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LEAGUE OF NATIONSConference for the Reduction and Limitation  
of Armaments

## MEMORANDUM

RELATING TO THE PROPOSALS OF THE TURKISH DELEGATION  
(Conf. D. 78)

Geneva, April 7th, 1932.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's letter of March 17th, 1932, in which you inform me of the General Commission's decision to the effect that delegations who have made proposals should prepare and send to the Secretariat memoranda giving detailed explanations and plans for putting them into effect.

In reply, I beg to forward herewith to Your Excellency the memorandum relating to the proposal which our delegation had the honour to submit to the Conference.

I desire at the same time to draw the attention of the Conference to the fact that the Turkish proposal for the reduction and equalisation of forces must be considered as a whole, and that this delegation does not regard itself as in any way bound by any particular part of its scheme or the explanations relating thereto taken separately and apart from the scheme as a whole.

*(Signed)* Cemal HÜSNÜ.

## MEMORANDUM.

The Turkish delegation indicated in its general statement the political, economic and social reasons which led to the preparation of its scheme. The delegation thinks that the most certain and effective way of attaining total disarmament, which is the ideal to be reached by humanity, is the equalisation of the reduced forces of all States.

It further desires to state that this result can only be made completely effective by the strict observance of the principle of neutrality and peace proclaimed by the signatories of the Briand-Kellogg Pact.

The fixing of a common level for all immediately mobilisable forces, with their reserve effectives and material, which may, for instance, be 100,000 men—the lowest figure being naturally the most desirable—will be a matter for the Conference, and, when once this level is determined, the armies with a strength exceeding this figure will reduce the surplus by an annual reduction of  $n$  per cents so as to reach in  $x$  years the strength of  $y$  men fixed by the Conference. As regards armies with a strength below the level decided on, it goes without saying that the moment when nations have agreed to reduce their forces is not one at which such States could think of increasing them for the purpose of attaining the level fixed. Their security, which, with their existing forces, may be relative during the race for armaments, would be virtually absolute under the system of equalisation, which would have secured, around the States that have kept their effectives below the common level, a considerable reduction of forces and therewith of potential menace.

It may be well at this point to make clear the fundamental idea embodied in the Turkish scheme by saying that the proposed system of equalisation aims at a gradual diminution of all armies according to their strength, and that this system is the exact opposite of those systems which would maintain the existing situation as regards the present proportions of forces.

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METHOD OF EXECUTION.

*Land Armed Forces.*

States with an army the strength of which exceeds the figure  $y$  fixed by the Conference will proceed to reduce their forces, from the level given in the declaration made to the League of Nations in 1931, by means of the formula given below :

$x$  = effectives declared to the League of Nations in 1931.

$y$  = level of forces fixed by the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments.

$z$  = number of years over which the gradual reduction will be spread.

$n$  = percentage of annual reduction.

s

or in other words :

$$\frac{n(x - y)}{100} = s$$

s = exact reduction to be made yearly by each State.

The result of this system would be a gradual, not destructive and hardly noticeable, reduction by which, after a fixed period, all the forces of the world would be reduced to a common level.

A not less appreciable advantage of this solution would be that the offensive power of large armies would be decreased more and more each year without the defensive potentialities of the smaller armies being too greatly affected.

*Sea Armed Forces.*

The Turkish delegation has proposed a scheme for the complete equalisation of forces, but is nevertheless ready to admit that naval forces, which are considerable only in a very small number of States, should be equalised more slowly by providing for a first stage of equalisation in two or three parts, absolute equality being reached after a certain period. This delegation is, in fact, of opinion that naval forces, which safeguard free communication between different nations with common interests, and which, by themselves, have not the opportunities for attacking which land armies clearly have, may be reduced less rapidly and in two or three stages, as required, of  $r$  tons each, forces below the lowest level not being liable to reduction.

This less radical proposal is, moreover, only put forward as a compromise, for the Turkish delegation is, above all, in favour of complete equalisation of all forces.

*Air Forces.*

The Turkish delegation has proposed the complete abolition of air forces. If this proposal is accepted by the Conference, such aeroplanes as are capable of transformation into commercial or sporting machines should be so converted and the others destroyed ; moreover, there must be reliable guarantees that the transformation and the destruction are, in fact, carried out.

*Reserves.*

While each State is left entirely free to organise the recruiting and training systems of its army as it thinks fit, the Turkish delegation considers that, with a view to attaining effective equalisation and reduction, all States must accept a system of standardisation of the period of service, the annual reserves called up and the maximum numbers for officers and N.C.O.s.

In the same way, the manufacture of war materials should be unified under conditions which are stated below.

*Material.*

The Turkish delegation has proposed the complete abolition of tanks and heavy artillery. As the tanks and guns cannot be used for other purposes, their destruction and that of all the material connected with them must be completely carried out under the fullest guarantees.

*Manufacture.*

The effective reduction of forces and their equalisation can only be ensured by the internationalisation of armament manufacture. Manufacture by the State or by private firms and free or even limited sale of war material automatically lead to an increase of forces.

For this reason, it would be desirable to consider the complete abolition of a large number of armament factories and a wise and safe distribution of the other centres of manufacture, in which each State would have an interest equal to the full amount of its orders, to be carried out under the effective supervision of all the other parties concerned.

*Chemical Arms.*

As regards chemical warfare, the Turkish delegation considers that, at the present time, the gravest anxiety felt by the various peoples at the thought of a future war relates to technical surprise. Any army that is conscious of its inability to attain its objective by the ordinary and usual means of warfare endeavours to secure weapons unknown to its adversary and capable of throwing him into confusion and thus of leading to victory by surprise.

It goes without saying that, when peoples are assured of a peaceful existence without having to provide their armies with methods more effective than those of their neighbours, and when the principle of equalisation has produced its salutary effects, there will be no further need to seek for and to use the means in question. But, even after complete prohibition of chemical warfare by international treaties, the chemical industry, restricted to its true purpose, should be internationalised in the same way as the manufacture of war material.

It would, moreover, be absolutely necessary to take the first step in the direction of prohibition by a complete destruction at the outset of all means of chemical warfare at present in existence.

