

## Chapter 40 : “The bunker from within”

During CG's term of office, the Marshal of the Realm has been the consultative body for the laws directly affecting the royal house - the constitution proper (prop 1972:66), the succession order (prop 1977/78:71) and the church-state relationship (prop 1997/98:49). Since then, there have only been budgetary discussions.

CG's domain consists of the castle domain and the court domain. None of them have a political role within the parliamentary system. The “politics” are handled by CG himself. There are no political advisers (but sometimes the Marshal of the Realm is a former politician) and no investigative resources (but sometimes the information department collates newspaper articles). When asked why the answer is lack of money. When CG writes speeches, however, they are referred to politicians and sometimes to external consultants. One interpretation is that CG deliberately strives for a non political workplace. If employees start thinking politically, you never know where it ends. Marshal of the Realm Ingemar Eliasson, for example, claims that during his entire term of office he had to point out to the employees that the court was not a monarchist campaign organization but that the monarchy was best served by helping CG in his office so that the political majority was satisfied.<sup>1</sup> After Brunei Eliasson tried to initiate a discussion: How did the royal family perceive their role? How did they think the Swedish people thought of them. What did they do well. What did they do bad? It came to nothing though.<sup>2</sup> Eliasson later wrote an essay on his failed mission: Have the lawmakers left the head of state to his own devices?<sup>3</sup>

Attorney General Thomas Bodström was impressed that CG managed to stay as informed as he did. A prime minister had about 20 ministers and 4,500 officials as a comparison. CG used the opportunities he had. However, Bodström was critical of the ad hoc nature of it all: “That ministers inform him during dinner and the like, while eating and drinking, impacts the quality of it all. A prime minister has, of course, a much, much greater responsibility, but the preconditions are still wrong.”<sup>4</sup> As a complement, 2004-2007 theme days on subjects such as working life, public health & crime were organized with invited politicians and experts.

The first theme day held [2004] had the following set-up: Government, industry, scientists, trade union representatives, environmental organizations and individual forest owners answered questions. This half-day seminar was supplemented with a field excursion. Similar theme days have been conducted on some twenty subjects.<sup>5</sup>

In conjunction with the state visits CG has extensive contacts with the Department of Foreign Affairs. The highest political official there is called Cabinet Secretary. CG's contacts with this person have varied: Sverker Åström 1972-77 and Leif Lifland 1977-82 often accompanied the state visits. By contrast, not Pierre Schori 1982-91. CG also has extensive contacts with the protocol office that manages the practical. CG's reputation in diplomatic circles has improved with time. In the beginning he was spontaneous. A diplomat remembered that he could then ask questions “that made your hair curl”.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Ulla Waldén. Bodknoddaren som blev riksmarskalk. SR P4 Värmland, 2009-03-26. [Intervju med Ingemar Eliasson.]

<sup>2</sup> Barbro Hultman. I den kungliga kulissen : en hovreporters betraktelser. Stockholm: Langenskiöld. 2014.

<sup>3</sup> Ingemar Eliasson. Har lagstiftaren lämnat statschefen i sticket? Kungliga Vitterhetsakademiens årsbok, 2012, ss 75-90.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Bodström: Inifrån. Makten, myglet, politiken. Norstedts, 2011.

<sup>5</sup> Ingemar Eliasson. Jag vet var jag kommer ifrån - stycken om mitt liv. Albert Bonniers förlag, 2013.

<sup>6</sup> Ann-Marie Åsheden. Våran kung: del 2. Dagens Nyheter 1985-12-23.

Each year, the annual reports of the court contain a description of the organization. Operation and maintenance is carried out by the castle domain. Representation by the court domain. The day-to-day operation of the court domain is organized by a management team chaired by CG. Over the years, it has been discussed whether CG ever takes advice from this management team. There is no indication that this is the case. No minutes are kept and no decisions are taken by vote. All decisions are made by CG alone. On the basis of his long experience, he thinks he knows best. It is alleged that CG takes advice from Silvia for his "policy profile" but it is unclear what that means. Documented advice from Silvia is all about the socializing and the ceremonial. She is expected to provide moral support. Princess Christina claims that over the years she has had a role as "sounding board, support and the devil's advocate" without wanting to enter into details.<sup>7</sup> On direct questions, CG and Silvia have said that they try to recruit people who have experience of "outside life". They avoid yes-men, they like to have views on issues, but they want to decide for themselves. The management team and also unknown advisers - the "Executive Committee" - have nevertheless been criticized for CG's domestic policy mispriorities, his faux pas' and his crisis management.

The weakness of the organization was evident during Crown Princess Victoria's eating disorders in 1997, the Brunei crisis in 2004, the publication of "The Reluctant Monarch" in 2010 and also the revelations about Silvia's father 2002 and 2010. All things personal were anathema. As regards the eating disorders, no one dared to mention the issue. The Chief lady-in-waiting (now Mistress of the Robes) Alice Trolle-Wachtmeister was considered "most" responsible but dodged the issue. Afterwards, she experienced the whole situation as immensely unpleasant. The Brunei crisis was discussed, but no formal investigation was ever carried out. The management team consisted of CG, Silvia, Crown Princess Victoria, Marshal of the Realm Ingemar Eliasson, Chief of Staff Frank Rosenius, Head of Information Elisabeth Tarras-Wahlberg and Alice Trolle-Wachtmeister. This illustrious group found CG innocent and that everything was the media's fault. How they arrived at this conclusions we will never know. Since Tarras-Wahlberg later was replaced, CG seems to have reconsidered. At the time of the reluctant monarch in 2010, the management team seems to have stopped working because of family and loyalty conflicts. The natural thing would have been to penetrate the book in detail to determine what was true and what was false but that was never done. It would have been to doubt CG's innocence. The same thing with the revelations about Silvia's father. Silvia acted entirely on her own attempting to first deny the whole thing and then whitewash him.

What is not dealt with in the "Executive Committee" or the management team is dealt with in "family meetings". CG tries to hold one every Sunday after a joint dinner. There is no information whatsoever about these meetings. What takes place must be inferred. Journalist Johan T Lindwall says he has insight but has never given a detailed description. Probably the most important thing is that the family should show a united front - in practice that wife, children and in-laws should subordinate themselves to what CG considers best for the monarchy, viz. himself. Some issues that risk dividing the family seem to be dealt with only between CG and the respective, e.g. Prince Carl Philip's claim to the throne, appropriate behaviour, marriage partners and various disciplinary errands.

\*

---

<sup>7</sup> Jenny Alexandersson. Utställningen om kungen och prinsessan Christinas fina tal. Aftonbladet, hovbloggen, 2013-09-13.

Staff turnover erodes the court's traditions. There are however seminars and lectures on historical and cultural subjects to preserve a core. It is unclear who is responsible for “keeping the flame alive”. Perhaps all these employees with a noble background. Since the importance of tradition is downplayed, tradition seems to boil down to loyalty and to ignorance of the past. Anything can be passed of as tradition.

Those who write about the court domain seem to expect that CG's employees have some distance to his role as head of state. This is not the case however. This was commented on in 1969 by journalist Åke Ortmark as an effect of the leadership's military and noble background combined with internal recruitment. Even bourgeois supposedly non-political ideals of office are common at court. Social change takes place, but slowly, slowly. The ravaging forces of time nibble at the monarchies sense of purpose. Probably CG isolates himself to preserve a sense of selfworth. You cannot profess democratic ideals without being influenced by it. Democracy eats your soul. CG and his sisters have dropped the nobility. Crown Princess Victoria and the siblings have dropped the high bourgeoisie. They feel more comfortable among upstarts.

\*

CG's court domain is led by the 1<sup>st</sup> Marshal of the Court. Under him are ordinary court Marshals, masters of ceremony, chamberlains, etc. At CG's ceremonial court there are supposedly four masters of ceremony and eight chamberlains. Chamberlain now appears to be an honorary position. I've counted 42 of them. Under the Chief of Staff are 12 adjutants from the three branches of the armed forces. There are also master adjutants for ceremonial occasions and the honorary position of guard-free adjutants. A total of 40 people.

During CG's Crown Prince period, the division of responsibility was often unclear. People sat on many chairs. Leading functionaries during CG's lifetime have been:

## 1. Marshals of the Realm

Birger Ekeberg	1946-1959
Nils Vult von Steyern	1959-1966
Stig H:son Ericson	1966-1976
Gunnar Lagergren	1976-1983
Sten Rudholm	1983-1986
Per Sköld	1986-1995
Gunnar Brodin	1996-2003
Ingemar Eliasson	2003-2009
Svante Lindqvist	2010-2018
Fredrik Wersäll	2018-

## 2. Court lawyers

Sune A Wetter	1950-1973
J Gillis Wetter	1973-1995
Bengt Ljungqvist	1996-2008
Axel Calissendorf	2009-2021
Lena Frånstedt Lofalk	2021-



### 3. Chiefs of Staff & the equivalent

Hugo Cederschiöld	1950-1963
Thord C:son Bonde	1963-1969
Gustav Åkerman	1969-1973

Hans Skiöldebrand	1968-1973
-------------------	-----------

Malcolm Murray	1973-1978
Stig Synnergren	1978-1986
Lennart Ljung	1986-1990
Bror Stefenson	1990-1997
Curt Sjöo	1997-2003
Frank Rosenius	2003-2007
Håkan Petterson	2007-2018
Jan Salestrand	2018-

### 4. 1<sup>st</sup> Marshals of the court & Marshals of the Crown Prince's personal court

Carl-Reinhold von Essen	1947-1950
Sten Erik P:son Wetter	1952-1961
Stig H:son Ericson	1962-1973

Gösta Lewenhaupt	1966-1968
Malcolm Murray	1968-1973

Tom Wachtmeister	1973-1975
Björn von der Esch	1975-1980
Lennart Ahrén	1980-1986
Jan Kuylenstierna	1987-1993
Hans Ewerlöf	1993-1998
Johan Fischerström	1998-2007
Lars Hjalmar Wide	2007-2011
Mats Nilsson	2012-

## 5. Press Contacts & CIOs (or the equivalent)

Brita Cederström	1946-1958
Carl-Henrik von Essen	1951-1959
Gösta Lewenhaupt	1958-1962
Harald Smith	1958-1962
Bo Gärtze	1959-1966
Rolf Nilsson	1966-1967
Bertil Erkhammar	1966-1968
Stig Ramel	1967-1971
Carl-Fredrik Palmstierna	1950-1975
Sten Egnell	1962-1976

Tom Wachtmeister	1973-1975
Jan Mårtensson	1975-1979
Elisabeth Tarras-Wahlberg	1979-2004
Ann-Christine Jernberg	2004-2005
Nina Eldh	2006-2010
Bertil Ternert	2011-2013
Margareta Thorgren	2014-