PEACE
SECURITY
DEFENCE
SHIFTING THE BALANCE IN SWEDISH POLICY

PARTNERSKAP 2014
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Positive and affirmative action for peace is a responsibility for churches and Christians. This was the challenge to member churches from the World Council of Churches after its conference on justice and peace in Kingston, Jamaica, in the early summer 2011.

In response, the Christian Council of Sweden in March 2012 convened representatives from around 30 Swedish civil society organizations to discuss the need for an alternative approach to defence, security and peace. Dr K G Hammar, former Archbishop of the Church of Sweden, who had participated in Kingston, introduced the theme and the theological underpinnings for churches to turn away from their old apologetic stand on “just war” towards the proactive call to “just peace”.

Already during this meeting a consensus emerged that we should question the Government budget pattern, in which alternatives to military responses are seriously under-funded. As a follow-up, a network was created called Partnerskap 2014.

It was also decided to produce a scholarly-based study on the subject. We were asked to be co-authors of such a report and accepted the task in the fall of 2012. Our first and main report was published in a preliminary version in June 2013, and in revised, final form in February 2014, simultaneously with a second report in which we spelled out the possible funding of alternatives.¹

Beginning in the summer of 2013 the proposals have been discussed in several Swedish fora for public discussion, such as the so-called Almedalen week in 2013 and the Book Fair in Göteborg in September 2013, but above all in two public seminars in connection with the publication in February 2014. Lively discussions and constructive proposals came forward, from politicians representing most political parties in Parliament, together with prominent leaders from civil society.

We venture to mention that we have received strong encouragement

Prislappar för fred och säkerhet (Price Tags for Peace and Security) 60 pp. Sveriges Kristna Råd 2014
In late spring of 2014 a 30 page summary in Swedish, Vägval fred och säkerhet (Peace and Security at the Crossroads), was also published.
from many senior politicians and diplomats; among them former Foreign Minister Hans Blix (liberal) and former Defence Minister Thage G. Peterson (social democrat). On the other hand, we cannot claim that our arguments have (yet!) taken the top place on the security policy agenda...

Along the way we have received support and encouragement from many people. Karin Nyberg Fleisher and Margareta Ingelstam in the steering group of *Partnerskap 2014* organized the publication seminars and have, by way of material and ideas, improved the work in countless ways. KG Hammar has stood by with public as well as personal support. Björn Cedersjö, of the Christian Council of Sweden, has carefully and constructively carried out his function as our publisher. Fredrik Hielscher was our editor and also contributed many useful ideas. Sue Davén helped improve the English. Economic support for networking, layout and publishing from the Folke Bernadotte Academy is gratefully acknowledged.

Stockholm in August 2014

Lars Ingelstam  Anders Mellbourn
SECURITY

A new context
In 1989 the situation in Europe and the world changed in a drastic way. The Berlin wall fell. The Soviet Union collapsed with an economic breakdown as a consequence. The assumptions behind what we call security policy were totally changed in the course of a few years. The iron curtain and the cold war no longer existed. The United States, the only remaining super-power, turned its interest toward other parts of the world.

After the year 2000 the global situation became more problematic. International terrorism and the US-led war on terrorism escalated. The world economy became more crisis-prone. Russia developed an increasingly authoritarian type of government and acted aggressively towards its southern neighbours.

Swedish politics drew conclusions from the changes in 1989 and the beginning of the 1990:s. Sweden applied for membership in the EU and became a member in 1995 (Finland joined the same year). Swedish military forces should cooperate with others in what came to be called international crisis management. Swedish security policy and defence policy were integrated with those of the EU. In 1994 Sweden joined Nato:s Partnership for Peace (PFP) in which Nato cooperates with former Warsaw pact members, including Russia, and non-aligned nations such as Sweden. At that time Sweden already had a long history of taking part in military missions internationally, within the UN, for instance in the Suez crisis in 1956 and a few years later in the Congo.

Hence there existed earlier experience to build on when the international situation suddenly opened up for military missions abroad. The understanding was that Sweden now would engage in military operations in order to prevent violations of human rights, and help end armed conflicts. This new perspective of international crisis management put a distinct mark on defence organization and military training in Sweden.

This military-tinted analysis behind security policy was in large measure coherent with the global orientation that for a long time had characterized
Swedish foreign policy. This global orientation had manifested itself in Sweden’s strong backing of the UN, its active role in disarmament negotiations and a pioneering stance in development cooperation – just to mention three important examples. In a number of foreign policy declarations by the Government, the security policy guidelines formulated as a part of the defence policy and in many other ways one can discern a clear direction. In summary: Sweden wants to strongly contribute to peace and security both globally and in our immediate surroundings.

The Baltic region
The new situation around the Baltic Sea led to the conclusion that contacts and confidence-building measures were particularly important. This referred to the newly liberated Baltic States as well as to Russia.

The Baltic Sea policy during the 1990:s can be seen as a good example of how a new security policy can be formed in cooperation between the state, municipalities, civil society organizations and industry. Sweden’s non-aligned status during the post World War II period meant that the Soviet rule in the Baltic region had to be accepted. But when the cold war ended around 1990 this brought not only a vastly improved security situation, but also a welcome opportunity to make up to our Baltic neighbours (in particular Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia) – and ease our bad conscience.

Sweden quickly took diplomatic, political and economic steps to make sure that these three Baltic countries would develop into sustainable states: economically and socially. Even development assistance was during the 1990:s in part redirected to the Baltic region. Sweden made considerable efforts to draw these former Soviet republics into Nordic and European organized cooperation. This entailed also assistance to military training and supply of equipment. Somewhat paradoxically this contributed to the development that the three countries in 2004 joined not only the EU but also Nato.

Furthering a democratic development in Russia became a security policy priority. This was considered the most important factor in order to prevent an (increasingly unlikely) military attack.
Russia’s interest in securing sea transport and energy transfer in the Baltic Sea has become an important new element in Swedish-Russian relations. But in general terms, Sweden’s relations with Russia have not developed in the positive direction that many had hoped for. Neither have they seriously deteriorated – until most recently with the threatening developments with crisis and war in Ukraine in 2014. Russia has increasingly developed a self-image as the losing side in the cold war, which has created a foreign policy and a military stance coloured by nationalism and prestige-seeking. But even those most worried by this do not claim that Russia poses a direct military threat toward Sweden.

**Neutrality**

From the end of the Second World War and until around 2000 the Swedish security policy was summarized in the formula “non-aligned in peace time, with the aim to remain neutral in case of war”. The discussion during recent years has in large measure dealt with historical deviations from this doctrine. But there is no doubt that it had deep impact not only on the Swedish Armed Forces but also on weapons export policy, industrial and technological development in general and the public discourse.

People often made the connection between on the one hand the policy of non-alignment and neutrality and an active peace policy including advocating an important role for the UN on the other hand. Neutrality was not to be interpreted to mean that Sweden should have a low profile in international politics. Sweden was already leading the way regarding a development assistance policy with humanitarian focus and peace-promotion as major elements.

When Sweden’s policy of neutrality lost most of its relevance after the end of the cold war its position in relation to the EU became more important. Basic for EU:s security thinking is that new threats emerge. These should be met by intervening in the EU and neighbouring regions in order to check and mitigate conflicts before they get out of hand.

**“New Threats”**

A contemporary analysis of national security encompasses much more than armed attacks. Terrorist activity and spread of weapons of mass de-
struction are obvious threats to security. While these are closely related to military matters, many problems of a different nature can be seen as damaging to societies on almost the same level as war. Some of them are likely to trigger developments that can lead to violent and armed conflicts. These “new” or indirect threats have been summarized by for instance the EU: its security strategy ESS was formulated in 2003 (it has later been modified, but the main points remain the same). In the framework, the ESS singles out five key threats:

- Terrorism
- Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD)
- Regional conflicts
- State failure
- Organised crime

The ESS also calls for preventive engagement to avoid new conflicts/crisis. Building security in the EU’s neighbourhood (Balkans, Southern Caucasus, and the Mediterranean) is prioritised in order to strengthen the international rules-based order through effective multilateralism.

**Human security**

There are many reasons to broaden the concept of security. It cannot be reduced to military considerations. During the cold war the concept *human security* was put forward, as an alternative to the arms race and military deterrence. Today the cooperation within OSCE (The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe) is the most pronounced attempt to make this a reality.

The concept *human security* acquired a special importance after the genocidal events and serious violations of human rights in former Yugoslavia and in Rwanda in the early 1990’s. The security and well-being of human individuals should be at the centre of attention, rather than the security of states. The concept widened the thinking in international law and the interpretation of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

The emphasis on *human security* has – somewhat paradoxically – opened up for new motives and justifications to use organized force in inter-
national relations. Violations of human rights and killing of civilians could bring about military intervention from the outside in order to stop atrocities (in the UN codified as The Responsibility to Protect, from 2005).

**From military to civilian efforts**

An important conclusion of the changes noted above is that security policy has become a global concern. We have noted that several non-military circumstances must be taken into account and be included into a security policy worthy of the name. Such ideas form the basis of the European Security Strategy and have also been a key motive for the reorientation of the Swedish Armed Forces into an international mission force for crisis management.

But it is notable and paradoxical that ideas that have emerged as alternatives to a military security order tend to become a part – or co-opted into – this very order. It is important that the discussion on common and human security be brought back to a predominantly civilian thinking on security and safety.

There appears to be a broad consensus on these principles and this mode of thought. But it is remarkable that these aspects are not actively discussed, and even less implemented. There exists a wide gap between the thinking about security and the formation of a security policy in concrete reality. The armed forces still get a disproportionate share of economic resources as well as almost all the political attention and also analytical backing (in the form of investigative resources and research). The centre of gravity in policies and budgetary allocations needs to be shifted over to civilian and humanitarian work.

In the chapter alternatives of this text we will discuss several activities and institutions that offer possibilities that until now have often been neglected. We argue the case that they could be enhanced and financed in order to contribute to security and peace.
The Armed Forces and defence industries

We have noted that from a purely economic point of view the Swedish Armed Forces has the dominating role in Swedish security policy. We do not intend to give any detailed account of the Swedish Armed Forces – planning, tasks or financing – in this account. Our main objective is to show that there are large opportunities to contribute to peace and security through civilian, preventive and peace-building efforts. On the other hand it is impossible to paint a plausible picture of security policy today and tomorrow without taking stock – at least in broad terms – of the existing military component.

The long period of non-alignment lasted from the end of the Second World War to the end of the 1990:s. It was marked by the perceived need to be independent of foreign powers for our security. This implied relatively high defence expenditure: slightly more than 3 % of GDP for a rather long time. In addition industrial and technology policies were tuned to support the military effort. The frontline competences promoted in this way added considerable value in fields such as aircraft, computers, nuclear energy and explosives. Much of this is now history, but traces and traditions are still to be found. One example is the continued support to the attack/fighter aircraft Jas Gripen; in our main report we discuss whether this effort in reality has national technology policy as its main motive rather than defence needs.

Arms exports from Sweden were for a long period a complement to national defence needs and the technology policy related to it. During recent years exports have increased, while the Swedish Armed Forces have cut back on new orders. This branch of industry is quite large – as a legacy from the period of non-alignment. It is today partly foreign owned and acts more or less as an independent industrial branch. The sizable arms export from Sweden is however considered problematic and is presently under scrutiny in a government-appointed committee. Its main task is to suggest criteria regarding human rights and democracy that should be applied in order that an export licence should be granted. The question of volume – in what measure is it reasonable that Sweden contributes to
world armaments? – is not on the committee’s agenda and gets less attention even in public debate.

The Swedish Armed Forces – some numbers
From the beginning of Sweden’s decision to be a neutral country until today the state budget allocation to Swedish Armed Forces changed from 3.1 % of GDP to 1.23 %. Calculated in constant prices the allocation has been fairly stable (dependent on the fact that GDP has risen).

The figure 1.23 % is modest in international comparison. Great Britain, Germany and France balance around 2 %, Finland reports 1.5 % while Ireland allocates only 0.59 % to military defence. The USA spends 4.8 % and accounts for roughly half of world armaments. Nato has formulated as a guideline that member states should allocate 2 % to defence. Russia neglected its armed forces for a long time, but is now spending considerable sums on military re-armament.

The allocation to Swedish Armed Forces is now (2014) 41 767 million SEK. The breakdown is as follows:

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<td><strong>Sum total Swedish Armed Forces</strong></td>
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The present allocation of 42 billion SEK is around 6 % of state expenditure. It can be compared to other state budget items: universities and research 60, courts and police 40, EU membership 38, development assistance 38. The allocations to labour market and to social purposes are larger.

The Swedish Armed Forces employ around 21 000 persons of which 2/3 are military. Conscription was in effect terminated in 2010, but previously around 50 000 young men were trained yearly for service in the Swedish Armed Forces. Conscription has been replaced by employed personnel, recruited through a 3-month course: Basic Military Training (GMU).
After these changes the personnel situation has not yet stabilized, and particularly in army units serious imbalances exist and will remain at least until 2019.

In terms of employment, the role of the Armed Forces is marginal. This holds even if we take defence related industries into account. The whole sector “defence and security industries” employs around 30 000 people in Sweden, and many of them work on purely civilian products and needs. Since total employment in the country is 4 600 000 persons the “employment argument” is almost irrelevant. The defence effort must be judged on its own merits.

**The new defence strategy**

When the cold war ended in the beginning of the 1990:s Swedish defence found itself in a totally new situation. The official Defence Committee in 1996 did not really deal with the new situation. However, a small group of high-ranking officers in the Strategy division of the Swedish Armed Forces took an initiative to a novel and radical long range planning for the Armed Forces (Defence Idea 2020, Försvarsmaktsidé 2020). They formulated three points of departure:

1. There is no military threat towards Sweden. The Swedish Armed Forces can take at “time-out” from its traditional task
2. Implement technological modernization, in particular IT (Network Based Defence)
3. Prepare for international efforts and missions.

These ideas and the planning based on them had a considerable impact during the first decade of the 2000:s, but have later come under increasing criticism.

**International efforts**

It is by no means a new idea that Swedish military can be used in international crises. Dag Hammarskjöld brought this to the fore already in 1956. In the late 1990:s however it became established as a key idea in defence planning. In 2009 the Parliament confirmed that the Swedish Armed Forces should be prepared for efforts in our immediate sur-
roundings as well as internationally. The summary term used for this is “functional defence” (insatsförvar).

In recruitment of young people to Basic Military Training (GMU) and explaining its own competence the Swedish Armed Forces strongly emphasizes the international side of its activities. At times one might believe that the work is in reality some kind of humanitarian assistance. The cover of the yearly report from the Swedish Armed Forces in 2009 showed a uniformed Swedish officer handing over packages (food?) to a group of grateful and hungry black children. This is just one example that the Swedish Armed Forces itself affirms and prides itself of its international role. The Armed Forces as a brand name should be associated with international operations in the service of peace and prosperity. The fact that military professionalism also has to do with death and destruction is played down.

Against this background, actively confirmed by political decision-makers and also by the Swedish Armed Forces, it was surprising that in the first months of 2013 a quite different debate suddenly emerged: how and for how long can we defend Sweden? An element in this shift may be that all major international operations during the last 10 years have been related to US or Nato initiatives. A common understanding is that few, if any, such initiatives will be forthcoming in the near future. Once more there is doubt about the role of military defence. Rethinking is necessary.

Regarding the fact that military peace-keeping operations more often than not contain elements of conflict-solving, law and order, “speaking with civilians” (an expression used by Swedish Armed Forces), we question whether it is reasonable and effective to use military personnel for this kind of work. This is an aspect that becomes central in the later parts of this text, called ALTERNATIVES.

The security policy dilemma
Political decisions (a Government bill and decision in Parliament) govern the tasks and funding of the Armed Forces. They are prepared in a process recurring every five to six years. A Defence Commission (Swedish: Försvarsberedningen) is appointed; its members represent all parties in
Parliament in rough proportion to their respective size. In a first report the Commission lays out its view of the security situation, globally and in our neighbourhood. A second report deals in detail with the military defence: the Swedish Armed Forces. The first report takes a broad view. As an example in 2006 the Commission stated: “the work on security must encompass a long list of instruments, in many more fields than foreign policy and defence policy. These are capabilities and efforts that strengthen and influence development and security nationally and internationally”.

But when the second report from the same Commission was published in 2008 it bore the title “Defence in use” (Försvar i användning). It dealt exclusively with the Swedish Armed Forces: its organization, staffing and finances. The broad security issues from the first report were totally absent. We seriously question a procedure in which the vital security challenges are almost exclusively handled by a Commission, appointed by the Ministry of Defence and strongly focused on the military dimension. The analysis tends to be unduly limited. The broader questions that need analysis and policy decisions are almost completely disregarded by the state’s investigative machinery.
A PROACTIVE PEACE POLICY: THREE EXAMPLES

In the next section, ALTERNATIVES, we list a number of measures, taken from our “price-tags” report, that can be implemented and financed within a new proactive policy for prevention of armed conflict and peace building. To give a somewhat more concrete “pre-view” of what we suggest, three of the most important proposals are presented in this section.

First example: The Baltic – a Sea of Peace

The termination of the cold war offered Sweden not only considerable gains in security but also a welcome opportunity to ease a bad conscience vis-a-vis the Baltic states, formerly under Soviet dominance. Diplomatic, political and economic steps were taken towards in particular three smaller Baltic countries in order to draw them into Nordic and European organized cooperation and make sure that they would develop into sustainable states: economically and socially. Sweden’s development assistance added a new focal area: the Baltic region, Central and Eastern Europe. Considerable sums were allocated to this new assistance, which included support for democratic institution building.

This strong support for this mode of Baltic development could be negatively received by Russia. But it was combined with a number of confidence-building measures directed to Russia itself. Furthering a democratic development in Russia became a security priority, in order to avoid future conflicts. The Baltic policy of the 1990:s represents a profiled example of how a future-oriented policy can be worked out in a broad cooperation between the state, civil society and industry.

Something similar is needed today. There is growing concern regarding the militarization of the region, the democratic deterioration and authoritarian development in Russia and potential conflict relating to the role of Russian-speaking minorities in Estonia and Latvia. After Russia’s annexation of Crimea and the crisis and outright war in Ukraine voices are raised about new military threats even in the Baltic region and for enhancing Sweden’s military defence capability in the immediate surroundings.
But a more correct – though frightening – conclusion to be drawn from the Ukraine situation is that a country which has become fragmented, corrupt and in economic disarray is easy prey for a powerful neighbour with geopolitical ambitions. The relative success of an earlier Baltic policy and European integration has helped the smaller Baltic States to acquire strength and stability, which is lacking in Ukraine.

There is a clear need for cooperation on various functions and levels in and around the Baltic Sea. This speaks strongly for a new package of confidence-building measures. Such measures directed towards Russia should have high priority. Efforts can be made state-to-state (including diplomacy) but also in broad societal functions such as industry, research and culture, thereby involving a multitude of civilian organizations and activities in our societies.

Economic cooperation today between Sweden and Russia consists of normal trade and some investment; they have certainly not been problem-free. In addition the Swedish Institute (a government agency financed with the task to “promote Sweden”) has a yearly budget of 100 million SEK for cooperation in the Baltic region. Public institutions as well as civil society organisations can apply for funds in order to “promote economic, social and environmentally sustainable development in our partner countries” where among the latter we find Russia, Poland, Belarus and Ukraine.

We propose a “Baltic package” coupled to a budget increase of 400 million SEK. The following activities (some of them created during the earlier period of proactive Baltic policy) should be supported:

- Diplomatic reinforcement, including re-opening the Consulate General in Kaliningrad
- Dialogue with Russia on Human Rights and modern, democratic societal organization
- Twin towns and similar forms of people-to-people contacts
- Exchange between civil society organizations including churches
- Coast guard cooperation
- Promotion of trade and investment
• Cooperation in academic research and education
• Culture exchange and cooperation
• Project support, in order to improve relations between Russian minorities and the majorities in states where risks of isolation or increased tensions exist.

Such measures would give the phrase The Baltic – a Sea of Peace that was once an East German propaganda slogan a new significance.

Second example: International Alert
During the last 30 years, several international civilian organizations (commonly referred to as Civil Society Organizations, CSO) have been created, aimed at preventing armed conflict and building peace. We see a considerable potential in their work, and are convinced that their approach can be effective not only in “third world” conflicts but also in Europe and in Sweden’s immediate surroundings.

One example of such an organization which is active on several continents is International Alert (www.international-alert.com).

This organization – called “Alert” colloquially – has existed since 1985. It works with people who are directly affected by violent conflict in order to improve the potential for peace. Alert also strives to improve international policies and strengthen the peace-building sector. Its credo is spelled out on its web site (our summary):

Peace prevails when:
Everyone lives in safety, without fear or threat of violence. Everyone is equal before the law, and fair and effective laws protect people’s rights. Everyone is able to participate in shaping political decisions and has fair and equal access to the basic needs for their wellbeing. This must hold regardless of gender, ethnicity or any other aspect of identity.

Alert seeks to interact with and influence international organizations such as the UN but works also with multinational companies. The latter is a distinctive and somewhat unique part of Alert’s effort: trying to integrate
conflict consciousness into enterprises and commercial organizations. Other elements of its work are technical analyses, training and monitoring.

In matters of substance Alert covers a broad spectrum: economy, climate change and gender, as well as the role of international organizations, development assistance and governance that can influence a peaceful development.

International Alert uses a wide spectrum of working modes: dialogue, research, lobbying, training and accompaniment. The latter has become an important activity among international and national CSO:s (even Swedish). For Alert this means not only a presence in order to prevent human rights violations and physical attacks, but also a means to competence enhancement, raising local support and provide encouragement in being “critical friends” of people in vulnerable situations. Alert has a long tradition of keeping good contacts with peace and conflict research world-wide.

A network of “highly respected peace advocates”, such as Nobel Peace laureates Desmond Tutu and Wole Soyinka, supports the organization. Alert is led from a head office in London, and has field offices in about 25 countries. The total number of employees is around 200. The governing board has 10 members and its present chairman is Pierre Schori, Swedish former cabinet minister and diplomat.

Financing for Alert is provided by donations from a large number of sources: foundations, states, state agencies, organizations etc. Swedish Sida is one of the larger contributors. We suggest (se below: ALTERNATIVES) that Alert, together with a number of similar organizations, should play a larger role in an active peace policy and be granted more funds from Sweden.

**Third example: Basic Education for Peace**

Education is crucial for all advanced activity in our societies. As a part of the traditional defence policy education and training played a key role, on all levels from basic training of conscripts to advanced courses for officers and specialists. In order for a new and proactive peace policy to
be effective, there is a need for educational efforts on a fairly large scale and on several levels.

The Swedish Armed Forces has had and still has well-developed pedagogical tools and clearly structured tracks for the training of its personnel. During the epoch of conscription the first period of service (9+ months) was to a large degree devoted to education and training in military matters (and some general skills as well). Officers were in high measure educators, and were trained as such. After the transfer to a professional Armed Force education has decreased in volume, but still plays a key role. All recruits are supposed to take a 3 months course (GMU), after which the individual can apply for employment with the Swedish Armed Forces which in most cases requires additional education and training.

We suggest that a similar education be organized and financed, as a parallel and alternative to the military track GMU. We regard it as a basic education for prevention, conflict mitigation and peace building. Like the GMU this Basic Peace Education (GFU for short, where F stands for Fred, Peace) should prepare for efforts in Sweden’s immediate surroundings and – with even more emphasis – for work in international crisis-prone situations.

This education could be organized in similar form as the GMU, meaning a 3 months live-in course with all expenses paid plus some additional remuneration. It is essential that both practical and theoretical elements are present and well integrated. The curriculum must be transparent and allow smooth transition to more advanced courses. It is not unreasonable to see this GFU as an alternative for persons attracted to GMU – perhaps because of an interest in international peace-building – but who would prefer to substitute the military element with civilian competencies.

A parallel is the Church of Sweden’s basic course (Svenska kyrkans grundkurs), which gives basic knowledge on the value premises and organization of the Church. It is compulsory for future employees: priests, deacons, parish educators and musicians and is offered as 16 week courses at several locations.
Like GMU the GFU should be free of charge and the students should also be given a modest amount of money (as salary or stipend). All kinds of education are expensive in the short run: teachers and instructors should have salaries and students have to be provided for. But we are convinced that the benefits, even in strictly economic terms, in the long run will outweigh the costs. A budget allocation on the level of 240 million SEK yearly would be a good investment.

It is likely that Swedish public agencies, development assistance actors, peace-oriented CSO and many others will welcome this educational opportunity, and eventually may expect all their recruits to participate. Those who have taken this education will probably also have a competitive advantage when seeking employment or secondment with the UN, EU, OSCE and international CSO:s.
ALTERNATIVES

New points of departure
We have already pointed out that the major security challenges existing in our globalized world are inadequately reflected in concrete policies and the way in which economic resources are allocated. In the ALTERNATIVES part of our report we list a number of non-military activities that exist (at least on the drawing-board) and aim at promoting peace and security. Prioritizing this kind of activities would move the emphasis in peace and security work: from reactive to proactive, from military to civilian, from fighting symptoms to addressing causes of conflict.

In the established security policy discourse the military dimension dominates and “alternatives” still take the back seat. In our main report we point to a number of sources for ideas and inspiration. Some of the important intellectual foundations have been laid by academic scholars and centres devoted to peace and conflict research.

The concept nonviolence (no hyphen!) has been coined by Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, and developed by several theoreticians and practitioners after them. The principles have been applied (more or less consistently) in many situations of crisis and fights against oppression. It is important to notice that nonviolence represents more than just the absence of violence: a comprehensive view of man and society.

The UN Security Council resolution 1325 on women, peace and security was unanimously adopted in 2000. The gender perspective should now be present in peace work on all levels. The resolution has since its adoption had a deep impact on the way one looks at women’s roles in conflicts and war, not least from the insight that that women (and children) are the most vulnerable groups in present day armed conflicts. But they are often excluded from peace processes and therefore it is imperative that a gender perspective is included at all levels of peace initiatives.

Many of the alternatives that we want to make visible have their base in popular movements and voluntary organizations, today often summarized as Civil Society Organizations (CSO), formerly often referred to as Non-Governmenatal Organizations (NGO).
We recognize the work of the Christian churches and in particular The World Council of Churches (WCC) as one important starting point for our work. After careful preparation the WCC decided in its 2013 General Assembly in Busan, South Korea, to turn away from the concept “just war”, an apologetic term that has been in use from the 4th century AD, in favour of “just peace”, suggesting that positive and affirmative action for peace is a responsibility for churches and Christians. We note, however, that religious tensions (both intra-faith and inter-faith) have been and are still tragically present in many violent conflicts. Peace researchers have pointed out, however, that such tensions are not so often the root causes of conflict as is generally believed, but tend to worsen and harden conflicts once they have escalated to violence. On the other hand, major world religions and many religious organizations project themselves as makers of peace and reconciliation.

**Preventing violence**

*Prevention of armed conflict* is a well-known idea and concept in security policy. One would thus expect to find it among the prime concerns and points of departure, for instance in the EU or the Swedish Defence Commissions. But it is glaringly absent.

It is common knowledge that brushing one’s teeth and refraining from candy is a better way than to have the dentist treat caries. It is better to halt poisonous discharge into nature than having to clean up afterwards, and it is preferable to build fire-safe houses rather than having to improve fire-fighting alert.

This simple principle has apparently not taken hold in the field of defence, security and peace. But we can point to serious efforts in this direction. In 1999 the Swedish government made a very strong case in favour of the prevention of armed conflict. The foreign minister of Sweden, Anna Lindh, and State Secretary Jan Eliasson (presently UN Deputy Secretary-General) formulated the principles and got approval from a unanimous Parliament (*Riksdag*) in 2000. Swedish diplomats energetically worked to plant the idea in the UN and the EU, where it was adopted as policy at the Göteborg summit in June 2001. The issue was effectively shoved off the table after the 9/11 2001 attacks which set off the “war on terror”. We consider the main ideas still highly relevant and worthy of renewed attention.
Proposals and price-tags
There are a multitude of activities already going on that may serve as viable alternatives in a new security policy. But they live in the shadow of conventional security and defence policies, and are often not recognized as relevant. Above all, they are pathetically under-financed in comparison to the large sums spent on the military. An article (2012) UN General Secretary Ban-Ki-moon was headed: “The world is overarmed and peace is underfunded”. Our figures show that this holds true even for Sweden.

As an eye-opener and numerical example we have allocated 2000 million SEK as a yearly budget increase to various peace-building measures. Whether this is too little or too much can be discussed, but it represents 5% of the allocation to the Swedish Armed Forces, and in another comparison 11% of the funds allocated through Sida. We do not categorically state where these funds should come from. In the longer term these alternatives should decrease the needs for military expenditure, but it is not our intention to suggest how or when.

Without specifying the details, we envision the changes to be implemented gradually through 2015 to 2018, reaching the full yearly increments, as indicated in each case below, at the end of that period. For those actors already present in the field, the increases amount, on the average, to a doubling of funds. (The nature and economic volumes of existing work programs are spelled out in our two Swedish reports; for reasons of space and readability they are not repeated here.) The amounts quoted represent an increase of the yearly budget allocation, counted in millions SEK.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA, UD)
Tensions between diplomats and military on security policy are well known. They date back a long time and are certainly felt in almost all countries. Today it is clear to us that more weight should be placed on diplomacy and hence on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Swedish Foreign Service should, on all levels, be alerted to security issues in a comprehensive way, and focus on the prevention of armed conflict, in accordance with the policy guidelines laid down already in 1999-2000 (see above). The whole Service should recruit, train and operate with this aspect regarded as the highest priority.
For several years a Government Minister was responsible for disarmament negotiations (until 1973). She had a team of highly qualified researchers and diplomats to support the effort. This side of Swedish foreign policy should be upgraded, and the Ministry’s unit for disarmament and international security strengthened in status as well as staff.

Additional personnel (diplomats, experts) within MFA... 20
Competence enhancement for diplomats... 20
Diplomatic presence in conflict-prone areas... 30

Sida
The dominating part of civilian efforts for international peace-building and conflict management is financed through Sida (the Swedish Agency for Development Assistance) as a part of the general budget allocation for development cooperation (which totals 38 000 million SEK). This is not at all surprising. If poverty and unequal distribution can be diminished, many causes of violent conflict will also decrease. Violent conflict – sometimes in the form of “low-level warfare” – is one of the most frequent and persistent hindrances to economic and social development.

There is no strict dividing line between conflict-related assistance and other parts of Sida’s mission to reduce poverty and oppression in the world. Orders of magnitude can be observed, however. From the sub-item Conflict, peace and security in Sida’s own budget, some 590 million SEK are earmarked for peace-building, conflict prevention and conflict solution. Counting even other relevant budget items we can identify around 1000 million, or 6 % of Sida’s budget (3 % of the total development assistance allocation) as directed explicitly towards peace and security. The tendency is that these issues have been given increasing weight during recent years. In accordance with the analysis in our two reports we recommend the following.

- Conflict, peace and security should remain a high-priority concern for Sida
- Prevention and peace building through CSO (Swedish and International, se also below) should be given increased support.
Police
In addition to Sida, there are three civilian state authorities who are committed to the type of work we discuss here: The National Police Board (Rikspolisstyrelsen), the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency (MSB) and the Folke Bernadotte Academy.

The police perform the largest share of such work. The principles were spelled out in an official investigation in 1997: “Police in the Service of Peace”. The National Police Board contains a unit for service abroad, with the explicit task to “create conditions for lasting peace and security”. It happens that police work in international crises is confused with military missions, but it is important to note that police work is of a completely different nature. Recruitment and seconding of police is often a slower process than that of military personnel, which sometimes means that military are used in tasks for which they do not have adequate training. We are convinced that police activity should have a much greater role in international crisis management than the case is today.

The Swedish police provides on the average 100-120 persons to international service in crisis areas. These services are almost exclusively performed on request from the UN, EU and OSCE.

The tendency is that experienced personnel and persons with special skills are more and more in demand, but the Swedish side cannot fully match this. If more police could be trained and prepared for international duty Swedish police should be able both to increase and to sharpen its international presence. The idea of a stand-by police force (a kind of “battle group”) has been discussed but rejected on economic as well as professional grounds.

Competence enhancement, special training etc... 40
An new official investigation, similar to the one from 1997... 10

The Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency (MSB)
MSB is an agency under the Ministry of Defence, but is an important civilian actor in the fields of emergency preparedness, rescue operations and crisis management. In the international field it should be prepared to
provide assistance in civilian crisis management and other security related operations. In a similar way as the police, it operates and seconds personnel mainly on requests from the UN, EU and OSCE.

During 2013 MSB has had 38 persons (full-year equivalents) seconded to missions related to civilian responses in crises and conflict situations, most of them on call from EU. MSB does not take its own decisions on missions. Increased budget allocations would however lead to more secondments. The Agency should be allowed to use a considerable part of its additional funding for enhanced recruitment, competence building and international knowledge exchange in order to strengthen Swedish contributions both in quantity and quality.

Increased budget for international work by MSB...

The Folke Bernadotte Academy (FBA)
The FBA is a relatively small state agency, under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dedicated to enhancing the quality and effectiveness of international conflict and crisis management, with a particular focus on peace operations. The overall objective is to contribute to lasting peace and development. FBA also functions as a platform for cooperation between Swedish agencies and organizations and their international partners.

An important task for FBA is to recruit and train personnel for missions organized by the UN, EU and OSCE. FBA is one of the largest providers of seconded personnel. Presently 86 persons work after secondment from FBA in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Asia and Africa. A related task is education and training for international missions: in these functions the FBA cooperates with the Swedish Armed Forces, MSB, the Police and others.

A special task entrusted to FBA is to administer the so-called “peace million”: an earmarked budget post of presently 14 million SEK. It finances projects in civil society organizations and foundations with a focus on peace, security policy, disarmament, conflict resolution or conflict management. The aim of the grant is to strengthen the voice of civil society in these areas. It can also be used for studies, the spread of
information, lobbying or to generate debate on a topical issue. A related grant (7 million) is set aside for organizations for projects relating to UN Security Council resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. (See also below: Information and studies.)

FBA has a key role in the state’s direct and indirect efforts to work for peace and security by civilian means. We suggest that the Agency’s budget for recruitment, seconding and other ways of supporting international peace work be substantially increased.

FBA: Additional funding for operative efforts...

**Intergovernmental organizations**

Sweden has a long tradition as advocate of intergovernmental cooperation for the security of the world and the preservation of peace. The commitment to the UN has been firm and strong all the way from 1946 when Sweden joined as a member. This commitment became more intense and personal when Dag Hammarskjöld was its Secretary General 1953-1961 and lost his life in the service of the organization.

Since Sweden became a member of the EU European cooperation has received more attention, not only for the reason that the Union is associated with peaceful coexistence, but also for its many other agendas: economic, legal and social issues.

A direct focus on security and peace is characteristic of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, OSCE.

These three intergovernmental organizations, UN, EU and OSCE, all play a significant role in peace building and prevention of armed conflict. In our main report we discuss the nature of their work and suggest improvements and additional resources, in particular with the aim to prevent violent conflict. It is a fact that Sweden being a small country has limited leverage in deciding policies and budgets in all three organizations. But a high profile in intergovernmental organizations should be a key issue for Sweden in a proactive policy for world peace. Dag Hammarskjöld emphasized that a major task of the UN is to assert the interests of small countries in relation to the major powers.
As a member country Sweden has the right and opportunity to take initiatives to special projects and demonstrate willingness to share the costs. The primary factor in order to make a difference is not money as such but political energy and commitment. Thus enhanced competence regarding peace building, together with negotiating skills and political backing, is of key importance (cf text on MFA/UD above!).

The EU has a very large budget (142 000 million €, or around 1300 billion SEK) and we cannot even begin to suggest redistributions inside these huge amounts. We do however point to two initiatives which are prepared and reasonably well analysed in the organization (both Secretariat and Parliament) but have not yet been financed.

A Peace Corps in the EU...  200 million €
Analytic and operative capacity for prevention of armed conflict...  5 million €

These initiatives must of course be negotiated within the organization, following normal procedures but we do not rule out that Sweden could provide extra funding to get them off the ground.

In comparison with the UN and EU the OSCE is relatively small, but on the other hand very clearly focused on issues such as early warning, prevention of armed conflict, crisis management and post-conflict measures. At present the OSCE has 16 “field missions” primarily in Southeastern and Eastern Europe and in the Caucasus. Economically OSCE is not large: its yearly budget is 1 300 million SEK. We regard the OSCE as extremely important, not least from what we have seen from the Ukraine/Russia conflict.

Again, the most important factor is political backing and provision of first rate competence to the organization. But this should be accompanied by a substantial increase of our economic contribution.

Increased funding for OSCE...  100 million SEK
Swedish organizations
As a country with a strong tradition of popular movements and non-governmental organizations it is not surprising that such organizations (CSO) have a considerable role in the national efforts to promote development and peace in the world. This role is most clearly visible in the sector development cooperation (see also above, the text on Sida) where around 40 % of the fieldwork is done directly or indirectly by civil society organizations, CSO. We note further:

- Support is given to Swedish CSO:s for work on conflict prevention, peace building, accompaniment etc. These funds (in addition to those donated directly to the organizations) come almost exclusively from Sida
- This work consists of a large number of relatively small projects, performed by many different organizations. A report from 2001 mentions 57 organizations, and the number has certainly not decreased.

The key role of CSO:s in development cooperation as well as in conflict situations and peace building has been recognized in many policy statements. “Many CSO:s have a great potential to work locally close to those poor and oppressed men and women who are the real targets of Swedish development assistance” (The Budget Bill 2014). Sida points to a couple of CSO that have given a particularly high priority to conflict situations, peace and security in their own work (Diakonia, The Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation).

We find that it is certainly possible and desirable to increase support to CSO in this field. However it will take time, and requires dialogue and long-term planning. At present there are imbalances, caused by limited home office resources, too small scale and lacking support for maintaining interest and opinion formation in national CSO and elsewhere. We think that the competence and commitment of Swedish CSO could be brought to better use, but this is not only a question of more money. More cooperation and pooling of resources should be encouraged. However, money is also necessary.
International organizations (CSO)

Several international non-governmental organizations have been formed during the last 20-30 years and have emerged as key actors in the fields of prevention of armed conflict and peace building. (We refer to them as international CSO; the term NGO is being phased out but is often still used.)

Research and experience have confirmed that international CSO can fill very important functions in prevention and peace building. Several prominent organizations have developed a competent mode of operation, and often have created useful networks with researchers and policymakers. As a rule they have also set up a field organization, with offices strategically placed in or near conflict-prone areas.

The organizations are financed through grants, applied for on their own initiative. It is normal that they are supported from many sources: UN and its specialized agencies, EU, national governments, private foundations and individuals. Sweden supports several of them mainly through Sida grants. Those organizations that we want to highlight as particularly relevant and as candidates for increased Swedish support are:

- International Crisis Group
- International Alert (see also pages 18-19)
- Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC)
- Search for Common Ground
- Life & Peace Institute

We are convinced that international CSO, such as these mentioned, have a very important role to play in order to create a more peaceful world. We recommend a substantial increase of funding (review of proposals and allocation of funds should still be a responsibility for Sida).

Increased allocations to international CSO for peace building and prevention...
**The Baltic Region**

When the Iron Curtain divided Europe, it also cut through the Baltic Sea and separated the countries in the region for 45 years. When it disappeared Sweden made large allocations in order to increase cooperation and build trust between the countries around the Baltic Sea (see above, pages 7-8 and 16-18). We suggest that a similar effort be done now: a “Baltic package” with diplomatic, democratic, economic and civil society dimensions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Cost (SEK)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A high level official and unit in the MFA for Baltic issues</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-opening the Consulate General in Kaliningrad</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialogue with Russia on Human Rights and societal organization</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twin towns and similar forms of people-to-people contacts</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exchange between civil society organizations including churches</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast guard cooperation</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion of trade and investment</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperation in academic research and education</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture exchange and cooperation</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project support targeting relations between Russian minorities and the majorities in states where risks of isolation or increased tensions exist</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In total this “Baltic package” would cost the Swedish tax-payers around 400 million SEK, in our view a rather modest sum in comparison with the amounts discussed for possible military reinforcements.

**Information and studies**

The public discussion is limited and the knowledge in the population about peace, security and defence is weak and underdeveloped. We do not see this as a result of conspiracy or exaggerated secrecy. Nevertheless it is a democratic problem. Paradoxically the military reaches a wide audience with the message that they create peace in the world (see pages 14-15) while the corresponding civilian initiatives and efforts are practically unknown.
In the Swedish tradition we do not solve such problems through dictates or campaigns. But we do have good experiences and sound principles in processes where the state and the public sector can facilitate the free exchange of views. Public agencies can play a role, along with the media, CSO and interest groups. The following allocations could strengthen the democratic process and knowledge-creation.

Information on the state’s civilian efforts
for international peace and security...  80
Increasing the “Peace Million” grant through FBA...  30
Increased grants to CSO for information and
debate on peace and security...  40
Information on Afghanistan (still a conflict area, on the way
to become Sweden’s largest recipient of development aid)...  40
Increased support to professional and interest organizations
(such as the Swedish Institute of International Affairs UI,
Society and Defence, the OSCE network, Swedish Pugwash etc)
for information and debate on alternatives in security policy...  40

A Swedish Peace Corps?
Many of our considerations point to the need of some “stand-by” capacity: people or units ready to go on short notice and well prepared in advance for their duties. In the military sector such units have been set up in later years; the one best known is the Nordic Battle Group (the most recent in 2011) within the EU. The UN has expressed the need for “peace and development advisors” to be sent to conflict-prone areas. Canada has a successful organization, called CANADEM (a “Civilian Reserve for international peace and security”) for the rapid recruitment and secondment of qualified personnel.

There are motives both for and against similar arrangements in Sweden, but we strongly believe that steps in this directions should be taken, and recommend that they be explored with some urgency.

Official investigation on the need for stand-by capacity,
a “Peace Corps”...  10
Education

A precondition for almost everything we suggest in our reports is that there are sufficient numbers of recruits with relevant competence available. Education is a key issue. The Armed Forces have always put education and training high on their list of priorities. They have developed clear pedagogical principles and designed educational tracks. We suggest a number of educational initiatives in support of concrete preventive and peace building activities.

One such activity is a direct parallel to the basic military training (GMU) offered by the Swedish Armed Forces, basic education for peace (see pages 19-21)

Basic education for peace (GFU)... 240

Beyond this basic education a number of more specialized – and in some cases also more theoretical – courses and educational tracks should be offered. They would prepare for professional service in various areas. Such areas can be very diverse: post-traumatic stress, fight against corruption, water and energy planning, mediation in ethnic, religious or language conflicts. In all of them there is a need for basic understanding of how conflicts arise, how they can be solved without violence and what kinds of methods are available. Education of this nature could be organized by agencies of the state, in collaboration with professional associations and universities.

Education and continued education for professionals (FBA and others)... 80

In addition to this kind of education, targeted at professionals, the general academic education on these issues should be strengthened. Peace and conflict as a topic for studies and research has existed in Swedish universities for 45 years, and won respect in the academic, diplomatic and media worlds. At the present stage, we think that a boost is called for in line with the increased importance of global peace and security policies.

Expanded university education on peace politics and global security... 100
Referring to the basic need to create a “culture of peace” many individuals and organization have pointed to the key importance of the schools. In the “Hague Appeal for Peace” in 1999 a large number of international organizations urged the UN and all governments to “insist that peace education be made compulsory at all levels of the education system”. As we write this, there is a rather heated debate on the quality of the Swedish school system, the recruitment of teachers and the need for a “reform freeze”. It makes no sense to suggest a new compulsory subject now, but the issue should be put on the agenda and international experiences taken into account.

An official investigation: broadly based and aiming
at installing peace education as a subject in the
compulsory school, high schools and adult education...

Research
Defence research is a well developed and generously financed activity in Sweden. However, we criticize the structure and financing of it on the grounds that research on defence and security becomes heavily dependent on the defence sector and in particular the Swedish Armed Forces. The normal procedure for applied research in other sectors is that universities and institutes have a significant role and that some of the research funds are distributed after open applications and peer review. This implies greater diversity of approaches and enhances quality.

An even more significant need for change lies in the fact that alternatives to military security and in particular preventive measures are seriously under-researched in view of their importance. This should be remedied. An important instrument in Swedish research policy during the last decade have been so-called strategic research ventures (strategiska forskningsområden), meaning that a relatively large sum of money is allocated to an area deemed to be important and then administered by the Swedish Research Council and allocated after peer review of applications.

Strategic research venture: Peace, security and non-military alternatives (Swedish Research Council)...
This effort should be complemented by funds targeted at applied and action-oriented research in areas where conventional approaches are insufficient and new knowledge should be built quickly. In these areas we identify a key role for the Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI). Such tasks will balance what FOI already does on commission from the Swedish Armed Forces.

Research and studies on “new security threats” such as energy, cyber and environment (FOI, MSB, universities)... 40
Research and monitoring of civilian peace-keeping operations (FOI, FBA)... 20
Early warning on emerging conflicts, building up permanent competence (UI)... 10
VISION

Our two reports present an analysis of peace, security and defence which builds on two simple ideas. The first is that it is much less costly, in both human and economic terms, to prevent wars than to fight them. This holds true both globally and in our immediate neighbourhood. The second thought is that real security threats, on the nature of which there seems to be a rather broad consensus, should be reflected at least approximately in the allocation of money. On the basis of these two ideas we point out a number of activities that ought to be stimulated and financed during the coming 4-year period 2015-2018.

This is not particularly visionary and that was never our intention. We, as authors, are both part of a pragmatic social science tradition. We prefer that political debates are carried out without exaggeration or dramatic rhetoric. But we realize that the security policy that we have outlined and deem rational and necessary implies deep changes in Sweden as well as globally. These changes are not shocking in budgetary terms but may appear to be drastic since they challenges the mind-set that until now has dominated in this field.

In the span of one or two decades prevention and peace building might form a policy area in its own right: a “third pillar” for foreign policy, in addition to the established ones defence and development assistance. Gradually institutions and governance would be created and this area of responsibility recognized as a “normal” function in our society.

Such a development is not self-evident and may not be stable over time. Development aid was put on the world agenda some 50 years ago and is now facing radical re-evaluation. Poor countries have become fewer but poor people are found almost everywhere. It is well known that violence, war and weapons have a key role in the prevalence of poverty, not to mention the human suffering. On the other hand one can observe long-term trends meaning that violence decreases and is less and less accepted. Several countries have without fanfare stopped relying on military power in dealings with their neighbours. Others have not – as we well know.
We envision that prevention and peaceful settlement of conflict will be the dominating pattern between nations and people in a not too distant future. Our present proposals may then seem a bit on the cautious side. To a growing number of world citizens the call from the Hague conference in 1999 – “the time has come to abolish war” – will stand out as the only sensible and realistic position.
**LARS INGELSTAM** has a background in technology and science, and holds a PhD in mathematics. He was head of the Secretariat for Futures Studies from its start in 1973. From 1980 he held a position as professor of Technology and Social Change in Linköping University.

**ANDERS MELBOURN** is a journalist and professor of political science. He was director of the Swedish Institute of International Affairs 1997-2004. Before that he spent 25 years as a staff member of the daily newspaper Dagens Nyheter, the final years as editor-in-chief.

Photo credit: Ludvig Duregård and Karin Melbourn