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League of Nations

Preparatory Committee for the Disarmament Conference

THIRD SESSION

Geneva, March 21 to April 26, 1927

REPORT OF THE BRITISH
REPRESENTATIVE TO THE SECRETARY
OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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to Parliament by Command of His Majesty

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Preparatory Committee for the Disarmament Conference, Third Session. Geneva, March 21 to April 26, 1927.

Viscount Cecil to Sir Austen Chamberlain.

Sir,

London, May 17, 1927.

I HAVE the honour to submit the following report on the recent (Third) Session of the Preparatory Committee for the Disarmament Conference.

It will be remembered that the Preparatory Committee, which was constituted by the Council of the League of Nations in December 1925, in accordance with a resolution of the Assembly of the previous September, met for the first time on the 18th May last year. At that first session it formulated a number of questions, designed to elicit definitions that might assist in determining the principles and method of reduction or limitation of armaments. These questions were referred to its technical sub-committees, some of which were in almost continual session during the remainder of last year. The results of the sub-committee's labour, which have been published, afforded the Preparatory Committee a vast amount of information, some of which was of great value.

The Preparatory Committee held a second session in September 1926, but it confined itself on that occasion to taking note of the progress of the work of its sub-committees.

The Council, in December last, apprised of the stage reached in the deliberations, directed the committee to meet again on the 21st March, to draw up an agenda for the Disarmament Conference, and make suggestions in regard to the date on which that conference might meet.

His Majesty's Government considered that there could be no better or more practical means of preparing an agenda for the conference than to endeavour to submit a draft convention for the reduction and limitation of armaments. The moment had not indeed arrived when actual figures for the armaments of the countries concerned could be suggested. But before that final point could be approached it was necessary to settle what the figures should refer to. In other words, the first step was to draw up a convention defining the principal methods by which limitation of land, sea and air armaments could best be carried out. His Majesty's Government accordingly preceeded to draw up a tentative draft convention with this object which I was authorised to submit to the committee. On many of the principal questions the sub-committees had been unable to achieve unanimity, and in regard to these His Majesty's Government did not expect that their draft would meet with immediate approval. Where opinions were more or

less equally divided, it was only to be expected that His Majesty's Government would embody theirs in the preliminary draft, which was intended to serve as a basis of discussion. Out of a frank and free exchange of views it was to be hoped that agreement might emerge. I regret that in regard to some points this hope has not yet been realised, though considerable progress has been made, and I am convinced that the discussions of the committee were facilitated and rendered more effective by the fact that they were based on definite proposals. The submission of an actual draft gave a sense of greater reality, and the examination of definite texts kept the discussion on practical lines when it might have strayed into vague generalities.

I enclose, for purposes of reference, a copy of the British draft convention (Annex I). I submitted this draft to the committee at its opening meeting on the 21st March, with an explanatory statement. The French representative thereupon intimated that he would submit a draft prepared by his Government, and this draft was circulated on the following day (copy is also enclosed herewith—Annex II). Other delegations declined to avail themselves of the opportunity to submit alternative drafts of their own, and discussion from this point centred on the British and French texts. In order to facilitate the task of the committee it was agreed that the Bureau should draw up a "synoptic analysis" taking the main headings of the two drafts and bringing under each, in parallel columns, the provisions in each draft relating thereto.

The committee went through this analysis point by point, and the results of their deliberations are given in the final "Texts adopted at First Reading" (Annex III). The introduction to this final text explains clearly enough the scope of the recent discussions and the form of the agreements reached. It was generally recognised that the recent discussion constituted only, as it were, a first reading, and that acceptance of any point at the first reading by any delegation did not prejudice the attitude it might adopt at the second reading. The second reading was provisionally fixed to be taken on the 1st November, since it did not seem possible to have it before the meeting of the Assembly in September next without a possibility of interference with the Three-Power Conference summoned by President Coolidge in June.

It will be noticed that the first subject dealt with in the first reading text is the limitation of effectives. In point of fact, this subject was treated in the discussion in three divisions, as affecting land, sea, and air armaments and I propose so dealing with it in this despatch. In reality we discussed five main topics at Geneva. That is to say, methods and principles for the limitation of Land Armaments, Sea Armaments and Air Armaments, Budgetary Expenditure and International Supervision.

LAND ARMAMENTS.

With regard to land armaments, the committee were agreed that the main method of limiting land armaments must be by limiting

effectives. It is no doubt true that in a modern army, tanks, guns, and other weapons count for a great deal; but since all nations will tend to a more or less similar degree of equipment in this matter for their troops, the factor which will govern the comparative strength of the different armies will be chiefly the number of effectives.

The main point discussed was how this number was to be estimated and in particular what was to be done with regard to trained reserves. Since it is evident that a man who has just completed his training with the colours is at least as efficient as any of those who are still undergoing training, the British delegation contended that the real test was the number of men who could be put into the front line within, say, a week of the outbreak of war.

This view, however, was hotly contested by all, or almost all, of the conscriptionist countries, mainly on the ground that it was impossible to draw a line between those reserves which were sufficiently trained to take the field immediately, and those which would require some training before they could be so employed.

It was further pointed out that if the number of men actually with the colours were limited, that would automatically limit the trained reserves.

In the end it was provisionally agreed that, subject to reservations by certain members of the Commission, including the British delegation, the limitation should only apply to troops actually with the colours; but that there should be added a limitation of the proportion of officers and non-commissioned officers to other ranks, so as to render any sudden expansion of an army beyond its nominal strength impracticable.

It was further agreed that in conscriptionist countries a limit should be put on the period of service with the colours. It is true that at present the period of service contemplated in many of such countries is one that will make the trained troops efficient even for aggressive action, but in the future it may be hoped that the period will be so reduced that European conscriptive armies will gradually become more and more in the nature of militia as in Switzerland, suitable for defence and not for attack. That, however, is a development which is still to come.

SEA ARMAMENTS.

In regard to sea armaments again the main method of limitation was agreed to, *i.e.*, by tonnage, for the strength of the fleet depends primarily on the number and power of its ships. The three great maritime countries—America, Japan and ourselves—desired to apply the principles accepted at Washington to all classes of war vessels. That is to say, they proposed that there should be a limit in each class of war-ship, *viz.*, battleships, cruisers, submarines, destroyers, &c., to the size of the individual ship, to the number of ships in the class, and to the calibre of the guns carried. There can be little doubt that this system of limitation is workable and effective.

France and Italy, together with several other Powers, contended for a much greater liberty; namely, that the limit to the fleet should be only to its total tonnage, and within that total each Power should be entitled to build as many or as few of each class of war-ship as they pleased, with a superior limit to the size of the largest ship and the largest gun, subject, however, to the preservation of the engagements entered into at Washington with regard to battleships, aircraft carriers and cruisers.

It was pointed out that so lax a system of limitation might, at any rate in theory, enable a Power to concentrate on some particular class of war-ship, such as commerce destroyers, and so either obtain an unforeseen advantage over a rival, or start in a modified form a competition in naval armaments. After prolonged discussion, the French made a compromise proposal to the effect that each Power should state at the outset of the period governed by the treaty the amount of tonnage that it intended to devote to each class of war-ship, and that if any change in this programme was desired, a year's notice must be given. And they suggested that this would preclude all possibility of surprise, and that particularly Great Britain with her great superiority in building speed would be amply protected.

It was, however, felt that the system, even as modified by the French proposal, was unsound, for the reasons already given, and that it was particularly undesirable at this stage and in view of the Coolidge conference to make any considerable change in the principles adopted at Washington.

On this point, therefore, no conclusion could be reached, and the matter was adjourned until the second reading, the Italians declaring that as at present advised they could not accept even the French modification.

On the other hand, the British, who at first had seen great difficulty in accepting a limitation of naval effectives at all, agreed to do so, though they and the Americans and the Japanese were unable to agree to a limitation of officers and non-commissioned officers as well as to the total numbers of personnel; to which the French delegation replied that, in that case, they would not accept the limitation of officers and non-commissioned officers in their land armies.

AIR ARMAMENTS.

After some little discussion, it was agreed that the main method of limiting the air forces must be by limiting the numbers and total horse-power of the military aircraft of each country. And it was further agreed that the total effectives employed in the air forces should be limited subject to the same qualification about officers and non-commissioned officers, as in the navy. With regard to civilian aircraft, the Preparatory Commission had before them the unanimous report of a special expert committee which had been considering this subject, to the effect that it was undesirable and impracticable to attempt to limit civilian aircraft, and all that could be done was to agree that the numbers of civilian aircraft of each High Contracting Party should be published, and that great care

should be taken in each country to separate, as far as that could be done, the civilian from the military side of air development. Several provisions on this subject will be found in the text, in Annex III.

BUDGETARY EXPENDITURE.

There was a general agreement that it was desirable to limit the budgetary expenditure on armaments; particularly as that seemed to be the only effective way of limiting the material employed in land armaments. It is true that certain Powers, such as Germany and Holland, proposed a direct limitation of this material, but the majority of this commission were of the opinion that at present no general limitation of material was practicable without such a degree of international supervision and control as would never be accepted in the present state of international feeling.

The question remained: How was this limitation of budgetary expenditure to be carried out? The French and certain other Powers proposed that the total budgetary expenditure should be limited to a definite figure; and that if that was not reached in any particular year, the surplus could be carried forward to the next year. In addition to this general limitation, it was proposed that there should be a limit to particular classes of expenditure, though these were not precisely defined.

At first sight this seemed a not unreasonable proposition, but on examination I became convinced that in the conditions at present prevailing it would not be workable.

In the first place, the proposal to allow a surplus to be carried forward, necessary as it obviously is in order to give the elasticity essential to any military administration, was yet in the highest degree objectionable, since it would enable any Power gradually to build up a great war chest, and without any breach of the treaty, suddenly to increase very largely its material armaments.

Secondly, several Powers stated that, owing to the financial circumstances of the last few years, they had been forced to allow their war material to run down very low, and that therefore if they were to accept a definite limit to expenditure, they would have to ask that it should be put a good deal higher than their recent actual expenditure. If this were done, not only would the whole advantage of a definite limitation be done away with, but there would be a sort of international incitement to increased war expenditure, since if national groups in any country objected to such increase, they would be met with the observation that the expenditure was still less than that which the country was entitled to under its international engagements.

On the whole, therefore, it seemed to the British delegation a better plan at the present stage to provide for very complete publication of budgetary expenditure, secured by a return, if possible in a similar form for all countries, both of the expenditure contemplated each year, and that actually incurred.

In order to give an international right to other countries to watch this expenditure closely, it was proposed that there should be inserted

a special preamble to the clauses requiring publication, to the effect that it was in the general interest that expenditure on armaments should be limited, and this was emphasised by a proposed paragraph in the general preamble which the British suggested stating that the High Contracting Parties were determined to alleviate to the greatest possible extent the heavy burden which expenditure on armaments was imposing on the economic life of the world.

I understood that the British solution was provisionally accepted, though that does not appear clear in the text as finally passed by the Preparatory Commission.

INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION.

It was on the question of international supervision that the most serious division of opinion occurred.

To the delegations of a certain number of the States represented on the commission, including the British delegation, it seemed clear that the main reliance for the enforcement of a disarmament treaty must be on the good faith of the parties to the treaty. This school of thought could not bring itself to believe that any international supervision short of proposals so drastic as to be unacceptable under the existing circumstances could really restrain an intentional and deliberate evasion of the provisions of the treaty. International supervision might, indeed, prevent carelessness or the like, but could not protect the other signatories against the intentional fraud of one of their number.

Other countries, however, took a very different view. The French, in particular, were most anxious to set up an elaborate system of international control. They proposed the creation of a Permanent Commission of some twenty to twenty-five members, whose duty it would be to exercise a kind of oversight over all the armaments of the High Contracting Parties. If there were reasons to suppose that any of them were violating their engagements, then they could be brought before this commission in one way or another, and the commission by a two-thirds majority could give its opinion as to whether such a violation had taken place. The decision of the commission would then be brought to the Council of the League, who could order an investigation by an international commission.

These proposals were altogether unacceptable to the British and other delegations. They believed they would be both unworkable and offensive to national feeling to such a degree as would imperil the whole disarmament movement. They therefore suggested as an alternative that the precedent of Article 11 of the Covenant should be followed. By that article it is possible for any member of the League to bring before the Council any question which threatens to disturb international peace, or the good understanding on which peace depends.

The British delegation accordingly proposed that any of the High Contracting Parties should have the "friendly right" of bringing before a body consisting of representatives of those States who sat on the Council, together with the United States, any violation of the

Disarmament Treaty, or, indeed, any changes of armament which were likely to disturb international relations. They further suggested that all the High Contracting Parties should agree to co-operate in any enquiries that were thought desirable, provided that no investigation within the territory of any of the High Contracting Parties should be made without its consent.

I believe that this provision would have been accepted by all the members of the commission who could not accept the French suggestion, except possibly the United States, who maintained an attitude of reserve on the whole of this subject, and I am confident that it would furnish all the safeguards that would be of practical efficiency. It is, of course, understood, that all relevant information, whether published under the terms of the Convention or otherwise, would be collected by the Secretariat of the League, so that it would be available for any discussions as to the observance of the treaty which took place.

Beyond these main topics, a certain number of provisions will be found in the First Reading Text with regard to the coming into force of the treaty, ratification, and so on. There is also a provision as to the suspension of the treaty in time of war, which was not fully agreed upon, though on its general principles there was no serious difference of opinion.

From these observations, it will be seen that on a very large number of the more important questions agreement was reached. The general principles of limitation of the land and air forces are not seriously in dispute. Even with regard to the sea, the differences can scarcely be considered irreconcilable. All the parties were agreed that fleets must be limited by their tonnage, and the only question really was as to how detailed that limitation should be. The French compromise proposal went a certain way in the direction which we desired, and the gap remaining between the respective views of the two countries does not seem to be of an unbridgeable extent.

On the question of budgetary expenditure, I certainly understood that a provisional arrangement had been reached; and with respect to international supervision I cannot help hoping that further consideration will show that a very considerable approach has been made to agreement.

In other words, if the countries represented at Geneva really desire a draft convention for the limitation of armaments which shall state the principles and methods by which such limitation may be attained, that agreement is within their grasp. That the British Government desires such an agreement is absolutely certain, and I have no reason to think that other Governments are less anxious than we are to take this step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments which is so essential to the peace of the world.

I have, &c.

CECIL.

ANNEX I.

C.P.D./41.
Geneva, March 21, 1927.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

*Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.***Draft Convention submitted by Lord Cecil (British Delegation).**

CHAPTER I.—GENERAL.

EACH of the High Contracting Parties undertakes to limit its land, naval and air armaments to the figures laid down in Tables I, II and III of Annex I of the present treaty.

2. The provisions of the preceding article shall not prevent any of the High Contracting Parties from increasing its land, naval or air armaments beyond the figures set out in Tables I, II and III of Annex I, if (1) a war in which it is a belligerent has broken out, or (2) if it is threatened with (a) a rebellion, or (b) an emergency, involving serious military operations, or (3) if such increase is effected with the concurrence of the Council of the League of Nations.

Notice to all the other High Contracting Parties shall be given by the party increasing its armaments in pursuance of this article.

Subject to any agreement to the contrary by the parties to this treaty, a High Contracting Party increasing its armaments in pursuance of the first paragraph of this article shall, when peace is restored or the rebellion or emergency has come to an end, reduce its armaments to the amounts set out in Tables I, II and III of Annex I.

3. Each of the High Contracting Parties will, while the present treaty is in force, communicate to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, not later than _____ in each year, in the form set out in Table IV of Annex I, a statement of the amount proposed to be expended on its land, naval and air armaments in the current financial year.

4. Each of the High Contracting Parties will, while the present treaty is in force, communicate to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations not later than _____ in each year, a statement in the form set out in Table V in Annex I, showing the amount actually expended on its land, naval and air armaments during the preceding financial year.

CHAPTER II.—LAND ARMAMENTS.

5. The limitation of land armaments in pursuance of Article 1 of the present treaty shall be effected by limiting the number of effectives, meaning thereby troops who could within _____ of the outbreak of hostilities be available for despatch to the fighting line.

6.—(1.) The total number of effectives maintained by each of the High Contracting Parties as part of its land forces shall not exceed that prescribed in Table I of Annex I.

(2.) The number of serving regular officers ("officiers de carrière actifs") shall not exceed one in fifteen of the number of men serving with the colours.

(3.) The number of regular soldiers serving in the rank of warrant officers and sergeants ("sous-officiers"), shall not exceed one in nine of the number of men serving with the colours.

CHAPTER III.—NAVAL ARMAMENTS.

7. As to each of the classes of ships mentioned in Table II of Annex I, the tonnage of any one ship, the number and tonnage of all the ships in that class and the calibre of the guns mounted in such ship must not exceed the figures there set down. The calibre of the torpedo carried by any ship shall not exceed

8. The High Contracting Parties accept and will observe the rules set out in Annex II relating to the replacement of vessels of war.

9. Each of the High Contracting Parties accepts, so far as it is not already bound thereby, Articles 13 to 18 (inclusive) of the treaty signed at Washington on the 6th February, 1922, for the limitation of naval armaments.

CHAPTER IV.—AIR ARMAMENTS.

10.—(1.) The limitation of air armaments shall be effected by limiting the number of shore-based aircraft of service types maintained in commission in first-line combatant units within the limits of each State which is a party to the present treaty.

(2.) The number of such aircraft maintained by each of the High Contracting Parties shall not exceed the figure set out in Table III of Annex I.

CHAPTER V.—MISCELLANEOUS.

11. Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes that as soon as the treaty has come into force for it, it will begin the necessary measures for carrying the provisions of the treaty into effect.

12. The High Contracting Parties recognise that any violation of the provisions of this treaty is a matter of concern to all the parties. If any party to the treaty is of opinion that another party to the treaty is maintaining armaments in excess of the figures set out in Tables I, II and III, or is in any other way violating the provisions of the treaty, it may bring the matter to the notice of the other parties to the treaty.

Each of the High Contracting Parties agrees that on receipt of any such notification by another party to the treaty, it will co-operate in such measures as may be thought desirable by the parties which are mentioned in Article 14 or represented in the Council of the

League, but excluding the party against which the complaint is made, for investigating the facts, and that it will join in such action as may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

Provided that no investigation within the limits of the territory of any of the High Contracting Parties shall be made without its consent.

13. The present treaty shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional methods. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited at Geneva.

It shall come into force for each party whose instrument of ratification has been deposited as soon as the instruments of ratification of the President of the Republic of Germany, the President of the United States, His Britannic Majesty, on behalf of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the Empire not separately represented in the League of Nations, the President of the French Republic, His Majesty the King of Italy, and His Majesty the Emperor of Japan have been deposited.

14. The present treaty shall remain in force for ten years from the date of its coming into force, except Chapters II and IV, which shall remain in force for five years from that date.

In case none of the High Contracting Parties shall have given notice to terminate two years before the expiration of the said periods, the provisions of the treaty shall continue in force until the expiration of two years from the date on which such notice shall be given by one of the parties. Notice may be given to terminate the treaty as a whole or Chapter II, III or IV separately.

If the party by which such notice is given is among those mentioned in the last paragraph of Article 13, all the High Contracting Parties shall within one year of the date of the notice meet in conference to consider the continuance of the provisions to be terminated. In the event of any such conference failing to come to an agreement, accepted by all the parties other than the party which has given the notice, as to the continuance of the provisions to be terminated, or as to the substitution of others, they will terminate on the expiration of the two years provided for in the notice. If the High Contracting Parties, other than the party which has given notice to terminate, agree upon the terms of other stipulations in substitution for those to be terminated, the latter shall continue in force for all parties other than that which gave the notice until the coming into force of the new stipulations.

If the party by which notice to terminate is given is not among those mentioned in the last paragraph of Article 13, the treaty will remain in force for all High Contracting Parties other than that by which the notice was given.

Notices under this article shall be given to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and shall be deemed to have been given on the day on which the notice was received by him.

ANNEX II.

— C.P.D./43(1).
Geneva, March 22, 1927.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.
French Preliminary Draft Treaty for the Limitation of Armaments.

—
Preamble.

[List of High Contracting Parties .]

In view of Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations;
Whereas the reduction of armaments must be in accordance with general conditions of security and the special conditions of each State;

And whereas the Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, which were intended to define more precisely the operation of Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, have not been applied;

And whereas the general guarantees resulting from the Covenant still exist;

And whereas regional agreements based upon the principles of the Covenant and arranging for mutual assistance between the signatory States in the event of attack have been successively concluded and have resulted in improved conditions of security for a number of States:

Consider that it is now possible to contemplate a first step towards the limitation and reduction of armaments laid down in Article 8 of the Covenant,

And, having decided to conclude a treaty for this purpose, have appointed as their plenipotentiaries

Who, having deposited their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following provisions:—

CHAPTER I.—LIMITATION OF EFFECTIVES.

Article 1.

The High Contracting Parties agree to limit the number of men on service in their armed military, naval and air forces or formations organised on a military basis to the effectives laid down in Tables I (Home forces), II (Overseas forces and their reinforcements), III (Formations organised on a military basis and stationed in the home country), and IV (Formations organised on a military basis and stationed in overseas territories) annexed to the present treaty. They undertake that their distribution shall conform to that laid down in the said tables.

Article 2.

Effectives "on service," within the meaning of the present treaty shall be understood to mean effectives with the colours or in formations organised on a military basis who may be immediately employed without being mobilised.

By "formations organised on a military basis" shall be understood police forces of all kinds, gendarmerie, customs officials, forest guards and, generally speaking, any organisation which, whatever its legal purpose, is capable, by reason of its cadres, effectives, training, armament and equipment, of being employed without measures of mobilisation.

Article 3.

By "mobilisation," within the meaning of the present treaty, shall be understood all the measures tending to provide the whole or part of the various corps, services and formations with the personnel and material required to pass from a peace-time footing to a war-time footing.

Article 4.

If one of the High Contracting Parties is compelled by the unjustified aggression of another Power to resort to the measures of mobilisation referred to in Article 3, it shall immediately inform the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and shall be *ipso facto* released for the duration of the conflict from the obligations which it incurs under the present treaty.

If the High Contracting Party is a Member of the League of Nations, it shall remain subject to the general obligations of the Covenant and to the decisions of the Council. The Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall be responsible for summoning the Council as quickly as possible.

Article 5.

Each of the High Contracting Parties shall, in the form set out in Tables I, II, III and IV, prepare in respect of its armed military, naval or air forces and its formations organised on a military basis an annual statement of the average daily effectives on service in its armed forces, and a statement of the actual effectives on service in its formations organised on a military basis.

With a view to the exchange of information as provided for in Chapter VI of the present treaty, the statement laid down in the present provision shall be forwarded to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations before the 31st December of the year to which it refers.

Article 6.

The "average daily effectives" mentioned in Article 5 and in Tables I and II annexed to the present treaty shall be reckoned by dividing the total number of days' duty by the number of days in the budgetary year.

The "actual effectives" mentioned in Article 5 and in Tables III and IV annexed to the present treaty shall be the actual number of men shown, up to the time of their discharge from the active army or during their periods of training, in the statement of effectives which determines grants of every kind for these effectives, including men who, for any reason whatever, are absent from the units to which they are allocated.

CHAPTER II.—LIMITATION OF THE PERIOD OF SERVICE.

Article 7.

In each Contracting State and during the application of the present treaty, the total period of service which the men constituting the effectives mentioned in the present treaty are compelled or may volunteer to fulfil shall remain in conformity with that fixed for each category of effectives in the relevant columns of Table V annexed to the present treaty.

For each man the "total period of service" shall be the total number of days of service with the active army and of days of service during his periods of compulsory or voluntary training.

CHAPTER III.—LIMITATION OF AIR MATERIAL.

Article 8.

In each of the Contracting States, the aircraft and dirigibles in commission with the different categories of military, naval or air formations or formations organised on a military basis shall not represent a respective total engine-power, expressed in horse-power, superior to the figures laid down in Tables VI (Air material of military, naval or air formations for the defence of the home territory), VII (Air material of formations organised on a military basis and stationed in the home territory), VIII (Air material of military, naval or air formations allocated to the overseas forces or intended for their reinforcement), and IX (Air material of formations organised on a military basis and stationed in overseas territories) annexed to the present treaty; the distribution of these forces shall be in conformity with that laid down in the said tables.

By aircraft or dirigibles "in commission" with a formation must be understood not only the aircraft or dirigibles normally included in this formation for current service but also replacement aircraft or dirigibles held at the disposal of that unit.

Horse-power shall be measured according to the rules established by the International Air Navigation Commission.

Article 9.

In each of the Contracting States, the dirigibles in commission with the different categories of military, naval or air formations or formations organised on a military basis shall not represent a *total volume*,

expressed in cubic metres, exceeding the figures laid down in the relevant column of Tables VI (Air material of military, naval or air formations for the defence of the home territory), VII (Air material of formations organised on a military basis and stationed in the home territory), VIII (Air material of military, naval or air formations allocated to the overseas forces or intended for their reinforcement), and IX (Air material of formations organised on a military basis and stationed in overseas territories) annexed to the present treaty; the distribution of these forces shall be in conformity with that laid down in the said tables.

Article 10.

Each of the High Contracting Parties shall prepare an annual statement showing the total horse-power of aircraft and dirigibles in commission and the total volume of dirigibles in commission, according to their distribution among the different categories of formations laid down in Articles 8 and 9: military, naval or air formations for the defence of the home territory (Table VI); formations organised on a military basis and stationed in the home territory (Table VII); military, naval or air formations allocated to the overseas forces or intended for their reinforcement (Table VIII); formations organised on a military basis and stationed in overseas territory (Table IX).

With a view to the exchange of information as provided for in Chapter VI of the present treaty, the statement laid down by the present provision shall be forwarded to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations before the 31st December of the year to which it refers.

Article 11.

It is understood that the limitations laid down in Articles 8, 9 and 10 are accepted by each High Contracting Party in the light of the present development of civil aviation in other countries.

If, during the term of the present treaty, civil aviation in one or more of the contracting countries, or military or civil aviation in one or more of the non-signatory States, experiences such a development as to constitute a possible danger to the security of some of the High Contracting Parties, the latter shall report this change of circumstances to the Permanent Disarmament Commission under the conditions laid down in Article 25 of the present treaty.

CHAPTER IV.—LIMITATION OF NAVAL MATERIAL.

Article 12.

The limitation of the naval armaments of each of the High Contracting Parties shall apply to the total tonnage, that is, to the sum of the individual tonnage of all vessels capable of being employed as combatant units and regarded as vessels of war within the meaning of the present treaty; each of the Contracting Parties shall be free to

distribute and allocate this total tonnage as may be best for the purposes of security and the defence of its national interests.

Article 13.

The tonnage of the vessels mentioned in Article 12 shall be calculated according to the following rule :—

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

This assessment shall be in metric tons.

Article 14.

The limitation of naval armaments agreed to by each of the High Contracting Parties is shown in the annexed Table X.

The figures in Column 1 of this table represent the total tonnage that each of the High Contracting Parties considers it essential to attain for the purposes of security and the defence of its national interests.

The figures in Column II represent the total tonnage that each of the High Contracting Parties considers it necessary to complete before the expiry of the convention.

Article 15.

No vessel of war shall be of a tonnage exceeding metric tons.

Article 16.

No gun mounted in a vessel of war shall be of a calibre exceeding millimetres.

Article 17.

Except in case of loss, no vessel of war shall be replaced before having reached the age-limit indicated in table of the Annex.

The age of units shall be counted as from the date of their completion.

Article 18.

In assessing total tonnage, a fraction only, equal to per cent. of the real tonnage, shall be reckoned in the case of vessels of war which exceed the age-limit laid down in Article 7.

[*Note.*—The figures relating to Articles 15, 16, 17 and 18 will be fixed by the Disarmament Conference.]

CHAPTER V.—LIMITATION OF EXPENDITURE.

Article 19.

The total annual expenditure, counted per budgetary year and allocated according to Tables * (Home forces and formations of the home country organised on a military basis) and (Overseas forces and their reinforcements and overseas formations organised on a military basis), shall not exceed the figures approved by the several Contracting States in the present treaty and mentioned in the said tables.

Article 20.

In each of the Contracting States, the total expenditure on the upkeep, purchase and manufacture of war material in the strict sense of the term, for the duration of the present treaty, shall be limited for the land, naval and air armaments to the respective sums fixed in Columns X, Y and Z of tables* (Home forces and formations of the home country organised on a military basis) and (Overseas forces and their reinforcements and overseas formations organised on a military basis) annexed to the present treaty.

The said sums shall be divided by the number of years for which the present treaty is to remain in force, and, in each of the Contracting States, the annual expenditure on the upkeep, purchase and manufacture of war material in the strict sense of the term shall not exceed the figure laid down for each year; nevertheless, sums not expended during one year may be carried forward to the following year and added to the sums fixed for that year.

Article 21.

Each of the Contracting States will prepare an annual statement of the amount actually expended on its land, naval and air armaments during the preceding year and of the expenditure contemplated for the current year. This statement shall be in the form set out in the tables* annexed to the present treaty.

For the purpose of the exchange of information laid down in Chapter VI, the statement of budgetary estimates shall be communicated to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations not later than three months after the entry into force of the legal provisions authorising the expenditure, and the statement of the expenditure actually incurred shall be communicated at latest before the expiry of the month following the end of the budgetary year and the full budgetary period (*exercice*).

* The tables referred to correspond to the model statements provided for in the report of the budgetary experts. Their definitive form depends on the final conclusions of these experts.

CHAPTER VI.—REVISION OF THE TREATY, DEROGATIONS,
PREPARATION OF NEW TREATIES.

Article 22.

There shall be set up at the seat of the League of Nations a "Permanent Disarmament Commission" consisting of one representative of each of the High Contracting Parties which belong to it under the conditions laid down in Article 23. The Permanent Disarmament Commission shall be summoned by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

The Permanent Disarmament Commission shall be responsible for centralising all the information supplied by the High Contracting Parties to the Secretary-General of the League in execution of the provisions of Articles 5, 10 and 21 of the present treaty, and also for collecting, with regard to matters subject to the limitations provided for in the present treaty, or which may appear to it suitable to form the object of fresh treaties, all particulars it may consider necessary to the performance of its mission as defined below.

The commission shall be responsible for studying on the basis of these data such progress as may be accomplished in regard to the limitation and reduction of armaments. Its attention shall be devoted in particular to following in the annual budget statements supplied by the High Contracting Parties the increase or reduction in the amount of the material in their possession which it has not been possible to limit directly in the present treaty.

Each year the Permanent Disarmament Commission shall make at least one report on the questions which it is engaged in studying. This report shall be published simultaneously with its despatch to all the High Contracting Parties and to the Council of the League. Each member of the commission shall be entitled to demand that account shall be taken in this report of the opinions or suggestions put forward by him, if necessary in the form of a minority report.

Article 23.

The following shall be the members of the Permanent Disarmament Commission :—

- (1.) The High Contracting Parties Members of the Council of the League, for the duration of their term of office on the Council.
- (2.) In the event of their being called upon to sit on the Council, the other High Contracting Parties Members of the League for the duration of their term of office on the Council.
- (3.) The United States of America and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.
- (4.) (List of High Contracting Parties to be appointed by the conference.)

To the members of the Permanent Disarmament Commission shall be attached military, naval and air experts, and experts

qualified in the branches subject to the limitations provided for in the present treaty.

Article 24.

In the event of their not sitting on the Permanent Disarmament Commission, the High Contracting Parties shall be entitled to be represented at discussions which concern them. In such case, their delegates may demand that, in the commission's report, account should be taken of the opinions or suggestions put forward by them, if necessary in the form of a minority report.

Article 25.

If, during the term of the present treaty, a High Contracting Party considers that the requirements of its national security are materially affected by any change of circumstances, it shall lay the matter before the Permanent Disarmament Commission through the Secretary-General of the League with a view to the possible revision of the limitations it has accepted. The Permanent Commission shall examine the arguments adduced by the High Contracting Party and shall be obliged to report thereon. The report shall be addressed to the Council of the League.

The High Contracting Party making the application shall take part in the examination of its application by the Permanent Disarmament Commission. Its delegate shall not be allowed to take part in the drafting of the report and may only require that the latter shall take into account the opinions or suggestions put forward by him, if necessary in the form of a minority report.

If, in the application which it has submitted to the Permanent Disarmament Commission, the High Contracting Party has indicated, as a new circumstance affecting its national security, facts which concern one of the High Contracting Parties members of the commission, the delegate of the latter shall be subject to the same rules as the delegate of the High Contracting Party making the application.

Article 26.

The Permanent Disarmament Commission may decide by a two-thirds majority that an enquiry is necessary to verify the existence of any of the circumstances adduced by a High Contracting Party as affecting its national security. The enquiry shall be carried out under the conditions laid down in regulations to be drawn up as soon as the present treaty enters into force.

(a.) If the Permanent Commission is notified by a High Contracting Party of the existence of circumstances materially affecting its national security in consequence of a grave transgression of the Treaty on the Limitation of Armaments, it shall call upon the Power or Powers referred to in the application who are not already sitting on the commission to take part in its proceedings under the conditions laid down in Article 24.

(b.) The Permanent Commission shall decide by a two-thirds majority, excluding the parties to the dispute, whether the enquiry is to be conducted only by an examination of official documents which have been communicated to it, or whether the nature of the facts alleged necessitates an enquiry on the spot.

The High Contracting Parties undertake to afford every assistance to this enquiry, particularly in their respective territories.

(c.) The members of the committee of enquiry shall be selected by the Permanent Commission from a list of experts duly qualified in the different branches, subject to the limitations provided for in the present treaty. The Permanent Commission shall also appoint the chairman of the committee of enquiry. The list of experts shall be drawn up in pursuance of the proposals of the Governments signatories of the present treaty.

The State involved and the party making the application may only be represented in the committee of enquiry in a purely advisory capacity.

The experts appointed by the Permanent Commission may in no case be subject to the authority of any of the parties to the dispute.

(d.) The Permanent Commission shall fix the points on which the enquiry shall bear.

If it has decided that the enquiry may be conducted simply by a study of documents, the committee of enquiry shall meet immediately. If, in the course of its proceedings, it needs to consult documents which are not yet at its disposal, its chairman shall address a request for such documents to the Secretary-General of the League, to whom the States concerned shall forward them as soon as possible.

If, in the opinion of the Permanent Commission, the nature of the infringement necessitates an enquiry on the spot, the chairman of the committee of enquiry shall himself fix the date on which it shall begin such investigation. The State concerned shall be immediately notified by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

(e.) The chairman of the committee of enquiry shall make a report to the Permanent Commission, in which he shall confine himself to recording the actual facts; the Permanent Commission alone shall pronounce on these facts. If differences of opinion have arisen among the experts, mention must be made of them in the report.

Article 27.

In pursuance of the Permanent Commission's report referred to in Article 25 or the enquiry provided for in Article 26, if any, the Council of the League of Nations, acting in virtue of Article 8, paragraph 4, of the Covenant of the League, may authorise a High Contracting Party to exceed, within specific limits and for a specific time, the limitations laid down in the present treaty.

In cases of urgency, the matter may be laid before the Council direct, which may take a decision, if it thinks it necessary, without previous enquiry or report.

CHAPTER VII.

Article 28.

The present treaty shall not affect the terms of previous treaties, under which certain of the High Contracting Parties have agreed to limit their military, naval or air armaments, and have thus fixed in relation to one another their respective obligations and rights in this connection, the present treaty being within these limits inapplicable between the said Powers.

Article 29.

The present treaty shall remain in force for years as from the exchange of ratifications.

TABLE I.—Limitation or Statement of the Average Daily Effectives of the Home Forces.⁽¹⁾

H.C.P.	Total Effectives of the Land, Sea and Air Forces.	Army Effectives. ²			Naval Effectives. ³			Air Force Effectives. ⁴			
		Cadres. ⁵			Cadres. ⁵			Cadres. ⁵			
		Officers.	Warrant Officers and Sergeants.	Other Ranks. ⁶	Officers.	Warrant Officers and Sergeants.	Other Ranks. ⁶	Officers.	Warrant Officers and Sergeants.	Other Ranks. ⁶	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	

¹ The effectives allocated to *home* service are maintained and permanently stationed in the home territory. They are intended for the immediate protection of frontiers.

² The effectives of the *Army* are those shown on the statement, which determines grants of every kind for these effectives, other than effectives on service in any capacity with the air formations.⁷

³ The effectives of the *Navy* are those shown on the statement, which determines grants of every kind for these effectives, except effectives on service in any capacity with the air formations.⁷

⁴ The effectives of the *Air Force* are those shown either on the special statement for the Air Force determining grants of all kinds taken for these effectives or on the corresponding statements of the Army or Navy, and which are allocated exclusively to the service of the air formations.⁷

⁵ The *Cadres* consist of all officers, warrant officers and sergeants on the strength of the Army, Navy and Air Forces.

⁶ *Other Ranks* consist of men whose rank or employment is below that of a warrant officer or sergeant.

⁷ The air formations comprise the staff, various units and formations of the forces using aircraft.

TABLE II.—Limitation or Statement of Average Daily Effectives of the Overseas Forces and their Reinforcements.⁽¹⁾

H.C.P.	Total Effectives of the Land, Sea and Air Forces.	Army Effectives. ²			Naval Effectives. ³			Air Force Effectives. ⁴			
		Cadres. ⁵		Other Ranks. ⁶	Cadres. ⁵		Other Ranks. ⁶	Cadres. ⁵		Other Ranks. ⁶	
		Officers.	Warrant Officers and Sergeants.		Officers.	Warrant Officers and Sergeants.		Officers.	Warrant Officers and Sergeants.		
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

¹ The effectives of the *overseas* forces are permanently stationed in the dominions and overseas territories. The overseas forces may, however, have in the same territory certain reserves intended to relieve them or, in the event of serious disturbances, to reinforce parts of the overseas dominions or distant territories.

² The effectives of the *Army* are those shown on the statement, which determines grants of every kind for these effectives, other than effectives on service in any capacity with the air formations.⁷

³ The effectives of the *Navy* are those shown on the statement, which determines grants of every kind for these effectives, except effectives on service in any capacity with the air formations.⁷

⁴ The effectives of the *Air Force* are those shown either on the special statement determining grants of every kind for these effectives or on the corresponding statements of the Army or Navy, and which are allocated exclusively to the service of the air formations.⁷

⁵ The *Cadres* consist of all officers, warrant officers and sergeants on the strength of the Army, Navy and Air Forces.

⁶ *Other Ranks* consist of men whose rank or employment is below that of a warrant officer or sergeant.

⁷ The air formations comprise the staff, various units and formations of the forces using aircraft.

TABLE III.—Limitation or Statement of the Effectives of Formations of the Home Country organised on a Military Basis.

H.C.P.	Operating on Land.		Operating at Sea.		Serving in Aircraft.	
	Cadres.	Others.	Cadres.	Others.	Cadres.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

TABLE IV.—Limitation or Statement of the Effectives of Overseas Formations organised on a Military Basis.

H.C.P.	Operating on Land.		Operating at Sea.		Serving in Aircraft.	
	Cadres.	Other.	Cadres.	Others.	Cadres.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

NOTE: *Cadres*.—In the formations organised on a military basis, cadres consist of the whole of the officials performing duties analogous to those of officers, warrant officers and sergeants in the land and sea forces.

TABLE V.—Total Period of Service.

H.C.P.	Army Effectives.				Naval Effectives.				Air Force Effectives.			
	Regular Troops other than Cadres. ¹		Annual Levy.		Regular Troops other than Cadres. ¹		Annual Levy.		Regular Troops other than Cadres. ¹		Annual Levy.	
	Number.	Period of Service.	Number.	Period of Service.	Number.	Period of Service.	Number.	Period of Service.	Number.	Period of Service.	Number.	Period of Service.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

¹ *Regular troops* include all the cadres and other ranks who have contracted engagements to serve. They also include warrant officers, sergeants and other ranks who on account of their special circumstances serve for a longer time than the normal period of service in the country in question.

TABLE VI.—Limitation of the Air Material of Military, Naval and Air Formations allocated to the Defence of the Home Territory.

H.C.P.	Total Horse-power employed on all aeroplanes in commission.	Total Horse-power employed on all dirigibles in commission.	Total volume of dirigibles in commission.

TABLE VII.—Limitation of the Air Material of Formations organised on a Military Basis and Stationed in Home Territory.

H.C.P.	Total Horse-power employed on all aeroplanes in commission.	Total Horse-power employed on all dirigibles in commission.	Total volume of dirigibles in commission.

TABLE VIII.—Limitation of the Air Material of Military, Naval or Air Formations allocated to Overseas Forces or Intended for their Reinforcement.

H.C.P.	Total Horse-power employed on all aeroplanes in commission.	Total Horse-power employed on all dirigibles in commission.	Total volume of dirigibles in commission.

TABLE IX.—Limitation of the Air Material of Formations organised on a Military Basis and Stationed in Overseas Territories.

H.C.P.	Total Horse-power employed on all aeroplanes in commission.	Total Horse-power employed on all dirigibles in commission.	Total volume of dirigibles in commission.

TABLE X.—Limitation of Naval Material.

H.C.P.	Total Tonnage of Vessels employed in Home Defence.		Total Tonnage of Vessels employed in the Defence of Overseas Territories.	
	I. Tonnage essential for the purposes of Security and the Defence of National Interests.	II. Tonnage to be completed before the Expiry of the Treaty.	I. Tonnage essential for the purposes of Security and the Defence of National Interests.	II. Tonnage to be completed before the Expiry of the Treaty.

ANNEX III.

C. 218. 1927. IX.
(C. P. D. 88.)

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

*Geneva, April 26, 1927.**Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.*

Third Session, held at Geneva from March 21 to April 26, 1927.

Report.

THE Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference examined, in the course of its third session, the reports submitted to it by technical sub-commissions with regard to the *questionnaire* it had been instructed to study. The commission was of the opinion that these preliminary investigations were such as to permit it to undertake forthwith the study of a draft convention. Its task was facilitated by the fact that preliminary drafts had been submitted to it by the British and French delegations.

The commission has endeavoured, during the present session, to draw up a text which could serve as a basis for discussion at the second reading. It has not succeeded in establishing a single text for all the points discussed. The present document shows separately for each of the parts the points on which unanimity was obtained, as well as the reservations submitted by the various delegations on certain specific points. Where it has not been possible to establish a unanimous text, this document gives the different proposals submitted. It has been generally understood that the acceptance of each delegation at first reading does not prejudice the attitude it might adopt at the second reading and does not bind it in any way.

In the course of the discussion, several suggestions and proposals were put forward, either in order to meet exceptional situations, or with a view to inserting into the Convention limitations or general clauses other than those which had been unanimously adopted at the first reading by the commission or which had been put down as alternative texts. These proposals and suggestions are reproduced in the minutes of the commission. It is understood that each delegation retains full freedom to reconsider at the second reading such suggestions or proposals and to put forward fresh ones.

The discussion seems to suggest that it might be advisable to classify the matter into five parts, which might constitute the five chapters of the draft convention as a basis for the second reading:—

Chapter I.—Effectives.

Chapter II.—Material.

Chapter III.—Budgetary Expenditure.

Chapter IV.—Chemical Warfare.

Chapter V.—Miscellaneous Provisions.

This division is, of course, liable to alteration at the second reading.

The commission annexes to the present report a table of the texts.

When a text has encountered no opposition from any delegation, it has been printed right across the page. The reservations which delegations have asked to have inserted have been placed in the margin.

When only a single text was submitted and one or more delegations formally opposed its adoption, it has been printed on the left-hand side of the page, the right-hand column being left blank. The delegation or delegations under whose authority this text was submitted have been indicated. No attempt has been made to define the position of the others, and only the observations and declarations which delegations have formally requested to have inserted have been placed in the margin.

When, at the end of the discussion at the first reading, several texts have remained in being, they have been inserted in parallel columns, the delegation or delegations under whose authority the text was submitted being indicated at the head of each column. As in the previous case, no attempt has been made to define the position of the delegations which did not formally submit a text, and here too only the formal observations or declarations have been inserted.

TEXT DRAWN UP AT FIRST READING.

Preamble.

(British Draft.)	(French Draft.)	(German Draft.)
[Names of the High Contracting Parties.]	[List of High Contracting Parties.]	Whereas heavy armaments constitute the most serious menace to the peace of the world;
Persuaded that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement of international obligations;	In view of Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations; Whereas the reduction of armaments must be in accordance with general conditions of security and the special conditions of each State;	And whereas Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations provides for a general reduction of armaments;
Considering that all members of the League of Nations are already pledged by Article 8 of the Covenant of the League to the principle enunciated above;	And whereas the Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, which were intended to define more precisely the operation of Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, have not been applied;	The High Contracting Parties have resolved to conclude a convention as a first step towards the accomplishment of this purpose, to be followed by successive measures with a view to further disarmament, and have appointed.....
Realising that the purpose of the limitation of armaments by	of the Covenant of the League of Nations, have not been applied;	

(British Draft.)

(French Draft.)

(German Draft.)

international agree-
ment is to diminish
the risk of aggressive
action by one State
against another and
that all agreements
for limitation of arma-
ments should be con-
strued in the light of
that purpose ;

Believing that, in
order to obtain the
greatest possible ad-
vantage from a reduc-
tion and limitation of
armaments, such re-
duction and limitation
must cover military,
naval and air arma-
ments and must em-
brace as many nations
as possible ;

Determined to alle-
viate to the greatest
possible extent the
heavy burden which
expenditure on arma-
ments is imposing up-
on the economic life
of the world and thus
lowering its standard
of living ;

Have resolved to
conclude a conven-
tion with a view to
accomplishing these
purposes and have
appointed as their
plenipotentiaries :

The President.....
.....

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

And whereas the
general guarantees
resulting from the
Covenant still exist ;

And whereas re-
gional agreements
based upon the prin-
ciples of the Covenant
and arranging for
mutual assistance be-

tween the signatory
States in the event
of attack have been
successively concluded
and have resulted in
improved conditions of
security for a number
of States ;

Consider that it is
now possible to con-
template a first step
towards the limitation
and reduction of arma-
ments laid down in
Article 8 of the
Covenant,

And, having decided
to conclude a conven-
tion for this purpose,
have appointed as their
plenipotentiaries.....

Who, having de-
posited their full
powers, found in good
and due form, have
agreed upon the fol-
lowing provisions :

CHAPTER I.—EFFECTIVES.

Observations and Reservations.

The German delegation makes a general reservation in regard to Chapter I as a whole which, contrary to its view, does not contain any limitation of reserves given military training, registered, and compelled by law to serve in case of war, although in its opinion these reserves, while non-existent in professional armies, form the decisive factor as regards personnel in war, in countries having a conscript system.

The British delegation reserves the opinion of its Government as to the limitation of trained reserves.

The delegation of the United States of America makes a general reservation on the following provisions of Chapter I as regards the inclusion of formations organised on a military basis and the exclusion of trained reserves.

Article A.

The High Contracting Parties agree to limit the effectives in their armed forces, or land, sea and air formations organised on a military basis, and who may for that reason be directly employed without having to be mobilised, to the limits determined in the tables enumerated below and annexed to the present convention.

and Armaments—

Table I.—Maximum home forces.

Table II.—Maximum overseas forces stationed in the home country.

Table III.—Maximum of total forces stationed in the home country.

Table V.—Maximum of the total forces of the High Contracting Parties.

Table VI.—Maximum of the forces belonging to formations organised on a military basis stationed in the home country.

Table VII.—Maximum of the forces belonging to formations organised on a military basis stationed in overseas territories.

Observations and Reservations.

The delegations of the British Empire and the United States of America only accept the limitation of naval effectives provided such limitation is generally accepted and provided also that a satisfactory agreement is reached respecting the limitation of warships.

The delegation of the British Empire considers Table IX unnecessary.

The delegation of France reserves for the second reading its final decision regarding a separate limitation of air effectives of home and overseas forces.

The delegation of the British Empire considers Table XI unnecessary.

The second paragraph of Article H has not been discussed in connection with naval and air effectives.

The delegations of France and Italy declare that the clauses of the first two paragraphs must apply in the same conditions to land, naval and air effectives, and that it can only accept them subject to this reservation.

The delegations of the British Empire, Chile, Japan, and the United States of America do not accept the third paragraph.

2. *Naval Armaments—*

Table VIII.—Maximum armed forces.

Table IX.—Maximum forces belonging to formations organised on a military basis.

3. *Air Armaments—*

Table X.—Maximum armed forces.

Table XI.—Maximum forces belonging to formations organised on a military basis.

Article H.

In order to prevent the number of officers, warrant officers and sergeants from exceeding the legitimate requirements of each army, the tables relating to land armaments mentioned in Article A above shall indicate a maximum number of officers, warrant officers and sergeants which each High Contracting Party shall undertake not to exceed.

Similarly, for the same reasons as those given above, the said tables shall show the maximum figure which each High Contracting Party undertakes not to exceed in respect of other ranks whose period of service is longer than the longest period at present in force in the conscript armies of the High Contracting Parties.

The provisions contained in the first paragraph of this article equally apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the tables in Article A relating to naval and air armaments.

Article C.

By "formations organised on a military basis" shall be understood police forces of all kinds, gendarmerie, customs officials, forest guards, which, whatever their legal purpose, can be used without mobilisation, by reason of their staff of officers, establishment, training, armament or equipment, as well as any organisation complying with the above condition.

Article D.

By "mobilisation" within the meaning of the present convention shall be understood all the measures for the purpose of providing the whole or part of the various corps, services and units with the personnel and material required to pass from a peace-time footing to a war-time footing.

Article F.

Each of the High Contracting Parties may, within the limits fixed by the tables relating to land armaments in Article A, and should the conditions affecting its security so require, modify the distribution of the said forces between its home territories and overseas territories.

Any modification in this distribution shall be shown in the annual statements of particulars, the preparation of which is provided for in Article IA of Chapter V below.

Article E.

When drawing up the tables mentioned in Articles A (Chapter I) and IA (Chapter V)—

- (a.) By "effectives in service in the armed forces" shall be understood the average daily effectives reckoned by dividing the total number of days' duty by the number of days in the budgetary year.
- (b.) By "effectives in service in the formations organised on a military basis" shall be understood the actual effectives, *e.g.*, the actual number of men shown up to the time of their discharge from active service or during their periods of training, in the statement of effectives which determines grants of every kind for these effectives, including men who, for any reason whatever, are absent from the units to which they are allocated.

Observations and Reservations.

This article has not been discussed in connection with naval and air effectives.

Observations and Reservations.

This article has not been discussed in connection with naval and air effectives.

The delegation of France declares that the clauses of this article must apply in the same conditions to land, naval and air effectives.

The delegation of the United States of America makes a general reservation on the failure to include provisions for the limitation of material both in the hands of forces serving with the colours and reserve material of land and air forces.

The delegations of Italy and Japan make a general reservation as regards limitation of material proposed in Article TA (German draft).

In each Contracting State having the conscription system, the total period of service which the annual contingent is compelled to serve shall not exceed the figure accepted by each of the High Contracting Parties.

For each man the total period of service shall be the total number of days of active service and of days of service during the periods of instruction which he undergoes.

Article I.

CHAPTER II.—MATERIAL.

Section I.—*Land Armaments.*

Article TA.

(German Draft.)

The High Contracting Parties agree to limit the maximum material of their land forces in service and in reserve to the figures fixed in table ... annexed to the present convention.

(French Draft.)

In each of the Contracting States, the total expenditure on the upkeep, purchase and manufacture of war material in the strict sense of the term, for the duration of the present convention shall be limited for the land, naval and air armaments to the respective sums fixed in columns X, Y and Z of tables¹... (Home forces and formations of the home country organised on a military basis) and ... (Overseas forces and their reinforcements and overseas formations organised on a military basis) annexed to the present convention.

The said sums shall be divided by the number of years for which the present convention is to remain in force, and, in each of the Contracting States, the annual expenditure on the upkeep, purchase and manufacture of war

TABLE.

Material in service and in reserve.	Maximum number of arms.	Quantity of ammunition for the various arms (rifles, machine-guns, &c.)
1. Rifles or carbines...		
2. Machine-guns and automatic rifles		
3. Guns, long and short, and howitzers of a calibre below 15 cm.		
4. Guns, long and short, and howitzers of a calibre of 15 cm. or above		
5. Mortars of all kinds		
6. Tanks		
7. Armoured cars ...		

¹ The tables referred to correspond to the model statements provided for in the report of the budgetary experts. Their definitive form depends on the final conclusions of these experts.

(German Draft.)

(French Draft.)

material in the strict sense of the term shall not exceed the figure laid down for each year; nevertheless, sums not expended during one year may be carried forward to the following year and added to the sums fixed for that year.

Section II.—*Naval Armaments.**Observations and Reservations.*

The German delegation declares that it is necessary to limit naval material in reserve in addition to floating material.

Article NA.

(British Draft.)

(French Draft.)

(Italian Draft.)

The High Contracting Parties agree to limit to the figures laid down the number and tonnage of all the ships in each of the classes specified in Annex .

The limitation of naval armaments agreed to by each of the High Contracting Parties is shown in the annexed Table X.

The figures in column I of this table represent the total tonnage that each of the High Contracting Parties considers it essential to attain for the purposes of security and the defence of its national interests.

The figures in column II represent the total tonnage that each of the High Contracting Parties considers it necessary to complete before the expiry of the Convention.

The figures in column III represent, for each of the High Contracting Parties, the division of the total tonnage stated by it in column II into total tonnage by groups.

These total tonnage groups apply to all

Each of the High Contracting Parties, within the limits of the total tonnage which it undertakes not to exceed, may distribute and arrange its tonnage to the best advantage for its national interests, subject to communicating to the Secretariat of the League of Nations, at least six months before laying down the keel, the characteristics of each vessel of war which it intends to construct, in conformity, for example with Article XVI of the Treaty of Washington.

The French delegation points out that the accompanying French text constitutes the draft for reaching a compromise, which, after discussion and with a view to finding a formula for agreement, it has substituted for its original draft, which included only the first four paragraphs of this text.

(British Draft.)

(French Draft.)

(Italian Draft.)

ships of a similar nature in the following manner: (a) capital ships; (b) aircraft carriers; (c) surface ships of less than 10,000 tons; (d) submarines.

Each of the High Contracting Parties, while keeping within the limits of total tonnage stated in column II, can alter such division as it deems necessary for its security, subject to informing the Secretariat of the League of Nations of the changes brought to the division of its total tonnage, at least one year before laying down the portion of the tonnage which is to be transferred.

Note: Each of the High Contracting Parties states in column III the division of its total tonnage, either into the four groups of vessels as stated in paragraph 4, or only into those groups which it considers necessary for its needs of security.

Observations and Reservations.

The delegations of the United States of America and Italy make a general reservation concerning this Table.

TABLE X.—ANNEX TO ARTICLE NA OF FRENCH DRAFT.

<i>Total Tonnage of Warships.</i>				
I. Tonnage essential for the purposes of security and the defence of national interests.	II. Tonnage to be completed before the expiry of the Convention.	III. Division into total tonnage by groups of the total tonnage stated in column II.		
			Total tonnage of	
			Capital ships.	
			Aircraft carriers.	
			Vessels under 10,000 tons.	
			Submarines.	
			a.	b.
			c.	d.

Article NB.

(British Draft.)

The High Contracting Parties agree to limit to the figures laid down in Annex ... for each class of ship the maximum tonnage of any one ship and the calibre of the largest gun that may be mounted thereon.

(French and Italian Draft.)

The High Contracting Parties agree to limit to the figures laid down in Annex ... the tonnage of the largest vessel of war and the calibre of the largest gun mounted in any vessel of war.

Article NC.

(British Draft.)

The High Contracting Parties agree to limit to the figures laid down in Annex ... the maximum diameter of the largest torpedo tube carried by any ship.

Article NE.

(French Draft.)

In assessing total tonnage, a fraction only equal to ... per cent. of the real tonnage shall be calculated in the case of vessels of war which have exceeded the age-limit indicated in Table of the Annex.

Article ND.

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

This assessment shall be in metric tons.

Article NF.

The High Contracting Parties undertake that, except in case of loss, no vessel of war shall be replaced before having reached the age limit indicated in table of the Annex. The age of units shall be counted as from the date of their completion.

Article NG.

With the exception of those ships which, in order to effect economy and specially mentioned in the convention as being allowed to be converted into a type of warship other than that for which it was originally designed, no ship which has been replaced may be reconverted into a vessel of war.

Article NH.

No preparations shall be made in merchant ships in time of peace for the installation of warlike armaments for the purpose of convert-

ing such ships into vessels of war, other than the necessary stiffening of decks for the mounting of guns not exceeding 6 inches (152 millimetres) calibre.

Article NI.

No vessel of war constructed within the jurisdiction of any one of the Contracting Parties for a non-contracting Power shall exceed the limitations as to displacement and armament prescribed by the present convention for vessels of a similar type which may be constructed by or for any of the Contracting Powers; provided, however, that the displacement for aircraft carriers constructed for a non-contracting Power shall in no case exceed 27,000 tons (27,482 metric tons) standard displacement.

Article NJ.

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

Article NK.

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

Section III.—*Air Armaments.*

Observations and Reservations.

The German delegation makes a reservation with respect to Article AA, being of the opinion that the limitation should apply to all air material of war, and should therefore also include material in reserve and stocks of material.

The delegations of the British Empire and France reserve for the second reading their decision on Article AA in so far as it suppresses the distinction between metropolitan and overseas air forces.

The delegation of Roumania makes a reservation regarding the limitation of numbers of aeroplanes

Article AA.

Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes to limit the air material in service in accordance with the figures laid down in the following tables:—

Table A.—The maximum number and total horse-power of aeroplanes and maximum number, total horse-power and total volume of dirigibles in service in their armed forces.

Table B.—The maximum number and total horse-power of aeroplanes and maximum number, total horse-power and total volume of dirigibles in service in their formations organised on a military basis.

The limitation shall apply to aeroplanes and dirigibles capable of use in war employed in commission in the land, sea and air forces, or in the formations organised on a military basis.

Article AC.

Horse-power shall be measured according to the rules
(to be established by the conference).

The volume of dirigibles to be expressed in cubic metres.

Article AD.

The limitations laid down are accepted by each High Contracting Party in the light of the present development of civil aviation in other countries.

Observations and Reservations.

The German delegation makes a reservation regarding Article AD, in view of the fact that the development of a means of peaceful communication cannot be taken as a starting-point for armaments, except where this means of communication is of real military importance.

The delegation of the Argentine makes a reservation regarding Article AD.

The delegation of the United States of America makes a general reservation on the inclusion of provisions basing limitation upon the present development of civil aviation in other countries

Article AE.

1. If the High Contracting Parties intervene in any capacity, whether directly or indirectly, wholly or partially, in civil aviation undertakings, they agree that the State organs dealing with the matter shall be quite separate from the organs dealing with military aviation. It is agreed that this undertaking does not prevent the union of civil and military aviation under a single Ministry provided that the two subjects are dealt with separately and independently.

2. The High Contracting Parties shall refrain from prescribing the embodiment of military features in the build of civil aviation material so that this material may be constructed for purely civil purposes, more particularly with a view to providing the greatest possible measure of security and the most economical return.

3. The High Contracting Parties undertake not to require of civil aviation undertakings that they should employ only personnel specially trained for military purposes.

They undertake to authorise only as a provisional and temporary measure the seconding of personnel to, and the employment of military aviation material in, civil aviation undertakings.

4. The High Contracting Parties undertake not to subsidise, directly or indirectly, air lines principally established for military purposes, instead of being established for economic, administrative or social purposes.

5. The High Contracting Parties undertake to encourage as far as possible the conclusion of economic agreements between civil aviation undertakings in the different countries.

The delegation of Italy makes a reservation with regard to Article AE

CHAPTER III.—BUDGETARY EXPENDITURE.

*Article DA.**Observations and Reservations.*

The British, Italian and Japanese delegations consider that budgetary limitation should be effected solely by publicity.

The delegations of the United States and Germany make a general reservation on the inclusion in the present Draft Convention of any limitation of budgetary expenditure.

(French Draft.)

The total annual expenditure counted per budgetary year and allocated according to Tables (Home forces and formations of the home country organised on a military basis) and (Overseas forces and their reinforcements and overseas formations organised on a military basis), shall not exceed the figures approved by the several Contracting States in the present convention and mentioned in the said tables.

CHAPTER IV.—CHEMICAL WARFARE.

The discussion on these clauses has been held over until the second reading

(Draft proposed by the Delegations of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Roumania and Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.)

The High Contracting Parties undertake to abstain from the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or similar gases, and of all analogous liquids, substances or processes.

They also undertake to abstain from the use of all bacteriological methods of warfare.

They also undertake to abstain from any preparation in peace time of the use of the methods of warfare stated in the preceding paragraph.

They undertake, moreover, not to permit the importation, the exportation or the manufacture on their territory of substances utilisable for chemical or bacteriological warfare, when they are imported, exported or manufactured with a view to such use.

CHAPTER V.—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.

Section I.—*Organisation.**Article OA.**(French Draft.)*

There shall be set up at the seat of the League of Nations a "Permanent Disarmament Commission" consisting of one representative of each of the following High Contracting Parties:—

- (a.) The High Contracting Parties Members of the Council of the League, for the duration of their term of office on the Council.
- (b.) The United States of America and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.
- (c.) (List of High Contracting Parties to be appointed by the conference.)

To the members of the Permanent Disarmament Commission shall be attached military, naval and air experts, and experts qualified in the branches subject to the limitations provided for in the present convention.

The Permanent Disarmament Commission shall be summoned by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

In the event of their not sitting on the Permanent Disarmament Commission, the High Contracting Parties shall be entitled to be represented at discussions which concern them. In such case, their delegates may demand that, in the commission's report, account should be taken of the opinion or suggestions put forward by them, if necessary in the form of a special report.

Observations and Reservations.

The statement made by the American delegation on the 13th April, 1927, indicates the views of the American Government on certain points as regards the application of the Convention.

Section II.—*Exchange of Information.**Observations and Reservations.*

The form and the number of tables have not been decided as regard naval and air armaments.

The German delegation makes a reservation concerning this article, the tables mentioned therein not providing for publicity regarding trained reserves.

The Italian delegation makes a reservation and does not agree to all the distinctions referred to in these tables.

Article IA.

Each of the High Contracting Parties shall prepare on the model of Tables I, II, III, V, VIII and X mentioned in Article A (Chapter I) and of Table IV annexed to the present convention (Overseas forces) an annual statement of the average daily effectives on service with its armed forces, and on the basis of Tables VI, VII, IX and XI mentioned in Article A (Chapter I), a statement of the actual effectives on service in its formations organised on a military basis.

The statements laid down in the present provision shall be forwarded to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations within three months after the close of the budgetary year.

Article IB.

(Netherlands Draft.)

Owing to the various considerations brought forward by the Japanese delegation at the meeting of the Commission on the 21st April, 1927, it formally opposes this proposal, and also the proposal of the German delegation opposite Article IA (Chapter II).

The Italian delegation agrees with the above remarks of the Japanese delegation.

Each of the High Contracting Parties shall prepare an annual statement of the number (weight) of arms and ammunition and implements of war in service and in reserve in its land, naval and air forces distributed between the following twelve headings and existing on the date of the 31st December of the preceding year :—

1. Rifles, muskets, carbines (number).
- 2.—(a.) Machine-guns, automatic rifles and machine-pistols of all calibres (number).
(b.) Mountings for machine-guns (number).
(c.) Interrupter gears (number).
3. Projectiles and ammunition for the arms enumerated in Nos. 1 and 2 above (number).
4. Gun-sighting apparatus, including aerial gunsights and bomb-sights, and fire-control apparatus (number).
- 5.—(a.) Cannon, long or short, and howitzers, of a calibre less than 5·9 inches (15 cm.) (number).
(b.) Cannon, long or short, and howitzers, of a calibre of 5·9 inches (15 cm.) or above (number).
(c.) Mortars of all kinds (number).
(d.) Gun carriages (number), mountings (number), recuperators (number), accessories for mountings (weight).
6. Projectiles and ammunition for the arms enumerated in No. 5 above (number).
7. Apparatus for the discharge of bombs, torpedoes, depth charges and other kinds of projectiles (number).

- 8.—(a.) Grenades (number).
 (b.) Bombs (number).
 (c.) Land mines, submarine mines, fixed or floating, depth charges (number).
 (d.) Torpedoes (number).
9. Appliances for use with the above arms and apparatus (number).
10. Bayonets (number).
11. Tanks and armoured cars (number).
12. Arms and ammunition not specified in the above enumeration (number and weight).

With a view to the exchange of information as provided for in the present section, the statement laid down in the present provisions shall be forwarded to the Secretariat of the League of Nations before the 1st March of the year following the year to which it refers.

Article IC.

If the construction of any vessel of war for a non-Contracting Power is undertaken within the jurisdiction of any of the Contracting Powers such Power shall promptly inform the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and shall publish in its "Official Journal" the date of the signing of the contract and the date on which the keel of the ship is laid, as well as the following specifications: the standard displacement in metric tons and the principal dimensions, namely, the length at water-line, the extreme beam at or below water-line, mean draft at standard displacement; the date of completion of each new ship and its standard displacement in metric tons, and the principal dimensions, namely, length at water-line, extreme beam at or below water-line, mean draft at standard displacement, at time of completion.

Article IG.

Each of the High Contracting Parties shall communicate to the Secretariat of the League of Nations the name and the tonnage of any vessel constructed in accordance with Article NH (Chapter II). With regard to existing vessels of this type, this communication shall be made within two months after ratification of the present convention. With regard to vessels to be constructed, the communication shall be made on the date of completion.

Observations and Reservations.

The delegations of the British Empire and Italy reserve their opinion concerning this article.

Article ID.

(Italian Draft)

(French Draft modified.)

Each of the High Contracting Parties shall prepare an annual statement showing the maximum figures attained during the year in respect of the number and total horse-

Each of the High Contracting Parties shall prepare an annual statement showing the maximum figures attained during the year in respect of the number and total horse-

The German delegation makes a reservation concerning this article, considering that publicity should be applied to all aerial war material, and hence to material in reserve and stocks of material.

(Italian Draft.)

power of aircraft, and the number, total horse-power and total volume of dirigibles in commission according to their distribution laid down in Article AB (Chapter II, Section III — Air Armaments).

(French Draft modified.)

power of aircraft, and the number, total horse-power and total volume of dirigibles in commission according to their distribution as laid down in Article IA of the present chapter.

Observations and Reservations.

The German delegation reserves the right to give its definite opinion at the second reading.

Article IE.

In order to ensure publicity in the matter of civil aviation, each of the High Contracting Parties shall prepare an annual statement showing the total number of civil aeroplanes and dirigibles registered in the territory under jurisdiction of each of the High Contracting Parties.

Preamble to Articles DA and DB.

Whereas it is in the general interest that the expenditure on armaments should be limited, and

Whereas the High Contracting Parties are not agreed at present on any satisfactory method of accomplishing this object, and

Whereas the High Contracting Parties consider that, as a preliminary to such limitation of expenses, full publicity should be secured so that on a future occasion it may be possible again to approach this question with better hope of success :

The High Contracting Parties agree to arrange for the publicity of their military, naval and air expenditure in accordance with the provisions contained in the two following articles :—

Article DA.

In putting forward this article, the Preparatory Commission takes note of the fact that the work of the Committee of Experts on Budgetary Questions is not complete, and that it hopes to produce a relatively simple schedule. The Preparatory Commission is of opinion that the model statement should be as simple as possible consistently with the achievement of its object.

The German delegation has accepted the principle of the simplification of the model statement on condition that the model statement is employed exclusively for the publication of expenditure on national defence and not

Each of the High Contracting Parties will communicate to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, in a model form, a statement of the amount proposed to be expended on its land, naval and air armaments in the current financial year.

This communication shall be made not later than months after the entry into force of the legal provisions authorising the expenditure.

for purposes of comparison and limitation.

The Italian delegation reserves its opinion concerning Article DA until it has examined the model statement in question.

The British delegation makes a reservation with regard to the second paragraph of this article.

Article DB.

Each of the High Contracting Parties will communicate to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, in a model form, a statement showing the amount actually expended on its land, naval and air armaments during the preceding financial year.

This communication will be made not later than months after the close of the financial year.

Article IF.

(French Draft.)

The Permanent Disarmament Commission shall be responsible for centralising all the information supplied by the High Contracting Parties to the Secretary-General of the League in execution of the provisions of Articles IA, IC, IG, ID, IE, DA and DB of the present chapter and also for collecting, with regard to matters subject to the limitation provided for in the present Convention, or which may appear to it suitable to form the object of fresh treaties, all particulars it may consider necessary to the performance of its mission as defined below.

The commission shall be responsible for studying, on the basis of these data, such progress as may be accomplished in regard to the limitation and reduction of armaments. Its attention shall be devoted in particular to following in the annual budget statements supplied by the High Contracting Parties the increase or reduction in the amount of the material in their possession which it has not been possible to

limit directly in the present Convention.

Each year the Permanent Disarmament Commission shall make at least one report on the questions which it is engaged in studying. This report shall be published simultaneously with despatch to all the High Contracting Parties and to the Council of the League. Each member of the commission shall be entitled to demand that account shall be taken in this report of the opinions or suggestions put forward by him, if necessary in the form of a special report.

Section III.—*Derogations.*

Article XA.

(British Draft.)

The provisions of the present convention shall not prevent any of the High Contracting Parties from increasing its land, naval or air armaments beyond the agreed figures:—

- (1.) If a war in which it is a belligerent has broken out, or
- (2.) If it is threatened with a rebellion, or
- (3.) If this increase is effected with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations.

Notice to all the other High Contracting Parties shall be given by the party increasing its armaments in pursuance of this article.

Subject to any agreement to the contrary by the parties to this convention, a High Contracting Party increasing its armaments in pursuance of the first paragraph of this article shall, when peace is restored or the rebellion has come to an end, reduce its armaments to the amounts agreed upon.

(French Draft.)

If one of the High Contracting Parties is compelled by the unjustified aggression of another Power to resort to the measures of mobilisation referred to in Article D (Chapter I), it shall immediately inform the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and shall *ipso facto* be released for the duration of the conflict from the obligations which it incurs under the present convention.

If the High Contracting Party is a member of the League of Nations, it shall remain subject to the general obligations of the Covenant and to the decisions of the Council. The Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall be responsible for summoning the Council as quickly as possible.

Section IV.—*Procedure with regard to Complaints and Revision.**Article ZA.*

(British Draft.)

The High Contracting Parties recognise that any violation of the provisions of this convention is a matter of concern to all the parties. If any party to the convention is of opinion that another party to the convention is maintaining armaments in excess of the figures agreed upon, or is making such changes in its armaments, or is embarking on such preparations as are likely to disturb international relations or the good understanding between nations, or is in any way violating the provisions of the convention, it may bring the matter to the notice of the other parties to the convention.

Each of the High Contracting Parties agrees that, on receipt of any such notification by another party to the convention, it will co-operate in such measures as may be thought desirable by the parties which are mentioned in Article EB of the present chapter, or represented in the Council of the League, but excluding the party against which the complaint is made, for investigating the facts, and that it will join in such action as may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

Provided that no investigation within the limits of the territory of any of the High Contracting Parties shall be made without its consent.

(French Draft.)

If, during the term of the present convention, a High Contracting Party considers that the requirements of its national security are materially affected by any change of circumstances, it shall lay the matter before the Permanent Disarmament Commission through the Secretary-General of the League of Nations with a view to the possible revision of the limitations it has accepted.

The Permanent Commission shall examine the arguments adduced by the High Contracting Party and shall be obliged to report thereon. The report shall be addressed to the Council of the League.

The High Contracting Party making the application shall take part in the examination of its application by the Permanent Disarmament Commission. Its delegate shall not be allowed to take part in the drafting of the report and may only require that the latter shall take into account the opinions or suggestions put forward by him, if necessary in the form of a special report.

If, in the application which it has submitted to the Permanent Disarmament Commission, the High Contracting Party has indicated, as a new circumstance affecting its national security, facts which concern one of the High Contracting Parties members of the Commission, the delegate of the latter shall be subject to the same rules as the delegate of the High Contracting Party making the application.

Article ZE.

If, during the term of the present convention, a High Contracting Party considers that the requirements of its national

security are materially affected by any change of circumstances, it may be authorised to exceed the limits for armaments fixed under the present convention by a unanimous decision of the following High Contracting Parties :—

This provision shall not affect the rights or obligations of the Contracting Parties arising out of their membership of the League of Nations.

Article ZB.

(French Draft.)

The Permanent Disarmament Commission may decide by a two-thirds majority that an enquiry is necessary to verify the existence of any of the circumstances adduced by a High Contracting Party as affecting its national security. The enquiry shall be carried out under the conditions laid down in regulations to be drawn up as soon as the present convention enters into force.

(a.) If the Permanent Commission is notified by a High Contracting Party of the existence of circumstances materially affecting its national security in consequence of a grave transgression of the Convention of the Limitation of Armaments, it shall call upon the Power or Powers referred to in the application who are not already sitting on the commission to take part in its proceedings under the conditions laid down in Article OA of the present chapter.

(b.) The Permanent Commission shall decide by a two-thirds majority, excluding the parties to the dispute, whether the enquiry is to be conducted only by an examination of official documents which have been communicated to it, or whether the nature of the facts alleged necessitates an enquiry on the spot.

The High Contracting Parties undertake to afford every assis-

(French Draft.)

tance to this enquiry, particularly in their respective territories.

(c.) The members of the committee of enquiry shall be selected by the Permanent Commission from a list of experts duly qualified in the different branches, subject to the limitations provided for in the present convention. The Permanent Commission shall also appoint the chairman of the committee of enquiry. The list of experts shall be drawn up in pursuance of the proposals of the Governments signatories of the present convention.

The State involved and the party making the application may only be represented in the committee of enquiry in a purely advisory capacity.

The experts appointed by the Permanent Commission may in no case be subject to the authority of any of the parties to the dispute.

(d.) The Permanent Commission shall fix the points on which the enquiry shall bear.

If it is decided that the enquiry may be conducted simply by a study of documents, the committee of enquiry shall meet immediately. If, in the course of its proceedings, it needs to consult documents which are not yet at its disposal, its chairman shall address a request for such documents to the Secretary-General of the League, to whom the States concerned shall forward them as soon as possible.

If, in the opinion of the Permanent Commission, the nature of the infringement necessitates an enquiry on the spot, the chairman of the committee of enquiry

(French Draft.)

shall himself fix the date on which it shall begin such investigation. The State concerned shall be immediately notified by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

(e.) The chairman of the committee of enquiry shall make a report to the Permanent Commission, in which he shall confine himself to recording the actual facts; the Permanent Commission alone shall pronounce on these facts. If differences of opinion have arisen among the experts, mention must be made of them in the report.

Article ZC.

(French Draft.)

In pursuance of the Permanent Commission's report referred to in Article ZA above or the enquiry provided for in Article ZB above, if any, the Council of the League of Nations, acting in virtue of Article 8, paragraph 4, of the Covenant of the League, may authorise a High Contracting Party to exceed, within specific limits and for a specific time, the limitations laid down in the present convention.

In cases of urgency, the matter may be laid before the Council direct, which may take a decision, if it thinks necessary, without previous enquiry or report.

Article ZD.

(French Draft.)

Observations and Reservations.

The British delegation reserves its opinion until the second reading as to the desirability of this proposal.

If, during the term of the present convention, civil aviation in one or more of the contracting countries, or military or civil aviation in one or more of the non-signatory States, experiences such a development as to constitute a possible danger to the

(French Draft).

security of some of the High Contracting Parties, the latter shall report this change of circumstances to the Permanent Disarmament Commission under the conditions laid down in Article ZA above.

Section V.—*Ratification—Entry into Force—Denunciation.*

Article EA.

The present convention shall not affect the terms of previous treaties, under which certain of the High Contracting Parties have agreed to limit their military, naval or air armaments, and have thus fixed in relation to one another their respective obligations and rights in this connection, the present convention being within these limits inapplicable between the said Powers.

Observations and Reservations.

The German delegation makes a general reservation with regard to Article EA, in view of the fact that the Draft Convention does not yet show whether certain fundamental conditions will be fulfilled; these conditions were formulated during the proceedings at the third session of the Preparatory Commission and, without them, Germany could not regard the Convention as a first step towards general disarmament. In addition, guarantees should be given that this first step will be followed, at suitable intervals, by other steps towards the progressive reduction of armaments.

Article EB.

The present convention shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional methods. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited at Geneva.

It shall come into force for each party whose instrument of ratification has been deposited as soon as the instruments of ratification have been deposited by [list of States to be drawn up by the conference].

Article EC.

The High Contracting Parties agree to accept reservations which may be made by Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Poland, and Roumania at the moment of their signature of the present convention, and which shall suspend, in respect of these States, the application of Articles of the present convention until the accession of Russia to the present convention under the same conditions as the above-named Powers.

The Swedish delegation reserves its opinion on the question until the second reading.

Article ED.

Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes that, as soon as the convention has come into force for it, it will begin the necessary measures for carrying the provisions of the convention into effect.

Observations and Reservations.

Reservation by the British delegation, which considers that different periods ought to be prescribed for air and land armaments on the one hand, and naval armaments on the other hand.

Reservation by the French and Italian delegations regarding this question, requiring equal treatment for all three categories of armaments.

Article EF.

The present convention shall remain in force for years as from the exchange of ratifications.

In case none of the High Contracting Parties shall have given notice to terminate two years before the expiration of the said periods, the provisions of the convention shall continue in force until the expiration of two years from the date on which such notice shall be given by one of the parties.

If the party by which such notice is given is among those to be mentioned in the last paragraph of Article EB above, all the High Contracting Parties shall, within one year of the date of the notice, meet in conference to consider the continuance of the provisions to be terminated. In the event of any such conference failing to come to an agreement, accepted by all the parties other than the party which has given the notice, as to the continuance of the provisions to be terminated, or as to the substitution of others, they will terminate on the expiration of the two years provided for in the notice.

If the High Contracting Parties, other than the party which has given notice to terminate, agree upon the terms of other stipulations in substitution for those to be terminated, the latter shall continue in force for all parties other than that which gave the notice until the coming into force of the new stipulations.

If the party by which notice to terminate is given is not among those to be mentioned in the last paragraph of Article EB above, the convention will remain in force for all High Contracting Parties other than that by which the notice was given.

Notices under this article shall be given to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and shall be deemed to have been given on the day on which the notice was received by him.