

Stop the Furtive Accession to NATO!

PROJECT HISTORY

Al Burke

Project Co-ordinator

22 September 2012

The Swedish project *Stoppa smyganslutningen till Nato!* — which translates somewhat inelegantly as “Stop the Furtive Accession to NATO!” — was conducted during the years 2008 – 2010. Its main purpose was to increase public knowledge and awareness of the process by which Sweden was being incorporated into the increasingly aggressive and expansive North Atlantic Treaty Organization, NATO. A corollary objective was to increase the level of active citizen engagement with the issue.

The initiative was taken by myself in collaboration with Jan Öberg, director and co-founder of the Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research based in Lund, Sweden. We were both dismayed by the manner in which Sweden was being drawn into a deepening relationship with NATO — without any serious discussion, and in violation of the country’s long and widely appreciated tradition of peace.

Work on the project began in the autumn of 2008 with a draft declaration and proposal that was developed in co-operation with several knowledgeable Swedes. The final version, endorsed by 70 Swedish citizens representing a broad range of interests and backgrounds, was published on 1 December 2008 in the Swedish daily newspaper, *Svenska Dagbladet*.

The proposal called for the establishment of “a citizens’ inquiry with the task of charting the furtive process [of accession to NATO] and its consequences for our national security and democracy”. Exactly how that was to be arranged was an open question, as there was no previous experience of such an inquiry to draw upon.

The initial plan was to recruit a steering committee of citizens with appropriate research and other qualifications to direct and co-ordinate the inquiry. After several months, however, that plan had to be abandoned due to lack of interest from suitable candidates.

It was thus left to me — temporarily, I hoped — to provide the necessary guidelines and co-ordination. Among many other things, that involved:

- Preparing a set of preliminary guidelines on how to proceed, intended especially for those with little or no experience of research and related matters.

- Recruitment of an international advisory board to lend credibility and expertise to the project.
- Provide an initial framework for the inquiry with a historical review of various “tyrannical small steps” toward NATO, from World War II to the present. The resulting document is entitled *From Neutrality to NATO* and is available at: www.nnn.se/nordic/americult/nato/neutrality.htm

It turned out, however, that these and related measures were not sufficient to bring about the proposed inquiry. On 1 December 2010 it was announced that “... after two years, despite repeated efforts to provide encouragement and guidance, not a single citizen has shown any interest in making the slightest contribution to the proposed inquiry. From that one may draw the conclusion that it is not feasible — in any event not within the framework of this project, which accordingly is hereby terminated.”

Although it failed to achieve its main purpose, the project left behind a body of knowledge and information that may be of use to anyone interested in Sweden’s furtive accession to NATO and related issues. Selected items in English are available at: www.nnn.se/nordic/americult/nato/usa-nato.htm

The complete materials are available in Swedish, the principal language of the project, at: www.nnn.se/nordic/americult/nato/nato.htm

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DECLARATION & PROPOSAL

STOP THE FURTIVE ACCESSION TO NATO

*Establish a citizen's commission to
chart and elucidate the "tyranny of small steps"*

Svenska Dagbladet • 1 December 2008

IN A LETTER TO THE EDITOR of a Swedish newspaper published in February of 2006, Roland Forsgren of Karslkoga raised an exceedingly urgent issue: "Some day, we the people of Sweden, are going to wake up and discover that we have joined NATO, the European Monetary Union and the United States of Europe. I hope that someone can then explain how that happened..... How we — in the name of democracy — lost our independence."

Since then, the issue has become even more urgent, not least with regard to NATO. For, Sweden has been dragged deeper and deeper into NATO, which is dominated by the United States and, in accordance with the superpower's doctrine, asserts the right of first use of nuclear weapons.

This deepening involvement has occurred in direct contradiction of Swedish public opinion. According to the latest (2007) survey by the SOM Institute at Göteborg University, 44 per cent were opposed to and 19 per cent were in favour of NATO membership. With small variations, that has been a consistent pattern since the institute began its annual opinion surveys in 1994.

But behind the people's back, there has been a stealthy process of accession to NATO. It has now gone so far that NATO enthusiasts can, with good reason, argue that Sweden is in fact already an informal member of NATO to the extent of ca. 90 per cent. It is necessary to acknowledge that fact, it is argued, and take the next small step to formal membership with all the advantages that it is stated to provide — to "join and exert influence". (See for example "We should join NATO even formally", 7 Nov. 2007 and "Sweden is already in NATO", 8 Feb. 2008, both in the debate section of the national daily, *Svenska Dagbladet*.)

It is unfortunately true that Sweden's co-operation with NATO has been very extensive, and has occurred without public discussion. This obscure process deserves to be thoroughly elucidated. The issue concerns not only our national security policy. It is very much an issue of democracy, as well.

The question that ought to be self-evident is this: Given the large and consistent public opinion against NATO membership, plus the fact that only one of the seven parliamentary parties openly advocates full membership, how has it been made possible that Sweden now finds itself so deeply intertwined with NATO?



*The declaration was published
in Svenska Dagbladet
on 1 December 2008*

"The tyranny of small steps"

To that question, the only answer offered to date is that it is the result of "the tyranny of small steps" — a non-explanation that is often resorted to when no genuine explanation is available.

We do not dispute that the process has involved a series of small steps. But it may be assumed that those steps have been taken by living and breathing human beings who clearly comprise a small minority. It is therefore crucial to determine:

What are the small— and perhaps even large — steps that have thus far been taken?

Who has taken those steps, with what means and motives, and with what legitimacy?

Which elected representatives have allowed that to happen, and for what reasons?

The steady approach to NATO membership seems to proceed on the assumption that most citizens already know what NATO is, what that military alliance has previously done, what its future plans are, what role Sweden would play after joining, and who decides according to what decision-making process. But do we know whether or not the Swedish people are willing to accept that our soldiers will die or be permanently injured in wars, including wars of aggression, in which an independent Sweden would never become military involved? What are the implications for our capacity to support future U.N. operations? And not least: What is our position with regard to NATO's nuclear weapons?

Other potentially relevant questions: Are there any connections between various events relating to Swedish national security — for example, the incidents involving suspected encroachments by foreign submarines in the Stockholm archipelago — and the growing significance of NATO? In what ways can NATO be said to exert influence, both direct and indirect, on Sweden's defence forces and society in general? What is the relationship between NATO and the European Union, and between NATO and the United Nations (crucial because both the EU and the UN are of central importance for Sweden)? Will the current economic problems of the Swedish military increase or diminish the strength of arguments for NATO membership?

Chart the furtive process

With few exceptions, Swedish media and elected representatives have allowed the furtive process of accession to continue without any significant resistance or attempt to elucidate it. The critical function of journalism has been noteworthy by its absence. That has made it easier for a determined minority to create the impression that all resistance is meaningless. But education, debate and resistance are never meaningless.

We therefore propose a citizens' inquiry with the task of charting the furtive process and its consequences for our national security and democracy. The first step is to call attention to the issue and shine a spotlight on the entire process — among other things, by means of a website to which all interested parties are welcome to contribute with viewpoints and suggestions, keep informed about the project's development, etc. Eventually, of course, we must also address the issue of how Sweden shall maintain its national security by other means than membership in NATO. Obviously, the point of

departure for that discussion should be that Sweden, in accordance with the U.N. Charter, must first and foremost concentrate on conflict management and dialogue rather than on military power and alliances.

We encourage all citizens who wish to preserve the nation's democracy and independence to participate in this crucially important debate for the sake of Sweden's future.

Signed by:

Sixten Andréasson, head teacher
 Örjan Appelqvist, economic historian
 Kerstin Blomberg, information officer
 Al Burke, editor
 Curt Carlsson, journalist
 Drude Dahlerup, political scientist
 Håkan Danielsson, educator
 Stefan de Vylder, economist
 Krister Eduards, business economist
 Erni Friholt, public debater
 Ola Friholt, public debater
 Per Gahrton, MEP (Green Party, ret.)
 Elisabeth Gerle, Lecturer in Ethics
 Kerstin Grebäck, Chair of WILPF Sweden
 Lars H. Gustafsson, paediatrician
 Jan Hagberg, actuary
 Bo Å:son Hall, Licentiate of Engineering
 Birgitta Hambraeus,
 MP Sweden (Centre Party, ret.)
 Sven Hamrell, editor
 Bengt Harling, troubadour
 Rebwar Hassan,
 municipal councillor (Green Party)
 Tom Heyman,
 MP Sweden (Conservative Party, ret.)
 Åsa Hjalmers, peace activist
 Ingvar Hjärtsjö,
 chair of Men for Gender Equality
 Erik Hägg, physician
 Kerstin Hägg, lead teacher
 Dan Israel, book publisher
 Jørgen Johansen, peace researcher
 Annika Johansson, sociologist
 Kjell-Arne Johansson, editor
 Jacek Jurkowski, teacher
 Lena Klevenås, MP Sweden (ret.)
 Karl Erik Lagerlöf, writer
 Ingela Kumar Lidvall, teacher
 David Liljequist, union ombudsman

Anita Lilburn, teacher
 Martin Linde, historian
 Lennart Lindgren, writer
 Jonas Ljungberg, economic historian
 Sylvia Ljungdahl, chair of
 solidarity organization TUFF
 Ulla Lyttkens, theatre director
 Eva Moberg, writer
 Andreas Murray, psychoanalyst
 Ingela Mårtensson,
 MP Sweden (Liberal Party, ret.)
 Vilhelm Olsson,
 municipal councillor (Green Party)
 Göran Palm, media analyst / researcher
 Lennart Palm, historian
 Giuliano Pontara, philosopher
 Håkan Rudehill, writer
 Jan Olof Rönn, head teacher
 Åke Sandin, teacher
 Monica Schelin, social worker
 Kerstin Schultz, social worker
 Gudrun Schyman, freelance feminist
 Bengt Silfverstrand, MP Sweden (SDP)
 Ingrid Sjöstrand, writer
 Martin Smedjeback, non-violence trainer
 Sören Sommelius, writer
 Christina Spännar, sociologist
 Bibbi Steinertz, editor
 Stefan Svallfors, sociologist
 Töres Theorell, professor of medicine
 Maj Britt Theorin,
 disarmament ambassador (ret.)
 Gudrun Tiberg, information officer
 Gunnar Westberg, physician
 Håkan Wiberg, peace researcher
 Erik Wijk, writer
 Stellan Vinthagen, lecturer
 Ellis Wohlner, actuary
 Jan Öberg, peace researcher



Regeringskansliet/Thomas Quiggle

*Prime Minister Reinholdt with President Bush II in the White House.
Which interests do Swedish politicians serve in matters relating to NATO?*

GUIDELINES

For a citizens' inquiry on the furtive accession of Sweden to NATO

The purpose of these guidelines is to provide an initial orientation, and thereby to facilitate, the citizens' inquiry proposed in the public appeal, "Stop the Furtive Accession to NATO". According to that document, the main questions to be investigated are:

What are the small — and perhaps even large — steps that have thus far been taken?

Who has taken those steps, with what means and motives, and with what legitimacy?

Which elected representatives have allowed that to happen, and for what reasons?

The questions themselves provide some indication as to what sorts of information and research are required. The first priority, of course, is to develop a list of the various steps in question. There may be some differences of opinion about which steps ought to be included, and a special section of the inquiry's website will be set aside for a discussion of that issue.

When the various steps have been at least provisionally identified, each of them can be studied within the framework of the three basic questions noted above. The final report will summarize and interpret the findings that result.

As a point of departure, it can be useful to consider which interests might derive some benefit from Sweden's accession of NATO. By itself, an interest analysis cannot be regarded as solid evidence of anything in particular: It sometimes happens that groups and individuals, intentionally or not, act against what appear to be their own interests.

But such an analysis can provide useful clues about where to start looking for facts and relationships. Among the interests that might conceivably be relevant in this context are:

- United States of America
- NATO and its member-states
- Swedish political parties, including key figures
- Business communities, both Swedish and international
- Military personnel, Swedish and foreign
- Intelligence/subversion agencies
- Mass media
- Lobbyists
- Think tanks
- Academics
- Labour organizations

The list can doubtless be expanded and refined; and as with every interest analysis, an important task will be to elucidate possible connections and co-ordinated efforts among various interests.

Information sources

When the legendary U.S. journalist, I.F. Stone, was asked how he managed to dig up so many secret items of information in connection with his many revealing articles, his standard answer was that remarkably little was actually secret. Most information was accessible in official documents, published reports, news media, etc. "All" that was required was for someone to devote the necessary time, effort and thought to sifting it out and analysing it.

Concerning the furtive accession of Sweden to NATO, there is surely much to gain by the application of I.F. Stone's method, because most and perhaps all of the small steps of the process have been taken at least partially in full public view. (This fact has sometimes been adduced as evidence that nothing furtive has occurred. But the furtive aspect concerns the eventual accession to NATO, not the individual steps of the process. That is what is meant by "the tyranny of small steps".)

Among the Swedish and international sources that may yield useful information are:

- Public documents such as laws, bills, government decisions, public inquiries, legislative debates, etc.

- Well-informed individuals, including politicians, military personnel, public officials, experts of various sorts, etc.

- Information channels including news media, think tanks, lobbyists, educational institutions, commercial and other interest groups, political parties, research institutes, etc. These may be able to cast light on the various steps toward NATO membership. But they should also be studied in order to determine what sorts of information about USA/NATO and related issues reach and do not reach the general public. This relates to the knowledge and ideas that are conveyed, and to the relative influence of the various channels in terms of audience size and composition.

Methodology

As I.F. Stone explained (see above), there is often much to gain by making use of the valuable information that lies waiting to be discovered in libraries, public archives and other open sources such as the Internet. It is a matter of carefully sorting through printed and digital sources, and of watching/listening to various types of recording.

To get at more concealed facts and relationships, it may be essential to find well-informed individuals who are willing to impart their knowledge. The challenge is to identify promising interview subjects, and to get them to openly or anonymously convey tips and information.

Considering the issues that the inquiry is likely to touch upon, there should be at least a potential for various forms of co-operation with investigative journalists, scholars, university students and others who for their own reasons are dealing with the same or related questions. The citizens' inquiry might be able to contribute with useful information and contacts, and participate in joint efforts of mutual interest.

Again, the task is to develop answers to the three basic questions. That would include a thorough description of each step toward NATO, including its rationale, the individuals and organizations directly involved, and both the consequences thus far and the future implications of the furtive accession process.

Then it is a matter of determining who took each step, with what means and motives, and with what legitimacy. A key question in this context is: Who have the decision-makers represented in each case — the people of Sweden, or other interests? To the extent that the relevant decisions have not been democratically arrived at, which elected representatives have allowed that to happen and why?

The final report will summarize and analyse the knowledge accumulated and, to the extent possible, identify remaining gaps in that knowledge. The challenge will be to develop a comprehensive view which, among other things, identifies patterns and inter-relationships. The entire body of knowledge and related discussions will be published on the inquiry's website.

Investigators

Everyone who wants to help shed light on the furtive accession process is welcome to contribute to the inquiry. But until a reasonable number of interested parties join the effort, it will of course be impossible to devise any research plan or division of labour. To begin with, therefore, most essential tasks will necessarily be carried out by the project co-ordinator.

As soon as possible, a research advisory council will be established to review and assess contributions prior to publication, and also to assist volunteers who lack research experience and/or self-confidence.

All public inquiries are quite properly subjected to critical review, and it may be assumed that this one will become the focus of especially sharp scrutiny for at least three reasons:

It deals with sensitive issues that concern powerful Swedish and international interests.

Despite their obvious importance, the issues have been largely neglected by the research community — because, according to some sources, the study of them is fraught with risk to professional careers.

What will hopefully be a strong element of “amateur” voluntary contributions.

The answer to all potential criticism is maximum openness. Every aspect of the inquiry will be openly presented and thereby subject to debate. As for the “non-professional” component, there will be no pretence that the inquiry is anything other than what it is — i.e. a joint effort carried out by every manner of interested citizen, with the help of whichever Swedish and international professionals choose to contribute their expertise.

The final result can hardly be worse than what has thus far been achieved in this area of inquiry by prominent institutions. The heavily state-subsidized Swedish Institute of International Affairs, for example, has dealt with the NATO issue in a manner that can only be regarded as propagandistic.*

As with all initiatives, the most important precondition for success is a firm belief that it is possible to succeed — something that can at times be difficult to conjure up, especially at the outset of a large and complex task. It can therefore be useful to meet often in order to pose questions, discuss methodological and other problems, share experiences, etc. It is intended that a special section of the inquiry's website will be established for that purpose and, if there is sufficient interest, it may also be possible to arrange physical meetings of project participants.

Finally, it should be emphasized that these guidelines are by no means written in stone, and may very well need to be further developed during the course of the project.

*Al Burke
Project Co-ordinator
17 June 2009*

*See “Open Letter to Swedish Institute of International Affairs”
at www.nnn.se/nordic/americult/nato/usa-nato.htm

ADVISORY BOARD

33 experts from eight countries

The 33 members of the Advisory Board support the project with their knowledge and advice, based on broad experience that includes service in the C.I.A., the Swedish military, Canada's diplomatic corps, research institutions, both the Swedish and the European parliaments, etc.

The board's international composition reflects the fact that the question of membership in NATO is not only of crucial significance for Sweden; it also has important implications within a broader geopolitical context. The mutually independent advisors view the problem within a variety of perspectives, but on one point they are clearly agreed: Sweden should not join NATO.

“Definitely not!” says James Bissett, former Canadian diplomat with 36 years in government service as ambassador, director of the Immigration Service and other posts. There is no reason even to discuss Swedish membership, contends Amb. Bissett “unless NATO reasserts its adherence to the first article of its charter, which prohibits the use or threat of force in the resolution of international disputes, and requires that the alliance always act in accordance with the principles of the U.N. Charter. As it is now, NATO has become an instrument of U.S. foreign policy and has abandoned the fundamental principles embodied in Article 1.”

According to David MacMichael, former C.I.A. analyst and founding member of Veteran Intelligence Professionals for Sanity, NATO should no longer even exist. “With the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the rationale for NATO's existence was eliminated,” he asserts.

“I was among those in the United States who felt that it was in the interest of all parties — the United States, western and eastern Europe, and Russia — for the organization to be dissolved. It would have meant that the U.S. could avoid being drawn into essentially European quarrels such as those involving Kosovo and Cyprus, for example. Likewise, European nations could avoid being dragged into U.S. military actions around the world which may well be irrelevant or even contrary to their own interests — as sadly illustrated by the ongoing tragedy of Afghanistan.”

It is precisely to enable participation in USA/NATO's military actions that Sweden's national defence has been converted into a drastically reduced professional army directed outward to foreign lands. That has taken place without any public debate worthy of the name, and it is a development that deeply concerns advisor Per Blomquist, member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Military Science and a former colonel in the Swedish army whose duties included command of the west Sweden military region.

“It seems to me that Swedish political and military leaders have been led astray by USA/NATO's military thinking, which is based on a strategy to satisfy the United States' (and to some extent its allies') global interests by means of overwhelming attack forces and advanced technology,” says Per Blomquist.

“Even during the Cold War, I felt that it would be both wrong and dangerous for Sweden to adopt USA/NATO's attack concept based on rapid deployment forces, not least because it would lead to what has now taken place — the dismantling of the Swedish conscript army that is a basic precondition for an effective and economical national defence. That

has left a vacuum which, in combination with USA/NATO's clearly provocative expansionist policy and the great military significance of Sweden's geographic location, strikes me as almost impossible for Russia to tolerate," warns Blomquist.

"One need not be a pacifist to be deeply concerned about a defence policy that is governed by USA/NATO and invests everything in rapid deployment forces that are not capable of defending our own country. The ongoing furtive accession to USA/NATO is exposing the Swedish nation to great peril, and I find no good reason for it. Furthermore, it clearly increases the risk that we will become complicit in grave crimes against humanity and international law."

That it is a matter of contributing to and belonging to the United States' global hegemony is not in doubt, according to advisor Rick Rozoff of Chicago, who for over two decades has monitored, analysed and reported on the military alliance as moderator of the Stop NATO information service which he founded.

"NATO is dominated by the United States and is well on the way to establishing a global military structure. Sweden's increasing participation in its activities is a threat to the nation's sovereignty and contributes to mounting international tensions," explains Rick Rozoff. "If Sweden and Finland become members, it will close the last two open links in a chain being tightened along the Russian border from the Arctic to the Caucasus, and complete the militarization of Europe under USA/NATO command."

These and related issues provide the context for the project, Stop the Furtive Accession to NATO! With the advisory board now in place, it is time to launch the citizens' inquiry urged by the original project proposal.

For that purpose, an initial attempt has been made to chart the tyranny of small steps as it has been exercised from the end of World War II to the present. The resulting document is entitled *From Neutrality to NATO* and is intended to provide an initial frame of reference for the work of the inquiry.

It is an extremely urgent issue for Swedish author and intellectual historian, Sven-Eric Liedman. "We have long been deceived about Sweden's policy regarding neutrality," he notes. "Now, the government is misleading us again, this time into the embrace of NATO. It is therefore important to raise awareness of the ongoing furtive accession, which may end by compelling us to participate in wars that are as unwanted as they are loathsome."

ADVISORY BOARD MEMBERS

Sweden

Per Blomquist
Arvid Cronenberg
Stefan de Vylder
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Francis A. Boyle
Jonathan Feldman
Joseph Gerson
Saul Landau
David MacMichael
Gareth Porter
Rick Rozoff

ADVISORY BOARD MEMBERS

SWEDEN

Per Blomquist

Colonel (ret.) in Swedish Army whose duties included intelligence and operational services. Served as head of commando regiment for northern Sweden, and as commander of the west Sweden military region. Member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Military Science. Active in public debate on Swedish defence policy both during and after the Cold War.

Arvid Cronenberg

Lieutenant colonel (ret.) in Swedish Army whose duties included supervision and co-ordination of cryptography services for all branches of the Swedish military, and liaison with NATO's communications centre in Germany. Following retirement from the army, became military historian at the Swedish National Defence College. Author of numerous articles on military history and policy. Member of Royal Swedish Academy of Military Science.

Stefan de Vylder

Associate Professor of development economics. President of the Swedish Development Forum, former Vice-president of the Swedish Writers' Association. At present working as independent researcher and consultant. Author of numerous books on development theory, international economics, financial crises, globalisation and related issues.

Lars Drake

Associate Professor of Resource and Environmental Economics. Active in Swedish peace movement, and in public debate on international relations and environmental policy.

Aant Elzinga

Professor emeritus in philosophy of science. Member of the Gothenburg Royal Society of Arts and Sciences. Author of numerous works on the history, philosophy and politics of science, Antarctic research and related subjects.

Per Gahrton

Co-founder of the Swedish Green Party and currently chair of the green-oriented think tank, Cogito. Has served a total of 15 years as member of the Swedish and EU parliaments, and has long been active in a variety of solidarity movements, especially those for Vietnam and Palestine. His numerous writings on Swedish, EU and global issues include the books, *Befria EU [Liberate the EU]* and *Palestinas frihetskamp [Palestine's Struggle for Freedom]*.

Christian Hårleman

Lieutenant Colonel (ret.) in the Swedish Army. Now an international consultant in the fields of peace, security and development in Latin America, Central Europe and Africa. Has served as an adviser to, among others, the U.N., the Guatemalan Institute for Peace and Development, the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Institute of World Affairs in Washington, D.C.

Sven-Eric Liedman

Professor emeritus of intellectual history. Author of numerous works on intellectual history and political ideas, including a standard reference on the latter subject.

Ingela Mårtensson

Member of Swedish Parliament for Liberal Party, 1985 - 1994, with special interest in national security and foreign policy. Has also led projects relating to social policy and international issues for Municipality of Gothenburg. Sociology lecturer and researcher at University of Gothenburg. Active in Swedish peace movement since 1980s.

Lennart Palm

Professor of History at Göteborg University. Active in public debate on international relations and Swedish foreign policy.

Bengt Silvesterstrand

Member of Swedish Parliament for Social Democratic Party, 1976 - 2002. Has served on foreign policy, education and finance committees of Parliament, and on the boards of Swedish solidarity organizations in support of Afghanistan and Vietnam. Currently active in national public debate, as deputy councillor in the Municipality of Höganäs, and as local chairman of the National Association of Handicapped Persons.

Gunnar Westberg

Has been active in International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War and its Swedish branch (*Svenska Läkare mot Kärnvapen*) since 1981. Co-President of IPPNW during 2003-2007. Current board member of both IPPNW and SLMK. He has made several visits to NATO head-quarters in Brussels, and is well-versed in the alliance's nuclear doctrine and overall strategy.

Jan Öberg

Co-founder and Director of TFF, Transnational Foundation for Peace & Future Research in Lund, Sweden. Has served as leader of conflict-mitigation teams and projects in Georgia, Burundi, Iraq and former Yugoslavia.

DENMARK**Håkan Wiberg**

Mathematician and philosopher whose concerns over nuclear weapons and related issues led him to become professor of sociology and director of Peace Research Institute at Lund University. Has also served as director of the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute and as first president of the European Peace Research Association.

NORWAY**Birgit Brock-Utne**

Social scientist with Ph.D. in peace studies. Professor of Education and Development at the University of Oslo. Previous experience includes research post at the Peace Research Institute of Oslo, and service on the International Peace Research Association's board of directors. Has also been a visiting professor at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania and at the University of Hiroshima in Japan. Currently developing a peace studies programme at Wartburg College in Iowa, U.S.A.

Gunnar Garbo

Writer and activist who was a member of Norwegian parliament during 1957 - 1973, and chair of the Left Party during 1964 - 1970. Joined the Foreign Service as Deputy Director-General in 1974, and represented the Nordic countries on the Executive Board of UNESCO during 1974 - 1978. First President of the Intergovernmental Council of

UNESCO's International Programme for the Development of Communication during 1980 - 1987, and Norway's Ambassador to Tanzania during 1987 - 1992. Main interests throughout his career have been social welfare, solidarity with the South, and anti-militarism.

Jørgen Johansen

Freelance academic specializing in conflict and non-violence studies. Has published five books and hundreds of articles on related subjects. Regular lecturer at Syracuse, Göteborg and Coventry universities, the World Peace Academy and many other institutions.

UNITED KINGDOM

Rae Street

Actively involved in anti-nuclear, anti-militarism and pro-peace campaigning for over three decades. A long-term member of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, she is currently Chair of the CND's International Advisory Group. Founding member and Co-ordinator of the Campaign against Depleted Uranium Weapons in the U.K.

David Webb

Professor of Engineering and Director of the Praxis Centre for the Study of Information Technology for Peace, Conflict Resolution and Human Rights' at Leeds Metropolitan University. Also, Vice Chair of the U.K. National Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), a member of Scientists for Global Responsibility and Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society.

GERMANY

Reiner Braun

Executive Director of Scientists for Peace and Sustainability in Germany and of the International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Global Responsibility (INES). Executive Director of the International Association of Lawyers against Nuclear Arms (IALANA) in Germany and of the German Pugwash Group. Member of the steering committee of the International Peace Bureau.

Hans Joachim Gießmann

Director of the Berghof Centre for Conflict Research in Berlin. Extensive background in peace and security research, with focus on transatlantic and European issues.

Gregor Putensen

Professor of history with special interest in the foreign and defence policies of the Nordic countries. Has served as the first and only democratically elected director of the Nordic Institute at Greifswald University, and later as member of the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern parliament.

FRANCE

Diana Johnstone

Peace activist and foreign policy analyst whose published works include *Fools Crusade: Yugoslavia, NATO and Western Delusions* and *The Politics of Euromissiles: Europe in America's World*. Served as press officer of the Green Group in the European Parliament during 1990-1996.

CANADA

James Bissett

Former Canadian ambassador with 36 years of government service, including terms as Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, and as High Commissioner to Trinidad and Tobago. During 1985 - 1990, served as Executive Director of Canadian Immigration Service and as member of Prime Minister's Intelligence Advisory Committee. After retirement in 1992, was Chief of Mission in Moscow for the International Organization of Migration and helped the Russian government to develop a new immigration service and a new legal framework for immigration and citizenship. Since returning to Canada in 1997, has been a consultant to the government on a variety of immigration issues, and is a regular contributor to Canadian periodicals.

Erika Simpson

Political scientist at the University of Western Ontario, Canada, specializing in international relations and security. Vice Chair of the Canadian Pugwash Group, and senior advisor to the Rideau Institute. Has written extensively on issues of nuclear proliferation and disarmament, including the book, *NATO and the Bomb*.

Rodrigue Tremblay

Professor emeritus of economics at the University of Montreal. Has served as Minister of Industry and Commerce in the government of Quebec, and as president of the North American Economics and Finance Association. Author of numerous works on economics, politics, geopolitics and ethics, including *The New American Empire* and *The Code for Global Ethics: Ten Humanist Principles*.

UNITED STATES

Francis A. Boyle

Professor of Law and leading U.S. authority on the legal aspects of international relations. Author of "Biological Weapons Anti-Terrorism Act of 1989", adopted unanimously by both houses of U.S. Congress. Has served as legal advisor and representative for several governments, including the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria, on behalf of which he sued the Russian Federation at the International Court of Justice for violating the 1948 Genocide Convention. Published works include *Foundations of World Order* which, according to *The International History Review*, is "required reading for historians, political scientists, international relations specialists, and policy-makers."

Jonathan Feldman

Expert on military-to-civilian diversification of defence manufacturers, including research on those issues in the United States, the United Kingdom and Sweden. Author of numerous articles on related subjects for professional publications. Currently Associate Professor of Economic History at Stockholm University.

Joseph Gerson

Has been active in peace and justice movements since the 1960s, and is currently Disarmament Coordinator for the American Friends Service Committee. Founding member of the International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases and the international planning committee for the 2010 review of the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). Author of several books on related subjects, including *Empire and the Bomb: How the U.S. Uses Nuclear Weapons to Dominate the World*.

Saul Landau

Senior Fellow and Vice Chair at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. Prolific film-maker and writer on national and foreign policy issues whose numerous distinctions include the George Polk Award for Investigative Reporting, an Emmy Award for the documentary "Paul Jacobs and the Nuclear Gang", and the Bernardo O'Higgins Award for Human Rights from the government of Chile. Author of fourteen books, including *Assassination on Embassy Row*, *The Guerrilla Wars of Central America* and *The Pre-Emptive Empire: A Guide to Bush's Kingdom*.

David MacMichael

After resigning as captain in U.S. Marines, acquired Ph.D. in history and became senior social scientist at Stanford Research Institute. Then served as analyst with National Intelligence Council of the C.I.A. After leaving C.I.A. in 1983, publicly protested against the agency's covert operations and became leading critic of U.S. policy in Latin America. Has since joined with other former intelligence and security officials to oppose destructive U.S. policies and promote world peace. Founding member of the Association of National Security Alumni and the Veteran Intelligence Professionals for Sanity. Editor and publisher of *Unclassified* magazine, and author of numerous articles on related subjects in a wide variety of publications.

Gareth Porter

Independent historian, investigative journalist, and foreign-policy analyst. Bureau Chief for Dispatch News Service International in Saigon during Vietnam War, thereafter Co-Director of Indochina Resource Center in Washington. Author of numerous articles and analyses in a wide variety of publications. Books include *Perils of Dominance: Imbalance of Power and the Road to War in Vietnam* and *The Third Option in Iraq: A Responsible Exit Strategy*.

Rick Rozoff

Leading U.S. authority and prolific writer on NATO and related subjects. Founder and moderator of Stop NATO, an Internet service providing extensive news and analysis of the military alliance.

1 March 2010

Note: The members of the Advisory Board are independent of each other and do not necessarily endorse all aspects of this project. Their participation is limited to providing information and advice when and as they see fit.

TIME TO START CITIZENS' INQUIRY

Two basic preconditions established: Advisory Board and frame of reference

As explained in the original proposal (see page 3), the main purpose of this project is to conduct a citizens' inquiry into the "tyranny of small steps" by which Sweden is being drawn into the USA-dominated military alliance, NATO.

The furtive accession to NATO is, of course, an important issue in itself. But the potential utility of the proposed inquiry extends beyond that; for it can be regarded as a case study that will most likely shed light on a number of more broadly relevant conditions and processes, for example: the methodology of the tyranny of small steps, the manipulation and steering of public opinion, collaboration between Swedish elites and foreign interests, the rightward shift of Social Democratic parties in Sweden and Europe, the Swedish public's interest in and knowledge of foreign-policy issues, control of the political agenda, the role of the mass media in all of this, etc.

The question is how to proceed. Although many have expressed support for the proposed inquiry, there do not appear to be any established procedures to follow. That conclusion may be drawn from the fact that repeated appeals for guidance and suggestions have yielded very little response. It is evidently easier to like the idea of a citizens' inquiry than to explain how to conduct one.

The lack of a standard recipe is probably the main reason that progress has thus far been rather slow. But now that an initial frame of reference (see below) and a highly qualified advisory board have been established, it is finally time to get to work.

In that regard, the lack of an established procedure constitutes both a problem and an opportunity. The problem is mainly that uncertainty is among the most difficult conditions for humans to deal with; indecisiveness and inactivity often result. The opportunity consists in that one can start just about anywhere and do something useful; the only requirement is that one actively participate.

In short, the task calls for a relatively high degree of determination and initiative.

Suggestions and guidelines

However, there is not a total lack of leads and suggestions regarding how and what to begin investigating. The document, *From Neutrality to NATO*,* is a first attempt to trace the tyranny of small steps in this connection, and one of its intended functions is to provide an initial frame of reference for conceptualizing the process of furtive accession.

A related purpose is to provide suggestions for suitable subjects of study. The initial account is doubtless far from complete; but it refers to a long series of decisions, events and processes that have taken place over a period of more than six decades. Just about every one of those components is worthy of further study and illumination. It is simply a matter of choosing an issue that seems interesting, and starting to work on it.

*Document available via www.nnn.se/nordic/americult/nato/neutrality.htm

For those who lack research experience or for some other reason are uncertain about how to proceed, help will be available. As noted in the project guidelines:

“As with all initiatives, the most important precondition for success is a firm belief that it is possible to succeed — something that can at times be difficult to conjure up, especially at the outset of a large and complex task. It can therefore be useful to meet often in order to pose questions, discuss methodological and other problems, share experiences, etc. It is intended that a special section of the inquiry's website will be established for that purpose and, if there is sufficient interest, it may also be possible to arrange physical meetings of project participants.”

It would be a good idea to familiarize oneself with all of the Guidelines (see page 6) which, among other things, offer some general suggestions about methodology and sources of information. *From Neutrality to NATO* provides an example of what can be accomplished with public sources and the application of I.F. Stone's methodology. Despite the fact that nearly all of the information in that document has been derived from readily available sources, the effect has been almost revelatory. A few typical reactions:

“This account must somehow be made available to the largest possible audience. It is a historically important document which shows how a foreign policy that for 190 years has been based on neutrality has been converted to the exact opposite. It is also the story of how Sweden has gone from being a small but influential nation on the world scene, to a small and insignificant land.”

“Very well done! I just received an e-mail from an acquaintance who wanted to tell me about the account: ‘Check out this document on Sweden in the world. Among the most informative I have ever read. So much knowledge, so little rhetoric.’”

“The reading of *From Neutrality to NATO* came as a shock to me. By my profession and interests, I should have known most of what it documents; but in many cases I did not. This also underlines the point about the tyranny of small steps.”

Even so, it is likely that this initial account only scratches the surface. There may well be additional steps that should be added, and there is almost certainly much more to discover by digging deeper into public archives, interviewing those familiar with or directly involved in the process, etc.

It is to be hoped that the document also demonstrates that it is possible to accomplish something useful with such a project, even though it lacks the resources of a university department or an official public inquiry. That may be self-evident to some, but clearly not to everyone. A number of seemingly sympathetic souls have offered the advice that it is fruitless to attempt such a citizens' inquiry, because it lacks both a substantial budget and the supporting staff to go with it.

Necessary efforts

It remains to be seen whether it is possible to successfully complete the project with the same sort of voluntary effort that has taken it this far. Those who want to participate can contribute by, among other things:

Indicating one's interest — large or small, specific or vague — via e-mail.

Informing others and encouraging them to participate. This applies especially to teachers and students at universities and secondary schools who might be interested in studying and researching various aspects of the furtive accession process.

Spread knowledge of the project via relevant organizations, websites, e-mail lists, articles in and letters to newspapers, magazines, newsletters, professional journals, etc.

Offer suggestions regarding the contents of the interest analysis proposed in the Guidelines.

The question of how the inquiry is to be organized will have to wait until there are enough participants to organize. At this early stage, it is difficult to specify a figure; it will depend on how large and what kinds of contributions folks are prepared to make.

But it would be useful even now to develop a network of contact persons all over the country — individuals who have the time and inclination to keep informed about the project in order to answer questions and spread awareness at the local level. Everyone who might consider performing that important function is very welcome to get in touch.

Al Burke
Project Co-ordinator
12 March 2010

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Stop the Furtive Accession to NATO!

PROJECT TERMINATED

1 December 2010

Exactly two years have passed since this project was launched with a declaration and proposal in the Swedish daily newspaper, *Svenska Dagbladet*. The main objective was to establish "a citizens' inquiry with the task of charting the furtive process [of accession to NATO] and its consequences for our national security and democracy".

As indicated by, among other things, the list of 70 individuals who endorsed the declaration, there were many who liked the idea. But after two years, despite repeated efforts to provide encouragement and guidance, not a single citizen has shown any interest in making the slightest contribution to the proposed inquiry. From that one may draw the conclusion that it is not feasible — in any event not within the framework of this project, which accordingly is hereby terminated....

For those who wish to keep informed about USA/NATO and related issues, there is no better source than the *Stop NATO* website at: <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/stopnato>

Al Burke
Project Co-ordinator

Stop the Furtive Accession to NATO!



*Montage from "A Dossier on Civilian Victims of United States' Aerial Bombing of Afghanistan" by Prof. Marc Herold, New Hampshire Univ., USA.
http://www.cursor.org/stories/civilian_deaths.htm*

WEB RESOURCES

Afghanistan nu

<http://www.afghanistan.nu>

BBC Online: basic facts about NATO

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/country_profiles/1549072.stm

Casualty Monitor: statistics on civilian casualties in Iraq and Afghanistan

<http://www.casualty-monitor.org>

IKFF, Internationella Kvinnoförbundet för Fred och Frihet

<http://www.ikff.se>

Marc Herolds "Afghan Canon"

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National Priorities Project

Running account of U.S. expenditures for wars against Iraq and Afghanistan

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Stop the Furtive Accession to NATO!

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