

*(Unofficial translation)*

**Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary  
Debate on Foreign Affairs, Wednesday 12 February 2003**

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Mr Speaker,

**We see many threats to world security:**

- The risk of a military conflict in Iraq looms large.
- Developments in North Korea and between the nuclear weapons powers India and Pakistan underscore the threat posed by weapons of mass destruction.
- In Israel and in the Palestinian territories, a vicious spiral of violence and hatred is escalating.
- Thousands of violations of human rights are committed every day. Like Lilja in Lukas Moodysson's film, more than half a million women and children are smuggled into the EU every year to be exploited as sex slaves.
- A billion people are beset by poverty.
- The threat of international terrorism extends throughout the world.

Perhaps our prime task in today's interconnected world is to contribute to increased security – for our own sake also.

Weapons of mass destruction in Iraq are primarily a threat to that region but can also threaten us. The risks involved in a war in Iraq are also our risks.

International terrorism affects us too. Last year six young Swedes were killed in Bali.

Islamophobia, which has increased after 11 September, affects Swedes of Muslim descent and feeds distrust in society.

International crime which deals in trafficking in humans, money laundering and drug smuggling, operates in Sweden too.

Sweden is willing and able to help build increased security – security in the full sense of the word. The security of states is traditionally said to be guaranteed by military means, including now the fight against terrorism. But this is too narrow a view.

In today's world, security must be built globally and jointly, and entail freedom and security for all.

And it can be done! Never before have the chances of building common security been better than they are now that the cold war is over, Europe has been reunited, and the United Nations has regained its ability to act. But there are certain requirements.

## **Security requires democracy and respect for human rights and international law**

Following the end of the cold war we have been able to move ahead from safeguarding the right of every state to stressing more emphatically the equal value and rights of all people. Not just states but also all individuals have a right to security. Our demand that human rights be respected can never stop at national borders or at cultural or religious barriers.

The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights is universal. In an age of global economy, information and mobility, common basic values that unite people and civilisations are needed more than ever before. Protection against war crimes and genocide will be strengthened when the international criminal court is established in the Hague this year.

International terrorism is a threat to our rights. Intolerance based on a black-and-white view of the world is its foundation, financing through criminality and illegal money transactions its precondition, ruthlessness and terror its tools. No goal, no cause, no struggle can justify terror aiming to kill and maim innocent civilians. Sweden will always be in the vanguard when it comes to fighting terrorism.

But if we let the fight against terrorism take priority over human rights, we will be the losers and the terrorists will triumph. Human rights are at the heart of the tolerant lifestyle we aspire to and they oppose.

For this reason Sweden has successfully advocated that EU efforts to fight terrorism should be carried out in compliance with human rights. For this reason we have requested that the Swedes included

on the UN sanctions list be removed from it since there is no evidence against them, and that the UN sanctions system be changed. For this reason we have demanded that the Swede imprisoned at Guantanamo Bay be released immediately.

A problem close to us is Chechnya where only a political solution can bring the conflict to a lasting conclusion. We share Russia's anger at the terrorist attack in Moscow last year. We do not question Russia's right to fight terrorism but the fight must be waged in accordance with international humanitarian law and human rights.

A mounting threat to vulnerable groups and a growing source of income for international crime and terrorism is trafficking in women and children. The Government has so far appropriated SEK 60 million for measures against human trafficking in Eastern Europe. Sweden has taken relevant initiatives in Nordic-Baltic cooperation, in the Barents Euro-Arctic Council and in EU cooperation with Asia and Africa.

The Government is now formulating a global strategy under which development cooperation incorporates measures to fight human trafficking. We need stiffer punishment for the traffickers, more international cooperation between customs and police, and better support for the victims. The film "Lilja 4-ever" can play an important role in increasing awareness both in the countries the victims come from and in our countries where there is the demand. The Government has therefore commissioned the Swedish Institute to collaborate with Lukas Moodysson.

The right of asylum is a human right and an essential part of the security of persecuted individuals. Our migration and refugee policy is characterised by humanity and security. If we are to

achieve a European migration policy in a spirit of solidarity it is essential that the common system of rules that is being developed in the EU contain clear minimum conditions. By ensuring that development cooperation is in better harmony with migration policy, we help prevent involuntary migration. Sweden is working closely with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to strengthen international refugee law.

We will maintain our long-standing commitment to the abolition of capital punishment and torture. They have no place in modern societies. We must continue our fight for the rights of women and children. And we will not hesitate to call attention to violations of human rights or democratic principles.

In the Ministry for Foreign Affairs reports on human rights in the countries of the world which the Government published for the first time this year, we can read about:

Zimbabwe, where President Mugabe is now intensifying the persecution of opposition parliamentarians;

China, which imposes the death penalty for a whole range of crimes;

Belarus, which must choose the path of democracy and the rule of law;

Burma's military regime, whose abuses make democratic development impossible.

Sweden will continue to be an active force for human rights, international law and democracy throughout the world.

## **Security requires global justice and open and fair trade**

The global economy calls for global rules that ensure fair conditions, the borderless market needs values that transcend borders. We need to globalise democracy, but we also need to democratise globalisation. Globalisation, so positive for the majority, must not be allowed to exacerbate and deepen injustices and disparities.

Trade is a powerful engine for growth and poverty reduction, but all must be able to share in it. Today, developing countries are excluded from important markets by quotas and tariffs. The trade in commodities and services must be opened up and obstacles to the exports of developing countries removed. The agricultural policies of the industrialised countries must be reformed. We are making every effort to achieve concrete results in the World Trade Organisation (WTO).

Dynamic world trade and positive economic development can reduce the risk of tension. Look at the EU and the internal market with its movement for persons, goods, services and capital that is unrestricted by borders, and which after enlargement will embrace 455 million consumers and millions of enterprises. Or take the Baltic Sea region: until recently a heavily armed cold war border, now one of Europe's fastest growing regions, which will be even further vitalised by the EU membership of the Baltic countries and Poland.

While global development benefits from greater trade, Sweden's growth and economic well-being is dependent on our business sector being able to assert itself internationally. Sweden has unique potential, with both traditional industries and new creative branches that we must take advantage of. We must do more to

promote the Swedish business sector abroad and investment in Sweden.

But mere trade is not sufficient – it must be part of a broader development strategy. It is indefensible that the EU subsidises each cow by SEK 20 per day, when every day half the world's population lives on less than this sum.

The Government is striving for globalisation that is fair. This requires action to be taken by individual countries, the business world, NGOs, the World Trade Organisation, the EU and the United Nations. Among other things, we want to strengthen supervision of the global financial institutions.

### **Sustainable security requires fair and sustainable development**

Poverty may be caused by military conflicts, and equally it may be their cause. But poverty cannot be combated by military means.

Through the UN conferences of the 1990s and those in Johannesburg, Monterrey and Doha, and the UN Millennium Declaration, the international community, for the first time, has established consensus on sustainable development.

Never before have the political conditions for achieving concrete results been so favourable. The objectives are ambitious, but they can be achieved, given political will and cooperation.

The developing countries themselves bear ultimate responsibility for fighting poverty. But development assistance, if well implemented, can play a major role. Sweden's development assistance is increasing, and approaching the one-per-cent goal.

The EU too, which is responsible for a total of two-thirds of the world's development assistance, is increasing its efforts.

Health and medical care is a security issue. This was emphasised when HIV/AIDS, the most serious epidemic affecting humanity since the plague, was debated in the UN Security Council. But it also applies to other infectious diseases, such as malaria and tuberculosis, and infant and maternal mortality.

Safeguarding our environment is fundamental to our survival.

Take the issue of clean water. It is a scarce commodity and therefore a source of conflict.

Take the greenhouse effect – extreme weather events, droughts and flooding force people to flee and cause conflict. Here, Kjell Larsson made an active contribution in salvaging the one measure that represents hope: the Kyoto Protocol.

Take the countries in our immediate vicinity: atomic waste on the Kola Peninsula is a threat to our security, and we therefore hope that Russia will now sign the necessary agreement.

In its bill on development to be submitted this year, the Government will present a cohesive policy for fair and sustainable development.

### **Security requires disarmament**

Never before have so many countries had access to weapons of mass destruction or the ambition to develop such weapons. Never before have terrorists made such great efforts to get hold of them. To counter these global threats, we proclaim our long-term

objective: a world free from nuclear weapons, chemical weapons and biological weapons. Our means to this end are universal commitments to disarmament, non-proliferation and export controls. Sweden is a member of the New Agenda coalition which, in 2000, contributed to a 13-step action plan for nuclear weapons disarmament that has been accepted by the nuclear weapons states. We will press for this plan to be realised and will later present initiatives for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction.

### **Security requires the prevention of armed conflicts**

In Rwanda, one million people were killed in one hundred days in 1994. Two million were forced to flee.

The wars in the Western Balkans turned three million people into refugees. One hundred thousand people found their way to Sweden. These wars have cost the EU and its member states over SEK 100 billion.

Last year, the cost of the UN peace-keeping soldiers in Sierra Leone was greater than that country's entire GDP.

These are terrifying figures. But the human suffering behind them is even more terrifying. It cannot be measured in terms of money. But we can use our resources better to alleviate suffering and reduce the threat of new conflicts exploding, or old ones flaring up again.

Small arms have been called the poor man's weapon of mass destruction. Ninety per cent of those killed in conflicts during the past decade – over three million people, more than two million of whom were civilians – have fallen victim to small arms.

Today more than half a billion small arms are in circulation. They are easy to obtain, easy to conceal, easy to use, and difficult to control. Exported from Europe, they fuel conflict after conflict throughout the world. And we see the results in Liberia, in Tetovo, on our own streets and in our own school playgrounds.

This year, Sweden will take new initiatives in the area of conflict prevention.

### **Our security requires the destruction of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction**

It is a disgrace that the cradle of our civilisation is ruled by Saddam Hussein. His is one long catalogue of deceit. He has used chemical weapons in the war against Iran and against his own people. In the village of Halabja, he killed 5 000 Kurds – men, women and children – with poison gas.

Hans Blix has shown in his report that 6 500 chemical warheads and large quantities of anthrax bacteria are missing from Iraq's account.

The UN arms inspectors must be given the time they need. Saddam Hussein will never disarm unless he is put under maximum pressure, but a military action can only be a last resort when all other means have been exhausted. Our security requires a world order based on international law. Accordingly, only the United Nations Security Council has the authority to decide on the use of force.

## **Our security requires North Korea to fulfil its international undertakings**

Events have taken a serious turn. North Korea's actions risk undermining the entire global non-proliferation regime. We have joined other countries in making it clear to the North Korean leadership that its actions are unacceptable. Diplomatic efforts and dialogue are needed to solve the crisis by peaceful means. North Korea must revoke its decision to withdraw from the non-proliferation treaty and let the UN inspectors in.

## **Our security requires peace in the Middle East**

The conflict in the Middle East has deteriorated. The peace process has come to a standstill and the two sides are stuck in a vicious spiral of violence. Israel has reoccupied large parts of the Palestinian territories. The settlements are being allowed to grow in size and number. The Palestinian leadership has proved incapable of preventing the suicide attacks on Israeli civilians. Both sides must recognise that they can never achieve their objectives by the use of violence.

The Government is making efforts to reinvigorate the peace process, bilaterally and through the EU. Along with the UN, the United States and Russia, the EU is a member of the "Quartet" that has drawn up an action plan for a peaceful solution comprising an end to the Israeli occupation and the establishment of a democratic, tolerant and vigorous Palestinian state by 2005. In the coming months, we will strive to bring the two sides to accept and implement this plan.

## **Our security requires stability in the Western Balkans**

Ethnic tensions and war crimes, criminal networks and trafficking in human beings have been features of the Western Balkans far too long. The road to stability and development runs via European integration. Sweden is deeply engaged in the region. Eight hundred Swedish soldiers are serving as members of KFOR and SFOR to maintain the peace, protect minorities and make democratic development possible in Kosovo and Bosnia. We will soon also be able to play our part in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM).

## **Our security requires development in Africa**

During the past year, we have at last seen peace in Angola, political solutions to the conflicts in the Great Lakes region, and the inauguration of peace talks in Sudan and Somalia. But we have also seen new centres of conflict flare up, in Côte d'Ivoire, for example. Close to 400 million Africans live in countries where conflicts are now in progress or in grave danger of breaking out.

We support democratic African governments that demonstrate a sense of responsibility for the development of the continent. We support African initiatives aimed at putting a stop to wars and plundering. Sweden intends to contribute personnel to the UN peace-keeping force in Congo. The State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Hans Dahlgren, will continue his EU mission for peace in West Africa. We are reinforcing positive forces in Africa which are pursuing development and welfare.

## **Our security requires a strong UN**

Sweden's strong support for the United Nations is the prime expression of our endeavours to safeguard international peace, security and development. Only the UN has the breadth and legitimacy required for global security. The UN is an indispensable forum, an indispensable source of norms and a guarantor of international law.

The United Nations is now living up to its responsibilities. It reacted swiftly and decisively after 11 September. It has taken the lead in the debate on sustainable development. It is dealing with the issue of Iraq. The United Nations Security Council is the only body that has the legitimacy to take decisions concerning global security. This responsibility goes hand in hand with a duty also to take difficult decisions.

The UN reflects the different wills and interests of 191 sovereign states, and the results it has to show are both good and bad. We do not hesitate to address criticism when there is good reason. An organisation like the United Nations needs constant renewal, and we support the Secretary-General's reform efforts. We wish to see the Security Council reformed and have taken initiatives for strengthening the UN sanctions instrument.

It is also important to us that the UN now become more effective in managing crises. Over the years, Sweden has sent out tens of thousands of military personnel, police officers and observers in the service of the United Nations. We are participating in thirteen of some fifteen missions currently in progress.

Guaranteeing capability to take part in international operations is an important part of the process of reforming Sweden's defence.

We must have the civil and military capability required for a speedy response when needed, in forms of our own choosing.

### **Our security will be strengthened by an enlarged EU**

The European Union is vital to our security. The treaties on enlargement of the EU by ten new member states are to be signed on 16 April this year. This will crown several years' efforts – not least on Sweden's part – with success. We are now in the process of developing cooperation with the new member states.

Preparations are under way for opening an embassy in Bratislava later this year.

A united Europe is a more secure Europe. So we must not create new dividing lines. We intend to continue to develop our partnership with Russia. Continued integration, not least economic integration, is important for both Sweden and Russia. But a true partnership requires agreement on common values and principles, including human rights and the freedom of the media. We will continue to support positive developments in Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova. The OSCE and the Council of Europe are essential institutions for security and democratisation throughout Europe.

The European Convention and the upcoming Intergovernmental Conference are intended to promote development and greater efficiency in the EU. We need to strengthen the Common Foreign and Security Policy. We need a more clearly defined EU Treaty, not least for reasons of democracy. We need reforms, though no major changes, in the balance between the EU's different bodies. We want the national parliaments to have more influence.

Sweden's prosperity depends on European development. We are working actively in the EU for full employment, social welfare and environmentally sustainable development.

The referendum on the euro on 14 September will confront Sweden with a crucial choice. Membership of the EMU is a matter of strengthening the prospects for stable growth in our own country. It is a matter of Sweden's influence in Europe. It is also a matter of taking our responsibility for shaping the future of Europe.

By developing its conflict prevention and conflict management capability, the EU can increase security. EU civil and military conflict management must be able to contribute to peace and security wherever needed in the world – in close cooperation with the UN and regional organisations.

In December an agreement was reached giving the EU access to NATO resources for use in peace-support operations. This enables the EU to now begin its first military peace-support operations. At the beginning of the year, the EU took over the civil police operation in Bosnia, succeeding the UN, and it is now preparing to take over from NATO in operating military conflict prevention in FYROM.

### **Our security requires a Euro-Atlantic partnership**

Security in our immediate vicinity and in Europe is being built in ever closer interaction between the EU, NATO and Russia.

We are pleased that our neighbours Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania will be able to realise their security policy objectives and become members of the EU and NATO. This is a historic advance,

strengthening security and stability for Sweden and the entire Baltic Sea region.

### **Our security requires Nordic and Baltic cooperation**

As president of Nordic intergovernmental cooperation, Sweden will strive to reduce border barriers and increase mobility. The Baltic countries have brought new impulses to Nordic cooperation. We want to expand the interfaces between the Nordic and Baltic countries. We will soon be opening a Consulate-General in Kaliningrad.

During the remainder of our term as chair of the Barents Euro-Arctic Council, we will accord priority to environmental issues, increased exchanges and economic development, and concrete measures to combat trafficking in human beings.

### **Our security is strengthened by broad unity on Sweden's security policy**

Sweden does not participate in military alliances. This is a policy that has served us well in different phases of history for almost two hundred years. It allows us freedom of action. It has broad popular support. The agreement the Government has reached with the Centre Party, the Christian Democrats and the Moderate Party means that it has broad political support.

Mr Speaker,

There are numerous threats to our security which can no longer be managed by military means alone.

But they can be addressed by active policies,

for human rights, international law and democracy,

for poverty reduction and global justice,

for conflict prevention and disarmament.

They can be addressed through active cooperation with neighbouring countries, in the EU and at the global level, centring on the United Nations.

Let us do this. Let us take these opportunities to establish global peace, freedom and justice.