I have the honour to transmit to you, in accordance with the provisions of resolution 31/189 B, the views of the Government of the Argentine Republic on the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament:

1. The Argentine Republic believes that the decision taken by the General Assembly in its resolution 31/189 B represents one of the most important and timely endeavours of the international community in the field of disarmament.

The knowledge that there can be no lasting peace and security without effective disarmament and that both concepts are closely linked to the needs of development obliges us to redouble our efforts to explore every opportunity for halting and then turning back the arms race.

At the same time, the Argentine Republic is convinced that matters so closely connected with the sovereignty, security and defence of nations will not be solved overnight through recommendations made by the General Assembly. Progress towards the settlement of questions of such substance will be possible within the framework of a continuing dialogue in which the interests of all States are represented.

Furthermore, it does not believe that the special session is the most appropriate forum in which to conduct negotiations on specific measures of disarmament.

It is, however, convinced that a clear and unequivocal expression of the majority view of the United Nations may lay the bases for determining, in a balanced manner, a system of principles and courses of action which will put a halt to the terrible waste of resources now being witnessed by mankind.

The achievement of these objectives and hence the promotion of the acceptance of new approaches which will broaden and deepen disarmament negotiations presuppose, in the opinion of the Argentine Government, that all Member States, and more
particularly all the nuclear-weapon States, will participate actively and
demonstrate the political will to harmonize their positions. The special session
of the General Assembly will then be able to open with a degree of agreement
which will make possible a radical reform of existing machinery. The Argentine
Government herewith undertakes to collaborate fully in the achievement of those
objectives.

2. The Argentine Republic believes that the agenda of the special session
of the General Assembly should be built around the following points:

(I) A general debate centred on the causes that have led to the existing
situation, the relationship between disarmament, security and
development, and means of overcoming the existing deadlock;

(II) Formulation and adoption of a set of general principles to guide the
efforts of the international community in the field of disarmament;

(III) Formulation and adoption of a programme of action which, based on the
general principles, will clearly indicate the specific steps to be
taken by the various negotiating bodies in order to achieve specific
measures of disarmament;

(IV) Consideration of the role of the United Nations in the sphere of
disarmament and of the operation of the various bodies connected with
the subject.

3. The instrument containing the general principles on disarmament should
be drawn up in such a way as to win the support of the greatest possible number
of States. In this connexion, it is essential to take account of international
political realities and, at the same time, of each country's idea of what
constitutes its national security and its ideas with regard to the defence of its
territorial integrity.

It is also essential that the special session of the General Assembly should
endorse the following concepts:

(a) General and complete disarmament under strict and effective international
control continues to be the ultimate objective of efforts in this field;

(b) The nuclear arms race jeopardizes the strengthening of international
peace and security and is incompatible with the establishment of the new guidelines
in economic matters which have been adopted by the United Nations and with the
development objectives fixed by the peoples of the world;

(c) The full participation of all nuclear-weapon States in negotiations on
nuclear disarmament is indispensable if those negotiations are to be successful
and have lasting results;
(d) The existence and worsening of imbalances of military power between nations increases the possibility of all forms of interference in the internal affairs of States. In a world of great disparities between the weak and the powerful, defence of the principle of territorial integrity becomes particularly difficult;

(e) Research and development of new systems of weapons of mass destruction and their inclusion in existing arsenals complicates and inhibits efforts aimed at disarmament without increasing the security of the States involved;

(f) The interrelationship among the concepts of the economic and social consequences of the arms race between the most highly industrialized countries, its harmful effects on the world economy and ways of diverting resources to meet development needs must be studied in depth, and the results of such study widely disseminated;

(g) The principle of the sovereign equality of States must be fully implemented in matters involving the transfer of and trade in nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. Attempts to discriminate in this field, although made on the pretext of defending most praiseworthy causes, result in the perpetuation of a scientific and technological oligopoly which is directly opposed to the interests of the developing countries;

(h) Universal respect for the validity and continuity of the rules and principles governing the structure of nuclear-weapon-free zones, of existing demilitarized zones and of those which may be established through decisions taken by the States directly involved must be clearly reaffirmed.

4. In the opinion of the Government of the Argentine Republic, the special session of the General Assembly should adopt a Programme of Action to implement all the general principles set forth above, indicating the specific measures which - in accordance with an order of priorities and on a step-by-step basis - should occupy the attention of the various negotiating bodies.

The Programme must necessarily include the following points:

(a) Gradual and balanced reduction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons, with a view to their complete elimination;

(b) Prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and elimination of existing stockpiles;

(c) Prohibition of research on and of the development and manufacture of new weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons;

(d) Prohibition of the use of incendiary weapons and other conventional weapons which cause unnecessary suffering or produce indiscriminate effects.

The implementation of the Programme of Action should be examined periodically by the General Assembly or such other body as may be decided upon, with a view to assessing its effectiveness and amending it whenever that is deemed necessary.
5. The implementation of the Programme of Action will undoubtedly be connected with the operation of the bodies in which disarmament questions are examined and negotiated. For that reason, it would be necessary for the special session of the General Assembly to consider:

(a) The possibility of improving the structure and working procedures of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. In this connexion, it would be necessary to revise the composition of the Conference, to grant de jure membership to all nuclear-weapon States and to change without delay the present system of co-chairmen;

(b) The establishment of an organic legal link between the United Nations General Assembly and CCD, so as to confirm the primary responsibility of the former in disarmament matters;

(c) Strengthening of the central role of the United Nations in negotiations on disarmament, including the possibility of considering the future activities of its Disarmament Commission and the United Nations Centre for Disarmament;

(d) The question of convening a world disarmament conference.

(Signed) Carlos ORTIZ DE ROZAS
Ambassador
Permanent Representative