

Moral Aspects of Military Export

An explorative study on the condemnations and justifications of
weapons trade in a Swedish-Saudi Arabian context

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Abstract

Sweden is exporting military products and services to Saudi Arabia. Such trade can be seen as any other business, but various moral aspects could be considered to justify or condemn military export. Inspired by content and idea analysis, an investigative scheme with nine features was constructed to display the principal question of moral bearing on military export by evaluating the debate about Sweden exporting to Saudi Arabia. 265 publications in the newspapers Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet in March 2012 (when the affair first caught the media's attention) until March 2013 were analyzed. Emphasis was given on the lack of transparency in Sweden's military export, Saudi Arabia's authoritarian regime, its violations of human rights and the economical aspect. The conclusion is that the scheme is a well-integrated method and theory to highlight moral aspects of military export. The media's cover of the affair was single-sided as other aspects were reported sparsely or not at all.

***Key words:* Content analysis, idea analysis, military export, moral, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, weapons trade.**

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List of Abbreviations

ATT	Arms Trade Treaty
CEOBS	Conflict and Environment Observatory
DN	Dagens Nyheter
EU	European Union
FOI	Swedish Defense Research Agency
G-I	Galtung Institut
ISP	The Inspectorate of Strategic Products
JAS	Fight, Attack and Reconnaissance
KTH	The Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MilEx	UN's Report on Military Expenditures
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OHCHR	UN's Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
SEK	Swedish krona
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SPAS	Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society
SvD	Svenska Dagbladet

UD	Ministry for Foreign Affairs
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UI	Utrikespolitiska institutet
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNA	United Nations Association
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNODA	United Nations Organ of Disarmament
UNROCA	United Nations Register of Conventional Arms
USA	United States of America

1. Introduction

A picture of two men. One man is sitting on a couch, wearing a black outfit with a white shirt and Palestinian scarf wrapped around his head. Next to him there is another couch with a man sitting on it. That man's hair is fairly short and he is wearing a suit with a tie. He is observing the man with the scarf comprehensively who, in the meantime, is looking at something out of frame.

“No! Don't you hear what I'm saying?!” is Jan Ove Lind's response to the journalists from the Sweden's public service radio, Sveriges radio. The journalists, Bo Göran Bodin and Daniel Öhman, had in their possession documents of a top-secret collaboration with the Saudi Arabian government. The denial from Mr. Lind, the President of The Swedish Defense Research Agency (FOI), as well as the Defense Ministry ended up in confession. The project with Saudi Arabia began in year 2005 and was supposed to result in the construction of an anti-tank missile factory consisting of 35 buildings. It was unofficially called “Project Simoon” and “Saudi gate” (Sveriges radio 2012a) and was possible due to a dummy corporation called “Swedish Security Technology & Innovation” by members of FOI (Sveriges radio 2012b).

The two men in the picture were Prince Feisal bin Fahd of Saudi Arabia and Prime Minister Olof Palme in the Swedish government office. Bonds between the Nordic country and its partner in the Gulf have been proven to be dating back to earlier than 2005, as the encounter between the crown prince and prime minister took place in December 1985. The encounter paid off, with a profit of 300 million SEK to the state's department Fortifikationsverket for consulting services and the revenue for Swedish companies was 20 billion SEK for constructing an underground fuel storage. This could have been doubled if a project for constructing command and monitoring centers just been carried out (“Samarbetet gav Sverige 20 miljarder”).

As the newspaper Dagens nyheter clarifies, several Swedish governments are responsible for the plans for building a missile factory (“Socialdemokrater och Moderater i samma båt.”). The Constitutional Affairs Committee of the Swedish Parliament held several meetings with ministers, such as trade minister Ewa Björling (mp of the Moderate Party). It also led to the resignation of Stig Tolgfors, the minister for security and defense and his secretary Håkan Jevrell. Prosecution was declined in Autumn 2012. Karin Enström became the new defense minister by October 2012. Enström stated that there would be no further involvement in building the anti-tank missile factory. Disinformation and lies were spread by politicians and senior civil servants when “Saudi gate” was kept a secret. By the time of the revelation and its aftermath, it seems that some information is still missing (Sveriges radio 2012b; Sveriges radio 2012c; Lund 2012).

The moral debate on Sweden's military export to Saudi Arabia never died out and in March 2015 the then new government, (a coalition ruled by The Social

Democratic Party), took a stand. The collaboration with Saudi Arabia should be of civil character. The contract from 2005 was not extended which caused a diplomatic crisis (Fröberg 2012). In 2018 a new law was passed to toughen arms trade with non-democratic regimes (Ministry for Foreign Affairs [UD] 2017, Parliamentary Administration 2021). However, the boundaries between what is considered military export and civil export is still fuzzy and surprisingly, Sweden is still exporting military products and services to Saudi Arabia and other undemocratic regimes participating in the war in Yemen (Gårdemyr 2019)

The country I was born and raised in is known for its engagement in defending human rights and democracy but is a large exporter of weapons and related services (in per capita). This puzzles me. Sweden is full of contradictions and that makes me wonder about the values connected to military export as a question of principle. This curiosity gave me the idea to construct an analysis scheme representing the moral aspects of military export. After going through the regulations for weapons trade and researching what NGOs and scholars were emphasizing on this matter, I concluded that the main aspects are Economy, Environment (including climate change), Human rights, Neutrality, Peace (including stability), Regime, Security, Sovereignty and Transparency. These aspects are used to take a closer look at the moral debate on military export to Saudi Arabia.

1.1. Research aim

The central aim is to uncover moral aspects of the principal question of military export. The more tangible goal is to explore such aspects in relation to empirics: which moral aspects of military export can be found in the debate on “Saudi gate” and the aftermath of it and how do the aspects relate to one another?

“Moral aspects” are arguments founded on value systems where condemnations and justifications of military export can be made upon. This, as an idea, can be defined as a “valuation of a phenomenon” (Bergström 2005: 149).

I wish to uncover conflicts by touching the very core of politics: prioritization. Moral aspects of military export are represented by an analysis scheme. I developed the scheme myself by making a fusion of “an analysis of ideas” and a “content analysis.”

The scheme could not only explore moral aspects found in the debate of military export to Saudi Arabia but be a tool for evaluations of moral aspects of military export in general (Esaïasson, Gilljam, Oscarsson & Wängnerud 2007: 42ff.).

To limit the research and make it achievable, I chose to look at all analog and digital articles relating to “Saudi gate” in Sweden’s major newspapers during the course of a year, from March 2012 until March 2013.

The case of Saudi Arabia was first brought up by the media a decade ago but is still relevant, as Sweden continues to export to the absolute monarchy. However, the main reason for selecting this case is because Saudi Arabia is referred

to as one of the most authoritarian regimes in the world today (Freedom House 2019). Per Jönsson (2014) at The Institute of Foreign Affairs describes Saudi Arabia as consisting of three components: “the combination of an immense amount of oil, a religious center with a medieval regime makes the state inconvenient, unpredictable and dangerous to its surroundings and the world as a whole”.

Saudi Arabia might be an extreme case but could therefore, more clearly, give us an insight into the dilemmas of the principal question of military export. These roots in political philosophy make the study interesting for scholars, as well as for the public, as military export to Saudi Arabia was frequently discussed during 2012 (TT 2012) and has been brought up again in 2015 and in 2017. Swedish media portrayed it as a scandal and an outcome of the media coverage was a diplomatic crisis and the law regulating arms trade being tightened. However, this is being undermined as Sweden continues to interpret the legislation to favor itself.

It is a fact that not much has been written about the military industry and its export. Sweden has been involved in several questionable affairs: Bofors and Telub were subjects of scandals in the 1980’s. Bofors was bribing India to make them buy howitzers and smuggling anti-aircraft systems to Bahrain and Dubai. Around the same time, telecommunication equipment and expertise were sold to Libya by Telub. And there are others - JAS aircrafts to South Africa, Czeck republic and Hungary (Åkerström 2016: 18ff.).

In 2014, more was discovered about FOI’s business partners. The Defense Research Agency, still led by Mr. Jan Ove Lind, had long been planning to sell parts of Edge, a computational fluid dynamic flow solver for unstructured grids of arbitrary elements, to China through a cover up research program at The Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm (KTH), (Sveriges television 2014). Swedish weapons have also been used by Saudi Arabia in Yemen which ignited the discussion about military export once more (TV4Nyheterna 2019). It is possible that Sweden has more blood on its hands that we, as yet, are aware of.

The implication of military export is a theme that most of the general public do not know much about. This essay will bring something new to present research by connecting to the past (Teorell & Svensson 2007:18). It uncovers the faults or deficiency in the debate and could therefore clarify moral issues of military export.

One can study values without considering the study normative. In this case values are empirically evaluated (Badersten 2003: 211). “Morality” has two distinct broad senses; a descriptive sense and a normative sense (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy 2002):

Descriptively to refer to certain codes of conduct put forward by a society or a group (such as a religion), or accepted by an individual for her own behaviour, or *Normatively* to refer to a code of conduct that, given specified conditions, would be put forward by all rational people.

Morality is, in this essay, studied and used in the descriptive sense. The scheme represents aspects that can be used for justifications as well as condemnations of military export. The scheme is a part of a Swedish- Saudi context but could easily be modified.

1.2. Semantics and regulations

Before moving on, it is useful to understand the semantics and legal framework behind the term “military export.” At the starting point of this research, I used terms such as “weapons trade” and “arms trade.” Through the process, I have come to recognize that “weapons” are not only convoluted in terms of the complexity and dilemmas of trading arms, but also requires one to be aware of the spectrum of weapons that exists.

The legal definitions for munition in Sweden are products which are specifically adjusted for military use in “The Military Equipment Act” (SFS 1992:1300). All export is prohibited, and the government oversees it. In Amanda Luboya’s essay (2018:20) the responsibility chain of military export is well put: the Swedish Government, decides and assesses the granting of weapon exports from Sweden through The Inspectorate of Strategic Products (ISP) by the help of The Export Control Council.

In the Swedish government’s proposition (1991/92:174) it is clarified that exceptions can be made for security policy reasons if the export is necessary to supply material and if it does not contradict the foreign policy of Sweden. But the term munition covers more phenomenon nowadays: munitions is divided into “munitions for combat” and “other munitions”. This division is broader as “other munitions” could be anything. This paved the way for a softer policy and liberalization of trade. What defines a phenomenon as the first or latter category is whether it “generates an effect of destruction” or not.

As Sweden is a part of both the European Union and The United Nations, there are more things to consider when regulating and defining arms trade. ISP also must consider the UN’s Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) and the EU Council Common Proposition (2008/944/CFSP). In 1998 the EU formed a Code of Conduct on Arms Exports (EU Business 2006), which resulted in common rules governing the control of exports of military technology and equipment (European Union Council Common Position 2008/944/CFSP): This is a Summary of the eight criteria that is ought to guide the member states:

1. Respect for the international obligations, commitments of Member States, in particular the sanctions adopted by the UN Security Council or the European Union, the agreements on non-proliferation and other subjects.
2. Respect for human rights in the country of destination. The country of destination should also respect international humanitarian law.
3. Internal situation in the country of destination, for example tensions or armed conflicts.
4. Preservation of regional peace, security, and stability.

5. Behavior of the buyer country with regards to the international community, as its attitude to terrorism, the nature of its alliances and respect for international law.
6. National security of the Member States and of territories whose external relations are the responsibility of a Member State, as well as that of friendly and allied countries.
7. Existence of a risk that the military technology or equipment will be diverted within the buyer country or re-exported under undesirable conditions.
8. Compatibility of the exports of the military technology or equipment with the technical and economic capacity of the recipient country, considering the desirability that states should meet their legitimate security and defense needs with the least diversion of human and economic resources for armaments.

The EU has to consider other international agreements (European External Action Service [EEAS] 2016) and has several legally binding embargos against Iran, among others, and political, weapons embargo against China and other agreements regarding Egypt and Syria. The EU is in collaboration with Nuclear Suppliers Group, The Australia Group, Wassenaar arrangement, the Zangger Committee and Missile Technology Control Regime (ISP 2017).

The UN regulates all conventional arms since 2015 through ATT (2013). Conventional arms are battle tanks, armored combat vehicles, large-caliber artillery systems, combat aircraft, attack helicopters, warships, missiles, missile launchers, as well as small arms and light weapons. The Security Council has decided on several weapon embargos, for instance, against Lebanon. Sweden is also a part of The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe which has an embargo against Nagorno-Karabakh which affects both Azerbaijan and Armenia (ISP 2017).

There is no embargo against Saudi Arabia and expertise demanded by sophisticated armies should also be seen as a part of defining what weapon trade is. The Ogden Richard triangle was useful and led me forward in the need of a broader definition. The triangle disposes the statement that “a clear thinking requires understandable language” as Giovanni Sartori puts it in *Social Science Concepts. A Systematic Analysis*. Like every other triangle, it consists of three edges. The top one states the idea that is suggested, whereas the left bottom edge represents the phenomenon, as Sartori describes it “...the real-world counterparts, if existent, of the world in our head.” The right-hand edge represents the term for our idea (Sartori, 1984:22). To think clearly is therefore based on the very harmony and interconnectedness of the idea, phenomenon and term (Badersten 2006:84 ff.). Using the triangle, it was possible for me to get closer to finding a suitable term for both munitions for combat, other munition and the phenomenon of militarization. Cynthia Enloe (2000:291) defines militarization as "the step-by-step process by which something becomes controlled by, dependent on, or derives its value from

the military as an institution or militaristic criteria". Enloe (2017) argues that militarization is incorporated in institutions in masculine-dominated societies.

The term "military export" explains more holistically what it is all about: military export is not only trade of concrete and physical products but abstract in terms of "know-how" and other consultive services. The concept, as such, makes it possible to cover less obvious cases of weapon trade. Going broad might implicate the challenge between what is seen as military and what is considered civil, in a world where such distinction is already an issue. But I concluded that the label "military export" is still the most suitable. Björn Hagelin (1985:13) is the creator of the term which is presented in the illustration in the Appendix on page 60.

1.3. Method and theory – an integration

The method is a fusion of a content analysis and an idea analysis.

With these methodological roots in mind, I was able to create an analysis scheme consisting of relevant moral aspects found in regulations (in chapter 1.2) and an argument guide by The Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society (SPAS 2021) written by prominent researchers Björn Hagelin, Wilhelm Agrell and the Economist Vera Mazzara. The scheme is an integrated method and theory which I constructed in order to detect what is in the public domain and what is not. In practice, the scheme consists of nine aspects with which one can justify or condemn military export. The nine aspects are known concepts within Political Science, Peace and Conflict Studies and International Relations but connected in a scheme for the very first time.

The content analysis helps me include substantial amounts of textual information and systematically identify its properties, along with the frequency of the nine aspects. In terms of abstraction, I try to detect what is explicitly written in the articles, as well as what could be found when reading between the lines. The scheme was pre-set which made me approach the material with a fixed mindset, instead of an Aristotelian *tabula rasa*.

My method is to focus on ideas that can be translated into charting values, as one definition of ideas is "evaluations of phenomenon" (Bergström 2005: 149). There are two forms of analysis of ideas. One is to create *Ideal Types*, extremes of reality. The motive for using ideal types is to bring segregated elements of an argument to a solid unity. The other type is *Dimensions*, an idea analysis that works better for my purpose. A dimension is broad and less specific. Dimensions are wider but a disadvantage might be that details are given less attention. Here, I chose to be broad but with a view to not forgetting the particulars, as those could be crucial to cover the spectra of ideas. Dimensions are often put on a linear scale from one extreme to another (Ibid:159-166) I use the term "aspect" for each of the nine features, as the common connotation is that an aspect is a part of a bigger whole. The case here, is of aspects relating to how one could justify or condemn military export. Aspects have been given names of the related ideas they represent.

Ideas can be based on values and justify something like military export. In this way, certain values are favored. A *Value*, in this thesis, means a fundamental element, the basis of which we can justify an action, phenomenon, or a condition. One could claim that some values are good and right, while others are bad and wrong. As reality is for the more empiric researcher, values are substantial in analyzing moral dilemmas as well as in any issue of normative concern. (Badersten 2006: 21 ff.). In chapter 2 the basis of justification is described.

Moving on to what was my method in practice, I decided to use Newline Arkiv (one of Scandinavia's largest newspaper databases). I adjusted the search to only look for publications in Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet and used the regular expression "Saudi* + vapen* + krigsmateriel" (Saudi* + weapon* + armaments). I also searched for the keywords separately to ensure that I got everything. This meant that I got 1048 hits but not all of them were relevant. I went through the preambles of them all and found 265 relevant publications, in physical newspapers and in e-papers, covering "Saudi gate" or discussing military export in the aftermath of the revelations. On top of that, there were 67 publications that I could not get a hold of but that might have been relevant (by the impression of their preambles found in the database). The remaining 716 articles I considered irrelevant, as they were off-topic and did not contribute to my research questions in terms of the overriding aim and the tangible goal. Neither did I select those articles only mentioning the affair in a sentence. I then started to organize the extensive material.

I identified the content in the 265 publications. The publications that highlighted one aspect only were put into the category they represent. There is another category called "Mixed." Publications touching various aspects were labeled as *Mixed*.

After coding the publications, I counted the frequency of all aspects in the publications only representing one aspect to conclude how important each aspect seems to be. I worked by the principle of "typical cases" where I detected the most common aspects in the debate. By doing so, I concluded that I could shed light on less common aspects, as aspects that rarely appear are also worth discussing (Esaiasson et al. 2007:183 ff.). I then calculated each aspect that was brought up in the mixed category. I also calculated the total amount of aspects. The frequency tables can be seen in chapter 3 and that is where I answer my research questions and therefore display how the aspects are related to one other by looking at the publications in the mixed category. In chapter 3.1, I problematize the findings in a complete discussion in chapter 3.2 and make a conclusion in chapter 4. As ideas are the focus, the primary material publications have been organized by their title in the references in chapter 5 ("Title of publication"). Other data can be seen in the Appendix in chapter 6.

1.4. Material

I believe the picture in the media is more straightforward than in official documents. Also, for my purpose, the narratives in media are the important ones to look at, given that the media is the public's primary source of information and a platform for public debate.

There are many publications about "Saudi gate", as well as other cases of democracies trading weapons under questionable circumstances. It is important to set guidelines and limitations on which material to look at. For the empirical foundation, I am focusing on the debate on Sweden's military export to Saudi Arabia. I chose to concentrate on Swedish media and its coverage from the day of the revelation i.e., March 6, 2012, until the following year.

Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet are renowned newspapers for publishing accurate debates. Both newspapers have liberal and center-right wing profiles. This could be seen as a representation of the traditional media landscape in Sweden when the debate started (there simply was no nationwide leftwing morning newspaper at this time and the evening press is sometimes considered to be less reliable).

The general trend among domestic journalists is that they tend to be center-left leaning. Sympathies lie with The Left Party, The Liberal Party and The Green Party. This might cause some confusion. On one hand, newspapers would seem to be dominated by the left. On the other hand, a journalist in their profession is expected to be neutral. But for the critical reader this is where the problem lies; how could one stay objective? According to the logic of profession, there are stronger factors that influence the journalist in their profession than personal thinking. It is also true that the making of news is a collective creation where many have a say. Another thing to consider is that journalists are not likely to be biased toward a certain political party. This is because they tend to vote for different parties over time. In fact, a Swedish journalist is more flexible than the average voter (Asp 2006). Newspapers do influence people but there seems to be no liberal nor a left-green agenda.

1.4.1. Selection of material

A year is a sufficient period to examine this event, as it was sparingly discussed during the last months of 2012 and seemed to have been forgotten by March 2013. The case was brought up again in 2015, as well as in 2017 and more recently in the discussion of the conflict in Yemen, although it did not take that into account. I chose an extensive number of articles in order to be able to alter the chances of generalization. But an essay is not a dissertation and I had to make limitations.

The publications I used were primary sources representing Svenska Dagbladet's and Dagens Nyheter's take on the topic. Still, there are voices that are mentioned or referred to as secondhand information. However, these agents are less significant, as I am focusing on the comparability of the moral aspects represented by the scheme and what is found in the newspapers, which, as mentioned earlier on, should be seen as a representation of the traditional media landscape in Sweden from 2012-2013.

2. Moral aspects of military export- a scheme

Is military export just like any other trade or are there moral aspects to consider? The analysis scheme is constructed with the later understanding in mind: that it is more complex than just the economical aspect. The scheme is an integration of theory and method which represents moral aspects of military export: Economy, Environment (including climate change), Human rights, Neutrality, Peace (including stability), Regime, Security, Sovereignty and Transparency. The aspects are broad concepts that were pointed out as being important moral aspects of military export by EU in The Council Common Position 2008/944/CFSP (see the summary in chapter 1.2), SPAS (2021) and by Björn Hagelin, Wilhelm Agrell and Vera Mazzara. The aspects are not exclusive, which means that they might overlap. The peace aspect also involves another concept - stability (as I did not find theory to back it up as an aspect on its own). The scheme consists of nine aspects and there is one additional category called "Mixed." Publications that highlight one area have been organized into the aspect the publication represents. Meanwhile publications that cover various aspects have been put into the *mixed* category.

Aspects
Economy
Environment (& climate change)
Human rights
Neutrality
Peace (& stability)
Regime
Security
Sovereignty
Transparency
Extra Category
Mixed

2.1. Aspects

Each aspect is presented below in alphabetical order. The number of words covering each aspect does not equal its importance (some concepts are more intuitive while others require further explanation).

2.1.1. Economy

The phenomenon of military export is closely related to the economy aspect, which can be understood as maintaining scarce resources. In the legislation, there is no explicit aim stating that the Swedish weapons industry's existence is due to financial reasons or to create employment (SPAS 2021). However, military export has economic implications making it a relevant feature of the scheme.

The total global military expenditure rose to \$1981 billion in 2020 (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute [SIPRI] 2021) and Saudi Arabia is internationally considered to be the largest importer of military products and services in the world. But according to the Swedish government's writ (2021), ISP claim that Saudi Arabia is ranked the 29th largest importer from 2015 until 2019, this is because of halting deliveries.

The Swedish weapons industry in 2020 (including 50 % of the armaments manufactured in Sweden), were produced for the foreign market. Billions of SEK is invested in the Swedish industry, as it receives state funding for larger weapons systems, for instance, in the development of the military aircraft JAS 39 "Gripen". On top of that, the industry is promoted by the government, the Royal family and through the state-owned company, Swedish Export Credit Corporation, which finances Swedish export (SPAS 2018a).

In terms of a nation's economy as a whole, military export (like any other export), increases the country's balance of payments. From a business management perspective, a larger amount of quantity (which is the result of both domestic production and production by foreign demand), makes the profit larger for Swedish enterprises. Also, if an economy of scale is established, the price of each unit of output decreases.

Sweden is sensitive to export as the current account balance is positive, meaning that the country exports more than it import (Statistics Sweden 2021). Today, 185 enterprises have permission to manufacture armaments in Sweden and among those, there are 58 companies and 2 authorities who export weapons and other armaments (including expertise and consultant services). The industry also creates working opportunities. In 2016, when it was last measured, the industry employed 11.000 people (SPAS 2018b).

The economy aspect can be used in order to condemn or to justify military export. As presented in the chapter "Semantics and regulations" there are restrictions, but one could call for a free market, more regulation of military export and complete prohibition as a part of disarmament when considering this aspect.

2.1.2. Environment (including climate change)

Stephen Kretzmann, Oil Change International's director, stated during the Paris climate change conference in 2015 that: "If we're going to win on climate, we have to make sure we are counting carbon completely, not exempting different things like military emissions because it is politically inconvenient to count them" (Neslen 2015).

Perpetrators of violence are deeds led by people against others. But victims of war and military export are not only human. Various species and ecosystems are affected by the environmental harm before, during and even decades after war and conflict, which can be attributed to military export (Weir 2020).

Today, scientists argue that the environmental damage of war should be considered a war crime, as "The brutal toll of war on the natural world is well documented, destroying the livelihoods of vulnerable communities and driving many species, already under intense pressure, towards extinction" (Watts 2019).

Climate change and conflict are intertwined, as conflicts might be an outcome of climate change (Mazzara 2019) and conflicts can become military when there is easy access to weapons (see the peace aspect), making it a relevant feature of the scheme. Military export can be condemned and justified on the amount and effort the environment and climate are considered.

2.1.3. Human rights

According to Swedish legislation, Sweden should not export to "states where severe and extensive violations of human rights are taking place". By exporting to a country that does not respect human rights, the seller can directly and indirectly be responsible for the violation of human rights. Weapons and armaments can be used to kill, threaten and, in different ways, violate human rights (SPAS 2021).

Human rights are "... equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family" which have paved the way for the adoption of various human rights treaties (UNGA 1948). In article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human rights (UDHR), it is written that: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." One pillar of such rights is respect for plurality (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights [OHCHR] 2018):

Human rights are rights inherent to all human beings, whatever our nationality, place of residence, sex, national or ethnic origin, color, religion, language, or any other status. We are all equally entitled to our human rights without discrimination. These rights are all interrelated, interdependent, and indivisible.

UDHR have been criticized for being Western ideas. There are various interpretations of human rights as well as the difference and engagement in ratification of human rights. E.g., in many orthodox societies, women's and LGBT-people's rights are not associated with human rights in general. Saudi Arabia abstained from the vote when the UN General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, as it was considered Western and clashing with Islamic law (Abiad 2008:60) but is a party of the Genocide Convention,

Slavery Convention and the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery (Human Rights Watch 1992).

Saudi Arabia has banned independent Human Rights' organisations and the country is violating Human Rights in many ways: people are detained and arrested with no good reason. Torture in police custody is common: for instance, by flogging and amputating limbs for several crimes followed by deficient trials. Saudi Arabia is one of world's prolific executioners and executions are even increasing. There is neither free speech nor are protests even allowed. Discrimination against the Shi'a minority limits their access to government services and employment (Amnesty International UK 2020). Women are still oppressed by the remnants of the guardianship system (where women need a guardian, a husband or another male family member for important decisions in their lives). Reforms have been made recently, whereby women now can drive, travel and are said to be protected against sexual harassment and employment discrimination, but the road to equality is long according to testimonies by anonymous Saudi women online (Zayadin 2020).

Military export to countries which violate human rights can be seen as a legitimization of the state's conduct, and it can be harder to criticize such violations when the seller is profiting from military export (SPAS 2021). Therefore, human rights and work to obtaining such rights, could be an aspect to consider when condemning or justifying military export and making it a relevant feature of the scheme.

2.1.4. Neutrality

Björn Hagelin argues that there is a small leap from military export to military collaboration (1985:68). That is the reason behind the relevance of neutrality as an aspect of military export. The policy was the guiding principle for Sweden's foreign affairs since 1918 with the motive to preserve peace. This created security for Sweden and prevented the country from being a part of the first and second world war (Scott 2002). The consequence of such policy was a domestic production of arms (Åkerström 2018:16).

Being neutral never meant independent, as Sweden had strong bonds with other Scandinavian countries through a military defence union founded in 1948 and was already a member of the United Nations by then. Sweden's non-alignment can also be called into question, as Nazi troops were allowed to pass Sweden on their way to Norway and Finland in the 1940's (Scott 2002) In addition to that, Sweden signed a top-secret agreement in 1954 with the US, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand regarding collaboration and intelligence sharing (Vinthagen Simpson 2013).

Today, its tight bond with the European Union, the cooperation with NATO and the fact that Swedish armaments contain parts originating from subcontractors abroad is a fact. However, the argument of neutrality is still used to legitimize Sweden's military export. The Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society claims that it is an uninformative description of Sweden's International relations (SPAS 2021).

The hegemony after the cold war, where the USA was deemed the only superpower, seems to be over. China plays a significant role in today's economic and political scene and Russia's warfare abroad and online is the world order of today. This might create market shares for the Swedish military industry, as Swedish military products and services can be promoted as a relatively neutral option in comparison with the major players on the global scene.

2.1.5. Peace (including stability)

The access of weapons and the international arms trade is contributing to the escalation of war. Conflicts tend to become armed conflicts. Also, weaponry and armaments last for a very long time where they can be re-used over decades and spread to other places that were not the intended destination. Also, military export is often a part of an agreement whereby the seller is assisting the buyer in building a domestic weapons industry. This is also contributing to the general militarization of the world (SPAS 2021). All these arguments make peace and stability relevant features of the scheme.

“Bombing for peace is like screwing for virginity” is a quote attributed to the pacifistic movement. There are many definitions of peace but a famous one was coined by Johan Galtung which divides peace into two types: negative peace, (which is the absence of violence and the fear of it. This, in practice, means “not negative” but “indifferent” relations where there is a cease-fire). Positive peace, on the other hand, means the presence of harmony, intended or not (Galtung Institut [G-I] 2014). Some researchers have even moved on and abandoned the definition of peace as an exhaustive and singular concept (Dietrich 2012).

Going by various interpretations of peace, there are many solutions on how to create peace: by handling conflict, which, from a realistic point of view, is a power game between states and the manipulation of such in order to gain more power or a peaceful conflict resolution where destructive behaviour is created as a cause of unsatisfied needs (Aggestam & Höglund 2012:28).

This aspect also includes the concept of stability, as I did not find theory to define it or back it up as an aspect on its own. The definition of stability is: “a situation in which something such as an economy, company or a system can continue in a regular and successful way without unexpected changes”. In this context, it refers to political stability (Cambridge Dictionary 2021).

From an altruistic standpoint, it is possible to argue that it is “plague” and “cholera”; the choice between two unpleasant and undesirable options - to achieve a ceasefire through violence or to allow systematic violence by an actor or several actors in conflict, thus risking the lives of yet more civilians. This can be a dilemma for those involved internally within a state, or externally. It questions if passivity is always honourable and raises the issue of humanitarian interventions. This can be passed as either “consequential” or “circumstantial” ethics. The aspect of peace and stability can easily be related to violence and conflict. Violence as bad in every instance, considered as circumstantial or even as a legitimate method for any purpose. On the same grounds one could be in favour of, or opposed to, conflict.

Dietrich Fischer, Wilhelm Nolte and Jan Øberg (1990:77) argue that preparation is the key to achieve peace.

Supplying weapons, armaments and related services is getting people killed, wounded, raped and exposed to coercion as a conflict strategy, especially where there are lots of weapons available (SPAS 2021). When this occurs, it can be argued that military export is not aiding the peace process.

2.1.6. Regime

Military export is legitimizing non-democratic regimes and is discouraging the path to democracy (SPAS 2021).

Robert Dahl (2005) coined the phrase “Polyarchy” which are the minimum requirements for a regime to be considered democratic. It consists of six requirements: 1. Elected officials, 2. Free, fair, and frequent elections, 3. Freedom of expression 4. Alternative sources of information, 5. Associational autonomy and 6. Inclusive citizenship.

Democracy (and regimes in general) can be seen as phenomenon that could be graded where a regime is more or less democratic or be seen as dichotomies where regimes are labeled as absolutely democratic or authoritarian. David Collier and Robert Adcock (1999) argue that the decision to choose one approach rather than the other is built into the framing of research questions, its context and goals.

Most people do not live in “full democracies” (Freedom House 2019). War and revolutions have been conducted as the starting process of democratization, or at least in the name of democracy. There is a well-established theory called “democratic peace” that suggests that democracies rarely fight each other (Reiter, 2012). Democracy can be both seen as an intrinsic or extrinsic value, an instrument for something else that is desired to be achieved.

In terms of the case that is being discussed here, Saudi Arabia is a royal dictatorship, an autocracy that is an absolute monarchy (Wahman, Teorell & Hadenius 2013:24); a common type of governing in the Arab states of the Persian Gulf (Hauge & Harrop 2007:77 ff.). The kingdom is a rentier state and has a considerable global influence due to its natural gas and oil reserves. Saudi Arabia’s regime is about ruling over governing (Hauge, Harrop & McCormick 2019:95, 137,357). The political rule is built on a hereditary succession rather than a primogeniture rule (Cheibub, Ghandi & Vreeland 2010: 85) and reflect the influence of King Abdul Aziz bin Abdul Rahman Al Saud, known in the West as Ibn Saud. The King led the country from the beginning to the middle of the 20th century. The ruling royal family of today has many members, due to his majesty’s marriage with hundreds of wives to make the kingdom’s most powerful families come together. (Hauge et al. 2007:78; Hauge et al. 2019:139).

King Fahd (bin Abdulaziz Al Saud) was the son of Ibn Saud. King Fahd made the Saudi succession a process characterized by more consensus through a committee that was established to advise King Fahd on successional matters. José Antonio Cheibub et al. (2010:85) stated: “If there are rules of succession, they may

not always be followed. But when they are broken, it typically happens with the blessing of key family members.”

King Salaman (bin Abdulaziz Al Saud) was the ruler from 2005 and the succession of the kingdom is formalized through an “Alliance Council” consisting of 28 family members. The council appointed King Salman’s son, Prince Mohammed bin Salman Al Saud to be the heir to the throne in 2017. Journalist Jamal Khashoggi was killed by the order of the Crown Prince and criticism for Saudi Arabia’s human rights record has even intensified since the Crown Prince was appointed (Al Jazeera 2020; Barnes & Sanger 2021).

The core of the government consists of 200 princes, all sons, and grandsons of Ibn Saud. Government posts are given on the basis of good behavior and loyalty to the ruler. The political and religious power are interlinked yet separated: the Al Saud family handles the economy and military, while the descendants of the founder of Wahhabism, ibn Abd-al-Wahhab, have traditionally been responsible for the religious establishment (Hauge et al. 2019:137). Saudi Arabia is an Islamic state where the Quran is the directive of the political administration and serves as the constitution. Since 1992 there are other documents defining the regime (Utrikespolitiska institutet [UI] 2021). It is built on Sharia law and does contain a few rights which labels the regime as Authoritarian rather than Totalitarian, because common people have the right to request the ruler on individual matters. Also, in past decades there has been a consultative council advising the King on “issues of importance” (Hauge et al. 2007:78). There are several movements that could evolve into parties but political parties are banned. Despite this, Saudi Islamists made a symbolic request to King Salaman to form the party called “Islamic Umma” in 2011. The demand for political participation and insight of the rule is growing (Hauge et al. 2019:137, 273). “The National Assembly Party” was formed in 2020 which, in comparison with the Islamists, is a true opposition party operated by Saudi Human Rights activists and researchers living in exile, the party for democracy (Al Jazeera 2020).

The regime of a nation can be an aspect to consider for the supplier when engaging in military export, as democracy and state capacity can be instruments to reach economic growth and human development (Norris 2012). Also, it can be seen as a contradiction - on one hand, to lobby for democracy abroad as a lead of Sweden’s Foreign Affairs and Aid program and on the other, to prevent democratization to occur by selling weapons, armaments, and related services to authoritarian or totalitarian regimes (SPAS 2021), making regime a relevant feature of the scheme.

2.1.7. Security

A potential buyer of Swedish armaments and related services can only officially become a buyer, if it is in the security policy interest of Sweden (SPAS 2021). The subject of security is traditionally defined as a nation protecting itself against an external military threat but has, since the cold war, been widened to include the formula of protecting any subject against diverse types of threats identified

subjectively, rather than objectively (Buzan 2010a, 2010b). Security could therefore be non-military and even on a global and regional scale.

“Civil security” is much more faceted than the traditional and military view of security and can be seen as the nation’s aspiration for stability, sovereignty and flexibility during the current circumstances, regardless of periods of tension and war or détente and peace (Agrell 1984:33). An individual can be the subject of security which makes us deal with human rights. The shift from the nation to the individual as the subject for security is well described in Tracy Chapman’s (1988) song “Why?” - “Why are the missiles called peacekeepers when they're aimed to kill? Why is a woman still not safe when she's in her home?” The song calls for a prioritization of human security. This idea was conceptualized by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty through the report - The Responsibility to Protect (R2P). The starting point was the awful crimes that occurred in the former Republic of Yugoslavia and Rwanda in the 1990’s. A result of R2P was that the Public International Law was tightened (United Nations Association of Sweden [UNA Sweden] 2005). Military export can be justified or condemned based on the threat it is supposed to counteract and the subject of the security (Agrell 1984:33), making it a relevant feature of the scheme.

2.1.8. Sovereignty

Sovereignty is related to military power in order to accomplish traditional security (Agrell 1984:28). Weapon, armaments and related services are pre-requisites for military power, which clarifies the connection with military export, making it a relevant feature of the scheme.

Jean Bodin was one of the first to formulate the very idea of the national state, as Bodin in his *Six livres de la République* defines the state as the one having sovereign power. There is only one sovereign, the state has a monopoly on violence. A further look at the history of our legal systems helps us understand this better. Here, natural right plays a significant role. In the early 17th century, the ancient ideas of natural right had its renaissance, courtesy of Hugo Grotius. His aim was *bellum iustum*; justifying war. Self-defense was the most important right for the law of nature. This was both referring to the individual and the state (Nordin 2003: 300 ff.) Focusing on the present, regardless of what some scholars believe about the globalization process, military allies such as the NATO and UN troops are built on bi or multinational agreements between nation states. This commonly accepted balance of power is an old principal (Haldén & Hallenberg 2009:126). The nation state’s right of power of its territory is expressed in the Charter of The United Nations and is based on the system of Westphalia (UN 1945; Encyclopedia Britannica 2021a). It resulted in the Montevideo convention where the classic definition of the state turned into international law in 1933 (Encyclopedia Britannica 2021b).

The argument of sovereignty is a two-way street: Saudi Arabia wants military products and, preferably, to have control over the production of such products and therefore buys this expertise from Sweden. But Sweden is also a

Sovereign. As such, it has the power to decide whether to continue its military export, regulate its military export further, or to stop being a supplier completely.

2.1.9. Transparency

The UN organ of disarmament (UNODA) says that “Governments can report their annual military spending to the United Nations. This may increase confidence among States within regions and beyond”. They maintain that this should be done, “to increase transparency and build confidence among States. If States submit reports every year, MilEx (UN’s Report on Military Expenditures) will provide insight on military spending patterns and contribute to increased international trust and security” (UNODA 2017). The UN has received reports from more than 170 States (UN Register of Conventional Arms [UNROCA] 2007) but these are official statistics. What is unofficially sold and bought we do not know, lending some truth to the one-time president of France, Charles de Gaulle’s quote, “Silence is the ultimate weapon of power.

We should also keep in mind that these statistics only covers weapons, not expertise and consultant services. Those might be counted as civil but in the end are often hired to create an output for military purposes. As explained in chapter 1.2., only a few members of the Export Control Council, ISP and the Government have full insight into the decisions taken over Sweden’s military export. In other countries, similar councils examine the decisions afterwards rather than take part in the actual decision-making process (Åkerström 2016).

Military export does come with little transparency and a lot of secrecy. Therefore, military export can be justified or condemned in relation to the amount of transparency such trade involves, as transparency could be a path to trust which can lead to international cooperation regarding disarmament and arms control (UNODA n.d.). This makes transparency a relevant feature of the scheme.

3. Moral aspects of military export detected in the debate on “Saudi gate”

The central aim is to uncover moral aspects of the principal question of military export. The more tangible goal is to explore such aspects in relation to empirics: which moral aspects of military export can be found in the debate on “Saudi gate” and the aftermath of it and how do the aspects relate to one another? My initial understanding was right; the debate on Saudi Arabia entails several moral aspects of military export but not all aspects could be found in the publications. The first three tables are explained below and further in this chapter, the value conflicts found in the debate are presented in order to familiarize you with some of the publications.

3.1. Findings in the publications

The “pure publications” – highlighting one aspect each

By looking at the first table we see the “pure publications” and their frequency in terms of both the reading of them (a total of 265 publications read several times) and analyzing them with the newspapers. The percentage was possible to extract following an extensive work scheme to find out which aspects they represent. 218 articles covered one aspect each and transparency was the most common aspect found. Economy and regime were the other commonly found aspects, with the others scarcely mentioned.

Aspects in pure SvD+DN publications	Number of aspects in pure SvD + DN publications	Percentage of each aspect in the pure SvD + DN publications
Economy	45	20,6%
Environment (& climate change)	0	0,0%
Human Rights	3	1,4%
Neutrality	2	0,9%
Peace (& stability)	5	2,3%
Regime	37	17,0%
Security	2	0,9%
Sovereignty	1	0,5%
Transparency	123	56,4%
Total	218	100,0%

“Mixed publications” – covering several aspects

47 of the 265 publications were mixed, meaning they brought up various aspects in each publication. 130 aspects were detected in the 47 publications. Among those, regime, transparency and economy continued to be the most common aspects, as this table resembles the table of the “pure publications”

Aspects in mixed SvD+DN publications	Number of aspects in mixed SvD + DN publications	Percentage of each aspect in the mixed SvD + DN publications
Economy	22	16,9%
Environment (& climate change)	0	0,0%
Human Rights	19	14,6%
Neutrality	5	3,8%
Peace (& stability)	13	10,0%
Regime	29	22,3%
Security	10	7,7%
Sovereignty	3	2,3%
Transparency	29	22,3%
Total	130	100,0%

The number of aspects brought up in each article can be seen in the Appendix. As we can see above, aspects such as human rights, peace and security, neutrality and sovereignty are more frequently found in the mixed category than in the pure publications which focusses on one aspect.

Total amount of aspects – both the “pure” and “mixed” publications

In the last table we can see the total of aspects in both “pure” and “mixed” publications. Some aspects are not as common: human rights and peace for example. It would appear that neutrality, security and sovereignty are also rare and the environment aspect is nonexistent.

SvD+DN all Aspects	Number of all aspects in SvD+DN	Percentage of all aspects in SvD+DN
Economy	67	19,3%
Environment (& climate change)	0	0,0%
Human Rights	22	6,3%
Neutrality	7	2,0%
Peace (& stability)	18	5,2%
Regime	66	19,0%
Security	12	3,4%
Sovereignty	4	1,1%
Transparency	152	43,7%
Total	348	100,0%

The economy aspect a part of the main conflict between aspects

Economy was the only aspect which was equally used for the condemnation and justification of military export. When the economical aspect is brought up, the main conflict of values is highlighted, for the economical aspect is the primary aspect in conflict with the others. This is a leading article (“Socialdemokrater och Moderater i samma båt”), which is a pure publication in DN that is highlighting economy:

The Social Democrats’ and the Moderate Party’s resistance in condemning weapons export to undemocratic regimes is based on the consequences for the defense industry. Its dependence on foreign affairs has increased along with cut downs in defense. If one should be selling one cannot be too picky about who the customers are.

“Cannot be too picky” in this context, means favoring economy over other aspects. The most common one in conflict with economy was the regime aspect, as mentioned in the quote above. Frequently, there was a call for such prioritization but where do we draw the line?

DN received a letter to editorial (“Hur ska vi hantera Saudiarabien?”) by the citizen Göran Settergren:

The Swedish relationship with Saudi Arabia is being discussed from various angles. A dictatorship or non-Democracy? How shall one relate to it? It is a common opinion that we should not sell munitions to Saudi Arabia. But should we break already existing agreements? No one can claim that there is an ongoing civil war in Saudi Arabia. Recently the debate sharpened when it became known that a county in Northern Sweden had bought ambulances from a Polish company which also delivers tanks to Saudi Arabia. Can the county continue to buy ambulances from that company? What is the next step? May the person who is sick look for help at a county hospital and health care centers or is that considered an indirect support of Saudi Arabia? Is it politically correct to socialize with a person in contact with the county?

The quote above not only portrays the general opinion raised in the debate to favor a democratic regime over an unregulated market but also displays the challenge of what the regulation should entail; where it begins and where it ends.

Samples from publications in the mixed category

When looking at the “mixed category”, it was possible to see how the nine aspects are related, intertwined and how some aspects are prioritized over others. Not all the publications can be quoted, but these are the clearest and most interesting statements and value conflicts, which together, form a complex network of values.

The regulation of the market: economy versus other aspects

Urban Ahlin, the Social Democratic spokesperson of foreign affairs, states that the deal with Saudi Arabia cannot be terminated in SvD (“S vill inte bryta Saudiavtal”):

I don't want to give any expectations of terminating the agreement. Why? Well, all collaborations within the defense industry are built to be long lasting. If other countries see that Sweden is terminating deals every time, there is a domestic political turbulence and we wouldn't be able to sell armaments at all in the future.

Sven Hirdman, the Swedish inspector of weapon trade 1987-1994, clarifies in DN (“Vapenexport. Svårt att tolka situationen för mänskliga rättigheter I Saudiarabien. Därför tecknade Sverige avtalet med Saudiarabien”) that previous laws were founded on the several aspects:

...only the export that the government has given the permission for is legal... since the export concerns the country's (Sweden's) bonds with others but also on Sweden's ability to defend itself and security. According to the constitution the government is responsible for this. That is why the weapons trade, in some regards, is confidential.

Here the economy is regulated due to two other aspects: Sweden's sovereignty and security. This is why the regulation is made, which creates a value conflict between transparency on the one hand and sovereignty plus security on the other (with the latter two being favored). Similarly, as argued by Hans Linde (mp of The Left Party) in DN (“Vi kräver korten på bordet om samarbetet med Saudiarabien”), there is a conflict between peace and disarmament on the one hand and military export and the economical aspect on the other. The Left Party favors the first. The same pattern can also be seen by Gustav Fridolin (Green Party leader) who in DN (“Jag reseverade mig när KU godkände det saudiska samarbetet”) says that democracy and human rights and “Sweden's interest in the long term” and its reputation, should be prioritized, rather than the economical aspect.

The citizen Sivert Aronsson wrote a letter to the DN editorial (“Vapenexporten. Svenskt hyckleri om mänskliga rättigheter”):

Sweden's nonalignment gives us the exalted role as mediator and peacekeeper in worrying times. But as time goes on the truth is coming forth that Sweden is lacking allies to split the costs with, leading to an over production of weapons that we cannot bear the costs for on our own. Due to that we must dump the weapons no matter where and to whom.

Aronsson is portraying the economical aspect as a cause of the aspect of neutrality, that Sweden is prevented to prioritize the aspect of peace due to its military export.

In “Gripen slåss om tre storaffärer” in SvD, an unknown journalist writes, “But the weapons trade, in general, consists of heavily loaded deals. Few markets

are as dominated by aggressive competition as the global market of fighter aircrafts, as enormous amounts are at stake and the deals are surrounded by lobbying and corruption.”

In a review in SvD of a play at Teater Tribunalen (that was portraying Sweden’s military export, independently from “Saudi gate”), the journalist Lars Ring says: “There is already a tradition to bypass ethical considerations – think of German soldier transportation during the Second World War. Precisely this Tribunalen reminds us with certain clarity. First comes food then morality – to mention Brecht.” (“Ingen upprörd agitation om vapenexport”).

Transparency for whom?

In ”Regeringskansliet gav klartecken. Saudier besökte hemlig svensk bunker” in DN, in ”Saudiskt visit på hemlig bas. Regeringskansliet godkände besöket” in SvD and in ”Saudier besökte hemlig bunker” in SvD, a value conflict is presented between what is seen as security for Sweden and the insight the Saudi delegation got when it was given permission to visit a Swedish defence facility. The articles call into question the transparency aspect. Transparency for whom? The citizen’s right to transparency when it comes to military export is not discussed here, but rather the focus is a conflict between the supervision of the Saudi regime in building an anti-tank missile factory, versus Sweden’s own security.

Publications bringing up the regime and how it is intertwined with other aspects

The defense minister, Karin Enström, claimed that it is a “blunt instrument” to call Saudi Arabia a dictatorship and was quoted in SvD (“Tydligt att Enström spelar dubbelt”) and Carl Bildt, from the Moderate Party and prime minister from 1991-1994, described the Saudi regime as: “just a family enterprise”, as mentioned in DN (“Låt den utbrände utrikesministern fara”). For Peter Rådberg, (mp from The Green Party) and UD in SvD, Saudi Arabia is certainly not democratic (“Tydligt att Enström spelar dubbelt”).

The strongest call for stopping military export to undemocratic regimes was the letter to the editorial in SvD opinion by Madawi Al-Rasheed et al. (representatives in the academic, private and civil spheres in the MENA-region): “...Nothing compares to our consternation when we got to know that Sweden not only is arming dictatorships, but also actively is helping the regime in Saudi Arabia to strengthen its military capacity by conspiring the construction of an advanced weapon industry” The authors continue “It is naïve to believe that this kind of collaboration is not favoring the regime in their struggle to hold back the Arab spring and to quiet all opposition against its rule.” (“Ett svek mot kampen för demokrati”). This can be interpreted as the aspect of regime which was strengthened in Saudi Arabia when Sweden chose to favor the economical aspect over the fact that Saudi Arabia is a royal dictatorship. The regime aspect here is considered to be graded rather than a dichotomy; that strengthening the military capacity not only

underlined Saudi Arabia's sovereignty but also consolidated its authoritarian regime even further.

The secretary of The Swedish Peace Movement, Rolf Lindahl, displays several aspects in a similar fashion in DN: "I expect that there's a lot in this that we don't know of. It is noteworthy that a dictatorship is dictating the terms and conditions for a Swedish democracy, demanding confidentiality." ("Svenska freds kräver lagändringar"). Lindahl is saying that an undemocratic regime is favoring secrecy which is commonly seen as the opposite of transparency.

In "Svensk vapenexport. Nya avtal med diktaturer som Saudiarabien får inte slutas efter 2014" and "S måste ta initiativ till en ny modern syn på vapenexport" (both in DN), members of The Swedish Social Democratic Party called for a sharpening of the legislation, since Sweden is a part of the EU. It therefore doesn't need to export that much, as the Swedish defense industry is mainly owned by foreign enterprises today and is built on imported components. A democratic regime is seen as an extrinsic value: that democracy is generating a respect for human rights, which is desirable. Conversely, those undemocratic regimes are violating human rights, which is not desirable.

Other mixed publications bringing up human rights

Allan Widman (mp of the Liberal Party, at this time known as "The people's party") sums up the discussion in DN: "Weapons are not like any other commodity and in the hands of a dictatorship they will, eventually, be used against their own population." ("De rödgröna öppnade för de avslöjade affärerna"). Widman says that it is the very logic of a weapons company to prioritize the economical aspect over human rights and that a criterion of democracy is not enough; that transparency is needed on top to prevent other military export scandals.

Less common aspects and their connections

There are very few "pure publications" which feature neutrality or sovereignty and they are seldomly brought up in the mix with other aspects. But if they are, they are often seen in the light of more dominant aspects, such as economy, regime and transparency. As we can see from the tables, environment was not discussed at all.

3.2. Discussion

Moral aspects of military export have been detected in the debate on Saudi Arabia which is a part of the overriding aim to uncover moral aspects of military export. This can be interpreted as an outcome where only a few aspects would be considered important by anyone. But as the scheme is a chart of possibilities derived from important international legal documents, scholars and NGOs, many more aspects could have been highlighted. The frequency of certain aspects shows an imbalance in comparison with others, as the values the aspects are built on are

favored over others. This means that more aspects and a more nuanced debate of them could have been brought up in the public arena, which the newspaper publications supposedly represent.

To my surprise, the environment (including climate change) was not mentioned at all and I can only speculate as to the reasons behind the non-compliance with the scheme. The effects of military export and therefore military conflict and war on the environment and climate, might be unknown to the public and/or is not prioritized and therefore not worth mentioning among the journalists and others that oversee the media.

Economy was the only aspect which was equally used for condemnation *and* to justify military export. The other aspects were often used to condemn military export. This makes me question the economical aspect. As discussed previously, are economy and military export too closely linked? I admit that it can be tricky to differentiate between the two at times, but the economical aspect should be seen as an aspect that is one of the key reasons for the existence of the phenomenon of military export, as trade has an inbuilt economical drive in it. Similarly, it is hard to distinguish military export from war: military export is a part of war and military conflict and can, as explained in chapter 2.1.5 (where the peace aspect is presented) be the cause that makes a civil conflict turn into a military conflict or war.

I would also like to address stability as being a part of the peace aspect. This was done for practical reasons, as I lacked the evidential theory to present it as an aspect on its own. A refining of the scheme, will, I think, lead to an improvement of these moral aspects. There is a theory by Wilhelm Agrell suggesting stability to be a part of the security aspect instead, but I concluded that it would be better to present it as an aspect on its own. This, after all, is a concept of its own, yet related to others, as can be seen in The EU Council Common Position 2008/944/CFSP (see summary in chapter 1.2).

Another understanding coming out of the discussion when applying the aspects to the debate on Saudi Arabia, is the fine line between what is termed “military” and what is seen as *civil* products and services. This can be seen in the regulations of Swedish military export and in the ensuing debate, which can be seen in the light of militarization as a process (as Cynthia Enloe describes it). Drawing the line is a challenge which can be seen in the letter to the DN editorial sent by Göran Settergren (presented in chapter 3). It was necessary to go broad when using the term “military export” instead of “weapons trade” as the debate on Saudi Arabia was primarily about consultant services and not about weapons and armaments. A wider definition came with a cost of being vague; the outcome turned out the way it did as a result of my research design and the definitions were a part of its style. A similar dilemma (as with the economy aspect) can be seen when looking at the aspects individually, as they tend to merge into each other and are often interlinked. But I would argue that this balancing act was, in general, well-managed.

Going back to the aspects and their frequency, the debate in the newspapers centred around the very core of political science: classifying regimes. The fact that Saudi Arabia is an authoritarian regime dominated the debate and there was a strong call for restrictions in the Swedish legislation based on the regime-type of the

importer. What struck me was the writer's love for democracy and their light-hearted confusion of democracy as good in itself (intrinsic value) and the potential positive outcomes of democracy (extrinsic values). In the publications where the regime aspect is presented (however briefly), democracy is carelessly connected to state capacity. These concepts are related but should preferably be investigated as two aspects on their own. The same tendencies could be spotted when talking about human rights and peace: human rights, peace and military export can be studied on their own and should not only be seen as an outcome of democracy.

One element that would have enhanced the Appendix is to categorize each publication according to whether the aspect(s) in it are used to condone or condemn military export completely, or if the argument is circumstantial. The only way to get this information now, is to reread every single one of the many publications, which, I concluded, would not be an efficient use of time. The visual design of the scheme could also be more aesthetically pleasing.

A problem was identified in the Appendix versus the References. Sometimes identical content is published under various headlines or in newspaper attachments, or online and in physical newspapers which led to a difference in the dates between what is displayed in the links in the References in chapter 5.1 and in the Appendix in chapter 6. This occurred as I initially studied the physical newspapers' publication, but I wanted to attach the links of the identical e-publications in the References to create a smooth access to the material.

Moving on to another semantical and philosophical issue; are all aspects automatically moral? By referring to morality in the descriptive sense, I argue that the aspects and the values those entail are not universal but commonly known (as they are found in legal documents, i.e. regulations and accentuated by scholars and NGOs). This opens the issue for the beholder to subjectively define some aspects as "moral" and some not. The writers of the publications make their claims based on their own morals. Perhaps the inbuilt values in those aspects we favor are the ones we consider to be "more moral" than others we do not prioritize. The "Moral Aspects of Military Export" is a suitable title as the essay seeks to uncover aspects of the principal moral question of military export. The debate shows us that there are certain values that appear to be more important than others in condemning and/or justifying military export. This allows the descriptive sense of morality to border on the normative sense. This was not the aim of the essay but an inevitable sidetrack of it. It raises questions within me and probably you as well. We ask ourselves: "What is right and what is wrong?" We define which values to prioritize and that enables us to take a stand. Our personal view on ethics gives us the answer: to condemn, absolutely, military export as a phenomenon; to view it as a legitimate business in a free market; or as trade that circumstantially can be legitimized within a regulated market.

4. Conclusion

The central aim is to uncover moral aspects of the principal question of military export. The more tangible goal is to explore such aspects in relation to empirics: which moral aspects of military export can be found in the debate on “Saudi gate” and the aftermath of it and how do the aspects relate to one another?

This central aim and the tangible goal were fulfilled as the scheme is a useful analysis tool for discussing military export. It even built a bridge between the descriptive sense of morality and the normative sense of it. The scheme could be further refined, and the refinements are mentioned in the discussion in chapter 3.2 would entail turning the theoretical ambition from exposing the moral question of military export (by creating the scheme and testing it on empirics) to theoretical development, as the scheme, (an analysis tool which is an integrated method and theory) is improved. The study was ambitious, and an extensive number of publications were analyzed and explored.

Conclusively, the media seems to only focus on a few aspects, which might create a knowledge gap between citizens, the media itself and politicians. Just being shown some moral aspects of military export (or a high frequency of a few) shapes the reader’s perception of military export, giving a simplified picture. But moral aspects are many and highly nuanced and in fact, interact in a complex network of values (as described in chapter 3.1 and seen in further detail in the Appendix in chapter 6).

4.1. Further research

Adding the aspects “stability” and “state capacity” to the scheme would be interesting to explore in relation to empirics. The reason behind the outcome is also worth investigating, for instance why the environmental impact of military export is ignored. Pia Andersson & Anja Skoglund did an essay on the legislative part of “Saudi gate.” The juridical field of military export could be studied even further, preferably with a focus on accountability and secrecy. Another issue to examine is the sanctions on countries not following the EU’s and UN’s restrictions on military export.

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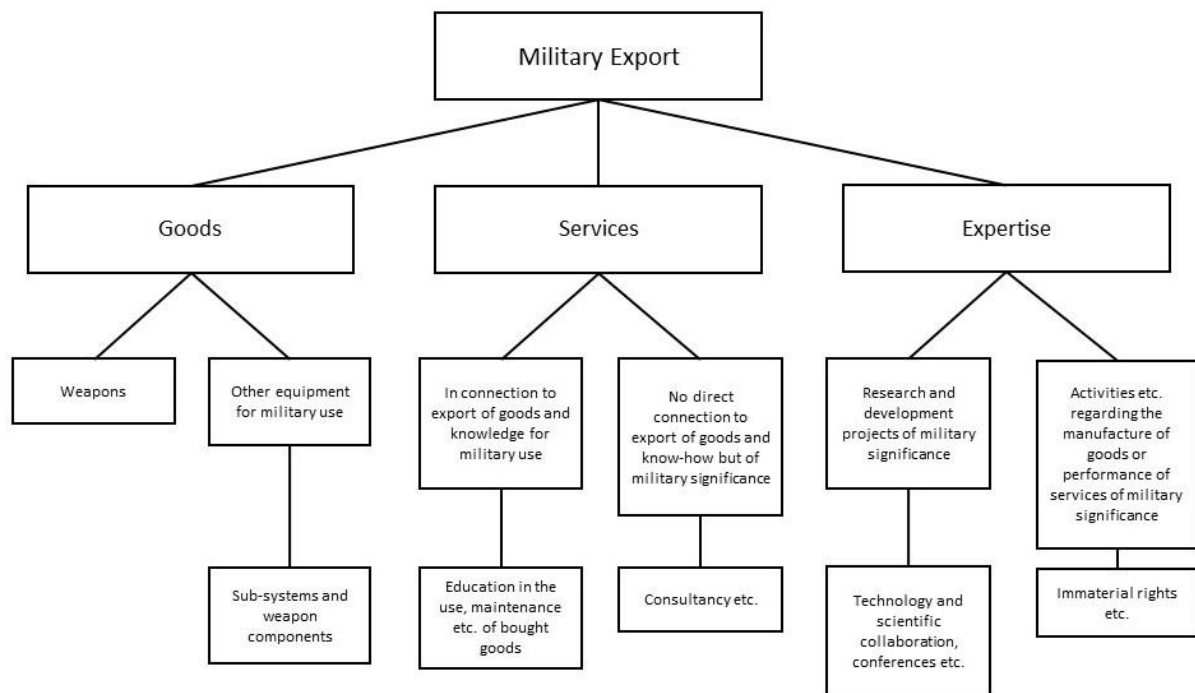
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6. Appendix

6.1. Military export – an illustration

This is an illustration of the concept of “Military export”. The original was created by Björn Hagelin (1985:13). This version in English was made by me.



Hagelin, B. (1985). *Kulorna rullar: ekonomi och politik kring svensk militär export*. Stockholm: Ordfront

6.2. Articles in SvD

Aspect	Number	Date (D/M/Y)	Publication	Writer
Economy	1	25/4/2012	Försvarsutskottet: Bergrummen i Saudiarabien inte så allvarligt	Anna Langseth
Economy	1	9/7/2012	Saab pratar vapen i EU-parlamentet	Bryssel TT:s korrespondent
Economy	1	11/7/2012	"Några klargöranden är på sin plats"	Sten Tolgfors & Ewa Björling
Economy	1	16/7/2012	EU inför tuffare vapenlagar	Teresa Küchler
Economy	1	24/7/2012	Nokia Siemens får saudisk order	Patricia Hedelius
Economy	1	26/7/2012	Tre snabba	Tobias Brandel
Economy	1	28/7/2012	FN nådde inte vapenhandelsavtal	New York TT-AFP
Economy	1	28/7/2012	FOI:s finansiering bör ses över	Peter Hultqvist
Economy	1	4/8/2012	Ahlin: S vill inte bryta Saudiavtal	SvD Näringsliv
Economy	1	13/10/2012	Kommer MP sitta i en S-regering som tillåter vapenexport	Hans Wallmark
Economy	1	16/10/2012	Bildt: Saudiarabien "ett familjeföretag"	SvD Näringsliv
Economy	1	21/10/2012	Rainfeldt måste också kompromissa	Ola Wong

Economy	1	25/10/2012	Sauli Niinistö gör Nordens sak till sin	Göran Eriksson
Economy	1	7/11/2012	Samarbetet gav Sverige 20 miljarder.	Petter Forslund et al.
Economy	1	28/1/2012	Nya behov ger hopp om affärer för Saab	Gunnar Vrang
Economy	1	4/2/2012	Nya regler krävs när moralisk kompass brister	Alexandra Einerstam, Peter Högberg, Sandro Wennberg & Johan Westerholm
Economy	1	4/5/2012	"Länderna runt Sverige rustar ner"	SvD Faktakollen
Economy	1	17/5/2012	Saab säljer vapen till USA	Stockholm TT
Economy	1	28/5/2012	Vapenexport skall kontrolleras	Andreas Ekman Duse
Economy	1	9/8/2012	Bråk FN kring vapenfördrag	Stockholm TT
Economy	1	22/8/2012	Saudiskt garde på svensk kundlista	Tobias Olsson
Economy	1	23/8/2012	Farligt att bli lockad av telekomjättarna	Per Lindvall
Economy	1	7/3/2012	Några klagorande är på sin plats	Sten Tolgfors & Ewa Björling
Economy	1	2/9/2012	Telekombojkott gör mer skada än nytta	Benjamin Katzeff Silberstein
Economy	1	4/9/2012	Stormakter stoppade vapenavtal	Stockholm TT
Economy	1	22/11/2012	Jas Gripen kan krascha försvaret	Peter Rådberg
Economy	1	12/12/2012	S splittrat om nya JAS-plan	Stockholm TT
Economy	1	13/12/2012	Regeringens Super-Jas lyfter inte försvaret	Claes Arvidsson

Economy	1	20/6/2012	FOI backar ur Saudiaffären	Stockholm TT
Economy	1	4/10/2012	Tunt om Stefan Löfvens roll i vapenaffären	Per Gudmundson
Economy	1	30/8/2012	Världens vapenaffärer minskade 2011	Stockholm TT
Total Ec	31			
Human Rights	1	17/11/2012	Hbt-rättigheter utnyttjas i rasistisk retorik	Anders Rundberg
Total Hr	1			
Mixed	1	7/3/2012	Vilka skäl är skäl nog för Saudiavtalet?	Claes Arvidsson
Mixed	1	8/3/2012	Vi riskerar bli till internationellt åtlöje	Dick Sträng
Mixed	1	9/3/2012	Ekot: Reinfeldt gav grönt ljus till vapenfabrik i Saudiarabien	Erik Paulsson Rönnbäck
Mixed	1	12/3/2012	Bussig vapenexport en lögn vi alla delar	Jenny Nordberg
Mixed	1	12/3/2012	Ammunition i debatten	Anna Ångström
Mixed	1	29/3/2012	Vapenfabrik upprör saudier	Hana Al-Khamri
Mixed	1	17/7/2012	Ingen upprörd agitation om vapenexport	Lars Ring
Mixed	1	14/3/2012	Lättsinnig krigsironi om vår aningslöshet	Lars Ring
Mixed	1	16/3/2012	Vi utmanar M och S om vapenexport	Åsa Romson & Bodil Ceballos
Mixed	1	18/3/2012	Kraschen sätter fokus på Natos närvaro	Gunnar Westberg
Mixed	1	24/7/2012	Kritik mot ny Saudi-affär	Lars Larsson/TT
Mixed	1	21/3/2012	Saudier besökte hemlig bunker	Stockholm TT
Mixed	1	22/3/2012	Saudisk visit på hemlig bas.	Dan Nilsson

			Regeringskansliet godkände besöket	
Mixed	1	1/4/2012	S vill behålla Saudiavtalet	Göran Greider
Mixed	1	2/4/2012	Lunchprat om Saudi med främmande makt	Claes Arvidsson
Mixed	1	3/4/2012	Nu krävs ansvar i vapenexportfrågan	Per Altenberg
Mixed	1	18/10/2012	Leder översynen av vapenexportregler	Stockholm TT
Mixed	1	10/4/2012	Nu kan ministrar klargöra vem som visste vad	Jonas Sjöstedt
Mixed	1	11/4/2012	Ett svek mot kampen för demokrati	Madawi Al-Rasheed, Hana Al-Khamri, Abdulhadi Khalaf, Habiba Mohsen, Sayed Mohamed Alawi, Jaber Zain, Per Björklund & Anna Ek
Mixed	1	18/4/2012	Saudi arabien het fråga för nya försvarsministern	Tobias Olsson
Mixed	1	6/5/2012	Löfven behöll lugnet i debattdebuten	SvD
Mixed	1	1/6/2012	Nu skall vapenexportkontrollen skärpas	Ewa Björling, Fredrik Malm, Kerstin Lundgren & Désirée Pethrus
Mixed	1	17/6/2012	Gripen slåss om tre storaffärer	Jonas Fröberg
Mixed	1	22/10/2012	Tydligt att Enström spelar dubbelt	Peter Rådberg

Mixed	1	5/11/2012	Löfven överskattar sin förmåga	Valter Mutt
Mixed	1	6/11/2012	Feldt: Såg det inte som försvarsanläggning	Petter Forslund
Mixed	1	15/11/2012	Sälja vapen till Indonesien strider mot riktlinjerna	Anna Ek
Mixed	1	27/11/2012	Försvaret är inte influenzasäkrat	Claes Arvidsson
Mixed	1	11/12/2012	Regeringen bör snabbt utreda vapenskandalen	Jens Orback & Frida Perjus
Mixed	1	11/12/2012	Svenska vapen hos Burmas armé	Bertil Lintner
Mixed	1	8/3/2012	Blir det offentligt skulle många inte bli återvalda	Erik Paulsson Rönnbäck
Mixed	1	9/3/2012	FOI:s agerande farligt för demokratin	Karin Thurffjell
Mixed	1	17/5/2012	Löfven om vapenexport	Jonas Fröberg
Total M	33			
Neutrality	1	11/7/2012	Exportens udd riktad mot Iran	Bitte Hammargren
Neutrality	1	15/12/2012	Nya JAS-plan driver Sverige närmare Nato	Oscar Jonsson
Total N	2			
Peace	1	3/5/2012	Svåra utmaningar för fredsarbete	Stockholm TT
Peace	1	1/1/2012	Ett glömt kring - med svenska vapen	Bertil Lintner
Total P	2			
Regime	1	10/7/2012	Sverige måste göra upp med hyckleriet	Mattias Kristensson & Gabriel Wikström
Regime	1	10/7/2012	"Samma familj har styrt i 80 år"	Bitte Hammargren

Regime	1	17/7/2012	Vad är syftet med nya kriterier?	Mark Bromley
Regime	1	20/7/2012	Stoppa vapenexporten till Thailand	Yasri Khan
Regime	1	4/8/2012	Greider kritisk till S Saudi-linje	Henrik Ennart
Regime	1	13/10/2012	"Normalt säga upp avtal"	Henrik Ennart
Regime	1	3/11/2012	"Känner självfallet till EU:s vapenembargo"	Jenny Stiernstedt
Regime	1	24/11/2012	"Annie Lööf borde stöttas av mer erfarna medarbetare"	Ia Wadendal
Regime	1	28/11/2012	Enström backar om Saudiuttalandet	Stockholm TT
Regime	1	29/11/2012	Försvarsminister Enström borde titta i Nationalencyklopedin	Editorial
Regime	1	29/11/2012	Iran noterar Enströms Saudiuttalande	Stockholm TT
Regime	1	24/6/2012	Ny kritik efter diktaturuttalande	Stockholm TT
Regime	1	26/6/2012	Försvarspolitisk förnyingsnya	Per Gudmundson
Regime	1	29/6/2012	Ingen verkar försvara Enström	Peter Rådberg
Regime	1	29/6/2012	50 nyanser av självplågeri	Harry Amster
Regime	1	1/9/2012	Skurkstat med sikte på Sverige	Anders Q. Björkman
Total R	16			
Security	1	14/10/2012	Säkerhetsbolag på gott eller ont	Johanne Hildebrandt
Security	1	19/6/2012	Vapen faller Sverige i biståndsindex	Tomas Lundin
Total Sec	2			
Sovereignty	1	31/8/2012	Svenska Dagbladet:	Ivar Arpi

			Förändring nu eller om 50år	
Total Sov	1			
Transparency	1	10/7/2012	Björklund kritisk till avtal med Saudiarabien	TT for svd.se
Transparency	1	10/7/2012	Reinfeldt hänvisar till sekretess	Fredrik Mellgren & Daniel Nilsson-Padilla
Transparency	1	10/7/2012	Svensk hjälp åt saudisk vapenfabrik	TT for svd.se
Transparency	1	10/7/2012	MP KU-anmäler Tolgfors	svd.se
Transparency	1	11/7/2012	Bulvanföretag dolde vapenaffärer	Tobias Olsson, Karin Thurfjell, Daniel Nilsson-Padilla & Bitte Hammargren
Transparency	1	11/7/2012	Vapenfabrik möjliggjordes redan 2005	Stockholm TT
Transparency	1	12/7/2012	FOI stod bakom bulvanen	Mikael Holmström, Tobias Olsson
Transparency	1	12/7/2012	Partierna informerade om vapenfabrik	Stockholm TT
Transparency	1	12/7/2012	Saudiaffären hotar bilden av regeringen	Göran Eriksson
Transparency	1	13/7/2012	V: Förvarsministrarna måste avgå	Erik Paulsson Rönnbäck & Karin Thurfjell
Transparency	1	13/7/2012	Hägglund: Förläng inte avtalet	Karin Thurfjell
Transparency	1	13/7/2012	"Vi kan åtala en minister"	Jenny Stiernstedt
Transparency	1	13/7/2012	Förvarsministrarnas presskonferens om Simoonprojektet	Erik Paulsson Rönnbäck
Transparency	1	13/7/2012	"FOI:s agerande farligt för demokratin"	Karin Thurfjell

Transparency	1	13/7/2012	Ja, nog behövs det klarläggande alltid	Claes Arvidsson
Transparency	1	13/7/2012	ANALYS: Dugligheten kan ifrågasättas	Göran Eriksson
Transparency	1	13/7/2012	Gav klartecken till vapenfabrik	Tobias Olsson, Erik Paulsson Rönnbäck
Transparency	1	14/7/2012	Frågorna som kvarstår kring samarbetet	Tobias Olsson
Transparency	1	14/7/2012	S kan bli Tolgfors räddning	Ulf Bjereld
Transparency	1	14/7/2012	Försvarsministern pekar ut FOI	Tobias Olsson
Transparency	1	14/7/2012	ANALYS Vapenaffären. Ibland liknar det desinformation	Göran Eriksson
Transparency	1	15/7/2012	Avslöjandet är ett sundhetstecken	Martin Jönsson
Transparency	1	16/7/2012	"En del pratar om en omvänd Juholteffekt"	Erik Paulsson Rönnbäck
Transparency	1	17/7/2012	Inget KU-beslut om Saudiaffär	Stockholm TT
Transparency	1	18/7/2012	Tolgfors ord upprör FOI-chef	Tobias Olsson
Transparency	1	18/7/2012	Trycket ökar mot FOI-chefen	Petter Forslund
Transparency	1	18/7/2012	Rendahl: Tolgfors skyller ifrån sig	Stockholm TT
Transparency	1	19/7/2012	Hallå där!	Fredrik Mellgren
Transparency	1	19/7/2012	Växande kritik mot Tolgfors	Erik Paulsson Rönnbäck et al
Transparency	1	19/7/2012	FOI misstänker sekretessbrott	Stockholm TT
Transparency	1	20/7/2012	Rätt att värna processens integritet	Daniel Persson
Transparency	1	20/7/2012	Saudiaffären får ej förtur	SvD
Transparency	1	25/7/2012	FOI skulle uppgradera	Jenny Stiernstedt

			robotsystemet HOT	
Transparency	1	26/7/2012	Brottsmisstanke på FOI ger tidsfrist	Stockholm TT
Transparency	1	27/7/2012	FOI-dokument granskas av åklagaren	Mikael Holmström, Tobias Olsson
Transparency	1	30/7/2012	Fler FOI- anställda i SSTI	SvD Sverige
Transparency	1	30/7/2012	JK undersöker tystnadsplikt	Stockholm TT
Transparency	1	31/7/2012	Fåordig FOI- chef i försvarsutskotte t	Stockholm TT
Transparency	1	31/7/2012	Försvarsministe rn svarar riksdagen om vapenfabrik	svd.se
Transparency	1	1/8/2012	Ministern skulle skyddas	Stockholm TT
Transparency	1	1/8/2012	FOI är regeringens ansvar	Göran Eriksson
Transparency	1	2/8/2012	Tolgfors lämnar ett försvar i kris	Peter Hultqvist
Transparency	1	2/8/2012	Tolgfors föll offer för dubbelmoralen	P. J. Anders Linder
Transparency	1	2/8/2012	Tolgfors argumentation inger inte förtroende	Karin Thurfjell Mikaela Åkerman
Transparency	1	2/8/2012	Försvarsministe rn föll på eget grepp	Mikael Holmström
Transparency	1	2/8/2012	Inget spel bakom avgången	Stockholm TT
Transparency	1	2/8/2012	"Jag kände att jag tappade energi och glädje"	Petter Forslund
Transparency	1	2/8/2012	Sten Tolgfors avgår på egen begäran	Stockholm TT
Transparency	1	2/8/2012	Frågan är om det är hela sanningen	Unknown

Transparency	1	2/8/2012	PR-experten: Mediastrategin är lyckad	Erik Paulsson Rönnbäck
Transparency	1	3/8/2012	Tolgfors blev en belastning för Rainfeldt	Marco Nilsson
Transparency	1	3/8/2012	Åklagaren utreder trolöshet inom FOI	Petter Forslund
Transparency	1	3/8/2012	Avhopp kom vid fel tidpunkt	Göran Eriksson
Transparency	1	17/10/2012	Sverige har blivit olagom	Kristin Lundell
Transparency	1	17/10/2012	Regeringen kan ha känt till vapenaffären	Kristoffer Törnmalm
Transparency	1	19/10/2012	Krav på karantän för politiker	Stockholm TT
Transparency	1	20/10/2012	Dubbelmoralen flödar på Rosenbad	Karolina Neurath
Transparency	1	23/10/2012	Saudisk vapenfabrik fråga för riksdagen	SvD
Transparency	1	27/10/2012	S-minister anmäls efter Saudiaffär	Stockholm TT
Transparency	1	30/10/2012	M väljer ett säkert kort	Mikael Holmström
Transparency	1	30/10/2012	Karin Enström ny försvarsminister	Stockholm TT
Transparency	1	31/10/2012	Enström behöver göra en rivstart	Editorial
Transparency	1	2/11/2012	Minister med många vapen i arsenalen	Kristoffer Törnmalm
Transparency	1	7/11/2012	Eliasson såg Saudiaffären som "renodlat civil"	Petter Forslund
Transparency	1	8/11/2012	V kräver att Björling avgår	Unknown
Transparency	1	8/11/2012	Så du har släppt de frågorna säger, du	Sanna Rayman

Transparency	1	9/11/2012	Bulvanföretag var känt av regeringen	Tomas Oneborg, Tobias Olsson & Angelica Zander
Transparency	1	21/1/2012	Löfven drog mot mitten i sitt första majtal	Karin Tjurfjäll
Transparency	1	23/1/2012	Tolgfors ger inga svar om FOI	Tobias Olsson
Transparency	1	10/2/2012	Tolgfors nära medarbetare fick sluta	Tobias Olsson
Transparency	1	15/2/2012	Dolt rävspel del av stor vapenaffär	Gunilla von Hall
Transparency	1	27/5/2012	FOI-chef får förlängt trots skandal	Stockholm TT
Transparency	1	25/8/2012	Ambassadören tiger	Hana Al-Khamri
Transparency	1	20/3/2012	FOI-pengar i plastkassar	Fredrik Mellgren
Transparency	1	7/6/2012	FOI köpte information av rysk expert	TT for svd.se
Transparency	1	22/6/2012	Kritik mot regeringsval av utredare	Stockholm TT
Transparency	1	25/6/2012	Mutlagar biter inte	Peter Alestig Blomqvist
Transparency	1	13/9/2012	Våra företag mutar inte. Ewa Björling ser Sverige som ett etiskt föregångsland.	Unknown
Transparency	1	25/9/2012	Tävlar om indonesisk vapenmarknad	Jakarta TT
Transparency	1	2/10/2012	Allvarligt fel att inte diarieföra"	Petter Forslund
Transparency	1	2/10/2012	Känsligt mejl om Saudiaffären borta	Stockholm TT
Transparency	1	8/10/2012	Jag trodde att staten lärt sig något.	Peter Alestig Blomqvist

Transparency	1	31/12/2012	Granatgevär till Burma utreds	Stockholm TT
Transparency	1	31/12/2012	Kräver ökad kontroll efter Burma avslöjandet	Tobias Olsson
Transparency	1	1/1/2012	Saab vet vilket land vapnen har sålts till	TT
Transparency	1	3/1/2012	Granatgevär i Burma kom från Indien	Dan Nilsson
Transparency	1	4/1/2012	Indien: Vi har inte sålt svenskvapen	Unknown
Total T	87			
TOTAL	175			

6.3. Frequency in SvD

SvD Aspects	SvD Number of Publications	SvD Percentage of Publications
Economy	31	17,7%
Environment	0	0,0%
Human Rights	1	0,6%
Mixed	33	18,9%
Neutrality	2	1,1%
Peace	2	1,1%
Regime	16	9,1%
Security	2	1,1%
Sovereignty	1	0,6%
Transparency	87	49,7%
Total	175	100,0%

6.4. Articles in DN

Aspect	Number	Date (D/M/Y)	Publication	Writer
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Economy	1	10/3/2012	Fler frågor än svar	DN
Economy	1	21/6/2012	M och S moraliska kompass är trasig	Thomas Simonsson
Economy	1	16/10/2012	JAS-plan säljs med svenska filmsuccéer	Nils Resare
Economy	1	24/11/2012	Franska vapen säljer stort Paris.	Magnus Falkehed
Economy	1	17/4/2012	Militärutgifter. Kartläggning visar utplaning. Krisen ger färre vapen	Matilda Lindwall
Economy	1	9/3/2012	USA måste lösa sina budgetproblem på egen hand	Johan Schuck
Economy	1	19/3/2012	Sverige drivande inom stegrande vapenhandel	dn.se
Economy	1	8/4/2012	Socialdemokrater och Moderater i samma båt	DN
Economy	1	19/4/2012	Analys. Enström måste hålla till valet	Maria Crofts
Economy	1	19/4/2012	Statsrådsdebut. Inget bra försvar av ministern	Erik Helmersson
Economy	1	25/4/2012	Saabs vd sågar krav på demokrati	dn.se
Economy	1	17/6/2012	Saudi-skandal gav dyr PR-byrånota	TT
Economy	1	8/8/2012	Miljonböter för okänt företag	TT-Reuters-AFP
Economy	1	21/2/2012	Minskad svensk vapenexport	TT
Total Ec	14			
Environment	0			
Total Env	0			

Human rights	1	9/3/2012	Riv upp avtalet med Saudiarabien	Stefan Hjelm Bromma
Human rights	1	2/10/2012	Saudiarabien. Sluta legitimera förtrycket	DN
Total Hr	2			
Mixed	1	6/3/2012	Avtal med diktaturen bakom avslöjade vapenaffärer	Hans Rosén
Mixed	1	6/3/2012	Svenska fredskräver lagändringar	Andreas Rolfer
Mixed	1	7/3/2012	"De rödgröna öppnade för de avslöjade affärerna"	Allan Widman
Mixed	1	8/3/2012	"Jag reserverade mig när KU godkände det saudiska samarbetet"	Gustav Fridolin
Mixed	1	8/3/2012	"Vi kräver korten på bordet om samarbetet med Saudiarabien"	Hans Linde
Mixed	1	10/3/2012	Vapenexporten. Svenskt hyckleri om mänskliga rättigheter	Sievert Aronsson
Mixed	1	10/3/2012	Analys Maria Crofts. Det krävs en lögn för att S ska kräva hans avgång	Maria Crofts
Mixed	1	13/3/2012	Vapenexport. Svårt att tolka situationen för mänskliga rättigheter i Saudiarabien. "Därför tecknade Sverige avtalet	Sven Hirdman

			med Saudiarabien"	
Mixed	1	22/3/2012	Saudier besökte hemlig svensk bunker	TT
Mixed	1	31/3/2012	Sälj inte vapen till diktaturer	Martin Liby Alonso
Mixed	1	4/4/2012	Svensk vapenexport. Nya avtal med diktaturer som Saudiarabien får inte slutas efter 2014. S måste ta initiativ till en ny syn på vapenexport	Magnus Nilsson, Lena Sommestad, Peter Weiderud, Gabriel Wikström
Mixed	1	4/4/2012	S måste ta initiativ till en ny modern syn på vapenexport	Magnus Nilsson, Lena Sommestad, Peter Weiderud, Gabriel Wikström
Mixed	1	23/4/2012	Inget försvar	Gunnar Jonsson
Mixed	1	18/6/2012	Vapenanläggning i Saudiarabien. Dyr PR-nota efter Saudiskandalen.	TT
Total M	14			
Neutrality	0			
Total Neu	0			
Peace	1	28/4/2012	Regeringen skjuter upp saudimöte	dn.se
Peace	1	28/9/2012	Right livelihood. Tre får dela på årets pris	TT
Peace	1	12/10/2012	"Ett mycket tveksamt beslut"	Amanda Johansson-Murie
Total P	3			
Regime	1	7/3/2012	"Centern måste kräva stopp för vapenexport"	Abir Al-Sahlani, Leo Pierini
Regime	1	7/3/2012	Graverande att sälja själva kunnandet	Ewa Stenberg

Regime	1	8/3/2012	Det saudiska samarbetet stinker	Per Bauhn
Regime	1	8/3/2012	"Vapenexporten legitimerar diktaturer"	Ossi Carp
Regime	1	22/3/2012	Vapenexport: Ministrar med ryggrad sökes	Martin Liby Alonso
Regime	1	4/4/2012	Bildt försvarar Saudiaffärer	Ossi Carp
Regime	1	7/4/2012	Svenska Freds: Algeriet bryter mot mänskliga rättigheter	Kalle Holmberg
Regime	1	12/4/2012	Vapenexport avslöjar S-topparnas hyckleri	Martin Smedjeback
Regime	1	22/4/2012	Löf ångrar uttalande om export till Kina	Emma Löfgren
Regime	1	23/4/2012	Skarp kritik mot Ericssons vitryska affärer	Ossi Carp
Regime	1	26/4/2012	Saudiaffären: Förtryckets troll spricker i vårsolen	Erik Helmersson
Regime	1	27/4/2012	"I vissa lägen kan vi tillåta vapenexport till diktaturer"	Kristoffer Örstadius
Regime	1	28/4/2012	DN/Ipsos aprilmätning. SD behåller vågmästarroll. Rödgröna blocket fortfarande störst.	Mats Carlbom
Regime	1	28/4/2012	Rödgröna blocket fortfarande störst	Mats Carlbom
Regime	1	22/5/2012	Lång väntan på skärpt vapenexport	Peter Wallberg
Regime	1	28/5/2012	Tydligheten själv	Martin Liby Alonso

Regime	1	13/8/2012	Försvarsministe rn backar om Saudiarabien	Owe Nilsson/TT
Regime	1	14/8/2012	Efter massiv kritik. "Landet bör beskrivas som en diktatur". Enström backar om Saudiarabien	Mats Carlbom
Regime	1	24/8/2012	Hur ska vi hantera Saudiarabien?	Göran Settergren
Regime	1	22/10/2012	Reinfeldt: Saudiarabien är diktatur	TT
Regime	1	29/11/2012	"Stockholms stad bidrar till tveksam vapenhandel"	Daniel Helldén, Åsa Jernberg, Stefan Nilsson
Total R	21			
Security	0			
Total Sec	0			
Sovereignty	0			
Total Sov	0			
Transparency	1	22/2/2012	Detta är inte ett vapen till salu	Sanna Torén Björling
Transparency	1	6/3/2012	Politiker vill slippa munkavle för vapenaffärer	Hans Rosén
Transparency	1	7/3/2012	Bulvanföretag väcker frågor	TT
Transparency	1	7/3/2012	Tolgfors: det blir ingen vapenfabrik	Malin Ekmark et al.
Transparency	1	7/3/2012	Försvarsministe rn kan vara illa ute	Maria Crofts
Transparency	1	8/3/2012	Agrell: Tolgfors ett steg från schack matt	Hans Rosén
Transparency	1	9/3/2012	Professor i underrättelseana lys kritisk. "Försvarsminist erns dementi bara en fint"	Ewa Stenberg et al.
Transparency	1	9/3/2012	Fridolin har förlorat	Ewa Stenberg

			förtroendet för försvarsminister n	
Transparency	1	10/3/2012	Oppositionen inte nöjd med försvarsminister ns förklaring. Nu tvingas Tolgfors till granskning	Ewa Stenberg et al.
Transparency	1	11/3/2012	Lika korkad som en vanlig folkpartist	Peter Wolodarski
Transparency	1	11/3/2012	Regeringen: Insyn kring vapenexport skall öka	Ewa Stenberg
Transparency	1	15/3/2012	Tjänstvilliga generaldirektörer lever farligt. "Därför kan Tolgfors skylla ifrån sig på FOI"	Richard Murray
Transparency	1	15/3/2012	"Tolgfors skyller ifrån sig"	Mats J Larsson och Kristoffer Örstadius
Transparency	1	25/3/2012	Vapenexport. Smutsiga affärer	DN
Transparency	1	27/3/2012	Många skavande hjälteglorior blir det	Hanne Kjöllner
Transparency	1	30/3/2012	Saudiaffären inte över	dn.se
Transparency	1	1/4/2012	Det lär bli fler än Tolgfors som faller tungt	Peter Wolodarski
Transparency	1	5/4/2012	Låt den utbrända utrikesministern fara och flyga	Lars Linder
Transparency	1	12/4/2012	Saudiaffären: Bildt och Ahlin valsar vidare	Martin Liby Alonso
Transparency	1	18/4/2012	JK utreder nytt sekretessbrott efter Saudiavslöjande	Anders Bolling

Transparency	1	19/4/2012	Karin Enström (M) ny försvarsminister . S redo att samarbeta med nya ministern	Mats J Larsson et al.
Transparency	1	24/4/2012	Efter Kinauttalandet. Ny förklaring från Centerledaren. Tabben öppnar för kritik mot ledarskap	Mats Carlbom et al.
Transparency	1	25/4/2012	"Tolgfors talar inte sanning om projektet"	Ewa Stenberg
Transparency	1	28/4/2012	V kräver Björlings avgång	Kristoffer Örstadius
Transparency	1	3/5/2012	Ingen förundersökning om FOI-papper	TT
Transparency	1	21/5/2012	Tolgfors statssekreterare entledigas	TT
Transparency	1	18/6/2012	Vapenläggning i Saudiarabien. Dyr pr-nota efter Saudiskandalen	TT
Transparency	1	29/6/2012	FOI-chef får förlängning	TT
Transparency	1	29/7/2012	USA stoppade avtal om vapenhandel	Linda Flood
Transparency	1	22/9/2012	Inga åtal i Saudihärvan	Emma Löfgren
Transparency	1	31/10/2012	Pris till grävjobb om "Saudiaffären" och "Bron"	Jan Lewenhagen
Transparency	1	21/11/2012	Regeringen tog bort känsligt mejl	Owe Nilsson/TT
Transparency	1	22/11/2012	Expert dömer ut mörkläggningen . Regeringen	Jens Kärman

			mörkade mejl om Saudiaffären	
Transparency	1	23/11/2012	Årets avslöjande gav eko	Ole Rothenberg
Transparency	1	21/12/2012	Arbetskildring. En journalist reflekterar. En berättare i händelsernas centrum	Johan Croneman
Transparency	1	27/12/2012	Detta hände i Sverige 2012	Hans Rosén
Total T	36			
TOTAL	90			

6.5. Frequency in DN

DN Aspects	DN Number of Publications	DN Percentage of Publications
Economy	14	15,6%
Environment	0	0,0%
Human Rights	2	2,2%
Mixed	14	15,6%
Neutrality	0	0,0%
Peace (& stability)	3	3,3%
Regime	21	23,3%
Security	0	0,0%
Sovereignty	0	0,0%
Transparency	36	40,0%
Total	90	100,0%

6.6. Frequency in SvD & DN

SvD+DN Aspects	SvD+DN Number of Publications	SvD+DN Percentage of Publications
Economy	45	17,0%
Environment	0	0,0%
Human Rights	3	1,1%
Mixed	47	17,7%
Neutrality	2	0,8%
Peace (& stability)	5	1,9%
Regime	37	14,0%
Security	2	0,8%
Sovereignty	1	0,4%
Transparency	123	46,4%
Total	265	100,0%

6.7. Mixed

SVD/Aspect	Eco	Env	Hum	Neu	Pea	Reg	Sec	Sov	Tra
Vilka skäl är skäl nog för Saudiavtalet?	1		1		1	1			
Vi riskerar bli till internationellt åtlöje					1			1	
Ekot: Reinfeldt gav grönt ljus till vapenfabrik i Saudiarabien	1								1
Bussig vapenexport en lögn vi alla delar	1				1				1
Ammunition i debatten				1	1		1		1
Vapenfabrik upprör saudier			1			1			
Ingen upprörd agitation om vapenexport				1	1	1	1		1
Lättsinnig krigsironi om vår aningslöshet	1			1	1	1			
Vi utmanar M och S om vapenexport			1			1			1
Kraschen sätter fokus på Natos närvaro					1				1
Kritik mot ny Saudi-affär	1								1
Saudier besökte hemlig svensk bunker	1						1		1
Saudisk visit på hemlig bas. Regeringskansliet godkände besöket							1		1
S vill behålla Saudiavtalet	1					1	1		
Lunchprat om Saudi med främmande makt	1		1						1
Nu krävs ansvar i vapenexportfrågan						1			1
Leder översynen av vapenexportregler			1		1	1	1		
Nu kan ministrar klargöra vem som visste vad			1			1			1
Ett svek mot kampen för mot demokrati			1			1			
Saudiarabien het fråga för nya försvarsministern			1			1			1

Löfven behöll lugnet i debattdebuten					1	1			
Nu skall vapenexportkontrollen skärpas	1		1			1			1
Gripen slåss om tre storaffärer	1								1
Tydligt att Enström spelar dubbelt			1		1	1			
Löfven överskattar sin förmåga						1	1		
Feldt: såg det inte som försvarsanläggning								1	1
Sälja vapen till Indonesien strider mot riktlinjerna	1		1		1	1			
Försvaret är inte influensasäkrat								1	1
Regeringen bör snabbt utreda vapenskandalen	1		1		1	1			
Svenska vapen hos Burmas armé			1		1				
Blir det offentligt skulle många inte bli återvalda			1			1			1
FOI:s agerande farligt för demokratin						1			1
Löfven om vapenexport	1						1		
SVD number of Apects	13	0	14	3	13	19	8	3	19
SVD percentage of Aspects	14,1 %	0,0 %	15,2 %	3,3 %	14,1 %	20,7 %	8,7 %	3,3 %	20,7 %
DN/Aspect									
Publication	Eco	Env	Hum	Neu	Pea	Reg	Sec	Sov	Tra
Avtal med diktaturen bakom avslöjade vapenaffärer	1								1
Svenska freds kräver lagändringar						1			1
"De rödgröna öppnade för de avslöjade affärerna"	1		1			1			1
"Jag reserverade mig när KU godkände det saudiska samarbetet"			1			1			
"Vi kräver korten på bordet om samarbetet med Saudiarabien"						1			1

Vapenexporten. Svenskt hyckleri om mänskliga rättigheter	1		1	1					
Analys Maria Crofts. Det krävs en lögn för att S ska kräva hans avgång	1					1			1
Vapenexport. Svårt att tolka situationen för mänskliga rättigheter i Saudiarabien. "Därför tecknade Sverige avtalet med Saudiarabien"	1			1			1		
Saudier besökte hemlig svensk bunker							1		1
Saudiarabien. Sluta legitimera förtrycket	1		1			1			
Sälj inte vapen till diktaturer	1					1			1
Svensk vapenexport. Nya avtal med diktaturer som Saudiarabien får inte slutas efter 2014. S måste ta initiativ till en ny syn på vapenexport	1					1			1
S måste ta initiativ till en ny modern syn på vapenexport			1			1			
Inget försvar						1			1
Vapenanläggning i Saudiarabien. Dyr PR-nota efter Saudiskandalen.	1								1
DN number of Aspects	9	0	5	2	0	10	2	0	10
DN percentage of Aspects	23,7 %	0,0 %	13,2 %	5,3 %	0,0 %	26,3 %	5,3 %	0,0 %	26,3 %
Svd+DN Mixed Publ.									
Aspects	Eco	Env	Hum	Neu	Pea	Reg	Sec	Sov	Tra
Number	22	0	19	5	13	29	10	3	29
Percentage	16,9 %	0,0 %	14,6 %	3,8 %	10,0 %	22,3 %	7,7 %	2,3 %	22,3 %

6.8. Frequency of aspects in the mixed publications in SvD & DN

SvD+DN, Aspects in the Mixed Publications	SvD+DN, Number of Aspects in the Mixed Publ	SvD+DN, Percentage of Aspects in the Mixed Publ
Economy	22	16,9%
Environment	0	0,0%
Human Rights	19	14,6%
Neutrality	5	3,8%
Peace (& stability)	13	10,0%
Regime	29	22,3%
Security	10	7,7%
Sovereignty	3	2,3%
Transparency	29	22,3%
Total	130	100,0%

6.9. Total Frequency of all aspects in SvD

SvD, Aspects in all Publications	SvD, Number of Aspects in all Publications	SvD, Percentage of Aspects in all Publications
Economy	44	18,8%
Environment	0	0,0%
Human Rights	15	6,4%
Neutrality	5	2,1%
Peace (& stability)	15	6,4%
Regime	35	15,0%
Security	10	4,3%
Sovereignty	4	1,7%
Transparency	106	45,3%
Total	234	100,0%

6.10. Total Frequency of all aspects in DN

DN, Aspects in all Publications	DN, Number of Aspects in all Publications	DN, Percentage of Aspects in all Publications
Economy	23	20,2%
Environment	0	0,0%
Human Rights	7	6,1%
Neutrality	2	1,8%
Peace (& stability)	3	2,6%
Regime	31	27,2%
Security	2	1,8%
Sovereignty	0	0,0%
Transparency	46	40,4%
Total	114	100,0%

6.11. Total Frequency of all aspects in SvD+DN

SvD+DN, Aspects in all Publications	SvD+DN, Number of Aspects in all Publications	SvD+DN, Percentage of Aspects in all Publications
Economy	67	19,3%
Environment	0	0,0%
Human Rights	22	6,3%
Neutrality	7	2,0%
Peace (& stability)	18	5,2%
Regime	66	19,0%
Security	12	3,4%
Sovereignty	4	1,1%
Transparency	152	43,7%
Total	348	100,0%