition of ratification papers will be immediately given to each of the signatories of this convention by the government of the U.S.S.R.

Article V. The present convention has been drawn up in eight copies, one of which is entrusted to each of the contracting parties, in confirmation of which the above-mentioned representatives have signed the present convention and affixed their seal thereto.

Done in London, July 3, 1933.

MAXIM LITVINOV, ALI MOHAMMED KHAN, OSCAR KALLAS, WALDEMARAS SALNAIS, FATOLLA-KHAN NURY ESFENDIARY, EDOUARD RACZINSKI, NIKOLAS TITULESCU, TEWFIK RUSTU-BEY.

On July 4, on the premises of the Soviet embassy in London, Mr. Litvinov signed a second convention defining aggression with the representatives of Turkey and the countries of the Little Entente. This convention is identical with the eight power convention of July 3, except for Article IV, which reads as follows:

The present convention is open for adherence by all other countries. Adherence will carry the same rights and obligations as in the case of the original signatories. Notification of adherence shall be made to the government of the Soviet Union which will immediately notify the other participants.

The convention was signed by the following: Rumania—NIKOLAS TITULESCU, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Czechoslovakia—JAN MASARYK, Envoy to London; Turkey—MEHMET MUNIR-BEY, Ambassador to London; U.S.S.R.—MAXIM LITVINOV, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs; Yugoslavia—GEORGI DJURITCH, Envoy to London.

#### APPENDIX TO ARTICLE III ON THE DEFINITION OF AGGRESSION

The high contracting parties which have signed the convention defining aggression, desirous, while retaining the complete inviolability of the absolute meaning of the rule formulated in Article III of the said convention, of giving certain indications permitting the determination of an aggressor, establish that none of the circumstances mentioned below may be used to justify any act of aggression in the sense of Article II of the said convention:

The internal position of any State, as for example: its political, economic or social structure; alleged shortcomings of its administration; disorder following upon strikes, revolutionary or counter-revolutionary movements, and civil war;

The international conduct of any State, as, for example: infringement or

a threat of infringing the material or moral rights or interests of a foreign State or its citizens; rupture of diplomatic or economic relations; measures of economic or financial boycott; conflicts in the sphere of economic, financial or other obligations in connection with foreign governments; border incidents which do not fall under any of the cases of aggression indicated in Article II.

At the same time the high contracting parties unanimously recognize that the present convention must in no case serve to justify the infringements of international law which might fall under the obligations included in the foregoing list.

## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

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LAND OFFICE

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PASSED BY THE BOARD OF LAND  
COMMISSIONERS

ON THE 15TH DAY OF  
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