The 1925 Geneva Protocol at 90

Dr Caitríona McLeish
The Harvard Sussex Program
SPRU
University of Sussex

Dr Filippa Lentzos
Department of Social Science,
Health and Medicine
King’s College London
Some notes from history
LEAGUE OF NATIONS

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
CONFERENCE
FOR THE
Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War.

Held at Geneva, May 4th to June 17th, 1925.

INTRODUCTION.

CONVENTION FOR THE SUPERVISION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND IN IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

STATEMENT REGARDING THE TERRITORY OF IFNI.

PROTOCOL FOR THE PROHIBITION OF THE USE IN WAR OF ASPHYXIATING, POISONOUS OR OTHER GASES, AND OF BACTERIOLOGICAL METHODS OF WARFARE.

PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE.

FINAL ACT.

VERBATIM REPORTS OF THE CONFERENCE (Plenary Meetings) AND THE GENERAL COMMITTEE AND MINUTES OF THE TECHNICAL COMMITTEES.

OTHER DOCUMENTS.
“The use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and all analogous liquids, materials or devices has been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilized world, and a prohibition of such use has been declared in treaties to which a majority of civilized Powers are parties. The High Contracting Parties therefore agree absolutely to prohibit the export from their territories of any such asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and all analogous liquids, intended or designed for use in connection with operations in war…”

Senator Theodore Burton, A.13.1925.IX, 5th May 1929
(emphasis added)
General Kazimierz Sosnkowski, circa 1925
Courtesy of Polish National Archive
Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare.

Geneva, June 17, 1925.

PROTOCOL.

The undersigned Plenipotentiaries, in the name of their respective Governments:

Whereas the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and of all analogous liquids, materials or devices, has been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilized world; and

Whereas the prohibition of such use has been declared in Treaties to which the majority of Powers of the world are Parties; and

To the end that this prohibition shall be universally accepted as a part of International Law, binding alike the conscience and the practice of nations;

DECLARE:

That the High Contracting Parties, so far as they are not already Parties to Treaties prohibiting such use, accept this prohibition, agree to extend this prohibition to the use of bacteriological methods of warfare and agree to be bound as between themselves according to the terms of this declaration.

The High Contracting Parties will exert every effort to induce other States to accede to the present Protocol. Such accession will be notified to the Government of the French Republic, and by the latter to all signatory and acceding Powers, and will take effect on the date of the notification by the Government of the French Republic.

The present Protocol, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified as soon as possible. It shall bear to-day's date.

The ratifications of the present Protocol shall be addressed to the Government of the French Republic, which will at once notify the deposit of such ratifications to each of the signatory and acceding Powers.

The instruments of ratification and accession to the present Protocol will remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic.

The present Protocol will come into force for each signatory Power as from the date of deposit of its ratification, and, from that moment, each Power will be bound as regards other Powers which have already deposited their ratifications.

Original HM Stationary Office document, courtesy of The Sussex Harvard Information Bank
### Ratifications Deposited

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Empire</td>
<td>Apr. 9, 1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>May 6, 1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>Apr. 9, 1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>May 9, 1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>Dec. 4, 1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>May 5, 1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Dec. 6, 1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>June 28, 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>May 9, 1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Apr. 25, 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Apr. 3, 1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Feb. 4, 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roumania</td>
<td>Aug. 23, 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Aug. 22, 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Apr. 25, 1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Oct. 5, 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>Feb. 8, 1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>Apr. 12, 1929</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Accessions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Jan. 23, 1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>Aug. 7, 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>Apr. 2, 1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>July 4, 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
<td>Apr. 5, 1928</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Total number of High Contracting Parties to the Geneva Protocol each decade.
Limitations to the Geneva Protocol
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*British Empire</td>
<td>Apr. 9, 1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Canada</td>
<td>May 6, 1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*India</td>
<td>Apr. 9, 1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Austria</td>
<td>May 9, 1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Belgium</td>
<td>Dec. 4, 1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Denmark</td>
<td>May 5, 1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Egypt</td>
<td>Dec. 6, 1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Finland</td>
<td>June 26, 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*France</td>
<td>May 9, 1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Germany</td>
<td>Apr. 25, 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Italy</td>
<td>Apr. 3, 1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Japan</td>
<td>Feb. 4, 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Roumania</td>
<td>Aug. 23, 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Spain</td>
<td>Aug. 22, 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Sweden</td>
<td>Apr. 25, 1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Turkey</td>
<td>Oct. 5, 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Venezuela</td>
<td>Feb. 8, 1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>Apr. 12, 1929</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Accessions**

- *Australia
- New Zealand
- *South Africa

- China
- Liberia
- Persia
- *Soviet Union

* With reservations as regards States who have not ratified or acceded to the protocol or who do not respect its provisions.
All known reservations since 1925

Key
- High Contracting Party
- High Contracting Party with known reservations
- Not a High Contracting Party
Known reservations up to 2006

Key
- High Contracting Party
- High Contracting Party with known reservations
- Not a High Contracting Party
Relationship with the Biological Weapons Convention
UNited kingdom

Working Paper on Microbiological Warfare

The United Kingdom Delegation consider that the 1925 Geneva Protocol is not an entirely satisfactory instrument for dealing with the question of chemical and micro-biological warfare. The following points may be noted:

(i) Many states are not parties to the Protocol and of those that are parties many, including the United Kingdom, have reserved the right to use chemical and bacteriological weapons against non-parties, violators of the Protocol and their allies.

(ii) Jurists are not agreed whether the Protocol represents customary international law or whether it is of a purely contractual nature.

(iii) Even if all states were to accede to the Protocol there would still be a risk of large-scale use of the proscribed weapons as long as states have the right to manufacture such weapons and to use them against violators and their allies.

(iv) There is no consensus on the meaning of the term "gases" in the phrase "asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and all analogous liquids, materials or devices". The French version of the Protocol renders "or other" as "ou similaires" and the discrepancy between "other" and "similaires" has led to disagreement on whether non-lethal gases are covered by the Protocol.

(v) The term "bacteriological" as used in the Protocol is not sufficiently comprehensive to include the whole range of microbiological agents that might be used in hostilities.

(vi) The prohibition in the Protocol applies to use "in war". There may therefore be doubt as to its applicability in the case of hostilities which do not amount to war in its technical sense.
“…Poison gas and toxic substances…were not used in the Second World War when the Geneva Protocol of 1925…was already in place…” (USSR ENDC/PV.386)

“…nothing should be done that would damage or undermine the ban already expressed…” (Sweden ENDC/PV.391)

“…the whole subject needs to be carried a step beyond the position as it is today, but without detriment to the validity and importance of the Protocol…” (India ENDC/PV.389)

“…We consider as useful the suggestion that the Secretariat should prepare a report on the effects of the use of bacteriological and chemical weapons…” (Poland ENDC/PV.385)
“…Today I would once again repeat that nothing that I have in mind would in any way limit or derogate from obligations assumed by States Parties to the Geneva Protocol… Indeed I suggest that any convention that may be submitted should make this abundantly clear, both in the preambular form and also by an operative article which might be along the following lines”

“Nothing contained in the present Convention shall be construed as in any way limiting or derogating from obligations assumed by any State under the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925”

Mr Mulley, UK, ENDC/PV.404, 17th April 1969
CONVENTION
ON THE PROHIBITION OF THE DEVELOPMENT, PRODUCTION AND STOCKPILING OF BACTERIOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL) AND TOXIN WEAPONS AND ON THEIR DESTRUCTION

The States Parties to this Convention,

Determined to act with a view to achieving effective progress towards general and complete disarmament, including the prohibition and elimination of all types of weapons of mass destruction, and convinced that the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and their elimination, through effective measures, will facilitate the achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control,

Recognising the important significance of the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925, and conscious also of the contribution which the said Protocol has already made, and continues to make, to mitigating the horrors of war,

Reaffirming their adherence to the principles and objectives of that Protocol and calling upon all States to comply strictly with them,

Recalling that the General Assembly of the United Nations has repeatedly condemned all actions contrary to the principles and objectives of the Geneva Protocol of 17 June 1925,

Desiring to contribute to the strengthening of confidence between peoples and the general improvement of the international atmosphere,

Desiring also to contribute to the realisation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Convinced of the importance and urgency of eliminating from the arsenals of States, through effective measures, such dangerous weapons of mass destruction as those using chemical or bacteriological (biological) agents,

Recognising that an agreement on the prohibition of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons represents a first possible step towards the achievement of agreement on effective measures also for the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, and determined to continue negotiations to that end,

Determined, for the sake of all mankind, to exclude completely the possibility of bacteriological (biological) agents and toxins being used as weapons,

Convinced that such use would be repugnant to the conscience of mankind and that no effort should be spared to minimise this risk,

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE VII

Each State Party to this Convention undertakes to provide or support assistance, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, to any Party to the Convention which so requests, if the Security Council decides that such Party has been exposed to danger as a result of violation of the Convention.

ARTICLE VIII

Nothing in this Convention shall be interpreted as in any way limiting or detracting from the obligations assumed by any State under the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925.

ARTICLE IX

Each State Party to this Convention affirms the recognised objective of effective prohibition of chemical weapons and, to this end, undertakes to continue negotiations in good faith with a view to reaching early agreement on effective measures for the prohibition of their development, production and stockpiling and for their destruction, and on appropriate measures concerning equipment and means of delivery specifically designed for the production or use of chemical agents for weapons purposes.

ARTICLE X

(1) The States Parties to this Convention undertake to facilitate, and have the right to participate in, the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the use of bacteriological (biological) agents and toxins for peaceful purposes. Parties to the Convention in a position to do so shall also co-operate in contributing individually or together with other States or international organisations to the further development and application of scientific discoveries in the field of bacteriology (biology) for the prevention of disease, or for other peaceful purposes.

(2) This Convention shall be implemented in a manner designed to avoid hampering the economic or technological development of States Parties to the Convention or international co-operation in the field of peaceful bacteriological (biological) activities, including the international exchange of bacteriological (biological) agents and toxins and equipment for the processing, use or production of bacteriological (biological) agents and toxins for peaceful purposes in accordance with the provisions of the Convention.
“The Conference stresses the importance of the withdrawal of all reservations to the 1925 Geneva Protocol”
(Final Document 3rd Review Conference)

“The conference reaffirms that the use by the States Parties in any way or under any circumstances of microbial or other biological agents or toxins, that is not consistent with prophylactic, protective or other peaceful purposes is effectively a violation of Article 1 of the Convention…”
(Final Document 4th Review Conference)

“The Conference notes that the Islamic Republic of Iran has formally presented a proposal to amend Article I and the title of the Convention to include explicitly the prohibition of the use…”
(Final Document 4th and 6th Review Conferences)
A biological cornerstone of the rules of war
“The Conference appeals to all States Parties to the 1925 Geneva Protocol to fulfill their obligations assumed under that Protocol and urges all states not yet party to the Protocol to ratify or accede to it without further delay”

(Final Document 7th Review Conference)
Number of new High Contracting Parties to the Geneva Protocol each decade

Raw data: http://disarmament.un.org/treaties/
“The Conference acknowledges that the 1925 Geneva Protocol…and the Convention complement each other. The Conference reaffirms that nothing contained in the Convention shall be interpreted as in any way limiting or detracting from the obligations assumed by any state under the 1925 Geneva Protocol”

(Final Document 7th Review Conference)
“The Conference stresses the importance of the withdrawal of all reservations to the 1925 Geneva Protocol related to the Convention”

(Final Document 7th Review Conference)
“The Conference recalls the actions which States Parties have taken to withdraw their reservations to the 1925 Geneva Protocol related to the Convention, and calls upon those States Parties that continue to maintain pertinent reservations to the 1925 Geneva Protocol to withdraw those reservations, and to notify the Depositary of the 1925 Geneva Protocol accordingly, without delay”

(Final Document 7th Review Conference)
“The Conference notes that reservations concerning retaliation, through the use of any of the objects prohibited by the Convention, even conditional, are totally incompatible with the absolute and universal prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling, acquisition and retention of bacteriological (biological) and toxin weapons, with the aim to exclude completely and forever the possibility of their use.”

(Final Document 7th Review Conference)
“The Conference notes that the Secretary-General’s investigation mechanism, set out in A/44/561 and endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 45/57, represents an international institutional mechanism for investigating cases of alleged use of biological or toxin weapons. The Conference notes national initiatives to provide relevant training to experts that could support the Secretary-General’s investigative mechanism.”

(Final Document 7th Review Conference)
Contact details and funder acknowledgements

Dr Caitríona McLeish
c.a.mcleish@sussex.ac.uk
@camcleish

Dr Filippa Lentzos
filippa.lentzos@kcl.ac.uk
@FilippaLentzos

KING'S College LONDON

Arts & Humanities Research Council