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The Swedish Social Democrats and Its Relation to the EU 2000-2008
-From a Perspective of Europeanization

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Thanks!

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Abstract
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The Swedish Social Democrats and Its Relation to the EU

The purpose of the essay is to examine the Swedish Social Democrats (SAP) and its relation to the EU. The specific area of interest is the SAP in its relation to the process of the constitutional/reform treaty. The process period researched in this essay stretches from 2000-april 2008. The research question is, How has the SAP evolved in relation to the EU during the time period 2000 till 2008 and are there signs of external EU pressure changing the party behaviour or position?

This case study has the methodological approach of a qualitative text analysis. The concept of Europeanization makes it possible to construct an analytical framework which measures possible impact from the EU on domestic political parties. This impact is measured in three different areas, first if the party is adapting its internal structure to ease its engagement with the EU, secondly if the party is adapting its policy because of the EU and thirdly in the area of patterns of party competition. With the analytical framework drawn from the concept of Europeanization it is possible to point at indicators that are signs of EU-impact. The SAP seems to have both a practical adaptation and a policy adaptation but it still remains somewhat EU-sceptical in the area of patterns of party competition. The conclusion is that there are quite massive amounts of evidence of possible EU-pressure on the SAP.

Keyword: Domestic Political Parties, EU, EU-impact, Europeanization, Swedish Social Democrats, SAP
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Abbreviations

CEUA Committee on European Union Affairs
CT Constitutional Treaty
CFSP Common Foreign and Security Policy
EC European Community
EP European Parliament
EU European Union
IGC Intergovernmental Conference
MEP Minister of European Parliament
PES Party of European Socialist
PM Prime minister
SAP Swedish Social Democratic Party
(s) Swedish Social Democratic Party
RIF Judicial and Internal Questions
RT Reform Treaty
1. Introduction

1.1 Problem and background

EU has meant the exhaustion of the democracy.¹

In three recent debate articles in the Swedish newspaper Dagens Nyheter (DN) leading members of the Swedish Social Democrats (SAP) have criticized their own party regarding issues about the European Union (EU). In one of the articles Morgan Johansson (former Minister of the SAP) & Bo Bernhardsson (Member of Parliament of the SAP) claims that the SAP needs to turn down the EU reform treaty if the Vaxholm issue² isn’t resolved.³ Carl Tham (former Minister of Education for the SAP) remarks upon the same issue, namely the movement of national decision making to the EU and how this results in the exhaustion of the democracy.⁴ Sören Wibe (a know EU-sceptical member of the SAP) goes as far as leaving the party because of its support of, what he refers to as, the creation of a federal Europe.⁵

The emergence of the European Union (EU) has put a new political arena on the map. Given its expansion since the mid 1980s (both in numbers and in political influence) the EU and its impact has undergone several studies by political scientists.⁶ In the debate of the EU: s integration and intergovernmental relations in the EU the term Multi-level Governance was borne.⁷ The term was made “in order to stress the political activity that now crosses traditional jurisdictional boundaries.”⁸ The traditional jurisdictional boundaries were for instance the nation-state.⁹

The Swedish Social Democrats (SAP) constitute a special case since it has held remarkable amounts of years in governance position since the 1930s, see 1.2 Purpose and Research Question. In addition to this the party has had a traditionally skeptical view towards Swedish

¹ Carl Tham, “Socialdemokraterna stöder en försvagad demokrati”, Dagens Nyheter Sat. 16th February 2008 p. 6
² In Vaxholm the Swedish union for construction workers (in Swedish ‘Byggnads’) ordered a blockade of a Latvian construction company since it wouldn’t sign the Swedish collective agreements. The EG-court deemed this action as a violation of the EU-law
⁴ Carl Tham, “Socialdemokraterna stöder en försvagad demokrati”, Dagens Nyheter Sat. 16 February 2008, p. 6
⁷ Smith Andy, Ibid, p. 621
⁸ Smith Andy, Ibid, p. 619
⁹ Smith Andy, A. a
membership of the EC\textsuperscript{10}. How then have the Swedish Social Democrats managed the integration issue since the full Swedish membership? An important measurement could be the SAP view on the long-standing, and ongoing, process of the EU constitution treaty (CT) which later became the EU reform treaty (RT).

1.1.1 Sweden and the EU – Membership and Opinions

In the 1994 referendum on Swedish membership to the European Union the Swedes voted with 52.2 per cent yes against 46.9 per cent no.\textsuperscript{11} This thus resulted in a full Swedish membership of the EU as of January first 1995.\textsuperscript{12} Previously the Swedish policy of neutrality had made it hard to reach any agreements on whether or not to join the EU, the Swedish Social Democrats of the 1960: s was, for instance because of this neutrality, opposed to a membership. In the 1980: s the question of whether or not to join the EC (the question got the label of joining the EU after the Maastricht-declaration in 1992) was again on the agenda, as it had been in the sixties. Two of the Swedish parliamentary parties, the Moderates and the Liberal party (in Swedish “Moderaterna” and “Folkpartiet”), was in favor of a Swedish membership while the others still thought this to be impossible, since they saw it as incompatible with the neutrality policy.\textsuperscript{13}

With the fall of the Soviet Union the neutrality policy that previously had been so vigorously advocated was no longer seen as constituting a problem to Swedish membership. All but two, the Swedish Left and Green party (in Swedish “Vänstern” and “Miljöpartiet”), of the parliamentary parties still in parliament was now in favor of a membership. Even so the parties in favor were, and still are, internally divided in their views on the future of the EU.\textsuperscript{14} Looking at Swedish public opinion on EU membership you will see that the internally divided parties are a reflection of the divided population where the ones viewing themselves as pro EU membership are peeking just at the 1994 election. This actually being the only time, in the period from May 1992 till May 1999, when those being for the EU membership out weights those being against it.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{10} Bailey J. David, “Obfuscation through Integration”, 2005, p. 19ff
\textsuperscript{11} Aylott Nicholas, \textit{Swedish Social Democracy and European Integration}, Ashgate, 1999, p. 1
\textsuperscript{12} Miles Lee, \textit{Fusing with Europe}, Ashgate, 2005, p. 1
\textsuperscript{13} Bäck M. & Möller T., \textit{Partier och organisationer}, Norstedts Juridik, 2003, p. 95
\textsuperscript{14} Bäck M. & Möller T., Ibid, p. 96
\textsuperscript{15} Aylott Nicholas, \textit{Swedish Social Democracy and European Integration}, Ashgate, 1999, p. 196
As we can see in the table after the referendum in November 1994 the ones being for a membership declines and the ones opposes to a membership increases until around 1995. After this the gap between the ones against and the ones who were for a membership to the EU steadily decreased but there were still in the late 90’s a bigger part of the population being against the membership then being for, even if a quite big part of the population were uncertain.

In the beginning of the twenty-first century the development of the public opinion has been somewhat dubious. Those who believe that the EU membership is good have gone up and down between 2000 and 2007 and so have the opinion of those who believe that the membership is bad.
Table 1.2 Swedes Opinion on their EU membership

In 2000 those who viewed the membership as bad were more then those viewing it as good but since then the numbers have changed allot. Looking at the whole time span from 2000 till 2007 the picture that emerges is that the Swedes opinion on its membership to the European Union is becoming more and more positive as displayed in the table above.

Even if the Swedish attitude towards the EU membership seems to be more and more positive it is still below the attitudes of the EU-norm. In 2007 50 per cent of the Swedish population thought that its EU membership was good, compared to 58 per cent of the EU as a whole and 24 per cent of the Swedish population thought that its membership was bad compared to 15 per cent of the EU as a whole.\textsuperscript{16}

All in all the picture that emerges is a Swedish opinion that is divided but with a growing positivistic view on the Swedish membership to the EU.\textsuperscript{17} Yet Sweden was still in 2005 considered to be one of the most problematic members of the EU and is often regarded to be opposed to any further integration.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{16} Eurobarometer 67, p. 11
\textsuperscript{17} My own conclusion with regards to the tables and numbers presented above.
\textsuperscript{18} Miles Lee, \textit{Fusing with Europe}, Ashgate, 2005, p. 1f
Since Sweden became full members of the European Union the influence that EU possesses over the nation-state has increased. Two visible examples of this are the ratification of the nice treaty and changes in the Swedish constitution.\textsuperscript{19} But there have also been changes on the municipal and county councils level. EU: s impact on the municipalities and county councils is much bigger then what was expected when Sweden decided to join the EU as full members.\textsuperscript{20} Another way to view the impact that the EU possesses over the Swedish national politics is to consider the amounts of government bills that are actually made in order for Sweden to adjust its regulation in accordance to the EU rules and regulations. Since 2005 the amount of government bills that has this characteristic is around 30 per cent.\textsuperscript{21} This gives a picture of a quite huge impact of the European Union on its member states. A reasonable question might be: What might the effect be on the national political parties?

\textbf{1.1.2 Parties}

The political parties are indirectly responsible for the decisions in the political system. Even if formal decisions are made in the parliament or in municipal assemblies etc, these are constructed of members from political parties that usually already have their opinion made. The decisions are more often then not already taken when the question or issue reaches the decision making arena.\textsuperscript{22} In the Swedish constitution you can read that in the elections to the Swedish parliament, called riksdagen, you vote on a party and you also have the possibility to emit a special vote to a person from a party.\textsuperscript{23} Riksdagen has the legislative power in Sweden and it is the people’s foremost predecessor.\textsuperscript{24} The political parties constitute important channels between the decision makers and the citizens of the society.\textsuperscript{25} It is thus clear that parties are an important part of today’s modern political societies, and that they are “central actors in the organization of modern democracy”\textsuperscript{26}.

How then are the Swedish political parties affected by the fact that there is a growing impact from the European Union and that the citizens seems to be internally divided in their view on

\textsuperscript{19} For example on changes in the constitution see: RF 10 kap. 5§
\textsuperscript{20} Statskontoret, \textit{EU: s påverkan på kommuner och landsting} (2005:12), p. 92
\textsuperscript{21} Riksdag och departement, No. 10, 2008, p. 5
\textsuperscript{22} Bäck M. & Möller T., \textit{Partier och organisationer}, Norstedts Juridik, 2003, p. 23
\textsuperscript{23} Gregow T., \textit{Sveriges rikes lag}, 2005, RF 3 kap. 1§
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid, RF 1 kap. 4§
\textsuperscript{25} Bäck M. & Möller T., \textit{Partier och organisationer}, Norstedts Juridik, 2003, p. 21
\textsuperscript{26} Poguntke Thomas et.al, ”The Europeanisation of national party organisations”, 2007 p. 747
the Swedish membership of the EU. How might this effect manifest itself in the SAP and its relation to the EU? Is there any evidence that implies that there might be an impact? If so which are these evidences and how are they measurable?

1.2 Purpose and Research Question

In Sweden the SAP occupy a special position as it has dominated the Swedish politics since the 1930: s. It held the government position (only with the exceptions of a few months in 1936) between 1932 and 1976, some of these years in government were though in coalition with other parties.27 It won an average of 44.1 per cent in national elections between 1960 and 1998, more then double that of the second biggest party.28 Another interesting aspect of choosing the SAP is that of the ongoing process of the EU integration; ”that national governments are ceding control over a range of national policy arenas. At the same time, however, it is gaining considerable autonomy from their national parliament bases and hence from their own parties.”29 It was also the former SAP Prime Minister (PM) Ingvar Carlsson that handed in the Swedish application for the membership to the EU30 and “the SAP was instrumental in securing the EU membership”31. Nicholas Aylott examines the Swedish Social Democrats in relation to the Swedish EU-referendum in 1994 in his article “Between Europe and Unity: The Case of the Swedish Social Democrats”.32 The focus of Aylott’s study is on the “leadership’s management of the internal conflict”33 that the party had to deal with. The leadership of the SAP where probably quite prepared for the difficulties that the EC membership issue could cause.34 Given the circumstances the SAP leadership decided to try and accommodate the Eurosceptics inside the party instead of confronting them.35 The leadership of SAP stated that even after holding a congress which voted to support the leadership on the issue it was still open for members of the SAP to contradict their leaders and vote against the membership.36 How the party leadership was able to hold the party together is thus the focus of Aylott’s article.

27 Bäck M. & Möller T., Partier och organisationer, 2003, p. 36  
28 Aylott Nicholas, Swedish Social Democracy and European Integration, 1999, p. 1  
29 Poguntke Thomas et.al. “The Europeanisation of national party organisations”, p. 750f  
30 Tallberg Jonas, EU:s politiska system, Studentlitteratur Lund, 2001, p. 29  
33 Ibid, p.119  
34 Ibid, p.120  
35 Ibid, p.126ff  
36 Ibid, p.131
The purpose of my essay will be to examine the Swedish social democratic party and try to find out whether or not the EU impact might have affected the party and its relation to the EU. Instead of, as Aylott did, focusing on the internal party relations the focus here will be the SAP and its relation to the EU and the development of this relation. To be able to observe how the SAP has evolved in relation to the EU I will focus on the process of the CT/RT and study the development of the process over time. The time period to be used will be from 2000 up till 2008, this time period constitutes the period during which the process might have been discussed, see chapter 2.1 Background- The Process of the CT/RT. This leads me to the research question:

- How has the SAP evolved in relation to the EU during the time period 2000 till 2008 and are there signs of external EU pressure changing the party behavior or position?

As the EU issue as a whole will be too big to examine during the time limitations for this essay I have chosen to focus on the process of the CT/RT which will be discussed in my delimitations in chapter 1.6 Method, delimitations and material.

1.3 Europeanization, Political Parties and Operationalization

I will in this section start of with a wider discussion about the concept of Europeanization, this is done to be able to give a feel on the literature on Europeanization. After this I will show how Europeanization can be connected to the evolvement of existing political parties and how the national discourse that national parties exist in may play an important role. Finally I will operationalize the concept of Europeanization, showing how the effects of Europeanization will be measured in this essay.

1.3.1 Measuring Possible EU Pressure – The concept of Europeanization

When most of the EU studies in the mid 1990s turned away from explanations of the EU and instead begun to focus on the effect of the EU on national polities and policies the literature of Europeanization was born.37 Magnus Lindh et.al acknowledge an important aspect of Europeanization, namely that it “is not a theory, per se, with the ambition to explain, but is better seen as a phenomenon which a range of theoretical approaches have sought to

37 Parsons Craig, “Puzzling out the EU role in national politics”, 2007, 1135f
explain”. According to Olsen Europeanization has become a trendy, yet contested, concept. The term is used to describe a wide range of phenomena. Olsen makes a distinction between five different areas which he finds related to the use of the term Europeanization. When studying the EU influence on its member states political and institutional development the concept of Europeanization is one of the most widely used. One definition is that of Radaelli, he defines Europeanization as follows:

Processes of (a) construction, (b) diffusion, and (c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ‘ways of doing things’, and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU public policy and politics and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures, and public policies.

Radaelli mentions two ways in which this definition might be misinterpreted, one is the reduction of the analysis to only incorporate EU-decisions impact on domestic politics. He believes that the process towards a decision should also be a part of the analysis, since the process itself might pose an impact on the domestic sphere. Another way of misinterpretation is to extend the concept so much that everything in Brussels matters to the concept of Europeanization. The concern seems no longer to be if Europe puts pressure on the domestic sphere but rather in which way and to what extent. Bringing domestic politics back into the research of European integration is one of the efforts of Europeanization.

Generally, studies in this area have the pre-position that for domestic change to occur there has to be a misfit between European and domestic policies, processes and institutions. If there is no misfit between these then there is no need for the domestic level to change in order to fit the European regulations, as such it is only when there is a misfit between the European and the domestic level that there will be problems with compliance and implementation. Börzel and Risse distinguish two different types of misfits, one is that European policies lead to policy misfits. This means that the domestic national policies are challenged by the EU-level.

38 Lindh Magnus et al, Understanding Regional Action and the European Union, 2007, p. 6
40 Baun Michael et.al, “The Europeanization of Czech Politics”, p. 251
41 Radaelli M. Claudio, ”The Europeanization of Public Policy””, 2003, p. 30
42 Radaelli M. Claudio, ”Conceptual Issues”, 2007, p. 35
43 Börzel T.A & Risse T., ”Conceptualizing the Domestic Impact of Europe”, 2003, p. 60
44 Radaelli M. Claudio, ”Europeanisation: Solution or problem?”, 2004, p. 3
If there is a policy misfit, the member states will attempt to upload its policy to the European level in order to make the European policies more like the domestic policy of the specific member state. The other type of misfit is what they call institutional misfit. This type of misfit challenges the, rules, procedures and the collective understanding that these are attached to. Institutional misfit is more likely to produce change in an incremental way and the change is more likely to be enduring. This fit/misfit is referred to as the goodness of fit.\textsuperscript{45}

The idea of goodness of fit has though not gone by without criticism, there are examples of Europeanization where there have been none or little adaptational pressure on the domestic level. The domestic level can produce change without pressure arising because of misfit, the actors on the domestic level might use Europe to produce domestic change without there actually being any adaptational pressure from Europe.\textsuperscript{46}

The goodness of fit school assumes that Europeanization exist only when there is a “clear EU-origin”. Lack or presence of change is then related to the adaptational pressure from the EU-origin. Radaelli distinguishes three important elements that can be seen in most of the studies.\textsuperscript{47}

1. There is Europeanisation when the logic of domestic political actors changes. This happens when elements of EU policy-making become a cognitive and normative ‘frame of reference’ and both the logic of action and the logic of meaning are guided by Europe. Think of Europe as the ‘grammar’ of domestic political action.
2. Europeanisation is change both in the sense of responses to EU pressure and in the sense of other usages of Europe which do not presuppose pressure.
3. Europeanisation is a process consisting of complex sequences and time patters.\textsuperscript{48}

This approach makes it possible to see Europeanization in both an uploading way, were the domestic uploads its politics to the EU-level which then downloads the politics to the

\textsuperscript{45} Börzel T.A & Risse T., "Conceptualizing the Domestic Impact of Europe", 2003, p. 60ff
\textsuperscript{46} Radaelli M. Claudio, "Europeanisation: Solution or problem?", 2004, p. 7
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid, p. 9
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid, p. 10
domestic level, and a downloading way, were EU policies are downloaded to its member states.\textsuperscript{49} The figure below shows the two ways in which Europeanization works:

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure1.png}
\caption{Figure 1}
\end{figure}

The figure shows how Europeanization can be seen as pressure from the EU on the domestic level but it can also be seen as domestic uploading which interacts with European variables and then puts pressure on the domestic level. How then might Europeanization affect political parties?

\subsection{1.3.2 Europeanization and Political Parties}

Thomas Poguntke et.al. ascertains that:

> Although political parties are themselves actors at the European level of this multilevel system, it is analytically and theoretically possible and meaningful to focus on national parties as units of analysis and regard the European level as an explanatory factor for changes at the national level. After all, the undisputed primary goal of most European parties remains national office, which also represents the most important entry point to decision making at the European level.\textsuperscript{50}

They also note that the impact of Europeanization on the national party systems has been quite limited.\textsuperscript{51} Robert Ladrech also remarks on how Europeanization seems to have had a limited impact in terms of format and mechanics on the national party system. Yet there

\begin{small}
49 Radaelli M. Claudio, "Europeanisation: Solution or problem?", 2004, p. 10
50 Poguntke Thomas et.al. "The Europeanisation of national party organisations", p. 750
51 A.a
\end{small}
seems to be an indirect impact on the political parties. Ladrech goes on with the construction of an analytical framework on how Europeanization might manifest itself in parties and party activities. Ladrech then suggests five areas of investigation:

1. Policy/programmatic content
2. Organizational
3. Patterns of party competition
4. Party-government relations
5. Relations beyond the national party system

Most of these areas have a lot in common with the three important ways in which Holmes and Lightfoot argues that Europeanization have affected political parties, three ways which my operationalization will draw heavily upon.

First, with the introduction of a new political arena parties have adapted the internal structure of the party to be able to smooth the progress of engagement with European institutions. The parties have been dealing with the EU-issue both national and via participation in the European parliament (EP) elections. When participating in elections and becoming Members of the European Parliament (MEP) the parties engage in an increased involvement in a European party system and of European parties. This first approach connects to Ladrech in several ways. First under policy/programmatic content Ladrech gives an example of the French Socialist Party proclaiming the need to strengthen the transnational party federation, which is the Party of European Socialist (PES). The organizational change is another of Ladrech areas which connects to this way, for instance the growing importance of delegation to the EP. The way in which relations beyond the national party system, Ladrech’s fifth area, may have an altering effect, for example due to the interaction with European level party organization such as the PES, also seems to me to be related to this first way when national parties participates in elections to the EP.

52 Ladrech Robert, "Europeanization and Political Parties", p. 394
53 Ibid, p. 396
54 Holmes M. & Lightfoot S., "The Europeanisation of left political parties", 2007, p. 142
55 Ladrech Robert, "Europeanization and Political Parties", p. 396f
56 Ibid, p. 399
“The second way in which Europeanisation affects political parties is in relation to policy choice.”\textsuperscript{57} The EU membership has placed new issues on political agendas which have led to changes in party programmes. These changes have though also been because of an increasing EU-relation to the content of the programmes.\textsuperscript{58} This clearly connects to the first area of Ladrech where he states that “One of the most explicit types of evidence of Europeanization will be modifications in party programmes.”\textsuperscript{59} Holmes and Lightfoot distinguishes between three different levels where these EU-related contents might be affected. First we might find support within a party for individual policies of the EU, implying that the party might be supportive of an EU-regulation in this/these specific policy/policies only. Secondly the party might, at a normative level, be in favour of integration but it still might be opposed to what the EU is actually doing. Thirdly the party might be supportive of institutional participation at the EU-level, meaning that the party might be negative towards the European Union but they still want to participate in the institutional settings.\textsuperscript{60}

The third feature of Europeanization is connected to patterns of party competition. Here it is possible to examine if the left\textsuperscript{61} party adopts a hard or soft Eurosceptical line, is the party demarcating themselves against other parties on the EU-issue? The government’s central role in EU-decision making might put “pressure on parties to be in government.”\textsuperscript{62} This obviously relates to Ladrech third area, patterns of party competition. Ladrech points out how the EU itself might become politicized and how this might be used to target new voters, via either a pro- or anti-EU position, the issue might be problematic for the administration of the party, leading to new party formations. There might also be parties that will strive to capitalize on the EU-issue, using the existing patterns of competition and taking a stand that might offset the internal equilibrium.\textsuperscript{63}

Holmes and Lightfoot states that “… parties do not make policy decisions in isolation. Their decisions depend, in part, on the positions adopted by rival parties.”\textsuperscript{64} According to Sjöblom parties are functioning on at least three different arenas, namely the parliamentary arena, the electoral arena and the internal arena. Aylott sums up the three different arenas as follows:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{57} Holmes M. & Lightfoot S., “The Europeanisation of left political parties”, 2007, p. 142
\item \textsuperscript{58} Ibid, p. 142
\item \textsuperscript{59} Ladrech Robert, “Europeanization and Political Parties”, p. 396
\item \textsuperscript{60} Holmes M. & Lightfoot S., “The Europeanisation of left political parties”, p. 142
\item \textsuperscript{61} Holmes & Lightfoots paper is about left parties in general.
\item \textsuperscript{62} Holmes M. & Lightfoot S., “The Europeanisation of left political parties”, p. 143
\item \textsuperscript{63} Ladrech Robert, “Europeanization and Political Parties”, p. 397f
\item \textsuperscript{64} Holmes M. & Lightfoot S., “The Europeanisation of left political parties”, p. 143
\end{itemize}
...the parliamentary arena, with other parties’ parliamentary groups; the electoral arena, with other parties’ campaigning tools and media profiles; and the intra-party arena, in which different levels of the party (national leadership, party bureaucrats, local and regional elites, activists, rank-and-file members and affiliated organizations) jostle to have their order of priorities adopted as the party’s official line...\textsuperscript{65}

Holmes and Lightfoot seems to be referring to the parliamentary arena. My focus will also mostly be on the parliamentary arena, which includes the parliament and the government and it might also include different types of committees and commissions,\textsuperscript{66} since the bulk of my material is from the Committee on European Union Affairs, see \textit{1.6 Method, delimitations and material}. In the parliamentary arena it is of importance of who it is that is expressing their opinion since opinions can also be expresses in the name of an private member of the parliament, it is thus of importance to note if the demand is expressed in the name of the party or in the name of the individual parliament member.\textsuperscript{67} In relation to what Holmes and Lightfoot states this implies that in the parliamentary arena it is of importance to investigate if the party is demarcating itself from other parties. Even so the three different arenas are closely linked to each other and how a party behave in one arena will affect how it will behave in the other arenas.\textsuperscript{68} Hans Lödén mentions how a contention in either the internal or the parliamentary arena often leads to contention also on the electoral arena. He also points out how a party will strive to put certain contention issues on the agenda if the party’s position is regarded to be positive from a electoral point of view. The opposite is also true, that if the contention issue is regarded to be negative for the party it will try and keep it off the agenda.\textsuperscript{69} Even though the main focus of this essay will be on the parliamentary arena it might also touch upon the other arenas.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
    \item Aylott Nicholas, “Let’s Discuss this Later”, 2002. p. 442f
    \item Ibid. p. 251
    \item Aylott Nicholas, “Let’s Discuss this Later”, 2002. p. 442f
    \item Lödén Hans, \textit{Konflikt och konsensus i svensk utrikespolitik: fallet Afghanistan}, 1994 p. 22
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
1.3.3 Operationalizing “Europeanization”

As stated before my operationalization will draw heavily upon the framework from Holmes and Lightfoot which has been presented above. The operationalization will consist of three different areas and how Europeanization is expected to manifest itself in these three areas.

First: The EU-level is expected to have some kind of altering effect on the political parties’ organization and internal structure. The parties are expected to organize their internal structure as to be able to ease the engagement with the European institutions. This means that we can expect to find that the parties are participating in different aspects of European policy making (or traditional national policy making at the European level).

Second: With new issues and EU-relation to traditional issues there is expected to be an effect on the political parties and their policy choices. The effect can be seen on three different levels. First I might find support, from material from the party, for individual policies of the EU, meaning that the party is supportive of EU-regulation in this/these policies. The party might also be supportive of several policies but it can still be against certain policies, finally the party might be fully supportive, meaning that they support all policies. Secondly a party might normatively be in favour of EU integration, but it can still be opposed to what the EU is actually doing. Thirdly a party might want to participate in the institutional settings of the EU, this though does not mean that the party has to be supportive of the EU.

Thirdly: The EU issue can impinge on the patterns of party competitions. The left parties might adopt a soft or hard Eurosceptical line. Parties might also demarcate themselves in the EU issue. This is something that is done in the parliamentary arena and these are aspects of influence on patterns of party competition that can be caused by the EU.

1.4 Specified Purpose, Research Questions and Matrix

As stated before my research will focus on the SAP and its relation to the EU, with the focus on the process of the CT/RT, during the time period 2000-2008. First I will investigate if the SAP has organized its internal structures to be able to participate in policy making at the EU-level. Secondly I will investigate the SAP and its policies. Is the SAP supportive of none/individual/several/all policies of the CT/RT, is it normatively in favour of EU integration in relation to the CT/RT and is the party supportive of participation in the
institutional settings in relation to the CT/RT. Thirdly I will investigate patterns of party competition and the SAP in relation to the CT/RT. Is the SAP adopting a soft or hard Eurosceptical line in relation to the CT/RT. This leads me to pose three specified research questions.

1. Is the SAP participating at the EU-level in relation to process of the CT/RT?

2. How has the SAP policies evolved in relation to the process of the CT/RT? leading me to pose three sub questions.
   a) Is the SAP supportive of individual/several/all policies of the EU in relation to the process of the CT/RT and has there been any change in the policies supported by the SAP?
   b) Is the SAP normatively in favour of integration in relation to the process of the CT/RT?
   c) Is the SAP supportive of participation in the institutional settings of the EU in relation to the process of the CT/RT?

3. How have the patterns of party competition evolved in relation to the process of the CT/RT, leading me to pose the question: Is the SAP adopting a soft or hard Eurosceptical line in relation to the process of the CT/RT?

These three questions, with sub questions, will thus be the specific research questions of my essay. As of such they will be the questions that are to be applied on my empirical material. From these specific research questions I have developed a matrix that looks as follows;

Table 1.3 Matrix

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The matrix is constructed so that I will be able to answer all the specific research questions for every year of the investigation. On the top of the matrix the years of this research are presented and on the left there are numbers and letters correlating with my specific research questions. I will then be able to answer the questions, in the cells, for every year. In question 1) a **Y** means yes and **N** means no, this also applies for question 2 b) and 2 c). In Question 2 a) the possible inputs are **N** for support of no policies, **Ind.** for support of individual policies **Sev.** for support of several policies and **All** for support of all policies. I have decided that individual policies stretch up till three policies and from four policies it is several. In the third question the input will be either an **S** for soft Eurosceptical, an **H** for hard Eurosceptical or an **N** for no Eurosceptical position. A hard Eurosceptical line is possible if the SAP is supportive of none or individual policies, a soft Eurosceptical line is possible if the SAP is supportive of several policies and no Eurosceptical position is possible if the SAP does not state any scepticism in its relation to the EU. In all the questions the big letters can be replaced with small letters if the indicators are vague. A blank cell simply means that I am not able to answer the question with the material at my hands. In some of the questions there is a possibility for change that could occur without showing in the matrix, for instance 2 a where there could be support for several policies that changes over the years but still results in a **Sev.** in the matrix. To always be able to show if a change has occurred (even if the input in the matrix is the same) I will use a * to mark whenever a change occurs.

Signs of Europeanization will then be **Y** on question 1), 2 a) and 2 b). On question 2 a) the signs of Europeanization are more apparent the more policies that are supported and if change occurs in policies this is also a sign of Europeanization. Question 3 the signs are consequently more obvious the less Eurosceptical the party is.

Before moving on to the materials I want to put my research in a wider perspective and discuss what earlier works on this topic have come up with and then I will discuss the research method, case selection delimitations and choice of material.
1.5 Previous Research

The research on how Europe “plays a role in party programs, party ideology and party competition at the national level... is now tending to receive more attention.”\textsuperscript{70} It is however only recently that “the notion of Europeanization in its relation to national political parties and party systems has begun to be systematically unpacked and specified.”\textsuperscript{71} Even so there has been some research done in this area and some of these, the ones which I find to be most relevant to my research, will be presented here.

Robert Ladrech identifies what he refers to as the left and its relation to the EU. The left is identified as constitutive of Green, Communist and social democratic parties. The social democratic parties occupy the space on the centre-left.\textsuperscript{72} As the Left forms part of the national government it deals with the EU via the government’s different ministries or even the PM’s office.\textsuperscript{73} Ladrech points out how the Left in some aspects has left its mark at the EU-level, for instance via the growing attention on employment objectives. He also states that Left politics is overwhelmingly national in focus and that the “integration of European issues into the national arena of competitive politics has been muted.”\textsuperscript{74} In his conclusions he makes three remarks. First, the Left is present at the EU-level but it seems to be difficult to obtain a truly European policy perspective.\textsuperscript{75} Secondly the Left, and in particular the Social Democrats, has had some success in shaping the policy at the EU-level. Thirdly the participation of the Left at the EU-level has, perhaps unintended, helped to normalise the EU issue and “legitimised the EU as an arena for rival political views.”\textsuperscript{76}

Another article which I find to be interesting is an article by David J. Bailey. In his article “Obfuscation through Integration: Legitimating ‘New’ Social Democracy in the European Union” he states that there has been an increasing support for European integration by Social democratic parties. He then argues how this enables social democratic parties to promote social democracy at the supranational level.\textsuperscript{77} When he investigates Sweden he concludes that;

\textsuperscript{70} Mair Peter, “Political Parties and Party System”, 2007, p.154
\textsuperscript{71} Mair Peter, “Political Parties and Party System”, 2007, p.155
\textsuperscript{72} Ladrech R, “The Left and the European Union”, 2003, p. 112f
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid, p. 114
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid, p. 120
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid, p. 122
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid, p. 123
\textsuperscript{77} Bailey J. David, “Obfuscation through Integration”, 2005, p. 1
The case of Sweden, therefore, illustrates the manner in which the retreat and retrenchment of social democracy during the 1980s and 1990s was accompanied by a significant turn towards Europe. This turn was itself consistently portrayed as a means to pursue renewed (yet, significantly more moderate) social democratic objectives at the supranational level.\footnote{Bailey J. David, “Obfuscation through Integration”, 2005, p. 22}

In his conclusions he states that;

This article has sought to show how social democratic parties’ support for the European Union represents an attempt to retain social democracy as a relevant and mobilizing concept despite its apparent failure. By supporting, advocating and promoting initiatives at the European level, social democratic parties are able to retain their credibility as social democratic organizations. This is despite the non-realization of a substantive social democratic agenda at the EU level, itself explicable in terms of the difficulties intrinsic to European integration. It is this ability to promote, but not achieve, social democracy at the European level – and yet to understand that failure as resulting from problems with European integration (rather than as a failure for social democracy itself) – which explains the ‘new’ social democratic turn to European integration. This is the only positive explanation consistent with both the lack of a social democratic agenda at the EU level and the empirical evidence showing that increased support for European integration within social democratic parties is due to increased expectations for reregulation at the EU level.\footnote{Ibid, p. 29f}

Even though these articles have a different approach I find it very useful to also give room for them as the area of research is somewhat the same. Since the last article even takes the case of Sweden it can be useful to put my research in a wider understanding.

Another article that is more closely linked to mine is the article “The Europeanization of Czech Politics: The Political Parties and the EU Referendum” by Michael Baun et.al. The article examines the Europeanization of Czech politics in the period of pre-accession, which is the period when the country is a candidate country. The focus of the research is on Czech political parties and the party system and how these might have been affected by EU pressure.\footnote{Baun Michael et.al, “The Europeanization of Czech Politics”, 2006, p. 254f} As a result of Europeanization they find changes in the party programmes and
there has also been an affect on the “nature of political party competition.” Changes in party programmes has been for instance that the Czech parties has elaborated their views on European integration and in order to meet with the conditions of membership there has been an adoption of the EU entry criteria. The political party competition was affected since the major parties where behind the goal that Czech should become an EU-member, the only real exception being the Communist. This article is of obvious reasons of interest for my research, they have found lots of support for Europeanization of the Czech politics. This case differs from mine since the focus of the research is on a candidate country state and mine is on a member state.

Holmes and Lightfoots article is another article of obvious interest since my operationalization draws heavily on their article. The focus of their research is on parties of the left- social democratic, communist and green parties, and how they have tackled the challenge of Europeanisation. My biggest interest in their article is that of the social democrats so my focus here will be on that. Since their focus is on the EP the party group that represents the social democrats is mainly the PES. The PES is one of the most developed European parties, it is also one of the largest party groups in the EP. Holmes and Lightfoot distinguishes three ways in which Europeanization might manifest itself. First they investigate what they call the practical adaptation of the left, “Parties have been faced with a new political arena, and have adapted their internal organisational structures to facilitate engagement with European institutions”. The evidence for this first aspect of Europeanization is extensive. Parties participate in the elections to the EP and they take the seats in the EP that they win in these elections, parties also join party groups that are ideologically compatible such as the PES.

The second aspect of Europeanization, called the policy adaptation of the left, refers to the view that parties have on EU-integration and on changes in party programmes because of EU. A majority of the social democratic parties have gone through an unsure phase or even been hostile towards European integration but they have moved toward a more pro-EU

81 Baun Michael et.al, "The Europeanization of Czech Politics ", 2006, p. 274
82 A.a.
83 Holmes M. & Lightfoot S., "The Europeanisation of left political parties", 2007, p. 141
84 Ibid, p. 144
85 Ibid, p. 142
86 Ibid, p. 146
87 Ibid, p. 142
They conclude that the Europeanization of this aspect has proceeded unevenly in terms of policy adaptation but they also note that there is evidence for an increasingly pro-EU position that has gone the furthest among social democrats. They conclude that the Europeanization of this aspect has proceeded unevenly in terms of policy adaptation but they also note that there is evidence for an increasingly pro-EU position that has gone the furthest among social democrats.

The third aspect relates to patterns of party competition, are there parties demarcating themselves on the issue of EU-integration, they also state that EU puts extra pressure on parties to be in government. In this area there have been critique of the EU because it was either to neo-liberal or not “left” enough, this critique has been used to distance the parties from the mainstream parties. Holmes and Lightfoot concludes that “This is where Europeanization has advanced least far, although these parties do still show signs of practical adaptation, while calling for radical reform of the EU.”

As stated before this article is of big interest for me since it investigates the challenge of Europeanization in relation to (among other left parties) the social democrats in the EP. These articles put my research in a wider context and it emphasizes the relevance of the issue to political science.

**1.6 Method, delimitations and material**

How the SAP is handling its relation with the EU is of course of great importance to this essay. In the Committee on European Union Affairs (CEUA) the government is consulting the parliament, via representatives, to which politics that Sweden is to support in the Council of the European Union. They also deliberate in this Committee prior to meeting in the European Council. Shorthand records are taken of all the meetings and after approval they are made public.

To investigate these shorthand records thus seems to be a proper approach if I am to investigate the SAP and its relation to the process of the CT/RT. To be able to handle this comprehensive material the keywords konstitution (constitution) fördrag, (treaty) Laeken (Laeken) Lissabon (Lisbon) and framtidsdebatten (the future debate) was used. These

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88 Holmes M. & Lightfoot S., “The Europeanisation of left political parties”, 2007, p. 142f  
89 Ibid, p. 150  
90 Ibid, p. 143  
91 Ibid, p. 151  
92 Ibid, p. 154  
93 The Committee on European Union Affairs, www.riksdagen.se – Committees
keywords should be enough since I am limiting my research to the SAPs view on the process of the CT/RT and to discuss this process without mentioning any of these words is not very likely. The SAP and its stands while in government as well as its view those years not in government should be presented here. The years in government (2000 till 2006-10-01) will be presented since they have to deliberate the government views with the CEUA. The years in opposition (from 2006-10-01) will be presented because the SAP representative from the parliament is to express the SAPs opinions on the government stands. In addition to this I will investigate the SAP and its work in the Convention. This is done by a review of the proposed amendments during the Convention done by the government representative Lena Hjelm-Wallen in the Convention. This should aid me in my research an ad to the material found in the CEUA. Even so there is a problem with these amendments, there are no dates on them and since the Convention stretches over two years I do not know in which year the amendment was admitted. Since a bigger part of the Convention takes place in 2002 I have decided to place the Convention fully under this year. When researching the amendments I will look for reoccurring political values, meaning that I will investigate if there is something that the SAP repeatedly remarks. Much of the material are in Swedish and all the translations in the material section are my own.

To get a broader perspective on the SAP and its overall relation to the EU, which of course affects its relation to the process of the CT/RT, I will also investigate the foreign declarations during the years in government, 2000-2006 and in 2007-08 I will look at the introducing foreign declaration addresses in the parliament. These states the SAPs position on the foreign affairs. With more time and resources it would be possible to investigate the parliament debate, go more deeply into the work done in the Convention and of course to investigate the Intergovernmental Conference (IGC). With this in mind I still find my material to be fulfilling for my purpose and all in all it should reflect the SAP in its relation to the process of the CT/RT.

This case study is a qualitative text analysis that examines the Swedish Social Democrats and uses the concept of Europeanization as an analytical framework. There is a debate among researchers of the usages of qualitative and quantitative research which I will not go into here instead I will go through the methodological issues that are connected with Europeanization. For starters Europeanization is a concept, not a theory. Qualitative research is “better
equipped for concept formation and the generation of new hypothesis. Since Europeanization is a concept, case studies should in this aspect, in my opinion, be better suited to handle research in this area. There is an aspect of Europeanization, namely that of internal validity - meaning that it is the variable of interest that is actually causing the output, that has as of yet attracted little attention. Since my research question is if there are signs of EU-pressure, and not if there de facto is EU-pressure this is not really an issue, I will not be able to state that EU-pressure is the cause and that it is not another variable, like for instance globalization. Even if this is the case there are of course some indicators in my research that logically implies that the EU-level at least has something to do with the issue. The focus on the process of the CT/RT does imply that the EU-level should matter since negotiations around these are conducted on the EU-level, both in the Convention and in the IGC.

Validity is measuring what you intend to measure. I would say that my validity is good since I believe that with my operationalization and my material it is quite clear that I am measuring whether or not there are signs of EU-pressure on the SAP and its relation to the EU and especially the process of the CT/RT. Maybe the validity could be improved by a widening my material even more but I believe that the material is broad enough to be able to answer my question. In terms of reliability, that is if I have been strict enough in my examination of the material I have strived to make sure that my conclusions are correct by trying to falsify them. This becomes a bit problematic since I am the judge of whether or not the indicators in the material are vague or clear, being aware of this I have strived to be clear in my analysis so that it should be easy to follow my reasoning and then its up to the reader whether or not they agree with me. Because of this awareness my reliability ought to be good and if I where to conduct this research at another time I am confident that my conclusion would be the same. This implies that my intra-subjectivity, that the same person comes to the same conclusions if conducting the same research at different times, ought to be good. Whether my inter-subjectivity, that is that the same research is executed by different persons who come to the same conclusions, is good is harder to say since I have not made someone else do this research. By being open and thorough in my material and analysis I at least allow for the reader to follow my arguments and they can then consider whether my statements are logical.

95 Ibid, p. 61
96 Bergström G. and Boréus K. (2005), Textens mening och makt, studentlitteratur, Lund, p. 34
97 Ibid, p. 35
98 Ibid, p. 36
99 A.a.
or not. This allows for the reader to take its own stand on whether or not the inter-subjectivity is good.

As stated earlier it is of importance who the person is that is declaring his/hers/the party position. This is of importance because the closer you get to the core of the party the more reliable their opinions are as being an expression of the SAP. Therefore I will always label, in the footnote, what position the one making a statement holds at the time of the statement.

My material will be analysed in sections of yearly analysis. This is done to make the analysis easier to follow, since every year will be analysed directly after the material from that year.

1.7 Disposition

In this first introduction chapter I have presented the problem of research and then I moved on to the concept of Europeanization, which I draw my analytical framework from. To put my research in a wider perspective I presented some previous research on the same topic and what their conclusions had been. Finally I also discussed some methodological issues in regards to my research. The second chapter of my research will constitute my material and my yearly analysis but before that I will present a small background to the process of the CT/RT. Finally I will move on to my third and last chapter. Here I will make my conclusions and I will also make my concluding reflections.
2. The SAP and its Relation to the CT/RT

2.1 Background- The Process of the CT/RT

At the IGC in Nice in December 2000 a declaration about the future of the European Union was passed. The IGC stated that it wanted a broad and thorough debate on the future of the EU.\textsuperscript{100} This debate was to continue up until another IGC in 2004. To enable this debate to prepare for the discussion in the 2004 IGC the European Council in Laeken, December 2001, decided to establish a “Convention on the future of Europe”.\textsuperscript{101}

The Convention consists of representatives from member states and candidate countries governments, the national parliaments, the European Parliament and the European Commission. The national parliaments take up 56 seats and the government representatives take up 28. The total number of members in the Convention adds up to 105 plus observers. The Convention opened on 28 February 2002.\textsuperscript{102} The Swedish representatives are, from the government (s) Lena Hjelm-Wallén and from the parliament (s) Sören Lekberg and (m) Göran Lennmarker.\textsuperscript{103} The Convention was scheduled to finish in spring 2003 and the IGC were to start in 2004, giving enough room for national parliaments to take their stands.\textsuperscript{104}

The Convention draft was to be finished in June 2003 but there were some delays and the Convention presented its final draft on 18 July 2003. The draft was in the form of a draft Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe. This document then constituted the foundation of the IGC that opened on 4 October 2003. The IGC had its agenda set by the previous work done in the Convention and it was scheduled to be quite short, final agreements were to be reached already in December 2003. Besides this the IGC was similar to previous IGC with the head of states formally at the top and Foreign Ministers meeting regularly.\textsuperscript{105} There were some issues that were not easily handled in the IGC and it final agreements were not reached in time. During the Irish presidency the IGC was reconvened and the Constitutional Treaty was signed in Rome on 29 October 2004.\textsuperscript{106}

\textsuperscript{100} Government writing, Regeringens skrivelse 2001/02:115 p. 3
\textsuperscript{102} Government writing, Regeringens skrivelse 2001/02:115 p. 5f
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid, 115 p. 27f
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid, p. 6
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid, p. 119f
In the ratification process that followed, all member states needs to ratify a treaty before it can enter into force, there were some problems that occurred. A number of states used referendums as instruments in their ratification process and as it would turn out a number of these states voted against the CT. The result was that the CT matter was put on hold to make room for a period of reflection.\textsuperscript{107}

In the summer of 2007 the Constitutional Treaty was revived in the form of a Reform Treaty. Much of the changes that was made in the CT were to be found in the RT. But in some important aspects the RT was different. For starters it was no longer a Constitutional Treaty, instead it was made in the shape of reforms of the already existing treaties. It still had the CT as a benchmark but some of the controversial parts of the CT were removed.\textsuperscript{108}

This thus constitutes the background of the process of the CT/RT and from this I shall now continue with my empirical findings.

\section*{2.2 Empirical Findings and Analysis}

In this section I will present the yearly findings from the CEUA and the parliament debate. In 2002 I will also include the findings from the Convention. Each year will also be analysed in relation to the material from that year.

\subsection*{2.2.1 The Swedish Social Democrats Position in 2000}

\textbf{The Committee on European Union Affairs 2000}

In the end of 2000 the question about the future of the union finally appears at the ongoing IGC, but still at this early stage there are no specific opinions that are being advocated. There is a will to have a broad discussion about the future of Europe but still there are some areas that are given certain attention since these really need to be discussed. These are for example what areas of competence the EU should have, the possibilities of making the treaty more comprehensible, the status of the statute and also the role of the national parliaments in the EU.\textsuperscript{109}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{108}Hettne J. & Langdal F., “Vad innebär reformfördraget?”, European Policy Analysis, Nr. 4, 2007, p.1
\textsuperscript{109}State Secretary, Lars Danielsson, Anf. 2, CEUA, Sunday 10 December 2000
\end{flushleft}
Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 2000

The SAP is supportive of the extension of the EU. It supports the candidate countries in their efforts of becoming members. It sees the expansion of the EU as being a part of a peace building project. EU is the best guarantee for long-term peace and safety in Europe. In this EU and its relation with Russia is also of great importance. The SAP believes in an EU that is better suited to handle and prevent crises. The SAP believes that Sweden is still to be neutral.110

A Union for sustainable development, welfare and safety, a Union that is open modern and effective are all aspects of the EU that the SAP supports. The work for human rights and democracy are important issues to be lifted in the EU. Environmental, gender, increased employment, and foreign aid issues are also areas were the SAP believes that a great deal can be done in the EU. Environmental and gender issues needs more attention while the foreign aid needs to be more effective. The fight against unemployment is important and through growth and competitiveness the employment of the future is created.111

2.2.2 Analysis 2000

Table 2.1 Matrix 2000

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Since the SAP was in government during the IGC they were participators there. The IGC was the start for the debate of the future of the EU which in this research is a part of the process which means that it was participating at the EU-level.

The CEUA does not state any support of policies but when turning to the debate in the parliament it becomes clear that the SAP are supporters of certain policies. It is supporter of an extension of the EU and it believes in an EU better suited for handling and preventing crises. Environmental, gender, foreign aid and increased employment are all policies were the SAP believes that much can be done in the EU. This shows that they are supportive of several policies. Whether the SAP is normatively in favour if integration in relation to the CT/RT is hard to say but with the support for several policies at the EU-level the SAP shows that it is at least in favour of integration of these issues hinting

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111 A.a
that it might be in favour of integration, resulting in a small y. Since it did participate in the IGC it is in my meaning supportive of the institutional settings.

In the third question I find no support for the SAP being Eurosceptical towards the process of the CT/RT. This though is not that surprising since this is just at the beginning of the process and there is not yet much to be sceptical of. Still this results in an N in the matrix.

2.2.3 The Swedish Social Democrats Position in 2001

The Committee on European Union Affairs 2001

In 2001 the debate is mostly about the Convention and its composition. The SAP opinion is that the there should be time for national debate after the Convention and before the IGC starts. According to the party the candidate countries should also have full member status in the Convention since the Convention is only of a preparatory character.112 There should also be a good representation of the national parliament in the Convention.113 Göran Persson points out how the government have driven these issues. The SAP believes that the Convention should not be tied up by a narrow or specified agenda.114 The prime minister later on points out that the Convention is not the only opportunity to affect the outcome, after the Convention there is an IGC-process where agencies like the CEUA around Europe will have the opportunity to deliberate with their government.115

Prior to the meeting in Laeken, where the European council is to agree upon a declaration about the future process on the negotiations on the issue of the future of the European Union, the PM Göran Persson makes a few statements. For instance he says that “The cooperation can and should be improved and made more effective, but there is no need to reconstruct all of the European construction.”116 He also states that the prerequisite for a collected performance on the foreign policy area needs to be improved.117

112 Minister of Foreign Affairs, Anna Lindh, Anf. 38, CEUA Tuesday 2 October 2001
113 Minister of Foreign Affairs, Anna Lindh, Anf. 44, CEUA Tuesday 2 October 2001
114 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 108, CEUA Friday 12 October 2001
115 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 119, CEUA Friday 12 October 2001
116 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 2, CEUA Friday 7 December 2001
117 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 2, CEUA Friday 7 December 2001
The Convention will also have a president, the issue of who this will be is not yet settled. “The candidate situation is almost as before, that is a number of men around 65 years old from different European countries are mentioned as possible candidates – great persons as they may be, but still with this in common.”

He continues to say that the Convention will be dealing with the four issues agreed upon in Nice, simplification of the treaty, area of competence, the status of the statute and the role of the national parliament. But there is also an ambition from the Belgian presidency to include new issues. The SAP has been critical of this since the Belgians ambition with the future of the Union is quite clear and the SAP does not believe that a discussion about this, knowing the separate views of member countries, will be of any good.

Göran Magnusson (s) also stresses the fact that the European Convention and its connection to the EU is something that should be discussed during the Convention procedure.

**Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 2001**

The biggest challenge is the expansion, it is the most critical question for the future of the EU and for the development of the EU according to the SAP. With the expansion, issues like freedom, democracy and welfare are supported. The SAP supports the debate on the future of the EU and it states that the parliaments will have a central place in this debate. The work in the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) need to be more coordinated. The capacity of the EU to handle and prevent crisis are important and adds to the peace making ability of the EU. A decision about an EU lead force should be made unanimously. It is also important to state that the crisis management does not imply any mutual defence obligations or the establishment of a European army. The SAP also wants to review the current writing of the Swedish neutrality policy but the intention is not to abandon the neutrality policy. The SAP also feels that the EU should not be a “closed club” it should be open for all.

The EU should also be working to fight environmental pollution and to ensure full employment. A strategy for sustainable development is to be approved. The EU work in securing human rights around the world is of great importance. The EU also needs to be

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118 State Secretary, Lars Danielsson, Anf. 2, CEUA Thursday 13 December 2001
119 State Secretary, Lars Danielsson, Anf. 2, CEUA Thursday 13 December 2001
120 Member of the CEUA, Göran Magnusson, Anf. 4, CEUA Thursday 13 December 2001
121 Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs Wednesday 7 February 2001
working for solidarity and justice and fight against poverty in the world. For this the foreign aid needs to be effective and suited to its purpose.\footnote{Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs Wednesday 7 February 2001}

### 2.2.4 Analysis 2001

#### Table 3.2 Matrix 2001

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In 2001 The PM Göran Persson states that the government have driven these issues, issues that need to be driven at the EU-level. There is also the meeting in Laeken where the SAP participates.

The SAP is supportive of several policies at the EU-level. The expansion of the Union, which will promote freedom, democracy and welfare according to the SAP, is supported. Crisis prevention and management is mentioned as something important and that the CFSP need to be more coordinated are signs of support in at least some part of these policy areas. The fight against environmental pollution is important and so is the work to ensure full employment. Foreign aid is also supported as a fight against injustice and poverty. It also points to the need for time for national debate between the Convention and the IGC. During 2001 the SAP changes its position on how the Convention should work. First it states that the Convention should not be tied up by a narrow or specified agenda but later when the Belgian presidency wants to include new issues the SAP is critical of this. The SAP implies that this is because of different views on the future of Europe. There is also a switch in the employment policy being promoted. The SAP has switched from increased employment in 2000 till the goal of full employment in 2001. If the SAP is normatively in favour is yet again hard to answer but since it is in favour of the debate on the future of Europe and it is supportive of several policies these points towards the SAP being normatively in favour of integration. These indirect signs lead to a small \( y \) in the matrix. The SAP state that they are supportive of the debate on the future of Europe and they participate in Laeken which to me shows the SAPs support for the institutional settings.

There are some small signs of Eurosceptism from the SAP. It states, in relation to the future debate, that there is no need to reconstruct all of the European construction, which is a bit sceptical in a debate about the future. It is also critical of the Belgians attempts to include new
issues for the Convention. These are some small signs of Eurosceptism and they result thus in a small s in the matrix.

2.2.5 The Swedish Social Democrats Position in 2002

The Committee on European Union Affairs 2002

In 2002 the debate in the Committee continues to be about the Convention. There is a question about the financing of the Convention, but the Prime Minister Göran Persson does not find it appropriate for the Prime Minister himself to have any opinions on this issue. He instead refers to the representation of Lekberg and Lennmarker in the Convention and that they probably will be dealing with this in the Convention.  

The timetable of the Convention and the upcoming IGC is still at issue. Göran Persson stresses the need for a pause between the Convention and the IGC. Anna Lindh says that the absolute demand for the time of this pause is six months. Even if this is the opinion of the Sweden government and parliament there are those countries that are interested in a shorter pause between the Convention and the start of the IGC. The timetable that was set in Laeken was that the Convention should finish half way through 2003 and that the IGC would start in 2004. There is a discussion if the IGC should start already around September 2003, just after the Convention has ended. Advocators of this suggestion were for instance Italy.

Another issue around the Convention that is still going on is the issue about what the Convention really should discuss. SAP is advocators of the position that the Convention should be quite open to discuss those issues that the Convention feels the need to discuss. Some issues though seem to be necessary to discuss, such as the budget, foreign policy, external relation and food security with its institution. The representations of the national parliament in the Convention are also still being advocated. Anna Lindh (s) also talks about the thoughts of an EU-federation; “Belgian are instead interested in a kind of constitution for a European federation that Sweden and other countries have not been interested in.”

123 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 10, CEUA Friday 8 March 2002
124 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 2, CEUA Wednesday 12 June 2002
125 Minister of Foreign Affairs, Anna Lindh, Anf. 41, CEUA Friday 15 November 2002
126 State Secretary, Lars Danielsson, Anf. 11, CEUA Friday 10 December 2002
127 Minister of Foreign Affairs, Anna Lindh, Anf. 14, CEUA Thursday 11 July 2002
128 Minister of Foreign Affairs, Anna Lindh, Anf. 4, CEUA Thursday 11 July 2002
129 Minister of Foreign Affairs, Anna Lindh, Anf. 14, CEUA Thursday 11 July 2002
Persson also states that a move towards federalism is not a move that the SAP is supporters of. He also says that

Here are three bodies that will be measured against each other in a struggle – feel free to call it a struggle because that is almost what it is. It’s the European Parliament, which we all like. It’s the Commission, which of course is powerful if it has a strong leadership. It’s the Council, which represent the interstate in the Union. We have had and have the perception that the Council should be empowered.

Even if there might be those who are advocators of a federal EU the government and the Prime Minister are not. There is a debate about a president of the European Council but the PM instead likes to speak about a chairman of the Council. Göran Persson also states that he does not want to participate in an EU where the European Commission becomes a European government and the EP has taxation right.

Another discussion in the Committee is about a non-paper that the government had presented at a meeting in Brussels. The paper had not been given to the Committee before it was presented in Brussels. The debate is not about the contents of the paper but about the fact that the Committee on European Union Affairs did not have a chance of seeing it previous to the presentation. Anna Lindh apologizes for this inconvenience but still defends the right of a government representative, in this case the Prime Minister, to be able to express his or hers views.

One of the good things about the European Union is that it puts the new member countries under a framework that makes them part of an international environment policy. “The biggest, most obvious altering environmental force that exists in Europe is of course the European Union.” The PM does not appreciate the big part that the agricultural policy area constitutes

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130 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 2, CEUA Friday 10 December 2002
131 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 10, CEUA Friday 10 December 2002
132 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 10, CEUA Friday 10 December 2002
133 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 15, CEUA Friday 10 December 2002
134 An off-the-record or unofficial presentation of (government) policy
135 CEUA Friday 15 November 2002
136 Minister of Foreign Affairs, Anna Lindh, Anf. 33, CEUA Friday 15 November 2002
137 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 10, CEUA Friday 10 December 2002
of the budget of the EU. Neither is he happy with the reduction of the member fee that the UK has.\textsuperscript{138}

**Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 2002**

The expansion of the EU continues to constitute the most important priority of the SAP in the work with the Union. To keep peace on the European continent is the main purpose of the EU. The EU’s potential in the preventing conflicts and in its capacity of crisis management makes the EU a tool to support peace and security. The EU should also be an actor in the prevention of international terrorism. SAP has also worked for an increased rule of law in the EU. The SAP also feels the need to fight against those that believe that the EU should not be open for all.\textsuperscript{139}

The SAP states that justice, human rights, democracy and sustainable development need to be global and that it should strive for the same values in Sweden, EU and the whole world. Openness and solidarity are also values that should be supported on the EU-level.\textsuperscript{140}

**The Convention**

The most frequently reoccurring remarks made by the SAP are those referring to the member states. For instance the SAP feels that it would be appropriate to highlight the fact that the member states remain the masters of the treaty.\textsuperscript{141} In line with this the principle of subsidiarity is advocated a number of times\textsuperscript{142} and that some decisions need to be made unanimously.\textsuperscript{143}

There are also some other issues that are lifted. The gender equality, “that men and women have equal rights is fundamental” according to the SAP.\textsuperscript{144} That “equality is a value of the same dignity as liberty”\textsuperscript{145} is noted and the environmental issue is also lifted a number of times.\textsuperscript{146} Another issue that the SAP lifts is that it does not want a president of the European Council it prefers the term chair for this post.\textsuperscript{147}

\textsuperscript{138} Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 10, CEUA Friday 10 December 2002
\textsuperscript{139} Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 2002 13 February 2002
\textsuperscript{140} Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 2002 13 February 2002
\textsuperscript{141} Suggestion for amendments of Article 1.1, 1.3 and 1.4 (new)
\textsuperscript{142} For instance Suggestion for amendments of Article 11.1, Article 16.1 and Article 31
\textsuperscript{143} For instance Suggestion for amendments of Article 24, Article 14
\textsuperscript{144} Suggestion for amendment of Article 36, 3-4
\textsuperscript{145} Suggestion for amendment of Article 1-2
\textsuperscript{146} For instance Suggestion for amendments of Article 17, Article 1 and Article III-18 (ex Article 33)
\textsuperscript{147} For instance Suggestion on amendments of Article 16a and Article 4
2.2.6 Analysis 2002

Table 2.3 Matrix 2002

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The SAP is participating in the Convention which means that it is obviously participating at the EU-level.

The SAP is supportive of several policies. The environmental issue is lifted by the SAP and it sees the EU as an important actor in this area. The expansion of the EU is still important and so is the EU’s ability to handle crisis and preventing conflicts. The SAP states that the EU should be an actor in the prevention of international terrorism. Other than this the SAP states that it shall strive for the same values in EU as in Sweden, values of human rights, democracy, justice, sustainable development, openness and solidarity. The discussion of the pause between the Convention and the IGC continues, SAP states six months as a minimum of the pause. The SAP is again of the opinion that the Convention should be quite open to discuss the issues it feels it needs to discuss. In the Convention issues such as environment and gender equality are supported. If it is normatively in favour of integration is again quite hard to tell. It is supportive of several policies and it is participating in the making of the treaty in the Convention, this participation is of such dignity that if the SAP was not normatively in favour of integration it is reasonable to believe that it should have stopped this process. In my opinion it would not make sense to participate in the making of a treaty if you were against integration. This thus leads to a Y in the matrix. The SAP is also supportive of participation in the institutional settings since it participates in the Convention.

There are some signs of Eurosceptism also in 2002, for instance the SAP states that it does not want an EU-federation and as seen in the Convention the SAP is firm believer that the member states should be the masters of the treaty. This implies some sort of scepticism regarding the EU-level and results in a small s in the matrix.

2.2.7 The Swedish Social Democrats Position in 2003

The Committee on European Union Affairs 2003

In 2003 the debate about the timetable for the pause between the end of the Convention and the IGC continues. There has to be enough time so that the new member countries are able to
fully participate. The Swedish government position is still that the timetable from Laeken goes, that is finishing the Convention in June 2003 and start off the IGC six months later. This is something that the Minister for Foreign Affairs will stick to. There is a discussion about if the Convention needs to have some more time to finish. Anna Lindh states that the SAP believes that it is good if the Convention finishes on time so that there is enough time for national debate. If the Convention does not finish on time, the start of the IGC has to be postponed to give time for the national debate. This is also what the minister Jan O. Karlsson (s) states the 12th of June as being the position of Sweden. Even so about a week later the PM Göran Persson states that the suggestion that the IGC should start in October is acceptable. It is not ideal, since the parliaments handling of the governments writing is not finished until November, but it is acceptable. Because that the negotiations in the IGC probably wont become sharp before a couple of months this is acceptable.

Lena Hjelm-Wallén has made a proposal for alteration in the Convention. The proposal is about gender equality. The government is also working to incorporate the European strategy for employment in the Lisbon Strategy. This also includes making the working environment an issue in the field of the strategy of employment. The Minister for the Environment, Lena Sommestad (s), says that the Swedish view regarding the environment and the new treaty is that it has to be at least as “far stretching” as the old treaties but that it would be positive if the new treaty could go further. The SAP has worked to give the areas of “gender equality, employment, environment and a long-term sustainable development a stronger position in the fundamental texts.” There is also a will to work for increased openness to be incorporated in the treaty. The SAP also thinks that the Councils meeting should be public when ever it legislates. There are some aspects that the SAP doubts that the EU should incorporate in its area of competence. For instance the PM says that he thinks that any allusion to religion does not belong in the treaty. This discussion comes up in relation to that Christian ethics, morality and tradition are being discussed in relation to the treaty.

148 Minister of Foreign Affairs, Anna Lindh, Anf. 71, CEUA Friday 24 January. 2003
149 State Secretary, Lars Danielsson, Anf. 4, CEUA Friday 21 February 2003
150 Minister of Foreign Affairs, Anna Lindh, Anf. 66, CEUA Friday 14 March 2003
151 Minister, January O. Karlsson, Anf. 2, CEUA Thursday 12 June 2003
152 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 2, CEUA Wednesday 18 June 2003
153 State Secretary, Lars Danielsson, Anf. 13, CEUA Friday 21 February 2003
154 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 2, CEUA Wednesday 19 March 2003
155 Minister for the Environment, Lena Sommestad, Anf. 37, CEUA Friday 6 June 2003
156 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 2, CEUA Wednesday 18 June 2003
157 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 22, CEUA Thursday 11 December 2003
158 State Secretary, Lars Danielsson, Anf. 45, CEUA Friday 3 October 2003
Other things like tourism and social questions has also been discussed in relation to the treaty, this is something that the SAP believes to be part of national politics and it should therefore be decided in the national parliament. Sweden has, as the only member state, tried to incorporate labour union rights into the treaty. Sweden has traditionally had a strong protection through strong labour unions and collective agreements and the PM states that there is no reason to participate in a splitting on these matters.\(^{159}\)

There is a discussion about cooperation in the defense material area. The SAPs view is that all cooperation in this area should be of interstate kind.\(^{160}\) There is also a debate if the work in the area of judicial and internal questions (RIF) should be supranational, Thomas Bodström (s) says that this area can in some aspect be decided with qualified majority voting (QMV) but he also calls for caution.\(^{161}\) There is also support for more QMV in the area of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Even though it is still an interstate affair and unity is needed in the central issues.\(^{162}\) A question of whether or not the EU should develop an own defense Union is debated and the PM says that he sees no advantages with a union of this kind.\(^{163}\) The SAP are advocators of a formulation in the treaty that states that a member state can request assistance from other members state in accordance with the UN charter article 51. This would show some elements of solidarity but at the same time it would not be any binding obligations for other member states. The suggestion to strengthen the cooperation ability in situations of crisis is something that the SAP believes is important in the area of CFSP. As the cooperation is open for all the member states there is no need to be concerned that this would lead to any dissension in the area of CFSP among the member states.\(^{164}\)

In the Nice agreement it was decided that when the Union got more then 26 members there can no longer be one commissioner per country, at least not fully. A suggestion that seems to be constructive, according to the PM, is that of 15 commissioners with the right to vote and one commissioner per country beyond this without the right to vote.\(^{165}\) In order to make a bigger Union, with 25 member states instead of 15, effective there is a need to move towards

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\(^{159}\) Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 38, CEUA Thursday 11 December 2003
\(^{160}\) Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 2, CEUA Wednesday 19 March 2003
\(^{161}\) Minister for Justice, Thomas Bodström, Anf 94. CEUA Monday 28 April 2003
\(^{162}\) Minister of Foreign Affairs, Anna Lindh, Anf 126, CEUA Monday 28 April 2003
\(^{163}\) Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 24, CEUA Wednesday 18 June 2003
\(^{164}\) Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf. 18, CEUA Friday 5 December 2003
\(^{165}\) Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 2, CEUA Wednesday 18 June 2003
more QMV instead of unity. There is a debate about a passerell\textsuperscript{166}, which opens up for a transfer of decisions from unity to QMV, this is not appreciated by the SAP.\textsuperscript{167} The SAP thinks that the suggestion of the passerell should be removed from the treaty.\textsuperscript{168} Even so, if the national parliament in each country is given veto Göran Persson says that it might be possible to accept an order where a unanimous Council of the European Union can change the order of decision making. He also states that the rule of one Commissioner per country, with voting power, is to be supported.\textsuperscript{169} There is a proposal of a European Minister for Foreign Affairs, and there is a discussion if this minister is to lead the Council of External Affairs. The SAP thinks that this is something that the member states should handle.\textsuperscript{170}

The issue of whether or not there should be a referendum on the question if Sweden should ratify the treaty is something that the SAP has a determined opinion about. The opinion is that there should be no referendum, the ratification procedure should be conducted by the national parliament.\textsuperscript{171} Yet the debate about the new treaty needs to incorporate more people, even inside the national parties there is only a few involved persons.\textsuperscript{172}

\textbf{Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 2003}

The European Union is central for the safety of Sweden and a united Europe is a safer Europe. Sweden has made efforts to make sure that any action from the EU in the fight against terrorism is to be in line with the declaration of the human rights. By developing the EU capacity for prevention and management of conflicts the EU can contribute to an increased security. The area of the CFSP needs to be strengthened. The Convention and the oncoming IGC is to develop and make the EU more effective. A clearer treaty is needed, not least for democratic reasons, states the SAP. Yet there should be no major changes in the balance between the different institutions. The national parliaments should have more influence and the SAP is also striving for full employment, social welfare and sustainable development through the EU. The SAP is also against the massive subventions in the area of agricultural politics.\textsuperscript{173}

\textsuperscript{166} The Passerell means that the Council of the European Union with unanimous decision can decide to switch from unanimous to QMV.
\textsuperscript{167} Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 18, CEUA Wednesday 18 June 2003
\textsuperscript{168} Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf. 123, CEUA Friday 14 November 2003
\textsuperscript{169} Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf 22, CEUA Thursday 11 December 2003
\textsuperscript{170} Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 45, CEUA Friday 3 October 2003
\textsuperscript{171} Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf 18, CEUA Wednesday 18 June 2003
\textsuperscript{172} Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf. 10, CEUA Friday 10 October 2003
\textsuperscript{173} Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 12 February 2003
2.2.8 Analysis 2003

Table 2.4

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Even though I placed the Convention in 2002, leading to that all suggestions there comes under 2002, this does not change the fact that the Convention was ongoing in 2003 and that the SAP was part of it. It is also participating in the IGC that started in October.

For starter there is a change in the SAPs opinion of the pause between the Convention and the IGC. It first states that it will stick to a minimum pause of six months but then it states that it is acceptable that the IGC starts in October, just a couple of months after the Convention has finished. Even if it states that this is not ideal it is something which it accepts. The SAP is supportive of several policies like, full employment, working environment, gender equality, sustainable development, openness and to not mix religion with the CT. It has also tried to incorporate labour union rights into the treaty and states that there is no reason to participate in splitting in these matters. The SAP is supportive of a move towards more QMV in the areas of RIF and CFSP. The reasoning that if the SAP is participating in the making of a treaty it goes that it should be normatively in favour of integration applies this year as well. The SAP has participated in the institutional setting in relation to the process of the CT/RT. It did so both in the Convention and in the IGC.

The SAP seams to be adapting a soft Eurosceptical line. It is supportive in many areas but it is also pointing out areas that it is not supportive of on a EU-level. For instance tourism and social questions should be handled by national parliaments. In the discussion of cooperation in the area of defence material it states that all cooperation in this area should be of interstate character. Also the CFSP is considered as an interstate affair and unity is needed on the central issues. It thus seems to adopt a soft Eurosceptical position were it is supportive of many areas but it is also of the view that some areas should remain national and it does not want to see a major shift in the balance between the institutions of the EU.

2.2.9 The Swedish Social Democrats Position in 2004

The Committee on European Union Affairs 2004

In relation to a border control bureau the issue of who is responsible for the nation border control arises. The SAPs opinion on if the border control should be the responsibility of the
nations or not is that the border control is an internal affair that should be handled by the states.\textsuperscript{174} Laila Freivalds states that the response has been that the border control is to be based on the nation state and cooperation in this area is thus of intrastate character.\textsuperscript{175}

In the area of RIF the SAP feels that it is important that decisions can be made by majority voting. The EU needs to be effective in this area if it is to fight international crime. In the area of CFSP the SAP opinion is that decisions should still be made unanimously.\textsuperscript{176}

The SAP feels that there is a need for protection of the Swedish benefit system. It believes that we need to be protected against people working here temporary so that these people do not have the right to use our welfare system. But it is still advocator of a free movement of the labour force, it just feels a need for supervision and control so that it works. The welfare system and collective agreements are fundamental in the Swedish politics\textsuperscript{177} The SAP also believes that there are to be regulations in the area of trade of services, these are to protect the Swedish way of supplying services like education, social services and medical services. Sweden needs to be able to decide on their own in these issues.\textsuperscript{178} The area of Labour legislation is also an area that the SAP feels should be handled by the member states themselves.\textsuperscript{179}

The SAP wants to sharpen the discussion about the people’s health and that this will be reflected in the treaty.\textsuperscript{180} Later in 2004 the SAP says that even if there have been a lot of compromises in the formulations in these areas the SAP feel that it should not enhance its positions in this area, it would not be fruitful.\textsuperscript{181} In the environmental area the SAP thinks that the positions at hand are acceptable but it would be positive if there where to be some enhancements in these issues.\textsuperscript{182}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{174}Beatrice Ask and Minister of Justice, Thomas Bodström, Anf 4 & 5, CEUA Friday 13 February 2004
\item \textsuperscript{175}Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf 2, CEUA Wednesday 16 June 2004
\item \textsuperscript{176}Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf 12, CEUA Wednesday 16 June 2004
\item \textsuperscript{177}Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 17, CEUA Friday 19 March 2004
\item \textsuperscript{178}Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf 12, CEUA Wednesday 16 June 2004
\item \textsuperscript{179}Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 21 CEUA Wednesday 3 November 2004
\item \textsuperscript{180}Bosse Ringholm, Anf 46, CEUA Friday 7 May 2004
\item \textsuperscript{181}Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf 155, CEUA Friday 11 June 2004
\item \textsuperscript{182}Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf 165, CEUA Friday 11 June 2004
\end{itemize}
The reference to the importance of Christianity for European development in the preamble is something that Sweden has strongly demarcated themselves against.\textsuperscript{183} Even though “Christian values of course exist, they have to exist in a balanced way and not in an explicit way. That is not in line with the principals that we have about not mixing political democratic rules, which the treaty and the whole EU-cooperation is about, with the religious questions.”\textsuperscript{184}

The SAP feels that it can be supportive of the issue around voting procedures, it support the model of 50-60, meaning half of the member states and 60 per cent of the population.\textsuperscript{185} Another solution to the issue of voting procedures, that the SAP could support, could be the 55-65 model. The SAP feels that the EU needs to be effective in its area of competence and that it therefore should not be too easy to block a decision.\textsuperscript{186}

The SAPs opinion about the number of commissioners is that there should be one commissioner per country but with a possibility for change later.\textsuperscript{187} When the discussion that there should be 18 commissioners on a rotational schedule in 2014 arises the SAP takes the position that a country without a commissioner should have precedence to certain central posts in the Commission.\textsuperscript{188} It is better not to increase the number of seats in the EP, but if the small countries needs are to be fulfilled, the position of the SAP is that it rather see an increase in seats then that the Swedish representation will be affected.\textsuperscript{189}

There are a number of issues that are basal to the SAP. It is important that the Swedish neutral policy is intact. The question of the people’s health and that alcohol and tobacco can be seen as damaging the peoples health is another issue important to the SAP. The issue of gender equality is also important and should be one of the core values of the EU. A fourth important area is that of the rule of law.\textsuperscript{190} The question of whether or not to create a European institution for gender issues has been brought up on the agenda. Sweden took the initiative for this institution already in 1999 and now the Council is behind it.\textsuperscript{191}

\textsuperscript{183} Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf 148, CEUA Friday 11 June 2004
\textsuperscript{184} Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf 12, CEUA Wednesday 16 June 2004
\textsuperscript{185} Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf 165, CEUA Friday 11 June 2004
\textsuperscript{186} Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf 2, CEUA Wednesday 16 June 2004
\textsuperscript{187} Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf 165, CEUA Friday 11 June 2004
\textsuperscript{188} Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf 2, CEUA Wednesday 16 June 2004
\textsuperscript{189} Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf 155, CEUA Friday 11 June 2004
\textsuperscript{190} Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf 2, CEUA Wednesday 16 June 2004
\textsuperscript{191} Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf 2, CEUA Wednesday 16 June 2004
The question about if there is to be a referendum about the treaty rises again. The SAPs position is still that it should not be a referendum, it should be decided in the parliament. An argument for the referendum is that the treaty would lead to a shift towards more supranationality. Laila Freivalds states that this is not the case, there is a small power shift in the Union between the EP and the Council, a shift in favour of the EP. Yet there is no shifting balance between the member states and the EU and therefore there will be no more supranationality.192

There is a debate in May 2004 when a question about that the energy politics has been removed and the Minister of Foreign Affairs states that the SAP has no objections against this.193 About a month later the energy is back in, now according to the Minister of Foreign Affairs the reservations that the SAP had has been fulfilled which means that the SAP no longer has any objections about the energy being brought back in.194

On the issue of an elected President in the Council Sweden is the only country still holding the position that there should be no President of the Council.195 The SAP is also supportive of a suggestion about a solidarity clause.196

**Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 2004**

Swedish policemen has participated in both of the EU foreign police missions in Bosnia and Macedonia, the SAP will try to strengthen the EU role in Kosovo. The EU is now conducting its policy against mass destruction weapons, a policy that Sweden was initiative of. The SAP wants to create an asylum policy which pervades its international work, not least in EU. The proposal of a new treaty makes the EU more effective and comprehensible. This work can enhance peace and development in the Union.197

The prerequisites of the EU to handle conflicts are exceptional good because of significant political, economical, diplomatic, military and civil instrument. The capacity of the EU to prevent crisis should be strengthened. The EU is also to handle terrorism, environmental

192 Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf 12, CEUA Wednesday 16 June 2004
193 Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf 33, CEUA Friday 14 May 2004
194 Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf 12, CEUA Friday 11 June 2004
195 Minister of Foreign Affairs, Laila Freivalds, Anf 12, CEUA Wednesday 16 June 2004
196 Minister of Justice, Thomas Bodström, Anf. 2, CEUA Thursday 18 March 2004
197 Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 11 February 2004
catastrophes, organised crimes etc. in this work it should strive for human rights, democracy, rule of law, and the fight against injustice and poverty.\textsuperscript{198}

EU has taken measures to change its agricultural politics and Sweden will strive for more reforms in this area. Sweden is probably the single country that has pushed the hardest when it comes to the expansion of the EU. The conditions that was set for de new member states should also apply to future candidate countries as Turkey or Croatia.\textsuperscript{199}

\textbf{2.2.10 Analysis 2004}

Table 2.5 Matrix 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2004</th>
<th>The SAP is participating in the IGC in 2004 and it is thus participating at the EU-level in relation to the CT/RT.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Y</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 a</td>
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<td>2 c</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>S</td>
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</table>

The SAP is supportive of several policies at the EU-level. It wants the RIF to use majority voting, making EU effective in these area which it needs to be if it is to fight international crime. It is also supportive of the environmental area and it wants the people’s health to be incorporated in the treaty. It is supportive of the models of voting and it states that the issue of gender equality should be one of the Unions core values. The policy against mass destruction weapons was a policy that Sweden was initiative of. The SAP also states that the expansion of the EU is something it has worked hard upon. In my opinion there also seems to be a shift in the SAPs view of how the supranationality vs. the interstate in the Union works. In 2002 the PM Göran Persson states that he is supportive of an empowerment of the Council, a Council which represents the interstate in the Union. Laila Freivalds states in 2004 that the small shift of power from the Council to the EP does not affect the suprationality. In the world of logic if an institution representing the interstate loses power then this should mean that there is less interstate left. If there is less interstate then there should be more supranationality this means that either something has changed during these years or someone is using their rhetoric to hide the truth. As the SAP is continuing its work with the CT in 2004 it is still normatively in favour of integration and it is also supportive of participation since it is participating for instance in the IGC.

\textsuperscript{198} Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 11 February 2004

\textsuperscript{199} A.a.
The SAP still seems to remain in its soft Eurosceptical position since it is in favour of integration but it is still apposed to several policies at the EU-level. It states that the border control is the nation’s responsibility and that it thus should be handled by the states. It also wants to protect the Swedish way of supplying services like education and social- and medical services. It is against the mixing of political rules with religious questions and thus it states that there should be no line in the preamble of the treaty that refers to the importance of Christianity.

2.2.11 The Swedish Social Democrats Position 2005

The Committee on European Union Affairs 2005

The referendum issue comes up yet again in 2005. The SAP is firm in its position that there shall be no referendum, this is a matter for the parliament. The treaty does not change the relation between the EU and Sweden in such a way that it justifies a referendum. This is something that the PM states as the position prior to a top meeting in the European Council. In the Constitutional Treaty there was a possibility incorporated for the ratification of the treaty to be done without all member states ratifying it decision. This is something that the Swedish parliament has declared that it can’t accept. The SAP wants the Union to be able to work effectively, and be “the active tool for European cooperation” which was one of the prime reasons for the joining of the Union. The SAP believes that the best outcome would be if the treaty was accepted and that it came into effect. It would make the Union more democratic and better suited to tackle future expansions. With the discussion about the meaning of the French and Dutch referendum results, they voted against the CT, the SAP believes that there should be a reflection period and that the discussions about the treaty should start again after the reflection. Then it might be useful to discuss its acceptance or the acceptance of a modified treaty. The Prime Minister states that he is not of the opinion that the treaty should be modified, to restart the negotiations would take a very long time and he does not want a “constitution light”. The Constitutional Treaty incorporates a number of safety valves that are very important for the protection of elemental judicial matters in the member states. Many of these safety valves are there on a Swedish initiative.

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200 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 31, CEUA Monday 21 March 2005
201 State Secretary, Lars Danielsson, Anf. 37, CEUA Tuesday 31 May 2005
202 State Secretary, Lars Danielsson, Anf. 18, CEUA Tuesday 7 June 2005
203 State Secretary, Lars Danielsson, Anf. 23, CEUA Tuesday 7 June 2005
204 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 12, CEUA Thursday 21 June 2005
205 State Secretary, Dan Eliasson, Anf. 4, CEUA Monday 2 October 2005
of the opinion that if the ratification of the treaty is executed it might well be the last time that a treaty of this kind is ratified in the foreseeable future.  

Gender and Environmental issues are brought up by the PM Göran Persson but he is unsure if any one else will discuss these issues. That alcohol is considered to be a problem for the public health is something that the SAP is advocators of. The SAP is firm believers that economic development can, and should, be linked with an extensive welfare politic. International crime and environmental issues is exactly why we need the EU, in these contexts more, not less, of the EU is needed. Even so the SAP is of the opinion that the Union should not expand its area of competence in an unnecessary way, but when the nation state is not enough to tackle the problems of society, then the EU should be there. It should not be conducting nation state politics, like taxes and social politics. In the area of agriculture Göran Persson states that it might even be of interest to re-nationalise it if the problems of expenditure is not solved. That the area of politics on narcotics remains national is something that the SAP is advocators of, this should be decided by the nation state.

Göran Persson states that full employment is and will continue to be a goal for the SAP in Sweden as well as in Europe. This is not to be done by decreasing labour standard, this would question the collective agreements and minimum wages. This is not the way to go, if this happens there will be a political struggle about these issues.

The Prime Minister states that the Union is a cooperation that is built upon independent states, he has even been accused of being an EU-sceptic and he believes that it is important to acknowledge that the accomplishments in Brussels and Strasbourg are important but they do not take over the initiative that exists in the member states.

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206 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 7, CEUA Thursday 14 June 2005
207 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 31, CEUA Monday 21 March 2005
208 Minister, Morgan Johansson, Anf. 225, CEUA Friday 27 May 2005
209 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 7, CEUA Thursday 14 June 2005
210 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 21, EU-nämnden Thursday 14 June 2005
211 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 11, EU-nämnden Thursday 14 June 2005
212 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 21, EU-nämnden Thursday 14 June 2005
213 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 30, EU-nämnden Thursday 14 June 2005
214 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 31, CEUA Monday 21 March 2005
215 Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 7, CEUA Thursday 14 June 2005
The SAP has a restrictive attitude towards budget questions in the EU.\textsuperscript{215} It believes that Sweden is contributing too much to the EU budget\textsuperscript{216} and the Prime Minister states that he definitely could live with a smaller budget then the present. This is of course dependent on the content of the budget and the PM states that he is not afraid of a bigger budget but then the content needs to be different. He takes the examples of the regional- and agricultural politics as areas that he believes could be handled in a different way. In the budget discussion there is a proposal about a limit to the EU-budget, it should be one per cent of the EU total GNP, the proposal is supported by the SAP which thus do not support the proposal from the PES in the EP.\textsuperscript{217}

There is also the issue of future expansion of the EU, this is something that has been an important issue for Sweden. The current treaty only allows for 27 members and even though the treaty has meet some complications the issue of future expansion needs to be solved.\textsuperscript{218} The SAP states that it believe in this vision but it also recognises the present tensions in some countries on this issue. These tensions are important to understand even though the SAP does not accept them.\textsuperscript{219}

**Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 2005**

Many of today’s criminal threats are border crossing, these crimes are often connected with the abuse of women and children and the networks conducting them are often financers of terrorism. The EU capacity to spread values such as democracy, respect for human rights and the contribution to economic development is of great importance to the safety in Europe.\textsuperscript{220}

The SAP is supportive of a unanimous act from the EU to support the United Nations millennium goals. It works in the EU for more open and fare regulations of the world trade. It also states that the EU should act to promote peace and manage crisis. The crisis management should also be effective in assisting the member state citizens outside of the EU boarders. The new treaty and the step towards becoming the worlds most competitive and knowledge based

\textsuperscript{215} Minister, Morgan Johansson, Anf. 225, CEUA Friday 27 May 2005
\textsuperscript{216} Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 11, CEUA Tuesday 14 June 2005
\textsuperscript{217} Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 30, CEUA Tuesday 14 June 2005
\textsuperscript{218} Hillevi Larsson, Anf. 4, CEUA Tuesday 14 June 2005
\textsuperscript{219} Prime Minister, Göran Persson, Anf. 7, CEUA Tuesday 14 June 2005
\textsuperscript{220} Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 9 February 2005, p. 5
economy are important in a more open and effective cooperation based on interstate cooperation.\textsuperscript{221}

2.2.11 Analysis 2005

Table 2.6 Matrix 2005

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<td>S</td>
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The statement of the SAP regarding referendums is made prior to a top meeting in the European Council, this shows that the SAP is still participating at the EU-level. Since the SAP is supportive of an acceptation of the CT it is obviously supportive of several policies. Still it also states explicit support for gender, environmental, full employment, future expansion of the EU and the fight against international crime. Since the SAP is for an acceptation of the CT the SAP should also consequently be normatively in favour of integration. It is also supportive of participation in the institutional settings since it is participating, for instance at the top meeting.

Even though the SAP is for an acceptation of the treaty it still holds a soft Eurosceptical line. It emphasizes on the safety valves that are incorporated in the treaty and it states that that the EU should not be conducting state politics like taxes and social politics.

2.2.12 The Swedish Social Democrats Position in 2006

The Committee on European Union Affairs 2006

The EU does not really have competence in the area of energy, according to the present treaty this competence lies within the member states. Yet there is a need to discuss these issues in a European context. Therefore the SAP feels that it is positive to have a discussion on the EU-level but the competence should stay at the nation-level.\textsuperscript{222}

The reflection period should in the SAPs opinion be prolonged at least till June 2007 the SAP states in a briefing from a meeting in the Council of the European Union.\textsuperscript{223} At present no one

\textsuperscript{221} Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 9 February 2005, p. 6f
\textsuperscript{222} State Secretary, Lars Danielsson, Anf 13, CEUA Friday 27 January, 2006
\textsuperscript{223} State Secretary, Lars Danielsson, Anf 6, CEUA Friday 12 May 2006
is ready to make any final decisions about the treaty but the work should continue in the frame of the current treaty.\textsuperscript{224} When there is a possibility that it will take some time before a new treaty is in effect the SAP wants to investigate the possibilities of moving forward in the framework of the present treaty. The principle of subsidiary should get a more uniform and thorough application. The national parliament’s role should be more obvious in the SAPs opinion.\textsuperscript{225} The SAP still believes that the CT is a good compromise that should not be tampered with. Parts of the treaty should not be lifted from the treaty and ratified separately.\textsuperscript{226} In the efforts of continuing the work in the EU the Commission believes that the RIF cooperation needs to be vitalized. It thus feels that it would be useful to continue the work of the passerell but the SAP feels that this should be done in relation to the CT and not separately.\textsuperscript{227} This is partly because in the CT there are other solutions that made this approach acceptable and partly it is to respect the process of the CT. The safety valves that are in the CT are of great importance to the possibility of a member state to veto decisions that goes against the elemental values of that state.\textsuperscript{228}

The SAP believes that the EU could be doing more in the area of crisis and catastrophe management.\textsuperscript{229}

The SAP is of the belief that the Council of the European Union should apply maximum openness in its work, especially in the legislative work made with co-decisions with the EP.\textsuperscript{230} The SAPs position is that of as much openness as possible in the Council of the European Union. The gender issue is also an area were the SAP are active and constantly monitoring the work done.\textsuperscript{231}

In the debate of future expansion there is a discussion about the absorption capacity of the union. The argument is used as a way to stop future expansion, the SAP in contrast wants to

\textsuperscript{224} Minister of Foreign Affairs, January Eliasson, Anf. 10, CEUA Wednesday 24 May 2006
\textsuperscript{225} State Secretary, Lars Danielsson, Anf. 6, CEUA Friday 12 May 2006
\textsuperscript{226} Minister of Foreign Affairs, January Eliasson, Anf. 12, CEUA Wednesday 24 May 2006
\textsuperscript{227} State Secretary, Dan Eliasson, Anf. 78, CEUA Friday 14 July 2006
\textsuperscript{228} Minister of Foreign Affairs, January Eliasson, Anf. 84, CEUA Friday 14 July 2006
\textsuperscript{229} State Secretary, Lars Danielsson, Anf. 6, CEUA Friday 12 May 2006
\textsuperscript{230} State Secretary, Lars Danielsson, Anf. 6, CEUA Friday 12 May 2006
\textsuperscript{231} State Secretary, Lars Danielsson, Anf. 12, CEUA Friday 12 May 2006
highlight the positive effects of an expansion. The positive effects of expansion are for instance regarding safety in our own geographical area.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs points out that in the discussion about globalization it is important to highlight the positive effects, such as the cooperation in the EU.

The area of CFSP is of interstate character and in substance it should remain so. Even so the consensus should be improved between internal and external EU acting. In most cases it lies in the interest of Sweden to coordinate their actions in this area.

**Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 2006**

The EU should be strengthened in its work as a global actor in the areas of foreign and safety politics. EU is used as a lever of the SAP to promote its own foreign and security politics. The expansion of the Union is strengthening our own security and it contributes to peace and democracy. The SAP is positive towards future expansions, as that of Turkey.

The energy issue seems to be a political question that needs to be discussed in the EU. The EU has unique possibilities to meet the future challenges in the environmental area. The SAP is of the position that the EU needs to open up its trade for the Middle East and North Africa, this is important to the economic development. The SAP also states that it would like to see an asylum policy that insures the legal rights of the individual.

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232 State Secretary, Lars Danielsson, Anf. 6, CEUA Friday 12 May 2006
233 Minister of Foreign Affairs, January Eliasson, Anf. 4, CEUA Friday 9 June 2006
234 Minister of Foreign Affairs, January Eliasson, Anf. 4, CEUA Friday 9 June 2006
235 State Secretary, Lars Danielsson, Anf. 12, CEUA Friday 12 May 2006
236 Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 15 February 2006
237 A.a
2.2.13 Analysis 2006

The SAP is participating at the EU-level, it has for instance been attending meetings in the Council of the European Union and it state that it wants to investigate the possibilities of moving forward in the formwork of the current treaty. This means that it would have to participate at the EU-level.

The SAP states that the treaty is a good compromise that should not be tampered with, it is thus supportive of several issues. Issues such as openness in the work of the Council of the European Union, especially in its legislative work, gender, expansion and the environment are expressly present. That the SAP is normatively in favour of integration becomes clear since it believes the CT is good and since it wants to investigate the possibilities of moving forward in the framework of the present treaty. The sap has participated in the institutional setting and it is thus supportive of these.

The Eurosceptical line seems to be the way for the SAP. It believes the CT to be good but it is against competence in the area of energy and it does not want to lift parts of the constitution and ratify them separately since the constitution has included some safety valves that allows member states to veto decisions that goes against the elemental values of the state.

2.2.14 The Swedish Social Democrats Position in 2007

The Committee of European Union Affairs

When it comes to the treaty the SAP is of the opinion that is should be kept as intact as possible. Even so the SAP feels that because of Britain’s many opt outs maybe Sweden should also try and obtain some opt outs. Sweden did get a sharper formulation regarding alcohol and the public health but maybe they should have gone for an opt out in this issue?

Women’s right are important and the SAP believes that the gender issue and the extension of the welfare services are important. The SAP is supportive of the elemental rights that the citizens are granted with the new treaty. It also states that it is important that these rights are

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238 Deputy President of the CEUA, Susanne Eberstein, Anf. 4, CEUA Wednesday 7 March 2007
239 Deputy President of the CEUA, Susanne Eberstein, Anf. 24, CEUA Saturday 23 June 2007
240 Deputy President of the CEUA, Susanne Eberstein, Anf. 4, CEUA 26 June 2007
241 Alternate Member of the CEUA, Hillevi Larsson, Anf. 25, CEUA Friday 25 May 2007
legally binding.\textsuperscript{242} Other issues that the SAP brings up are for instance the climate issue\textsuperscript{243} and an issue of the situation for immigrants in Europe’s southern sea borders. The SAP feels that it is important to protect these immigrants’ human rights involving the right to apply for asylum.\textsuperscript{244}

**Statement of the SAP in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 2007**

In the debate in the parliament the SAP presents an alternative declaration of foreign politics, even though it is not of the same magnitude. In relation to the EU the SAP states that the challenge of the Union lies in its neighbourhood. The SAP is advocates of future expansion. The SAP also believes that the Union needs to develop cooperation with Northern Africa and it states that it needs to develop a Euro-Islamic dialogue.\textsuperscript{245}

\textbf{2.2.15 Analysis 2007}

Table 2.8 Matrix 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2007</th>
<th>The SAP is in 2007 no longer participating at the EU-level in relation to the process of the CT/RT. This has a simple explanation, it is no longer in government and the participation in relation to the CT/RT is conducted by the government.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>N</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 a</td>
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\textsuperscript{242} Alternate Member of the CEUA, Hillevi Larsson, Anf. 25, CEUA Wednesday 20 June 2007
\textsuperscript{243} Member of the CEUA, Maryam Yazdanfar, Anf. 28, CEUA Wednesday 17 October 2007
\textsuperscript{244} Member of the CEUA, Maryam Yazdanfar, Anf 34 and 41, CEUA Friday 14 September 2007
\textsuperscript{245} Statement of the SAP in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 14 February 2007
relation to the CT/RT and then the SAP is participating which would mean that it gives support for this. As such it seems that the SAP is supportive.

The only remark from the SAP that could be seen as sceptical is that it states that Sweden maybe should have gone for some more opt outs. The evidence of Eurosceptical views are thus weak resulting in a small s in the matrix of 2007.

2.2.16 The Swedish Social Democrats Position in 2008

The Committee on European Union Affairs 2008
The debate in the CEUA is not very extensive in 2008 and the SAP is not declaring that many views, but there are some at least. There is a remark on that gender issues and women’s rights in the Lisbon strategy need to be more distinct. This remark is made on the Lisbon strategy and how this can be done in relation to the RT.246 Another comment is on the Vaxholm judgment, the SAP states that it can not accept that the Court of Justice of the European Communities is able to overrule central elements of our regulations on the labour market.247

Statement of the SAP in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 2008
In the parliamentary debate the address from the SAP hardly even touches upon the EU. The only time the EU is mentioned is in relation to the Palestine situation and here the SAP is negative and states that the EU wants to isolate Palestine because the wrong party won the national elections.248

2.2.17 Analysis 2008
Table 2.9 Matrix 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2008</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>2 b</td>
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<td>Y</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>S</td>
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</table>

The SAP is not in government and it is thus not participating at the EU-level.

The material in 2008 is not very extensive, the debate in the CEUA has not been that much around the RT but there are at least some remarks. The gender issue is brought up and so is the Vaxhol judgement were the SAP

246 Alternate Member of the CEUA, Carina Adolfsson Elgestam, Anf. 26, CEUA Friday 7 March 2008
247 Deputy President of the CEUA, Susanne Eberstein, Anf. 4, CEUA Wednesday 12 March 2008
248 Statement of the SAP in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs 13 February 2008
states that it can not accept that the Court of Justice of the European Communities can overrule central elements of our regulation on the labour market. The SAP is supportive of the gender issue and other then this it does not state any specific support. Even so the process of the RT is ongoing and by not taking a stance against it the SAP gives its passive support. This indicates that the SAP is supportive of the RT but since the indication is indirect the result is a small sev. input in the matrix. This also indirectly shows that the SAP should be normatively in favour of integration. If it wasn’t it should have stated that, indirectly showing that it is in favour of integration. The SAP are members of the CEUA and it is thus participating in the institutional settings of the process of the CT/RT.

The indirect support and the critique of the Vaxholm judgement are indicators of a soft Eurosceptical line. Even though the indicators of support were indirect the indicator of critique is direct and in my opinion it is clear that it has a soft Eurosceptical position.
3 Conclusion and Reflections

In this chapter I will present my conclusions drawn from the analysis of the material. I will begin with a summarising of the matrixes in the previous chapter, these matrixes will be summarised in a number of concluding matrixes. Finally in this chapter I will present my concluding reflections.

3.1 Conclusions

In my conclusions I will answer my specific research questions one by one, I will also use the inputs from the Analysis matrixes under each question to show the positions of the SAP over time. In question two I will start by answering the sub questions to then be able to answer the main question.

1. Is the SAP participating at the EU-level in relation to process of the CT/RT?

Table 3.1 Matrix Question 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>2001</th>
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<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

As shown in the table the SAP is participating at the EU-level from 2000-2006. That it does not participate in 2007 and 2008 has the simple explanation that it was no longer in government so it could not participate at the EU-level in this relation. There is thus overwhelmingly evidence of participation at the EU-level and the answer to the question is yes. There thus seems to be strong indicators of Europeanization in the aspects of participation.

2 a) Is the SAP supportive of individual/several/all policies of the EU in relation to the process of the CT/RT and has there been any change in the policies supported by the SAP?

Table 3.2 Matrix Question 2 a

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>2008</th>
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</thead>
</table>

The SAP is supportive of several policies al through the research period, it is thus clear that the answer to the first part of the question is several. The second part, if there has been any
change in policies supported by the SAP there is change in the positions of the SAP in 2001 till 2004, but these changes are mostly related to the process of the CT/RT and how this should be conducted. Even so the SAP changed its position from supporting increased employment at the EU-level to supporting full employment.

2 b) Is the SAP normatively in favour of integration in relation to the process of the CT/RT?

Table 3.3 Matrix Question 2 b

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2000</th>
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<th>2002</th>
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<tr>
<td>2 b</td>
<td>Y</td>
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The signs are clear that the SAP is normatively in favour of integration, there are some years when the evidence are not direct but the all in all picture that emerges is that the SAP is normatively in favour of integration. Since it wants the treaty to be ratified in its all this is not that surprising.

2 c) Is the SAP supportive of participation in the institutional settings of the EU in relation to the process of the CT/RT?

Table 3.4 Matrix Question 2 c

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This question is probably the most clear, the SAP is supportive of the institutional settings in relation to the CT/RT. This also shows that even if the SAP did not participate at the EU-level in 2007 and 2008 this was simply because it was not in government and not because of anything else.

2. How has the SAP policies evolved in relation to the process of the CT/RT?
The SAP has coherently supported several policies at the EU-level. There are some policies that are recurrently being advocated at the EU-level, the issues of gender, environment, employment, openness, future expansion of the EU, crisis management and the fight against international crime are constantly advocated. There are also several policies constantly being commented on as being national. For instance the defence, the work in the CFSP should also be based on interstate relations and the areas of social services, such as education and health should not be at the EU-level. Neither should the EU become more federalistic. Even so it is
clear that the SAP is positive towards the process and that it supports the institutional settings around the process of the CT/RT. That several issues are supported and that there have been changes are signs of Europeanization. That the SAP is normatively in favour and that it supports the institutional settings of the process of the CT/RT are also signs of Europeanization.

3. Is the SAP adopting a soft or hard Eurosceptical line in relation to the process of the CT/RT?

Table 3.5 Matrix Question 3

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The SAP is coherently adopting a soft Eurosceptical line. The only exception is in 2000 but this is most probably because the process started in late 2000 and that the SAP showed no scepticism towards the process is probably because the process had just started. Other than this the evidence is vague some of the years but the overall picture is that the SAP is adopting a soft Eurosceptical line in relation to the process of the CT/RT. Since the SAP in 2007 and 2008 are not critiquing the new government particularly harsh in these issues I believe that it is possible to state that the SAP is not demarcating itself by adopting this soft Eurosceptical line, it seems to be reasonably in line with the new government and thus it is not demarcating itself. The SAP is not demarcating itself but it is still adopting a soft Eurosceptical line which means that the signs of Europeanization in this area are not as clear as in the other areas.

In relation to my overall research question, How has the SAP evolved in relation to the EU during the time period 2000 till 2008 and are there signs of external EU pressure changing the party behavior or position? there most definitely are signs of external EU-pressure. The SAP evolvement has been quite static with a soft Eurosceptical position adopted in relation to participation and support for several issues. Many of the issues are coherently being advocated throughout my material. The SAP has had a change of mind in certain issues during the process of the CT/RT, for instance in the debate about the timetable. It is of course natural to change positions in negotiations, since negotiations can be seen as a process of giving and taking. Even with this in mind there has de facto been changes in the SAPs standings which certainly implies the presence of an EU-pressure changing the party position in its relation to the process of the CT/RT. With the material at my hand I am not able to say anything about any pressure outside the process of the CT/RT but since pressure exists in this
process it is also very likely that pressure exists outside of this process. With my material it is very likely that the pressure is springing from the EU-level but I cant exclude other possible sources, such as globalization.

3.2 Concluding Reflections

During the process and work of this research there have been some reflections that I have not presented earlier since they have not been of relevance to the research that I have conducted. Even so these reflections are important, not the least in relation to possible future research. Before I move on to this I will reconnect my research to the previous research done in this field.

In relation to Ladrech it is clear that the social democrats is participating at the EU-level, this is also something that Holmes and Lightfoot as well as Bailey states. This thus gives strength to my findings that the SAP is participating at the EU-level and it also supports the finding in their research that the Left is present at the EU-level. Ladrech also notes that the Left has had an impact on the EU-level and my material suggests the same. The SAP has been successful in integrating issues such as employment and gender equality and there was even support for a gender institution, something that the SAP had advocated. This though is in not in line with Bailey’s conclusion that the social democrats has failed in achieving social democracy at the EU-level. Even if achieving this does not mean that the EU-level becomes social democratic it is at least a measure of success to some degree. In relation to Holmes and Lightfoot´s second aspects of Europeanization my results are in line with theirs since the SAP is pro-EU according to my material, and they state that the pro-EU positions on the Left have gone the furthest among social democrats and even if I don’t investigate any other party on the left the SAP has gone far in its pro-EU positions. The third aspects of theirs relates to patterns of party competitions and they conclude that this is the area were Europeanization has advanced less. This is also supporting my third aspect, since this was the aspect were the SAP had less signs of Europeanization, they remained their soft Eurosceptical position. In relation to Baun et.al. my research, as theirs, shows that there are signs of EU-impact on the domestic politics they also noted that the major parties where behind the goal of the Czech becoming members of the EU. This relates to my research since the SAP shows that it is in favour of integration. There thus seems to be a lot of support for my findings in the previous research that has been conducted. Even so generalizations are hard to make when you conduct a case study research
and since the context of the national political sphere is probably a heavy impact on the
domestic political parties I will not make any generalizations but I will conclude that there
also elsewhere is support for the existence of Europeanization.

The major reflection that I have made in relation to this research is something that comes up
already in the beginning, namely that of the critique from leading members of the SAP. They
are critiquing their own party and one states that he is even leaving the party because they feel
that the party is supporting a project which might affect some of the SAPs core values, such
as for example collective agreements. An interesting question is how the SAP is to manage
this internal critique? This would be an research of the internal discussion on these issues,
much as the one previously conducted by Aylott and the SAPs position on the membership of
the EU. An interesting note is that the SAP in 2008’s parliamentary debate on foreign affairs
does not even mention the issue! This could be a possible strategy for of the SAP to avoid a
splitting of the party, it simply does not discuss the issue and thus makes it a non-question.
What is really interesting is what the SAP would have done if it was in government, then it
would not have the option of not discussing the issue. The question of how the internal debate
in the SAP has been on these issues would be a really interesting future research question.
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