

Peace Research: SIPRI, in Sweden, Is Making a Role for Itself

Stockholm. In 1964, Sweden marked its 150th year of continuous peace. To commemorate that event, a group of influential Swedes, including Gunnar and Alva Myrdal, suggested that the Swedish government provide money to set up an independent, internationally staffed research institute aimed at helping the rest of the world emulate Sweden's fortunate experience. The outcome of that suggestion is the International Institute for Peace and Conflict Research, known as SIPRI, for short. (The original title was the Swedish International Peace Research Institute, but to emphasize independence from the Swedish government, the name was changed; inexplicably, the initials were kept.) Still young, only partially staffed, and not yet altogether certain of its scope and direction, SIPRI has already shown itself to be a shrewdly managed and promising organization, which places considerable emphasis on puncturing the rationales that have been constructed to justify rigidities in Big Power positions. Whether these efforts really matter is, of course, a separate question. But it is worth assuming that they do, and, on this basis, SIPRI merits notice in the increasingly crowded field of "conflict scholarship."

Because the natural and physical scientists, the economists, the military specialists, and others who were sought for SIPRI's staff were generally well engaged elsewhere, SIPRI did not effectively come into operation until the beginning of this year, and even now it has only about half of the 25 or so professionals it plans ultimately to employ. But it has already produced a number of studies and has several others under way. SIPRI's most notable achievement to date was the convocation last spring of a blue-ribbon group of seismology experts from ten nations to review the progress in underground detection capabilities that had been made since the atmospheric nuclear test ban was signed in 1963. The result was an analysis that considerably reduces the scientific justification behind

the U.S. insistence on some on-the-spot inspections for policing an underground test ban.* Contrary to some impressions, the group did not conclude that newly developed detection capabilities provide complete certainty in distinguishing between all natural and man-made underground disturbances. But it did say that the new capabilities leave room for only a small residue of uncertainty, with the clear implication that the U.S. test ban position has become extremely weak. Among those taking part in the study were Frank Press of M.I.T., Eugene Herrin of the Dallas Seismological Observatory, Ivan Pasechnik of the Moscow Geophysical Institute, and Igor Pochitalin of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Another SIPRI study, now under way, is expected to provide what is probably the first comprehensive public study of the international arms trade, with emphasis on Big Power transactions with the developing nations. The study, to be published next year, will be a straightforward accounting of who sold what to whom. On the basis of what has been collected so far, it seems that the rhetoric of peaceloving that regularly comes from the major supplying nations cannot be reconciled with the energetic salesmanship they employ in finding customers for old and new weapons.

Chemical and biological warfare (CBW) is also under study, and this study includes efforts to develop techniques for policing a ban on production. For this purpose, arrangements have been made for trial inspections of 13 microbiological laboratories and production facilities in east and west Europe. SIPRI is also working on an annual report that would be an authoritative reference source on such matters as military expenditures, weapons development, and military actions. In the field of oceanography, which is also

of major interest, SIPRI earlier this year assembled a group of specialists in a hurried effort to prepare a series of papers that might be of use in the U.N. debate on legal aspects of uses of the ocean. The result, published under the title *Towards a Better Use of the Oceans*, is not known to have had any effect on the U.N., but it apparently did leave SIPRI with some doubts about the value of high-velocity scholarship.

As an institution, SIPRI is distinguished by its international staff and its independence, though, in this latter category, it stops somewhat short of being a wholly disowned offshoot of the Swedish government. Being rich, unscarred by war, and eager to show that Sweden is a good world citizen rather than a nation smugly and comfortably immune to the world's misfortunes, the Swedes look upon SIPRI with pride, and there is no doubt that when they call it independent they mean it to be independent. Nevertheless, SIPRI's treasury, which was given \$500,000 for the first 2 years of operation, is to be replenished through periodic appropriations by the Swedish parliament. It is officially stated that the contributions "will gradually increase as the research activities are expanded," and everyone involved is confident that this will be the case. But it is not clear why, if independence is deemed so important, SIPRI was not given an endowment and cast free. Probably it is too much to expect any government to take "independence" so literally.

SIPRI's internationality is, however, beyond dispute. The director of the institute is a 44-year-old British economist, Robert R. Neild, who was with the United Nations in its early days and later was deputy director of Britain's National Institute of Economic and Social Research and then economic adviser to the British Treasury. Neild is a nephew of Philip J. Noel-Baker, who won the Nobel peace prize, and he has long been interested in peace and disarmament matters. SIPRI was so eager to obtain his services that it was, in effect, on a caretaker basis for nearly 2 years until he could detach himself from his Treasury post and move to Stockholm.

As director, Neild is an ex-officio member of the Governing Board, which is currently headed by Gunnar Myrdal. (Myrdal succeeded his wife as chairman after she was appointed to a ministerial post in the Swedish Foreign Of-

* The report, *Seismic Methods for Monitoring Underground Explosions*, is available for \$2.50, including postage, from SIPRI, Sveavägen 166, 113 46, Stockholm, Sweden.

fice. She is no longer officially connected with SIPRI but naturally takes a close interest in it, especially since her government responsibilities are concerned with disarmament.) The other members come from Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Britain, Holland, and Norway. The membership of SIPRI's Scientific Council is drawn from eight nations at present but, on the basis of what is known, it appears that there is little representation from the more daring fringes of peace research. Among those on the council are Carl Kaysen, of the Institute of Advanced Study, at Princeton, and Henry A. Kissinger, professor of government at Harvard. Two of the members are from the Soviet Union—Nicolaj N. Inozemtsev and Grigorij I. Tunkin—and the others are from Austria, Ethiopia, Poland, Sweden, India, and Britain. The director and Governing Board were, and will continue to be, appointed by the Swedish government, but the Scientific Council will eventually have autonomy in making appointments to its own ranks.

As is commonplace in most organizations, especially in those that fill their part-time top-level positions from far-away places, most of the effective power is in the hands of the full-time staff. This has been assembled with the emphasis on professionalism and internationalism. At present, staff members come from five nations—Britain, the United States, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Sweden. After a trip to the Soviet Union by Neild and Myrdal, a Soviet scientist is expected to join the staff. Serving as assistant director is a diplomat on detached duty from the Swedish Foreign Ministry, Jan Mortenson. A British economist, Frank Blackaby, heads the arms trade study, with a staff that includes a Swedish Army colonel and another British economist. Taking part in the study of chemical and biological weapons is Carl-Göran Heden, who is on a year's leave from the chairmanship of the Department for Bacteriological Bio-engineering of the Karolinska Institute. (Heden gives the following reason for having joined SIPRI: "I had a lot to do with the development of techniques for mass production of microorganisms. Since this has use for making biological weapons, I feel I have a responsibility to develop techniques for its control.") Also taking part in the CBW study are Milton Leitenberg, an American biochemist who was formerly scientific director of *Scientist and Citizen*, published in St. Louis, and Theodor Nemec,

formerly a high-level official of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, who is on leave to SIPRI.

SIPRI's mandate allows room for virtually any sort of study in the field of arms control, disarmament, and peace, but it also states that the institute is "to undertake research into specific problems that are of relevance to current or future international relations," which fits in well with Neild's own preference. The founding committee, he says, "pointed us in the direction of applied research rather than basic conflict studies. It's a matter of emphasis, of course, but my own feeling is that it is desirable to stress specific problems of disarmament and arms control. I favored the arms trade study, for example, because I was aware of this large, dirty world, but no one seemed to know very much about it. The CBW study, on which a little work had been done before I arrived, was sort of picked up from something that started with Pugwash. We want to be illuminators, not polemicists, and we want to be objective. I know that the very selection of subjects for study is a reflection of values, but what we want to do is rely on the facts, and do very, very sound professional work. That's the only way I know to get people to listen to us."

SIPRI's charter permits it to accept outside funds, but Neild says that at present he has all the money he can use, and, furthermore, "outside money means big foundations, and, as far as I can see now, I don't want to get involved with that." Since SIPRI's budget request goes to the Foreign Ministry, where Alva Myrdal is well situated, there is no reason to assume that it will receive anything but a sympathetic reception. As for future growth of SIPRI, Neild says he thinks 20 to 25 professionals should be the maximum. "After that, you get into departments and there are organizational problems that I'd rather avoid."

The work that is now most likely to bring attention to SIPRI is the arms trade study. Its director, Frank Blackaby, who joined SIPRI from Britain's National Institute for Economic and Social Research, estimates that the developing countries spend \$18 to \$20 billion a year on all their military activities, and that, of this sum, perhaps as much as two-fifths is for the purchase of weapons. There is a general impression, he points out, that the international arms trade is carried on mainly by small, private dealers. But

the fact of the matter is, he says, that such trade is negligible in comparison to government-to-government deals. Blackaby and his colleagues do not believe for a moment that mere publication of trade details will cause the arms business to wither. Rather, they are tying their efforts to a move in the U.N. to establish an international arms trade register. Even should that come into being, there is little reason to hope that the trade would be seriously affected. "But one step," he says with conviction, "is to get this business out into the open so that governments will be publicly confronted with what they're now doing in virtual secrecy."

Basically, that is the strategy underlying SIPRI's approach. Truth, knowledge, and rationality are yet to carry much weight in international power relations, but sometimes politics evolves to a stage where sound information can swing the balance. And SIPRI hopes to contribute such information.

—D. S. GREENBERG

APPOINTMENTS



A. S. Aldrich



A. M. Cruickshank

Alexander S. Aldrich, executive director of the Hudson River Valley Commission, to president of the Brooklyn Center of Long Island University. . . . **Alexander M. Cruickshank**, associate professor of chemistry at the University of Rhode Island, will keep this position and also become director of the Gordon Research Conferences. . . . **Aaron Lemonick**, associate chairman of the department of physics at Princeton University, to dean of Princeton's Graduate School. . . . **Richard S. Lewis**, science editor of the *Chicago Sun Times* to editor of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*. . . . **Alonzo S. Yerby**, head of the department of health services administration at Harvard University, to the newly created position of associate dean for community affairs at the university.