

Geneva, February 20th, 1928.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

4

Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference

**DRAFT DISARMAMENT CONVENTION**

SUBMITTED BY THE DELEGATION OF THE

**UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS**

Moscow, February 15th, 1928.

[*Translation.*]

To the Secretary-General.

The delegation of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics to the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference having put forward a proposal concerning the abolition of armaments at the fourth session of that Commission, I have the honour to send you herewith a draft disarmament convention, together with an explanatory note.

I have the honour to request you to forward these documents urgently to the Chairman and members of the Preparatory Commission, and to the Governments of all the countries represented in the League of Nations. The documents mentioned are intended to serve as a basis for the discussion of the proposal of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, which is included in the agenda of the fifth session of the Preparatory Commission.

(Signed) M. LITVINOFF,

*Head of the Delegation of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics to the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.*

**DRAFT CONVENTION OF IMMEDIATE, COMPLETE  
AND GENERAL DISARMAMENT.**

**CONVENTION**

Being animated by the firm desire to safeguard general peace;  
Considering that the existence and increase of armed forces constitutes an immense danger, bearing the germ of fresh and inevitable armed conflagrations;  
Considering that the attempts to go too deeply into the question and to embrace in all its details every factor relating to the existence and increase of armaments have ended in failure or have postponed the solution of disarmament questions:

The Contracting States

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

. . . . .

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

CHAPTER I.

EFFECTIVES OF THE ARMED FORCES.

Article 1.

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

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

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

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

Article 2.

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

Article 3.

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

Within the same period, all legislative Acts concerning the organisation of military enlistment shall be repealed.

Article 4.

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

Article 5.

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

Article 6.

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

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

Article 7.

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

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

When the aforesaid persons are pensioned off in consideration of their past service, the years spent in military service shall be reckoned as spent in the service of the State.

*Article 8.*

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

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

*Article 9.*

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

The rules of military service until the completion of full disarmament shall be fixed in the form of special regulations by each of the contracting States.

*Article 10.*

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

- I. Special military publications:
  - (a) Scientific research and theoretical treatises;
  - (b) Works on military history;
  - (c) Manuals of military training;
  - (d) Military regulations;
  - (e) Manuals of all kinds for the study of the technical methods of armament.
2. The military training of the population, including the calling-up of trained reserves, and military propaganda among the population.
3. The military training of young people, either by the State or by public associations.

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## CHAPTER II.

### MATERIAL

#### PART I. — LAND ARMAMENTS.

*Article 11.*

Within one year of the entry into force of the present Convention, the stocks of arms, ammunition and other instruments of armament and destruction enumerated below and at the disposal of the Ministry of War shall be destroyed. Tanks, poisonous war materials and the appliances by which they are diffused (gas projectors, pulverisers, balloons and other apparatus), whether in service or in reserve, shall first be destroyed.

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

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

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

#### List of War Material to be Destroyed:

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

*Article 12.*

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

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

*Article 13.*

Compensation shall be paid for loss due to the cancelling of the orders mentioned in Article 12, and of the orders for the special naval and air force armaments enumerated in Articles 21 and 27, given by the Ministries of War, Marine and Aviation. Such compensation shall be given either in conformity with the legislative practice of the several contracting States or in accordance with the terms of the orders.

*Article 14.*

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

*Article 15.*

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

*Article 16.*

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

PART 2. — NAVAL ARMAMENTS.

*Article 17.*

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

*Article 18.*

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

List of Vessels to be disarmed:

1. Coastguard capital ships.
2. Destroyers of all types.
3. Monitors.
4. Gunboats with a tonnage measurement of over 3,000 tons.
5. Floating batteries.
6. Hydroplanes of all types.

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

*Article 19.*

The personnel of vessels withdrawn from the naval effectives shall be immediately disbanded. At the end of three months from the removal of the vessels from the naval lists, the artillery material of such vessels and their mines and torpedo appliances shall be rendered useless in accordance with special technical arrangements; the reserve naval artillery material intended for these vessels, and torpedoes and mines, shall be destroyed.

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

*Article 20.*

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

*Article 21.*

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

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

*Article 22.*

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

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

PART 3. — AIR ARMAMENTS.

*Article 23.*

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

*Article 24.*

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

*Article 25.*

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

*Article 26.*

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

*Article 27.*

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

*Article 28.*

The arming of aircraft and all arrangements for the fitting of armaments on aircraft shall be prohibited in future.

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

PART 4. — FORTIFICATIONS AND BASES.

*Article 29.*

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

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

PART 5. — MILITARY INDUSTRIES.

*Article 30.*

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

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

*Article 31.*

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

*Article 32.*

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

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

*Article 33.*

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

*Article 34.*

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

*Article 35.*

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

*Article 36.*

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

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CHAPTER III.

ORGANISATION OF PROTECTION.

PART I. — PROTECTION ON LAND.

*Article 37.*

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

*Article 38.*

On the expiry of the period of four years laid down in the present Convention for effecting complete and general disarmament, the maintenance of a protective and police service, the personnel of which shall be engaged by voluntary contracts of service, shall be authorised in the territory of each of the contracting States, for the purpose of Customs and fiscal police supervision,

internal police and the protection of State and private property; the amount of weapons and simple armament strictly necessary may also be retained.

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

*Article 39.*

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

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

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

PART 2. — PROTECTION AT SEA.

*Article 40.*

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

*Article 41.*

With a view to protection at sea, the waters of the globe shall be divided into 16 zones, as enumerated below:

LIST OF ZONES OF PROTECTION.

Number of zone	Name of zone	Boundaries of zone	States responsible for protection in a given zone.
1.	<i>Baltic Sea.</i>	The whole zone of the Baltic Sea including the Cattegat and the Skager Rack. The zone is bounded on the west by Longitude 8° East of Greenwich.	
2.	<i>North Sea.</i>	This zone (beginning with the north) is bounded by Latitude 70° North, then by the west coast of Norway as far as its intersection with Longitude 8° East of Greenwich, following this meridian as far as its intersection with the German coasts, then along the German, Dutch, Belgian and French coasts to Cape St. Mathieu, then by the line joining this cape with The Lizard, then by the south and west coast of England as far as its intersection with the line 4° West of Greenwich.	
3.	<i>Eastern section of the Arctic Ocean.</i>	This zone is bounded (starting from the west) by Longitude 4° West of Greenwich, then by Latitude 70° North, by the coasts of Norway, Finland and the U.S.S.R. as far as Longitude 170° West of Greenwich, terminating at the intersection of the meridian and Latitude 66° 30' North.	
4.	<i>Western section of the Arctic Ocean</i>	This zone is bounded (starting from the west) by a line beginning at the intersection of Latitude 66° 30' North and Longitude 170° West of Greenwich, by the coasts of Alaska and Canada, including Hudson Strait, then by Latitude 59° North, as far as the intersection of this parallel with Longitude 4° West of Greenwich and to the north by the North Pole.	

Number of zone	Name of zone	Boundaries of zone	States responsible for protection in a given zone.
5.	<i>Mediterranean Sea.</i>	The whole zone of the Mediterranean is bounded on the north-east by the outlet of the Dardanelles, following the line Sid-El-Bahr-Kum-Kalessi; on the south-east by the north entrance of the Suez Canal, and on the west by the entrance of the Straits of Gibraltar, following the line Trafalgar-Spartel.	
6.	<i>North-East Section of the Atlantic Ocean.</i>	This zone is bounded (starting from the north) by Latitude 59° North and Longitude 4° West of Greenwich, by the west coast of England, by the line The Lizard - Cape St. Mathieu, by the coast of Europe, by the line Trafalgar - Spartel, by the west coast of Africa as far as its intersection with the Equator, by the line of the Equator as far as Longitude 30° West of Greenwich.	
7.	<i>North-West Section of the Atlantic Ocean.</i>	This zone is bounded (starting from the north) by Latitude 59° North, by the east coast of North America, including the Gulf of Mexico, by a line following the coast of Central America (including the Caribbean Sea), then by the coast of South America as far as the Equator and along the latter as far as Longitude 30° West of Greenwich, then by this meridian as far as Latitude 59° North.	
8.	<i>South-East Section of the Atlantic Ocean.</i>	This zone is bounded (starting from the north) by the line of the Equator, by the west coast of Africa as far as Cape Agulhas, by Longitude 20° East of Greenwich, by the South Pole and finally by Longitude 20° West of Greenwich.	
9.	<i>South-West Section of the Atlantic Ocean.</i>	This zone is bounded (starting from the north) by the Equator, then by the coast of South America as far as Cape Horn, thence by Longitude 70° West of Greenwich as far as the North Pole and as far as Longitude 20° West of Greenwich.	
10.	<i>Black Sea.</i>	The whole zone of the Black Sea is bounded on the south-west by the line Sidd - el - Bahr - Kum - Kalessi (the Dardanelles).	
11.	<i>Northern Section of the Indian Ocean.</i>	Suez Canal, Red Sea, and then southwards along the east coast of Africa as far as Latitude 11° South and along this parallel as far as Longitude 125° East of Greenwich, then by the north-west along the south coast of Java and Sumatra as far as the opening of the Malacca Straits, then along the line of the coasts of Indo-China, India and Persia, including the Persian Gulf, and finally along the coasts of Arabia to the entrance to the Red Sea.	
12.	<i>Southern Section of the Indian Ocean.</i>	This zone is bounded (starting from the north) by Latitude 11° S. as far as the Island of Cilbang (Malay Archipelago), thereafter by the line running from this island to Cape Londonderry (Australia), then by the north-west coast of Australia as far as Longitude 145° E., following this meridian as far as the South Pole and as far as Longitude 20° E. of Greenwich.	



Number of zone	Name of zone	Boundaries of zone	States responsible for protection in a given zone.
13.	<i>North-West Section of the Pacific Ocean.</i>	This zone is bounded (starting from the west) by Longitude 170° W. of Greenwich (starting from its intersection with Latitude 62°30' N.) following this meridian as far as the Equator; thereafter by a line following the Equator as far as Longitude 155° E. of Greenwich; then by this meridian as far as Latitude 11 S. and by this parallel as far as its point of intersection with the coast of Australia; by this coast as far as the line from Cilbang (Malay Archipelago) to Londonderry (Australia), from there N.E. along the north coast of the Islands of the Great Sunda to the opening of the Gulf of Malacca, then on the N.E. along the Asiatic coast and Bering Strait, including the seas of southern and eastern China, Japan, Okhotsk and Bering.	
14.	<i>North-East Section of the Pacific Ocean.</i>	This zone is bounded (starting from the west) by Longitude 170° W. of Greenwich, by the Equator and the west coast of South, Central and North America as far as the intersection of Longitude 170° W. of Greenwich with Latitude 66°30' N.	
15.	<i>South-West Section of the Pacific Ocean.</i>	This zone is bounded (starting with the north) by the Equator, then on the west by Longitude 155° W. of Greenwich as far as Latitude 11° S., then by this parallel as far as the entrance to the Torres Strait, then Eastern Australia as far as Longitude 145° E., thence by this meridian as far as the South Pole and on the east by Longitude 135° W. of Greenwich.	
16.	<i>South-East Section of the Pacific Ocean.</i>	This zone is bounded on the north by the Equator, on the west by Longitude 135° W. of Greenwich as far as the South Pole; on the east by the west coast of South America, from the South Pole along Longitude 70° W. of Greenwich as far as Cape Horn and along the coast as far as the Equator.	

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

*Article 42.*

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

*Article 43.*

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

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

For the armament of the crew it shall be permitted to retain a maximum of 20 rifles or pistols in conformity with Article 39 of the present Convention.

*Article 44.*

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

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

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

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

## CHAPTER IV.

### CONTROL.

#### *Article 45.*

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

#### *Article 46.*

The Permanent International Commission of Control shall be entrusted with:

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

(b) The establishment of an agreement concerning the pressure to be brought to bear by non-military measures upon the different States which disturb the normal progress of disarmament as laid down by the present Convention and conventions supplementary thereto;

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

(d) The selection of centres for military production, its volume and the regulation of the traffic in arms;

(e) The informing of public opinion concerning progress in the work of disarmament.

#### *Article 47.*

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

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

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

#### *Article 48.*

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

#### *Article 48.*

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

#### *Article 50.*

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

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

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

#### *Article 51.*

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

*Article 52.*

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

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

*Article 53.*

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

*Article 54.*

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

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

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

*Article 55.*

All the contracting States, adopting the principle of the widest publicity of the operations of disarmament, shall afford the organs of the Permanent International Commission of Control every facility for the full investigation of all branches of the activities of the State, of public associations and of private persons which are connected with the application of disarmament, or which, in the view of the Permanent International Commission of Control or its organs, give rise to doubts concerning the observance of the undertakings solemnly entered into with regard to disarmament and the discontinuance of all military preparations.

*Article 56.*

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

*Article 57.*

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

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

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CHAPTER V.

**SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENTS: BREACHES OF THE CONVENTION.  
RATIFICATIONS**

*Article 58.*

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

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

*Article 59.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Article 60.

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

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

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

#### Article 61.

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

#### Article 62.

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

#### Article 63.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For the rest, Chapter 1 of the Draft Convention develops and explains in detail the proposals put forward by the U.S.S.R. delegation at the fourth session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

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

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

(b) After the first stage of disarmament, the army of each country will retain such arms and munitions as are strictly necessary for the establishment maintained during the succeeding years. Moreover, the proportion of technical war material will be limited by a special convention. The object of this limitation, as of all the measures contemplated in Chapter 1, is to prevent the armaments maintained during those years from being used for purposes of war.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(f) The disarmament of military air forces involves in the first place the destruction of heavy aircraft as engines of war. Taking into consideration the social importance of aircraft as a means of communication, the Draft Convention does not make the destruction of the material essential to disarmament, since some of the aircraft can be converted to social and economic uses; but as there is no great difficulty in fitting aircraft for bomb-dropping, and as this can be done very quickly, the number of aircraft in the civil fleet must admittedly be proportionate to the country's genuine needs, and this is provided for in Article 28 of the Draft Convention.

(g) Fortifications and bases must be destroyed, since they can be used as places of arms for purposes of attack.

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

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

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

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

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

With this object, Chapter 4 of the Draft Convention lays down the principles of the control which is based upon extensive reciprocity, full publicity, and participation in the work by those classes of the population which are most interested in the speedy completion of disarmament.

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

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

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

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