Pressures on nuclear states

The proposal for a Non-Atom Club and Swedish Diplomatic effort for the Creation of the NPT Regime

YUJI SUZUKI PHD. STUDENT AT KEIO UNIVERSITY

My Research

- Theme: the Swedish policy of neutrality in 1950s and 60s.
- Interest: How did the neutral ideas affect the Swedish policy of neutrality in several matters (e.g. Security policy, European Integration, UN peacekeeping)?
- Focusing on the different interpretations of the policy of neutrality within Sweden

The Non-Atom Club = The Undén Plan

• Initiated by the Swedish minister of foreign affairs, Östen Undén, in 1961.

• The Swedish project to acquire nuclear weapons began just after WW2

• In the late 1950s: Intense discussion on whether Sweden should produce nuclear weapons or not.



The Prime Minister's Strategy

• Prime Minister, Tage Erlander, worried about a split of the party, the Social Democrats.

• International negotiation on disarmament between US and USSR.



Erlander tried to prolong the final decision

Opposition to Swedish nuclear weapons

• In the late 1950s, there were strong anti-nuclear groups in Sweden, e.g. the Federation of Social Democratic Women.

- Östen Undén : opposed to nuclear acquisition
- \Rightarrow Moral perspective
- ⇒ Swedish nuclear weapons caused the Soviet fear. (Östen Undéns samling, L108:31, KB)

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några få "taktiska" atombomber eller robotar med atomladdning kan inte ha någon avgörande betydelse för försvarets funktion enligt här antydda tankegång.

Vid en bedömning av kärnvapens roll i ett svenekt försvar finns ofta en tendens att bortee ifrån att även efter en svensk upprustning med taktiska atomvapen en eventuell motståndares överlägsenhet beträffande kärnvapnens storlek, effektivitet och antal skulle vars obestriälig.

VI. FN och kärnvapnen

Det existerar en internationell allein opinion att kirnvapen ir så fruktansvirda och för minskligheten i dess helhet
olycksbringande vapen, att de borde bamilysas genom en allmin överenskommelse. Man kan här tala om en noralisk aspekt
av atomvapenfrågan. Beteckningen "massföretörelsevapen" användes för att känneteckna kärnvapen jämte biologiska och
keriska gridgendel.

De biologiska och kemiska stridsmedlen har efter förste världskriget förklærats bannlysta. I någon utstrickning hade giftiga gaser förbjudits redan före första världskriget. I en internationell överenskommelse – Gentve-protokollet 1925 – har uttalats, att signatärnakterna "i betraktande av att användandet i krig av kvävande, giftiga eller liknande gaser och vätskor ... med ritta fördists av den allmänna opinionen i den civlliserade världen" överenskommit att "utsträcka förbudet att gilla användande av bekteriologiska stridsmedel". Denna överenskommelse har biträtts av Sverigs och ett stort antal andra stater eåsen Tyskland, Sovjetunionen, England och Frankrike. Att den skulle vara ett effektitt hinder mot de bannlysta stridsmedlens bruk, vere ett alltför optinistiskt antagande. Avtalet anförse här såsen uttryck för en internationell opinion som moraliskt ogillar de nämnda

Det är naturligt att de ännu hemskare stridemedel som uppstått med atom- och vätebomber fæller under sæmma fördömelse. Fins försæmling har vid olika tillfällen givit uttryck häråt. Såsom exempel må enföras ett citat fråm on resolution av försæmlingen 1952. Däri underströks att försæmlingen satte som mål att "nå överenskommelse om en omfattanke

The opposite view toward nuclear weapons

SUPPORTERS

OPPONENTS

Detterent

Assurance

- Increase the capacity of defense
- ⇒ Increase the possibility of being neutral in case of war
- Increase Soviet fear to Sweden
- ⇒ Increase a risk of the Soviet first attack to Sweden

Military, pro-nuclear politicians

Damage to civil society

"Defense Research" in 1958

SUPPORTERS

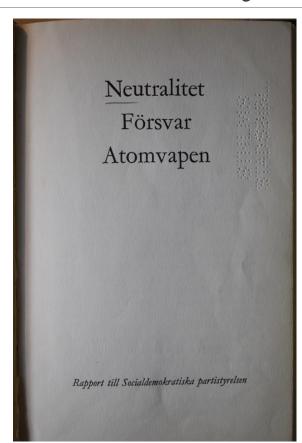
OPPONENTS

 Continuation of the research for produsing nuclear weapons. The expression of their will not to promote researching to produce nuclear weapons.

Committee in the Social Democratic Party

• In 1958, Erlander summoned a committee where both supporters and opponents discussed on nuclear issues.

- Hard to make a compromise.
- \Rightarrow prolong the finial decision
- ⇒ commitment to international disarmament



Change in international situations

• U-2 incident and the Berlin crisis led worser relationship between US and USSR.

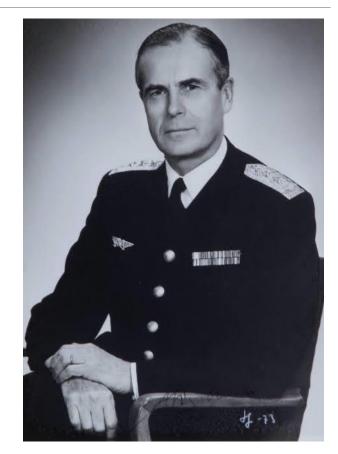
- Tage Erlander's speech
- ⇒ it was necessary to prevent violent actions in international affairs related to the Cold war "more urgent than ever".



Change in internal situations

• The chief of air staff, Stig Norén, expressed his negative attitude toward nuclear weapons.

• A leading supporter within the Social democratic party, Per Edvin Sköld, became cautious to support the Swedish nuclear project. ("Sensational event")



Östen Undén's initiative

 Undén appointed Alva Myrdal directed to draft a Swedish policy of international nuclear disarmament.



The Super Powers' request for Swedish commitment to international disarmament

• US request: join the new disarmament committee (Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament)

- USSR request: The Soviet ambassador to Sweden met Östen Undén in the summer 1961 and claimed repeatedly that small countries, such Sweden, should raise their voice about peace issues.
- ⇒ Their motives were different

First note by Alva Myrdal

- Goal: Acceptable for both US and USSR
- In footnote: Non-nuclear nations should not take part in the nuclear umbrellas which was provided by nuclear countries.
- \Rightarrow This point led the idea of creation of the Non Atom Club.
- Undén established a committee on the policy of disarmament in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Second note and the Soviet declaration

- Mentioned the Swedish "special" role as a neutral country in the nuclear issues.
- ⇒ Non-nuclear nations should not produce, acquire and equip nuclear weapons.

• 31st August, the Soviet announcement of resumption of nuclear tests.



The Undén Plan

- In October, Undén made a speech in the general assembly.
- ⇒ "No issue on the agenda of the General Assembly is of greater importance than disarmament"
- Draft resolution: asked the secretary general to inquire of the countries about the possibilities of joining the non-atom club, where the member countries would not produce, acquire and equip nuclear weapons.



• Approved; for 54 voted, against 10 votes, abstention 23 votes.

Recognition of the role as a neutral nation

- the significance of restarting the discussion on the nuclear disarmament.
- Sweden should exert pressures on the nuclear powers from the view of neutral countries.
- ⇒ Swedish standpoint

(In the telegram from Myrdal to Åström, March 27th 1962, HP48, V Box 447, 38, Riksarkivet)

Thank you for listening