

AGENCY FOR THE
PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS
IN LATIN AMERICA



Distr.
GENERAL

Original: SPANISH

S/Inf. 229
April 21, 1981

GENERAL CONFERENCE
Seventh Regular Session
Mexico City, April 21-24, 1981

Address by the Representative of the Republic of Finland,
Mr. Jussi Montonen

1. I have the great honor to convey the greetings of the Government of Finland to the Seventh Regular Session of the General Conference of the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. Before speaking of the positive developments that we have observed with respect to the Treaty of Tlatelolco in recent years, I should like to comment on the general policy of the Government of Finland in the field of disarmament, and particularly regional disarmament.

2. One of the central points of the foreign policy of Finland is disarmament. Progress in the process of disarmament is important for countries like Finland, which have a relatively low level of armaments and which base their security primarily on political means. Disarmament is also important for such countries from the standpoint of their own security interests. Finland's activities in favor of disarmament combine its own national interests with those of the world community.

3. As a neutral country, one that does not belong to military alliances, Finland finds itself basically in the same position as the overwhelming majority of the international community: a reduction in international tension is in the

security interests of these countries. Since the military and political dimensions of detente are interrelated, disarmament has an essential task to perform in the desire for a more peaceful world order.

4. The interrelationship of disarmament and detente does not mean, however, that detente in itself leads to specific measures of disarmament. Observing the so-called fat years of detente in the 1970s, we can see that despite the prosperity and progress of detente, the arms race and planning for new arms technologies continued unabated. Disarmament is an activity that requires continuous effort, especially nowadays, when the ramifications of world politics obscure the judgments of governments and the public opinion of nations. Disarmament is an indispensable condition of international security; and besides, special attention must be paid to its connection to economic and social development.

5. Finland, based on its policy of neutrality, has tried to contribute in an active way to the development of disarmament. Since it is understandable that the possibilities for a small country to promote disarmament in concrete ways are very limited, we have resolved to concentrate on certain problem areas that we believe to be important. Our activities in favor of the Treaty on the Non Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and nuclear weapon free zones, as well as our participation in the work on control of prohibition of chemical weapons and seismic surveillance of the total prohibition of nuclear test, are well known.

We have also participated in the initial phase of the United Nations study of the relationship between disarmament and development, and we have promoted this project with our own national study relative of this theme. Finland

- - -

was included in the Working Group of Experts that submitted its Report on regional disarmament to the XXXV Session of the United Nations General Assembly. It is also a member of the Group of Experts which is devoting its attention, under United Nations auspices, to the investigation of steps aimed at building confidence. In the 1970s our country was elected as seat of some important negotiations on control of armaments, such as the SALT discussions, the transfer of conventional weapons and the so-called killer satellites.

6. The prospects for disarmament do not seem very encouraging at the present time. The positive trends in international politics, which gave impetus to the negotiations on disarmament for a decade and a half, have become stagnant. Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, in which a fundamental interest in co-operation has often mitigated the action of factors of conflict and rivalry, have acquired signs of a political confrontation. This constitutes an additional incentive for the arms spiral, which is not easy to restrain, even under normal conditions. The agreements reached after several years' effort, for regulating the strategic nuclear balance —particularly the SALT II Treaty— are on the verge of falling victim to political conflicts. The arms race is now in the process of accelerating both in the field of conventional weapons and in nuclear weapons, and not only in its technological aspects, but also in regional aspects, as shown by the situation in Europe.

7. In negotiations on disarmament, attention is increasingly being paid to the regional approach. This is shown, for example, in the study that was recently made under United Nations auspices on aspects to observe in the process of regional disarmament. One of the advantages of geographical factors is that treating disarmament as a regional problem

can very well yield concrete and fruitful results, if the necessary political conditions prevail.

8. When Dr. Urho Kekkonen, President of Finland, proposed negotiations on the control of armaments in Northern Europe in May, 1978, he stressed the importance of the regional approach, with the point of departure being the idea that he had presented in 1963 regarding the establishment of a nuclear weapon free zone in Northern Europe, and the concern created by the different trends of development of nuclear technologies and strategies. In specifying the regional idea, the President emphasized the sovereignty of nations in the task of establishing such zones. Only the government of a country is in a position to determine its security needs. The initiative for negotiations must emanate from the countries of the region, and the negotiations must be carried out in good faith and without any obligation. The agreements concerning the establishment of the zone can be reached within the framework of existing security agreements. The major nuclear powers would have to participate in the negotiations, starting from an early phase. Negative security guarantees given by the nuclear powers to the countries of the region should constitute an essential element of the regional treaty. The most important goal of an armaments control system in Northern Europe would be the most complete possible isolation of the Nordic countries from the effects of nuclear strategy in general, and of the new nuclear technologies in particular.

9. Even though there are differences of perception among the different Nordic countries as to the most suitable approach, they all recognize the overriding need to strengthen the security of Northern Europe through some type of arms control. This present situation is reflected in the talks now taking place among the Nordic countries about a nuclear weapon

- - -

free zone of the North.

10. These positions concerning a regional proposal—which has been made regarding a nuclear weapon free zone of the North—reflect the general posture of the Government of Finland toward nuclear weapon free zones. This posture has been submitted in more detail in Finland's response to the consultation carried out by the United Nations Secretary General relative to an overall study of nuclear weapon free zones.

11. The various proposals relative to the call for a European Disarmament Conference, submitted at the Madrid follow-up meeting to the European Conference on Security and Co-operation, demonstrate the importance and validity of the regional approach with reference to an entire continent. Finland has also directed its activity and initiatives to this problem. During the first half of 1980, Finland took a step forward by distributing a working document on the initiative which it had submitted in February, 1979 to the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, on the creation of a European Disarmament Program.

Encouraged by the reactions arisen from consultations with the countries of the European Conference on Security and Co-operation, Finland distributed another working document to the countries concerned, in September, 1980. By submitting its ideas regarding its initiative at that meeting, Finland made it clear, among other things, that the objective is to investigate and draw up a comprehensive frame of reference for the negotiations on European disarmament, based on all aspects concerned with that subject, through appropriate conversations and negotiations, and also to come to an agreement on the principles to be followed in those negotiations.

- - -

Finland stressed the need to keep in mind the already existing negotiations on Europe or regions of Europe in the disarmament proposals, as well as the aim to reach an accord on the terms of reference for a European disarmament conference. Our initiative is of a comprehensive nature and is a long-term project.

It is not competitive in nature with respect to other proposals on European disarmament; rather, it complements them. Its aim, expressed in other words, is the creation of a concrete program of action and the holding of a sort of "clearing house" conversation on all aspects of European disarmament.

12. The Treaty of Tlatelolco is a practical expression of the principle contained in the final document of the United Nations Extraordinary Session on disarmament, which states "the creation of nuclear weapon free zones based on arrangements freely agreed upon by the States of the region concerned, constitutes an important measure of disarmament". It is also an indication of how useful and effective nuclear weapon free zones are as instruments of disarmament.

13. In our opinion the Treaty of Tlatelolco has developed in a very positive way in recent years. Its coverage of Latin America is almost complete. The Government of Finland is hopeful that the ideas expressed in recent years about supplementary coverage will become reality, thus strengthening the credibility of this zone, the first inhabited region of the world larger than a single country in which the total absence of nuclear weapons is guaranteed.

14. The development of the Treaty of Tlatelolco has also been positive as concerns its Additional Protocols.

Additional Protocol II attained the status of total coverage upon receiving the reatification of the Soviet Union in December, 1978. All States that have territories in Latin America under their legal or de facto responsibility have signed Additional Protocol I. It is the desire of the Government of Finland that the commitments reconfirmed at the XXXV United Nations General Assembly concerning the ratifications that are lacking, be met in the near future.

15. My Government is greatly pleased by the fact that the Treaty of Tlatelolco is not the only manifestation of the common aspirations of the Latin American countries for establishing regional disarmament agreements. In this context, it is important to emphasize the Declaration of Ayacucho of 1974, looking to the promotion and support of a permanent international order of peace and co-operation, the creation of suitable conditions for the effective limitation of arms, and putting an end to the acquisition of arms for offensive purposes. Very important too was the Preliminary Meeting of Latin America and the Caribbean on Conventional Weapons (CONWE), held here in Tlatelolco in August, 1978, which decided to promote joint consultation machinery for the limitation of conventional weapons. In addition, I should like to stress the importance of the Charter of Conduct of Riobamba, subscribed to in September, 1980 by the representatives of Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Panama, Peru, Spain and Venezuela, in which it was resolved to promote subregional and regional disarmament.

16. In the judgment of the Government of Finland, the so-called negative security guarantees given by the nuclear powers are extremely important factors favoring the credibility of nuclear weapon free zones. It is my Government's

opinion that if some small States of certain groups of States consciously and unconditionally commit themselves to the proposition that they will not acquire or accept in their territory certain types of weapons, they ought to be able to obtain the assurance that those same kinds of weapons will not be used against them, or that they will not be threatened by them. Countries which embrace arms control are not only doing themselves a service, they are serving the international community as well. They have the right to expect and claim reciprocal service from others.

17. In the opinion of the Finnish Government, the security guarantees should be as binding as possible and have worldwide coverage as well. They would have to include new and developing technologies in nuclear weapons, and the threat that such technologies pose for the security of non nuclear countries. Although unilateral security declarations proffered by the nuclear powers must be considered as positive political developments, in themselves they are insufficient, bearing in mind the reservations caused by different military doctrines and different political perceptions. Owing to the fact that these declarations are not linked to any multilateral instrument, they remain partial and political in nature, and are subject to modifications and cancellations that can occur in the same way in which they were made in the first place. They do not meet the goal with respect to effective international agreements, to say nothing of the fact that they do not have the force of a legally binding instrument.

18. Speaking in terms of principles, there is no opposition to the conclusion of an international covenant, although difficulties do still exist. A multilateral instrument would be feasible if a joint formula could be agreed to

that would be acceptable to all non nuclear countries and that would at the same time be satisfactory for the nuclear powers. The United Nations Security Council could take up the matter in an appropriate manner, as suggested by a group of nuclear and non nuclear countries. The nuclear powers should nonetheless commit themselves in one war or another not to use nuclear weapons against non nuclear countries, not to threaten them with the use of such weapons, and not to violate the territory or airspace of non nuclear countries by the eventual use of nuclear weapons. All Governments would have to be allowed to participate, if they wish, in negotiations to this end.

19. As for the Treaty of Tlatelolco, the record shows in every case the progress that has been made in the area of security guarantees. All the nuclear powers have signed and ratified Additional Protocol II, thus committing themselves to refrain from using nuclear weapons against the countries of the region. This is a situation that we should not underestimate.

20. Besides increasing the security of the countries of the region and reducing the possibilities of nuclear wars, the nuclear weapon free zones are important elements for the efforts to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons. These zones or regions significantly supplement the Non Proliferation Treaty, in that the nuclear restrictions of one region go beyond the scope of that Treaty by guaranteeing the total absence of nuclear weapons from the region.

21. The Government of Finland adheres to the position expressed in the United Nations report of nuclear weapon free regions, according to which regional States have an inalienable right to the peaceful use of nuclear energy, and also

according to which, the International Atomic Energy Agency should play a central role in the promotion and control of the peaceful use of nuclear energy in the region. The essence of control would have to consist of the control of the entire cycle of nuclear fuels.

22. It is regrettable that the Second Conference for the Revision of the Non Proliferation Treaty, held in August last year, was unable to agree on the content of the Final Report. In spite of that, we believe that the Conference cannot be considered a failure, because, for example, a broad consensus was reached on the articles that are basic from the point of view of non proliferation. Finland has given its firm support to the Non Proliferation Treaty from the time of its inception. We believe it to be the most important of all the arms control measures that have been achieved to date, and in our judgment it will continue to be the most effective instrument for preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

23. In the opinion of the Finnish Government, the intermittent inertia that has been observed in international co-operation regarding the peaceful use of nuclear energy has been caused not so much by the rigidity of the restrictions as by fear of proliferation of nuclear weapons. The best way to do away with such fear would be to include all countries within the scope of the Non Proliferation Treaty, or, in any event, the acceptance on the part of non participating countries of other agreements that would cover security control of the whole cycle of nuclear fuels. This would give the international community sufficient guarantees against the risks of nuclear arms proliferation. By the same token, all countries could be guaranteed free and non discriminatory access to the peaceful use of nuclear energy. In this context, we

wish to stress that we consider the establishment of a Committee on Assurances of Supply (CAS), under the International Atomic Energy Agency, to be a useful measure. We hope that this Committee will give meaningful assistance to the Agency's Administrative Council, in assuring supplies of systems and technologies of nuclear material and the services of fuel circulation, on a longer term and surer basis than has been the case heretofore.

24. At the last two United Nations General Assemblies, the Nordic Countries —Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden— have submitted their opinions with respect to the problem of non proliferation, in a Joint Memorandum. In the Joint Nordic Memorandum submitted to the XXXV United Nations General Assembly (Doc. A/C.1/35/10), they emphasize, among other things, the widest possible universality of the Non Proliferation Treaty, the acceptance of security control effected under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency, the national, bilateral and international measures for preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and for strengthening confidence in this regard, as well as the intimate interrelationship of the nuclear proliferation problem and nuclear disarmament. While progress in nuclear disarmament will promote, on its part, measures of non proliferation, in the opinion of the Nordic Countries, the modest results obtained in nuclear disarmament do not at all justify neglecting such measures. But neither should the meagerness of the results serve as a pretext for any country to attempt to increase the level of nuclear weapons.

25. I should like to conclude my remarks by expressing the hope of the Government of Finland that the positive development of the Treaty of Tlatelolco will continue, and that

this Session, in particular, will help to make the Treaty more comprehensive in all its parts. The Treaty constitutes a decisive example for all countries that believe that a nuclear weapon free zone in their region would promote their own security. It is also our hope that this Session will provide new incentives for fostering other regional projects and measures of disarmament in Latin America.

May the Seventh Regular Session of the General Conference of the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America be successful in its all important task in support of nuclear weapon free zones.