

Communicating Europe: Sweden Manual

*Information and contacts on the Swedish debate
on EU enlargement in the Western Balkans*

Supported by the
Strategic Programme Fund
of the UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office



Foreign &
Commonwealth
Office



ABOUT THIS MANUAL

Who shapes the debate on the future of EU enlargement in Sweden today as the country takes over the EU Presidency in July 2009?

This manual aims to provide an overview by introducing the key people and key institutions. It starts with a summary of core facts about Sweden. It looks at the packed timetable of the Swedish EU Presidency and the many issues on its agenda – including EU enlargement and visa liberalisation for the Western Balkan states.

As background to one of the most intensive EU presidencies in recent years the manual describes the Swedish scene; the most important interest groups, the key government institutions, the current government, parliament and the main political parties and the key think-tanks. It looks at the country's mix of economic liberalism and welfare policies. It offers an overview of the policy debates on the EU, on future enlargement and the Western Balkans. Space is also given to the media landscape; TV, radio and print media and the internet-based media.

As the British academic Timothy Garton Ash has recently written: "Talking here to a leading figure in the upcoming Swedish presidency of the EU, one understands what a hectic circus it will be in the last few months of 2009." Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt has commented on the government's intensive presidency planning: "Sometimes things turn out like the John Lennon song: 'Life is what happens to you while you are busy making other plans'." The prime minister added: "Planning is important, but things seldom turn out the way you intended."

Any debate in a vibrant democracy is characterised by a range of views. Nonetheless, when it comes to Swedish views on EU enlargement, the people included in this manual are certainly among the most influential.

Stockholm, May 2009

CONTENTS

ABOUT THIS MANUAL	2
SWEDEN: KEY FACTS	4
CARL BILDT: MAKING THE CASE FOR EU ENLARGEMENT.....	5
THE SWEDISH EU PRESIDENCY 2009	8
SWEDISH ATTITUDES TO ENLARGEMENT.....	14
VISA LIBERALISATION	15
SWEDEN AND IMMIGRATION	17
SWEDEN FROM THE VIKINGS TO THE SWEDISH MODEL	21
GOVERNMENT	32
THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE	32
THE CABINET	34
EUROPEAN POLICY-MAKING: THE FOREIGN MINISTRY (MFA).....	37
DEPARTMENTS RELEVANT TO THE WESTERN BALKANS – AND THEIR FUNCTIONS.	39
OVERVIEW: SWEDEN AND THE WESTERN BALKANS.....	40
POLITICS	44
THE PARLIAMENT (RIKSDAG).....	45
THE POLITICAL PARTIES	49
THE MEDIA.....	58
TELEVISION	58
RADIO	62
NEWSPAPERS	64
THINK-TANKS	69
PARTY FOUNDATIONS	75
UNIVERSITIES	77

SWEDEN: KEY FACTS

Population:	9.27 million.
Area:	450,000 km.
Capital:	Stockholm (802,000 in the city – nearly 2 million inhabitants in the Stockholm metropolitan area).
Other major cities:	Göteborg, 500,600; Malmö, 286,000; Uppsala, 190,000.
GNP per capita:	\$36,691 (purchasing parity – EIU figures).
Head of State:	King Carl XVI Gustaf.
Prime Minister:	Fredrik Reinfeldt (Moderate Party).
Current Government:	The Alliance for Sweden - a coalition of four centre-right parties: the Moderate Party, the Liberal Party, the Christian Democrats, and the Centre Party won 178 of the 349 seats in 2006.
Key Ministers on EU policy:	<div> <div>Carl Bildt</div> <div>Cecilia Malmström</div> <div>Maria Åsenius</div> </div> <div> <div>Foreign Minister.</div> <div>Europe Minister.</div> <div>State Secretary.</div> </div>
National legislature:	The Riksdag.
Next national election:	Due on 19 September 2010.

<i>Government Parties</i>		<i>2006 Vote</i>	<i>Seats</i>
<i>Moderate Party</i>	Fredrik Reinfeldt	26.23 per cent	97
<i>Centre Party</i>	Maud Olsson	7.88 per cent	29
<i>Liberal People's Party</i>	Jan Björklund	7.54 per cent	28
<i>Christian Democrats</i>	Göran Hägglund	6.59 per cent	24
<i>Opposition parties</i>			
<i>Social Democrats</i>	Mona Sahlin	34.99 per cent	130
<i>Left Party</i>	Lars Ohly	5.85 per cent	22
<i>Green Party</i>	Peter Eriksson and Maria Wetterstrand	5.24 per cent	19

CARL BILDT: MAKING THE CASE FOR EU ENLARGEMENT



ENLARGEMENT, SOUTH EAST EUROPE AND TURKEY: Carl Bildt, Sweden's peripatetic foreign minister, is constantly making the case for further EU enlargement. In doing so he expresses a deeper consensus in Sweden on enlargement supported by almost all members of Parliament.

Given this strong cross-party backing Carl Bildt is currently one of the most forceful advocates of further enlargement in the EU.

“Enlargement is still the European Union's primary instrument for creating security, democracy and prosperity in Europe... every single enlargement has in fact made the European Union stronger, more relevant, and more attune to the needs of our different societies.” (Carl Bildt - Foreign Policy Statement of the Government, February 2009).



Carl Bildt addressed the doubts on EU enlargement issue head-on in his speech at the Carnegie Endowment in Washington DC on May 5 2009:

“Enlargement is a controversial issue – we all know that – and has always been. Remember that the first big enlargement debate was in the early '60s when the Brits for some reason wanted to join. And there was someone of a nationality that I will not disclose who said “no” – for 10 years, and blocked that entire process for 10 years.

Every single enlargement since then has been characterised by two things. It's been opposed inside the Union. There have always been those saying don't dilute. These other people are not real Europeans; they are not going to be like us; it is more cosy, and the translation booths are going to be too many at the meetings. I mean, there have been all sorts of arguments of that sort. I vividly remember this.

When we, Sweden, small, harmless, peace-loving nation, when we applied for membership, together with the Austrians and the Finns and the Norwegians – and I had to go to the European Parliament X numbers of times and say that: blue eyes, nice, blond, all of that! At the end of the day, there were still 80 members of the European Parliament that did not vote for the accession of Sweden to the European Union, primarily because of the dilution argument: stay where we are, no others. There have always been those who have been sceptical.

Second, every single enlargement has obviously been a smashing success afterwards. I mean, every single enlargement has in fact made the European Union stronger, more relevant, and more attuned to the needs of our different societies. So that is the historical context.”

Carl Bildt's vision and the "Stockholm consensus."



College of Europe
Collège d'Europe



Natolin

Carl Bildt set out his vision of a common Europe in a presentation he delivered on November 12 [2007 at the College of Europe in Bruges](#):

"What is needed is a profound strengthening of the soft power of Europe. We certainly need to strengthen the hard power as well - but at the end of the day peace is built by thoughts and by ballots more than by tanks and by bullets.

A critical part of the soft power of Europe lies in the continued process of enlargement - a Europe that remains open to those in our part of the world who wish to share their sovereignty with us, accept the rule of law and commit themselves to the building of open, secular and free societies.

There are those who want to slow down or perhaps even stop the process altogether. We have heard talk of the need to define the borders of Europe. And to draw these borders as close to the present borders of the European Union as possible. But drawing big lines on big maps of eastern Europe risks being a dangerous exercise for us all.

Because it means defining firmly not only for whom the doors will remain open, but also slamming the doors in the face of some for whom the magnetism of Europe remains a major driving force for profound political and economic reforms. It means telling them to go elsewhere. And that means doing things differently also in terms of the evolution of their societies. If we put out the light of European integration in the east or southeast of Europe - however faint or distant that light might be - we risk seeing the forces of atavistic nationalism or submission to other masters taking over. And if that happens, no lines on maps will be able to protect us from the consequences."

The concept of a "Stockholm consensus" to encapsulate the Swedish debate was first used by Mark Leonard, in his book "[Why Europe will run the 21st Century](#)":

"The Stockholm consensus amounts to nothing less than a new social contract in which a strong and flexible state underpins an innovative, open, knowledge economy. This contract means that the state provides the resources for educating its citizens, treating their illnesses, providing childcare so they can work, and integration lessons for newcomers. In exchange, citizens take training, are more flexible, and newcomers integrate themselves."

The Swedish consensus today is that when any European country meets the conditions for accession, it has a *right* to be accepted as a member, as Göran Lennmarker, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Riskdag puts it. It is a clear and self-confident vision of Europe.

"When foreigners write in praise of Swedish politics," the British journalist Andrew Brown writes in his portrait of a changing Sweden: *Fishing in Utopia: Sweden and the Future that Disappeared*: "it is from Stockholm that they get their information or their understanding, and this is always influenced by the very great confidence of the ruling class that still run the place."

Carl Bildt is the most prominent and articulate exponent of the Swedish political elite's pro-enlargement perspective.



Bildt's Blog

Carl Bildt is famous for actively updating his blog, [Alla Dessa Dagar](#), despite his constant travels. It often covers one of his favourite topics – South East Europe. Here is one recent posting:

Copenhagen airport 28 March 2009: "On the way home from the meeting of Foreign Ministers in South Bohemia, I have now in any case come to Copenhagen, where I will spend a few hours waiting for a connecting flight to Stockholm...

Unfortunately I did not experience the whole lunch discussion on the economic development in the Balkans, but I am delighted that you have chosen to put economic issues at the centre. Serbia has just received a large bridging loan from the IMF - and the European Commission is considering some help - and apparently Bosnia is also turning to the IMF for emergency financial support

Otherwise, much of our discussions focussed on how to overcome the tendency to the current blockages in the enlargement process. Our policy in this respect, summarised in the declaration, was a result of our meeting. I hope that the next meeting of Foreign Ministers will be an opportunity to send Montenegro's application to the Commission to start work on an opinion on its potential. In all likelihood the work will take at least a year...

Next, I would think that we have to expect a request from Albania, and it must obviously be treated in the same way. It's crucial to overcome the Slovenian blocking now slowing down the Croatian accession negotiations. It's really unacceptable that bilateral disputes such as this one - it is in all material on the sea borders in the innermost parts of the Adriatic Sea - is able to block the European processes, but unfortunately we have already seen it in the Macedonian name dispute.

Olli Rehn has now put a compromise proposal on a process that should be acceptable to both Ljubljana and Zagreb. The Presidency and the other foreign ministers expressed our clear support for the proposal. The beginning of the coming week will be of great importance for how the issue develops."

THE SWEDISH EU PRESIDENCY 2009

The Institutional Agenda

Carl Bildt has often pointed out how crowded the agenda is for the Swedish presidency – given the key institutional issues that have to be resolved and the fact that the Lisbon Treaty is still not in place:

- **A new Lisbon Treaty?** As three Member States have yet to formally ratify the Lisbon Treaty. Sweden is preparing to conduct its EU presidency with the current Nice Treaty in place. The Lisbon Treaty could enter into force during - or immediately after – its presidency.
- **The newly elected Parliament:** Sweden begins its presidency with the newly elected European Parliament that will first focus on internal issues; forming new committees and holding hearings for a new European Commission.
- **The new European Commission:** The current European Commission will remain in office until 31 October 2009. The new Commission must then be approved by a vote of both the European Parliament and the Council. Fewer proposals than usual are therefore expected from the Commission in the first half of Sweden's presidency.
- **Short Presidency:** The holidays in August and public holidays in December mean that, in practice, the presidency in the second half of the year is shorter than the first.

The Challenges



The packed agenda facing the Swedish EU Presidency was outlined by Carl Bildt in his Washington speech on May 5th 2009.

He said that Sweden hopes to make progress on EU institutional reforms if there is a “yes” in the Irish referendum in mid-October: Much of Sweden’s presidency will be devoted to overseeing the institutional changes the Lisbon Treaty makes.

“It is my sincere hope that we will be the end of an historical era – in the sense that we would get the Lisbon Treaty ratified.”

Implementing the Lisbon Treaty:

- “The Lisbon treaty - in terms of justice and home affairs, is another step of integration...we hope we can take some not insubstantial further steps in that particular area”. “Foreign and security affairs; to have a de facto European foreign minister (as EU high representative for foreign and security policy), and to have an elected president of the European Council, and to set up the European Action Service. By merging all of the activities of the Commission and of the Council, and then adding elements from the national diplomatic services; these are huge steps.”

Big issues on the EU agenda:

- “The European Union has a big role to manoeuvre the world towards a global climate deal in Copenhagen in December 2009. That is going to consume a lot of political energy.”
- “We have to manage the economy both in terms of the G-20 global context, in terms of internal European issues, and in terms of the financial political crisis management - that will consume a much larger percentage of our energies than people are aware of”.

- “The single most important political process within Europe this year is the peace process in Cyprus. We have a President in Cyprus, Mr. Christofias; we have a leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, Mr. Talal - they are both personally committed to overcoming the division of their island...”

Enlargement:

- “Another of our main challenges is, of course, enlargement – the roughly 100 million people of Southeast Europe that are knocking on our door: the countries of the Western Balkans and Turkey.”
- **Turkey:** “I belong to those Europeans who agreed very much with President Obama, when he came to Europe and said that the strategic significance of Turkey joining the European Union is vast: it’s vast for the European Union; it is vast as a symbol of reconciliation, solving and overcoming old divisions; it sends a very powerful signal to the rest of the world. That being said we know that it’s not an entirely easy thing to do. The same applies to the countries of the Western Balkans.”
- **Croatia-Slovenia dispute:** “We have on the table – very much supported by us and by the French and the Czechs – the trio – a compromise proposal by Commissioner Rehn which we think is constructive and good. It would allow resolution of the dispute, and it would allow, which is also very important, that we go on with the Croat accession negotiations. I welcome everyone supporting and adhering to the proposal of Commission Rehn. The accession of Croatia is of course important. It is important for Croatia but it is also important for the rest of the region.”

ESI is compiling a calendar of events engaging the Western Balkans – official and unofficial.

2009					
		Commission/ regular EU events	EU Presidency Special events	Western Balkan related events	Other events inc: elections/ anniversaries
June	6-7		Conference on Bosnia (Stockholm)		
	4-7	European Parliament (EP) Elections			
June	15-16	GAERC (General Affairs and External Relations Council)			
	18-19	European Council <i>Commission President confirmed?</i>			
	23		Visa and consular meeting – Skopje.		
	28				Albanian general election
July	1 First week of July		<u>Swedish Presidency</u>		<i>Iceland's EU application?</i>
	13-16	EP Strasbourg plenary			
	13-15	Informal meeting: DGs for European affairs (Stockholm)			

2009

		Commission/ regular EU events	EU Presidency Special events	Western Balkan related events	Other events inc: elections/ anniversaries
	15-17	Informal meeting of JHA Ministers Stockholm			
	20-23		EP Committees meet: LIBE (JHA) & AFET (Foreign Affairs) will consider visa liberalisation.		
	27-28	GAERC			
	Late July		<i>Montenegro expects to receive the questionnaire.</i>		
August		Holidays			
September	4-5	Gymnich: Informal Foreign Ministers meeting (Stockholm)			
	14-17	EP Plenary (Strasbourg)			
	21-22	JHA Council			
	27				German general elections
October					<i>Mid month: Irish referendum on Lisbon Treaty?</i>

2009					
		Commission/ regular EU events	EU Presidency Special events	Western Balkan related events	Other events inc: elections/ anniversaries
October	7-8	EP Mini Plenary (Brussels) Possible vote on visa liberalisation			
	19	IPA Review (Brussels)			
	19-22	EP Plenary (Strasbourg)			
	21-22?	JHA Council			
	26-27	GAERC			
	29-30	European Council		<i>Referral of Albania's application to the Commission for an avis?</i>	
	31	Current Commission's mandate ends			
November	Dates tbc	<i>Enlargement Progress Reports</i>	<i>Possible Special Summit on Lisbon Treaty reforms</i>		
	9				Berlin Wall fell 20 years ago
	11-12	EP Mini Plenary (Brussels)			
	16-17	GAERC			
	17	Informal COHOM			20 th years since Czechoslovak Velvet Revolution

2009

		Commission/ regular EU events	EU Presidency Special events	Western Balkan related events	Other events inc: elections/ anniversaries
	23-26	EP Plenary (Strasbourg)			
	30	JHA Council			
December	1	JHA Council <i>Visa liberalisation agreed?</i>			Turkey Review of Ankara Protocol
	7-8	GAERC			
	9		W Balkans Ministerial conference (Brussels).		
	10-11	European Council			10 th Anniversary of Helsinki European Council
	14-17	EP (Strasbourg)			

SWEDISH ATTITUDES TO ENLARGEMENT

48 per cent of Europeans say that recent enlargement has strengthened the European Union. Conversely, 36 per cent say that enlargement has weakened the European Union. (Source: Eurobarometer 70 - December 2008).

The figures for future enlargement given in Eurobarometer 69 (Spring 2008) are strikingly similar: 48 per cent of Europeans consider that the accession of the countries and territories of the Western Balkans to the European Union would contribute to stability in the region. However, 39 per cent disagree.

In the 15 'old' Member States, an outright majority for the view that enlargement has strengthened the EU is only registered in Sweden - 63 per cent, and three others - Spain 59 per cent, and 53 per cent in both Denmark and Greece.

Respondents in Sweden are the most enthusiastic about further enlargement of the European Union. A majority are in favour of the integration of each of the Western Balkans.

SWEDISH ATTITUDES TO FURTHER ENLARGEMENT:

<i>EB69 Spring 2008</i>	<i>Albania</i>	<i>BiH</i>	<i>Croatia</i>	<i>Kosovo</i>	<i>Macedonia</i>	<i>Montenegro</i>	<i>Serbia</i>	<i>Turkey</i>
<i>Pro</i>	58	66	71	61	66	66	61	46
<i>Anti</i>	32	25	20	29	24	24	30	45
<i>Don't know</i>	10	9	9	10	10	10	9	9

VISA LIBERALISATION

“The time has come to do everything to bring down the borders that separate the Balkan countries from the EU.”

Franco Frattini Italian Foreign Minister - 20 May 2009.



The Visa Liberalisation Timetable

One key issue in 2009 is a possible agreement on visa liberalisation for countries in the Western Balkans. As part of its White List campaign ESI has been examining the time-frame for amending Official Regulation 539/2001, the key measure to allow liberalisation.

1. European Commission

25 May 2009: meeting of Commission with officials from EU Member States – the Commission's position will become clear. “It is likely that the Commission will try to adopt the proposed amendment of Council Regulation 539/2001 before mid-June.”

2. EU Foreign Ministers - GAERC

15/16 June 2009: The EU General Affairs and External Relations Council (known as GAERC, made up of EU foreign ministers and – sometimes, depending on the issue – other ministers) is scheduled to meet for the last time under the Czech EU Presidency. Since visa liberalisation is one of the Czechs' priorities for the Western Balkans, the Czech Presidency would like the foreign ministers to reach informal agreement on the proposal. This is not yet the official adoption, but agreement to vote in favour of the amendment later on.

3. The European Parliament

Following its own internal adoption, the Commission will transmit the proposal to the Council, and the Council will transmit it to the European Parliament under the so-called "consultation procedure", the European Parliament must deliver an opinion on the Commission's proposal before the Councils can put it to a vote. At the European Parliament, the proposal will be given to the responsible (lead) committee – in this case, the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (LIBE). The Committee on Foreign Affairs (AFET), however, will also want to have a significant role in the procedure.

The Parliament's plenary sessions and the meetings of the committees in 2009 are already scheduled. At the first plenary session following the elections (14-16 July), the Parliament will fill key positions and establish the committees. The following week (20-23 July), the committees will meet for the first time. If the proposed amendment of Council Regulation 539/2001 is declared a top priority by the Swedish EU Presidency, the LIBE and AFET rapporteurs could be appointed right then and there. *If* this happens and *if* the committees decide to deal with the proposed amendment very speedily, the plenary vote could take place as early as September (at the 14-17 September plenary session).

If the rapporteurs are only appointed after the summer break, which is more likely, the Parliament's

plenary will vote either during the October sessions (7-8 October and 19-22 Oct) or in November (11-12 November or 23-26 November).

4. JHA Council:

Following the delivery of the Parliament's opinion, the Justice and Home Affairs Council (JHA), which consists of EU interior and justice ministers, can vote on the proposed amendment. Traditionally, the JHA Council meets six times a year, and there are usually meetings in October and late November/early December. The Council will vote by qualified majority, which means that the proposal must garner 228 votes out of 309 votes (the UK and Ireland are not voting). If the GAERC reaches political agreement on the dossier in June, the vote in the JHA Council should be a formality, but if the GAERC does not, then there will be a real debate."

More information:

<http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=354>

ESI: Exclusive Scorecard of Schengen White List Conditions

ESI published on 22 May the Commission's assessment of the steps taken by the states of the Western Balkans: "These assessments conclude – based on the most thorough expert assessments ever undertaken in the fields of document security, border control, migration management and security - that Macedonia meets the conditions for visa-free travel, that Montenegro and Serbia meet most of the conditions for visa-free travel, and that Bosnia-Herzegovina and Albania do not (yet) meet the conditions for visa free travel." <http://www.esiweb.org>

Scorecard – Schengen White List Conditions

22 May 2009

**Based on expert visits and internal assessments by the European Commission
of the implementation of the visa liberalisation roadmaps
by Western Balkan countries (18 May 2009)**

1.	Macedonia	<i>meets the benchmarks</i>	<i>score: 1</i>
2.	Montenegro	<i>meets most benchmarks</i>	<i>score: 1.75</i>
	Serbia	<i>meets most benchmarks</i>	<i>score: 1.75</i>
3.	Albania	<i>does not meet benchmarks</i>	<i>score: 3</i>
	Bosnia	<i>does not meet benchmarks</i>	<i>score: 3</i>
4.	Kosovo	<i>no evaluation</i>	<i>score: -</i>

Explanation: In its assessments, the Commission uses six distinct phrases to describe the countries' progress in four main areas, ranging from "meets the benchmarks" to "does not yet fully meet the benchmarks". A number was allocated to each of these phrases:

- 1 = "meets the benchmarks" and "generally meets the benchmarks"
- 2 = "meets a large majority of the benchmarks" and "meets a majority of benchmarks"
- 3 = "on the right track, but..." and "does not yet fully meet the benchmarks"

SWEDEN AND IMMIGRATION

Sweden has one of the most open immigration policies in the world. Indeed, 1,080,000 of 9.3 million Swedes are foreign-born.

Since 15 December 2008, Sweden has began a new open-door policy in which any immigrant can have a work permit - as long as they have confirmation from an employer of a job.

In the first quarter of 2009, 22,124 people came to Sweden and 9,594 people emigrated - a net surplus of 12,530. The largest group who settled in Sweden were Swedish citizens (3,857), followed by Iraqis (2,451) and Somalis (1,305). The numbers of Poles and Romanians who have been immigrating in large numbers since accession have fallen to 1,187 and 425 respectively - a decrease of a third compared with the first quarter of 2008. www.scb.se

In addition to work-migration, a large number of people seek asylum each year. In 2008 over 24,000 people sought asylum in Sweden, most of them Iraqis and Somalis. Ten per cent of asylum seekers come from SE Europe. www.scb.se

<i>2008 Asylum Seekers by Country of Citizenship</i>		
<i>Country Rank</i>	Country of citizenship	Total
	All citizenships	24,342
<i>1</i>	Iraq	6,080
<i>2</i>	Somalia	3,354
<i>3</i>	Kosovo	1,037
<i>4</i>	Russia	938
<i>5</i>	Serbia	936
<i>22</i>	Bosnia-Herzegovina	150
<i>25</i>	Albania	118
<i>42</i>	Macedonia	57
<i>43</i>	Montenegro	51
<i>49</i>	Croatia	42

Sweden tops the list of European countries that have taken in refugees from Iraq. One small Swedish town has famously given shelter to more Iraqi refugees than the whole of the USA. Södertälje, which is located about 30 km south of Stockholm, with a population of 80,000, has accepted some 6,000 refugees since the Iraq war began in 2003. (2008 figures). Jobs, accommodation, a place at day-care or school are all in short supply these days, as Södertälje struggles to keep up with the rapid influx of newcomers. Jörgen Eriksson, who is responsible for information regarding immigration issues at Södertälje municipality, says: "Longer term, the influx of immigrants will be a good thing for us, but right now we are having a hard time absorbing so many people." The municipality offers a program for immigrants to learn Swedish and get an introduction to Swedish society. "It is extremely important to help these new immigrants crack the cultural code," Eriksson says. "But we urgently need help finding them jobs and homes. Södertälje is working with other municipalities in Sweden and also building contacts with businesses, so that immigrants can get work.

According to a survey by Nordic public broadcasters in 2009, more than half of respondents in Finland, Sweden and Denmark find the number of refugees to be acceptable. In Sweden, 32 per cent said they thought there were too many refugees, 11 to 12 per cent of those polled thought there are too few refugees.

However, another survey, *Opinion 2008, Swedes' Views on Society, Security Policy and National Defence* (edited by Göran Stütz) revealed that nine per cent of the Swedes think that increased immigration has a positive impact on Sweden's security, while as many as 39 per cent believe the opposite.

Swedes are the second-least xenophobic and among the most gender-equal people in Europe, according to the European Social Survey (ESS) research project database, which contains details of the outlooks of 150,000 Europeans on various issues. www.europeansocialsurvey.org 2008. Professor **Mikael Hjerm**, a sociologist at Umeå University, who is in charge of the Swedish part of the survey, has researched issues of immigration and xenophobia in the country. Professor Hjerm says: 'Political rhetoric and regulatory systems play a part. Stricter immigration laws engender increased xenophobia. But it is a chicken-and-egg conundrum: which comes first? We know, too, that neither the proportion of immigrants nor the economic situation in a given area is significant, as such. But in a municipality with both a lot of immigrants and an ailing economy, xenophobia is more common.'



Research by **Lena Nekby** and **Gülşay Özcan** of Stockholm University on the children of first-generation non-European immigrant parents found that those without higher education had a 15 per cent lower chance of finding a job and earned 35 per cent less than their Swedish peers on average. Those who have gone on to higher education have not fared any worse than their peers born to Swedish parents.

There are also many first- and second-generation immigrants from the Western Balkans. There are organisations for communities from the former Yugoslav countries, but the organisations do not make any direct impact on political decision-making. There are volunteers working on projects relating to the Balkan countries through the Olof Palme Centre, for example. But there is no organised lobby – perhaps not surprising when people came to Sweden from SE Europe at different times - and for different reasons. Immigrants from European countries generally find it easiest to assimilate.



A number of people of Yugoslav origin have become very well known in many different walks of life.

Zlatan Ibrahimovic - Born in the poor neighbourhood of Rosengård to a Croatian mother and a Bosnian father, Zlatan Ibrahimovic made a name for himself at the age of ten in a match for FBK Balkan's 12-year-olds against Vellinge. With FBK Balkan 4-0 down at half time, Zlatan came off the bench and scored eight goals to give his team an 8-5 victory. He now plays for Inter Milan and Sweden. He is listed by www.futbolfinance.com as one of the two best-paid soccer players in the world.



Left: Nina Radulovic and Jovan Radomir

Jovan Radomir was born in Yugoslavia and raised in Sweden. Currently working in Stockholm at the Swedish Television - SVT, as a TV-presenter, reporter and producer since 1999 he wrote the lyrics for one song in BH Eurosong 2005. He also hosted EUROVISION COUNTDOWN together with Serbian TV-host Nina Radulovic broadcast in 43 countries all over Europe. He presented the Eurovision finals for SVT – the most popular TV programmes of the year.

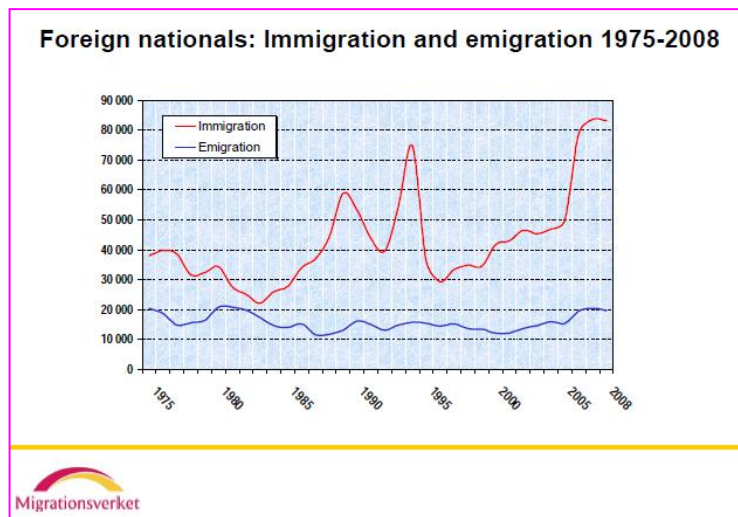


Anna Ibrisagic, who is a close political associate of Carl Bildt and a Moderate Party MEP in the European Parliament, was born in Bosnia-Herzegovina. She

is a strong advocate of the EU accession of the Western Balkans - her latest Report on consolidating stability and prosperity in the Western Balkans presented in the EP on 2 April 2009 can be accessed at <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/> She can also be contacted via her Facebook site: <http://www.facebook.com/people/Anna-Ibrisagic/1643786646>

Over 12 per cent of Sweden's population was born abroad. Those born in Finland account for the largest group of Sweden's residents who were born abroad. The second largest group of foreign born

residents came from the former Yugoslavia - over 188,000 people in the 1984-2008 period altogether. A large proportion of them have acquired Swedish citizenship.



The immigrants from ex-Yugoslavia arrived in two waves. The first wave came in search of jobs during the 1960s to 1970. Over 100,000 ex-Yugoslavs, mostly Bosnians, fled their war-torn countries in the early 1990s. Kosovars came from the late 1990's. Sweden was the only Nordic country that decided to give the immigrants permanent residence permits.

SWEDISH MIGRATION BOARD:

[The Swedish Migration Board](#) is responsible for permits for those wishing to migrate to Sweden and also offering funding to some with residence permits who would like to return home. It is responsible for seeing to it that people refused entry or given expulsion orders leave Sweden of their own accord.

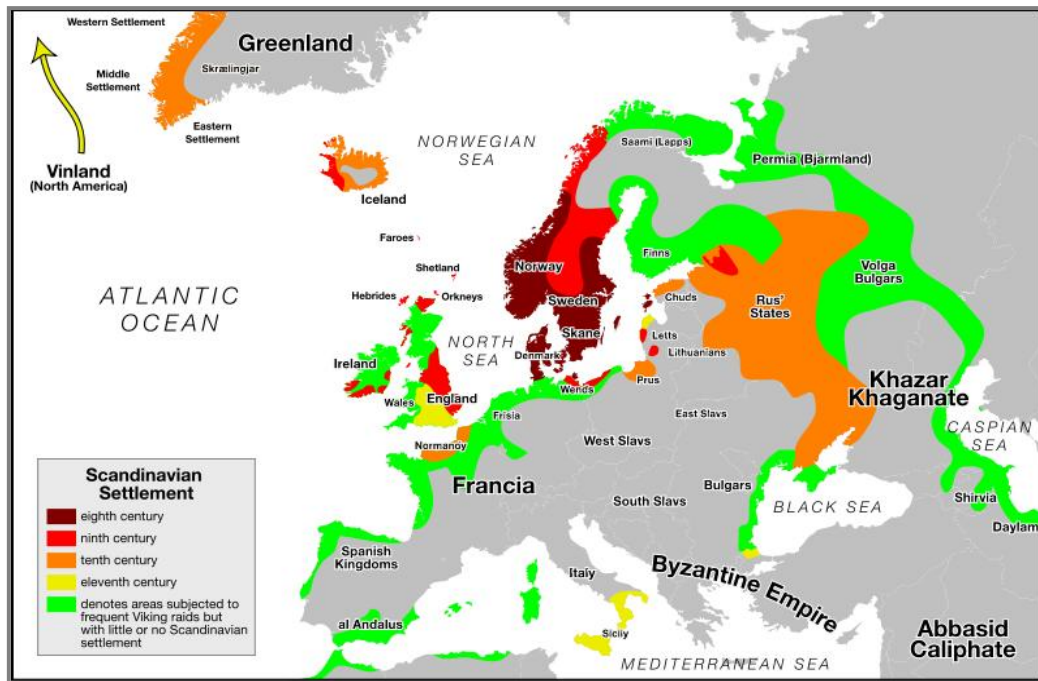
In cooperation with several organisations, the Swedish Migration Board has been running 2 projects assisting those immigrants wishing to return to Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Migration Board offers financial support to refugees, to a maximum of 40,000 SEK per family, who want to return. A migrant can apply for financial support during the first period in the home country and a reasonable compensation for travel expenses.

Voluntary return 2004 – 2008

	2008	2007	2006	2005	2004
Citizenship					
Iraq	1 665	854	197	460	639
Serbia/Montenegro	59	374	459	1 029	1 583
Russia	316	227	263	476	740
Bolivia	243	197	126	177	221
Lebanon	218	146	66	128	200
Stateless	126	132	77	194	236
Iran	113	123	106	174	308
Bulgaria	24	108	535	552	287
Turkey	161	86	104	226	372
Belarus	168	84	82	205	345
Other countries	2 885	1 622	1 902	3 275	5 172
Total	5 978	3 953	3 917	6 896	10 103



The Board has implemented a two-year project entitled Strong Institutions and a Unified Approach in the Asylum, Migration and Visa Management (Western Balkans AMV), a migration policy development project funded by the EU Commission's AENEAS programme. The project ended in 2008.



SWEDEN FROM THE VIKINGS TO THE SWEDISH MODEL

Sweden developed from a loose union of two main tribes – the Svears and the Goths, from 500 – 1100 AD. The Swedes' famous ancestors, the Vikings (700-1000 AD) colonised the Eastern Baltic and Britain, trading and raiding as far as Constantinople – the first of Sweden's expansionary phases.

Finland was incorporated in the 13th century and remained a Swedish dependency until 1809. In 1397 Sweden joined the Kalmar Union together with Norway and Denmark under the Danish Crown. It broke away in 1523 to establish its own monarchy under King Gustav Vasa.

For the next 200 years Sweden engaged in almost continuous wars with its neighbours. Sweden played a leading role in the second phase (1630–1635) of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). The Swedes captured Prague in 1632 and ransacked Prague castle in 1648 – see the illustration above. The Swedish Empire is known as "**Stormaktstiden**" - the era of great power.





At its peak in the middle of the 17th century, the Swedish Empire included Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Latvia and parts of northern Germany. By the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), Sweden obtained western Pomerania and some neighbouring territory on the Baltic.

In 1700, a coalition of Russia, Poland, and Denmark united against Sweden, and by the Peace of Nystad (1721) forced it to relinquish Livonia, Ingria, Estonia, and parts of Finland.

The Empire's extended borders became more difficult and costly to defend. The growing strength of Russia constituted a constant threat to Sweden. Defeat in the Great Nordic War against Denmark, Saxony,

Poland and Russia (1698-1720) led to dismemberment of the Swedish empire and its eclipse as a great power. The Swedish army was almost annihilated at Poltava on 28 June 1709 by the Russians. (Picture left).



Russia then conquered the Baltic provinces and a great part of Finland. Swedish territories in northern Germany were also lost. The Danes landed in southern Sweden but were pushed back.

During the Napoleonic Wars, from 1805 to 1814, Sweden was allied with Britain against France. Sweden was involved in the Finnish War during which it lost its territories in Finland. 1809 is a landmark for Sweden – it was the last time that the country has been at war. Sweden

formally conceded the loss of Finland to Russia, but it gained control of Norway from Denmark under the Treaty of Kiel, signed in 1814.

The 19th century was a period of liberal reforms, population growth and rapid industrialisation. It was also a period of great poverty – after the famines in the late 1840's, hundreds of thousands of Swedes emigrated across the Atlantic. It saw the rise of Norwegian separatism. In 1865 Sweden replaced the traditional four estates by a bicameral assembly (reduced to one chamber in 1971). In 1905 Norway withdrew from the union with Sweden.

During the First World War Sweden remained neutral. In 1920 the first Social Democrat government took office. The Social Democrats were to remain continuously in power for decades from 1932

onwards. During the Second World War Sweden again remained neutral but, until 1943, conceded transit facilities for Germans troops.

In 1949 Sweden did not join NATO and developed its doctrine of neutrality. In 1952 with Iceland, Denmark and Norway, Sweden founded the Nordic Council (Finland joined in 1955). Social Democrat leader, Prime Minister Olof Palme was staunchly critical of US policies and the Vietnam war and became one of the most prominent Social Democratic leaders in Europe.

The Social Democratic Party won between 40 and 55 per cent of the votes in all elections between 1940 and 1988, making it one of the most successful political parties in the world. The party's voter base consisted of a diverse swathe of people throughout Swedish society, although it was particularly strong amongst organised blue-collar workers. With its partners in the trades unions such as the LO (the Swedish Trade Union Confederation) it created what is known as the Swedish model or *folkhemmet* - the word commonly used in Sweden – literally a combination of *folk* (people) and *hem* (home).



The so-called “Saltsjöbaden spirit”, marked by a willingness to co-operate and the endeavour to arrive at peaceful solutions based on compromise, is named after the agreement in the town of the same name in 1938 by the

unions and employers confederations.

The country was shocked by the murder of Social Democrat leader, Olof Palme in February 1986. The assassination has never been solved. Palme's legacy was the Swedish model – a combination of high taxes and comprehensive welfare provision “from the cradle to the grave”. As the Liberal MP and historian Mauricio Rojas wrote:

“Few social experiments have caught the imagination of politicians and students of political economy like the ‘Swedish model’. To successive generations of the centre-left searching for their own “Third Way” Sweden was something of a paradise. This exotic Nordic country was a kind of real-life Utopia, an idyllic country, full of beautiful people with a Social Democratic government which worked, a nation combining high rates of economic growth with unprecedented levels of equality.

This was a view largely shared by the Swedes themselves. For 50 years or so after the 1930's, it appeared that one could have a high rate of growth, low levels of unemployment and an unparalleled system of social welfare all at the same time. However it was clear by the 1970's that the model had problems. Sweden's high marginal tax rates became a subject of national debate. It was set off in March 1976 by no less a figure than **Astrid Lindgren**, the creator of Poppi Longstocking, and a national icon. Always an activist, Astrid Lindgren began her campaign after she found that the enterprises to which artists and writers belonged would have to pay more in taxes than they had earned through a tax anomaly affecting the some self-employed people like writers. She decided to highlight this by writing a story, *Pomperipossa in Monismania*. (*Pomperipossa in the World of Money*).

“Do you know that this year your marginal income tax is 102 per cent?” ‘What talk!’ said Pomperipossa. There aren't that many percent!’ For she was not particularly clued-up in higher mathematics. ‘Oh, yes!’ she was told. In Monismania there could be as many per cent as you liked! If you added together income tax and the social charges which Pomperipossa was to pay in because she was a sole trader, it added up to 102 per cent, after that Pomperipossa could say what she pleased!”

Astrid Lindgren's story received a fierce response from Finance Minister Gunnar Sträng. He said: “It is an interesting combination of literary ability and deep incompetence of the maze of fiscal policy.”

In the end, however, Astrid Lindgren won. Gunnar Sträng was later forced to admit: “We politicians shall not do worse than to admit if a mistake has been made. But the essential thing here is that she isn’t just right, but that she gets things put right...we will change this.” Later that year the Social Democrats lost power, for the first time in forty years, to a minority centre-right coalition government which ruled to 1982. The 1980’s was a period of intense debate on the nature of the Swedish model and neoliberal policies were actively discussed in the main dailies as the country deliberated a change in the Swedish model in the pages of Dagens Nyheter with the right of centre think-tanks Timbro and SNS (Centre for Business and Policy Studies) at the forefront of the debate. (For more see p39.)

The trigger for change came at the beginning of the 1990’s when the Swedish Model appeared on the brink of collapse. Sweden had been falling down the international league table for two decades. Growing unemployment and a fiscal crisis became the new realities. A real estate bubble burst. Many of the country’s banks were on the brink of collapse. The Swedish currency started to fall.

The economic and fiscal crisis in 1992 led to a new political direction. The centre-right government of Prime Minister Carl Bildt announced that the Swedish state would guarantee all bank deposits and creditors of the nation’s 114 banks to avert a banking crisis. He made the announcement in September 1992 standing side by side with the Social Democrat leader. Consensus-building has remained one of the causes of Swedish success. There was an informal network engaging leading figures in the main parties and major newspapers advocating neo-liberal economic policies.

Economic reforms to liberalise the Swedish economy were introduced to bring a touch of Chicago school of free market economics to the Swedish model. These innovations included vouchers to give parents a choice whether their children were educated in public or private schools. Markets for telecommunications and energy were liberalised. Commercial broadcasting was permitted. There was a programme of privatisation of publicly owned companies, and the privatisation of health care. These measures and spending cuts were implemented by the Moderate Party-led coalition government of Carl Bildt. The policies of spending cuts and reforms were continued by the next Social Democrat Government elected in 1994. “Public spending was reduced from 70 per cent of GDP in 1993 to 54 per cent in 2001.” As Mauricio Rojas has written:



“This was achieved by cutting back on social benefits and jobs and by increasing the effectiveness of public services through restructurings, biddings, privatisations and an overall increase in competition. All this, together with the economic recovery that began in 1994, helped generate a fiscal surplus in 1998 and lowered the public debt and total tax burden. These achievements were, to a great extent, the work of Göran Persson, (pictured left) who became Head of the Social Democratic Party and Prime Minister in 1996.”

Another new area of consensus among the two parties in the 1990s was the EU. Support from the Social Democrat leadership for the EU was seen as a pre-requisite for achieving a “yes” vote in a referendum. The referendum passed in 1994 - narrowly - given the ambivalence among some supporters of the Social Democratic Party and some members of the Labour movement.



Sweden joined the EU on 1 January 1995. Swedes, however, voted against joining the euro in the referendum on September 14 2003 - concerned about the impact on the country’s economy and sovereignty.

The shock murder, three days before the referendum, of Foreign Minister Anna Lindh (pictured above with Zoran Djindjic) affected the Swedish domestic political landscape. Anna Lindh was generally seen as one of the leading candidates to succeed Göran Persson as both leader of the Social Democrats and as Prime

Minister. Göran Persson soldiered on in office for the next three years and his party suffered a major defeat to the Moderate-led coalition on 6 October 2006.

Sweden's economy

Sweden is highly industrialised - agriculture now employs less than 2 per cent of the labour force. Extensive forests, rich iron ore deposits, and hydroelectric power are the natural resources which, through the application of technology and efficient organisation and savvy marketing, have enabled Sweden to become a leading producing and exporting nation. Sweden's engineering sector accounts for 50% of output and exports. Telecommunications, the automotive industry and the pharmaceutical industries are also of great importance. Sweden is the largest market in the Baltic Sea region and is ranked among the most competitive and corruption-free economies in the world.

Sweden has achieved an enviable standard of living under a mixed system of high-tech capitalism and extensive welfare benefits. Until mid 2008 Sweden was in the midst of a sustained economic upswing with increased domestic demand and strong exports. It has low corporate taxes (in 2009 - 26 per cent) and no longer has the highest tax rates. Denmark now has that title. This, together with strong public finances, gave the centre-right government scope to implement its reform programmes aimed at increasing employment, reducing welfare dependence, and streamlining the state's role in the economy.

Sweden has addressed the pensions crisis that affects many western economies with a complex hybrid system involving the public and private sectors – it has been dubbed by one US academic as Sweden's "social security smorgasbord". Like all other major changes in policy in Sweden, it evolved through consensus building. A parliamentary pensions commission worked from 1984-1990 to address the growing loss of public trust in the existing pension system. During the 1990's economic crisis, a small working group headed by the minister including high-ranking members of the main parties, agreed on a system that would be robust and stable in the face of changes in political majorities. A five-party agreement on a new system was eventually passed by parliament in 1998.

Under the system Swedes have individual notional pension accounts. 16 per cent of earnings are credited to the individual's notional account through a payroll tax to which workers and employers contribute. These imaginary accounts are credited each year with "earnings" based on Sweden's per capita wage growth – or fall. There are also individual financial accounts in which 2.5 per cent of earnings are paid to a self-invested personal pension. The rate of return is the market rate so. There are about 800 private funds. (Source: Ann-Charlotte Ståhlberg of the Swedish Institute for Social Research at Stockholm University).

The 2008/9 Financial Crisis

The Swedish economy slid into recession in the third quarter of 2008. Swedish banks have been more restrictive with loans due to lessons learned from the financial crises in Sweden during 1990 and 1994. The inflation rate stood at 1.6 per cent in 2008. The relative unemployment figure in the first quarter of 2009 was 7.8 per cent, a 1.5 per cent increase year-on-year, rising to 8.3 per cent in April. Youth unemployment has increased by 3.9 per cent, to 24.4 per cent in the first quarter of 2009. Sweden is heading in 2009 for its most severe contraction in many decades. The travails of well-known manufacturing companies such as SAAB, Volvo and Scania have hit the headlines. While central Stockholm is still booming, industrial centres outside the city centre, and in other towns and cities show a different picture. Contracting domestic and external demand is predicted to last until at least the end of 2009. The Economist Intelligence Unit has lowered its real GDP forecast for 2009 to -5.3 per cent, after a fall of 0.5 per cent in 2008. Official government forecasts are - 4.2 per cent in 2009 and 0.2 per cent in 2010. On 3 February 2009, the Swedish Government announced a \$6 billion rescue package for the banking sector.

Sweden's mix – liberal economic policies in a welfare state

Sweden's economic model is widely debated but often little understood abroad. Bob Dylan chose the theme "rich and poor" for one of his radio shows. After playing a number of songs on class differences in the United States, Bob Dylan said: "In Sweden, they have a system of higher taxes but welfare for everyone. They call it the Swedish model. Well, I could go for a Swedish model right about now."



On the US right, "Swedish socialism" has been attacked most famously by Dwight Eisenhower who said that "lack of ambition is discernible on all sides" and most recently on Fox News. These attacks have been recently parodied on Jon Stewart's Daily Show with its mock-reportage of the "Stockholm Syndrome," in April 2009.

<http://www.thelocal.se/blog/20090423/436/>

"The Swedish economic model has recently received much international attention for its ability to combine growth-oriented policies, openness to globalisation and structural change with social cohesion," the OECD wrote in its 2008 Survey of Sweden:

"Domestic-focused product market regulation is relatively liberal, and would be amongst the most liberal in the OECD with lower state control and fewer legal barriers to competition. Regulations that affect foreign trade and investment are also liberal but are generally so in OECD countries. Comparatively low levels of corruption and high levels of trust also underpin the effective functioning of markets and contribute to a sound business environment. With a market-oriented regulatory environment and a skilled labour force, Sweden ranks high in broad surveys of overall "competitiveness" – fourth out of 134 countries in the WEF ranking (World Economic Forum, 2008) and ninth out of 55 in the IMD's (Institute for Management and Development, 2008)."



It is part of what the MP and historian Mauricio Rojas (pictured left) called: "The start of a quite amazing process of change that is transforming Sweden, leaving behind the old monopolistic *tutorial state* and opening the gates to a welfare society in which the state is no more the patronising state of the past but what I would like to call an *enabling state*, open to civic initiatives, individual choice, and cooperation with the private sector".

The economic and political reforms carried out by Prime Minister Carl Bildt in the early nineties and continued by Göran Persson's Social Democrats and by the current Prime Minister, Fredrik Reinfeldt, have created a mix of free-market policies in a welfare state which has remained consensual. "The welfare state has never really been abolished in Sweden, but it has been given a facelift," Torbjörn Larsson and Henry Bäck have written. However they conclude their book, *Governing and Governance in Sweden* (2008) with a conundrum: "Even more puzzling, although the politicians sometimes promise the citizens increased income taxation, they are elected again and again – an observation to which political science theory still lacks an answer."

The US academic, Mark Bryant, has described the work of the Swedish business community in helping to transform thinking from the 1960's:

"Business interest, representing industry, trade and finance, responded in the late 1960s to the dominant Social Democratic union-leftist hegemony in politics and civil society by building

up a vast consortium of well-funded organisations engaged in lobbying, opinion-building, information dissemination and education.

In the middle of this network is the Swedish Association of Employers (SAF), which until 1990 was the employers' main organ for collective wage negotiations. SAF and other associations with strong links to the Moderate Party now promote and co-ordinate efforts aimed at enhancing business interests".

Timbro and SNS (Centre for Business and Policy Studies) were the two main idea generators in the network round the Swedish Employers' Association (SAF) in the 1980s. These ideas were taken up during the financial crisis in the early 1990's, first by the Moderate Government of Prime Minister Carl Bildt and then by his Social Democrat successor.

The Employers:

There are four main associations engaging employers. Apart from the Confederation of Swedish Enterprise in the private sector, public sector employees are organised in the following three organisations – the Swedish Association of Local Authorities, the Federation of County Councils and the Swedish Agency for Government Employers.

THE CONFEDERATION OF SWEDISH ENTERPRISE:

www.svensktnaringsliv.se

Storgatan 19, Stockholm.

Tel: +46 8 553 430 00

The Confederation of Swedish Enterprise is Sweden's largest business federation representing 50 member organisations and 54,000 member companies with some 1.5 million employees. It was founded in 2001 through the merger between the Swedish Employers' Association (SAF) and the Federation of Swedish Industry (SI).

Nearly all of Sweden's multinationals are members. 70 per cent of the Confederation's member companies have fewer than 10 employees, while only 1.5 per cent have 250 employees or more.

The Confederation advocates tax cuts, especially the abolition of property and inheritance taxes, as a main priority. It represents the interests of their members through lobbying in the EU, Swedish parliament, ministries and government agencies.

The Confederation of Swedish Enterprise is reported to partly finance Timbro, a libertarian, free-market think tank, via **Stiftelsen Fritt Näringsliv** (*The Swedish Free Enterprise Foundation*).



Urban Bäckström, has been Director General of the Confederation of Swedish Enterprise since 2005. He was previously the President and CEO of Scandia Liv. He was the chief economist of the Moderate Party, state secretary at the Ministry of Finance in 1991–93 and Governor of the Swedish Central Bank in 1994–2002.

Tel: + 46 8 553 432 40 E- mail: urban.backstrom@svensktnaringsliv.se

CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

The Association of Swedish Chambers of Commerce and Industry

www.cci.se

Västra Trädgårdsgatan 9, Stockholm

Tel: +46 8 555 100 00

E-mail: carl-johan.jargenius@chamber.se

The Association of Swedish Chambers of Commerce and Industry is a national organisation and a network for 11 regional chambers – each of which covers one or more of Sweden's counties.

The Chambers are recognised as the official representative of the business communities in their respective regions in contacts with national, regional or local authorities. Although only a fraction of all Swedish companies are members of the chambers, the dominant and most active companies in the region are chamber members.

Stockholm Chamber of Commerce

www.chamber.se

Västra Trädgårdsgatan 9, Stockholm

Tel: +46 8 555 100 00

The Stockholm Chamber of Commerce engages 2,400 member companies, ranging from global giants to small entrepreneurs. These companies altogether employ 500,000 people.

The Stockholm Chamber manages the Swedish Industry and Commerce Stock Exchange Committee, the Swedish Anti-Corruption Institute, and a public park - the Kungsträdgården - in the centre of Stockholm. The Chamber owns Stockholm International Fairs, Scandinavia's leading fair and congress centre, together with the City of Stockholm.



Peter Egardt is President and CEO – he was State Secretary to Carl Bildt as Prime Minister 1991-1994. He is an articulate advocate of liberal economic policies.

Tel: +46 8 555 100 42

E-mail: peter.egardt@chamber.se

SWEDISH TRADES UNIONS

The Swedish labour market is characterised by a high rate of unionisation which reached its maximum of 86 per cent affiliation in 1986. The rate of unionisation is almost the same for the public sector as for the private sector, for women and for men, and for white-collar and blue-collar workers.

The Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO)

www.lo.se

Barnhusgatan 18, 105 53 Stockholm.

Switchboard +46 8 796 25 00

Office Director **Kjell Ahlberg**:

Tel: + 46 8 796 25 24 E-post: kjell.ahlberg@lo.se

The LO, which dates back to 1898, is closely aligned with the Swedish Social Democratic Party. It has 15 affiliates bringing together workers from both the private and the public sectors. It has about 1.7 million members



According to a Social Democrat party document: “the LO and its affiliates play an important role in the work of the party. The LO president is always in the 7-member party executive committee, for example, and at every organisational level the LO has a considerable influence. In return, the party can count on large election contributions. As can be expected, this has always been a target for attacks from other parties and interest groups. However, this co-operation has guaranteed wage earners a voice in Swedish politics”.

Wanja Lundby-Wedin is President of LO.

There are also two main trade union confederations in Sweden for white-collar workers – TCO (Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees) with 1.3 million members and SACO (Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations) with 586,000 members, the latter engaging employees with university degrees. These two confederations were formed later than LO but they and their affiliated unions have successively reinforced their positions in the labour market as the Swedish society has transformed from an industrial to more of an information society.

The **Swedish Confederation for Professional Employees** (TCO) www.tco.se comprises 16 affiliated trade unions. The members are professional and qualified employees in schools, healthcare, trade, the media, the police, industry, IT and telecom. Approximately half of the members work in the private sector and half in the public sector.



TCO Executive Committee Chairman: **Sture Nordh**.

Tel: +46 8 782 91 12

Mobile: +46 70 346 23 28

E-mail: sture.nordh@tco.se

The **Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations** (SACO) www.saco.se is a trade union confederation of 23 affiliated associations. Members are university graduates or professionals with a college degree. Education and research should be regarded as important investments for society as a whole as well as for the individual, SACO says.



SACO President: **Anna Ekström**.

Tel: +46 (0) 8-613 48 00 E-mail via: kansli@saco.se

SWEDEN AND THE EURO:

51 per cent of Swedes support a new referendum on replacing the Swedish krona with the euro, according to the results of a poll released on 19 May. The survey was commissioned by the Liberal Party, one of four parties in Sweden's centre-right coalition government. It is the most pro euro.

Liberal Party Secretary General Erik Ullenhag in an article in Dagens Nyheter on 19 May 2009 said the euro "would be good for jobs". However, there is still strong opposition - in April 2008, the Swedish Trade Council said the country has probably benefited from keeping the kroner.

In the 2003 referendum, 56 per cent of voters said they wanted to keep the kroner while 42 per cent favoured the euro.

However Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt repeated on 17 May his position that no new referendum on the euro should be held during the current Government's mandate. He also referred to the agreement made in 2003 that the peoples' will must be respected for at least 10 years.



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS:

48 per cent of Swedes said they planned to cast their ballots, while 52 per cent said they would not, according to a [Sifo](#) poll conducted for Swedish Radio. Sixty four per cent said they had no interest or little interest in the elections. In the 2004 European Parliament elections, voter turnout in Sweden was 37.8 per cent. This is far below the turnout for national elections.

"The latest figures from leading Swedish pollsters indicate that mainstream parties of the left and right will dominate these elections, as they have done for the past fifteen years," Euractiv reported on 14 May 2009. "In fact, according to an April poll, they even stand to make significant gains from their 2004 results, to the detriment of smaller parties."

"Beyond the 'big two' parties, a considerable number of smaller parties are battling for the remaining seats. The emergence and rapid growth of the Swedish Pirate Party has added a new dynamic to the election campaign, with some recent polls predicting that the party could win as many as two of Sweden's 18 seats."

"Unlike most EU countries, where polls indicate that the financial and economic crisis will be the foremost issue on voters' minds, Swedes will prioritise environmental, climate and energy issues."

"Concerns about EU integration have fallen. One Swedish analyst told EurActiv that this shift explained not only the seemingly imminent demise of a number of Eurosceptic parties, but could lay the foundation for a 'yes' majority when Sweden, as is widely expected, votes (again) on joining the euro in 2011." www.euractiv.com, 14 May 2009.

PREDICT09.EU's forecast for Sweden:

"We predict that the main opposition party, the Social Democrats (SAP) will do well in the elections, and gain a seat. However, this is likely to be mainly at the expense of the anti-European June List (JL), as the left-wing supporters of this party will go back to the Social Democrats now that that party is no longer in government. Amongst the governing parties, the Moderate Party (M) is likely to gain an extra seat, while the Liberals (FPL) could lose a seat. The new protest party, the Pirate Party (P), may also win two seats." www.predict09.eu

Party	Abbr.	Votes 2004	Predicted Votes 2009	Change	MEPs 2004	Predicted MEPs 2009	Change	EP Group 2004	EP Group 2009
SWEDEN									
Socialdemokratiska arbetarparti	SAP	24.6	30.0	5.4	5	6	1	SOC	SOC
Moderata Samlingspartiet*	M	18.2	24.0	5.8	4	4	0	EPP-ED	EPP-ED
Piratpartiet	P		8.5	8.5	0	2	2		na
Junilistan	JL	14.5	7.1	-7.4	3	1	-2	IND/DEM	IND/DEM
Folkpartiet liberalerna*	FPL	9.9	7.1	-2.8	2	1	-1	ALDE	ALDE
Miljöpartiet	MP	6.0	6.3	0.3	1	1	0	G/EFA	G/EFA
Vänsterpartiet	VP	12.8	6.0	-6.8	2	1	-1	EUL/INGL	EUL/INGL
Centerpartiet*	CP	6.3	5.7	-0.6	1	1	0	ALDE	ALDE
Kristdemokraterna*	KD	5.7	5.4	-0.3	1	1	0	EPP-ED	EPP
Total					19	18			
<i>Electoral System: List PR, divisor method (modified Sainte-Laguë), single national district, 4% national threshold</i>									

“Opinion surveys before the EU elections usually overestimate large governing parties and underestimate small, critical parties. That’s why in PREDICT09 the authors give less weight to the Moderates and add weight to the Pirate Party,” says Ulf Bjereld of Gothenburg University.

GOVERNMENT

<http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/573>

Sweden's Open Government

E-mails: Given Sweden's policy of freedom of information, dating back to 1706, external communications with ministers and state secretaries are made public: "In principle all items of mail to the government and government offices are public documents. This means that the general public and mass media are entitled to require access to the contents".



Emails and letters go through the senior registry clerk: E-mail: registrator@primeminister.ministry.se

An official directory of all government phone numbers including the direct lines of all key officials is available for 290 SEK. The phone numbers are not available online on the Sweden.gov.se website. More details: www.fritzes.se and <http://www.nj.se/produkt/9789138231319>

"In the last decade a clear tendency in Sweden, as in many other member states, has been the centralisation of power in EU matters to the prime minister and his office."

Henry Bäck and Torbjörn Larsson: Governing and Governance in Sweden - 2008

The Prime Minister's Office



The Prime Minister's Office is located at the Rosenbad – a pink coloured building as its name suggests.

Tel: + 46 8 405 1000
Rosenbad 4 Stockholm.

The Prime Minister's Office directs and co-ordinates the work of the government offices. Under the Prime Minister, **Fredrik Reinhardt**, and the Deputy Prime Minister, **Maud Olafsson**, operations are directed by state secretaries. (the equivalents of deputy ministers).

The Prime Minister's secretariat is staffed by a number of political appointees while the other offices are staffed by public officials. There are state secretaries appointed by each of the parties in the coalition. Each of the four parties in the coalition also has a state secretary – this is to improve co-ordination. There are approximately 250 political appointees across Government in the Prime Minister's Office and between 4 and 6 in each Minister's office across government.

Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt (Moderate Party Chair)



The EU Department in the Prime Minister's Office directs the political coordination of EU-related matters in the government offices. It is responsible for policy formulations concerning EU issues and cross-ministry priorities. The EU Department will coordinate the 2009 EU Presidency. Parliament also has a strong voice on Sweden's own national positions on any issue; before going to

the European Council, the Prime Ministers and Ministers have to consult the Parliamentary EU Committee.



Minister for EU Affairs: Cecilia Malmström (Liberal Party)

The Minister for EU Affairs **Cecilia Malmström** has overall responsibility for co-ordinating preparatory work at the government offices. Prior to her appointment as Minister for EU Affairs in October 2006, she had served as a Member of the European Parliament since 1999. She is a member of the Liberal People's Party. He is a staunch supporter of joining the euro. In 2007 she said: "We have lost 100 billion kronor in exports and the same amount in imports. Our trade with the euro zone would have been 13-14 per cent greater if we had been members."

The Office of the Minister for EU Affairs in the Rosenbad assists the Minister with day-to-day work and is responsible for political leadership of horizontal EU issues within the government. These include the EU growth and employment strategy (the Lisbon process), EU treaties, review of the long-term budget and general EU legal issues. Cecilia Malmström's office manages the Minister's work to foster public support for Swedish EU membership, assists the Minister in her task of leading the political preparations for the Swedish Presidency of the EU in 2009 and co-ordinates the drafting of the work programme for the government's priorities in EU work.

Tel: +46 8 405 10 00.

E-mail: registrator@primeminister.ministry.se

Lotta Oscarsson is chef de cabinet.

Elin Boberg is Press Secretary to Cecilia Malmström.

E-mail: registrator@primeminister.ministry.se

Tel: +46 8 405 18 79. Cell: +46 70 3084406



Maria Åsenius (left) is the State Secretary for EU Affairs. As the former Deputy Head of Olli Rehn's Cabinet she has vast experience on the enlargement agenda. Other government ministers are responsible for EU issues within their own ministries' areas of responsibility

Tel: +46 8 405 10 00 E-mail: registrator@primeminister.ministry.se



Gustaf Lind is State Secretary covering foreign and EU affairs in the Prime Minister's Cabinet. Prior to taking on this job he had been State Secretary to Minister for Migration Tobias Billström. He was also a researcher and teacher in international law at the Swedish National Defence College.

Tel: +46 8 405 10 00 E-mail: registrator@primeminister.ministry.se

A Communications Secretariat for Sweden's EU Presidency 2009 (COM-09) has been established to coordinate communications within the government and with other stakeholders (civil society, media, cultural institutions) in the run up to and during the Presidency. Tel: + 46 8 405 10 00. E-mails to the Secretariat can be sent via: <http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/11417/a/118319>

Government Press Bureau

Niclas Bengtsson is Head of the Press office.

His contacts - including cell-phones and contacts and emails for all government press officers are available at: <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/1441>

The Cabinet

www.sweden.gov.se

Tel: +46 8 405 10 00 (switchboard)

Address: Rosenbad 4, Stockholm

Links to the Prime Minister's Office and all Ministers are available at the Government website.

Cabinet Ministers

Full details are available at <http://www.sweden.gov.se/sb/d/576>



Minister for Finance
Anders Borg
(Moderate Party)



Minister for the Environment
Andreas Carlgren
(Centre Party)



Minister for Justice
Beatrice Ask
(Moderate Party)



Minister for Social Security
Cristina Husmark Pehrsson
(Moderate Party)



**Minister for Health
and Social Affairs**
Göran Hägglund
(Christian Democratic Party Chair)



Minister for Agriculture
Eskil Erlandsson
(Centre Party)



**Minister for Education
Jan Björklund
(Liberal Party)**



**Minister for Higher Education
and Research
Lars Leijonborg
(Liberal Party)**



**Minister for Culture
Lena Adelsohn Liljeroth
(Moderate Party)**



**Minister for Elderly Care
and Public Health
Maria Larsson
(Christian Democrats)**



**Minister for Local Government
and Financial Markets
Mats Odell
(Christian Democrats)**



**Minister for Enterprise
and Energy,
Deputy Prime Minister
Maud Olofsson
(Centre Party)**



**Minister for Integration
and Gender Equality
Nyamko Sabuni
(Liberal Party)**



**Minister for Defence
Sten Tolgfors
(Moderate Party)**



**Minister for Employment
Sven Otto Littorin
(Moderate Party)**



**Minister for Migration
and Asylum Policy**
Tobias Billström
(Centre Party)



Minister for Communications
Åsa Torstensson
(Moderate Party)



**Minister for
Foreign Affairs**
Carl Bildt
(Moderate Party)

Ministry for Foreign Affairs

www.foreign.ministry.se

Tel: +46 8 405 10 00 (switchboard)

Gustav Adolfs torg 1, Stockholm



Minister for Foreign Affairs

Carl Bildt.

Tel: +46 8 405 10 00 (office)

Pictured left with Gunilla Carlsson (Development
Minister) and Ewa Björling (Foreign Trade Minister)

Frank Belfrage, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Tel: +46 8 405 10 00

Olof Ehrenkrona, Chief of Staff to the Foreign Minister, is the senior political adviser. In the early 90s he was head of policy planning in the Prime Minister's Office. His links with Carl Bildt go back to the 1970's when they were both active together in student politics. He spent a decade between 1995 and 2006 as CEO in a private consulting company. Olof Ehrenkrona has published a number of books about Swedish political and economic history in the 20th century.



Tel: +46 8 405 55 12 E-mail: olof.ehrenkrona@foreign.ministry.se

Arba Kokalari, Political Adviser. Tel: +46 8 405 14 65

Sara Malmgren, Political Adviser.

Tel: +46 8 405 54

Mobile: +46 70 265 04 29

Karin Höglund, Head of Chancery.

Tel: +46 8 405 54 59

The ministers' office consists of the political leadership of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, political advisers, press secretaries, senior officials and administrative assistants.

Irena Basic is Press Secretary.

Tel: +46 8 405 54 73

Mobile: +46 70 271 02 55.



Minister for Foreign Trade.

Ewa Björling.

Tel: +46 8 405 10 00

Gunnar Wieslander, State Secretary.

Tel: +46 8 405 10 00

Victoria Jacobsson, Deputy Director of Minister's Office.

Tel: +46 8 405 27 29

Mobile: +46 73 417 27 29

Gustav Ahlsson, Political Adviser.

Tel: + 46 8 405 55 65

Mobile: +46 706 16 77 23

Jens Eriksson, Political Adviser.

Mobile: +46 76 766 39 99



Minister for International Development Cooperation.

Gunilla Carlsson.

Tel: +46 8 405 10 00

Joakim Stymne, State Secretary.

Tel: +46 8 405 10 00

Nina Frödin, Political Adviser.

Tel: +46 8 405 49 55

Mobile: +46 70 363 72 22

Hanna Hellquist, Political Adviser.

Tel: +46 8 405 51 66

Mobile: +46 70 361 86 40

Birgitta Svensén-Grönkvist, Political Adviser.

Tel: +46 8 405 52 37

European Policy-making: The Foreign Ministry (MFA).

MFA Directors-General.

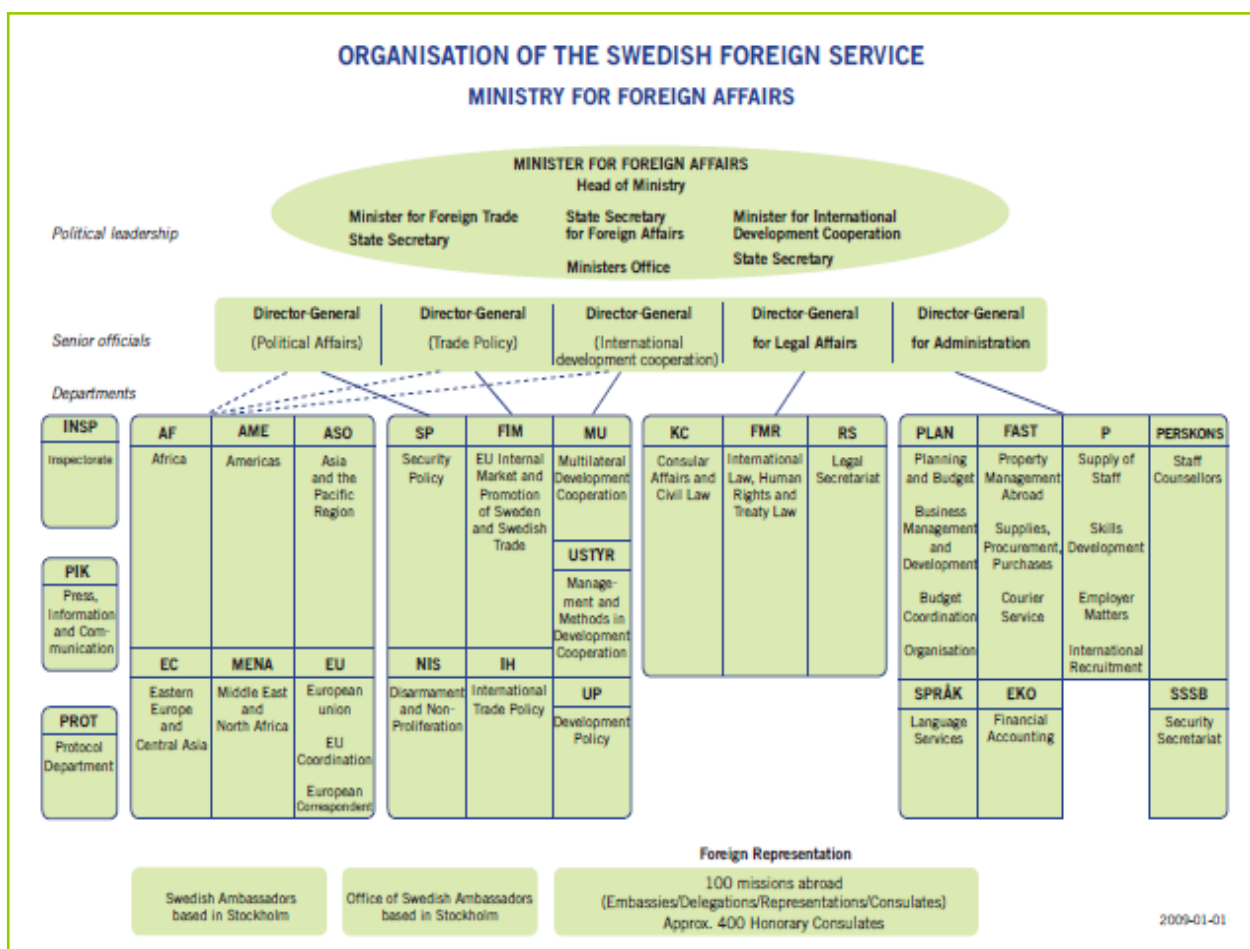
The Directors-General are responsible to the political leadership for their respective policy areas: political affairs, international development cooperation and trade.



The Director-General for Political Affairs is **Björn Lyrvall**. He has wide experience and interest in the Western Balkans and once worked with Carl Bildt in the OHR in Bosnia. E-mail: bjorn.lyrvall@foreign.ministry.se

Director-General for International Development Cooperation: **Jan Knutsson**.

Director-General for Trade Policy: **Anders Ahnlid**.



Departments relevant to the Western Balkans – and their functions.**European Union Department:**

The department is responsible for bilateral relations with EU Member States, candidate countries and other countries in Western Europe and Western Balkans.

Head of Department: Håkan Emsgård.

Tel: + 468 405 3296

E-mail: hakan.emsgard@foreign.ministry.se

Lars Wahlund is Deputy Director with direct responsibility for the Western Balkans and Turkey.

Tel: + 468 405 3235

E-mail: lars.wahlund@foreign.ministry.se

Lars Schmidt is Head of the Section for the Western Balkans.

Tel: + 468 405 5997

E-mail: lars.schmidt@foreign.ministry.se

Ambassador John Christer Åhlander is responsible for the ministerial conference on SE Europe due on 9 December 2009.

Tel: +468 405 2462. Mobile: +46-76-78 77 288

E-mail: john-christer.ahlander@foreign.ministry.se

Department for Eastern Europe and Central Asia:

The department is responsible for Sweden's foreign, trade, and development cooperation relations with Russia, other countries in Eastern Europe, the Western Balkans, Southern Caucasus and Central Asia.

Head of Department: Malena Mård.

Tel: + 468 405 3236

E-mail: malena.mard@foreign.ministry.se

Deputy Head (responsible for development co-operation): **Birger Karlsson.**

+ 46 8 405 3121. + 46 70 853 8213

E-mail: birger.karlsson@foreign.ministry.se

Department for Development Policy:

The department is responsible for coordination of the Government's work on a coherent policy for global development, analyses and research on global development issues and for some policy areas in the framework of development cooperation, such as democracy and human rights, social development, gender equality, macroeconomics and cooperation with civil society.

Head of Department: Torgny Holmgren.

E-mail: torgny.holmgren@foreign.ministry.se

Government agencies under the MFA

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs is responsible for eleven agencies. Those most relevant to the Western Balkans comprise:

- **Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA)**: SIDA is the central administrative agency for Sweden's bilateral development cooperation with developing countries and for support to countries in Central and Eastern Europe to promote security, democracy and sustainable development. (see also page 28)
- **Swedish Institute**: responsible for disseminating knowledge about Sweden abroad and for organising exchanges with other countries in the spheres of culture, education, research and public life in general. (See also page 57)
- **Folke Bernadotte Academy**: its remit includes international conflict and crisis management and Swedish participation in peace-keeping missions and disaster-relief operations. <http://www.folkebernadotteacademy.se/roach/ABOUT.do?pageId=2>

Permanent Representation of Sweden to the European Union

Square de Meeûs 30,
1000 Brussels.

Tel: +32-2-289 56 11

E-mail: representationen.bryssel@foreign.ministry.se

Christian Danielsson is Ambassador and Permanent Representative.

Tel: +32 (0)2 289 56 45, Mobile: +32 (0)476 90 72 73,

E-mail: Christian.Danielsson@foreign.ministry.se

Anna Craenen, is Counsellor with responsibility for the Western Balkans.

Tel: +32 2 289 56 37

E-mail: anna.craenen@foreign.ministry.se

Ingrid Svensson is Desk Officer for the Western Balkans and COWEB deputy.

Direct phone: +322 289 56 52

Mobile cell + 32 473-84 37 92

E-mail: ingrid.svensson@foreign.ministry.se

OVERVIEW: SWEDEN AND THE WESTERN BALKANS

Apart from its involvement through the EU, Sweden's engagement in the Western Balkan countries comprises its diplomatic missions, trade and development aid channelled through SIDA.

Embassies in Western Balkans

Sweden has embassies in Belgrade, Zagreb, Skopje and Sarajevo. The Ambassador to Skopje is also accredited to Tirana. Sweden has liaison offices in Tirana and Pristina working under the Embassy in Skopje. The Ambassador to Belgrade is also accredited to Montenegro, where Sweden has an Honorary Consulate. www.swedenabroad.com provides links to all Swedish embassies.

Sweden's trade with the Western Balkans

Trade with Western Balkan countries accounts for a very small proportion of Sweden's exports and imports.

2008 preliminary figures (in thousands SEK)

Country	2008 Imports from Sweden	2008 Exports to Sweden
Albania	97,708	73,342
Bosnia-Herzegovina	335,976	231,222
Croatia	1,543,738	411,732
Kosovo	10,502	45,148
Macedonia	128,225	62,643
Montenegro	158,300	5,586
Serbia	1,229,889	318,462

Source: Swedish Trade Council: www.swedishtrade.se

The **Swedish Trade Council** (STC) office in Belgrade is the primary consulting partner for Swedish companies doing business in Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Kosovo, Albania and Montenegro. The STC office in Vienna is the primary consulting partner for Swedish companies wishing to do business in Croatia and Slovenia.

STC Serbia
 Swedish Trade Council
 Genex Apartmani / A 302
 Vladimira Popovica 6
 11070 Belgrade
 Serbia
 Tel: +381 11 222 34 51
 Fax: +381 11 222 33 02
 Email: stcbelgrad@swedishtrade.se

STC AUSTRIA
 Schwedische Aussenhandelsstelle
 Wipplingerstrasse 24-26, A-1010 WIEN
 Tel: +43 1 402 35 150 (växel)
 Fax: +43 1 402 35 15 24
 Email: austria@swedishtrade.se

Although the cumulative size of Swedish FDI in the region is not high, it should, however, be noted that there is a large number of Swedish companies in the WB market, not only through subsidiaries, but through distributors, dealers and agents as well. Many of these companies are among the world leaders in their respective fields: IKEA, Ericsson, ABB, Atlas Copco, Sandvik, Volvo, Scania, Husqvarna etc.

Chamber of Commerce – Offices in the Western Balkans

There are about 40 Swedish Chambers of Commerce, Business Clubs and similar organisations in other countries. The missions of these organisations are to serve their members. Some also provide services to non members. The Swedish Chambers of Commerce abroad are fully independent organisations and not part of the national Swedish Chambers organisation. They operate under the conditions in their host countries

The Chamber of Commerce of Sweden & Norway operates in Bosnia-Herzegovina, www.chamber.ba.

The Nordic Chamber of Commerce, www.nordicchamber.hr is active in Croatia. It issues an English language monthly newsletter, *Business Spotlight* www.bspotlight.com, focusing on the Croatian business environment. The publication is also available in editions for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Slovenia.

The Nordic Chamber of Commerce was also established in Serbia in March 2009.

DEVELOPMENT AID:

The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) is a government agency under the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Sweden has a new development strategy; more results-orientated and, in the case of the Western Balkans, focussing on EU integration. SIDA's development cooperation with Western Balkan countries in 2008:

<i>Country</i>	<i>Assistance in SEK (1 Euro = 10.5 SEK)</i>
<i>Albania</i>	74,917,000
<i>Bosnia-Herzegovina</i>	178,281,000
<i>Kosovo</i>	85,228,000
<i>Croatia</i>	17,925,000
<i>Macedonia</i>	73,317,000
<i>Montenegro</i>	26,629,000
<i>Serbia</i>	116,102,000

Currently Sweden's overall aid policies are currently being evaluated. "The government considers that many of the development assistance initiatives taken have been very useful in relation to the set goals," the Minister for International Development Cooperation, [Gunilla Carlsson](#), said in May 2009 after the presentation of a Government report which attempted to provide a thorough account of what Sweden's foreign aid programmes have achieved: "At the same time, the Communication shows the difficulties in describing the long-term effects of the activities receiving support via Swedish development assistance."

“There are many good examples of development assistance initiatives that have made a difference to people's lives, but we still have a long way to go before we have development assistance that we can prove leads to long-term results,” said Gunilla Carlsson.

SIDA's aid to Western Balkan countries aims at strengthening democracy, sustainable development and improved opportunities for achieving EU membership. The strategies for each country are being revised to take into account the new focus on EU integration.

The strategy for Serbia was published in May 2009. The aim of Swedish development co-operation with Serbia is “a stronger democratic state, sustainable development and improved opportunities for achieving EU membership.” (SIDA's Strategy for Cooperation with Serbia 2009-2012) Detailed information, country reports and strategies are available at www.sida.se.

SIDA: Valhallavägen 199, 105 25 Stockholm.

Phone: + 46 8 698 50 00

E-mail: sida@sida.se

Division for South Eastern Europe

Ulla Andrén is Head of Division Tel: +46 8 698 40 45

E-mail: ulla.andren@sida.se

Britta Olofsson is Deputy Head Tel: + 46 8 698 53 39

E-mail: britta.olofsson@sida.se

POLITICS

This section gives an overview of the major governmental institutions and relevant political players in government, parliament and in political parties.

System of Government: The Monarchy:



King Carl XVI Gustaf has been Head of State of Sweden since 1973. He has no political powers. In 1975, the Swedish parliament voted for further constitutional reforms divesting the monarch of his remaining powers. The King chairs the Advisory Council on Foreign Affairs. More information about the royal family is available at: www.royalcourt.se.



Crown Princess Victoria is due to marry her long-time partner **Daniel Westling** on 19 June 2010. Victoria has an interest in international affairs. She took courses at Yale University and studied conflict resolution and international peacekeeping at the Swedish National Defence College and at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University. She also did a study programme at SIDA.



In 2006-7 Victoria took part in the Diplomat Programme of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Her studies have given her an interest in South East Europe. She visited Swedish troops in Kosovo in August 2002: "I am astonished by the beauty of the country" she told the local press at the Kosovo Polje railway station. She has also visited Macedonia and Turkey.

The Parliament (Riksdag)

www.riksdagen.se

Tel: + 468 786 40 00



The Riksdag is the supreme decision-making body in Sweden. 349 MPs serve four years. Under the Swedish system it has considerable influence on government policy-making. The government cannot promote any EU policies without its support.



Per Westerberg (Moderate Party) has been the Speaker of the Riksdag since 2006. The Speaker directs the Riksdag's work and presides over the meetings of the Chamber. He is assisted by three Deputy Speakers. The office of Speaker is the highest position to which a person may be elected in Sweden. Formally, the Speaker ranks in precedence after the King, but ahead of the Prime Minister. One of the main tasks of the Speaker is to lead negotiations on forming a new Government, and to present a proposal for a new Prime Minister.

More information on the Swedish Parliament is available at www.riksdagen.se.

Seven parties are represented in the Riksdag:

The Coalition since 2006:

Moderates (Moderata samlingspartiet)	97
Centre Party (Centerpartiet)	29
Christian Democrats (Kristdemokraterna)	24
Liberals (Folkpartiet liberalerna)	28
Total	178

Opposition parties:

Social Democrats (Socialdemokraterna)	130
Left Party (Vänsterpartiet)	22
Greens (Miljöpartiet de gröna)	19
Total	171

Parliamentary Committees

There are 15 standing committees in the Riksdag. Under the Swedish system they have considerable powers. Each committee is responsible for monitoring developments in the EU within its area of competence. The standing committees have been assigned a more active role in work with EU issues since Jan 2007. In addition, the EU Committee has a special consultative role. Ministers have to appear before the EU Committee before all meetings of the Council of Ministers. The 15 standing committees cover:

Civil Affairs, Constitution, Cultural Affairs, Defence., Education, Environment and Agriculture, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Health and Welfare, Industry and Trade, Justice, Labour Market, Social Insurance, Taxation and Transport and Communications.

More details on the committees' work related to the EU are available at:

http://www.riksdagen.se/templates/R_Page_11251.aspx.

Details of Committee members are available at:

<http://www.riksdagen.se/Webbnav/index.aspx?nid=110200>

The Committee on Foreign Affairs (FAC)/Utrikesutskottet (UU)



Göran Lennmarker is the Chair. He is a Moderate Party MP and is well-known known as a staunch supporter of enlargement. His view is that: "A bigger EU is a better EU" and that "we have an obligation to receive new members who share our ideas and meet our requirements." He also chairs the Joint Committee on the Constitution and Foreign Affairs. Göran Lennmarker is also a deputy member of the EU Affairs Committee and a member of the Advisory Council on Foreign Affairs. He is a member of the Swedish delegation to the OSCE. In January 2007, he headed the international election observation mission to observe Serbia's parliamentary elections. He has been Special Representative for the South Caucasus for the OSCE Parliamentary

Assembly. He is President Emeritus of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. The FAC has 17 members and 27 deputy members.

Tel: + 468 786 4602

Email: goran.lennmarker@riksdagen.se Secretary: + 468 786 4568.

Pål Jonson is foreign policy adviser.

Tel: + 468 786 5608 / + 46 70 738 205 847

Email: pal.jonson@moderat.se



Urban Ahlin, the foreign affairs spokesman of the Social Democratic Party, is the Deputy Chair of the FAC. He is also a member of the Joint Committee on the Constitution and Foreign Affairs, a deputy member of the EU Affairs Committee and a member of the Advisory Council on Foreign Affairs. Like Göran Lennmarker, Urban Ahlin is a staunch advocate of EU enlargement. He wrote in 2006: "Today we also see a more peaceful Balkan region, with several Balkan states set on becoming EU members. The winds of change are still blowing across Europe."

Tel: + 468 786 4723 / +46 70 530 4245 Email: urban.ahlin@riksdagen.se

The Secretary of the Committee is **Thomas Hörberg**.

Tel: +468 786 4284

Email: thomas.horberg@riksdagen.se

More information on the Foreign Affairs Committee is available at:

http://www.riksdagen.se/templates/R_Page_794.aspx.

The list of Committee members is available at:

<http://www.riksdagen.se/Webbnav/index.aspx?org=UU&nid=1857&rdlstatus=samtliga&s=1&sort=i>.

The Committee on European Union Affairs

The Committee on European Union Affairs differs from the standing committees. It is a special consultative body. The Government must gain support for its EU policies in the Riksdag and is expected to pursue EU policies supported by a majority in the Riksdag. Before all meetings of the EU Council of Ministers, the Government must first receive support in the Committee on EU Affairs for the positions it intends to take. The Government is expected to observe the positions agreed with the Committee on EU Affairs, which may be regarded as a sort of mandate. Should it fail to do so, the Government risks criticism from the Riksdag and ultimately a vote of no confidence.



Unlike the parliamentary committees, the Committee on EU Affairs does not present any proposals for decision by the Riksdag.

The Committee, which has 17 members and 41 deputy members, is chaired by **Anna Kinberg Batra**, a Moderate Party MP. She has worked as an adviser for senior Moderate party leaders, and she has also run her own communications company. Before the elections in 2006, she was the Vice President for PR and Communications at the Stockholm Chamber of Commerce.

Tel: + 468 786 4458

Email: anna.kinbergbatra@riksdagen.se

Web: www.annakinbergbatra.se



The Deputy Chair is **Susanne Eberstein**, a Social Democrat.

Tel: +468 786 4303 / + 46 70 252 6690

Email: susanne.eberstein@riksdagen.se

The Committee Secretary is **Jan Olsson**

Tel: +46 8 78 64 305

Email: jan.olsson@riksdagen.se

Margareta Hjort is the Deputy Secretary and the adviser on relations with the European Council and GAERC – well placed and willing to answer external questions on Parliament's work on EU issues.

Tel: + 468 786 4878.

E-mail: margareta.hjort@riksdagen.se

More information on the Committee on European Union Affairs is available at <http://www.riksdagen.se/>

The list of Committee members is available at: <http://www.riksdagen.se/>

Chamber Officials working on EU:

Charlotte Rydell is the Assistant Chamber Secretary for EU issues.

Tel: + 468 786 4885, charlotte.rydell@riksdagen.se

Bengt Olsson is the Riksdag's representative to the EU Institutions, based in Brussels.

Tel: + 32 47 383 5793

bengt.olsson@riksdagen.se

Friendship Committees:



The three separate Committees on Austria, Hungary and on BiH are chaired by **Walburga Habsburg Douglas**, an active Moderate MP and a German-Swedish jurist and ex-journalist. She is daughter of Otto von Habsburg and her (unused) formal title is the Archduchess Walburga of Austria. She has a reputation for informality. As Secretary General of the Paneuropean Union she was one of the organisers of the now famous “Pan europa-Picknick” on 19 August 1989 at the Austrian-Hungarian frontier - then part of the Iron Curtain. The border was then opened – the first historic breach of the Iron Curtain - allowing more than 660 East Germans from the GDR to pass through.

Tel: + 468 786 4619 / + 46 70 244 2477

Email: walburga.habsburg.douglas@riksdagen.se



The Committee on Serbia is chaired by **Jan R Andersson**, also a Moderate.

Tel: + 468 786 5006 / +46 70 248 9099

Email: jan.r.andersson@riksdagen.se

There are two committees covering Turkey. The friendship committee is chaired by **Göran Lindblad**.

Tel: +468 786 5896. Cell: +46 70 671 0366 E-mail: goran.lindblad@riksdagen.se

The deputy chair is the Social Democrats' new Secretary General **Yilmaz Kerimo**, a Turkish Assyrian by birth.



Yilmaz Kerimo

Tel. +46 (0)8-786 5478. E-mail: yilmaz.kerimo@riksdagen.se

Or contact via the Social Democratic party headquarters.

Rosita Runegrund chairs the committee focusing on human rights in Turkey (SSKT).

Tel: +468 786 4735 / +46 70 343 9768

E-mail: rosita.runegrund@riksdagen.se

Advisory Council on Foreign Affairs

The Advisory Council on Foreign Affairs prepares foreign policy decisions before a decision on the matter is taken by the Riksdag. The Advisory Council is a consultative body between the

Government and the Riksdag. The Council consists of the Speaker Per Westerberg and 18 members of the Riksdag. It is chaired by the King of Sweden.

More information on the Advisory Council members is available at:

<http://www.riksdagen.se/Webbnav/index.aspx?org=un&nid=1858&s=1&sort=i>

The Priority on Enlargement in the 2009 Foreign Policy Statement



The Riksdag holds a foreign policy debate each February. The debate opens with a presentation of the Statement of Government Policy on Foreign Affairs by the Foreign Minister, in which s/he sets out the foreign policy to be pursued by Sweden in the coming year. A debate follows in which the parties in the Riksdag present their views on Sweden's foreign policy.

The 2009 Statement of Foreign Policy by Carl Bildt was geared towards the Swedish Presidency in the second half of 2009.

<http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/5304/a/120757>

The Political Parties

Sweden's party system is traditionally divided into two political blocs: **the socialists**, comprising the Social Democratic Party (SAP) and the Left, and **the non-socialists**, consisting of the Moderate Party, the Centre Party and the Liberal People's Party, with the Christian Democratic Party joining in the early 1990s.

However, since the late 1980s traditional bloc politics has been less clear-cut, with environmental issues and the debate over enhanced European integration leading to the emergence of new dividing lines. The Green Party, which first entered parliament in 1988, claims to be independent of the two blocs.

In practice, the Greens have tended to lean to the left rather than to the right, but the party did participate in government negotiations with the centre-right parties after the 2002 general election, before deciding to continue in its co-operation agreement with the SAP.

A SIFO May 09 voter barometer poll (published in *Svenska Dagbladet* on 17 May 2009) showed government parties would win 45 per cent of the vote to the opposition's 48.7 per cent if an election were held in this month. The gap has increased by 2.4 per cent since the previous survey in April.

The government has lost support among voters under 30, from 31 per cent in April to 25 per cent according to one poll in May 09. Toivo Sjöström at SIFO commented in *Göteborgs-Posten* that the ban on file-sharing and the controversial National Defence Radio Establishment surveillance law have had an impact on government support within this group.

	2006 election results	SIFO May 09 poll
Moderate Party	26.2 per cent	28.8 per cent
Centre Party	7.9 per cent	5.8 per cent

	2006 election results	SIFO May 09 poll
Liberal People's Party	7.5 per cent	6.4 per cent
Christian Democratic Party	6.6 per cent	4.1 per cent
Social Democratic Party	35.0 per cent	34.8 per cent
Left Party	5.9 per cent	5.8 per cent
Green Party	5.2 per cent	8.1 per cent
Others	5.7 per cent	6.3 per cent
Total	100 per cent	
Turnout (per cent)	82 per cent	

Until the late 1980s the Social Democrats (SAP) had been able to rely on support from over 40 per cent of the electorate. But this is no longer the case.

The 2006 general election was the SAP's worst performance in a parliamentary election since 1914. During the 1990s there was a shift within the socialist bloc from the SAP to the Left Party. However, support for the Left Party has also dropped. In the 2006 election the two parties together polled 40.9 per cent.

The non-socialist bloc has been largely dominated by the Moderate Party since the early 1980s. The party was almost overtaken by the Liberals in 2002, but has since re-established its position as the leading centre-right party and the second-largest party in Sweden.

A number of new "special interest" parties have emerged in recent years. They polled a total of 5.7 per cent of the vote in the 2006 general election, but none gained representation in parliament. The largest of these parties is the anti-immigration Sweden Democrats, which received just below 3 per cent, more than double its support from 2002. This entitled the party to receive state subsidies, and it made substantial gains in local and regional elections. Other challenger parties include the Feminist Initiative, the Euro-sceptic June List (which won three seats in the European Parliament in the 2004 elections).

THE RULING PARTIES:

The Moderate Party

www.moderaterna.net



Stora Nygatan 30
103 17 Stockholm
Tel. + 46 8-676 80 00



The Moderate Party has been the second-largest political force in Sweden since 1979. Although it retained its position as the leading non-socialist party, the poor result at the 2002 elections prompted a leadership change. In October 2003 **Fredrik Reinfeldt** succeeded Bo Lundgren as leader and immediately looked to shift the party more towards the middle ground in an attempt to facilitate closer co-operation with the other centre-right parties. This move proved popular with voters and rebranded the party as the "New Moderates". The election result in 2006 was the party's best performance since 1928.

The Moderates favour lower taxes, increased privatisation and reduced welfare dependency. Under Fredrik Reinfeldt the new Moderates have softened some of the party's more radical positions, notably on taxation. It has also toned down previous demands for major reform of Sweden's traditionally restrictive labour laws. The party appeals to a large middle ground of voters and has been successful in winning over many who had until then supported the SAP, as well as others who had previously voted for the smaller, non-socialist parties. The voter base now comprises business people and professionals, young voters, small shop owners, and some blue-collar workers. The party is in favour of Sweden joining the euro and is also, in principle, in favour of Swedish NATO membership, although it recognises that this is not a view shared by all the parties in the Alliance.

The Moderates are expected to again win 4 seats in the EP in 2009 (www.predict09.eu).



Per Schlingmann is the party General Secretary.
<http://www.facebook.com/people/Per-Schlingmann/572920677>
E-mail: per.schlingmann@moderat.se

Elisabeth Somp is Chief of Communications Tel: + 46 8 676 80 12, Cell phone : +46 70 594 82 00
elisabeth.somp@moderat.se

The Centre Party www.centerpartiet.se

Stora Nygatan 4.
103 15 Stockholm.
Tel: 46 8 617 38 00



Founded in 1913 as the Farmers' League, the Centre Party's focus today is on providing a sound economic climate for business and job creation, rural development, climate change and environmental concerns (which includes its strong opposition to nuclear power). Under **Maud Olofsson**, who has led the Centre Party since 2001, its allegiance to the non-socialist bloc has been reinforced. The Centre Party has traditionally relied on voters in more rural areas of the country, but has seen a gradual decline in this support base over recent decades. The party has gradually



been able to attract a rising number of liberal voters from urban areas. It is the second-largest party in the centre-right Alliance.

E-mail: maud.olofsson@centerpartiet.se

The Centre party is expected to again win 1 seat in the EP in 2009 www.predict09.eu

Liberal People's Party www.folkpartiet.se

Stora Nygatan 2A, 103 16 Stockholm
Tel + 46 8-410 242 00



A socially-oriented market economy and education reform are the central features of the Liberal People's Party's platform. Its official stance is "social liberalism", which translates as a strong commitment to a mixed economy, with support for comprehensive social welfare programmes. The party is also a strong supporter of women's rights and for increasing the level of foreign aid.



The Liberal Party of Sweden, now led by **Jan Björklund**, was strongly supportive of the European Union and campaigned for Swedish entry. It also campaigned for joining the euro. The party aims to come across as the most "pro-European" party, trying to break what it refers to as the country's "isolationist" mind-set. It is supportive of EU enlargement, including letting Turkey join - on condition of democratic reforms. It also advocates further integrative measures, with some members, including the youth organisation, openly calling for a single federal European state. In 1999, the Liberals were the first major Swedish party to advocate NATO membership.

Jan.bjorklund@liberal.se

The Liberals, which won two seats in the EP in 2004, are expected to win only one seat in the June 09 EP elections www.predict09.eu.

The Christian Democratic Party

www.kristdemokraterna.se

Munkbron 1, Stockholm

Tel. + 46 8 723 25 00



The Christian Democratic Party, now led by **Göran Hägglund**, was formed in 1964, primarily drawing its support from the Free Church community. Its breakthrough came in 1991, since when it has established itself as a mainstream non-socialist party.
E-mail: Goran.hagglund@kristdemokraterna.se



Although it has largely abandoned its earlier incarnation as a confessional party, it is still perceived as conservative and value oriented, focussing on the family, ethical values and individual responsibility and attracting voters from amongst members of conservative churches and rural populations. It has tended to resist increased rights for same-sex relationships and holds a comparatively restrictive view on abortion. Among the most important issues for the party are improving care for the elderly, freedom of choice for families with children in selecting their childcare, easing regulations on companies, and lowering taxes to promote growth and competitiveness. Overall, its economic policies can best be described as centre-right.

As regards the European Union, "the Centre Party dreams for EU collaboration is: 'leaner yet sharper'. We want the EU to concentrate on cross border issues - fighting climate change, combat international crime and defend human rights and democracy".

The Christian Democrats are expected to again win one seat in the EP. www.predict09.eu

PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION

The Social Democratic Party

www.socialdemokraterna.se

Sveavägen 68, Stockholm

Tel: + 46 8 700 26 00



The strongest party in Sweden, the Social Democratic Party (SAP), led by **Mona Sahlin**, has a base of blue-collar workers and public sector employees. It derives much of its power from strong links with the National Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions (LO), which represents blue-collar workers. The party program combines a commitment to social welfare programs and government direction of the economy. The Social Democratic Party has led the government for 65 of the 77 years since 1932. The 2006 election ended its most recent term of 12 consecutive years in office.

SAP has long advocated the benefits of a market economy, combined with support for a strong trade union movement and the development of an advanced welfare state with a focus on equality. In the 1990s the prime minister and party leader, Göran Persson, favoured economic pragmatism and pursued a policy of economic austerity. This alienated a large minority within the party, with the result that support for the SAP fell in the 1998 election. Since 2000 the SAP has tended to advocate less austere policies, which is one of the reasons why the party recovered in 2002. Following its historic defeat at the 2006 election Mona Sahlin took over the leadership.

The party has seen its opinion poll ratings improve since the election, but the new leader's task is not an enviable one. The party is gradually losing its traditional support base in the industrial working class. To some extent this has been compensated by the party making inroads in public-sector service professions, but this support is volatile, having in the past turned to Left Party in protest against public-sector cuts.

The SAP is also split on EU-related matters. The rejection of joining the single currency in a referendum in September 2003 was a serious blow for the SAP leadership. There were also tensions over EU policy between the SAP and its traditional ally, the LO.

Officially, the SAP continues to favour joining the euro, but it is a divisive issue that the party will want to avoid in the near term.

The Social Democrats, which now have 5 MEPs in the EP, are expected to win 6 seats in the June 09 elections www.predict09.eu

The Left Party

www.vansterpartiet.se

Box 12660, 112 93 Stockholm

Tel + 46 8 654 08 20



Formerly a member of the Communist International (Comintern), the Left Party describes itself as “a socialist and feminist political party”, and focuses on feminist issues, employment in the public sector, and the environment. It opposes privatisation, public spending cuts, Swedish participation in NATO activities. The party is generally critical of the EU, and played a leading role in the "No" campaign in the run-up to the euro

referendum. Its voter base consists mainly of young people, public sector employees, feminists, journalists, and former social democrats.

The party enjoyed its best-ever election result in 1998, mainly by winning over discontented SAP voters. Under the leadership of Gudrun Schyman, the party rose to unprecedented levels of electoral support and political influence. However, the Left Party lost votes in both the 2002 and 2006 elections, now standing at 5.8 per cent. The party's main political demands include increased public spending, full employment and a reduction in the length of the working day.



Lars Ohly was appointed party leader in February 2004. His appointment highlighted internal divisions between the modernist wing of the party and "traditionalists", with many of the latter advocating a return to more hard-line socialist policies. Revelations about the Left Party's historical links with the former Soviet Union have deepened the divide. Under Lars Ohly's leadership the Left Party has fallen in opinion polls, a decline that was shown in the 2006 election. Growing frustration among the modernising wing of the party has also led to defections.

Tel. + 46 8 786 57 05, Cell phone +46 76 145 42 02

The Left Party, which now has 2 MEPs in the EP, is expected to win 1 seat in the June 09 elections www.predict09.eu

The Green Party

www.mp.se

Pustegränd 1-3, 118 20 Stockholm

Tel +46 8 545 224 50



Instead of a traditional party leader, the Greens have two spokespersons, currently **Peter Eriksson** and **Maria Wetterstrand**.

The Green Party is described as a leftist environmentalist party appealing to young people, was formed in 1981 emerging out of the movement opposing nuclear power in a referendum held in 1980. Its priorities comprise climate change, anti-discrimination and equal rights.



The Green Party strongly opposed EU membership in the 1994 referendum, and fought against joining the single currency in 2003. The Greens support a phasing-out of nuclear energy in Sweden and hope to replace it with alternative, environmentally friendly energy sources. "We want Sweden to leave the EU. However, we have always been supporters of pan-European cooperation with free movement for people and intergovernmental decision-making as the main rule. As long as Sweden remains in the EU, we will therefore use the Swedish membership to change and improve it."

Although the party claims to be independent of the two main ideological blocs, its ecological priorities influence its views on economic policy, and in practice it has tended to lean towards the left rather than the right.

Predict09.eu analysts do not expect the Greens to hold its one seat in the EP after the June 09 elections.

OTHER OPPOSITION PARTIES

Pirate Party

www.piratpartiet.se

Post Box 307, Stockholm

Tel: + 46 8 720 0400

Email: info@piratpartiet.se



The **Pirate Party** www.piratpartiet.se was established in 2006 and has given rise to parties with the same name and similar goals in other countries. The party, led by **Rickard Falkvinge**, has only three issues on its agenda: reform of the copyright law, the abolition of pharmaceutical patents and strengthening the right to privacy, both on the Internet and in everyday life.

The Pirate Party has no opinion on whether Sweden should or should not be a member of the European Union, but feels it is entitled to demand that the union is governed by democratic principles and is opposed to the draft Constitution. The Pirate Party states it does not wish to be part of an administration but to “use a tie-breaker position in parliament as leverage, and support an administration that advocates the issues in its platform well. It will support such an administration on other issues which it has no opinion on.”

The Pirate Party participated in the 2006 elections and gained 0.63 per cent of the votes. It has fielded candidates for the 2009 EU elections and is expected to gain seats, especially after a controversial decision by a Swedish court against the online file-sharing site Pirate Bay in April 09 that has led to a surge in membership, turning the Pirate Party into Sweden's fourth largest political force.

The party draws its support almost exclusively from younger voters. Some political experts have argued that this is because the Pirate Party is effectively a one-issue movement campaigning on a highly controversial and emotive topic that resonates with a new generation.

As a result, the 'pirates' may well attract traditionally eurosceptic voters in Sweden and could win at least two seats in the upcoming European Parliamentary elections, according to a forecast in May 2009.

The June List

www.junilistan.se

Vasagatan 40, 111 20 Stockholm

Tel +46 8 230 111



The June List is a Euro-sceptic political party led by **Sören Wibe**. The party takes its name from the June Movement in Denmark, a Euro-sceptic party named after the timing of the Danish referendum that rejected the Treaty of Maastricht.

Founded in 2004, in the wake of the Swedish euro referendum held in September 2003, in which the adoption of the euro was rejected, it won 14 per

cent (3 seats) in the European Parliament election of the same year. A recent analysis shows the June List may win only one seat in the EP in June 09 (Predict09.eu).

The party also ran in the Swedish 2006 parliamentary election, but it only received 0.47 per cent of the votes. The party's platform during the election focused on a few main issues: to increase the number of people working in the private sector, hence increasing the state's tax income, a referendum on the European Union constitution and nuclear power, and increased municipal autonomy and more local referendums.

Feminist Initiative

www.feministisktinitiativ.se

Feministiskt initiativ, Box 498, 101 29 Stockholm
Tel. +46 706-100 190



The **Feminist Initiative** (FI) is a feminist political party in Sweden. The party was formed (from a previous pressure group of the same name) in 2005. It won around 0.68 per cent of the votes in the 2006 elections and has no MPs in the Riksdag.

The Feminist Initiative, led by **Gudrun Schyman**, has one MEP in the European Parliament, who had defected from the Liberal Party. The FI is fielding candidates for the EP 09 elections. Predict09.eu analysts, however do not mention the FI as a hopeful in June 2009.

Sweden Democrats

www.sverigedemokraterna.net

Box 200 85, 104 60 Stockholm
Tel: + 46 8 50 00 00 50



The **Sweden Democrats**, founded in 1988 and led by **Jimmie Åkesson**, describes itself as “nationalist democrats” and dissociates itself from all forms of totalitarianism and racism.

The main far-right party in Sweden, the Sweden Democrats, has recorded clear electoral gains (albeit from a low level) on the national stage. Although it failed to achieve the required 4 per cent of the vote necessary for parliamentary representation at the 2006 general election, it more than doubled its support from 2002, and took more than 10 per cent of the vote in a number of municipalities.

The Sweden Democrats believe that immigration, Islamisation, supranationality (e.g., the European Union), cultural imperialism (mainly from the USA), and globalisation are the greatest threats to the unique Swedish culture. The party wishes to pursue looser co-operation between Sweden and other European states.

The party often draws criticism from various groups, and according to an April 2006 survey, 67 per cent of the electorate actively dislike the Sweden Democrats. The Sweden Democrats are described as anti-immigrant and xenophobic by reputed journalists and think tanks.

At the 2006 elections, it won 2.9 per cent votes nationwide and representation in the majority of Sweden's municipalities. The May 2009 SIFO poll showed the Democrats enjoyed 3 per cent support.

The Sweden Democrats are running in the EP 2009 elections. Commenting their rise in popularity last summer, Sören Holmberg, a political science professor at Gothenburg University, has said that the ongoing discussion around the new EU Lisbon Treaty could strengthen support for the Sweden Democrats. Holmberg observes that the Sweden Democrats are, after the June List and the Left Party, Sweden's most EU-critical party.

THE MEDIA

This section provides an overview of relevant Swedish media, editors and journalists with an interest in the Western Balkans and EU issues. Most of these journalists speak English.

Swedes are some of the most avid consumers of news and newspapers in the world. There is a high readership for daily newspapers and viewership of TV News.

“During the last decades around 50-60 per cent of Swedes have stated that they are very or at least somewhat interested in politics....Political participation in Sweden mainly includes voting and following the news.” Jesper Strömbäck (Communicating Politics, Nordicom 2008).

Swedes like to deliberate and discuss issues seriously – the media is the main channel for national conversations – all serious media outlets have “Debatt” shows or pages. Swedes are among the highest consumers of newspapers in the world - 78 per cent still read a daily paper. The figures are declining - as are the ratings for public TV and radio - but more slowly than elsewhere and new outlets for debate are opening in the blogosphere.



TELEVISION IN SWEDEN

www.svt.se

Oxenstiernsgatan 26-34.

Tel: + 468 8-784 00 00

Swedish public TV - SVT - has five television channels: SVT1, SVT2, plus three specialist channels; the Knowledge Channel, the Children's Channel - Barnkanalen and SVT24. Swedish TV has an operating budget of 436 m euros (2007 figures - Nordicom) and is run separately from Swedish Radio. It is funded by public licence and taxes. It broadcasts from the TV-huset in the east of the city.



SVT - like all public broadcasters - is going through a painful transformation. Its audience has fallen markedly in the past 12 years. Its market share has dropped from 48 per cent in 1997 to 35 per cent in 2007 (Nordic Media Trends 11 - Nordicom 2008).

However, SVT is fighting back. Millions of kroner of spending cuts in 2009 and a reduction in staffing by 20 per cent by 2010 are part of a restructuring to make a narrower range of programming under the slogan: “fewer, bigger and better programs.” SVT has had some successes in 2008 – it claims record audiences for its current affairs shows on 2008 and that some international-orientated programmes have doubled their audiences.

SVT's chief Eva Hamilton won a prize for SVT's new media initiatives, including a video on demand service called SVT Play, at the Stockholm Media Awards in May 2009. The citation said: “After SVT Play the television landscape is not the same. SVT has updated the public service concept.” <http://playrapport.se/>

Latest SVT figures claim that 85 per cent of the public still tune in every week - and it remains one of the country's most trusted institutions which belies its reputation for stolid programmes.

By international standards SVT has a wide range of programmes covering international issues – its own shows like Korrespondenterna, and the arts documentary show Kobra, and purchased international documentaries shown on the Världen (World) strand. SVT buys programmes from Nordic countries, and also much of the best of the BBC's factual and drama output, and other shows from innovative UK Channel 4 and of course US entertainment programming and movies.

**Senior Management:**Director: **Eva Hamilton**E-mail: eva.hamilton@svt.seAssistant: **Gunilla Asp**E-mail: gunilla.asp@svt.seProgramme Director: **Annie Wegelius**E-mail: annie.wegelius@svt.seDirector of Programmes: News and Sport: **Jan Axelsson**E-mail: jan.axelsson@svt.se**SVT News Department:**Head of News Division: **Olov Carlsson**E-mail: olov.carlsson@svt.seDeputy Head of News: **Magnus Akerlund**E-mail: magnus.akerlund@svt.seHead of National News: **Per Yng**E-mail: per.yng@svt.se

Eva Landahl is Head of News and Social Affairs; her responsibilities include Aktuellt and Korrespondenterna.

Email: eva.landahl@svt.se**SVT Main News Shows:**

SVT now runs an integrated newsroom for its two news programmes - **Rapport** and **Aktuellt**.

Rapport – the main news programme

Anja Hildén is acting editor of Rapport – the main news programme and bulletins. E-mail Anja.hilden@svt.se

Rapport's main news programme is broadcast everyday at 19.30 on [SVT1](http://svt1.se). It has been the most watched news show ever since the 1970s. It gets an audience of 1.1 million (SVT figures February 2009). Shorter Rapport news bulletins are broadcast on SVT1 and SVT2 during the day and evening.

Aktuellt - the alternative news:

Aktuellt is broadcast on SVT 2 at 21:00. It also lasts 30 minutes. As well as news reports it runs longer interviews. It gets an audience of 630,000 (SVT figures for February 2009).



Lennart Persson is the programme leader of Aktuellt. The work of the production team is shown on the internet - Aktuellt has an open newsroom with video clips of meetings available on the internet. www.svt.se/aktuellt

E-mail: Lennart.persson@svt.se

SVT Foreign News



Foreign Editor: **Ingrid Thörnqvist** is head of foreign coverage for news programming including Korrespondenten. She says in her web-bio she is motivated by “restlessness” and an interest in global issues - her favourite story was the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Tel: +468 784 7338 E-mail: ingrid.thornqvist@svt.se

SVT Correspondents in Europe

SVT has three correspondents in Brussels.



Johanna Johnsson and **Rolf Fredriksson** are Brussels Correspondents. **Patrik Oksanen** (pictured on right) works for SVT regional news.

Email: johanna.johnsson@svt.se

Email: rolf.fredriksson@svt.se

Email: patrik.oksanen@svt.se

Kristina Kappelin is based in Rome mostly covering Italian stories.

E-mail Kristina.kappelin@svt.se

There is no SVT Correspondent covering South East Europe. SR will have correspondent based in Belgrade from September 2009. She has TV experience and has freelanced for SVT. See page 61.

Korrespondenten is the main foreign affairs programme on SVT. It is broadcast first on Thursdays at 21:30 on SVT2.

Martin Vårdstedt is the Editor. E-mail: martin.vardstedt@svt.se

Erika Bjerström is Europe Producer. E-mail: erika.bjerstrom@svt.se

Debatt on Tuesdays at 20.30 is SVT's public arena. It is hosted by **Jane Josefsson** and covers a range of issues from politics to social issues.

SVT's website gets 849,856 unique visitors. 1.86 million user sessions every month.(Nordicom figures May 2009)



“TV4 has the greatest share of national audience each evening”.

(Jesper Strömbäck - *Communicating Politics*, Nordicom 2008).

The TV4 group is owned by the Bonnier family – the media barons of Sweden with interests in TV newspapers and magazines at home and across Northern Europe. TV4 is Sweden’s most successful commercial channel. As part of its licence it has a public service remit to produce news and information programming. It has a good reputation. It has a 22 per cent audience share. (Nordicom 2008) It has a budget of 320 million euros. (Nordicom 2008) – that’s an increase of 54 per cent since 1997.

TV4’s main evening news - [Nyheterna](#)

News is an important part of TV4’s schedule. It broadcasts the news programme, [Nyheterna](#), (the News) at 1900 and 2200 and [Nyhetsmorgon](#) (News Morning) in the mornings. It also runs news updates during the day.

Ulf Bengtsson is Executive News Editor of TV4 News. E-mail: ulf.bengtsson@tv4.se

Anna Lagercrantz is Head of News. Tel: +468 459 4301. E-mail: anne.lagercrantz@tv4.se



Politikerbloggen

TV4 also owns the country’s most influential political blog – <http://www.politikerbloggen.se/>

It is run by **Niklas Svensson**, a former Expressen journalist.

E-mail: niklas.svensson@tv4.se

Tel: + 46 8 70 652 38 24

TV4 FAKTA is TV4’s digital documentary channel. It has become Sweden’s leading documentary channel. TV4 Fakta adjusted its programming in the autumn to boost ratings, which led to an increased share of viewing time and a younger profile. The areas of medicine and crime in particular work well to catch an audience, TV4 says.

TV8 <http://www.tv8.se/>

TV8 is a niche commercial channel. It has been struggling to reach an audience and has abandoned an ambitious attempt to run international programming in peak-time - every night at 20:00.

Sven Vrang is Editor in Chief. E-mail: sven.vrang@tv8.se



TV8's most famous political TV show is Adaktusson a discussion show moderated by **Lars Adaktusson** widely seen as the best informed TV journalist on political issues - including the European agenda. Adaktusson is shown at 2100 on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

E-mail: Lars.Adaktusson@mtgtv.se

SWEDISH RADIO

Tel: + 46 8 784 50 00

www.sr.se

Oxenstierngatan 20

Swedish public Radio is based at the Radio-huset next door to SVT. It is run separately with a separate budget of 236 million euros (2007 figures). SVT and SR do however share correspondents on an ad hoc basis. SR claims that: "on an average day, almost half of the Swedish population listen to Swedish Radio programmes (daily reach 48 per cent) and 75 per cent during a week (weekly reach)". Current affairs and international issues are best covered on Swedish radio Channel 1 always known as P1. It has retained an audience share of 11 per cent - skewed towards older people.



Staffan Sillén is the Head of Radio News which is known as Ekot so his Swedish job title is Ekochef. E-mail: staffan.sillen@sr.se



The Foreign Editor is **Christina Gustafsson Götze**. She was Eastern Europe Correspondent in late 1990's and has a strong interest in SE Europe. She has travelled widely in the region and retains a strong interest and she has advocated SR opening a bureau in Belgrade as the regional hub for Central and SE Europe. SR will be the only Swedish media outlet with a staffer based in the region. Under Christina Gustafsson a small foreign desk team co-ordinate foreign coverage for the news (Ekot) and current affairs programming.



Christina Gustafsson reporting live for SR from Kosovo - Summer 1998. (Photo: SR)

Tel: +46 8 784 7090

Mobile: +47 730 56 7090

E-mail: christina.gustafsson@sr.se



From September 2009 SR is basing its Eastern Europe Correspondent, **Maria Persson Löfgren**, in Belgrade. is an experienced correspondent. Until now SR has based Eastern Europe correspondents in Vienna. Maria's brief is to cover 16 Central/South Eastern European countries - from Turkey to the south to the Czech Republic in the north.

She says: "I look forward to highlighting people in countries we think we know about, but have a very diffuse or prejudiced perception of." She says she hopes to be involved in stories ranging from the search for Ratko Mladic, to depicting the differences between the EU and the countries in the Western Balkans. Maria Persson Löfgren has worked in foreign affairs journalism for 20 years. She was Swedish Radio's Moscow Correspondent from 2003 to 2008. She has worked in the Middle East in 2000 and 2002 Maria has also freelanced for SVT. She says she has visited 333 cities in 44 countries around the world.

E-mail: maria.persson_lofgren@sr.se



The main radio programmes with foreign news

Monday to Friday:

Nyheter/Ekot:

Regular news bulletins.

1645-1730: Studio Ett (Studio 8).

Interview-based news show.

Saturdays:

0903: Konflikt

Konflikt gets a 5 per cent audience share (May 2009). It is an ambitious foreign affairs programme trying to get behind the headlines and take different angles on stories. It is produced by **Mikael Olsson** who was previously a senior editor at SVT. E-mail mikael.olsson@sr.se

1255: Ekots Lördagsintervju – (Ekots Saturday Interview).

The major political radio interview of the week,

Sundays:

0903- 1100: Godmorgon, världen (Good Morning, World) gets a 5.5 per cent rating for the first hour.

SR also has an International Service in English.

<http://www.sr.se/cgi-bin/International/nyhetssidor/index.asp?nyheter=1&ProgramID=2054>

It also has services in Albanian and BCS and other languages.

The Albanian language team producing the Jehona programme: <http://www.sr.se/cgi-bin/International/programsidor/>



Shuquri Sejdiqaj.

E-mail: shuquri.sejdiqaj@sr.se

The programme in BCS is called Fokus. **Zvonko Jakus** and **Manuela Persson** work on Fokus.



Tel: +46 8-784 59 31

zvonko.jakus@sr.se



E-mail: manuela.persson@sr.se

Tel: + 46 8-784 59 26.

<http://www.sr.se/cgi-bin/International/nyhetssidor/index.asp?ProgramID=2466>

SWEDISH NEWSPAPERS

Dagens Nyheter

www.dn.se

www.dn.se/eurovalet

Gjörwellsgatan 30

105 15 Stockholm

Tel: + 46 8738 10 00



Dagens Nyheter is the country's premier serious newspaper. It is owned by Bonnier - the Swedish media family par excellence - with interests in many parts of Europe in both print media and TV. [The Bonnier company had a total revenue of 3.1 billion euros in 2007]. DN has a circulation of 339,500 and an estimated readership 858,000 (Source Nordic Media Trends 11 Nordicom

2008).

DN's Editor in Chief is **Thorbjörn Larsson** E-mail: thorbjorn.larsson@dn.se

DN DEBATT is the main platform for national policy debate in Sweden; much of the discussion on transforming the Swedish model took place in its pages. DN DEBATT has long played this role, engaging politicians, policy-makers, and think-tanks and policy-academics. As a result it is widely read in policy circles and controversial or interesting arguments are taken by other print media and radio.

The Debatt page editor: **Mats Bergstrand**. Tel: +468 738 1209 E-mail: mats.bergstrand@dn.se

Head of the Foreign Desk: **Lars Boström**. Email: utrikes@dn.se.

Foreign Editors: **Thomas Hall** and **Rolf Eriksson (May 2009)**: + 468 738 1050. E-mails: thomas.hall@dn.se rolf.eriksson@dn.se

Foreign affairs commentator: **Henrik Bors**. Tel: +468 738 1212. E-mail: henrik.bors@dn.se

Brussels Correspondent: **Marianne Björklund**. A full profile is available at: <http://www.dn.se/nyheter/varlden/>. E-mail: marianne.bjorkland@dn.se

DN editorial contacts are available at <http://www.dn.se/2.738/redaktionen-1.796714>

DN's website and blogs are some of the most read - it gets 947,745 unique visitors and a total of 2.9 unique user sessions. (Nordicom figures from mid May 2009). Sweden's print media have successfully added websites and blogs to their output. They are also fluent in the use of video and are some of the fastest adaptors of new media tools.



"[DN.se](http://www.dn.se) is *Dagens Nyheter*, but our hair is a little more dishevelled!" **Charlotta Friberg**, DN's web editor, says. She is most proud of DN.se's special "focus sites", covering big topics like the Middle East and the Nobel Prize with a critical eye. One of their more popular innovations is their award-winning slideshows, which have provided a powerful new format for DN.se's photo journalism.

"Telling a story with animated audio slideshows is actually unprecedented. It is a more powerful emotional medium than television is. And on the web-unlike in the paper-the content lives on for students and others who want to search for information in a new way." [Photo credit: Niklas Palmklint] E-mail: charlotte.friberg@dn.se.

During the European Parliament campaign DN.se has run a lively website: www.dn.se/eurovalet



Former DN Correspondent **Christian Palme**, now senior media adviser at the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala, has written extensively on the Balkan conflict in the 1990's and war crimes. His book in Swedish is called "Evil in our Time." He reported throughout the region for DN newspaper. From 2004-2007 he worked for ICTY in The Hague. He has his own website:

<http://www.palme.nu/tribunal/index2.html>

E-mail: christian.palme@gmail.com



Svenska Dagbladet

www.svd.se



SvD is the second most read serious news paper – proud of being less staid than DN. It is owned by the Schibstead, the Norwegian media family. It has a circulation of 195,500 and a readership of 486,000 (Nordicom Media Trends 2008). It is a centrist-conservative independent paper. It is less conventional in style than DN and boasts of being the best designed paper. It has some of the best columnists on foreign affairs. Its debate is also widely read.

Editor in Chief: **Lena K Samuelsson**. E-mail: lena.k.samuelsson@svd.se

Political Editor: **P J Anders Linder**. E-mail: pj.anders.linder@svd.se

The Foreign Editor is **Niklas Kierkegaard**: Tel: + 468 135145 E-mail: utrikes@svd.se or niklas.kierkegaard@svd.se

There is no SvD correspondent based in SE Europe full-time. **Tomas Lundin** based in Bonn covers a range of European stories including some in SE Europe. E-mail tomas.lundin@svd.se

SvD has some of the best columnists on foreign affairs:

Lars Adaktusson of TV 8 has a column on Wednesdays. (See also TV8 p.60.)



Richard Swarz, widely regarded as one of the best Swedish journalist on the Balkans. He was SvD's Eastern Europe Correspondent for many years. He is based in Vienna and Istria with his wife the writer Slavenka Drakulić. His weekly column appears on Wednesdays. He also provides news-background and analysis stories. His book: *Room Service: Reports from Eastern Europe* (1998)

is available in English.

Rolf Gustavsson, SvD's veteran Brussels Correspondent is regarded as perhaps the leading journalist writing on EU issues. He has a regular column on Sundays.

E-mail: rolf.gustavsson@svd.se

SvD has two websites; www.svd.se gets 772,052 unique visitors in 1.3m unique visits (Source Nordicom). The other site: www.e24.se gets 552,634 unique visitors and 1.3 million unique visits.

Dagens Industri

www.di.se



Dagens Industri, the pink-coloured main business daily is also part of the Bonnier group. It is one of the successes in the Swedish print media scene; its circulation has risen by 17 per cent from 1997-2007 to 118,500 with a readership estimated at 391,000.

Editor in Chief: **Gunilla Herlitz** Tel: + 468 573 651 31. E-mail: gunilla.herlitz@di.se

Debatt Editor: **Marie Sundberg** Tel: +468 573 650 98. E-mail: debatt@di.se

Di's website has 774,885 unique readers who have made 2.9 million unique user sessions. (Nordicom May 2009).



www.expressen.se
Tel: + 468 738 000

Expressen has long been the most popular tabloid paper. However it now has a declining circulation - currently some 303,100 and an estimated readership of 1 million. The circulation has fallen by 11 per cent from 1997-2007. Expressen's website gets 1.5 million unique visitors - 5.3 m user sessions (Source: Nordicom).

Editor in Chief: **Tomas Mattsson**. E-mail: tomas.mattsson@expressen.se



www.aftonbladet.se
+ 468 725 0000

Aftonbladet is a serious tabloid which has links to the left of centre. It is well-known for its Culture supplement. It is also owned by the Schibstead group. Its political coverage does have impact given its circulation of 388,500 and an estimated readership of 1.2 million - a fall of 5 per cent over a decade. Nordicom survey 2008). It has the one of the most popular media websites - 3.9 million unique visitors and 17.8 user sessions (Nordicom May 2009).

Editor in Chief: **Jan Helin**. E-mail: jan.helin@aftonbladet.se

Editor in Chief of website: **Kalle Jungkvist** E-mail: kalle.jungkvist@aftonbladet.se

The world pages are edited by **Joakim Ottosson**. E-mail joakim.ottosson@aftonbladet.se

CURRENT AFFAIRS MAGAZINES

Fokus

<http://www.fokus.se/category/internationellt>

Wallingatan 12.
+46 8 456 3460



Fokus is a politically independent weekly news magazine. Fokus covers the most key issues each week ranging from politics to science, economics, culture and lifestyle. It claims a circulation of 24,100 and a readership of 44 000.

Editor in Chief: **Karin Pettersson**.
Tel + 46 73-940 93 03. E-mail: karin.pettersson@fokus.se

International Reporter: **Anna Ritter**. Tel: + 46 8 456 34 78. E-mail: anna.ritter@fokus.se

Affärsvärlden (Business World).

Mäster Samuelsgatan 56, Stockholm.

www.affarsvarlden.se

Affärsvärlden claims to be Sweden's most respected business magazine. It targets senior corporate executives, investors and analysts in financial markets and managers. It has a circulation of 26.600 copies and an estimated readership of 105.000.



Editor in Chief: Jon Åsberg.

Tel: + 46 8-796 65 68. E-mail: jon.asberg@affarsvarlden.se

Its website gets 90,582 unique visitors. (Sifo Media/Insight XE)

Axess magazine

<http://www.axess.se/>

Tel: +46 8 791 52 50.

Axess magazine is published by Axess Publishing AB which is owned by Nordstjernan Kultur och Media, a company in the Ax:son Johnson Group. The magazine was established in 2002 and is based in Stockholm. The magazine is chiefly devoted to the liberal arts and social sciences. Axess aims to create a forum in which researchers in the humanities and liberal arts can meet a wider public.

Editor in Chief: **Johan Lundberg.** Tel: + 46 703-73 89 80. E-mail: johan.lundberg@axess.se

Axess magazine is part of a larger venture run by the Axel and Margaret Ax:son Johnson Foundation called "Forum Axess". It also includes **Axess TV**, a niche television channel devoted to current affairs, science and cultural programming.

NATIONAL NEWS AGENCY

TT News Agency

TT is the country's national news agency – and the largest in Scandinavia. Most of Sweden's newspapers, radio and TV stations, government offices and private corporations subscribe to TT's services.

Tel: +46-8-692 26 00 E-mail: newsdesk@tt.se

Editor-in-Chief and General Manager: **Thomas Peterssohn**

Tel: +46-8-692 26 01. Email: thomas.peterssohn@tt.se

THINK-TANKS

The Swedish think-tank scene influencing foreign policy:

The Swedish Institute of International Affairs (UI)

www.ui.se

Drottning Kristinas väg 37, 115 93 Stockholm

Tel: +468 8-16 46 00

UI, founded in 1938, is the country's foremost foreign policy centre. It is politically independent. It carries out information activities geared towards the Swedish general public and also research for both Swedish and international institutions. The Institute also has an important function as a forum for debate on international issues, including Turkey and the EU, and as a meeting place for academics and practitioners, journalists and politicians. With the Swedish Defence College, the Institute operates the country's best library specialising in international relations, the Anna Lindh Library.



Tomas Ries has been Director of UI since 2005. His main interest is the globalising security environment. His parents are from the US and Finland. He was previously Senior Researcher at the National Defence College in Finland, focussing on globalisation and security, Finland's security policy and EU and NATO affairs, where he was once described as a "gentle hawk."

Tel: +468 511 768 02 or + 468 511 768 00. Email: tomas.ries@ui.se



Jan Joel Andersson is UI Programme Director – he works on Swedish and European Security and Defence Policy - including the Western Balkans.

Tel: + 468 511 768 36. Cellphone: + 46 70-432 30 35.
Email: janjoel.andersson@ui.se



Daniel Silander has been a researcher at the UI since 2007 and also a Lecturer in Peace and Development Studies, and Director of the International Social Science Programme, at Växjö University. He focuses on democratisation and democracy promotion strategies, globalisation and norm diffusion, international relations and world politics, EU and interregional relations. He is also a guest scholar at the Pristina University in 2006. He is about to publish a book entitled "The United Nations Interim Mission in Kosovo – Standards Before Status: A Policy of Catch-22". He is also the author of "The Policies of the EU on Democratisation towards Eastern Europe - content and consequences."

Tel: +46 470 70 82 18.

E-mail: daniel.silander@vxu.se

The Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies, (SIEPS)www.sieps.se

Svante Arrhenius väg 21A, 114 18 Stockholm

Tel: +468 16 46 00

SIEPS is being transformed under its new director, **Anna Stellingner**. Her aim is to make SIEPS policy research and policy papers relevant to the policy audience. SIEPS has developed a reputation in recent years for producing dense academic tracts. Anna Stellingner is one of the experts chosen by the leading daily Dagens Nyheter for their expert panel on their website on the European election campaign. SIEPS conducts research on European policy issues under three main themes: power and democracy, the external dimensions of the EU and consequences of EU policies.



Anna Stellingner has an MSc in political science and a bachelor's degree in French from Lund University and an international master's degree in International Relations from Sciences Po in Paris. She has worked at IFRI in Paris and returned to Stockholm in autumn 2008 after a ten-year absence.

Tel: + 468 16 46 01 E-mail: anna.stellingner@sieps.se

Anna Michalski, who joined SIEPS in 2007, is a member of the SNS Democracy Panel, which has produced a positive report in May 2009 on the European Union five years after the Enlargement to the East. She is also a member of the Transatlantic Policy Forum with EUROPEUM, Notre Europe, CSIS and GMF.

Tel: + 468 16 44 09 Email: anna.michalski@sieps.se

SIEPS researcher **Göran von Sydöw** is currently researching Social Democracy and European integration and EU Presidencies, EU's internal market effects on central areas. He has also done research for a project called: the "Borders of the New EU, possibilities and challenges". He and his colleague **Fredrik Langdal** published a policy analysis *The Swedish 2009 Presidency – Possible Policy Priorities*, looking at its focus on climate change, migration and asylum, the Baltic Sea Strategy and the Eastern Partnership and further enlargement of the EU

He is also the author and co-author of papers on: "Why Europe? Limits and Possibilities of European Integration" for Europe's World and "Is Euroscepticism distorting the traditional party attitudes towards European integration?"

Tel: + 468 16 46 05. E-mails: goran.vonsydow@sieps.se; fredrik.langdal@sieps.se**The Swedish Institute**www.si.se

Slottsbacken, Stockholm

Tel: +468 453 78 00

The Swedish Institute (SI) is a public agency that promotes interest in Sweden abroad. SI seeks to establish cooperation and lasting relations with other countries through active communication and cultural, educational and scientific exchanges. The SI's operations are carried out in close cooperation

with Swedish and foreign partners, as well as with Swedish embassies and consulates around the world.

Director General: **Olle Wästberg**



SI is in the process of awarding grants for Swedish cooperation projects with the Western Balkans (Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia) in 2009. The overarching theme of the project *Creative Force: Sweden-Western Balkans 2009* is children's and young people's opportunities for cultural experiences and for their own creativity. Priority will be given to projects with a regional perspective, that is, efforts that involve cooperation between Sweden and more than one country in the region

Above: Olle Wästberg and Carl Bildt.

E-mail: olle.wastberg@si.se

“The think-tanks take over” – the debate over economic policy.



Axess magazine devoted its February 2008 edition to a detailed examination of the clash on economic and political policies between the left of centre Agenda group and the neo-liberal centres in which SNS and Timbro have been crucial. The latter have successfully punctured many of the conventional wisdoms of the 1980's Swedish model. <http://www.axess.se/magasin/english.aspx?journal=24>

TIMBRO

www.timbro.se

Kungsgatan 60, Stockholm.

Phone: +46 8 587 898 00

Timbro, first established in 1978, has set as its mission “to originate, promote and disseminate ideas and issues supporting the principles of free markets, free enterprise, individual liberty and a free society”. Its research in 2009 focuses on wealth accumulation, health and welfare reform, and aid and global development.

Timbro has been effective in getting the attention of Sweden's media with its analyses of the growing burden of Sweden's welfare state with the slogan – “Suedo-sclerosis.” Timbro succeeded in bringing the debate to a wider public by influencing the quality press, such as Svenska Dagbladet and Dagens Nyheter, which both published its “liberal” economic ideas arguing that the traditional Swedish welfare state model had to change.

The effectiveness of economic elites in building up a consortium of well-funded organizations engaged in lobbying, opinion building, information dissemination and education, is also described by Professor Peter Dahlgren of Lund University (pictured left) in his essay *Media and power transitions in a small country Sweden*, published in *De-Westernizing Media Studies*. Peter Dahlgren notes the importance of Timbro:



“These and other organisations under the SAF umbrella provide the media with a steady flow of information and debate materials, and the SAF is proud of the impact its activities have had in fostering general opinion, as well as lobbying for specific major legislation to support business interests.”

In 2001, the SAF merged with the Swedish National Federation of Industry to form the Confederation of Swedish Enterprise (For more please see p 38).



Maria Rankka is the President of Timbro and CEO of the Swedish Free Enterprise Foundation. Maria Rankka has also worked as a partner in the Swedish public relations firm, Prime PR and as a speechwriter for Carl Bildt when he was Prime Minister. Maria Rankka has written books about the European tiger economies of Estonia and Ireland and on the social dimensions and impact of high taxation on individuals. She says Timbro’s role is to: “promote the development of ideas and advocacy of the market economy and free enterprise for economic growth and prosperity.”

Tel: +46 8 587 898 16 E-mail: maria.rankka@timbro.se



Billy McCormac is Director of Communications & Publishing. Born and raised in California, Billy McCormac has lived in Sweden since 1995. Prior to joining Timbro in 2005, he was a senior consultant at JKL Group, a strategic communications agency. He appears frequently on Swedish television and radio.

Tel: +46 8 587 898 08 Email: billy.mccormac@timbro.se



Roland Poirier Martinsson is Executive Director of the Timbro Media Institute. He is a conservative philosopher and author regularly quoted in this press for his critique of social democracy.

Tel: +46 8 587 898 09 and +46 733 77 07 79
Email: rolandpm@timbro.se

SNS – Centre for Business and Policy Studies

www.sns.se

Jakobsbergsgatan 18, Stockholm

Tel: + 46 8 507 025 00

SNS was founded in 1948 by members of the Swedish business community with an interest in social and economic issues. It is an independent network of leading decision makers from the private and public sectors who share a commitment to social and economic development in Sweden.

SNS' policy research is dominated by economic and political science topics such as economic policy, labour market issues, and the Swedish welfare state. In addition, SNS publishes an annual report on the European Union and Sweden's European policies. The research is carried out by social scientists at academic institutions in Sweden and abroad. Each research team is organised by a research director at SNS.



Stefan Lundgren is President and CEO.
Tel: +46 8 507 025 48 / +46 702 850 081
Email: stefan.lundgren@sns.se



A major SNS report on “*Europe after enlargement*” was published in May 2009. It highlights the success of enlargement and states that: “The EU is more effective than expected. The EU has a remarkable capacity to switch to the new conditions.”

<http://www.sns.se/zino.aspx?articleID=1540> (Only in Swedish).

Left of centre think-tank:

Arena Group

<http://www.arenagruppen.se/index.php?sid=8&pid=80>
Drottninggatan 83.
E-mail: info@arenagruppen.se



The Arena Group was set up to counter the dominance of the economic liberals in the Swedish policy debate. It consists of a left of centre think-tank, a publisher and an organiser of conferences. **Per Wirtén** is one of the founders of the Arena Group. He is the publisher and editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Arena*, a member of the editorial board for the net publication *Dagens Arena*, and he also writes for *Expressen*. **Arena** is a magazine focussing on social issues and current affairs. There are a number of linked websites. The **Atlas** publishing publishes books on social issues, journalism and politics. **The Arena Idé** think tank publishes books, organises debates and seminars and initiates research and investigation projects. **The Arena Programme** arranges meetings, courses and conferences all around the country.

<http://perwirten.blogspot.com/>

Independent think-tank

<http://www.glasshouseforum.org/news.html>

Glasshouse Forum

Katarinavägen 15

The Glasshouse Forum is a new breed of think-tank founded by **Daniel Sachs**, one of the country's top venture capitalists. He is a vigorous advocate of new forms of debates. The Forum is based on the idea that:

“The debate about capitalism is polarised and predictable. Dogmatic proponents refuse to admit any problems whatsoever – if only the market economy rules, then everything will turn out for the best. Similarly, dogmatic opponents lack any sense of understanding of the conditions under which corporations work and of the merits of the market. The discussion about globalization, which often overlaps with the one about capitalism, follows the same debating choreography. However, the discussion of the problems and merits of capitalism is far too important to be left to dogmatic proponents and opponents. There is reason to be alarmed at its long-term development – both with regard to how companies are developing and to the socio-economic and political consequences of current dominant business trends”.

Daniel Sachs is CEO of Proventus and Chairman of the Concerned Capitalists Foundation: Tel: + 468 723 1500. E-mail: ds@proventus.se



Johanna Laurin is the head of Glasshouse Forum. It was set-up by three “concerned capitalists”- as they describe themselves. The Forum does not lobby for policy-changes. It engages researchers in Europe, Russia and China. “Is there a China Model,” a one hour film of its brainstorming on China, held in Paris in February 2009, is on its website. http://www.glasshouseforum.org/news_film_chinamodel_teaser.html

The China research is part of the Forum’s research project on “*The return of the capitalist-authoritarian great powers.*” It also has programmes called: “a critical reflection on the interaction of capitalism and society,” and “short-termism in the long-run.” Johanna Laurin: Phone: +46 8 723 31 83. Mobile: +46 708 576 574 E-mail jl@glasshouseforum.org

Newsmill

www.newsmill.se

Newsmill, a new independent debate website, has been co-funded by Proventus. It is already become the cutting edge online debate site. It has been established as the founders believe that the debate in Swedish media is too centred around the Debatt pages in the leading daily Dagens Nyheter and that the national debate is too hierarchical. News Mill was set up by **Karin PM Nilsson Eder-Ekman**, and **Leo Lagercrantz**. Newsmill consists of edited debate pages, blogs and also an aggregator of online debates.



Leo Lagercrantz (on left): E-mail: leo@newsmill.se

PM Nilsson (in centre): Tel: + 46 70 399 43 40.
E-mail: pm@newsmill.se

Karin Eder-Ekman (on right): + 46 70-989 09 15.
E-mail: karin@newsmill.se

PARTY FOUNDATIONS

Jarl Hjalmarson Foundation

www.hjalmarsonfoundation.se

Jarl Hjalmarson Stiftelsen.
Stora Nygatan 30, Stockholm.
Tel: + 468 676 8000

The Jarl Hjalmarson Foundation is an independent entity but with a close relationship to the Moderate Party of Sweden. Jarl Hjalmarson was the leader of the conservative Swedish Rightist Party (*Högerpartiet*) between 1950 and 1961, known today as the Moderate Party. **Margaretha af Ugglas**, is the Chair of the Jarl Hjalmarson Foundation and a former Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Jarl Hjalmarson Foundation was founded in Stockholm in 1994 with the aim of promoting development and European co-operation and integration, on the basis of freedom, democracy and market economy. It now focuses its activities on states neighbouring the EU, i.e. NW Russia, Belarus, The Ukraine, and the W Balkans and Turkey.

The Foundation's Activities in the Western Balkans

Most of the Foundation's efforts focus on transferring knowledge on the building blocks of democracy and the process of European integration. Women and youths are given high priority. In the Western Balkans, the Foundation runs projects aiding the creation and development of democratic party structures, women's participation in politics, encouraging the Balkan states to strive for EU-membership and providing an international forum at which Balkan states discuss problems and solutions. It also implements projects focusing on minorities and aiming to dispel the mistrust existing between majority and minority groups in the region.

The Foundation cooperates with the following parties in the Western Balkan countries: the Democratic Party in Albania, the Party of Democratic Progress and the Party of Democratic Action in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Croatian Democratic Union in Croatia, the VMRO-DPMNE in Macedonia and the Democratic Party of Serbia and G17+ in Serbia.

The goal of the Foundation is to support its partners – centre-right parties and organisations – in developing strong democratic party structures. The Foundation acts as an advisor on issues such as policymaking, media and strategy and strives to promote cooperation across borders so that parties can learn from the experiences of like-minded parties in other countries.

To quote **Eva Gustavsson**, the Foundation Managing Director: "We encourage our partner organisations to estimate the importance of dialogue with and mutual respect of other parties and organisations so that strong coalitions and democratic structures can be built. An important aspect of this is the respect of minority rights".



Eva Gustavsson holds the overall responsibility for all operations including exchange on party-leadership-level, dealings with authorities in general and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in particular, as well as with cooperation partners.

Tel: +46 8 676 81 27.

Mobile: +46 73 682 81 27

Email: eva.gustavsson@hjalmarsonstiftelsen.se

The activities of the Foundation are financed mainly by SIDA (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency) within the framework of party affiliated aid.

Olof Palme International Centre

www.palmecenter.se

Sveavägen 68, Stockholm

Tel +468 677 57 70

The Olof Palme International Center, established by the Swedish Social Democratic Party, Trade Union Confederation (LO) and the Cooperative Union (KF) in 1992, works with international development co-operation and the forming of public opinion surrounding international political and security issues. Some of its work is carried out by its member organisations – some by the centre's own staff.

The centre works in the spirit of the late Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, reflected by the famous quotation: "Politics is wanting something. Social Democratic politics is wanting change." Olof Palme's conviction that common security is created by cooperation and solidarity across borders, permeates the Centre's activities.



The Centre's Board is chaired by **Lena Hjelm-Wallén**, former foreign minister of Sweden.

In Sweden, the Centre carries out comprehensive information and opinion-forming campaigns on issues concerning international development, security and international relations. This includes a very active schedule of seminars and publications, both printed and an e-mail newsletter.

International development co-operation is concentrated on six regions: the Balkans, Eastern Europe and Russia, Latin America, the Middle East, Southeast Asia and southern Africa. The Palme Center is conducting 45 projects in the Balkans. Detailed information on projects in the Western Balkans and elsewhere is available www.palmecenter.org.



Secretary General and Chief Executive

Jens Orback

Phone: +46 8 677 57 80

Email: jens.orback@palmecenter.se



Division Co-ordinator, Programme Manager, Western Balkans

Johanna Leander

Phone: +468 677 57 68 Email: johanna.leander@palmecenter.se

UNIVERSITIES

These pages focus on the leading academics working on three issues - SE Europe, media policy and on the role of Government.

UPPSALA UNIVERSITY

www.uu.se



Uppsala University, the country's oldest and most prestigious university, was founded in 1477. Uppsala University has a staff of 4,000 full and part-time teachers/researchers. It has 3,000 international research

partnerships with more than 1,000 universities throughout the world. Across the university's centres are some of the country's top specialists on the Western Balkans.

One of the leading Swedish experts on the Western Balkans, Professor **Kjell Magnusson**, has worked for many years at the Balkan Studies Research Group of Uppsala University's Centre for Multiethnic Research, (CEIFO). http://www.multietn.uu.se/index_eng.htm

Kjell Magnusson's research focuses on social, cultural and political processes in the Balkans; ethnic conflicts and mass violence. He has been engaged in "Politics of Nationalism. Ethnic and Religious Mobilisation in Former Yugoslavia", a research project financed by the Bank of Sweden Tercentennial Foundation. The aim is to study mechanisms and phases of mobilisation, and the character of ideological constructs. He has also written extensively on Macedonia and on the integration of Macedonian migrants into Sweden.

Tel: +4618 471 23 62

Email: kjell.magnusson@multietn.uu.se



At the **Programme for Holocaust and Genocide Studies**, www.hgs.uu.se, the Director of Research, **Tomislav Dulić** focuses on the history of the Balkans. He is currently working on two research projects; "Local Mass Violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1992–95", and "Nation and State-building in a Divided Society: Identity, Inter-ethnic Relations and Democracy in Montenegro."

Tel: +46 18 471 63 95

Email: tomislav.dulic@hgs.uu.se



At Uppsala University's Department of Peace and Conflict Research, **Roland Kostić** focuses on conflict resolution with a focus on ethnic conflicts and post-war peace building. He has also engaged in the debate on Sweden's immigrant community. In a paper entitled "Hostland Integration and Homeland Reconciliation: Bosnian Serb Diaspora in Sweden" he reveals that Bosnian Serbs in Sweden are moderate, socio-culturally poorly integrated, economically well-integrated, and entirely politically passive in relation to homeland politics. Their transnational activities are restricted to the economic, social and cultural fields.

Department of Eurasian Studies

www.eurasia.uu.se

Address Gamla Torget 3, 751 20 Uppsala

Jessica Giandomenico is currently writing a PhD thesis on “Democratisation in the Western Balkans: all in the name of EU enlargement?” at the Department of Eurasian Studies. She examines the relationship between EU conditionality and the reform process in the Western Balkans, the factors holding reform back in the Western Balkans and identifying the obstacles to democratic reform in Albania and Macedonia. A 2008 paper on the subject is available at www.uu.diva-portal.org.

E-mail: Jessica.Giandomenico@eurasia.uu.se

Tel: +46 18 4717176



Elisabeth Sandberg, also at Uppsala’s Department of Eurasian Studies, has been for many years the editor of the non-profit magazine Insight Eastern Europe published by Eastern Europe Forum. She follows developments in the Western Balkans, particularly in Macedonia in which she has written extensively.

Email: elisabeth.sandberg@eurasia.uu.se



GOTHENBURG UNIVERSITY

www.gu.se

Vasaparken, Gothenburg , SE-405 30

Tel: 46(0)31 786 10 00

Quality of Government Institute (QoG)

www.qog.pol.gu.se

SE-405 30 Gothenburg/Göteborg

Tel: +46 31 786 49 73



The University is home to QoG - The **Quality of Government Institute** - one of the research centres that influenced the debate in Sweden on the role of government at home and abroad. **Olof Petersson**, one of founders of QoG, argues that while social scientists dominated the national policy debate up to the 1970’s, it is economists and political scientists who have since been the most influential in Sweden’s political and economic debate. QoG is run by **Professors Sören Holmberg** (pictured left) and **Bo Rothstein** (pictured

right) at the Department of Political Science. The Institute aims at conducting and promoting research on the causes, consequences and nature of "good governance" or Quality of Government – i.e. trustworthy, reliable, impartial, uncorrupted and competent government institutions rather than other

methods trying to identify value for money. Sören Holmberg has also written extensively on democracy and on the power of the media and he co-operates with SOM – the country's premier academic centre for studying the media.

Sören Holmberg

Tel: + 46 31-786 1227

Soren.Holmberg@pol.gu.se

Bo Rothstein

+ 46 31-786 1224

Bo.Rothstein@pol.gu.se

The SOM Institute:

<http://www.som.gu.se/english.htm>

Gothenburg/Göteborg University, P O Box 710 S-405 30 Göteborg

Tel: +46 31 786 1217

The SOM Institute is Gothenburg University research centre studying society, opinion and media – hence the name SOM. It is jointly run by the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication (JMG), the Department of Political Science and the Research Center for the Public Sector (CEFOS).

The SOM Institute is quoted regularly in the press for its nationwide opinion surveys, in which people are asked questions about politics, society, their use of media, public service, the environment, risks, new media technology and leisure-time activities. The National SOM survey is mailed to 6,000 randomly selected individuals between the ages of 15 and 85.

JMG – Department of Journalism and Mass Communication

<http://www.jmg.gu.se>

Gothenburg/Göteborg University, P O Box 710 S-405 30 Göteborg

Tel: 46 31-786 5177

JMG is heavily engaged in the public debate on the future of the media. For example in 2008 it was part of an intense discussion held on the pages of the leading daily, Dagens Nyheter, with the head of Swedish TV (SVT) over the future of Sweden's public broadcaster.



One of those involved was **Kent Asp**, professor of journalism. He has written on the “medialisation” of politics – the adaptation of politics to the mass media. He does regular surveys of the media including SVT which are often quoted in the press. His survey of the public service remit of broadcasters SVT and TV4 for the Swedish Parliament in October 2007 found that the number of Swedish-made factual programmes has fallen by 14 per cent between 1998 and 2006. The number of foreign TV shows on Swedish network television has increased by 30 per cent 2004-2007, he found.

Tel: +46 31 786 1228

Email: kent.asp@jmg.gu.se

Swedish Radio and the Swedish Television were found to be the second and third most trusted institutions in Sweden in an opinion survey called the Trust Barometer. They rated 76 and 73 per cent respectively – coming just behind the front-runner, IKEA. The Trust Barometer was compiled by Professors **Lennart Weibull** (of JMG) and **Sören Holmberg** (of QoG).



Lennart Weibull is Professor and Chair of Mass Communication Research. He has published a number of books and reports on media structure, newspaper industry, media ethics and audience behaviour.

Tel: +46 31 773 1218

Email: Lennart.Weibull@jmg.gu.se

JMG's other work includes the *Dagspresskollegiet* project monitoring long-term trends in newspaper reading habits and annual surveys of media use and attitudes to the media among the general public. JMG's media quality project assesses the quality of Swedish journalism in terms of its service to democracy, and the quality and relevance of the information provided to decision-making bodies on public issues.

Nordicom:

www.nordicom.gu.se

Gothenburg University, Seminariegatan 1 b, 413 13 Gothenburg

Tel +46 31 786 00 00

Nordicom, (Nordic Information Center for Media and Communication Research) a Gothenburg University institution operating under the auspices of the Nordic Council of Ministers, call itself "a knowledge centre for media and communication research, between the five countries of the Nordic region".

Nordicom's work aims at developing media studies and at helping to ensure that research results are made visible in the treatment of media issues at different levels in both the public and private sector."

Nordicom does media and communication research and examines trends in the media sectors in the Nordic countries. Its key annual publication is Nordic Media Trends on the Nordic Media Market, which is a fully comprehensive survey of the Nordic media scene. *Nordic Media Trends 11* is quoted in the media section in this manual http://www.nordicom.gu.se/common/publ_pdf/NMT11.pdf



Nordicom Director: **Ulla Carlsson**

Tel: +46 31 786 12 19

Email: ulla.carlsson@nordicom.gu.se

School of Global Studies

www.globalstudies.gu.se

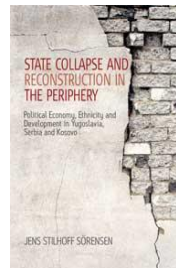
Gothenburg University, Seminariegatan 1 b, 413 13 Gothenburg

Tel +46 31 786 00 00

The School of Global Studies carries out applied research for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, SIDA, the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, and the Swedish Migration Board, as well as academic work.

The School's expert on South East Europe, **Jens Stilhoff Sørensen**, has been a researcher at the School of Global Studies since 2007 and is also affiliated to the Swedish Institute of International

Affairs. Jens Stilhoff Sørensen worked for the Swedish Government (MFA, SIDA) and for international organisations (OSCE, ECMM) from 1994 -2000). He has lived and worked in the Balkans for several years. He has worked on international aid politics, post-conflict reconstruction, the Yugoslav successor states, and the Balkans region



Sørensen just published in May 2009 a book entitled: “State collapse and reconstruction in the periphery - Political Economy, Ethnicity and Development in Yugoslavia, Serbia and Kosovo”. He argues that: “Western governments and agencies have built policies on conceptions and assumptions for which there is no genuine historical or contemporary economic, social or political basis in the region”.

Tel: + 46 8 511 768 33. E-mails: jens.sorensen@ui.se and jens.sorensen@globalstudies.gu.se

LUND UNIVERSITY

www.lu.se

Paradisgatan 2 (Universitetshuset)
221 00 Lund
Tel. 046-222 00 00



Lund University is the country's second oldest university – it was founded in 1666. With eight faculties and a multitude of research centres and specialised research institutes, it is the largest centre for research and higher education in Scandinavia. More than 40,000 students are enrolled at the University, studying any of the 85 educational programmes, eighteen international Masters programmes, or the 1,000 individual courses.



Sanimir Resic – is an Associate Professor at Lund University's Institute for East and Central European Studies. He is the author of a book in Swedish about the Balkans “The History of the Balkans: the Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia” (2006) and co-editor of the “[The Balkans in Focus. Cultural Boundaries in Europe](#)” (2002)

E-mail: Sanimir.Resic@slav.lu.se

Wilhelm Agrell, Professor of Social Intelligence, now at the Lund University Research Policy Institute (RPI), has written previously on Albania and on Yugoslav nationalism. His focus is currently on policy on intelligence.

E-mail: Wilhelm.Agrell@fpi.lu.se



Maria Strömviik, at Lund University's Political Science Department, focuses on decision-making in EU foreign, security and defence policy. In

2009, she is working part time for the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, as well as the Swedish Institute of International Affairs.

Email: maria.stromvik@svet.lu.se

STOCKHOLM UNIVERSITY

www.su.se

Main campus: Universitetsvägen 10A, Stockholm
Tel + 46 8 16 20 00



Stockholm University has more than 50,000 students and 5,000 members of staff studying and teaching at departments of four faculties: Humanities, Law, Science, Social Sciences. Eighty-five institutions and research centres. It includes the Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations (CEIFO), operate within the University.

Erik Olsson is the Director. Tel: +468 16 38 10

E-mail: erik.olsson@ceifo.su.se
<http://www.ceifo.su.se/pub/jsp/polopoly.jsp?d=6669>



Torbjörn Larsson is often quoted in the press on Swedish and EU political issues. He is an Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science. He focuses on the role and function of EU committees, the role perception of national civil servants in European and international organisations and the problems and possibilities with asymmetric governments. Together with Henry Bäck, he wrote: *Governing and Governance in Sweden* (2008 in English).



E-mail: torbjorn.larsson@statsvet.su.se

Lena Nekby is an Associate Professor at the Department of Economics, Stockholm University and affiliated to the Stockholm University Linnaeus Center for Integration Studies ([SULCIS](http://sulcis.su.se)) and a Research Fellow at the Institute for Study of Labour (IZA).

Tel: +46-8-164481

E-mail: lena.nekby@ne.su.se

SWEDISH NATIONAL DEFENCE COLLEGE

www.fhs.se

Drottning Kristinas väg 37, 115 93 Stockholm

Phone: +46 8 553 425 00

The **Swedish National Defence College (SNDC/FHS)** contributes greatly towards Sweden's national and international security through research and development. The College academically trains and educates military and civilian personnel in today's and future leading positions. Unique education and research is conducted on national and international level within the field of crisis management, security policy, terrorism studies and defence related gender policy to mention a few. SNDC also gives academic quality to education of military officers at all levels. Because of its expertise SNDC holds a unique position in agenda setting and policy making within the national context.

Together with four other international partners, with the UK Defence Academy as the lead, the Swedish National Defence College has developed a course on Building Integrity in Defence Establishment (BIDE). The course, held in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 2008, was attended by 30 military officers and civilians from a range of countries including Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey.

Kjell Engelbrekt, an Associate Professor of the Stockholm University Department of Political Science, also lectures at the Swedish National Defence College. His most recent publication is *The European Union and Strategy: An Emerging Actor* (2008), with Jan Hallenberg. Kjell Engelbrekt is co-directing, with Bertil Nygren, an international project that explores the potential for partnership and conflict between Russia and the European Union in the medium- to long-term. In another project, Engelbrekt is studying the expansion of European laws, rules and regulations to the accession countries of Central and Eastern Europe. This project, funded by the Swedish Research Council, is called *Doubleclick: Installing the Acquis in Central and Eastern Europe*. He has also been examining public procurement policies in Bulgaria and Poland. kjell.engelbrekt@fhs.se



Magnus Ekengren, an Associate Professor of the Swedish National Defence College, researcher on European Security Studies and policymaking within this field. Magnus Ekengren has studied security sector reform in the Western Balkans. magnus.ekengren@fhs.se

© This manual is copyright of the European Stability Initiative

www.esiweb.org

ESI project leader Chris Langdon (ESI senior analyst). Special thanks to Duska Tomanovic, Fredrik Lundgren and Vicky Townshend.