LEAGUE OF NATIONS

CONFERENCE FOR THE REDUCTION AND LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

Proposals of the Soviet Delegation.

Note by the Secretary-General:

At the request of the President of the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments, the Secretary-General has the honour to transmit to the delegates to the Conference the following documents:

Letter from M. Litvinoff, President of the Delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with annexes:

(a) Draft Resolution for General, Total and Immediate Disarmament;
(b) Amendments to Draft Convention for the Proportional and Progressive Reduction of Armaments;
(c) Schemes;
(d) Explanatory Note.

COMMUNICATION FROM M. LITVINOFF, PRESIDENT OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION, TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE.

Geneva, February 18th, 1932.

I have the honour to send you herewith the proposals of the Soviet delegation to the Conference for Disarmament.

In accordance with my statement of February 11th, I have the honour to ask you to put the enclosed draft resolution before the Conference. This resolution, if accepted by the Conference, would enable it to make the draft convention for total and general disarmament advanced by the Soviet delegation at the Preparatory Commission on February 15th, 1928, and at the time sent to all Governments, the basis of its further work.

Should the Conference reject this resolution, I would ask you, in accordance with my statement of February 11th last, to place before the Conference the draft convention for the proportional and progressive reduction of armaments presented to the Preparatory Commission by the Soviet delegation on March 23rd, 1928.

I venture to bring to your notice that, in a resolution of April 19th, 1929, the Preparatory Commission, after consideration of this draft convention, decided to transmit it for the discussion of the Conference now sitting. Taking into consideration the memorandum of the Soviet delegation of December 9th, 1930, and the note to the report of the Preparatory Commission of the same date, I regard the draft convention for the proportional and progressive reduction of armaments as being thus already before the Conference.

Realising, however, that the aforesaid draft convention for the reduction of armaments was submitted to the Preparatory Commission four years ago, since when great progress has been made in military technique, and being, moreover, desirous of taking into account certain opinions expressed during the discussion of this draft convention in the Preparatory Commission, the Soviet Delegation thinks fit to make certain amendments to its own draft convention, and I have the honour to enclose these amendments herewith.

(Signed) M. Litvinoff.
Animated by the firm desire for an effective and solidly organised peace;
Actuated by the determination to create genuine security for all States and all peoples by preventing the possibility of future wars;
Convinced that the very existence of armaments and the tendency they show constantly to increase inevitably lead to armed international conflicts which tear the workers from their peaceful occupations and bring innumerable calamities in their train;
Considering that military expenditure, which imposes an intolerable burden upon the masses of the people, fosters and enhances the economic crisis with all its consequences;
Noting that the States which it represents have renounced war as an instrument of national policy;
Believing that the only effective means of contributing to the organisation of peace and the establishment of security against war is the general, complete and rapid abolition of all armed forces, setting out from the principle of equality for all;
Convinced that the idea of general and complete disarmament answers to the sincere aspirations of the masses towards peace:
The Conference decides to base its work on the principle of general and complete disarmament.

(b) AMENDMENTS TO THE SOVIET DRAFT CONVENTION ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS
(Conf. D. 87).

Article I of the draft to be modified as follows:

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

"States maintaining in peace time armed land forces:

"A. Of over 200,000 men;
"B. Of 30,000 to 200,000 men;
"C. Of 30,000 men or less.

"Remarks. — 1. States disarmed as a result of the world war are not included in any of the groups provided for in the present article.
"2. States having contracted alliances or agreements of mutual military assistance in case of armed conflicts shall be classified in the groups provided for in the present article, for the purpose of the reduction of their armaments, on the basis of a figure representing the total land forces of these States added together.
"Remarks 1, 2 and 3 of the draft shall be maintained and shall become Remarks 3, 4 and 5 respectively."

Article 2 of the draft shall be modified as follows:

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

"1. For States in Group A, by 50 per cent;
"2. For States in Group B, from 0 to 50 per cent according to the number of their effectives and to the scale of progressive and proportional reduction attached;
"3. For States in Group C, the effectives shall be limited to the present level.

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

Article 12 of the draft shall be modified as follows:

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

"A. Countries having a fleet of an aggregate tonnage exceeding 500,000 tons shall reduce it by 50 per cent, such reduction to affect both the aggregate tonnage of the entire fleet and the tonnage of each category, without right of transfer.
"B. Countries having a fleet with an aggregate tonnage of 100,000 to 500,000 tons shall reduce it both as regards aggregate tonnage and the tonnage of each of the categories from 0 per cent to 50 per cent in accordance with the scale of progressive and proportional reduction attached.
"These countries shall enjoy a right of transfer from 0 per cent to 100 per cent in inverse proportion to the ratio of reduction of their respective fleets.
"C. States having a fleet whose aggregate tonnage does not exceed 100,000 tons shall retain their fleet at the present level with unlimited right of transfer."
"D. States having aircraft carriers shall destroy them within a period of six months as from the entry into force of the present Convention."

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

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

Article 21 of the draft shall be modified as follows:

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

"States possessing in peace time air armed forces:

"E. Of more than $N$ aeroplanes in service;
"F. From 100 to $N$ aeroplanes in service;
"G. Not more than 100 aeroplanes in service.

"States in Group E shall reduce their armed air forces by 50 per cent.
"States in Group F shall reduce their armed air forces from 50 to 0 per cent in proportion to the number of aeroplanes in service and according to a scale of progressive and proportional reduction.
"States in Group G shall retain their armed air forces at the present level.
"This reduction shall apply both to the number of aeroplanes in service and to the total horse-power of these aeroplanes. In estimating this reduction, account shall be taken of the number and total horse-power both of aeroplanes in service in the armed air forces and of aeroplanes in service capable of use for war purposes and employed in formations organised on a military basis.
"The total engine-power of each aeroplane shall not exceed 600 h.p. on the ground.

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

Article 24 of the draft shall be modified as follows:

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

(c) Scale of Progressive and Proportional Reduction of Armaments.
(See Schemes, pages 4 and 5.)

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1 The figure $N$ will be fixed according to the decision taken by the Conference with regard to the abolition of bombing-machines.
Scale of Standards for the Progressive and Proportional Reduction of the Land Armed Forces of the Different Countries.

See Explanatory Note.

Total Present Effectives of Land Armed Forces.
SCALE OF STANDARDS FOR THE PROGRESSIVE AND PROPORTIONAL REDUCTION OF THE NAVAL ARMAMENTS OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTRIES.

See Explanatory Note.

Aggregate Tonnage of the Different Navies.
(d) **Explanatory Note.**

The principle of progressive and proportional reduction of land, sea or air forces consists in reducing these forces in direct ratio to their size, so that the forces of the countries possessing the most powerful armaments shall be subject to the maximum reduction. For other countries, this reduction will take place in a ratio directly proportional to the size of their armaments. Thus, applying this principle to the reduction of land armies, it is possible and it will be more equitable to prescribe a certain maximum uniform reduction for armies exceeding a given figure. On the other hand, it is possible to exempt from any reduction the smallest armies, *i.e.*, those below another given figure. As regards all the other armies included between these maximum and minimum limits, their reduction should be fixed according to a ratio directly proportional to the effectives of each. This system will also be applicable to naval and air forces.