

## **Abstract**

Douglas Brommesson, 2007. Från Hanoi till Bryssel – moralsyn i deklarerad svensk utrikespolitik 1969 – 1996 (From Hanoi to Brussels – moral beliefs in declared Swedish foreign policy 1969 – 1996). Swedish text. English summary. Göteborg Studies in Politics 101. Department of Political Science, Box 711, 405 30 Göteborg, Sweden. Göteborg 2007. 231 pages. ISBN 9789173590051. ISSN 0346-5942.

This book takes its point of departure in the declared shift in focus of Swedish foreign policy in the early 1990s, from a focus on the global South towards a focus on the European neighbourhood. This leads to a discussion about the character of Swedish foreign policy, both before and after the early 1990s and the end of the Cold War. To be able to say something about the character of Swedish foreign policy during both the last decades of the Cold War, when Sweden had a reputation to be what was - somewhat ironically - called a moral super power, and the years after the end of the Cold War when Sweden changed its focus to its neighbourhood, it is argued that there is a need to study the moral beliefs of the foreign policy. Based on this discussion, the aim of this study is defined as characterising the moral beliefs in the declared Swedish foreign policy over time. To be able to say something about the moral beliefs in foreign policy it is argued that exclusion is a good indicator. Two kinds of exclusion are studied, territorial community and non-territorial community.

Methodologically, the moral beliefs are characterized by the use of four ideal-types based on four ethical traditions, with a focus on exclusion. These ethical traditions are the Machiavellian, Kantian, Grotian and Marxist traditions. The ideal-types are structured in three levels of beliefs: world views, principled beliefs and causal beliefs.

The empirical part of the dissertation is divided into four different periods: 1969-1976, 1976-1982, 1982-1988 and 1988-1996. The result from the empirical study shows how the moral beliefs in the beginning of the study express an internationalistic conviction with an emphasis on liberation of the global South, in the dissertation characterised as coming close to the Marxist ideal-type. In the final part the moral beliefs is mainly characterised as Kantian, with an emphasis on Europe and what is expressed as European values such as human rights, market economy and democracy. In between, during the second half of the 1970s and the greater part of the 1980s, the moral beliefs are mainly characterised as Grotian with the emphasis on order and peace through the promotion of international law. The empirical study is based on some 500 speeches held by leading Swedish government officials, mainly prime ministers and foreign ministers. The written sources are supported by interviews with 14 key officials.

In the final chapter the empirical results are further elaborated in terms of exclusion and Europeanization. It is here argued that research on Europeanization must focus more on substantial Europeanization, and not only on procedural Europeanization.

**Keywords:** Moral beliefs, ethics, foreign policy, Europeanization, Grotius, Kant, Marx, Machiavelli, exclusion, territoriality

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