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**Opinions of right-wing and left-wing mass-media on the
policy of the Kingdom of Sweden in the field of arms trade
(based on materials from Dagens Nyheter and Aftonbladet)**

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ABSTRACT

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Nowadays, the world arms trade market is growing every year, as is the number of players on it. Many countries are engaged in arms export, although the list of the largest exporting countries has not changed for many years. Even though Sweden has never entered the top five, the country has firmly established itself in the list of the top twenty exporters, being an active participant in the market.

The aim of this study is to identify differences in coverage of the topic of arms exports in newspapers with different political pressures. Through content analysis, this study highlights the salient features of Swedish arms exports from two of Sweden's largest newspapers, Aftonbladet and Dagens Nyheter.

Mass media, in particular newspapers, have played an important role in the life of Swedish society. With the rise in the popularity of social media and the rise in digitalization, the popularity of newspapers has somewhat diminished, but online newspapers are still one of the main sources of information. For this reason, of all types of media, it was newspapers that were selected for analysis. To carry out this analysis, based on the formed criteria, we selected arrays of articles for 2015 from both newspapers.

This study contributes to the existing knowledge about the role of the media in Swedish society, as well as expands knowledge about the peculiarities of coverage of controversial political topics in Swedish newspapers of different orientations.

In the future, in order to understand whether the Swedish press influences the policy pursued by the state, future research can be conducted as a case study, based on the data obtained in the course of this study.

Keywords: Sweden, mass media, arms trade policy, arms export, social constructivism, Aftonbladet, Dagens Nyheter

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List of Abbreviations

EU – European Union

IISS – London International Institute for Strategic Studies

KSA – the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

NORDEFECO – Nordic Defense Cooperation

SIPRI – Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

SOFF – the Swedish Security and Defense Industry Association

TIV – Trend Indicator Value

USA – United States of America

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Introduction

The world arms trade existed long before the start of the Cold War, but it was with the collapse of the bipolar system that it became an even more important part of international relations and world politics. In a bipolar world, the arms market was actually controlled by two dominant states, the USSR, and the USA. After the end of the Cold War, there were many times more players on the market, which was also facilitated by the development of the scientific and technical complex of various countries. Now, as it was fifty years ago, the purchase or transfer of weapons is a factor that directly affects regional stability in geopolitical zones.

Military-technical cooperation (arms trade included) has always been one of the strategic and profitable sectors of the economy of practically any country involved in the production of weapons. At the same time, according to the Stockholm international peace research institute (SIPRI), export volumes have been growing constantly every year since 2000. For example, sales volumes for the period from 2015 to 2019 are 20 percent higher than in the period from 2005 to 2009; and 5.5 percent higher than in 2010-2014 (SIPRI, 2020). The largest exporting countries in the period from 2015 to 2019 are the United States, Russia, France, Germany, and China (these countries account for 76% of world arms exports), Sweden was in the top-20. The largest recipient countries are the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, India, Egypt, Australia, and China. Between 2016 and 2020, Asia and Oceania accounted for 42% of global arms exports, the Middle East ranked second in terms of purchases (33%), Europe took 12% of arms exports, Africa and America bought the remaining 13 percent (7, 3% and 5.4%, respectively) (SIPRI, 2021).

The question is what factors have created such a trend in export growth over the past 20 years. In February 2020, the London International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) prepared a report containing an analysis of the defense budgets of various countries. According to it, in 2019, global military spending amounted to more than \$ 1.7 trillion and increased by 4% compared to 2018. This is the maximum value over the past 10 years. The United States remains the world leader, with its defense budget exceeding \$ 684 billion. The USA accounts for 40% of global military spending, which is not decreasing, despite loud statements about the need to reduce participation in military conflicts in the Middle East and Central Asia.

The global trend of increasing expenditures on the purchase of weapons and military equipment accordingly leads to an increase in the volume of exports and imports of military products.

Another factor that could affect the growth of arms sales is the intensification of old conflicts and the emergence of new ones. In 2014-2015 alone, the international community faced the war in Ukraine, the wars in Yemen and South Sudan, military interventions in Lebanon and Iraq, as well as a number of internal militarized conflicts in African countries.

Competition in the world market from other supplying countries, which are gradually accumulating relevant competencies, is intensifying. So, for example, according to the SIPRI report, at the end of 2019, South Korea entered the list of the ten largest arms exporters for the first time, its sales increased by 143% compared to 2010-2014. In addition, Israel's arms exports reached a record level, which grew by 77%.

At the same time, according to the SIPRI "Reporting on conventional arms transfers and transfer control", the number of reporting tools at the regional and international levels has increased compared to 1990. Registers and reports were created primarily to increase the level of transparency in the arms market, as well as to establish more stable and trusting relations between countries. Paradoxically, while the number of such instruments has grown, the number of countries submitting annual reports has decreased.

Since the sphere of arms sales is one of the opaqueness areas of the international market, it is rather difficult to find accurate data for analysis, even in such democratic countries as the countries of Scandinavia. For this reason, quantitative data from the Stockholm Institute for Peace Research will often be used in this study. It is worth noting that SIPRI data from TIV tables (total trend-indicator value) is not the ultimate profit of each country in particular, but in the known production costs per unit of the main set of weapons ("Sources and methods", 2021). As for SIPRI Fact Sheets, according to the official methodology: "The core of the SIPRI index of trend-indicator values is the average program unit cost of weapons for which cost data are available. By focusing on the program cost-including R&D costs this index reflects the quality as well as the quantity of the weapons transferred. The SIPRI trend indicator value is expressed in US dollars because it is based on data on weapon costs" (Anthony & Sköns, 1995, p. 4). All dollar amounts are also reported by SIPRI, Military Expenditure Database (SIPRI Military Expenditure Database, 2021).

According to the institute, the top five world leaders remain more or less unchanged, while the rest of the top 15 are less stable. So, Sweden ranked 9th in 2008, 7th in 2010. Since 2012, Sweden has left the top 10 suppliers, taking 12th place in 2014, and a year later 16th in the ranking. Sweden is back in the top-15 at 14 in the latest 2019 report but is unlikely to make it

back into the top 10. On the other hand, taking into account the specifics of the country, it is worth considering how Sweden entered even the top 15 largest world arms exporters.

The Kingdom of Sweden is one of the three Scandinavian countries with the image of the one of the most respectable and well-being countries in the world. Moreover, in the case of Sweden, the neutrality declared at the beginning of the 20th century was accompanied by a disarmament policy implemented in the international arena, including in the League of Nations (Katseva M.A., 2010). The combination of a policy of neutrality and a disarmament policy in Sweden has survived to this day. According to the declared policy of neutrality, Sweden is not a member of any military alliances or other military organizations, except for the sub-regional organization NORDEF, created through a joint initiative of the three Scandinavian countries. It should be noted that Sweden, being a member of the EU and participating in the European Common Security and Defense policy, is not a member country of the North American Alliance, although it closely cooperates with it.

However, in parallel with this, Sweden, as well as other neutrals, has been actively engaged in the arms trade, and more than a dozen years. Which is rather strange since the country works on an image, which does not even suggest the likelihood that it is in the world's top list of the largest arms suppliers ("Sharing Sweden", 2017). Swedish international politics, like the initiatives of the Swedish government, often have cooperative and peacekeeping goals. In addition, Sweden is known for its policy aimed at establishing the maximum level of equality and tolerance, both in state structures and in private organizations. Thus, from the point of view of the theory of international relations, Swedish politics can even be called feminist ("Feminist Foreign Policy", 2014). However, all this together creates an obvious contradiction between the foreign policy course, as well as national values and the real state of affairs. In reality, however, the feminist government gets along well with the sale of weapons and components to non-democratic countries or countries participating in armed conflicts, which directly contradicts common European values. For example, according to the non-profit non-governmental organization Svenska Freds, since 2015, Sweden has exported \$ 2.2 billion (Strategic export controls, 2016) worth of ammunition to the coalition led by Saudi Arabia (Svenska Freds, 2020).

It should be noted that this information was denied by Foreign Minister Anne Linde at a conference held on April 24, 2020 (Folk och Försvar, 2020). But even relying on SIPRI data, it can be argued that since 2015, Sweden has exported military products to Saudi Arabia in the amount of USD 1 million only once in 2016 (but in 2014 - in the amount of USD 160 million). As well as to the United Arab Emirates received arms in the amount of 88 million US dollars from 2015 to 2019 (SIPRI Database, 2020). In an interview, A. Linde stated that no new export

deals with Saudi Arabia have been allowed since 2013 and with the United Arab Emirates since 2017, and this is true. However, exports to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates have been covered in recent years by successive deliveries from previous deals.

Even if we do not take into account the examples with Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, you can also pay attention to deliveries to Pakistan or the Kingdom of Thailand. Pakistan, which in 2019 became a party to the newly aggravated Kashmir conflict, received weapons worth \$ 36 million between 2014 and 2019 (SIPRI Database, 2020). Thailand, which can hardly be called a democratic regime, has received \$ 62 million worth of military products since 2014.

Commenting on this data, Ann Linde said that the existence of the military industry and the export of arms allow Sweden to provide its own protection. According to the foreign minister, Sweden is too small to be able to maintain its own military-industrial complex without selling weapons. Thus, exports ensure the existence of the industry as such.

Separately, it is worth noting the fact that in Sweden, the export of weapons is not handled by the state on its own. All the companies mentioned in this study specializing in the production and export of weapons are private, with the exception of Nammo AB, which is owned by the Norwegian and Finnish states. Nevertheless, the Swedish state is still involved in this process. Firstly, it is it that is engaged in the regulation of legislation, which is obvious. Secondly, the state issues licenses to private owned companies involved in production and export. And finally, thirdly, the state remains the oversight force to which companies must report on their activities.

And if everything is more or less clear with the government's position, although not so unambiguously, then another question arises: *“How do the right-wing and left-wing media treat the export of arms?”*, because newspapers can be the reflections of party policies or the most popular opinions in society, or both. Here we have the hypothesis that the approaches to Swedish arms exports will differ markedly in newspapers at different poles of the political spectrum.

The civil society in Sweden has been developed quite strongly and for a long time, and the level of political awareness is one of the highest in Europe (although not very high in itself). However, public opinion about Sweden's export policy can be influenced by the opinions broadcast by the media, since the implementation of such a policy must at least be legitimized in some way by the media. In addition, there can be a connection between the opinions broadcast by the media and public opinion, which later can be expressed at least in free expression of will during the parliamentary elections. The treatment's marker in this study will be the articles of the

two most popular politically diverse Swedish newspapers. Primarily due to the availability of materials, since Aftonbladet and Dagens Nyheter store all their publications in online archives on their own websites. Secondly, the advantage will be the “naturalness” of the data, since the primary sources will be analyzed, and not the secondary ones, already passed through the prism of the researcher's opinion.

The period from January to December 2015 was chosen as the study period for several reasons. First of all, it was in this year that the investigation of the government commission on the export of arms, the so-called KEX-investigation, ended and its results were made public. Here we have the assumption that the investigation provoked an increase of interest in Swedish arms exports during 2015 in Dagens Nyheter and Aftonbladet. Secondly, it was precisely since 2015 that Sweden's position as an exporter of arms, according to SIPRI data, has sharply deteriorated. Thirdly, in September 2014, regular parliamentary elections were held in Sweden, and starting from 2015 it was possible to look at the actions of new government in the field of arms exports.

The theoretical part of the thesis will examine the role of the mass media through the prism of constructivist theory, the role of the arms market in politics and international relations, as well as the history of the development of political parties in Sweden and the place of mass media (especially newspapers) in Swedish society. The practical part of the study will analyze the role of Sweden in the international arms market, as well as archival materials from two newspapers, Dagens Nyheter and Aftonbladet, for 2015, in order to identify differences in the positions of left and right forces in Sweden.

Theory

The role of mass media in constructivism

By now, the theory of international relations has practically completed a whole series of discussions related to the active development of the constructivist paradigm. The subject for these discussions was the role of the so-called subjective factors (cultural, social) as opposed to traditional, objective factors (military-political and economic). As a result of these discussions, the need for the synthesis and study of subjective and objective factors was actually accepted (Kazantsev A.A., 2009, p. 88). Political reality, according to constructivists, is a product of social construction.

Representatives of social constructivism approach the issue of the role of mass media in the political life of the state differently from other theories.

Constructivists do not deny the idea of realists that public policy is directly related to national interests. But at the same time, constructivists proceed from the fact that interests are based on identity, and not a predetermined desire to survive and dominate in the international arena (this can also be a socially constructed result based on a policy of internal identity). Identities define interests since an actor can articulate them clearly only if he is aware of who he is. National identity influences the choice of goals in domestic and foreign policy and determines further actions of the state. At the same time, it begins to be perceived as a value that needs to be defended and promoted. Thus, the constructivist concept of national interest differs significantly from the realist concept. In this case, national interest becomes a more open concept, capable of changes since it is formed as a result of political processes. It should be noted, however, that we are not talking about any cardinal changes in identity, and, as a consequence, in national interests, we are talking rather about some small changes in conditions that affect the formation of identity and national interest.

From the point of view of social constructivists, the personal ideas of the heads of state or other representatives of the elites have weight only if their content is widely shared by society. In this case, ideas become intersubjective, beginning to influence public opinion, perceiving the influence of ideas, values, preferences, and assessments of society (Tsygankov P.A., 2008, p. 44).

It is common for the state to have several coexisting national identities. They are a reflection of the opinions of various representatives of society and the state. In a sense, national

identities combine constant exchanges of opinions and discussions taking place in the media, at the level of society, between different social forces, etc.

It is also worth mentioning here the fact that identity is formed not only by internal factors, but also by external factors. Thus, national identity is influenced by the perception of the identities of other states, as well as how one's own identity is perceived by other actors. The norms and rules socially constructed in this process are subsequently used by the actors for the most effective achievement of their goals.

In addition, there is a concept of collective identity in constructivism, which is usually based on the opposition of “We” and “Others”. For constructivists, the study of the discourses of the “Others”, the model of interaction with the “Others”, acquires particular importance, since it is these contact processes that create the matrix of their own collective identity. A certain contribution to the understanding of the symbolic interaction “I/Other” was made by Michael J. Shapiro, who applied textual analysis to construct political identity. On the example of O. Clausewitz's treatise “On War”, he found out that during military operations the formation of “We” occurs as a rigid opposition to the image of the “Others”. At the same time, the formation of this collective identity is impossible without opposition, because this is the only way to legitimize one's own actions and glorify “We” (Pavlenko O.V., 2015). An interesting example of this can be the policy of the United States, which D. Campbell considered in this context in his book “Writing security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity”. The US identity, on the basis of which the country's domestic and foreign policy is formed, is constantly being constructed with the help of media discourses, in which “We” is always opposed to “Others” (terrorists, Al-Qaeda, Iran, Afghanistan, etc.). Without their own collective identity, the States are forced to constantly resort to demonizing other actors, in particular, with the help of the mass media, to manipulate public opinion (Campbell D., 1998).

The issue of the role of mass media in politics is quite interesting. From the point of view of social constructivists, media reality does not reflect objective reality, but forms its own reality, relatively autonomous in relation to the “objective world”, in accordance with the code shared within the observing environment (mass media), i.e. the intersubjectively constructed reality. The mass media do not supplement or distort reality, they rather broadcast the reality that expresses collective ideas about it (for example, professional-local). In other words, the picture created by the mass media is not a literal reflection of reality, but rather a projection of the community's inherent ideas about the important and the insignificant, the new and the old, the common and the unique, etc.

The picture of reality is created from facts selected in accordance with certain principles and in such a way as to confirm the autonomy, authenticity of the observing system. The mass media selects facts in this way and in order to remain an autonomous structure describing or presenting reality. And the question in this case is not that the mass media are not able to convey reality accurately, adequately, fully, and objectively, but that in this case they would become one of the tools for self-observation and self-description of society, the same as education, science, and mythology. However, the mass media aspire to the status of a system representing all other social subsystems - to the status of a meta-society.

In the most complete form, this point of view is stated by Niklas Luhmann in his famous work "Reality of the Mass Media". The German sociologist substantiates the following idea: the mass media system uses special criteria for selecting information about "real reality" in order to create "mass media reality" (Luhmann N., 2012). As a result, these criteria are presented to society as necessary and even the only possible criteria for any reality. As a result, it also affects everyday life: society applies media standards sometimes without realizing it in all spheres of life. Ultimately, the results of scientific research are also often evaluated in terms of their "news potential", "sensationalism" and "relevance", and the degree of people's concern about events depends on how widely they are represented in the media reality.

It is interesting that our, viewer's, requests, expectations, and preferences are essentially the result of someone else's choice: we often do not know "what we love and want to watch, listen and read" until we get acquainted with the range offered to us. Only after that do we articulate our will and acquire a specific psychological status of "loving and willing", while responding to media content through Internet voting, calls to the studio or answering questionnaire questions. As a result, the choice made by the mass media confirms itself after the fact, acquires legitimacy in our personal elections. Niklas Luhmann used the term "re-entry" for such a mass media effect: "this "re-entry" hides a paradox, because opposite distinctions (system/external world, self-reference/other-referencing) are considered here as one and the same (...). The distinction between the world as it is in itself and the world as it is observed is being erased" (Luhmann, 2012, p. 24). Conditional revision discusses the content of messages based on requests from an (imaginary) audience, which are themselves the product of editorial discussions. Provided that none of the participants in editorial discussions knows the real requests in their statistically significant volume, it turns out that the mass media system reproduces itself in accordance with its internal schedule, using the construct "feedback" as a tool to legitimize its own decisions.

S. Hilgartner and C. S. Bosk in their well-known work (Hilgartner S., Bosk Ch. L., 1988), devoted to the construction (i.e., collective definition and redefinition) of social problems, including by means of mass communication, indicate the importance of the so-called “capacity” of various public institutions, acting as “platforms” on which social problems are formulated and discussed, as well as selected. “Capacity” is characterized by the ability of a public institution (for example, mass media) to discuss several problems in a limited period of time. There is no such newspaper, news program, or other mass media capable of covering for a certain period of time (for example, within the framework of one daily issue or within the framework of a weekly program) absolutely all real problems in the world or in the society of a particular country. In fact, according to the authors, there is a rearrangement of cause and effect: the problem becomes what was defined as such with the help of a public institution in the context of its “capacity”.

The same indicators can be applied to the “amount” of feedback in mass communication: each medium of mass communication has a specific capacity in relation to audience reactions. Time, budget, staff, access to sociological databases, political capital, level of technical equipment – all this can limit or expand the ability of the media to receive “feedback” from the audience. Obviously, the larger the audience of the mass media, the lower the percentage of feedback in relation to all potential (possible) reactions. Nevertheless, even statistically insignificant feedback cases are fundamentally important for the mass media. As S. Hilgartner and C. L. Bosk argue, feedback can increase or decrease attention to the media presented facts. This influence is enhanced if feedback is established not even with the audience, but with other similar “arenas”: “Each institution is “populated” by a community of functionaries who carefully study the activities of their fellows in other organizations and in other arenas. Journalists read each other's work in a constant search for plot ideas. Television producers are carefully scanning the symbolic landscape, trying to find fresh themes for dramas” (Hilgartner S., Bosk Ch. L., 1988, p. 64).

Moreover, the more real the feedback with other public institutions, the more real the “success” in the media construction of social reality. For example, politicians usually try to cover their activities through the media. This, in turn, arouses the interest of researchers in certain problems associated with such activities. The increasing volume of attention from the outside provokes an even greater growth of interest in the topics covered (Hilgartner S., Bosk Ch. L., 1988).

The fact that the mass media define the operations of the external environment as feedback directly depends on how they thematically and problematically resonate with this environment. Thus, the greater response in the mass media will receive those subjects that have

already been encountered in other “public arenas” – in the legal system, cinema, science, and a lesser response, respectively, will be given to unique, non-recurring subjects.

At the same time, both the “capacity” of the media and their “resonance” with other public institutions inevitably indicate that the media cannot take into account all possible responses, while the media make a special selection of responses to their messages in accordance with what the reaction is more in line with their inner concept. Feedback is not so much the signals that reach the communicator in response to its actions; rather, it is the design of the communicator itself.

Thus, the behaviour of actors, including states, is conditioned by two sets of factors: external and internal. At the same time, conditioning does not imply any strict predetermination. In other words, states in the field of political issues are influenced by various social factors, including mass media, but still have “room for manoeuvre”.

Why arms trade matters?

Arms trade in the classical form is defined as a special type of military-economic and military-technical relations between states, providing for export and import, re-export, and re-import, as well as leasing of weapons, military, and special equipment. When organizing the arms trade, military-political and strategic factors are also taken into account, which in most cases become decisive in the implementation of arms deals (Lyashchenko, 2010 p. 7).

Like any other area of trade, the arms trade has a number of specific characteristics and characteristics. For example, trade in arms and/or military equipment is usually tightly controlled by the state and regulated by international agreements. This market is also characterized by a high level of monopoly and competition compared with other markets - each state or company pursue only its own interests, strategic and tactical goals.

In addition, the international market is also characterized by an increasing variety of significantly more sophisticated military equipment and dual-use products, which can be purchased by almost any country. Moreover, the thriving “black” and “shadow” markets offer options for the same defense products that were denied to anyone on the open market (B. Kuzyk, N. Novichkov, V. Shvarev, M. Kenzhetaev, A. Simakov, 2011, p. 44).

The world arms market is a complex, multi-level system of international and military-political ties between actors. The elements of this system can be called regional arms markets, in which exporting and importing countries solve their reputational, commercial, or political tasks. First of all, we are talking about buying and selling, or renting (leasing) weapons or special equipment, as well as initiating or developing joint projects.

Military-technical cooperation, and specifically, arms trade, allows exporting countries not only to solve foreign policy and commercial problems, to strengthen their own image, but also to solve internal economic and social problems. For example, provide the population with jobs and maintain the utilization of production facilities. In addition, exporting countries tend to acquire some political influence that they can use to their advantage in importing countries.

Among the features of the world arms market are the following. First, this market is characterized by constant growth and a tendency towards a slow increase – world military spending has almost doubled since the beginning of 2000 (\$1,000 billion against US \$1917 billion in 2019 (SIPRI Yearbook, 2010)). This growth can be attributed to two reasons. On the one hand, this is an increasingly complicated conflict landscape (the Middle East, North Africa, Asia, Southeast Europe). On the other hand, the increase in expenditures is explained by the rise in the cost of military products themselves, the production of which every year becomes more

high-tech, and therefore more and more expensive. Another explanation for the growth of world arms expenditure is the increasing importance of market mechanisms, among which the maximization of profits and the constant modernization of existing weapons are becoming decisive.

Secondly, the export of weapons, as a rule, links the importing countries and the supplying countries for a long time, since the addition to the supply of weapons is technical or service maintenance and subsequent modernization, the supply of ammunition, spare parts, and consumables. In addition, the actual production of large weapons systems usually involves many production cycles.

Thirdly, all legal trade in arms is carried out on the basis of interstate agreements and largely depends on the international situation in general and the integration of specific exporting and importing countries into the general world order. If a country falls under UN sanctions (as was the case with Iraq, Iran, Libya, Syria), then the legal channels for the sale of weapons and dual-use products, as well as all manifestations of military-technical cooperation, are closed to it. That naturally actualizes the “shadow” and “black” arms market (Rodionov I.I., Gafurova G.N., 2011).

Fourth, the global arms market is undergoing a change in the geographic vector of development. If the second half of the twentieth century was distinguished by the increased activity of the countries – importers of weapons in the Middle East, first of all, they were Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Syria, then in the 21st century the main demand for weapons was divided between the Near and Middle East and the Asia-Pacific region, where the main consumers of weapons are India, China, South Korea, Pakistan, Vietnam, Japan and Indonesia (SIPRI Factsheet, 2020).

Fifth, this market is relatively open. At the end of the last century, the list of exporting countries was replenished with new states in the post-socialist space. Moreover, such as Ukraine, Bulgaria, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan in the 1990s were seriously dumping at the sale of the Soviet legacy. In addition, in the 1990s, Israel sharply strengthened its position on the market. Most recently, South Korea and Turkey, of course, China have significantly increased their exports of military products. There is a real prospect that, as a result of renouncing a number of military-political self-restrictions, Japan may become a major exporter of arms. Sweden remains a serious player in the arms market. Pakistan is gradually building up the military export potential of its defense industry.(Goreslavskij S.S., 2019)

Sixth, this is a serious change in the forms of competition in the arms market, which is becoming more and more acute, often of a shadow nature. Moreover, we are increasingly talking not about market competition of products and indicators of combat effectiveness, but about the political interests of market participants. As a result, non-market methods of competition are quite actively used: misinformation, various methods of pressure on the political leadership of importing countries, open bribery, and a system of commissions (Darmov A., 2018).

It is also worth noting that states tried to regulate the international arms trade (here we speak about conventional arms, not nuclear). An attempt to bring the trade in conventional arms under international control was made in 2013. The International Arms Trade Treaty was drawn up. However, it can be considered absolutely unsuccessful, since the two largest arms exporters at once refrained from signing (Russia, China), and in April this year, Donald Trump announced to the Senate that he refused to ratify the treaty.

But the treaty itself does not provide for any effective methods of conventional arms control. All responsibility for this lies with the states themselves, and there is practically no body of supranational control. Exporting countries are free to decide the degree of buyer's reliability. A special place in the treaty is occupied by the issue of illegal transfer of weapons, but the treaty also does not offer any ways to prevent it. Moreover, it completely lacks a mechanism for punishing violators. The parties to the treaty are only obliged to submit reports on export or import deliveries to the treaty secretariat every year. But even this can be avoided if "the information is confidential for commercial reasons or relates to the field of national security" (United Nations, 2014). This wording is rather ambiguous and does not have an accurate interpretation, therefore it can certainly be used to bypass the clauses of the agreement.

By pursuing their trade interests, arms exporters can contribute to the escalation of conflict in the regions and the strengthening of global terrorism. According to the American researcher of international relations Andrew Mumford, today the role of proxy wars in world politics is growing noticeably. This is primarily due to a decrease in the size of armies, an increase in the cost of maintaining military equipment, as well as the need to conduct counter-guerrilla operations (Andrew Mumford, 2013, p. 13). The supply of weapons is one of the ways to support the necessary forces in a particular state. Countries receiving assistance from stronger states, including with weapons, feel in a position to end the conflict by force and do not seek a peaceful settlement, which leads to an increase in its scale and an increase in the number of victims.

Often, attention is paid only to exported heavy equipment, aircraft, missiles, but do not underestimate the role of light weapons in conflicts. It still plays a key role in conflicts in African countries. It is quite cheap, so it often falls out of complete statistics, but even a small supply of such weapons and cartridges for them can lead to a multiple aggravation of the conflict, since wars continue while there is something to fight. It is light weapons that are used in the battle against the radical Islamist organization Boko Haram in Nigeria. And now this country is among the top-6 largest importers in sub-Saharan Africa (SIPRI fact sheet, 2020).

The importance of trade in foreign policy can be summarized in several points. First, the export of arms as a “litmus test” of relations between countries. In this vein, it can be considered that one of the highest points of trade and political relations between countries, as well as an indicator of the exporter's trust in the importer, is precisely the arms trade. No state in the world will supply arms to countries with which it has tense or conflict relations, even if it is necessary to fight third parties. Secondly, the arms trade is important in the context of supporting certain forces in the region and maintaining a certain status quo. A striking example in this case can be the actions of Russia before the latest escalation of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. In the event that one side (Azerbaijan) began to build up military power, the other side (Armenia) received equivalent assistance from Russian Federation, and thus the balance of power was maintained. But if the situation was relatively calm and the conflict was not in an acute phase, Russia refused to supply Armenia with new weapons to keep the balance between them (Markedonov S.M., 2019). Third, the export of arms, as a way of political promotion of the exporter in the importing country or the region as a whole. In this case, it can be noted that the supply of weapons allows the importer to firmly gain a foothold in the country, both from the trade-economic and military-technical side, and from the political side. We can say that this point is indirectly related to the first point but has a number of its own characteristics. For example, advertising is carried out with the help of the export of weapons. Accordingly, more countries in the region may want to purchase such weapons and fall under the influence of the exporting country, since where there is export of military products, there is also trade in conventional goods and the general growth of political and economic relations.

Swedish party system

Political parties in the Northern Europe were born thanks to the appearance of popular representation in the system of state bodies. In Sweden, the country itself is governed by a unicameral parliament (Riksdag), headed by a prime minister. Parliament, in turn, is re-elected every four years.

It is worth noting that the Nordic countries occupy a special place among countries with a multi-party system. The classic period of the multiparty political process for them ended with the coming to power of the Social Democrats. Basically, in all Scandinavian countries this happened before World War II. Since the emergence of the Social Democrats, the party systems of Sweden and Denmark could be considered not multi-party, but bipartisan, since most often the parliament looked like an alliance of several small parties against one large one. In addition, the emergence of the Social Democratic Party (the Workers' Party) in Sweden, as well as the split that occurred after the events in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century, and the subsequent emergence of a group of radical-minded politicians, led to the creation of the classical structure of the party spectrum: left radicals, that is, the communists and socialists; centrists, that is, liberals; right-wing, that is, conservatives (Isaev M.A., 2001). At the same time, in modern Sweden, the liberals are becoming closer to the right, even the Liberal party belongs to the center-right (Alliance for Sweden).

After the creation of such a division in the party system, a period of consolidation began. As a result, only the Social Democrats managed to overcome various, including historically formed contradictions, and gain support for themselves both in the southern and northern parts of the country (before that, the classically conservatives represented the interests of the city and the bourgeoisie, and the liberals were supported by the rural population). As a result, this allowed them to thoroughly gain a foothold in the country's parliament for many years.

Due to the fact that the Social Democrats managed to subordinate most of the country's corporations to their direct control or ideological influence, the traditional bodies of state power, primarily the parliament, found themselves in a social democratic environment (Aylott N., 2016). Having been in power for decades and transforming the structure of the state into a welfare state, the Social Democrats managed to largely socialize private property by imposing draconian taxes and establishing tight state control through the establishment of state monopolies in many important industries of the country. Since the leadership of the bodies of social regulation and management of the economy was in the hands of the Social Democrats, the pressure on the state in the interests of this party was very effective. As a result, the social democratic influence affected all the most important areas of Scandinavian life – from work,

education, recreation to political activity. The bourgeois parties had to include the welfare state thesis and other social democratic ideas in their own programs. The blow to the prestige of the Social Democrats fell in the 70s, and in the early 80s they lost power everywhere and were forced to cede the right to form a government to their opponents.

Nowadays according to researchers from the University of Gothenburg, Swedish parties are divided on a right-to-left scale as follows: Moderate coalition party, Christian Democrats, liberals, Center Party, Swedish Democrats, Green Party, Social Democratic Labor Party of Sweden (SDWP), Left party (Oscarsson H., Persson M., 2009, p. 241). All parties belong to either the center-right bloc (Alliance for Sweden) or the center-left (red-green coalition), except for the Swedish Democrats party.

It is interesting that all parties in one way or another belong to the centrist blocs. In order to understand the reasons for this, one should take a closer look at the modern parties in Sweden. Sweden's party spectrum is as follows:

1. Sveriges Socialdemokratiska arbetarparti (The Swedish Social Democratic Party) – center-left; red-green coalition.

This party is one of the oldest and most influential political forces in Sweden, formed in 1889. Their policy aims to create a secure welfare that can be trusted, improve the health care system, provide everyone with jobs, and ensure equality in the world of work, and combat climate and environmental challenges (Sveriges Socialdemokratiska arbetarparti Official website, 2021). This party, led by Stefan Löfven, positively assessed the Swedish arms export.

2. Miljöpartiet de gröna (The Green Party) – center-left; red-green coalition.

The party was formed in 1982. The main political goals are the fight against climate change, open and human refugee policy, peace, and justice, as well as for equality in society, calling itself a feminist party. They advocated a tougher arms export policy, as well as the cancellation of certain arms export deals (Miljöpartiet de gröna Official website, 2021).

3. Vänsterpartiet (The Left party) – center-wing; red-green coalition.

Established in 1917. The main political tasks are to improve the country's pension system and establish gender equality in all spheres of life (Vänsterpartiet Official website, 2021).

4. Moderata samlingspartiet (The Moderate Party) – center-right; Alliance coalition.

Created in 1904. The ideology of the party is traditional conservatism, the preservation of common values: family, religion, nation. The moderates have been the longest opposed to a substantial restriction of the rights of the Swedish crown. In the economy, since the welfare state has become a traditional value, moderates are in favor of improving this model. It is important to note that they are the staunchest adherents of traditional Swedish neutrality (Moderata samlingspartiet Official website, 2021).

5. Centerpartiet (The Centre Party) – center-right; Alliance coalition.

Founded in 1922. Political ideas are focused on developing agriculture, creating sustainable development and a sustainable society, as well as supporting business to create jobs (Centerpartiet Official website, 2021).

6. Liberalerna (The Liberals or Liberal People's Party till November 2015) – center-right; Alliance coalition.

Founded in 1934. They consider their main tasks to be the improvement of the education system, integration policy and focused on gender equality issues (Liberalerna Official website, 2021). Members of the party were opposed the prolongation of the deal with Saudi Arabia.

7. Kristdemokraterna (The Christian Democrats) – center-right; Alliance coalition.

It was formed in 1964. Improving the health care system and care of the elderly, advocating for the protection of family values, increasing the level of internal security and creating new jobs are called their most important political focuses (Kristdemokraterna Official website, 2021).

8. Sverigedemokraterna (The Sweden Democrats or Swedish Democrats) – right-wing, not part of any alliance.

Formed in 1988. Nationalist party that has been gaining popularity in the last decade due to international events. Stand for the preservation of Swedish traditions, toughening immigration policy, increasing the level of security in the country by strengthening law enforcement (Sverigedemokraterna Official website, 2021).

The Swedish party model and political life is a combination of social policy with historical political traditions. At the same time, Sweden is constantly moving along the path of transformations, excluding any too strong political fluctuations. The gap between the “right” and “left” parties in this country, as in other Scandinavian countries, is not as sharp as it usually is,

and the influence of radical parties before the European migration crisis of 2014–2015 was minimal.

The latter feature is associated by many researchers with the long stay in power of the Social Democratic Party, which, since the 1930s, has been creating what has come to be known as a “home for the people”. Another feature of Swedish politics is the eternal striving for cooperation, achieving goals through negotiations and consensus. In addition, the convergence of party poles can also be explained by the change in the conduct of political campaigns in the middle of the 2000s (Isaev M.A., 2001). In order to win the 2006 parliamentary elections, the moderate party changed the tactics of the struggle for power, adopting the most popular social democratic slogans: fighting unemployment, improving the social situation, activating labor policy.

Based on this, the following assumption can be made. Its meaning lies in the fact that a single social liberal trend has developed in Sweden, where the programmatic differences of the so-called bourgeois parties and social democrats are becoming less and less noticeable. Under these conditions, the effect of a two-party system makes itself felt, when the voter alternately gives the opportunity to rule one or the other party (bloc).

Returning to the role of radical right-wing parties in society, we can mention that many researchers are now talking about the destruction of the Swedish party-political model (Voronov K., 2019). At the same time, another tendency is also characteristic - the rapid growth of the influence of the nationalist party Swedish Democrats, who in 2010 for the first time received a sufficient number of votes to represent the party in the Riksdag (5.7%). In the elections in September 2014, this party, which has grown in numbers and is active in the political arena, is multiplying its success, having already gained 12.86% of the vote (Valmyndigheten, 2014). In the same year, the Swedish Democrats party entered the European Parliament. But here it is worth noting that in the Swedish parliament, the growing popularity of the right-wing party was not happy. The Swedish democrats did not fit or belong to either of the two-party blocs (they are still not included in 2021). Moreover, none of the parties expressed a desire to cooperate and create joint initiatives with the extreme right-wing party until the end of 2019 (Aylott A. & Bolin N., 2019). This is quite indicative, given that the slogans and statements of the Swedish Democrats are much less aggressive than in similar parties in other countries.

The role of mass media in Sweden

The media play an important role in international relations, contributing to the maintenance of security regimes when the need arises (security regimes arise when the actors of the international arena, foreseeing possible aggression, decide to prevent it with the help of cooperation) (Naveh, 2005). So, for example, international media can broadcast a certain position (about the high cost of war), thereby convincing the national media of this point of view and ensuring further transmission of this idea with their help. In addition, the media at any level helps maintain transparency by providing access to relevant information, especially when it comes to Sweden with their high standards for mass media.

Swedish press in the 18th and 19th centuries developed as a press of political parties. The multiparty newspaper market peaked in the 1920s, after which the popularity of political party newspapers began to gradually decline. After the two world wars, the number of newspapers in Sweden changed significantly, from 216 (1945) to 167 (1995) (Vartanova E.L., 1997). Thus, many settlements and cities have become “places of one newspaper”. Nowadays, the popular Swedish print media are not parties owned, but are more often owned by private corporations. One of the trends in the development of the press at the beginning of the 2000s was a gradual transition from party bias to relative neutrality. However, this does not change the fact that historically newspapers have sympathized with certain parties and even actively supported them, so the neutrality of newspapers is really quite relative. They may remain institutionally neutral, but there may be some concurrency in terms of content. The leading publications in Sweden are Aftonbladet, Dagens Nyheter, Expressen, Svenska Dagbladet and others. According to the Center for Media pluralism and Media Freedom, in 2016 the level of newspaper circulation in Sweden was one of the highest in the world (Robert Shuman Centre for Advanced Studies, 2016).

The Swedish media is based on a tradition of free speech that is highly valued in Sweden itself. Sweden was the first country to include a freedom of speech clause in its constitution (Freedom of Information Act) (CIA, 2001). According to various international rankings and indexes, Sweden is regularly ranked among the top countries with the highest levels of press freedom in the world (Syvertsen T., Enli G., Mjøs O. J., Moe H., 2014).

In addition, the country has a system of self-regulation of the press through the relevant state institutions (media ombudsman and the Swedish press committee), and the culture of journalistic ethics is also highly respected, so the level of trust in the print press in the country is quite high. The Nordic media industry lives by the principle of “let the press be governed by the press” (Syvertsen T. and oth., 2014). The idea is to allow the journalist to independently develop

the rules of work, creating so-called codes of conduct in independent media councils that monitor their implementation and resolve complaints from citizens, the Swedish council can even impose fines.

In terms of funding, Sweden, like the rest of the Nordic countries, has a system of government subsidies for print media. It was created back in the middle of the last century in order to avoid “newspaper deaths” when the number of local publishings throughout the country began to decline. The subsidy system, having undergone some changes over almost seventy years, has survived to this day, but at the same time, state funding does not make up the lion's share of the budgets of newspapers, which allows them to remain independent from the state.

It is also worth noting that Sweden has a special body – Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå (TT) – it is a leading news agency. It is from it that most (almost all) Swedish newspapers, as well as radio and television, receive information about domestic and international politics, events from the world of finance, economic and sports news, etc. TT is one of the sources of information for Aftonbladet and Dagens Nyheter; many of the news items in these newspapers are endowed with a reference to the agency as the primary source.

In 2004, Hallin and Mancini published their paper comparing the media systems of different countries. In their book, they proposed three models that can characterize media markets and the role of media in countries: the liberal model, the polarized pluralist model, and the democratic corporatist model (Hallin D. & Mancini P., 2004). The liberal model is characterized by an average newspaper circulation, with commercial newspapers and a minimal role of the state, a system of market regulation (USA and Canada). The second model, in turn, is characterized by small circulation and politically oriented newspapers with high political overlap, less professional journalists and more government interference in the industry (Greece, Italy). The Swedish media model can be called a typical example of a democratic corporatist model with strong journalists, large newspaper circulation, relative political neutrality, and state participation at the structural level, as well as the presence of special subsidies for the press (Ohlsson J., 2015).

According to the Open Society Foundation's report on digitalization in the media, journalists use a wider range of digital tools in their work every year, which, however, does not always affect the variety of material (Nord L., 2011). On the one hand, there are concerns that the transition to the Internet could affect professional and ethical standards of work under the pressure of the demands of the digital sphere. On the other hand, the growth of digital media has contributed to better news quality and a variety of news sources. The increase in sources of

information has led to an increase in user-generated content, but at the same time, much more content has become available through the digitization of various data and archives. There is no point in denying that the role of the Internet is growing every year, but in Sweden it never became the main source of information, if we exclude young people from statistics. At the same time, even on the Internet, the online services of the largest national news companies remain the traditional sources of news. Thus, it can be argued that digitalization has forced news companies to seek new paths to reach audiences, thus enabling multi-channel news publishing.

Another report, produced by the Reuters Institute in 2017, also confirms the fact that digitalization and social media are putting significant pressure on Swedish newspapers. The print circulation of all Swedish newspapers has been steadily declining over the past two decades (Myndigheten för press, radio och tv, 2016), but at the same time, advertising revenues are growing due to the use of online platforms (The Reuters Institute, 2017). Sweden has one of the highest levels of news consumption on smartphones according to Reuters polls, boosted by news publishers' relatively early investment in mobile apps and mobile-friendly sites. According to statistics presented in the report, 86% of respondents in Sweden said they consume news through online resources (including social networks), and 39% through print sources. As a result, the two largest companies with the four largest newspapers in Sweden, Bonnier (Dagens Nyheter and Expressen) and Schibsted (Aftonbladet and Svenska Dagbladet), are increasing their profits every year. Also, according to the same polls, Aftonbladet has a more left-leaning audience, while Dagens Nyheter has a more right-leaning audience (The Reuters Institute, 2017, p. 95).

According to Media pluralism and Media Freedom report 2020, in the Swedish media sector, high and medium risks existed only in the area of Market Plurality. This was determined by a national team of researchers using five criteria created to assess the situation: transparency of media ownership, news media concentration, online platforms concentration and competition enforcement, media viability and commercial and owner influence over editorial content. The group of medium risks includes three indicators. The lowest risk level was observed in media viability and was equal to 37%: since 2012, newspapers have ceased to be the largest advertising platform in Sweden, it has become the Internet. Thanks to this, the publishers had to change the funding system, and to this day, each of the newspapers is creating new ways to attract audience funds, mainly through online subscriptions. The second indicator, online platforms concentration and competition enforcement, showed a risk level of 45%: the main problem here is the inability to collect truly reliable information for assessment. The third indicator of transparency of media ownership showed 50% of the risk: here, as the name of the criterion implies, the main problem is the lack of transparency, since there is no law in Sweden that regulates this aspect in the media

sphere. The high-risk group includes two indicators. Commercial and owner influence over editorial content showed 68% risk. The main problem here was the very thin line between advertising and editorial content, which makes it often difficult for readers to distinguish advertising from editorial material. The highest risk level was shown by news media concentration, and it was 97%. This is also due to the very vague wording of the law (Radio and Television Act). There are various bodies that monitor compliance with restrictions on concentration and ownership rights, but at the same time there are no clear criteria for their use. (Färdigh M.A., Robert Shuman Centre, 2020)

Thus, several facts can be noted. First, the Nordic press in general, and the Swedish press in particular, played a key role in the establishment and preservation of these countries as democratic and open. Secondly, the role of the press in society is still significant, but the main trend now is the combination of the digital format and the traditional print news release format to reach a larger audience.

Methodology

Why Dagens Nyheter and Aftonbladet?

Today, according to the Media Barometer (an annual survey of mass media conducted by NORDICOM, the Center for Media Research at the University of Gothenburg), print media are the third most popular daily media among the Swedish population, after sound media and moving images; 44% have regular newspaper subscriptions (both online and offline formats are considered) (Nordicom, 2019). At the same time, 27% of Swedes have a paid subscription to online news publications and 55% (data for 2018) of Swedes aged 9 to 89 read daily newspapers (Nordicom, 2018).

The largest newspapers in Sweden are Aftonbladet, Dagens Nyheter, Svenska Dagbladet, Göteborgs-Posten and Expressen. Within the framework of the study, it would be most logical to choose newspapers by the number of daily published copies, that is, by the size of circulation and audience coverage during 2015. However, unfortunately, none of the statistical organizations in Sweden (TU Mediehusens, Myndigheten, Institutet för Reklamoch Mediestatistik, Kantar Sifo, Nordicom) has kept the complete data on at least four of these publications for 2015 in the public domain. For this reason, and also because the study will analyze articles from online newspaper archives, it was decided to select two publications based on the coverage of their official websites.

To assess the audience coverage, the KIA Index was used. The KIA index is the official measurement currency for Swedish websites, which in short means that the KIA index sets rules, checks technical measurements on websites and the measurement tools that make these measurements, and publishes measurements for Swedish websites on a weekly basis. Since the index does not form annual statistics, it was decided to randomly select the week of 2015 in order to establish which of the publications has a large audience. The data are shown in Table 1.

№	Newspaper	Website	Week	Pageviews	Visit
1.	Aftonbladet (KIA Index, 2015)	https://www.aftonbladet.se/	34	66 484 895	4 635 963
2.	Dagens Nyheter (KIA Index, 2015)	https://www.dn.se/	34	9 579 208	3 480 356
3.	Svenska	https://www.svd.se/	34	9 132 233	1 198 959

	Dagbladet (KIA Index, 2015)				
4.	Expressen (KIA Index, 2015)	https://www.expressen.se/	34	33 400 303	2 758 109

Table 1. Statistics on Swedish newspapers per week

According Myndigheten, the commercial news websites of Aftonbladet, Expressen, Svenska Dagbladet, Dagens Nyheter and Dagens industri had a total of 50,614,000 unique hits per month (MPRT, 2016). At the same time, Aftonbladet and Svenska Dagbladet belong to the Schibsted concern, while Expressen and Dagens Nyheter are part of Bonnier AB. It is also important to note that Aftonbladet and Expressen are daily evening papers, while Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet are daily morning papers. For clarity and greater structure, these data are displayed in Table 2.

	Aftonbladet	Expressen	Dagens Nyheter	Svenska Dagbladet
Place	Stockholm	Stockholm	Stockholm	Stockholm
Type	Daily	Daily	Daily	Daily
Time	Evening	Evening	Morning	Morning
Owner	Schibsted	Bonnier AB	Bonnier AB	Schibsted
Unique browsers¹	4 635 963	2 758 109	1 353 408	1 198 959
Political alignment	Independent social democrat	Independent liberal	Independent liberal	Independent moderate
Choice	X		X	

Table 2. Comparison of largest Swedish newspapers

Aftonbladet was chosen because it is the largest daily newspaper in Sweden with an audience of approximately 4.6 million people weekly. The newspaper is 91% owned by the Norwegian company Schibsted and 9% by the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO). The newspaper's editorial policy states that Aftonbladet is an independent Social Democratic publication (i.e., the left) (Aftonbladet, 2021). With the daily press publishing as an economic base, Schibsted has created a very strong position in the digital area in Sweden. Since the start in 1994, the flagship Aftonbladet.se has acquired a unique position in terms of national distribution for an individual online news medium. In April 2014, the daily reach was 1.627 million unique users. The corresponding dominance also applies to the newspaper's mobile site, whose reach

¹ Corresponding visitors/visitors on the site. Source: KIA Index, week 34

during the same measurement period amounted to 1.658 million - an increase of 43 percent in just one year (MPRT, 2015).

Dagens Nyheter was chosen because it is the largest daily morning newspaper, with circulation in print more than 265 000 (International Media Sales, 2018) and had online audience approximately 1,4 million unique users per week. The newspaper is owned by the Swedish mega-concern Bonnier AB, which also owns Expressen. The publication positions itself as an independent liberal (that is, center-right) (Dagens Nyheter, 2021).

According to Orvesto, the total coverage of both newspapers in 2015 was approximately the same – 636,000 for Aftonbladet and 625,000 for Dagens Nyheter. At the same time, the division within the audience by gender and age is somewhat different. The evening newspaper has a large part of the audience of men (332 thousand versus 304), and in the morning newspaper, both groups are approximately equal to each other, the female audience exceeds the male audience by three thousand (314 thousand versus 311). As for the age of readers, both publications have the same audience division in relation to age categories (the largest are 45-54 years old, 55-64 years old and 65-80 years old) (Orvesto, 2015).

As a conclusion, it can be noted that the Swedish press has a long history, thanks to which it becomes clear that it has always occupied not the last place in the life of the country. Even now, despite the challenges of globalization, as well as the incredibly high level of digitalization of all spheres of life, newspapers in Sweden, although they have lost part of their audience and circulation, remain a popular source of information.

Content analysis as a research method

The main body of data for decision-making in all spheres of life, including political, is created by text materials, or information transmitted in text form. Thus, it is the text that becomes the basis for any analytical work. The starting point of the research is the text, regardless of its volume, it can be either a couple of lines in a news article, or a multi-page scientific work. And it is the textual presentation of the results that is the end result of analytical and research work, or at least one of its stages.

Methods for analyzing the content of various political and diplomatic documents, significant international events, party programs, political statements, and the peculiarities of thinking of representatives of political, military, economic and other elites serve as the basis for an integrated approach, which is now becoming more and more popular among researchers.

Content analysis as a research method is one of the most common tools for the applied study of information. According to K.P. Borishpolets' definition, the essence of content analysis as a methodology consists in "systematic selection and fixation of certain units of text content, quantification of the data obtained and subsequent interpretation of the results in order to assess and predict the actions of political actors" (Borishpolets K.P., 2010, p. 53).

The first use of the prototype of content analysis as a method of text research dates back to the 18th century - in Sweden, using this method, they examined church books and established whether they are heretical or not (Pocheptsov G.G., 2001). A more classical use of this method took place as early as the late 19th century, when scholars began to study the publications of American newspapers in order to establish what functions the newspaper might perform.

The founder of content analysis in the field of political research can be considered Harold Lasswell, an American sociologist who has been researching propaganda techniques since World War I (*Propaganda Technique in World War I*, 1927). Another scientist, B. Berelson, later gives a more accurate, fundamental description of content analysis (types, criteria, units of analysis). In the 1960s, thanks to extensive discussions in scientific circles, the method expanded, acquiring a qualitative direction. An example of a new extension of analysis can be the work of G. Hans "What is news?" (1979) - *Qualitative and Quantitative News Research to Determine Press Patterns in News Coverage* (HSE, 2020).

The advantages of content analysis as a research method include, first of all, the fact that the results of such a research are not distorted due to interaction with the public or subjective background of the research being conducted. In addition, the method gives an idea of objects that the researcher himself cannot directly observe.

Currently, content analysis is an interdisciplinary methodology that combines ideas from the science of international relations, sociology, mathematics, and political science. Content analysis is usually chosen as a research method when there is a need to process a large unsystematic and unprocessed array of information. It is especially useful when the frequency of occurrence of the categories necessary for analysis is important for research, as well as when the language of the source being studied and its characteristics matter.

Considering the popularity of the method in various fields of science, it is customary to distinguish two forms of application of content analysis - directed and undirected, as well as qualitative and quantitative options.

The quantitative or frequency variant of content analysis includes work with standardized procedures for calculating the selected categories. The complexity of the analysis can be increased by adding to the scoring also the setting of how important the category under study is compared to other categories. This is established by counting the number of repetitions of the selected categories in a certain text array.

Qualitative analysis is the second option for content analysis. Unlike quantitative analysis, this option is aimed at a deep meaningful study of the text and the use of the selected categories, including from the point of view of context. Conclusions and conclusions in this type of analysis are formed on the basis of the relationship between categories and their rank in the structure of the text array. That is, for example, in order to find out how important the topic of "arms export" is, one should not only highlight this concept, but also consider what place this category occupies in the studied material, as well as how detailed it is, in what connotation it is used and what it has an emotional connotation (other analysis criteria are also possible).

In this case, both variants of analysis can complement each other, if the goals and objectives of the study require it. All methods of content analysis are subject to the same methodological requirements: reliability, consistency, validity, and objectivity.

Content analysis of any text array is performed in five main stages. *The first stage* is preparatory. It consists in determining the volume of the information array for analysis, that is, in creating a sample of messages to be studied. When forming a set of messages, a certain set of criteria is usually applied, developed for research. The criteria can be very diverse, but, as a rule, the following are most common: type of message, time of the message, author of the message (Borishpolets K.P., 2010, p. 56).

In addition to highlighting a set of messages, at this stage, the main units of analysis are also distinguished - individual elements or an element that needs to be studied. Such an element can be either a word (the simplest and smallest type of element), or a topic, which is a separate statement about a specific subject. Certain criteria are also presented to the unit of analysis - it must be long enough to have a semantic meaning, but short enough that it does not have several meanings and must also be freely identified.

In this study, the following criteria were used to form an information array: a given type of source, type of messages, place of distribution of messages, time of appearance of messages. The type of source is the press, and more specifically the archives of Aftonbladet and Dagens Nyheter publications. Post type: news articles and articles by invited experts. The place of distribution of messages is the official sites of the publications Aftonbladet and Dagens Nyheter. Time of messages appearing - January - December 2015. The term “arms export [vapenexport]” was chosen as the unit of analysis.

The second stage is decomposition (Borishpolets K.P., 2010, p. 56). At this stage, a set of semantic elements is selected from the array and the method of their systematization is selected. The method of systematization depends on the selected option of content analysis, for example, for the frequency option, this is the calculation of the frequency of using research units. The information array was formed on the basis of the time and source of publication and was refined taking into account the presence of the necessary unit of analysis in news publications. Thus, 71 publications from Dagens Nyheter and 78 publications from Aftonbladet were selected for analysis.

The third stage is directly systematizing the elements: counting them or quantifying the units of the text array (Borishpolets K.P., 2010, p. 57). A qualitative version of content analysis does not consist in counting repetitions but is aimed at identifying a combination of qualitative and quantitative indicators characteristic of the analyzed units of analysis. The unit of analysis is usually a political idea of importance at the national or international level. In the text, it can be expressed in a stable phrase, or in one word.

The fourth stage is interpretive (Borishpolets K.P., 2010, p. 57). Most often, it consists of identifying and evaluating the necessary characteristics of the text array that are relevant to the research question. For example, what the author wants to hide or emphasize, what is the priority in the described topic. The fourth stage ends with the formation of analytical conclusions that meet the set goals and objectives of the study.

The fifth stage is verification (Borishpolets K.P., 2010, p. 58). During this stage, the results are checked by conducting the same analysis by other researchers, or by correlating the findings with already available information. The first version of verification is more often used in the framework of new scientific projects, and the second in the process of performing routine research.

As a conclusion, it can be argued that content analysis as a research method allows you to expand knowledge about real political problems or processes. First of all, the advantage of the method is that it allows you to study events and topics that the researcher does not observe on his own. However, it should be borne in mind that at the same time, the method is quite laborious, especially if we are talking about a combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis options.

Main part

The role of Sweden in world's arms trade

The international arms market is, in essence, a rather complex system of various trade, economic and political relationships. Moreover, it is characterized by constant growth. It should also be noted that the list of the largest players in this market has remained unchanged for at least two decades - these are the USA, Russia, France, Germany, and China (displacing the United Kingdom from the fifth place in 2012) (SIPRI Fact Sheet, 2013). These five countries, on average, account for 70-80% of all arms exports, according to SIPRI's annual reports. The remaining 20% is accounted for by smaller, but nevertheless important players in the market, including the Kingdom of Sweden. In this regard, it is worth taking a closer look at the role and place of Sweden in the global arms trade.

The policy of neutrality implies non-participation in military conflicts and non-alignment with military blocs in peacetime. Neutral countries believed that such a policy helps to stabilize the international situation and allows small countries to avoid the influence of great powers. On the other hand, history shows us that countries could not remain truly neutral in military conflicts, since all the neutrals were small countries and were very dependent on their export and trade, which in turn was pressured by all parties concerned (as an example, recall the situation of Sweden during the World Wars).

In the case of Sweden, the neutrality declared at the beginning of the 20th century was accompanied by a disarmament policy implemented in the international arena, including in the League of Nations (Katsova M.A., 2010). The combination of a policy of neutrality and a disarmament policy in Sweden has survived to this day.

However, in parallel with this, Sweden, like other neutral countries, was actively involved in the arms trade, and for many years already. This leads us to an unsolvable dilemma, which was actively manifested in the 1970s and 80s, when such sales grew in all neutral countries, and Sweden was no exception (Hagelin B., 1990). In the case of Sweden, active discussions of this problem took place before these years, but mainly concerned individual cases and transactions, and were discussed as the interests of the population and the media fade away. In the 1970s, discussions began to focus not on specific cases, but on the entire industry as a whole.

A distinctive feature of Swedish trade then was the lack of direct sales to countries in major conflict zones, such as southern Africa or the Middle East. It is worth noting that the

restrictive sales policy did not affect the further increase in sales. In addition, in the 1990s the penalties for violating sales policies were so insignificant that they proved the difficulty of implementing the relevant legislation (Hagelin B., 1990).

It is also worth noting that since the 1990s the situation has changed and we can see deliveries to countries directly related to certain conflicts, for example, Yugoslavia in 1990, regular deliveries to Pakistan over the past three decades, Saudi Arabia in 2014 and 2016, the UAE since 2006, etc, when countries were involved in armed conflicts (SIPRI Database 2020).

It is important that the entry into the European Union in 1995 had little effect on the export policy of Sweden from legislative point of view. Arms export control remains the national competence of the EU member states. At the EU level, the Common Position 2008/944/CFSP was agreed in 2008, “defining the general rules governing the export of military equipment and machinery.” (Council of EU, 2008). A position defines eight ethical criteria for evaluating an application for a license to export weapons. These criteria include the human rights situation in the country of destination, as well as its participation in armed conflicts and the economic situation. The general position is legally binding, but in practice, in case of violations, there is neither a legal review nor sanctions. In fact, the Position leaves much room for political interpretation. As a result, governments apply eight criteria at their discretion, depending on their economic, political, and strategic interests.

Today in Sweden there are about 185 companies licensed to manufacture military equipment, and about 60 of these companies are active exporters of military equipment or so-called technical assistance, that is, information on the production or use of the product is exported. The so-called KEX-investigation shows that the industry’s annual turnover is SEK 30 billion, and, according to information from the military industry trade organization, Security and Defense Companies SOFF, about 11,000 people were employed in the military equipment industry, according to 2016 (SOFF, 2016).

The military equipment industry in Sweden mainly develops manned and unmanned fighters, ships, submarines, combat vehicles, carts, various types of weapon systems, small and large-caliber ammunition, artillery ammunition, ground and sea and air radars, and IR systems and telecommunication systems. The listed types of products are used both for export and for national use.

The list of the largest arms manufacturing and export companies in Sweden: Saab, BAE Systems Bofors, BAE Systems Hägglunds, Nammo, Eurenco Bofors AB, Aimpoint AB. The export of these companies exceeded 10 billion SEK (Svenska freds, 2018). Each of the

companies has its own specifics. Today, Saab is Sweden's largest exporter of military equipment, accounting for more than 40 percent of Swedish arms exports. In 2019, the company's sales amounted to 76.5 million SEK, and in the same year about 15 thousand people worked in it (Saab Reports, 2019). In 2016, the company ranked 30th among the 100 largest arms and military companies in the world, a rating developed by the Sipri Peace Institute. Saab was the only Swedish company on the list. Saab Group includes subsidiaries in approximately 20 countries. Saab produces, among other things, the Jas Gripen fighter, the Robot 70 air defense system, the RBS 15 naval robotic system, the Carl Gustaf grenade launcher and the Erieye / Globaleye, Arthur and Giraffe radar systems. Jas Gripen is used today in South Africa, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Thailand. Carl Gustav has been exported to more than 40 countries and has been used in various wars and conflicts, for example: Burma / Myanmar, Cambodia, Iraq, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, and Kashmir.

BAE Systems Bofors is today part of the BAE Systems Group, with a registered office in the UK. In particular, BAE Systems is part of the US division of BAE Systems Land & Armament. In 2017, BAE Systems Bofors employed 281 people in Sweden, and the company's plant is located in Karlskrona. BAE Systems Bofors manufactures, among other things, field units, air defense guns, sea guns, turrets of military vehicles, ammunition, electro-optical sights, ARCHER artillery system with artillery fire, smoke and light grenades and GPS-controlled Excalibur grenades.

BAE Systems Hägglunds is the same as BAE Systems Bofors in the BAE Systems group and in the US division of BAE Systems Land & Armaments. BAE Systems Hägglunds designs and manufactures tanks and belt trucks. Only 10 percent of the company's sales in 2004-2012 were from sales to Sweden, and the rest from exports. BAE Systems Hägglunds exports mainly to Western Europe, as well as to North America, Eastern Europe, and Southeast Asia and South America (Svenska freds, 2018).

Nammo, Nordic Ammunition, was founded in 1998 thanks to a collaboration between Norwegian Raufoss and Finnish Patria. Nammo Sweden is a wholly owned subsidiary of Norwegian Nammo, with operations in Carlsborg, Wingoker, Lindesberg and Karlskron. The company produces, for example, combat and training ammunition, pyrotechnic products, as well as subsystems and components for military use.

Eurenco Bofors is a subsidiary of Eurenco SA, headquartered in Paris. Eurenco Bofors has its own factory in Karlskog. The company produces gunpowder and explosives. The

company claims on its website that it is Europe's leading military explosive company (Eurenco, 2021).

Aimpoint is a company that produces red light sights for various types of weapons, but not all company sights are controlled as military equipment.

Thus, it becomes obvious that Sweden produces a wide range of various, and, most importantly, unique equipment, which makes Sweden an exceptional exporter. Swedish products are distinguished by a combination of high technology and relative cheapness, and this helps Sweden to save its place in top-20 largest suppliers and to preserve its competitiveness on the international market. By producing high-quality and relatively cheap arms, Swedish industry obtaining different beneficial orders. For example, the grenade launcher Karl Gustav was adopted by NATO, although Sweden is not even a member of the alliance.

Aftonbladet

Since the first stage of the analysis (preparatory) and the second stage (decomposition) were carried out during the preparation for this study, this part of the study will include the third stage of content analysis, systematization and the fourth, interpretation. The purpose of the third stage will be to highlight the characteristics of the use of the unit under study, such as the frequency of mention, context, and topics in which the unit most often occurs, text units most often encountered together with the unit of analysis (words, phrases, terms, etc.). The third stage will be carried out in parts “Aftonbladet” and “Dagens Nyheter”.

News

For the analysis of the coverage of the topic of arms exports in Aftonbladet, 78 articles were selected for 2015. In this part we will look at news items from this newspaper.

It is worth noting that during the period from January to December 2015, 55 news items were published in the newspaper, which mentioned the keyword “arms export” [vapenexport], most of which were in the “domestic” category.

Type	News	Domestic	Foreign
Amount / %	17 / 31%	33 / 63%	5 / 6%

Table 3. News' division by sections in Aftonbladet.

The first thing worth noting is the list of topics and news feeds in connection with which the Swedish arms export was mentioned. They can be combined into several groups: news about export to other countries; news on party (parliamentary) export debates; news about KEX-investigation.

We will start our analysis with the first of the highlighted groups: news about exports to other countries. In this group, the dominant topic is the situation with the export of arms to Saudi Arabia, about 70% of publications in one way or another touch on this issue. The remaining 30% of news is taken by notes about the export of various equipment to the United States, Yemen, and Iraq.

Swedish cooperation with Saudi Arabia has attracted attention since 2005, when the controversial memorandum of understanding with Saudi Arabia was concluded. It describes in detail that Sweden and Saudi Arabia will exchange experiences and technology regarding military technology and equipment. This laid the foundation for the so-called Saudi deal that was revealed by Swedish Radio 2012: that Sweden, via a bulwark company spun off from the Swedish Defense Research Agency, would help the country with a missile factory. In 2015, the

topic regained relevance, since it was in 2015 that the agreement expired, and the government had to accept the prolongation or termination of the agreement.

Additional media attention was also attracted by the export of arms because there was no consensus in the government about future cooperation: if Prime Minister Stefan Löfven was in favor, then members of the Green Party and the People's Party expressed a sharply negative position. In this regard, in the news Aftonbladet "arms export" goes hand in hand with terms such as "dictatorship", "violation of human rights", "non-democracy / non-democratic regime", "executioners". For example, "...om svensk vapenexport till diktaturer" [...about Swedish arms exports to dictatorships], "...om att begränsa vapenexport till diktaturer" [...to limit arms exports to dictatorships], "...sluta exportera vapen till bödlarna" [...stop exporting weapons to the executioners].

At the same time, in the analyzed text arrays, the unit "arms export" occupies a dominant position in materials about Saudi Arabia, being the core of messages since export was then a key reason for disagreement. Thus, in each article, the directly investigated unit "arms export" appears on average three times per article of 430 words.

In addition, you can trace the relationship between the time of publication of news articles and the number of mentions of exports. The most frequent references to "arms exports" in connection with Saudi Arabia are in February and March 2015, 11 articles were published in February and 7 in March. After the decision was made to stop the bilateral memorandum (published on March 11, 2015), the number of publications devoted to KSA and Swedish exports dropped sharply - only three by the end of the month and 0 in subsequent ones. In the last three publications, "arms exports" have appeared in a completely new context and considered together with such concepts as "prestige" [prestige], "ekonomiska förluster" [economic losses], while remaining the central topic of the news.

This newsgroup also contains the remaining 30% of non-Saudi Arabian exports. These 10 publications focus on violations of arms export treaties, as well as the state of Swedish arms exports. Accordingly, the "export of arms" in them is also the core of the articles, their central theme. In articles, the average length of which is also about 430 words, the phrase "arms export" appears on average 5 times. 7 out of 10 articles deal with violations of the end-use condition of the arms supply agreement between Sweden and the United States and Sweden and the Czech Republic.

The problem was that Sweden suspected the Czech Republic and the United States of the fact that the Swedish weapons, which were previously sold to these countries, were later resold

to the Iraqi army, despite the fact that the Swedish side had banned the supply of weapons to Iraq. For this reason, in all articles, “arms exports” are mentioned exclusively together with the following semantic units: “indirect deal”, “breach”, “violated”, “violation”, etc. For example, “...brutit mot slutanvändaravtalet...” [...violated the end-user agreement...], “...har sagt nej till vapenexport.” [...said no to arms exports].

Another article touches on the “arms export” in the context of cooperation with Thailand and the suspicions of corruption in the Swedish Defense Materiel Administration, which in fact is a rather high-profile accusation, especially in Sweden. In this publication, “arms exports” sit side by side with “bestickning” [bribery], “Gripenplan” [Gripen planes] and “vapenavtal” [arms deals] and is also the central topic of the article.

The remaining 3 articles from this group are mostly descriptive and statistical and focus on the state of the Swedish military-industrial complex.

The second newsgroup is united by party (parliamentary) debate as the headline of all news. It includes 12 news articles published from March to December 2015. Disagreements in parliament arose over the situation with the export of weapons to Saudi Arabia and the prolongation of the bilateral cooperation agreement, which led to disputes over how legal and ethical it is to sell weapons to countries with dictatorial regimes.

In this sample, the phrase “arms export” occurs on average 1 time per article, on average, consisting of 520 words. Most often in the articles, “arms export” was mentioned in the context of the position and demands of the Green Party: the members of this party were most negatively disposed towards cooperation with Saudi Arabia and strongly opposed it, as well as for stopping the export of arms to any countries whose political regime can be considered a dictatorship. However, it is worth noting that, unlike the previous newsgroup, in this group, the export of weapons was not the main topic of the articles but was mentioned rather in the context of other statements of the party representatives, and therefore was not of primary importance. The party demanded tougher rules and a revision of the export legislation. For this reason, “arms exports” were mentioned in the articles only together with “diktatur” [dictatorship], “minska” [reducing], “stanna” [halt], “fasa ut” [phase out], etc. Examples include “Partiet har också skärpt sin syn på kriterierna för vapenexport till diktaturer...” [The party has also sharpened its view on the criteria for arms exports to dictatorships...], “...som förhindrar vapenexport...” [...prevents arms exports...], “...ett stopp för vapenexport till diktaturer...” [...a halt to arms exports to dictatorships...], “...avveckla svensk vapenexport...” [...to phase out Swedish arms exports...].

The third group is the smallest, consisting of 6 news articles published in May and June 2015. News from this group is united by one main topic: KEX-investigation. At a government meeting on June 1, 2012, a decision was made to convene a committee to investigate guidelines and laws regarding arms exports. The committee came to be known as the “Krigsmaterielexportöversynskommittén” [War Equipment Export Review Committee] (hereinafter KEX-investigation). The purpose of this committee was to come up with a new proposal for new munitions legislation through an inquiry. The new legislation meant stricter rules for arms exports to non-democratic countries. The committee first and foremost examined and investigated Swedish export control and its future. The committee had also to issue directives on what to do to determine whether a state is undemocratic. This must be fundamental when an examination of whether a country meets the requirements for being able to buy weapons from Sweden takes place.

The results of the Committee's work were published in April 2015, but the first mention in the media in combination with the analyzed phrase “arms export” appeared only a month later. In these articles, “arms exports” appear 4 to 14 times per article, being the main topic of each publication. Most often in these articles, “arms exports” are referred to together with “diktatur” [dictatorship], “formulering” [wording], “Svensk försvarsindustri” [Swedish defense industry], “mänskliga rättighetskriterier” [human rights criteria]. Here are the following quotes as an example: “...stoppa vapenexport till länder med omfattande brister i demokratin...” [...stop arms exports to countries with extensive shortcomings in democracy...], “...exporten anses vara nödvändig för svensk försvarsindustri...” [...exports are considered necessary for the Swedish defense industry...].

This presence is not surprising, since the articles contain two key messages. Firstly, this is the concept of “no weapons to dictatorships” that we have already encountered. Secondly, the new idea that strict restrictions should not be imposed on Swedish exports, as this would cause irreparable harm to the Swedish arms industry (i.e., production) and Swedish security in general.

Editorial and author's articles

In addition to news headings, Aftonbladet also has author headings “Leader” and “Debate”. Both columns are not published regularly but are constant in the newspaper. The key difference between the two sections is that the first, “Leader,” is written by Aftonbladet's regular contributors, editors, and journalists. Each article in this section begins with the phrase “Aftonbladet's leadership side is independently social democratic”. “Debate” is written by outside experts and journalists, and unlike the first section, each article begins with the following disclaimer: “This is a debate article. It is the writer who is responsible for the opinions expressed

in the text, not Aftonbladet”. Accordingly, through the “Leader” section, the values and views of the publication are broadcast, while in the “Debate” section, the authors express their personal position.

Articles in these sections are written on current topics. For this reason, the main topics of publications in “Leader” were also the export of arms to Saudi Arabia, the party debate over exports and the KEX-investigation.

In “Leader” articles the investigated unit “arms export” in articles about Saudi Arabia appeared from 1 to 11 times per publication, on average 2-3 times. The first publication of the year was a story from Daniel Swedin (now working as a speechwriter in Prime Minister Stefan Löfven's staff) about a Saudi activist who was convicted and lashed for a blog in which Saudi Arabian law enforcement saw “an insult to Islam”. In this context, “arms export” is presented as nonsense since it is a strategic partnership with a country whose values and actions are far from democratic. The next article that mentions “arms exports” is by Anders Lindberg. In it, the author first describes in detail the processes of the execution of the death penalty, and then asks a rhetorical question - how can Sweden export weapons to such a country, recalling the expiration of the bilateral cooperation agreement. The next article again belongs to Daniel Swedin and is written according to a similar template: first, it characterizes Saudi Arabia as an undemocratic country, in which women are “treated as second class citizens”, without freedom of assembly and legal certainty. In the second part of the article, statistics on Swedish exports are again given and the expiry date of the already mentioned contract is given.

The fourth article (by Eva Franchell) is about the Swedish state-owned coal company Vattenfall, whose mines are located in Germany. In it, “arms exports” are only mentioned in the phrase “Visst är vapenexporten till Saudiarabien är en smutsig historia” [Of course, arms exports to Saudi Arabia are a dirty story], while the general context is devoted to Vattenfall. However, it is worth noting that the article condemns Sweden's coal mining activities - environmental violations, carbon dioxide emissions, the destruction of villages and local residents - and the mention of “arms exports” in this context only worsens the situation for both topics.

The next four articles also mention arms exports only in the context of Saudi Arabia. For this reason, “arms exports” are most often used in conjunction with the following words and phrases: “världens värsta diktaturer” [world's worst dictatorships], “en regeringskris” [government crisis], “värsta förtryckarregimer” [worst repressive regimes], “könsapartheid” [gender apartheid], “en feministisk utrikespolitik” [feminist foreign policy], “Sveriges anseende” [Sweden's reputation], “en bild” [image], “Sverige som ‘världens samvete’” [Sweden as “world

conscience”], etc. All four articles sharply criticize and condemn both the internal politics of the KSA and the export of arms to Saudi Arabia, as well as the actions of the Swedish government.

In the last two articles on Saudi Arabia's arms exports for 2015, published in March (by Katrine Marçal and Anders Lindberg), “arms exports” are mentioned in the context of a positive assessment of the Swedish government's decision not to renew the treaty with Saudi Arabia.

In addition to 13 articles related to the deal with Saudi Arabia, in 2015 this section also included 6 other articles containing the investigated unit “arms export”. In three of them, “arms exports” are neither the main nor the secondary topic, the phrase is mentioned in passing when listing other areas of politics. The remaining three are of interest for research. Two articles by Ingvar Persson and another by Anders Lindberg are about KEX-investigation and arms export as a Swedish industry. At the same time, one of the articles by Ingvar Persson and the publication of Anders Lindberg are almost identical to each other (regarding headings, key theses, and arguments). They most often refer to “arms exports” together with “militära alliansfrihet” [freedom of alliance], “priset för neutralitetspolitiken” [the price of the policy of neutrality], “en omfattande försvarsindustri” [extensive defense industry], “ett starkt försvar” [strong defense].

In another section - “Debate” - in 2015, 4 articles were published with the mention of “arms exports”. All four articles are by different authors who are not members of the Aftonbladet editorial team and were published in February and March 2015. All of them are devoted to the issue of arms exports to Saudi Arabia and the arguments in them do not differ much from those used by the journalists of the publication in the “Leader” column, except that they are more emotionally charged. “Arms exports” are referred to in conjunction with “diktaturer” [dictatorships], “mänskliga rättigheter” [human rights], “kvinnors rättigheter” [women rights], “vanära” [disgrace], “en feministisk utrikespolitik” [feminist foreign policy].

Dagens Nyheter

News

In Dagens Nyheter were selected 71 articles for 2015 to analyze the coverage of the topic of arms exports. In this part we will look at news items from this newspaper.

It is worth noting that during the period from January to December 2015, 60 news items were published in the publication, which mentioned the key phrase “arms export” [vapenexport], most of which were in the “Economy” category. In addition, the range of sections in which arms exports are mentioned in this edition is twice as large as in Aftonbladet and is represented by five sections.

Type	News	Sweden	The world	Economy	Culture
Amount / %	14 / 26%	13 / 21%	7 / 11%	22 / 36%	3 / 6%

Table 4. News' division by sections in Dagens Nyheter.

As in Aftonbladet, all news items published in 2015 can be roughly divided into groups according to the main topic of publication: arms exports to Saudi Arabia and other countries (1); political debates (i.e., party debates) over arms exports (2); the results of the KEX-investigation (3).

Type	Arms export deals (1)	Party debate (2)	KEX-investigation (3)
Amount / %	44	16	11

Table 5. News' division by topics in Dagens Nyheter.

The first group is the largest, with publications devoted to Swedish exports to Saudi Arabia, the United States, Iran, and Syria. The largest number of publications related to export to KSA is the ratio of 75% and 25% (articles on KSA 33).

The first publications mentioning the key “arms export” and Saudi Arabia appeared at the end of January 2015. They were directly related to the apparently undemocratic events taking place inside the country (we are talking about the cruel beheading of a Burmese woman convicted of murdering and the whipping of blogger Raif Badawi). After a detailed description of the events that took place, the articles further provided information about the statistics of Swedish exports to KSA, as well as the fact that Germany stopped its cooperation with KSA. Some of the articles explicitly called for an end to Swedish-Saudi cooperation. In this regard, since the beginning of 2015, “arms exports” have been most often referred to in combination with the following text units “kränkningar av de mänskliga rättigheterna” [human rights abuses], “spöstraff” [whipping], “starkt kritiserad” [heavily criticized] and so on.

In subsequent articles, “arms exports” were also mentioned in the context of cooperation with Saudi Arabia, but the focus was on the further fate of the Memorandum of Understanding on Military Cooperation. For this reason, the “arms export” in these articles was inextricably linked with words and phrases such as “en diktatur” [a dictatorship], “brist på mänskliga rättigheter” [lack of human rights], “Sveriges engagemang för diktaturen i Saudiarabien” [Sweden's commitment to the dictatorship of Saudi Arabia], “förfrågan” [inquiry] (meaning KEX-investigation).

It is important to note that all publications until March 2015 belonged to the sections “Sweden”, “World”, or “News”, but since March 2015 most of the publications were published in the section “Economy”. The first articles, published in March, were a reaction to a large piece of material posted by 31 Swedish businessmen in the “DN Debate” section that the agreement should be renewed, and contained a strong reaction to the opinion of businessmen. However, “arms export” in these articles became the central theme of the narrative, the very phrase “arms export” was mentioned on average 6-7 times in articles about 800 words long (the average number of words contained in the studied articles is taken). The key argument in the joint paper was that the business leaders feared that Swedish civilian exports will be affected by the termination of a military cooperation agreement. For this reason, most often, along with the “export of arms” in articles with criticism were also used “en trovärdighet” [credibility], “rykte” [reputation], “byta partner” [trading partner], “näringslivet och exportindustrin” [business community and the export industry], “civil export” [civilian exports].

The next thing worth noting is the time at which the articles were published - most of them were published in March 2015 (22); plus, one each in July, August, September, and December. After the aforementioned March “block” of news from the “Economy” section, a total of 15 more news was published in the publication, 7 of which were related to the same section. The rest 8 were published under the headings “Sweden”, “News”, “World”. At the same time, I would like to note that even these ten articles contained arguments and ideas closely related to the economic aspect of exports.

In the “Economy” articles, “arms exports” were mentioned in the context of two discussions, but in each of them it was a central theme. Five articles considered the economic and reputational losses of Sweden after the refusal to prolong the bilateral agreement with the KSA, and for this reason the set of words and phrases, along with which “arms exports” were used, was similar to the set from the “block” of economic articles of early March and included such expressions as “rykte” [reputation], “byta partner” [trading partner], “stärka det svenska försvaret” [strengthen the Swedish defense]. The second discussion raised a new topic in this

matter, namely the role of banks in financing arms exports to Saudi Arabia. It is worth noting that Aftonbladet did not mention this topic in any of the publications. According to the publications, in March it became known that the largest Swedish banks are investing pension savings and client deposits in the shares of various companies, which, among other things, are engaged in the sale of weapons to Saudi Arabia, thus supporting and sponsoring it. In these articles, “arms exports” were used together with the following set of phrases and words: “kränka de mänskliga rättigheterna” [violate human rights], “investeringar” [investments], “efterlevnad av internationella konventioner” [compliance with international conventions], etc. It is also worth noting that despite the controversy and ambiguity of topics, “arms exports” are treated neutrally in the articles. As for the number of references to the unit under study, in the publications of this section, “arms exports” were mentioned on average 8-9 times.

In the remaining articles from the first group, united by the topic of Saudi Arabia, arms exports were not the central topic of publications as such, so the number of references to the unit under study decreased noticeably. Five articles were devoted to the emerging crisis in foreign policy and the noticeable cooling of bilateral relations against the backdrop of a reduction in military-industrial cooperation. In the remaining three, exports were mentioned in passing, carrying practically no semantic meaning. On average, “arms exports” were encountered on the pages of publications 2 times, in articles 600-700 words long.

The remaining twelve articles from the first highlighted group, which mention “arms exports”, relate to exports and cooperation with other countries, as well as the situation in Swedish exports in general. Four articles dealt with the topic of arms export treaties between the United States and the Czech Republic, or rather, not compliance by these countries with an end-user agreement. In these articles, there is a frequent mention of the unit under study, on average 7 times per publication. Given the context, “arms exports” are more often found together with “brott” [violation], “en stor respektlöshet” [a great deal of disrespect], “en region med flera väpnade konflikter” [a region with several armed conflicts]. Several more articles concern the deal with controversial Thailand: it became known that Thailand's planes were purchased without counter-purchase, but then 37 officers came to Sweden for free to study, which was a secret part of the bilateral agreement. For this reason, along with “arms exports”, these publications often referred to “militärjuntan” [military junta], “känslig affär” [sensitive deal], “militärkupp” [military coup]. Another article focuses on the Swedish-Brazilian deal for the supply of 36 Jas planes until 2024, and the remaining three are notes on the decline in Swedish exports compared to previous years. In these articles, the analyzed unit appears on average 5–6 times during one publication.

The second group of publications includes twelve news items related to party debates in the Swedish government. The selection of articles included publications on disagreements regarding the situation with Saudi Arabia, as well as on the country's export policy in general. It is worth noting that even in the articles related to the KSA, Saudi Arabia was not the central topic of the article, the key problem still remained export to countries that cannot be considered democratic, where the case with Saudi Arabia was used as an example. Another feature of the articles in this category is that all the articles were written either from the position of the Green Party by journalists of the publication, or they were recordings of interviews with members of the Green Party. Members of this party spoke out sharply against the cooperation agreement with Saudi Arabia and other non-democratic regimes, and also advocated toughening the criteria for choosing partners for cooperation in the field of arms export. In this regard, the analyzed unit was most often mentioned together with such words and expressions as “känslig” [sensitive], “diktaturer” [dictatorships], “krigshärdar” [hotbeds of war], “ändra reglerna” [change the rules], “Feministisk utrikespolitik” [feminist foreign policy], “undersökning” [investigation], “skärpa reglerna” [tightening the rules]. The analyzed unit was encountered on average 4 times in articles from this group.

The third group of articles in the sample includes news about KEX-investigation; it includes 9 articles that were published in June 2015. Half of these articles were published in the “Economy” section, the rest in the “News” and “Sweden” sections. At the same time, it should be noted that the main arguments and ideas in the articles practically did not differ from each other, regardless of the publication heading. The main topic of the articles was the idea of tightening export conditions, which should have happened after the publication of the results of the investigation. After the publication of the investigation report, a critical thesis was added to this topic that the text of the changes in legislation proposed by the commission, in essence, leaves a loophole for exporting companies, allowing them to continue to conclude supply transactions with various countries, including not democratic. In this regard, “arms exports” were most often referred to together with “demokratikriterium” [democracy criterion], “genomskinlighet” [transparency], “demokratiska brister” [democratic shortcomings], “försvarskapacitet” [defense capability]. The analyzed unit was mentioned in articles from 2 to 18 times, on average 8 mentions per article.

Editorial and author's articles

In addition to regular news columns, Dagens Nyheter, as well as Aftonbladet, has two author columns that regularly publish articles on hot topics: “Leader” and “DN Debate”. The first section, “Leader”, is the author's column of the newspaper, which publishes the materials of

the editorial staff of the newspaper. At the same time, the articles often do not indicate the name of the author of the material. The second section, “DN Debate”, is a place for posting materials from various experts, representatives of the business community, art, and media, and so on. For this reason, each article in this section begins with the following disclaimer: “This is an opinion piece in Dagens Nyheter. The author is responsible for opinions in the article”. As in the first edition, the values and views of the publication are transmitted through the “Leader” section, while in the “DN Debate” section the authors express their personal position and point of view.

From the “Leader” heading, the selected sample included 7 articles published in the first half of 2015, while only one of them contained the name of the author. Sweden's arms export policy was the central theme of all articles. Five of them raised the topic of arms exports in the context of the Saudi agreement. In addition to the already “standard” arguments and theses that supplying weapons and ammunition to non-democratic states is unacceptable, and even more so to states in which human rights are systematically violated and not respected, the articles contained an absolutely new thesis that had never appeared in publications before this.

In 2015, one of the Swedish foreign policy priorities was membership in the UN Security Council in the year. Sweden's candidacy is a “concrete expression of the government's will to influence world policy events” (Regeringskansliet, 2015). There was a definite connection between the deal with Saudi Arabia and UN membership. Saudi Arabia is a player both in the Middle East and in the G77, a large group of developing countries, many of which have, to say the least, dubious democratic credentials. But here are 132 votes in the General Assembly to collect, and it is he who elects the members of the Security Council. For this reason, Prime Minister Stefan Löfven and Foreign Minister Margot Wallström did not want to break the agreement, and later talked about at least revising the agreement, but not canceling it. The later decision to cancel the agreement damaged the previously carefully constructed campaign of expansion of Swedish influence. The recognition of Palestine was partly part of the campaign, as was Wallström's trip to Cairo to Arab League Conference. Then the votes from the Arab world risked being easily counted. The Palestinians also supported the Arab League's unanimous condemnation of Wallström's criticism of Saudi Arabia. And in a short time, both Israel and Saudi Arabia have called home their ambassadors from Sweden. As the following events showed, Sweden still managed to get into the Security Council, but in 2015 this thesis had its relevance.

The other two articles dealt with arms exports in the context of the KEX-investigation. In these articles, the title topics were future restrictions on arms exports and difficulties in the wording of the text of the new law. For example, one of the problems was the wording regarding

human rights violations in the importing country: “serious”, instead of as previously “extensive”, human rights violations. But at the same time, the wording remains that export decisions are made on the basis of an overall assessment and that security and defense policy motives must be taken into account. The second main idea was the right of democracies to defend themselves and therefore they must be allowed to produce defense equipment. “In order to have a high-tech Swedish arms industry, it must be allowed to export. Security policy is a puzzle, and no piece can be isolated...” (Dagens Nyheter, 2015). For these reasons, the issue of Swedish arms exports remained difficult even in copyrighted articles. Given the context, the term “arms export” has been used in conjunction with “genomskinlighet” [transparency], “starkt försvar” [strong defense], “Miljöpartiet de gröna” [green party], “mänskliga rättighetskriterier” [human rights criteria], “världens värsta förtryckande regimer” [world's worst oppressive regimes].

The average frequency of mentions was the same for all 7 articles - 9 mentions per article.

From the “DN Debate” section, the sample included five articles published in February and March 2015. The main topic of all five articles was the export policy of Sweden, four of them were related to the deal with Saudi Arabia and one was related to the KEX-investigation. The most interesting part of the sample is the publication on the Saudi Treaty, a text written and submitted by 31 Swedish businessmen. It should be noted that these representatives included only CEOs of large companies, for example, CEO of Scania Keith McLoughlin, CEO of Electrolux Anders Narvinger Anders Nyrén, CEO Nordea Alrik Danielson, and so on. This article is interesting for two reasons: firstly, it is, perhaps, the only article in which there was an open call not to break the deal with Saudi Arabia; secondly, this publication caused an unprecedented reaction from the public (the publication published two critical articles by the author in the same heading, as well as seven in regular news headings). In addition, the co-publication contains unusual arguments in defense of the treaty. First of all, this is the thesis that through international trade, meetings between people, partnerships and collaborations, Sweden can increase mutual understanding and address shortcomings in societies. Moreover, according to the CEOs of the largest companies, without trade, Sweden misses the opportunity to make its voice heard in a globalized world, and to achieve real change. Businessmen acknowledged the existence of human rights problems in the country, but in the publication, they emphasized that it is a society in change - such a position was voiced for the first time and was not mentioned or supported anywhere else. In addition, they also mentioned the risks associated with the loss of Sweden's reputation as a reliable partner, a decrease in export volumes in other areas and a cooling of relations with the Arab world. The following articles, containing criticism of the

positions of businessmen, insisted on one main idea - refusal to supply arms to Saudi Arabia would, on the contrary, be an investment in Sweden's reputation, but the extension of the treaty would damage Sweden's foreign policy credibility. The unit under study in these articles was found 15 to 23 times in the texts and was most often used together with the following words and phrases: "legitimering" [legitimatization], "försvarsindustrin" [defense industry], "brott mot de mänskliga rättigheterna" [human rights violation], "diktatur" [dictatorship], "främja demokrati" [promoting democracy], "rykte" [reputation].

The last article concerning the details and results of the investigation did not contain anything new or unusual, but only once again repeated the main idea of previous publications that export legislation should be tightened, and supplies to non-democratic regimes should be stopped.

Empirical conclusion

In this part, I would like to perform the fourth step of analysis (interpretive) and summarize an intermediate result that can be made based on the analysis of publications. The main conclusion and conclusions regarding the research question will be made in the next chapter of the dissertation.

First of all, it is worth noting that in both editions articles were published with approximately the same frequency and in the same time period. Most of the publications in the sample from all headings fell on the period of the first half of the year, in February, March and June 2015.

Arms exports were mentioned in the sample in relation to three main themes: an arms supply and strategic cooperation agreement with Saudi Arabia; government crisis related to the country's export policy; publication of the results of the KEX-investigation. It is also worth noting that articles on the first two topics were published in parallel with each other and ceased to be published immediately after the refusal to prolong the cooperation agreement. The next block of publications on the export of arms was related to the investigation - the publications were published in June, after the publication of the results by the government commission. It should be noted here that the hypothesis that the results of the investigation provoked active public debate in the media turned out to be erroneous: indeed, both publications discussed the results of the investigation, as well as the future consequences, but at the same time, the cookie investigation did not provoke an active discussion and did not attract attention to earlier or current Swedish transactions. If we compare the number of publications related to the investigation, we can see that for Aftonbladet it was less relevant than for Dagens Nyheter (6 publications versus 11). Moreover, after discussing the results during June, the discussion in the media on the topic of Sweden's export policy has practically disappeared.

Regarding the first two topics, the number of publications is approximately the same in the two editions, as are the arguments used. However, there are also some differences. First, Dagens Nyheter paid more attention to the financial and economic aspects of the deal with Saudi Arabia, while Aftonbladet did not even touch on this aspect. Secondly, during the analysis, I noticed an interesting feature: if in Aftonbladet some of the publications were more devoted to the position of the Social Democrats and Stefan Löfven on export issues and in a much lesser position of the Green Party (2:1 ratio), then in Dagens Nyheter published exclusively the position of the Green Party.

The last thing I would like to note is the emotional coloring and context in which the “arms export” was mentioned. Three characteristics were used for the assessment: negative, neutral, and positive. The results are in the table below. The results were formed on the basis of the subjective opinion of the author of the study, compiled after reading the entire array of articles selected for the study. The evaluation criteria were the general context of the use of the unit of research, the categories most often used in conjunction with the "export of arms", markers of emotional coloring (the use of emotionally colored words and expressions instead of neutral ones, for example, "dictatorship" instead of "state" to designate a partner country), as well as the general message of the articles. The points of view and opinions of the authors, directly and openly expressed in the articles, were also considered.

	Negative	Neutral	Positive
Aftonbladet (78)	82.1% (64)	17.9% (14)	0 % (0)
Dagens Nyheter (71)	76.1% (54)	21.1% (15)	2.8% (2)

Table 6. Articles' emotional coloring in Aftonbladet and Dagens Nyheter.

As far as the author's sections (Leader and Debates) in both newspapers are concerned, differences can be noticed here as well. Authors' articles by Aftonbladet did not differ from the positions of news articles in assessing the Saudi deal, however, they viewed the existence of the export itself in a neutral way, often mentioning that exports allow Sweden to ensure its own security, and therefore maintain its independence and traditional neutrality. The author's articles in Dagens Nyheter also rather supported the general course of development of the topic in the publication towards the economic aspect of export. However, here it is worth noting the difference in the assessment of exports in news and authors' articles: thanks to the joint publication of businessmen, there was a polarity, where, on the one hand, news articles mostly negatively assess the export of arms, and, on the other hand, editorial articles carry a positive assessment of exports as an important component of the country's defense, trade, and reputation success.

Also, in order to make the study more transparent, as well as to provide an opportunity for verification (the fifth stage of content analysis), Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 will contain all articles of both newspapers included in the research array with links to the archives of publications.

Conclusions

Sweden has a fairly highly developed arms manufacturing industry, the products of which later form the country's exports. The truth is that Sweden's military freedom of alliance has always been based on us being able to defend ourselves. It was the price of the policy of neutrality during the Cold War and has been a truth for over two hundred years. After the Cold War, defense has been reduced and the defense industry therefore needs to export weapons in order to maintain the required level.

Swedish arms exports are regulated in the Armaments Act, which states that Sweden may only export weapons if there are legitimate reasons for it and that it is not contrary to Swedish foreign policy. This means that the recipient countries must be acceptable. The country must respect human rights and it must not be in an armed conflict. As we can see from the analysis of the articles, despite the existence of this point, in 2015 this criterion was very difficult to comply with in practice. That is, in fact, new deals and supplies after the start of the conflict were not carried out, but the final supplies did not stop under the older signed contracts. Also, supplies were made to countries involved in a long, slow-moving conflict (for example, supplies to Pakistan, which is one of the parties to the Kashmir conflict, which has existed since the middle of the last century). In the analyzed articles on the KEX-investigation, even Swedish politicians were quoted, who also noted that this is the most fragile and incomprehensible part of the export process. In general, this is precisely why the investigation was initiated, one of the goals of which was to develop clear criteria for the selection of importing countries.

Export of military equipment is an activity needed to keep the arms industry operating in Sweden under its arms so that they can supply the Swedish defense with aircraft, submarines, combat vehicles and more. Between 60 and 70 percent of what the armaments companies in Sweden manufacture is exported.

Despite this, the topic of arms exports remains quite sensitive and often controversial. There were two opposing approaches in the newspapers here. On the one hand, the export of arms really helps Sweden to maintain its own defense power, and this practice is quite understandable: since the country is not a NATO member, Sweden needs to independently (apart from the subregional) take care of its security, especially given the traditional concerns about Russian interests in region. Another argument in favor of active arms exports is the creation of new jobs. The Swedish Security & Defense Industry Association (SOFF) alone has 130 Swedish companies with a total of 30,000 employees (SOFF, 2020).

Another argument in favor of exports, which, by the way, was used by representatives of Swedish business when they were trying to maintain an agreement with Saudi Arabia, was the thesis that free trade is a cornerstone of the Swedish economy, and a decisive reason why hundreds of millions of people in the world have been lifted out of poverty in recent decades. Business saw trade as an opportunity to promote Swedish and European values, claiming that trade meant a wide variety of business contacts, as a result of which any society could begin a slow transformation. Arms exports also belonged to this type of trade, generating a variety of social contacts and the “core issue” is said to be the choice between increased trade and isolation. With the help of trade, Sweden can partly make its voice heard in a globalized world, and partly promote respect for human rights.

On the other hand, there is another position. Arms exports are also considered important and necessary for the Swedish defense industry, but at the same time, supporters of this position believe that in some cases there should be no exports at all. For example, in the case of Saudi Arabia, it was argued that the Saudi agreement is not about free trade. It is considered as a military cooperation agreement, with the aim of, among other things, generating arms deals and therefore the cancellation of the agreement should not adversely affect normal trade relations. Arms should not be exported to countries with undemocratic or conditionally democratic regimes, even if it is beneficial from an economic point of view. Another argument is that Sweden can act as a “moral superpower” for the world community, a kind of “world conscience” that must fight for what is right.

From the point of view of the theoretical basis of the study, several conclusions can be drawn. The monitored newspapers did not articulate a clear opposition between “We” and “Others” in the topics related to the export of arms. However, one could nevertheless notice that such a veiled opposition was present in publications, sometimes even in those where the export of weapons was negatively assessed. Most often this was broadcast using the following position: the existence of a developed military-industrial complex helps Sweden (“We”) maintain neutrality and ensure its security on its own, while remaining independent of the decisions and actions of other countries or alliances (“Others”). In addition, according to constructivists, the media agenda is not a reflection of the real world, but is a reflection of events and topics that are common to a particular society (if we are talking about national media) and only broadcasts ideas that already exist and are shared by society. Here we can note the fact that in Sweden, defense and security issues have been traditional topics of concern for more than one century (this is confirmed both by the high popularity of the topic of security at the level of scientific and strategic research, and by the existence of one of the most authoritative (University of

Pennsylvania, 2019) international think tanks for peace research SIPRI, whose data were used in this study). This is precisely what found its reflection in newspaper articles: even despite the negative assessment of specific transactions, the export itself was designated as a necessary activity of the country in the name of its own security.

So, how do the right-wing and left-wing media treat the export of arms? Both positions were present to one degree or another in both newspapers since they were broadcast by the ruling parties. However, the research hypothesis that the approaches to Swedish arms exports will differ markedly in newspapers at different poles of the political spectrum has not been confirmed. In both Aftonbladet and Dagens Nyheter, the topic of Swedish exports was raised in connection with the same three reasons: the deal with Saudi Arabia, party disagreements over export policies and in connection with the results of the KEX-investigation. Most often, in both newspapers, exports were mentioned in a negative way, accompanied by emotionally colored words and expressions. At the same time, it is worth noting that it was not the export of arms that was criticized as one of the activities of the state, but the export to specific countries (Saudi Arabia, Iraq), to whose democracy there were certain questions. But despite this, the overwhelming majority of articles on exports, approximately four-fifths of the total, can be assessed as articles containing a negative assessment. One-fifth of the articles contained a neutral assessment of exports and mainly dealt with transactions with countries, which at that time were not in doubt as democratic.

Another common feature was that all news flowed smoothly from one occasion to another. That is, if at the beginning of the year the overwhelming amount of news was about Saudi Arabia, then after the transaction was canceled, the focus shifted to KEX-investigation. It is worth mentioning here that assumption, that was made in introduction, on that the investigation would spark a wave of heightened interest in the topic of Swedish exports in these two newspapers and make old deals that would become new scandals emerge turned out to be wrong. The results of the investigation were of interest to the Aftonbladet and Dagens Nyheter only in the context of further steps by the government to tighten the national export policy, despite the fact that this interest very quickly faded away. The second half of 2015 in both newspapers is characterized by an almost complete absence of publications on the topic of arms exports.

However, there are several features that are characteristic of only one newspaper. So, in Dagens Nyheter, firstly, there were authors' articles, the authors of which openly advocated the extension of the deal with the Saudis. In Aftonbladet, all the articles contained a position according to which the deal should have been canceled (except for articles containing

descriptions of the position and activities of Stefan Löfven). Second, in Dagens Nyheter, a third of its articles dealt with the economic aspect of arms exports, while Aftonbladet paid little attention to it. Thirdly, an interesting feature was noticed during the analysis of articles related to party positions. The social democratic Aftonbladet published articles containing the positions of both sides of the dispute, the Green Party, and the Social Democratic Party. But it is worth noting that there were more articles containing the position of Stefan Löfven or other Social Democrats than articles with interviews of representatives of the Green Party. At the same time, Dagens Nyheter published articles containing exclusively the position of the Green Party; not a single article was published with the position of the Social Democrats during the period under study. Thus, we can conclude that, although institutionally newspapers have become neutral and independent from parties, they can still be platforms for broadcasting opinions popular in certain parties.

Since consensus in Swedish politics is perhaps one of the fundamental principles, in 2015 the parties were able to agree on a single solution regarding the scandalous deal with the KSA, so neither of the two positions on arms exports became dominant in either of the two newspapers. As a result, партии, on the one hand, wanted to pursue a morally reasonable arms export policy, on the other hand, not to jeopardize freedom of alliance.

Since the Riksdag ordered the investigation and the tightening of the law in 2011, the world has changed. Budding democratic hope has been replaced by a devastating civil war in Syria and by IS killings in the region. USA, China, Russia has continued its rearmament; arose the question of Crimea peninsula, and was started a war in Ukraine. This makes Sweden's need for a modern national defense much greater. And wars are increasing the demand for munitions in Europe and the world. And to legitimize export policy and broadcast party positions, all kinds of methods will continue to be used, including the power of the press. Of course, with the growth of digitalization in Sweden, the ways of obtaining information also change, however, as the study showed, this simply means changing the site for placing information (from print to electronic), while the distribution channels remain the same.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Aftonbladet: Articles

No	Date	Title	Category	Author	Link
1.	29.01.2015	After the criticism - Löfven: "Saudi is a dictatorship"	News	Lisa Röstlund	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/VRdAxl/efter-kritiken--lofven-saudi-ar-en-diktatur
2.	30.01.2015	The government is upset about the Saudi agreement	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/8wX481/regeringen-vandas-over-saudiavtal
3.	30.01.2015	The whips are helped by Swedish weapons	Leader	Daniel Swedin	https://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/a/Rx4gEW/piskarna-far-hjalp-av-svenska-vapen
4.	04.02.2015	IS terror became FP crisis in Sweden	Leader	Daniel Swedin	https://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/a/7ljr4v/is-terror-blev-fp-kris-i-sverige
5.	09.02.2015	Saudi competes with IS in beheading	Leader	Anders Lindberg	https://www.aftonbladet.se/a/e1kV9y/saudi-tavlar-med-is-i-halshuggning
6.	09.02.2015	The United States may have exported Swedish weapons	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/L09K0p/usa-kan-ha-exporterat-svenska-vapen
7.	10.02.2015	Birgitta Ohlsson: Scrap Saudi agreement	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/VRdEGW/birgitta-ohlsson-skrota-saudi-avtal
8.	11.02.2015	Hot questions are avoided in the declaration	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/m6vJaE/heta-fragor-undviks-i-deklaration
9.	11.02.2015	The government was attacked for Saudi agreements	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/A2xOEn/regeringen-angreps-for-saudiavtal
10.	11.02.2015	Hard debate on Saudi agreement	News	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/a/WLJr0K/hard-debatt-om-saudiavtal

11.	13.02.2015	Fierce internal strife awaits the government over the Saudi agreement	News	Pär Karlsson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/L09KbV/hard-intern-strid-vantar-i-regeringen-om-saudiavtalet
12.	12.02.2015	Internal S criticism of Saudi agreement	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste-nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/Q18L44/intern-s-kritik-mot-saudiavtal
13.	13.02.2015	Trade is not enough to build democracy	Debate	Jesper Bengtsson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/debatt/a/J1p00b/handel-inte-nog-for-att-bygga-demokrati
14.	20.02.2015	Arms trade with Saudi brings disgrace to Sweden	Debate	Pierre Schori	https://www.aftonbladet.se/debatt/a/6n5L6o/vapenhandel-med-saudi-drar-vanara-over-sverige
15.	22.02.2015	Stop selling to Saudi, Löfven	Leader	Daniel Swedin	https://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/a/KvbokE/sluta-salja-till-saudi-lofven
16.	23.02.2015	It's supposed to be a green minister	Leader		
17.	24.02.2015	Terminate the agreement with Saudi Arabia	Debate	Blerta Hoti	https://www.aftonbladet.se/debatt/a/rL9o5e/sag-upp-avtalet-med-saudi-arabien
18.	24.02.2015	Swedish arms exports are declining	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste-nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/p6931o/svensk-vapenexport-minskar
19.	24.02.2015	Ministers want to keep Saudi agreement	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste-nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/Q18Gg8/ministrar-vill-behalla-saudiavtal
20.	25.02.2015	Now Löfven is in the middle of another crisis	Leader	Lena Mellin	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/kolumnister/a/A2xeGx/nu-star-lofven-mitt-uppe-i-annu-en-kris
21.	26.02.2015	The Saudi agreement - "a big challenge"	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste-nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/Rx4kv2/saudiavtalet-en-stor-utmaning
22.	26.02.2015	Difficult S-dispute over the agreement with Saudi	News	Lisa Röstlund , Pär Karlsson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/e1k9v4/svar-s-strid-om-avtalet-med-saudi
23.	26.02.2015	Löfven does more dirty	Leader	Eva	https://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/a/ddGyPB/lofven-gor-fler-smutsiga-

		business		Franchell	affarer
24.	26.02.2015	You have to back down on the Saudi agreement	Leader	Karin Pettersson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/a/8wXnVd/ni-maste-backa-om-saudiavtalet
25.	27.02.2015	The S-top meets to resolve the difficult issue of the Saudi agreement	News	Pär Karlsson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/xR9aKX/s-toppen-traffas-for-att-losa-svara-fragan-om-saudiavtalet
26.	27.02.2015	Romson: Saudi agreement not worthy	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste-nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/e1k9Ql/romson-saudiavtal-inte-vardigt
27.	1.03.2015	Money stands against the ideals, S	Leader	Katrine Marçal	https://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/a/L09JQQ/pengarna-star-mot-idealens
28.	1.03.2015	So into the bomb naively	Leader	Lena Mellin	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/kolumnister/a/P3OK27/sa-in-i-bomben-naivt
29.	3.03.2015	Swedish armored vehicles to Iraq	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste-nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/VRdWGJ/svenska-pansarbandvagnar-till-irak
30.	3.03.2015	Swedish tracked vehicles on their way to Iraq	News	Niklas Eriksson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/WLJnI/svenska-bandvagnar-pa-vag-till-irak
31.	6.03.2015	Voters betray the Green Party	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste-nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/ddG6gz/valjarna-sviker-miljopartiet
32.	8.03.2015	Will not become democracy through arms deals	Leader	Jan Guillou	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/kolumnister/a/OnlwLl/kommer-inte-bli-demokrati-genom-vapenaffarer
33.	8.03.2015	Arms exports do not help Saudi women	Leader	Ingvar Persson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/a/3jVrLM/vapenexport-hjalper-inte-saudiska-kvinnor
34.	9.03.2015	Saudi villain says 'shut up'	Leader	Anders Lindberg	https://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/a/yv9kVR/skurkstaten-saudi-sager-hall-kaften
35.	9.03.2015	A demonstration of power by Saudi - thank you we heard	Leader	Lena Mellin	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/kolumnister/a/rL9Bem/en-maktdemonstration-av-saudi--tack-vi-horde
36.	9.03.2015	Sweden's feminist	Debate	group of authors	https://www.aftonbladet.se/debatt/a/4dr5oG/sveriges-feministiska

		credibility at stake			trovardighet-pa-spel
37.	9.03.2015	"Saudi Arabia shows its true face"	News	Anette Holmqvist , Erik Wiman , Pär Karlsson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/KvbOb5/saudiarabien-visar-sitt-ratta-ansikte
38.	10.03.2015	Annie Lööf's demands: "Give notice - now"	News	Pär Karlsson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/vm942B/annie-loofs-krav-ge-besked--nu
39.	11.03.2015	Löfven honors Ukrainian heroes	Foreign	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste-nytt/ttnyheter/utrikes/a/VRdylJ/lofven-hedrar-ukrainska-hjaltar
40.	11.03.2015	The government scraps the Saudi agreement	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste-nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/Ql8nl8/regeringen-skrotar-saudiavtalet
41.	10.03.2015	The game behind the Saudi message	News	Pär Karlsson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/OnlGgO/spelet-bakom-saudibeskedet
42.	11.03.2015	Good that Löfven dumps Saudi	Leader	<u>Anders Lindberg</u>	https://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/a/gPJg8A/bra-att-lofven-dumpar-saudi
43.	11.03.2015	Ericsson's warning weakens Sweden	Leader	Ingvar Persson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/a/G16o9J/ericssons-varsel-forsvagar-sverige
44.	11.03.2015	The Green Party did not issue an ultimatum	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste-nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/EoB39K/miljopartiet-stallde-inte-ultimatum
45.	14.03.2015	Sharp situation in the battle for arms exports	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste-nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/7ljXyK/skarp-lage-i-striden-om-vapenexport
46.	15.03.2015	Difference between a Carl and a Margot	Leader	Katrine Marçal	https://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/a/P3OWRb/skillnad-pa-en-carl-och-en-margot
47.	16.03.2015	New report: Eleven EU countries sell heavy weapons to Saudi	News	Niklas Eriksson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/p69JVR/ny-rapport-elva-eu-lander-saljer-tunga-vapen-till-saudi
48.	16.03.2015	Sweden's major arms	Foreign	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste-nytt/ttnyheter/utrikes/a/G16zax/sve

		exporter			rige-stor-vapenexportor
49.	19.03.2015	The government did not understand the explosive power of the double-edged sword against Saudi Arabia	Leader	Lena Mellin	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/kolumnister/a/WLJ9zL/regeringen-forstod-inte-sprangkraften-i-dubbelsmockan-mot-saudi
50.	20.03.2015	Requirements : No weapons for dictatorships	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/wE9Mz1/kr-av-inga-vapen-till-diktaturer
51.	26.03.2015	Saudi can deploy Swedish weapons	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/Mg9xlm/saudi-kan-satta-in-svenska-vapen
52.	28.03.2015	Löfven should follow Wallström	Leader	Anders Lindberg	https://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/a/3jVLv0/lofven-borde-ta-efter-wallstrom
53.	7.05.2015	Weapons of dictatorships are not stopped	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/7lx5W3/vapen-till-diktaturer-stoppas-inte
54.	8.05.2015	Abolish the duty of confidentiality regarding arms exports	Leader	Ingvar Persson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/a/L0a5qR/hav-tystnadsplikten-om-vapenexporten
55.	10.05.2015	The party leaders collided on TV	News	Anette Holmqvist , Olof Svensson , Pär Karlsson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/21b86r/partiledarna-drabbade-samman-i-tv
56.	11.05.2015	Sweden Thinks: They won the debate	News	Anette Holmqvist , John Granlund , Pär Karlsson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/G153VQ/sverige-tycker-de-vann-debatten
57.	10.05.2015	The rhetoric expert: So good were the party leaders	News	Jonathan Jeppsson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/qnV1pL/retorikexperten-sa-bra-var-partiledarna
58.	10.05.2015	The new M-conductor in the hot air	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/yvV4mR/nya-m-ledaren-i-hetluften
59.	11.05.2015	How much more can	Leader	katrine petersson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/a/wEVO4n/hur-mycket-mer-

		Romson tolerate MP?			romson-tal-mp
60.	13.05.2015	Arms exports are required for freedom of alliance	Leader	Anders Lindberg	https://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/a/KvazRM/vapenexport-kravs-for-alliansfriheten
61.	4.06.2015	Swedish weapons are deployed against IS	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/rLVMP8/svenska-vapen-satts-in-mot-is
62.	5.06.2015	Swedish weapons must stop IS - may violate Sweden's weapons agreement	News	Anton Kasurinen	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/ddr7dO/svenska-vapen-ska-stoppa-is-kan-bryta-mot-sveriges-vapenavtal
63.	12.06.2015	Åsa Romson: It's serious now	Society	Olof Svensson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/samhalle/a/11rMxG/asa-romson-det-ar-allvar-ny
64.	12.06.2015	Backlash over German coal for MP leadership	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/VRaxVd/bakslag-om-tyskt-kol-for-mp-ledning
65.	16.06.2015	Sharpened arms exports to dictatorships	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/J1L6Rj/skarpt-vapenexport-till-diktaturer
66.	24.06.2015	Rules for arms exports can be tightened	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/a2avAA/regler-for-vapenexport-kan-skarpas
67.	26.06.2015	Democracy a requirement for arms exports	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/0EgLnB/demokrati-ett-krav-for-vapenexport
68.	26.06.2015	Arms export investigation receives criticism	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/7lxqGK/vapenexportutredning-far-kritik
69.	26.06.2015	Harder to sell weapons to dictatorships	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/kaBpa6/svare-salja-vapen-till-diktaturer
70.	27.06.2015	Swedish freedom of alliance requires arms exports	Leader	Ingvar Persson	https://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/a/EoKRyo/svensk-alliansfrihet-kraver-vapenexport
71.	6.07.2015	Fi wants to lower the voting age	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/wEVvyA/fi-vill-sanka-rostrattsaldern
72.	31.08.2015	Ojnareskogen	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste

		- more than an environment for MP			nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/A2Jq5n/ojn areskogen-mer-an-miljo-for-mp
73.	30.09.2015	Tyranny demands our trust	Leader	Anders Lindberg	https://www.aftonbladet.se/ledare/a/wEVJon/tyranniet-begar-vart-fortroende
74.	7.10.2015	Amnesty critical of UN decision	Foreign	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste-nytt/ttnyheter/utrikes/a/jPr1r0/amnesty-kritisk-till-fn-beslut
75.	7.10.2015	The Swedish hypocrisy	Leader	Oisín Cantwell	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/kolumnister/a/gPrOG1/det-svenska-hyckleriet
76.	13.10.2015	FMV reported to the police for bribery	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste-nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/0Eg7O6/fmv-polisanmalt-for-mutbrott
77.	25.10.2015	The scope for ingenuity has never been greater	Leader	Lena Mellin	https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/kolumnister/a/rLVjGe/utrymmet-for-uppfinningsrikedom-har-aldrig-varit-storre
78.	14.12.2015	Löfven is not worried about low confidence	Domestic	-	https://www.aftonbladet.se/senaste-nytt/ttnyheter/inrikes/a/9mx7KM/lofven-oroas-inte-av-lagt-fortroende

Appendix 2. Dagens Nyheter: Articles.

№	Date	Title	Category	Author	Link
1.	21.01.2015	The world is protesting against whipping	the world	Erik Ohlsson	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/varlden/varlden-protesterar-mot-piskdom/
2.	25.01.2015	Germany freezes its arms exports to Saudi Arabia	the world	Jan Lewenhagen	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/varlden/tyskland-fryser-sin-vapenexport-till-saudiarabien/
3.	26.01.2015	Merkel freezes criticized arms exports	the world	Staffan Kihlstrom	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/varlden/merkel-fryser-kritiserad-vapenexport/
4.	26.01.2015	Sweden must decide on arms exports to Saudi Arabia	Sweden	Marit Sundberg	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/sa-maste-sverige-besluta-om-vapenexporten-till-saudiarabien/
5.	27.01.2015	Risk that agreements with Saudis will be extended	News	Marit Sundberg	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/nyheter/risk-att-avtal-med-saudier-blir-forlangt/
6.	29.01.2015	Löfven is swaying about Saudi Arabia	Sweden	-	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/politik/lofven-vinglar-om-saudiarabien/
7.	06.02.2015	The Green Party is forced to swallow many bitter pills	News	Ewa Stenberg	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/nyheter/miljopartiet-tvingas-svalja-manga-beska-piller/
8.	06.02.2015	Political battle over mapping of terrorist trips	Sweden	Hans Rosen	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/politisk-strid-om-kartlaggning-av-terrorresor/
9.	09.02.2015	The United States may have violated export agreements for Swedish armored vehicles	Sweden	Marit Sundberg	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/usa-kan-ha-brutit-mot-exportavtal-for-svenska-pansarskott/
10.	09.02.2015	Ewa Stenberg: One of Swedish politics' most sensitive issues	Sweden	Ewa Stenberg	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/ewa-stenberg-en-av-svensk-politikis-mest-kansliga-fragor/
11.	10.02.2015	A difficult nut to crack for the Green Party	News	Ewa Stenberg	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/nyheter/en-svar-not-att-knacka-for-miljopartiet/

12.	10.02.2015	War material is believed to have been sold without a permit	News	Marit Sundberg	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/nyheter/krigsmateriel-tros-ha-salts-utan-tillstand/
13.	11.02.2015	Say no to Saudi Arabia	Leader	by DN	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/ledare/sag-nej-till-saudiarabien/
14.	13.02.2015	Jan Björklund demands: Terminate the Saudi agreement	News	Mats Larsson	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/nyheter/jan-bjorklund-kraver-sag-upp-saudiavtalet/
15.	20.02.2015	Sweden's military agreement with Saudi Arabia must be broken	DN debate	-	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/debatt/sveriges-militara-avtal-med-saudiarabien-maste-brytas/
16.	20.02.2015	Green youth vs MP: A mutual battle well worth taking	-	Viktor Barth-Kron	https://www.dn.se/blogg/viktor/2015/02/20/gron-ungdom-vs-mp-en-inbordesstrid-val-var-datt-ta/
17.	24.02.2015	Arms exports fell by a third	Economy	Ossi Carp	https://www.dn.se/ekonomi/vapen-export-minskade-en-tredjedel/
18.	25.02.2015	Arms exports are declining	News	TT	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/nyheter/vapenexporten-minskar-2/
19.	25.02.2015	Voice fishing first choice	Leader		https://www.dn.se/ledare/huvudledare/rostfiske-forsta-valet/
20.	03.03.2015	Swedish armored vehicles to Iraq	Sweden	TT	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/svenska-pansarbandvagnar-till-irak/
21.	06.03.2015	Sweden's credibility as a trading partner is at stake	DN debate	-	https://www.dn.se/debatt/sveriges-trovardighet-som-handelspartner-star-pa-spel/
22.	06.03.2015	31 business leaders: Do not break the agreement with Saudi Arabia	Economy	by DN/-	https://www.dn.se/ekonomi/31-naringslivstoppar-bryt-inte-avtalet-med-saudiarabien/
23.	06.03.2015	Johan Schück: The arms agreement could crack the government	Economy	-	https://www.dn.se/ekonomi/johan-schuck-vapenavtalet-kan-spracka-regeringen/
24.	06.03.2015	Doubtful arguments for continued arms exports to Saudi Arabia	DN debate	-	https://www.dn.se/debatt/repliker/tveksamma-argument-for-fortsatt-vapenexport-till-saudiarabien/
25.	06.03.2015	V: "Business is	Economy	-	https://www.dn.se/ekonomi/v-

		in the corner of democracy"			naringslivet-staller-sig-i-demokratins-skamvra/
26.	06.03.2015	Exports of munitions are not free trade	DN debate	-	https://www.dn.se/debatt/repliker/export-av-krigsmateriel-ar-inte-frihandel/
27.	06.03.2015	Here are the weapons sold with action movies	Economy	-	https://www.dn.se/ekonomi/har-ar-vapnen-som-saljs-med-actionfilm/
28.	06.03.2015	SEB receives criticism for double messages	Economy	Hasse Eriksson	https://www.dn.se/ekonomi/seb-far-kritik-for-dubbla-budskap/
29.	06.03.2015	Wallenberg wants to tone down the weapon part	Economy	Hasse Eriksson	https://www.dn.se/ekonomi/wallenberg-vill-tona-ned-vapendet/
30.	06.03.2015	Weapons are not free trade	Leader	-	https://www.dn.se/ledare/huvudledare/vapen-ar-inte-frihandel/
31.	07.03.2015	Business peaks: It is important to keep agreements	Economy	Emma Bouvin	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/ekonomi/naringslivstoppar-viktigt-hallavtal/
32.	10.03.2015	A government that calls itself feminist cannot have military cooperation with one of the world's worst dictatorships.	Culture	-	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/kultur/en-regering-som-kallar-sig-feministisk-kan-inte-ha-ett-militarsamarbete-med-en-av-varldens-varsta/
33.	10.03.2015	Sweden's offensive has its risks	Sweden	Michael Winiarski	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/michael-winiarski-sveriges-offensiv-har-sina-risker/
34.	10.03.2015	The Arab League condemns Wallström	the world	Marianne Bjorklund	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/varlden/arabforbundet-fordomer-wallstrom/
35.	10.03.2015	I want a party leader who acts and does not talk	Sweden	Jens Littorin	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/politik/jag-vill-ha-en-partiledare-som-handlar-och-inte-snackar/
36.	11.03.2015	Business at all costs is the principle behind the directors' support for the Saudi agreement	Culture	-	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/kultur/affarer-till-varje-pris-ar-principen-bakom-direktorenas-stod-for-saudiavtalet/

37.	11.03.2015	Löfven gets lost in the desert	Leader	-	https://www.dn.se/ledare/huvudledare/lofven-gar-vilse-i-oknen/
38.	11.03.2015	Expert: The serious thing is the view of Sweden	Economy	Dan Lucas	https://www.dn.se/ekonomi/expert-det-allvarliga-ar-synen-pa-sverige/
39.	12.03.2015	The criticism came - but when the agreement was concluded, it was silent	news	Karin Eriksson	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/nyheter/kritiken-kom-men-nar-avtalet-slots-var-det-tyst/
40.	12.03.2015	Löfven: We stand up for human rights	News	Hans Olsson	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/nyheter/lofven-vi-star-upp-for-manskliga-rattigheter/
41.	12.03.2015	Romson wants to stop arms exports to dictatorships	Sweden	Mats Larsson	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/politik/romson-vill-stoppa-vapenexport-till-diktaturer/
42.	15.03.2015	Sharp situation in conflict over arms exports	News	TT	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/nyheter/skarpt-lage-i-strid-om-vapenexport/
43.	15.03.2015	Fridolin defended himself against talking about MP victory in the Saudi issue	Economy	Kalle Holmberg	https://www.dn.se/ekonomi/fridolin-varjde-sig-mot-tal-om-mp-seger-i-saudifragan/
44.	16.03.2015	Saudi Arabia's second largest arms buyer	Economy	Staffan Kihlstrom	https://www.dn.se/ekonomi/saudi-arabien-nast-storst-vapenkopare/
45.	20.03.2015	Human rights must outweigh business policies	DN debate	-	https://www.dn.se/debatt/manskliga-rattigheter-maste-vaga-tyngre-an-naringspolitik/
46.	20.03.2015	Swedish owner in arms exports to Saudi Arabia	Economy	Dan Lucas	https://www.dn.se/ekonomi/svenska-agare-i-vapenexport-till-saudi-arabien/
47.	20.03.2015	Margot Wallström on the Saudi crisis: We are acting forcefully	Sweden	Karin Eriksson	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/margot-wallstrom-om-saudikrisen-vi-agerar-kraftfullt/
48.	21.03.2015	Arms export new trial for Löfven	news	Ewa Stenberg	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/nyheter/vapenexport-ny-provning-for-lofven/
49.	28.03.2015	Dizzying trips around the Saudi	Economy	Birgita Forsberg	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/ekonomi/svindlande-turer-kring-saudiavtalet/

		agreement			
50.	28.03.2015	That is why the Saudi crisis became so serious	Economy	-	https://www.dn.se/ekonomi/darfor-blev-saudikrisen-sa-allvarlig/
51.	02.04.2015	Iran agreement - this has happened	the world	Emma Bouvin	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/varlden/iranavtalet-detta-har-hant/
52.	05.04.2015	The political game that led to the Saudi crisis	Economy	Hans Rosen	https://www.dn.se/ekonomi/det-politiska-spelet-som-ledde-framtill-saudikrisen/
53.	12.05.2015	MP pursues opposition policy in the government	leader	Amanda Sokolincki	https://www.dn.se/ledare/signerat/amanda-bjorkman-mp-driver-oppositionspolitik-i-regeringen/
54.	04.06.2015	The United States may have violated the Swedish agreement on arms exports	the world	Katarina Lagerwall	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/varlden/usa-kan-ha-brutit-mot-svenska-avtalet-om-vapenexport/
55.	08.06.2015	No weapons to rogue states	leader	by DN/-	https://www.dn.se/ledare/huvudledare/inga-vapen-till-skurkstater/
56.	24.06.2015	Rules for arms exports can be tightened	Economy	TT	https://www.dn.se/ekonomi/regler-for-vapenexport-kan-skarpas/
57.	25.06.2015	It is proposed that arms exports receive democracy criteria	Economy	Erik De La Riguera	https://www.dn.se/ekonomi/vapenexporten-foreslas-fa-demokratikriterium/
58.	26.06.2015	Demand democracy when buying weapons	news	by DN/-	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/nyheter/krav-demokrati-vid-vapenkop/
59.	26.06.2015	Stopping the export of munitions in the event of serious democratic shortcomings	Economy	Robert Holender	https://www.dn.se/ekonomi/exportstopp-av-krigsmateriel-vid-grava-demokratibrister/
60.	26.06.2015	Saab takes care of questions about the Kex investigation	Economy	Thorbjorn Spangs	https://www.dn.se/ekonomi/saab-passar-pa-fragor-om-kex-utredningen/
61.	26.06.2015	Democracy criteria for arms exports are criticized	Sweden	Thorbjorn Spangs	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/demokratikriterium-for-vapenexport-far-kritik/

62.	27.06.2015	Critics: Small effect of the new democracy requirement	News	Kristoffer Tornmalm	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/nyheter/kritiker-liten-effekt-av-nya-demokratikravet/
63.	27.06.2015	Rules are one thing - sales another	News	Ewa Stenberg	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/nyheter/regler-ar-en-sak-forsaljning-en-annan/
64.	27.06.2015	Sweden's voice in the world does not apologize	Sweden	Karin Eriksson	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/sveriges-rost-i-varlden-ber-inte-om-ursakt/
65.	27.06.2015	Fraudulent consensus	Leader	-	https://www.dn.se/ledare/huvudledare/bedraglig-enighet/
66.	23.07.2015	This is the most dangerous country in the world	the world	Carl Lundborg	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/varlden/det-har-ar-varldens-farligaste-land/
67.	05.08.2015	Reply. Stupid debate displaces urgent conversation	culture	Ronald Paulsen	https://www.dn.se/kulturoch-samfund/kulturdebatt/replik-fordummande-debatt-tranger-undan-angelaget-samtal/
68.	10.09.2015	Saab agreement on Jas plan to Brazil completely nailed	Economy	Thorbjorn Spangs	https://www.dn.se/ekonomi/saabavtal-om-jas-plan-till-brasilien-helt-spikat/
69.	29.09.2015	Secret agreement behind Gripenaffär	Sweden	Birgita Forsberg	https://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/hemligt-avtal-bakom-gripenaffar/
70.	18.10.2015	Mattias Sköld: "Finally dictatorship. Report on the real Thailand"	Culture	Jan Eklund	https://www.dn.se/kulturoch-samfund/bokrecensioner/mattias-skold-antligen-diktatur-reportage-om-det-riktiga-thailand/
71.	17.12.2015	Swedish refusal to send Gripenplan	News	Hans Rosen	https://www.dn.se/arkiv/nyheter/svenskt-nej-till-att-skicka-gripenplan/