

**CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE  
ON DISARMAMENT**

ENDC/PV.341  
24 October 1967  
ENGLISH

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FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIRST MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,  
on Tuesday, 24 October 1967, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman:

Mr. A. da COSTA GUIMARAES

(Brazil)

## PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:  
Mr. A. da COSTA GUMARAES  
Mr. S. de QUEIROZ DUARTE  
Mr. J. NOGUEIRA FILHO

Bulgaria:  
Mr. K. CHRISTOV  
Mr. B. KONSTANTINOV  
Mr. T. DAMIANOV

Burma:  
U KYAW MIN

Canada:  
Mr. E.L.M. BURNS  
Mr. A.G. CAMPBELL  
Mr. J.R. MORDEN  
Mr. A. BERNIER

Czechoslovakia:  
Mr. P. WINKLER  
Mr. V. VAJNAR  
Mr. J. STRUCKA

Ethiopia:  
Mr. A. ZELLEKE  
Mr. B. ASSFAW

India:  
Mr. V.C. TRIVEDI  
Mr. N. KRISHNAN  
Mr. K.P. JAIN

Italy:  
Mr. R. CARACCILOLO  
Mr. G.P. TOZZOLI  
Mr. E. FRANCO  
Mr. F. SORO

Mexico:  
Mr. J. CASTANEDA  
Miss E. AQUIRRE

Nigeria:  
Alhaji SULE KOLO  
Mr. B.O. TONWE

Poland:

Mr. A. CZARKOWSKI

Mr. E. STANIEWSKI

Romania:

Mr. N. ECOBESCO

Mr. O. IONESCO

Mr. C. GEORGESCO

Mr. A. COROIANU

Sweden:

Mr. A. EDELSTAM

Mr. R. BOMAN

Mr. J. PRAWITZ

Union of Soviet Socialist  
Republics:

Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN

Mr. M.V. ANTYASOV

Mr. V.V. SHUSTOV

United Arab Republic:

Mr. H. KHALLAF

Mr. A. OSMAN

Mr. O. SIRRY

Mr. M. SHAKER

United Kingdom:

Sir Harold BEELEY

Mr. I.F. PORTER

Mr. R.I.T. CROMARTIE

United States of America:

Mr. A.S. FISHER

Mr. S. DePALMA

Mr. G. BREAM

Mr. A.F. NEIDLE

Special Representative of the  
Secretary-General:

Mr. D. PROTITCH

Deputy Special Representative  
of the Secretary-General:

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

1. The CHAIRMAN (Brazil): I declare open the 341st plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.
2. Mr. CARACCIOLO (Italy) (translation from French): In its statement of 1 August (ENDC/PV.318), and later in that of 29 August (ENDC/PV.326), the Italian delegation informed the Committee of the reasons which prevented it from taking up a position in regard to the non-proliferation treaty (ENDC/192, 193) before the procedure prescribed for the consultation of its parliament was completed. At the same time it gave an implied assurance that that procedure would be started as soon as possible.
3. That pledge has been scrupulously kept, and in a vote last Thursday the Italian Senate approved the aims pursued by the Government, which are first, the conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty, and secondly the improvement of the text before us along the lines already set forth in the Committee by the Italian delegation in its previously-mentioned statements. Those improvements, which were listed by the Italian Foreign Minister in his statement in the Senate, relate in brief to the following points:
  - The balance of obligations and responsibilities between nuclear Powers and non-nuclear Powers;
  - Specific undertakings concerning nuclear disarmament by the nuclear Powers, over against the unconditional and absolute renunciation of atomic weapons which the non-nuclear countries are called upon to make;
  - A certain flexibility in the provisions of the treaty relating to duration, amendments and the right of withdrawal;
  - The formulation of a text which could not in any circumstances become an obstacle to the development of European unity.
4. In my statement today I do not intend to dwell on all the problems I have just mentioned. Several speakers in the debates have already dealt with many of these questions and put forward specific and constructive proposals for improving the draft treaty. Moreover, we know from the statements made at the meetings of 12 and 17 October (ENDC/PV.338, 339) that the co-Chairmen are carefully studying the suggestions and amendments which have been submitted here and intend to inform the Committee of their own reactions as soon as possible. I am certain that the spirit of co-operation shown so far by the sponsors of the treaty will lead them to take these legitimate concerns into account, either by incorporating the necessary provisions in the text or by improving certain preambular and operative paragraphs of the treaty.

(Mr. Caracciolo, Italy)

5. I shall also refrain today from any comment on article III, which is still left blank in the text, in order not to hinder the intensive and, I hope, fruitful work of the co-Chairmen and, at the same time, the consultations which are taking place outside this Committee. Italy, as a non-nuclear but highly-industrialized country using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, attaches the greatest importance to a balanced formulation of that article.

6. For my part I should merely like to recall today two principles which appear to us essential and which I should like to emphasize: first, that controls should relate strictly to verification of the commitments which are to be undertaken by nuclear and by non-nuclear countries; secondly, that they should not conflict with the commitments already undertaken by some countries which, like my own, form part of a regional community deeply devoted to international co-operation. My delegation may make comments after the presentation of a text which, we hope, will meet the concerns and requirements to which I have referred.

7. Nor shall I dwell on article V of the treaty; because I think that, in expressing at the meeting of 12 October (ENDC/PV.338, para. 25, 26) my support for the suggestion put forward by the United Kingdom delegation that the duties of the revision conference should be widened to include assurance that the purposes of the preamble were being realized, and I stressed clearly enough the Italian position in that regard. We believe in the need to give a legal value to the declarations of intent contained in the preamble concerning the link to be established between this treaty and other specific disarmament measures.

8. From the beginning of our negotiations my delegation has always held that the non-proliferation treaty, in order to comply with its aims, should be so conceived and constructed as to eliminate any element which could render it inoperative. For that reason I wish to focus my statement on a part of article VII of the draft treaty which has so far not been considered in depth.

9. The first paragraph of that article states that the treaty shall be of unlimited duration. That is a very far-reaching statement, because it is not the lot of man to pledge eternity. Moreover, if we look back across our thousands of years of history, we see very few non-institutional treaties that have simply survived the vicissitudes of one generation, let alone achieved immortality. Therefore we fear that to affirm a principle so remote from reality may introduce into the treaty an element of weakness rather than of strength.

(Mr. Caracciolo, Italy)

10. The advocates of unlimited duration have asserted that too short a duration would not give the non-nuclear countries time to become truly converted to the idea of nuclear disarmament, because the date of expiry of the treaty would be so close. I must confess quite frankly that I am not convinced by that argument. Whereas too short a duration may have those drawbacks, the other extreme solution, that of unlimited duration, seems to me to have equally serious drawbacks, because it would deprive the treaty of the credibility which, on the contrary, should constitute its strength.

11. We all know that future generations will have to live, even on a strictly technological level, in a setting very different from the present one. To imprison them in an iron corset, which could not be adjusted to the changing conditions of history, would in our opinion expose that corset to the danger of bursting. We therefore prefer a steel corset which, being more flexible, could more effectively assure the continuation of the treaty. Furthermore, in strict law some countries might, when they came to sign a treaty of unlimited duration, find themselves in constitutional difficulties.

12. In order, therefore, to increase the force of this treaty and at the same time to remove potential obstacles to its conclusion, the Italian delegation desires today to submit to the Committee the following amendment intended to replace the first paragraph of article VII:

"This treaty shall have a duration of X years and shall be renewed automatically for any party which shall not have given, six months before the date of expiry of the treaty, notice of its intention to cease to be party to the treaty". (ENDC/200/Rev.1)

We have preferred for the time being to leave an X in our amendment in place of a figure, in order to give the various delegations an opportunity to express their views on this subject. But we think that in any case this period should not exceed that of most of the non-institutional international treaties. It also seems to us that the proposed amendment could be regarded as an acceptable compromise between the idea of unlimited duration and that of a fixed term. It provides that the treaty shall always remain in force for those who do not denounce it, and at the same time allows those who are not satisfied with its operation to withdraw after a certain number of years.

(Mr. Caracciolo, Italy)

13. In conclusion, permit me to recall the words spoken by the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs on the non-proliferation treaty at the end of his statement in the Italian Senate:

"The line followed so far by Italy aims at encouraging the conclusion of the negotiations without sparing any effort. We are indeed convinced that the aim to be pursued is not solely to solve the problem of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons, but is also to enable us to facilitate through its achievement the solution of the other problems which threaten the peace of the world."

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 341st plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of Mr. A. da Costa Guimaraes, representative of Brazil.

"A statement was made by the representative of Italy.

"The delegation of Italy tabled an amendment to article VII of the draft treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (ENDC/200).

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Thursday, 26 October 1967, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 10.50 a.m.