The Neutrals and the Soviet resumption of nuclear tests Fall 1961: between trust and suspicion (1960-1961)

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- k February 7, 1960 professor Igor Kurchatov, the "father of the Soviet atomic bomb", director of the Institute of Atomic Energy, died at 57 y.o.
- ₹ February 13, 1960 test explosion of France (in Algeria)
- May 9, 1960 The shooting down of the US intelligence aircraft U-2 over the Ural Mountains (USSR). Pilot survived and testified about U.S. reconnaissance flights over Soviet territory. As a result the breakdown of Summit in Paris (planned in late May) and the return visit to the USSR of the President of the United States Eisenhower.
- September October 1960 XV session of the UN General Assembly with the persolal participation of the heads of member-states - introduction of resolutions on decolonization and general disarmament
- October 12, 1960 Shoe-banging incident at UN General Assembly. Soviet leader Khrushchev pounded his shoe on his delegate-desk in protest at speech by Philippine delegate

Refreshing memory: main events in 1960-1961

- November 8, 1960-the victory of DP candidate, J.F. Kennedy in the US presidential elections
- Between these two events the Soviet diplomats, at the direction of Moscow, literally overloaded Kennedy's entourage with concrete proposals to discuss how to solve problems and contradictions in Soviet-American relations
- December 27, 1960 French test explosion (in Algeria)

SOME OTHER MAIN WORLD EVENTS 1960-1961 – on the way to the Caribbean crisis (1962)

April 16-18, 1961 -humiliating defeat of the US-sponsored invasion inof Cuba at the Bay of Pigs.

April 24, 1961-French nuclear explosion in Algeria (4th after 16.02.60)

June 4, 1961 - meeting in Vienna between US President and Soviet Prime Minister

August 13, 1961 - beginning of construction of the Berlin Wall

October 1961 – 22nd Soviet Communist Party Congress. Second wave of de-Stalinization by Khrushchev



Elizabeth Taylor and Eddie Fisher (on Red Square), at the Moscow International Film Festival, 1961



Meetings of Soviet cosmonaut Yriy Gagarin after first space-flight on April 1961



Two leaders in Moscow: Castro and Khrushchev

- & 2. Soviet perceptions of Neutrality in practice:
- Who the neutral countries are // Interactions of the USSR with neutral countries (June 1960 − September 1961)

THE STRUCTUER OF THIS PRESENTATION t

History of negotiations of the United States, Great Britain and the USSR in Geneva on the ban of nuclear tests for military purposes

July 1955 –the necessity at Geneva Conference of four heads of states to stop test mentioned

Spring 1957 – Soviet-Japanese exchange of opinions on necessity of moratorium. Appeal of Soviet Parliament to other countries to stop nuclear experiments in military purposes

Since October 31, 1958 - negotiations in Geneva between the US, Britain the the Soviet Union. Voluntary moratorium on conducting nuclear tests since November 1858

Conflict over inspections to verify underground testing. Soviet leaders feared that on-site inspections could lead to spying realities in the USSR that might expose the Soviets' vastly exaggerated successes in "socialist project" and "Communist construction" in general

Feb. 13 and April 1,1960 – two nuclear tests conducted by France in Algeria

- 🔞 April 24, 1961- French nuclear explosion in Algeria (4th after 16.02.60)
- & April 28 Joint Memo of Soviet Defense Ministry and Minsredmash (Nuclear Ministry) to Soviet leadership. TheDecision to discuss matter in 30 days
- ↓ June 4 meeting in Vienna between JFK and Khrushchev.
- □ June 29, 1961 (ONLY) the Soviet leadership makes two decisions on necessity to prepare:
 1) draft nuclear test schedule

 - 2) draft of Soviet govemantal Declaration in connection with the decision to resume nuclear weapons tests

July 26 – 27, 1961 (ONLY!) – two conversetions of Khrushchev with Jphn McCloy, Special Advisor on Disarmrment to US President (IFK)

SOVIET DECISION MAKING TO RESUME TESTS

- 1. Nuclear tests of France a member of NATO
- 2. The (non)reaction of the United States and Britain to French nuclear test-explosions
- 3. Pressure from Soviet military circles in favor of test-resumption for security reasons
- 4. The desire of Soviet physicists to verify their calculations after the death of Igor Kurchatov, coordinator of Soviet atomic programs

RESPONSIBILITY

(influences on Soviet Decision-Making)

SOVIET PERCEPTIONS OF NEUTRALITY: WHO THE NEUTRALS ARE // INTERACTIONS OF THE USSR WITH NEUTRAL COUNTRIES (June 1960 – September 1961) 1. UAR (Cairo)

2. Morocco (Rabat)

3. Guinea (Conakry)

4. Ghana (Accra)

5. Mali (Bamako)

6. Somalia

(Mogadishu)

7. Togo (Lome)

2. 8. Sudan (Khartoum)

9. Libya (Tripoli)

10. Yemen (Taiz)

11. Iraq (Baghdad)

12. Afghanistan (Kabul)

13. India (Delhi)

14. Indonesia (Jakarta)

15. Ceylon (Colombo)

16. Cambodia (Phnom

Penh)

17. Burma (Rangoon)

February 16, 1961 – Soviet proposal to 17 A&A countries to "exchange views on the results of the A&A Solidarity Council extraordinary session of (held on January 21-22) in connection with the events in Congo.

India, Indonesia, South Africa, Burma, Cambodia, Nepal, Afghanistan, Mali, Guinea, Ghana, Morocco, Libya, Iraq, Yemen, Lebanon, Ethiopia, Finland, Austria, Mexico, Argentina, Uruguay

April 18, 1961-information about Soviet position in connection with intervention against Cuba

- k "friendly neutral countries":

May 20, 1961 Soviet letter to "friendly neutral countries" in connection with Gizenga's appeal to Khrushchev

18 STATES

"informed in confidence (orally)":
Afghanistan, Burma, Brazil, Cambodia,
Finland, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India,
Iraq, Morocco, Mali, Mexico, Nepal, UAR,
Somalia, Celon, and Yugoslavia

June 14, 1961. heads of 18 states or governments informed in confidence (orally) about the content of Khrushchev's conversations with J.F.Kennedy

THE REACTION OF NEUTRALS ON SOVIET RESUMPTIONS OF NUCLEAR EXPERIMENTS AT BELGRADE CONFERENCE. THE ROLE OF YUGOSLAVIA

- 1. Afghanistan
- 2. Algeria
- 3. Burma
- 4. Ceylon
- 5. Ethiopia
- 6. Ghana
- 7. Guinea
- 8. India
- 9. Indonesia
- 10. Iraq
- 11. Yemen
- 12. Cambodia
- 23. Cyprus
- 14. Congo

- 15. Cuba
- 16. Lebanon
- 17. Morocco
- 18. Mali
- 19. Nepal
- 20. Saudi Arabia
- 21. Somalia
- 22. Sudan
- 23. Tunisia
- 24. United Arab Republic
- 25. Yugoslavia
- OBSERVERS: Bolivia, Brazil,
- Ecuador

PARTICIPANTS OF THE CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES (Belgrade, September 1-7, 1961)

№ TO IAEA MEMBER-STATES

Afghanistan, Austria, Burma, Cambodia, Cuba, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, India, Iraq, Morocco, South Africa, Sudan, Tunisia, Ceylon, Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia.

January 2, 1961 – Recipients of Soviet letter to IAEA memberstates asking to support Indonesia's candidate (Mr. Sujarwo) as candidate to the post of IAEA Director General

- ≥ 2. India since 1960
- & 3. Indonesia, since 1960
- & 4. Ghana, since 1961
- & 5. Finland, since 1961

COOPERATION OF NEUTRAL COUNTRIES WITH THE USSR ON THE PROGRAMS OF PEACEFUL USE OF ATOMIC ENERGY

- February 24 Letter from Moscow to Belgrade offering to exchange views before the second part of the XV session of the UN General Assembly. Among the issues of discussion listed also the "prohibition of nuclear tests for military purposes"
- June 17 in a conversation with President Tito, the Soviet chargé d'affaires in Belgrade asked the leader of Yugoslavia for help on the issue of nuclear testing. Tito 'promised: "of course".

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- On July 7-13 during the visit to Moscow of the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia Kocha Popovich Khrushchev, complaining that the Westerners did not impose a moratorium on underground tests and are ahead of the USSR in their research, confessed indirectly: "We decided to send them to the Davil!"
- On August 7 in a conversation with the Ambassador of Yugoslavia to the USSR, L. Moisov Khrushchev spoked about Soviet decision to violate the moratorium. Informing Moisov of the reasons for this move, Khrushchev asked Mojsov to convey his explanations to Tito together with a request to explain the Soviet position to the leaders of the Non-Aligned States at the forthcoming conference in Belgrade

SOVIET INTERACTION WITH YUGOSLAVIA – (1)

On August 30 - Soviet Ambassador to Yugoslavia met Yugoslav President Broz Tito twice:

- 1) Early in the morning transferring him orally in short text of Soviet Declaration on necessity to resume nuclear tests. Tito asked Ambassador to pass Khrushchev his request not to conduct tests during the Belgrade Conference
- 2) In the evening Soviet Ambassador informed Tito that he had conversation with Khruschev by phone who told him there is no possibility to delay tests. He also asked Tito while he speak with participants to explain them Soviet reasons. Ambassador confessed that he will be technically unable to distribute Soviet Declaration to participants in person and will talk with 4 or 5 of them only.

SOVIET PARTNERSHIP WITH YUGOSLAVIA – (2)

BELGRADE CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS RESPONCES

September 1 - there was nothing in Tito's welcome speech
Sukarno (Indonesia) expressed his surprise by timing, but
mentioned also tests by France (lookes like Soviet excuse)
Lebanese Prime Minister expressed surprise by timing of Soviet
Declaration. There were no word about France in his short speech

September 3 - two paragraphs in speech by Broz Tito (Yugoslavia)

- Nehru (India) expressed surprise about timing of Soviet

Declaration. But spoke only about danger of tests for human being in general.

- Makarios (Cyprus) regret the timing and ; mentioned both the USSR and France

In the Conference Declaration test resumptions mentioned in soft form

FURTHER REACTIONS

After Conference in Belgrade both Nkhruma (Ghana) and Neru (India) flight to Moscow to convey conference participants whishes to Soviet leader Khrushchev.

September 20 – Tito (Yugoslavia) got telegram from New Dehli (India) with Neru's explenations that Khrushchev become fureouse when Nehru asked him about tests spole on necessity of tests aabout one hour during there meeting.

Septembe 20, 1961 Yugoslav leader Tito sent a letter to Khrushchev asking him not to conduct test any more in response he got letter from Moscow with the same arguments as before.

TO MY PERSONAL VIEW despite the fact that from September 1, 1961 to November 4, 1961 the USSR conducted around the same number of tests as the USA (about 30) before October 31, 1968 Yugoslav President Broz Tito considered these Soviet test like he was betrayed as June 17, 1961 he had been asked to support the Soviets not to conduct Soviet tests but to stop French ones.

October 12, 1961 – the Soviets tested largest thermonuclear device called the "Tsar-Bomb" /or "Mother of Kuzma"/

October 30, 1961 – Mummy of Joseph Stalin reburied from Lenin Tomb to Kremlin wall. The "second wave of destalinisation" in the USSR began.

November 23, 1961 - Soviet leadership agreed to resume negotiations on ban of nuclear tests. New Directions to Soviet delegation at Zeneva talks were also approved.

FINAL REMARKS

MANY THANKS FOR THE ATTENTION OF YOURS