LEAGUE OF NATIONS

CONFERENCE FOR THE REDUCTION AND LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

Co-ordination of the Draft Convention and of the Propositions referred to the General Commission on the Resumption of its Work.

REPORT OF THE BUREAU ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL COMMISSION ON APRIL 18TH, 1932.

Rapporteur: M. BENES.

In accordance with the proposal put forward on March 16th by the President of the General Commission and adopted by the latter, the President sent a circular letter to those delegations which had formulated proposals during the general discussion asking them to send to the Secretariat memoranda containing detailed explanations of those proposals and plans for their execution.

A large number of delegations responded to the President's request. Others have put forward, since we resumed our sittings, proposals, suggestions, resolutions of draft amendments related to the theses advanced by them during the general discussion.

When concluding the general discussion on Article I, the President proposed that the General Commission should instruct its Bureau to analyse and co-ordinate the various proposals and recommendations submitted in the above-mentioned memoranda and in the speeches delivered since last Monday, in order to adapt them to the synoptic table which had already been adopted by the General Commission (document Conf.D.102).

It is hardly necessary to say that the task entrusted to us is limited to this adaptation, and in no way involves changing an order which was established after prolonged consultation and was definitely adopted by the General Commission at its meeting on March 8th last. Accordingly the new proposals must in principle fall within the framework of the scheme which you have decided to regard as your agenda, so that there shall be no need to alter this arrangement.

The General Commission also decided that the suggestions made by its Bureau should be submitted to the Bureau of the Conference to be examined and referred to the Commission—doubtless after such amendments as the Bureau might think desirable had been introduced.

I have accordingly made an examination and analysis of: (1) the memoranda, (2) the draft resolutions and texts submitted during the general discussion on Article I, (3) the other suggestions put forward during the discussion, on which no formal proposals have been made. It is the result of this work that I lay before you hereunder.
I. MEMORANDA PRESENTED BY CERTAIN DELEGATIONS.

Memorandum by the Afghan Delegation (document Conf.D.II6).

The Afghan delegation has submitted a memorandum containing eight points:

Point I relates to the abolition of every kind of heavy artillery. ¹
Point 2 relates to the abolition of tanks and armoured cars. ¹
Point 3 relates to the abolition of bombing machines and prohibition of dropping bombs. ¹
Point 4 relates to the abolition of chemical and bacteriological weapons. ¹
Point 5 relates to the abolition of certain fortifications. ¹
Point 6 relates to the equalisation of armed forces. ¹
Point 7 relates to the limitation of material by budgetary methods. ²
Point 8 relates to the protection of the civil population. ¹

All these proposals relate to points already appearing in document Conf.D.I02 and no new principle is involved.

Memorandum by the Argentine Delegation (document Conf.D.I07).

The Argentine delegation has submitted an amendment to its original proposal (document Conf.D.99, page 52) concerning capital ships, mentioned in point 5 on page 15 of document Conf.D.I02. The purpose of this amendment is to coordinate different proposals of the same kind submitted by other delegations.³

No new principle is involved and no change is necessary in this connection in the General Commission's agenda.


The memorandum gives the reasons for the Chinese delegation's proposals regarding the criteria of limitation already figuring in III(a), page 3, and in III(b), page 4 of document Conf.D.I02.⁴

It then deals with the abolition of aggressive arms.⁵
No new principle is involved and no change is necessary in the General Commission's agenda.

Memorandum by the Danish Delegation (document Conf.D.I12).

The memorandum contains six proposals.

(1) The first deals with the abolition of aggressive arms. The memorandum is supplemented on this point by a draft resolution (document Conf.D./C.G.I6 (1)) which stipulates that the proposed abolition must be supplemented by a prohibition of the manufacture and preparation of the said arms and of training in their use. The principle of the prohibition of these arms, which figures in III(a) of the General Commission's agenda, seems to imply that of the prohibition of manufacture and preparation. On the other hand, prohibition of training in their use is a new complementary idea, which already figures in point 2, page 11 of document Conf.D.I02, the principle of which can also be discussed under point III of the Agenda.

The memorandum enumerates the arms covered by the proposal and states the reasons for including them in the list.⁶

(2) Proposal II relates to the procedure to be employed in studying the internationalisation or control of civil aviation proposed by the Danish delegation and figuring in Article 28, point 3, page 20, of document Conf.D.I02.⁷ No new principle is raised. Nevertheless, the General Commission might refer this proposal immediately to the Air Commission, since it affects the latter's procedure and hence might be discussed by it.

¹ Add to document Conf.D.I02 the name of Afghanistan and a reference to document Conf.D.I16, at the following places:
Page 2 under point I (a); page 12 under points 1, 7, 8, and 10; page 17 under point 6; page 18 under point 8; page 23 under point 4; page 24 under point 1.
² Insert the proposal in document Conf.D.I02 on page 21 between points 1 and 2.
³ The new Argentine proposal will have to be inserted between points 5 and 6 on page 13 of the co-ordinating table (document Conf.D.I02). That figuring in point 5, page 15, should be deleted.
⁴ Reference to document Conf.D.I11 should be made under these points in document Conf.D.I02.
⁵ Add the name of China to Chapter C, 3, page 17, and Part V, point 4, page 23 of document Conf.D.I02.
⁶ Add the name of Denmark after the names of the countries having asked for the abolition of each of the said arms—i.e., to points 2, 6 and 7, page 12; Article 14, point 1, and Article 15, point 1, page 15; Article 16, point 1, page 16; point 23, page 15; Chapter C, points 1 to 3, page 17; and points 3, 8 and 12, page 24 of document Conf.D.I02.
⁷ Reference to document Conf.D.I12 should be made under this point in Document Conf.D.I02.
(3) Proposal III is that the Special Commission should be asked to study the reductions in the level of armaments and expenditure resulting from the abolition of aggressive arms, with a view to applying the method of proportional reduction recommended by the Danish delegation and figuring under II (e), page 2 of document Conf.D.Io2.1
The principle of the method of reduction does not appear to be essentially affected. It will be for the General Commission to decide when it discusses this principle whether, before taking a decision, it desires to ask the Special Commissions to make the study suggested by the Danish delegation.

(4) Proposal IV reiterates, with reasons in support, the Danish proposal relating to the Permanent Disarmament Commission, which figures under Article 40, point 1, page 25 of document Conf.D.Io2.1
No new principle is involved in this proposal.

(5) Proposal V amplifies the Danish proposals figuring in Chapter V, Chemical Arms, points 3 and 5, page 23 of document Conf.D.Io2.1 It is proposed in particular to set up a technical sub-committee to get into touch with the national cartels of chemical products.
No new principle is raised. The General Commission will have to decide, however, on the urgency of the proposal, which involves the setting up of a new body and consultations with bodies extraneous to the Conference. It should be noted that the General Commission has already considered the setting up of a special commission. This body, if set up, might study this Danish proposal.

(6) Proposal VI amplifies the same proposal relating to the preparation of the successive stages of disarmament which figures under II (e), page 2 of document Conf.D.Io2.1 The principle of this proposal is on the General Commission’s agenda under No. I (c) of document Conf.D.103.
No new principle is raised by this proposal.

Memorandum by the French Delegation (document Conf.D.II5).

The memorandum is a study on the internationalisation of civil air transport, a question which figures under Article 28, point 1, page 19 of document Conf.D.Io2,2 and the principle of which figures in the agenda of the General Commission under No.B.5(d) of document Conf.D.103.
The study has been submitted as a basis for discussion to the Air Commission and does not raise any fresh question of principle for the General Commission.

Memorandum by the Italian Delegation (document Conf.D.106.)

The memorandum amplifies the proposal of the Italian delegation with reference to the prohibition of aggressive war materials, which proposal figures under No. IV(a), page 3 of document Conf.D.102,3 and the principle of which figures in the agenda of the General Commission under No. III(a) of document Conf.D.103.
The memorandum defines the arms covered by the proposal and the practical procedure for application.4
No fresh principle is raised by the concrete proposals themselves. At the same time § IV of the memorandum contains a suggestion which constitutes a principle supplementary to that of qualitative limitation and which might be discussed together with Point III(a) of document Conf.D.103. The additional suggestion is that States should establish a contractual undertaking not to employ the authorised means of warfare for purposes connected with means of warfare which have been abolished.


The memorandum submitted by the Japanese delegation consists of ten points.
Point 1 reads as follows: "Adoption of the draft Convention as a basis for discussion..." Failing other indications, it would appear that the Japanese delegation simply wished to repeat what it had said during the general discussion—namely, that its attitude would be to take the draft Convention as a basis. That would not be a concrete proposal which would have the preliminary effect of setting aside all other draft proposals. Such being the case, no question of principle would be raised by point 1.
Point 2 amplifies the reasons and means of applying the proposal which relates to the situation of States parties to the Convention in relation to States not parties to that Convention

1 Reference to document Conf.D.II2 should be made under this point of document Conf.D.102.
2 Reference should be made under this point of document Conf.D.102 to document Conf.D.II5.
3 Reference should be made under this point of document Conf.D.102 to document Conf.D.106.
4 Add the name of Italy in Chapter A, point 8, page 12 (document Conf.D.102), concerning the prohibition of armoured motor-cars and also in Article 28, point 4, page 20, concerning the control of civil aviation.
and States which might violate their obligations. This proposal figures in Part VI, point 1, page 25 of document Conf.D.102. Point 3 defines the proposal which relates to the taking into consideration of the particular conditions of the different countries. This proposal figures under Point III(b), page 3 of document Conf.D.102 and the principle appears on the agenda of the General Commission under point A.II(b).

Point 4 concerns the prohibition of bombardment from the air of civil populations which figures under point 10, page 24 of document Conf.D.102 and rules for bombing behind the front of the combatant troops. Point 5 concerns the prohibition of chemical and bacteriological warfare. Point 6 relates to the reduction of the tonnage and the calibre of artillery of capital ships. Point 7 deals with the reduction of the tonnage of aircraft-carriers. Point 8 relates to the prohibition of the fitting of aircraft landing platforms or decks on vessels of war. Point 9 concerns the conditional abolition of aircraft-carriers. Lastly, point 10 refers to the limitation of arms and aircraft equipment on merchant vessels.

Points 5-10 are already included in document Conf.D.102 under Nos. 8, page 23; 3, page 15; 3, page 16; 4, page 16; Article 15, point 2, page 15; Article 19, point 1, page 16. No new principle is raised by points 2-10 inclusive.


The memorandum contains detailed explanations of five proposals submitted by the Netherlands delegation.

1. The first point relates to a proposal for the limitation and reduction of the armed forces immediately mobilisable—a proposal which comes under point VII on page 6 of document Conf.D.102. The principle of this proposal appears on the General Commission’s agenda under point A.VI of document Conf.D.103. The memorandum proposes three articles for the application of this idea to the limitation of personnel—the principle of which is included under points 4 and 6 on page 7 of document Conf.D.102.

2. Point 2 develops the proposal relating to the limitation of land material which figures in point 12 on page 12 of document Conf.D.102 and the principle of which is included on the General Commission’s agenda under point B.3(d) of document Conf.D.103. The memorandum proposes the text of an article to give effect to this proposal.

3. Point 3 develops the proposal concerning the use of automatic contact mines in the open sea, which figures in Nos. 23, page 15, and 6, page 24 of document Conf.D.102. This latter proposal does not appear to raise any new principle to be placed on the General Commission’s agenda.

4. Point 4 concerns the proposal for the abolition of air bombing which figures in points 6 on page 17, and 10 on page 24 of document Conf.D.102.

5. Point 5 concerns the proposal for the publicity of armaments which figures in point 1 on page 22 of document Conf.D.102, and contains a draft article providing for publicity relating to the stocks of certain land, naval and air material. No new principle is raised by the memorandum.


The Swedish delegation’s memorandum deals with four points of the previous Swedish proposals.

1. The first point relates to the proposal for the limitation of trained reserves to be found in Part I, point 3, page 7 of document Conf.D.102. The principle of this proposal is on the General Commission’s agenda under B.1(c) of document Conf.D.103. For its application the memorandum first proposes the limitation of the annual contingent. This question already figures under point 6, on page 7 of document Conf.D.102 and on the General Commission’s agenda under point B.1(d). It is also proposed to reduce the period of service for a certain part of the contingent.

This latter proposal does not appear to raise any new principle to be placed on the General Commission’s agenda.

2. The second point deals with the proposal to combine quantitative and budgetary limitation to be found in Article 10, point 1, on page 13 of document Conf.D.102. The principle

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1 Reference to document Conf.D.114 should be made under this point of document Conf.D.102.
2 The second proposal should be inserted between points 11 and 12 on page 24 of document Conf.D.102.
3 Under each of the headings given in document Conf.D.102 a reference to (document Conf.D.114) should be inserted.
4 Reference to document Conf.D.108 should be made under this point of document Conf.D.102.
5 Reference to document Conf.D.108 should be inserted under these points of document Conf.D.102.
6 Under reference to this article should be inserted opposite Article 33 on page 22 of document Conf.D.102.
7 Insert under this point of document Conf.D.102 a reference to document Conf.D.110.
8 This proposal should be inserted in Chapter B, page 11 of document Conf.D.102.
of this proposal is on the General Commission’s agenda under point B.3(e) of document Conf.D.103. The memorandum proposes the text of an article to this effect.

(3) The third point deals with the proposal to abolish heavy artillery, mortars and trench mortars and tanks, which figures under points 2, 6 and 7 on page 12 of document Conf.D.102. The principle of this proposal is on the General Commission’s agenda under points A.III(a) and B.3(e). A draft article is included in the memorandum.

(4) The fourth point concerns the proposal relating to budgetary limitation to be found in point 7 on page 21 of document Conf.D.102. The memorandum proposes that this method should be applied to the limitation of military air material and of the subsidies granted for the purchase and maintenance of civil aviation material. None of these four points raises any new question of principle.

Memorandum by the Turkish Delegation (document Conf.D.113).

The Turkish delegation’s memorandum relates to the proposal specified in point I(as) on page 2 of document Conf.D.102, of which it constitutes an explanation, and, on point of detail, an amendment. The principle embodied in it, which is to be found in the General Commission’s agenda under A.I(a) of document Conf.D.103 is not appreciably modified by the amendments.

(1) As regards personnel, the memorandum proposes the fixing for all countries of an equal maximum for the annual contingent, the number of officers and non-commissioned officers, and the length of service. This proposal would not, however, appear to raise any other question of principle than that of the equalisation of armaments upon which the whole scheme is based.

(2) The memorandum lays emphasis on the proposal for the abolition of heavy artillery and tanks, which is already to be found in points 4 and 7 on page 12 of document Conf.D.102. It also recommends the abolition of military aviation.

(3) The memorandum contains a proposal which raises a new principle, that of the internationalisation of armament factories. It might be discussed by the General Commission under the item on its agenda concerning the trade in and manufacture of arms: point B.6 of document Conf.D.103.

(4) As regards chemical warfare, the memorandum proposes to destroy all appliances of chemical warfare and to internationalise the chemical industry. The first proposal is already contained in No. 4 on page 23 of document Conf.D.102. The second raises a new principle which might beinserted in the agenda of the General Commission under Point B.8 of document Conf.D.103.

II. Draft Resolutions and Texts Submitted.


The delegation of the United States of America has submitted a draft resolution which is primarily designed to prohibit certain land material, the details of its application to be studied by the Land Commission. The principle embodied in the proposal is already contained in the General Commission’s Agenda under A.III(a) of document Conf.D.103. It has already been arranged to refer the question to the Land Commission as soon as the General Commission has decided the question of principle.

As the general discussion related to the principle of the proposal, it may be thought that the details could be discussed under A.III of the Commission’s Agenda (document Conf.D.103).

1 Insert under this point of document Conf.D.102 a reference to document Conf.D.110.
2 These proposals should be inserted between points 10 and 11 on page 22, also as regards civil aviation at the end of point 8 on page 20 of document Conf.D.102.
3 A reference should be inserted after this point of document Conf.D.102 to document Conf.D.113.
4 In consequence of the amendments made on points of detail, the wording of the texts relating to the proposal should be modified, in particular on page 2, point 1 (a) ; on page 8, Articles 2 and 3, point 2; and on page 13, point (b) of document Conf.D.102.
5 These various points should be inserted as follows: the first between points 6 and 7 on page 7, the second between points 2 and 3 on page 8 and the third in Chapter B on page 11 of document Conf.D.102.
6 Turkey should be added to the list of States in point 3 on page 17 of document Conf.D.102, and a reference inserted to document Conf.D.113.
7 This point should be inserted between points 2 and 3, Trade in and Manufacture of Arms, page 20 of document Conf.D.102.
9 Insert this proposal between points 4 and 5, page 23 of document Conf.D.102.
10 The United States should be added to points 4 and 7 on page 12, and point 8 an page 23 of document Conf.D.102. Point 9 on page 23 should be deleted.
In the second place, the American delegation proposes that States should undertake not to make use of prohibited material in the event of war. The Political Commission might be entrusted with the duty of drawing up stipulations to this effect.¹

The idea of prohibiting the use of certain material in time of war raises a new question of principle relating both to that of qualitative limitation and to that of the prohibition of other methods of warfare: aerial bombing, chemical warfare, etc. This principle, which is also related to the proposal of the Italian delegation that an engagement should be entered into not to employ authorised means of war for purposes proper to prohibited means of war, might, like the latter, be discussed under point A.III of the General Commission’s agenda (document Conf.D.103) before being included, if necessary, in the agenda of the Political Commission.

Draft Article I of the Turkish Delegation (document Conf.D./C.G.13).

The Turkish delegation has submitted a draft article which lays down in principle the method of reduction recommended by it, to be found under I (a) on page 2 of document Conf.D.102.² This proposal does not raise any new principle.


Similarly, the Soviet delegation has submitted a draft Article I which lays down in principle the method of reduction, recommended by it, to be found under No. I (b) on page 2 of document Conf.D.102.³ This proposal does not raise any new principle.


The German delegation has submitted a draft Article I in which the High Contracting Parties agree to reduce and limit their respective armaments as laid down in the Convention. In the light of the explanations given by M. Nadolny in his speech on April 11th, this proposal does not appear to raise any different principle from that which figures in the German proposal under point I(c) on page 2 of document Conf.D.102 ⁴ and under point A.I(b) of the General Commission’s agenda, document Conf.D.103.


The Persian delegation has submitted a draft resolution concerning the internationalisation of all factories for the manufacture of arms and ammunition and war material. This proposal should be discussed together with that of the Turkish delegation under point B.6 of the agenda of the General Commission.⁵ The Persian delegation asks that the Land, Naval and Air Commissions should examine the methods for carrying out such internationalisation and should submit to the General Commission a practical proposal which shall pay due regard to the legitimate interests of the producing and non-producing countries. The General Commission will decide, when it discusses the principle of the matter, the action to be taken with regard to this proposal.


The Yugoslav delegation submits three proposals:

Point I deals with the abolition of certain naval material. This proposal is already to be found in Chapter B, point I on page 13 of document Conf.D.102.⁶ The general principle figures in the agenda of the General Commission under A.III(a) and under B.4(a) of document Conf.D.103. This point does not raise any new principle.

Point II deals with the limitation to present figures of heavy artillery and tanks, with a provision for placing them at the disposal of the League of Nations.⁷ The principle involved might be included under A.III or under No. B.2 (b) of the General Commission’s agenda (document Conf.D.103).

Lastly, point III relates to the prohibition of aerial bombing and chemical warfare and to the organisation of sanctions in the event of the violation of these prohibitions. This proposal

¹ This proposal should be inserted between points 4 and 5 on page 3 of document Conf.D.102.
² Add under this point a reference to document Conf.D./C.G.13.
⁴ Insert under this point of document Conf.D.102, a reference to document Conf.D./C.G.17.
⁵ Insert this proposal between points 2 and 3 of the chapter: “Trade in Arms “, page 20 of document Conf.D.102.
⁶ Reference should be made under this point of document Conf.D.102 to document Conf.D./C.G.15.
⁷ This proposal should be inserted between points 3 and 4, page 11 of document Conf.D.102.
figures, as regards chemical warfare, under point 6, page 23 (document Conf.D.102). The principles of the prohibition of the use of chemical arms and of sanctions are to be found in the General Commission's agenda under B.8(a) and (c). As regards aerial bombing, this prohibition figures under point 6 on page 17 of document Conf.D.102. However, this principle and the principle of sanctions in the event of the violation of this prohibition do not figure explicitly on the General Commission's agenda. They might be discussed with the similar provisions relating to chemical warfare.


This draft resolution has already been examined in conjunction with the Danish Delegation's memorandum.

**III. SUGGESTIONS PUT FORWARD DURING THE GENERAL DISCUSSION ON ARTICLE I.**

**Speech by the Delegate of Spain.**

The delegate of Spain proposes to divide armaments into four categories:

- **Category 1:** Arms which would be entirely abolished.
- **Category 2:** Arms which would be exclusively at the disposal of the League of Nations.
- **Category 3:** Arms which the States would be allowed to retain on condition that the League might requisition them at any time.
- **Category 4:** Arms the full ownership of which would remain with States.

This proposal represents the combined application of the principles of qualitative limitation, the prohibition of certain material except under certain conditions and lastly the creation of an international force, principles which will be found respectively under Points A.III(a), III(b) and IV(b) of the agenda of the General Commission (document Conf.D.103). It might accordingly be discussed when the various points which it embodies are under consideration, without its being necessary to formulate a fresh principle.

The delegate of Spain proposes also that the Permanent Disarmament Commission be requested to examine the military programme of States Members of the League and of States signatories to the Paris Pact as regards the quantity and quality of the armaments. This proposal seems to link up with the Norwegian proposal to be found in point II(a) page 2 of document Conf.D.102. It does not appear to raise any new principle. Its object is to define the powers of the Permanent Disarmament Commission.

Finally, there is another question to which I desire to draw attention.

Before the Easter recess, the General Commission received a letter (document Conf.D./C.G.9) from the President of the Naval Commission, from which it appeared that the Naval Commission was referring back to the General Commission points 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 12 of its agenda, together with the proposals of the Argentine and Netherlands delegations. This request is in accordance with the procedure which we have adopted.

In support of the Naval Commission's request, M. Colban asked the General Commission on March 16th to remember, when it drew up its own agenda after Easter, that it would be desirable to deal as soon as possible with those questions which would facilitate the progress of the Naval Commission's work. In reply, our President assured M. Colban that, when it resumed its meetings, the General Commission would examine as soon as possible the report on the state of the Naval Commission's work.

As the General Commission has referred to the Bureau the new proposals which have been submitted, the occasion would seem to be suitable for considering also the action to be taken with regard to the Naval Commission's request.

M. Colban has informed me that the Bureau of the Naval Commission is asking the General Commission to examine in addition point 19 of its agenda because this point, which deals with definitions of the categories of ships, is certainly connected with the questions concerning capital ships, aircraft-carriers and submarines, which figure among those sent back to us.

The Bureau may recommend the General Commission either to discuss first of all the points referred back by the Naval Commission or to consider these points at the moment when questions related to those submitted by M. Colban are dealt with, in their due order, by the General Commission.

I myself am rather in favour of the second solution and I would suggest that the Bureau should recommend the General Commission to incorporate in its agenda (document Conf.D.103) the questions sent back by the Naval Commission in the following manner:

- X. Restriction of the use of automatic contact mines. In connection with this point, the General Commission would examine the Netherlands proposal concerning the prohibition of the laying of automatic contact mines on the high seas;

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1 Reference should be made under this point of document Conf. D. 102 to document Conf. D./C.G.15.
2. Point B.4 of the agenda is headed, “Chapter B, Naval Material.” With regard to this chapter, the General Commission would discuss points 4 and 12 of the Naval Commission’s agenda. Point 4 is headed, “General Proposals of a Technical Character”, but many proposals which raise questions of principle are related to it; point 12 deals with merchant vessels;

3. All questions relating to points 7, 8, 9 and 19 of the Naval Commission’s agenda, which deal with capital ships, aircraft-carriers, submarines and definitions would be considered in connection with point B.4(a): “Prohibition of certain Material” in Chapter B.

4. As regards points 5 and 6 of the Naval Commission’s agenda relating to the distribution of tonnage by categories and the transfer of tonnage between the various categories, the following sub-heading would be added to point B.4: “(e) Distribution of Tonnage by Categories. — Transfer.”