

# Domestic Politics Analysis of Swedish Post-cold War Neutrality Policy

Dinda Claudia Eka Putri and Siti Rokhmawati Susanto

*Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Airlangga*

**Keywords:** Sweden, neutrality, reorientation, foreign policy, international politics

**Abstract:** Sweden is known as a state which would not only play its role to pursue social welfare but also run its commitment to establish foreign policy with neutrality. These two sets of principle were not only valued by Swedish people and government but also known as Swedish character in international politics. Through the principle of neutrality, Sweden orientated its foreign policies of non-military engagement and non-alignment in conflicts. Swedish policy of neutrality itself has been consistently implemented for a long period before it came to a reorientation of post-Cold War foreign policy. Compatibility of neutrality with national interests and international objectives raised a question for Sweden's foreign policy because the collapse of Soviet Union and the end of bipolarization became a turning point for world politics which not only led to new conception of security but also challenge Sweden economic viability. Sweden's reorientation of foreign policy and the principles of neutrality relevance changes not were not only influenced by the end of Cold War itself, but also by various driving factors of Swedish domestic politics in pursuit of national welfare..

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Neutrality is one of the Swedish guidelines, alongside the welfare system known as Folkhem. The combination of the principle of neutrality and social welfare issues that dominate the domestic agenda make both pillars of the Swedish national identity (Bassett 2012, 11). Despite facing challenges by potential conflicts or a tendency to engage in war, Sweden has a long history of orienting its foreign policy toward peace and neutrality. As Hetmanchuk (2012, 1) states, Sweden has a foreign policy character that chooses freedom from alliances in peacetime with the aim of wartime neutrality. This neutrality policy is a complex policy and involves a multidimensional phenomenon.

Historically, Sweden was one of the greatest military forces of Europe in the 1700s and had mastered Finland and Norway. However, after being involved in twenty-five wars in the span of three hundred years, Sweden decided to abandon its aggressiveness (Valentin 2014, 1). King Karl Johan XIV's reign established the Swedish Constitution in 1809, followed by a change in Swedish foreign policy from military involvement to neutrality not to engage in military contact in 1810. From 1814, Sweden did not participate in war nor join any alliance. The loss of war from the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the

relatively limited size consideration of Sweden, and the physical isolation of the continental Europe made King Karl Johan declare that neutrality was the most effective way of maintaining Swedish political and military autonomy in Europe. This neutrality is based on the geographical and strategic reality that King Karl Johan sees to defend national sovereignty and borders and keep the Swedish economy under the weight of war (Bassett 2012, 10). Although not included in the Swedish Constitution, a policy of neutrality is used as a reference for foreign policy because it is believed to guarantee Sweden not to engage in war in the future. This principle is supported by strong national defense to prevent a military conflict in the territory of Sweden (Global Security t.t.).

Neutrality is a legal status that denotes a country's abstention to participate in wars among other states, maintains an impartiality attitude toward belligerents, and recognition by those parties to abstention and impartiality (Encyclopedia Britannica 2012 in Bassett 2012, 6). International law provides this legal status of rights and obligations between neutral parties and warring parties. According to Hopper (in Hetmanchuk 2012, 9), neutrality is a shortcut for small countries in a balance of power. Through neutrality, a country like Sweden can not only maintain territorial unity and political independence

but can also act as a buffer state for conflicting parties. In addition to defending sovereignty, Sweden embodies the principle of neutrality by participating as an arbitrator in conflictual conditions. The manifestation of active internationalist neutrality became part of Sweden's foreign policy since 1834 in which King Karl Johan attempted to mediate Britain and Russia at the end of the Napoleonic Wars (Agius 2006 in Bassett 2012, 1). Sweden's efforts to become a neutral country in the resolution conflict continue through contributions in various UN peacekeeping missions since 1948 (Government Offices of Sweden 2015). Through active internationalist neutrality also, Sweden plays a major role in providing humanitarian aid and promoting human rights (Valentin 2014, 3-4).

Sweden has upheld the principle of neutrality from the 19th century to the end of the 20th century. However, Sweden began to transcend the line between neutrality and post-Cold War political affinity after the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union. Neutrality is deemed no longer relevant so Sweden begins to adopt policies that are not directly proportional to this principle. The reorientation of Swedish foreign policy can not only be analyzed through the international system, but also through the dynamics of domestic politics running the Swedish government. Political leadership, the meaning of national identity, and the diversity of national interest aspects explain why neutrality is no longer considered relevant to Sweden and why Sweden's foreign policy direction is shifting.

### 1.1 Domestic Politics Dynamics in Foreign Policy Analysis

Foreign policy is a policy formulated and taken to regulate the relations of a country with other countries. However, foreign policy can not be separated in relation to domestic politics. As Fearon (1998, 298-90) points out, domestic politics has a crucial role in explaining the foreign policy of a country. Foreign policy is an instrument for the realization of foreign policy, where foreign policy itself is an extension of domestic politics that embodies the national interests and objectives. Therefore, the foreign policy of a country can be explored through the domestic political dynamics of the country itself.

Fearon (1987, 291) describes two theories for understanding foreign policy: systemic theory and domestic political theory. Systemic theory views the state as a rational and united actor. This theory explains that the actors of international relations actors are always connected to each other so that one

country will consider the behavior of other countries before adopting certain policies (Fearon 1987, 291). A country has a perception of the actions taken or will be taken by other countries so that the state must give attention and response to the international environment (Fearon 1987, 298).

In contrast to systemic theory, domestic political theory does not regard the state as a single actor. This theory explains that the state is a non-authoritarian actor and adds the conditions in which explanatory variables can operate or how those variables operate in theory. A country is described as choosing a suboptimal foreign policy because it results from the interaction of domestic actors. Domestic political theories argue about the specific characters of the relevant state to explain the various policy options or certain political interactions that bring about the diversity of policy implementation (Fearon 1989, 291-2). Suboptimal policies are explained by additions related to a country's point of view that are not related to units involved in foreign policy formulation and decision-making, such as the applicable regime or the specific purpose of the policy. For example, suboptimal policies can be traced from the underlying principles of foreign policy or from the decision-making chief's preference to retain power (Fearon 1989, 299-300).

Analysis of foreign policy through the level of domestic political analysis becomes important because domestic politics causes a country to adopt a suboptimal policy, both for the sake of its own country and for influencing the international environment. In addition, the level of domestic political analysis is also important to understand how different political institutions, cultures, economic structures, or goals of a country's leadership that are not related to relative strength are relevant to explain different foreign policy options (Fearon 1989, 302). Various country characters such as political culture, values, national identity, and democratization can be the variables used to explain how domestic politics influences the formulation and decision-making of foreign policy (Fearon 1998, 307).

It can be seen that foreign policy is not only influenced by the international environment but also influenced by the dynamics occurring within the country itself. Therefore, domestic politics can be used as one level of analysis in analyzing foreign policy. If the systemic level of analysis explains how a country takes foreign policy to respond to the international environment, then the level of domestic political analysis essentially explains why and how domestic factors influence foreign policy formulation and decision-making. The level of domestic political

analysis becomes important when the level of systemic analysis alone can not explain the relationship between a country's policy and its environment so that domestic dynamics is used to track the underlying incentives of the policy. The linkage between domestic politics and the international system itself can be understood through a two-level game approach. This approach explains how policymakers adopt policies that must meet two common goals, namely the interests of domestic politics and the international political interests of the country (Putnam 1988, 431). Given that national politics and international politics are closely related to each other, this approach can explain the intersection of their interests in a policy.

## 1.2 Sweden Neutrality Policy

Sweden's foreign policy was not to participate in alliances during peacetime and neutrality during the war. Sweden has a location between the orbit of the East-West European tension so that according to Sunledius (in Hetmanchuk 2012, 9), the principle of neutrality in foreign policy is aimed at securing independence through political and non-aligned military. However, Sweden was confronted with the reality that the principle of neutrality was no longer relevant after the end of the Cold War. The political implications of Sweden's neutrality policy are changing as there is a difference between the post-Cold War era and the Cold War era itself (Andrén 1991, 67).

Previously, Sweden used the principle of neutrality to pursue policies that could meet the achievement of national interests flexibly (Hetmanchuk 2012, 7). With no partisanship, Sweden has no pre-commitment to engage in situations outside its territorial conflicts and is not obliged to direct its foreign policy to the forces of domination in the international system. However, the end of the Cold War left Sweden with no room for neutrality. This is because the end of the Cold War became a turning point in globalization that accompanied the growing transnational issues and the emergence of non-state actors that could influence the international system. Therefore, the urgency of security on the international political agenda has shifted and no longer focuses on territorial integrity and military power alone. With the end of bipolarity, the world's states are no longer divided into blocks so that the existence of a state of mediators and buffer states is no longer a necessity. This condition makes Sweden unable to have a significant impact on other countries through neutrality and limits Sweden's choice to take

policy (Tepe 2007, 191). In fact, the post-Cold War era exposed Sweden to economic and security challenges so that policies were taken to address these challenges.

Although judged not in harmony with the principle of neutrality, Sweden chose to apply for membership in the European Community. This decision was driven by a decline in the strength of national defense and post-Cold War economic capability so that the Swedish government sees membership in the European Community as a solution (Tepe 2007, 191). Sweden is also faced with a dilemma between the choice to not allied but to economic stagnancy or to ignore the principle of neutrality and continue the economic prosperity of the nation. After going through a series of accession negotiations, Sweden was accepted to be a member of the EU in 1995 thus giving Sweden an economic advantage but without political power (Hetmanchuk 2012, 6-8). This is because as a member country, Sweden must adjust its policy with a single policy as stipulated by EU Law. Sweden also had to adjust its foreign policy to fit the goals of the organization. The Swedish Parliament, Riksdag, ratified Article 47.2 Treaty of the European Union and the solidarity clause in Article 222 of the Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union or TFEU so that Sweden also endorsed the declaration of solidarity in the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP (Global Security t.t.)). As noted in the Amsterdam Treaty, military defense was only developed for humanitarian and peacekeeping operations (Tepe 2007, 193). To that end, Sweden began to reduce the number of armed forces and more participate in international operations. However, the reduction of national defense gave rise to criticism about Sweden's ability to defend itself against external threats.

In addition to joining the EU and taking part in CSDP, Sweden re-oriented foreign policy by enhancing international security cooperation. Sweden took foreign policy to establish security cooperation with NATO through Partnership for Peace in 1994. Some of Sweden's participation in this cooperation was through the West European Union in 2015, the NATO-led Implementation Force of 1995, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council of the year 1997, and the West European Armaments Group in 1997 (Tepe 2007, 192). Sweden also deployed troops to support NATO's mission in Afghanistan and deployed fighters for NATO missions in Libya in 2011 (Bassett 2012, 1-2). In addition to cooperation with NATO, Sweden participated actively in UN Peacekeeping, one of them through the UNPROFOR mission in Bosnia in 1993 and the monitoring of the Peace

Accords in Bosnia in 1997 (Tepe 2007, 192). Sweden supports UN Peacebuilding missions to continue the management of the Peacebuilding Commission in 2015 (Government Offices of Sweden 2015).

The end of the Cold War posed a challenge for Sweden in a multidimensional way, politically, economically, and socially. The global challenge in this era makes neutrality no longer suitable for the fulfillment of Swedish national interests. Therefore, despite previously adopting a free foreign policy of alliance and neutrality in the war, Sweden chose to abandon its neutrality but keep its foreign policy neutral and non-aligned through foreign policy adjustments. The dismissal of this principle of neutrality can be seen in Sweden's foreign policy of joining the EU, contributing to NATO and EU missions, and taking an active role through involvement in international missions. Swedish foreign policy itself can not be separated from the dynamics of domestic politics that play a role in changing the direction of foreign policy.

### 1.3 Domestic Politics and Sweden Neutrality Policy

Neutrality is the policy of a state not to engage in war, whereas armed neutrality is a neutral policy of a state not to make alliances with both sides at war but retains military power and prepares itself if its sovereignty is attacked by others. Then, non-aligned military is a policy position of a country to remain neutral during peacetime by avoiding military alliances although it can still have military involvement in the event of a conflictual situation. Citing Bassett's (2012, 7) conclusion, Swedish foreign policy can be seen shifting towards a non-aligned military because Sweden still retains military power as a national defense and can deploy military forces if needed in an international mission.

It is understood that the evolution of Sweden's principle of neutrality is influenced by the events facing Sweden as well as the factors influencing Swedish domestic politics. In the Cold War era Sweden maintained its policy of neutrality with a security motif as justification. The bipolarisation of the world and Europe's split in both blocs make it impossible for Sweden to join the European Community as such action could undermine the credibility of Swedish neutrality and potentially pose a security threat from the Soviet Union. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 eliminated the threat so that the post-Cold War era changed the conception of global security. (Bassett 2012, 30-1). Moreover, the consistency of Swedish foreign policy orientations

was previously confronted with two major, often incompatible political interests: to take economic advantage through participation in European integration or to maintain the credibility of a policy of neutrality between two competing blocks (Andrén 1991, 68). The end of the Cold War which eliminated competition between the two blocs also made the principle of Swedish neutrality no longer relevant without the threat of the Soviet Union so that this momentum prompted Sweden to integrate with the EU.

As adopted by the Riksdag in December 1990, there are several factors driving the Swedish foreign policy adjustment to post-Cold Europe. These factors are the Swedish need to avoid all forms of discrimination by the European Community; emigration of major Swedish industries to a single European market area; the majority of public opinion in favor of Swedish membership in the European Union; détente international who wiped out fears that the Soviet Union would doubt the seriousness of Sweden's security policy; as well as the domestic economic crisis requiring a return of popular confidence in Swedish economic policy (Andrén 1991, 68). The post-Cold War era raised a domestic political discussion on how Sweden To meet all national needs, not only to defend the country's position in the international system but also to sustain the state through prosperity. In fulfilling the people's social welfare, Sweden is faced with the challenges of global economy and national security.

The Swedish government is multiparty with two dominating parties, the traditional left-wing Social Democratic Party and the center-right moderate Moderate Party. Swedish society itself is attentive and participatory in domestic politics so public opinion influences perceptions of policy makers (Swedish Institute t.t.). The post-Cold War economic instability shifted how Swedish society conceptualized and characterized neutrality as part of its national identity (Bassett 2012, 28). Accompanied by a security dilemma, neutrality is seen as limiting Swedish choices so the government needs to change policies to improve things.

In the 1990s, Sweden's GDP fell drastically and the number of unemployed increased sharply so Sweden suffered a severe economic crisis. This crisis shows that the realization of the principle of social welfare through the Swedish Model or Folkhem is vulnerable to an open global economy indicating that the government can not maintain prosperity without a significant change (Bassett 2012, 26-8). This not only inhibits the realization of people's welfare, but also can eliminate people's trust in the government. The

decline of national defense forces and the decline in economic capability led the Swedish government to see membership in the European Community as a solution to the various issues faced. However, neutrality is deemed inconsistent with the organization for Sweden to modify this principle if it chooses to join the European Union (Tepe 2007, 191).

The economic crisis left the Swedish electorate preparing for a new economic model that the Moderate-led Left-Front Coalition won the 1991 General Election by bringing in a strong alternative, the economic reforms and the people's welfare, one of which through the integration of Sweden in the European Community (Bassett 2012, 29). Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson of the Social Democrats stated that Sweden's membership in the European Community is in line with its policy of neutrality. This sentiment was joined by Prime Minister Carl Bildt of Moderate Party who succeeded him after the election. However, Bildt declares that to join fully in the European Community, neutrality policy is no longer appropriate for describing foreign policy and Swedish security policies and the hard core of security policy is non-participation in military alliances (Bassett 2012, 32). As chief decision-maker, it appears that these two figures share a common leadership goal to support Swedish accession within the European Community. However, the Moderate Party began to argue that neutrality was no longer fully relevant to Swedish foreign policy. The previous principle of neutrality was upheld to bring security to national defense and when faced with the post-Cold War global economic and economic crisis, Swedish perceptions of security shifted to the return of economic security as soon as possible. Moderate Party's alternative proposals through accession within the European Community are a consideration for the electorate and supported by the majority of the public. Neutrality is no longer relevant to foreign policy.

Sweden's integration within the European Community, which later developed into the European Union, is aimed at improving economic stagnation. The improvement of economic stagnancy can be understood as a step taken by policy-makers and political leaders to quickly alleviate the Swedish economy from the crisis. International economic relations are judged to be the way to achieve this goal because the post-Cold War era was a turning point in the global economy and with the neoliberalism brought about by US hegemony, cooperation became crucial to defend the Swedish economy in the dynamics of the global economy. Membership within the EU will facilitate Swedish access to a single European market that adds Sweden's relative

competitiveness in the global free market. By improving the economy, the government can restore public confidence and political leaders can rally public support.

The failure of the government under Moderate Party to immediately improve the economy led the people to turn to the Social Democratic-led Middle East Coalition in 1994. This coalition not only contributed to the stabilization of the Swedish economy but also emphasized the expansion of Sweden's attitude in the international system through accelerating accession in the EU. The Moderate Party has also taken steps to reorient Sweden's neutrality in the face of the international environment and globalization (Bassett 2012, 29-30). After becoming a member of the United Nations since 1946, Sweden established Partnership for Peace with NATO in 1994 and officially became a member of the European Union in 1995 (Tepe 2007, 192). Foreign Minister Anna Hjelm-Wallén issued a foreign policy statement in 1997 that the end of the Cold War has allowed Sweden to co-operate in order to create security (Bassett 2012, 30-1). If previously Swedish troops were only deployed for UN missions, Sweden began to deploy troops for EU and NATO missions. International operations through these three organizations became an integral part of Sweden's foreign policy with respect to national defense. Membership in the EU and UN is formally a key factor in Swedish foreign policy, and cooperation with NATO also has an important role (Heldt 2012). This confirms that Sweden is taking a change of direction in its foreign policy from neutrality to a non-aligned military and wants its country to participate more actively in the international system.

Intensification of international relations is aimed at raising Swedish profiles in international cooperation through security dimensions (Tepe 2007, 192). This action can be examined from the principle of neutrality which no longer guarantees Swedish national security. If previously Sweden could have a significant position as a state mediator or buffer state between the conflicting parties, the collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in the exit of the United States as a hegemonic power post-Cold War. The unipolar structure makes neutrality through impartiality irrelevant. In fact, in addition to economic improvement, state security is still one of the national interests that must be met through foreign policy considering social welfare can only be realized when the country is in a safe and functional conditions. Sweden also needs to secure a security trajectory. This can no longer be achieved through non-participation, but by working together in an

international system. Policymakers have rational considerations to initiate security cooperation and the public supports this policy to support social welfare. Therefore, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a policy to be active in international missions to shape public perception that Sweden has a security cooperation that can guarantee national security.

In 2005, Prime Minister Göran Persson judged that the principle of neutrality was no longer relevant because of the changing European security context (Bassett 2012, 31). The expansion of the security trajectory then continued when in 2009, the Liberal Party filed a motion for Sweden to become a permanent member of NATO (Global Security, t.t.). Security cooperation with NATO is considered to have an important impact on Sweden so the Liberal Party exposes consideration for Sweden to become a permanent part of the security organization. Submission of membership in NATO continues as the Social Democrats win the 2014 General Election so that the party can seek Sweden's entry into NATO (Global Security, t.t.). This is understandable because Sweden has joined and played an active role as a member of the EU and NATO as well as a NATO partner so that security gains are achieved through continuity of international cooperation. The parties that support this motion argue that membership in NATO is needed to expand the trajectory of Sweden's international security policy. As is known, social welfare can be met when the stability of national security is maintained. Therefore, in addition to maintaining economic prosperity, the parties in Sweden are concerned with international security politics.

In addition to economic and security improvements, Sweden's foreign policy reorientation to the European Union can be understood as Sweden's perception that its country can have a positive impact on the EU and as an extension of Swedish identity by adding a European orientation (Bassett 2012, 32). The security orientation in foreign policy is focused on the EU as a regionalism that includes European economic, political, social and identity aspects in integration so that membership in the EU is an important concern for Sweden. Policymakers seek Swedish active involvement in the EU so that Sweden is not discriminated against in the continental Europe so as to achieve multidimensional benefits by becoming a member of the European Union. The majority of public support for Swedish membership in the EU also allows Sweden to add European identity values in governance and foreign policy orientation.

## 2 CONCLUSION

Neutrality has long been a reference to Swedish foreign policy. Sweden's foreign policy was directed towards achieving neutrality through freedom from alliances in times of peace and impartiality in wartime. In addition, Sweden also embodies internationalist active neutrality by being a mediator in conflict and participating in humanitarian interventions. Along with social welfare, neutrality became part of Sweden's national identity. However, the end of the Cold War made the principle of neutrality irrelevant so that Sweden began to abandon it to ensure the fulfillment of social welfare.

In the Cold War era, Sweden maintained its neutrality to safeguard the threats of the Soviet Union so it was impossible to join European integration. The end of the Cold War with the Soviet collapse removed the threat from the Eastern bloc so that Sweden had the opportunity to join the European Community. However, the post-Cold War era made Sweden's principle of neutrality no longer relevant because Sweden needed to turn its foreign policy direction. This can be seen from Swedish foreign policy which involves not only the consideration of various aspects but also influenced by Swedish domestic political dynamics. Given the change is a shift in the principle of neutrality, the analysis of the domestic political level becomes important in exploring the influencing domestic factors in foreign policy formulation and decision-making. The reorientation of Swedish foreign policy was influenced by a change of leadership, a shift in the meaning of national identity due to economic and security interests, as well as Sweden's need for recognition from the European Union.

In fulfilling the people's social welfare, Swedish foreign policy is faced with the challenges of the global economy and post-Cold War national security. The post-Cold War economic crisis shifts the meaning of neutrality as a national identity because neutrality is judged to restrict the movement of Sweden. The government also needs to change the policy significantly to immediately improve the economic stagnation caused by the crisis. Therefore, Sweden accelerated accession within the EU to gain market advantage and bring the country closer to European identity. Given that the EU is a regionalism that includes various aspects, Sweden seeks to gain recognition from the EU so as not to be discriminated against and to achieve member benefits. It also embodies the aspirations of the Swedish people who want their country to integrate in the continent. In addition through the EU, Sweden later expanded

security cooperation with NATO. This is because Sweden can not guarantee security with its own national defense and needs to secure the security trajectory through cooperation. Sweden also participates actively in various international missions of the European Union, NATO and the United Nations to enhance Sweden's profile in international security politics.

Sweden's neutrality policy is a complex policy and involves a multidimensional phenomenon. After the Cold War, Swedish foreign policy shifted from neutrality to non-aligned military because Sweden still retained military power as a national defense and could deploy military forces if needed in international missions. In the domestic political dynamics, Sweden's two main coalitions share the same perception that neutrality policy is no longer relevant in the post-Cold War era. There is also a reorientation of similarity to direct Sweden to Western identity and European identity. By improving the economic and security dimensions, the government can restore public confidence and political leaders can rally public support. Although the change of political leadership did not interfere with the Swedish foreign policy reorientation process, there were debates and differences in the implementation of new policies so that Sweden needed time to adjust the direction of foreign policy. Through a two-level game approach, Sweden adjusted its foreign policy to meet the national interest of abandoning neutrality for the achievement of the welfare of society and to fulfill foreign policy interests of intensification of cooperation in order to strengthen the position of Sweden in the international system.

## REFERENCES

### Journal and Online Article

- Andrén, Nils, 1991. "On the Meaning and Uses of Neutrality", in *Cooperation and Conflict*, No. 26, pp. 67-83.
- Bassett, Bergen. 2012. "Factors Influencing Sweden's Changing Stance on Neutrality" [pdf], in [https://www.ideals.illinois.edu/bitstream/handle/2142/34336/Bassett\\_Bergen.pdf?sequence=1](https://www.ideals.illinois.edu/bitstream/handle/2142/34336/Bassett_Bergen.pdf?sequence=1) [diakses 6 Januari 2017].
- Fearon, James D. 1998 "Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and Theories of International Relations", in *Annual Review of Political Science*, No. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago, pp. 289-313.
- Hetmanchuk, Natallia, 2012. "Swedish Foreign Policy: Neutrality vs. Security" [pdf], in [http://pol.illinoisstate.edu/downloads/conferences/2012/2AHetmanchuk\\_Swedish.pdf](http://pol.illinoisstate.edu/downloads/conferences/2012/2AHetmanchuk_Swedish.pdf) [diakses 6 Januari 2017].
- Putnam, Robert, 1988. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level-Games", in *International Organization*, Vol. 42, No. 3, pp. 427-460.
- Tepe, F. Fulya, 2007. "Swedish Neutrality and its Abandonment" [pdf], in <http://www.ticaret.edu.tr/uploads/Kutuphane/dergi/s11/M00167.pdf> [diakses 6 Januari 2017].
- Valentin, Carl-Christian. 2014. "Sweden Foreign Policy a case of Security versus Neutrality" [online], in [http://www.academia.edu/11950145/Swedish\\_Foreign\\_Policy\\_a\\_case\\_of\\_Security\\_versus\\_Neutrality](http://www.academia.edu/11950145/Swedish_Foreign_Policy_a_case_of_Security_versus_Neutrality) [diakses 6 Januari 2017].
- Online Site**
- Government Offices of Sweden, 2015. "Sweden and the UN. We build peace." [online], in <http://www.government.se/government-of-sweden/ministry-for-foreign-affairs/sweden-for-the-un-security-council-2017-2018/sweden-and-the-un.-we-build-peace/> [Accessed January 6 2017].
- Sweden Institute, t.t. "The Swedish System of Government" [online], in <http://sweden.se/society/the-swedish-system-of-government/> [Accessed January 6 2017].
- Others**
- Global Security, t.t. "Swedish Neutrality" [online], in <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/s-e-neutrality.htm> [Accessed January 6 2017].
- Heldt, Birger, 2012. "Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Sweden" [online], in <http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/2014/04/03/contributor-profile-sweden/> [Accessed January 6 2017].