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# Political guidelines



Socialdemokraterna  
FRAMTIDSPARTIET

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## Security in a new era

Sweden has a strong economy, but our social cohesion is too weak.

Too many people in our country do not have a share in the prosperity our economic development has created. People feel they are not getting what they expect from society.

This is a dangerous development. Sweden's entire success story is based on our society gradually becoming a little freer, becoming a little more equal, a little richer. However, since the 1990s, Sweden has weathered several economic crises who, in their tracks, left us with a declining sense of security and increasing inequality.

Now we have the opportunity to do something about it. Sweden is experiencing high levels of economic growth and the highest employment rate in Europe. Since the Social Democrat-led government took office, 150 000 more people get up and go to work in the morning. There is a power generated by this economic development. This power will not be used up on tax cuts for the rich or dismantling our common welfare – it will be used to keep Sweden together.

So we are developing the Swedish Model to be stronger for the future. We are investing so that you can retrain if you become unemployed, so that the school you send your children to gives them a good education, so that you can maintain your financial security if you become ill or when you get older. Now new housing is under construction at a rapid pace. Now we are modernising and extending the railway from north to south. Now we are attacking segregation and crime in our cities. Now we are developing services and welfare all over the country. Now we are strengthening the culture sector and civil society. We are increasing taxes for millionaires and decreasing them for pensioners. We are transferring resources from banks to school benches. We are striving to host the most high-tech companies, research excellence and environmental engineering at the cutting edge and to be the most equal and egalitarian country in the world. Now, we are building Sweden.

The Swedish Model is founded on everyone contributing. Everyone who can work must work - and everyone who lives in Sweden must take responsibility for our country and its future. We need to take joint responsibility for our children's education, to increase security in the streets, to combat hatred, racism and sexism - so that Sweden remains an open society. It is not up to anyone else. It is us, together, who create the Sweden we want to live in.

If everyone does their duty and demands their rights, we will be able to build a cohesive, sustainable and free country, leading the world as we know Sweden can.

In these troubled times, we need more cohesion than ever before. It is not possible to create this through tax spending or salary cuts, or by appointing scapegoats and stoking hatred between people. We need joint investment, joint responsibility and a common belief in a Sweden that sticks together.

**During the Party Congress period 2017-2021 we intend to develop the Swedish model:**

**We will achieve the EU's lowest unemployment rate.** The creation of more jobs and active measures against unemployment comes before anything else. It is the single, most important measure to increase equality. Swedish industry and our small and medium-sized enterprises must enjoy good operating conditions. Education and better matching means that vacant jobs can be filled quickly. Newly-arrived workers' lead time into employment must be reduced. This is how Sweden can continue to move towards full employment.

**We will strengthen social cohesion.** Sweden needs to be aligned to reduce inequality, segregation and to combat crime. People with different backgrounds should meet in school, as neighbours and as colleagues. Women and men must be equal. Everyone in our country will have secure access to welfare and services. Local preconditions will be taken into consideration. This is how we achieve social cohesion in Sweden.

**We will prioritise education.** Knowledge is the road to freedom. All students must meet high levels of expectations, be taught by skilful teachers and be able to do their work in peace. The hunt for profits from education must be stopped, segregation must be broken and resources distributed fairly. School will provide every student with good opportunities to learn. This is how Sweden can develop a school system that is equal and generates leading edge knowledge results.

**We will have a welfare system that can be trusted.** As security grows, so does freedom. The quality of welfare will improve. Waiting times for health care must be shortened. Pensioners' financial situation will improve. Resources for welfare must be used for welfare. This is how we can achieve a welfare system that is there for you when you and your family need it.

**We will lead the charge to stop climate change.** Sweden will strive to be the world's first fossil-free welfare state, and work for the strict implementation of the Paris Climate Agreement and the global sustainability goals. This is how we will secure a future for coming generations.

**We will actively contribute to a safer world.** In these troubled times, Sweden will work for a stronger United Nations and a vigorous EU. We must be proactive in safeguarding the right to asylum and implement a common, European refugee reception system in which more countries shoulder their responsibilities. We will be a strong voice for poverty reduction, trade and detente. This is how we intend to solve global challenges.

The portal sentences in our party program will guide us into the future:

“Social Democracy wants to shape a society based on democratic ideals and the equal value and equal rights of all people. Free and equal people in a cohesive society is the goal of democratic socialism.”

When we move forward together, shoulder to shoulder, and implement reforms to increase equality, then freedom will grow. This is how we will create security in a new era.

## 1. Jobs and growth for belief in the future

The Social Democrats have always set the bar high, and used their goals to change society, step by step, in a way that few thought possible. Our long-term objective remains full employment and our target of enjoying the lowest unemployment rate in the EU by 2020 remains unchanged.

The reason is simple. Having a job makes you part of a larger community where you can develop and learn new things. A salary gives you a secure income, the opportunity to live more freely, decide for yourself and plan ahead. When everyone with the ability to work is working, this creates the growth that makes it possible to strengthen welfare and gives everyone the chance to contribute to a better society.

Today there are voices saying that Sweden should lower its ambitions that our job target is impossible to reach, that we have to downgrade working conditions and reduce salaries. Social Democrats take the opposite approach. We will never give up on jobs. We stand up for working conditions and salaries based on collective agreements. Because we know that this is the only way to maintain the Swedish Model and that our prosperity is dependent on us being at the forefront, innovating and developing tomorrow's products and services. This requires good working conditions that allow employees to take responsibility and contribute their creativity and initiative. This improves productivity and creates real income increases that promote stable private consumption. This shifts competitiveness and living conditions into an upward spiral.

The Swedish Model delivers not only an egalitarian society with high living standards, it also gives us strength in the context of increasing global competition.

### More jobs all over the country

More jobs are needed nationwide. We want to stimulate regional growth and invest in services, education, infrastructure and housing. It must be possible to live and work in all parts of the country.

Many people feel that today, activities and jobs that were previously an integral part of towns have now disappeared and that parts of Sweden have been forgotten. There are rundown suburbs where overcrowding is increasing and many young people start their adult life in unemployment. There are one-factory towns where shops have closed, health centres have moved away and grass is growing on abandoned petrol station forecourts.

Government and state authorities' presence is important for local development capacity. Coordination and digitalisation of our government agencies is essential. We must have effective administration. However, the relationship between authorities and residents cannot simply rest on digital solutions and occasional letters. The opportunity to meet face to face must also be there.

Digitalisation means that more people can work at home, receive health care at home and study at a distance. As the number of e-services expands, the availability of public services improves. However, this in its turn requires efficient, fast connectivity. Reliable and effective communications are crucial to establish more dynamic labour market regions and make it possible to live in the countryside and work in another town or have your home in a satellite municipality and commute to the inner city.

The housing shortage is acute, not least among young people, and more housing is needed as the population grows more rapidly. This shortage inhibits growth all over the country, especially in big cities. There is only one solution to this problem: build more! It should be possible to live in urban and in rural areas, but also to move to study or take a new job. In order to improve the opportunities for new construction across the country, the government credit guarantees and the conditions for depreciation and write-downs will be reviewed.

At our previous Party Congress, we decided to implement an aggressive construction program and build 250 000 new homes by 2020. And then 45 000 new homes a year on average until 2030. This has begun. Last year 64 000 new homes were started. Research has a key role to play in the development of new housing areas. Sustainability will be our watchword when we remedy this shortage by the construction of new homes!

We want to see more rental units, good housing for seniors, student housing, climate smart housing through increased use of wooden structures, mixed neighbourhoods, with detached houses, terrace houses and apartment buildings in order to break growing residential segregation. Lack of housing is a social problem that must be combatted. Today many people cannot afford what is being built or what is available. The state and the municipalities must take joint responsibility for ensuring that more people can afford a newly-constructed home. Public housing must be utilised more. It is the municipalities' most important tool when fulfilling their housing responsibilities.

The Swedish Model will be developed so that Sweden holds together. We will give priority to:

**Continued massive construction efforts.** We will reduce costs and increase investment in the housing sector. The construction process will become simpler and more expedient. The planning appeals process time period must be cut. The state must review the number of national interests and take greater responsibility for balancing the various interests against each other. Clear demands must be imposed on all municipalities to help reduce the housing shortage.

**Improved communications.** Powerful enhancements to the operation and maintenance of the railway system will be introduced, as well as investments in an efficient road network, marine and air transport. The role of the harbours must be developed. Priority will be given to important goods routes and rail investments, linking the regions of the country. Work on the new trunk lines for high-speed trains, as well as the Norrbotnia Line that will form part of the Botnian Corridor, will begin as well as the planning of regional public transport in order to establish good connections to the new stations. Continued forceful expansion of fixed and mobile, high capacity communications networks will occur. By 2025, the entire country will have access to rapid broadband.

**Decentralisation for more jobs and increased growth.** In order to take advantage of the capacity for growth across Sweden business, industry and labour market policy must become better adapted to regional conditions. Regional competence platforms, in which the social partners play an important role, will have more influence over resources. Help for companies to increase their exports will be available throughout the country. There will be continued investment in universities and various forms of learning centres. State services will be developed and government agencies will have a presence all over the country. The social contract between citizens and the public sector in the form of state, county and municipality must be strengthened.

## Smart industry and growing small enterprises

Industry is the growth engine of Sweden. The foundation of the Swedish Model that has built, and still builds, Sweden's growth and prosperity is successful industrial companies. Together with these industries' service companies, they are responsible for one million jobs and the greater part of our exports.

The right-wing coalition never understood this. As a result, their government acted very passively during the financial crisis, with the result that many competitive industrial companies went under and many tens of thousands of high-productivity jobs were lost.

The Social Democrats want to develop and facilitate in order to assist industry with the rapid transitions that characterise our times. In cooperation with the social partners, we want to make

the Swedish system of short-time working during temporary production declines more competitive.

We also understand that the innovation power found in our industries is also important for the developments that are essential to manage both climate change and an aging population. Swedish industry is often at the forefront of environmental innovation and the push for more sustainable production. For example new technologies producing steel without carbon dioxide emissions are under development. Green industry is providing new materials, products and renewable fuels. Information and communications companies make an online, smart, resource-efficient society possible. The tourism industry has become a new primary industry and is growing rapidly in all parts of Sweden. If this industry is to continue to develop in a sustainable manner, investments must be made in digitalisation, marketing, competence supply and range of transport on offer. We must be at the forefront, developing the products and services that the world wants and that attract tourists and investment to Sweden.

Four out of five new jobs are today created in small and medium-sized enterprises. There is a power that Sweden needs in all these entrepreneurs who believe in their business concepts and dare to start a company. We want to create the best preconditions for Swedish entrepreneurs. We want to see more small businesses developing, growing and hiring more people.

Sweden will compete using knowledge and quality, not lower salaries. A stronger business environment requires a comprehensive policy for companies in the different phases they go through. Competence development and improved matching of applicants to jobs are decisive if more companies are to be able to expand. Sweden's entrepreneurs need to be at the top as concerns digitalisation in order to strengthen their competitive edge. Social Democrats want to see good gender structures for company boards.

**The Swedish Model will be developed to encourage more, growing companies. We will give priority to:**

**Leading edge industrial production in Sweden.** It must be attractive to retain and develop production in Sweden and we want more companies to choose to move their production units back home. Internationally-competitive research and innovation environments must be located in several places in the country to attract foreign investments to Sweden.

**The push for digitalisation.** We want to expand investments in digitalisation consultancy for small and medium-sized enterprises so that they can all make that leap into the future. The pace of the digital transformation of the public sector in Sweden will increase.

**Simpler to run a business.** It will be cheaper for more companies to take on their first employee. Invoice settlement times between large and small companies will be cut. Income security systems will be designed so that self-employed, small business owners and people who move in and out of the entrepreneurial role receive the same protection as others. Financing for growing companies to be improved.

## Everyone who can work must work

Work builds our country's prosperity and is essential to human freedom. Everyone is needed and can contribute to the continued development of our society. Consequently, the fight for full employment is our primary mission.

Social Democrats fight for the right to salaries and conditions according to collective agreements. This is the Swedish Model. Companies grow because they have good products and services - not by reducing salaries, making working conditions worse or ignoring health and safety in the workplace. We say no to proposals from the right-wing parties aimed at reducing salaries and benefits on the labour market as a method of fighting unemployment.

At the same time as many people feel that they cannot work as much as they want to due to the limits imposed by involuntary, uncertain employment, other groups are working too much. What has not been done during the day is done on the laptop when the children have gone to bed. E-mails ping in phones on bedside tables. This increases stress and pressure. Working life must be sustainable for women and men, young and old. No one should be abused, ill or worn out. Good working conditions and power and influence over your own work is fundamental. It must pay to work and be possible to live on salaries.

The labour market changes rapidly. For more people to work, they must be prepared to change jobs and retrain to be able to take the jobs available. The Social Democrats stand for both rights and duties in our employment policy. We have created more routes into jobs and education or training inputs, better matching and a stronger work environment. We have eliminated expensive and ineffective measures and replaced them with measures making it cheaper to employ people who have difficulty in getting their first job. The 90-day Guarantee has been applied and more and more young people are now moving from unemployment to work or education. Our commitment stands firm: no young person to get stuck in long-term unemployment.

In recent years, the many asylum seekers accepted into Sweden means that our jobs objective now requires greater efforts in order to succeed. Over 100 000 new arrivals will enter the labour market up to 2020. Some have extensive education, training and experience, others have little or none. This will require more education from the very start of the asylum process, more effective language training, improved job matching and validation of new arrivals' skills. With the benefit

of the right inputs, many newly-arrived workers can contribute to the fulfilment of future labour market requirements.

The Swedish economy is driven by increased productivity. We face the future with new innovations, better education and rapid transitions. At the same time entry into the labour market must be simplified so that more people can get jobs and support themselves. Almost irrespective of workplace, certain tasks have been streamlined out of existence or in many cases assigned to professionals who are currently in short supply. Many of those who have difficulty in getting jobs could be employed in, for example, extra positions to relieve existing staff of the tasks they do not have time to manage today. This applies in the NGO, public and private sectors.

**The Swedish Model will be developed so that more people will work and have a good working environment. We will give priority to:**

**Good working conditions and salaries according to collective agreement.** The unions must be able to demand collective agreements for companies operating in Sweden. Swedish salaries and conditions are to apply in Sweden. In public procurement, requirements will be imposed concerning employment conditions according to Swedish collective agreements. We will abolish general fixed-term contract employment (allmän visstid).

**Secure employment and secure transition.** Unemployment insurance will serve as transition insurance. It is important that more people join the insurance system so it becomes cheaper. The national agreement between the Swedish Municipal Workers' Union (Kommunal) and the Municipal and Local Authorities and Regions (SKL) to make full-time to the norm will be implemented in all municipalities and county councils. Full-time, permanent positions will be the norm throughout the labour market. We want the protection that employees enjoy as concerns redundancy also to apply to if an employer reduces working hours in an employment contract. Work-related sick leave must be prevented through more resources allocated to the improvement of working environment and working life. The employer's responsibility for good work environment and early rehabilitative efforts will be strengthened.

**More routes to jobs.** In order to successfully manage the supply of competence across the Swedish labour market, it is essential to operate more training places aimed at occupations that are in demand and to open up more career paths. Everyone unemployed is to be offered validation and training in order to become employable. Meanwhile, individuals are required to educate themselves. Various forms of subsidised employment such as start-up jobs, extra positions and internships form stepping stones for people who experience difficulty in getting jobs. These will be expanded to meet the increased need for simpler ways of entering the labour market. We want to see bridges between employers and people with employment support so that it becomes easier to get people into jobs, for private employers too. More people with disabilities

that impair their capacity to work must be given the opportunity to work, for example via work integration at socially-responsible companies.

## 2. Social cohesion for increased security

Security is created by social cohesion and trust between human beings. It grows with increased equality and justice. However, in recent decades the trend towards increased equality has been reversed. We see major differences between those with longer and shorter educations, rich and poor, old and young, inner-city and suburban, urban and rural.

Add to this, the greatest global refugee crisis since World War II means that Sweden, at the same time, is facing its greatest integration challenge ever. This needs more extensive efforts than ever before. It requires harder work to reduce the gaps that prevent people from growing and developing, the inequalities that are a threat to democracy, to prosperity, security and growth for all.

In order to reverse the downward trend, we must make extensive investments in education and jobs so that equality increases. We will strengthen our endeavours to ensure that every child enjoys good conditions in which to grow up by implementing a good level of general welfare which equalises differences. This is ultimately the best way to increase security. But we also need targeted reforms that reduce exclusion and crime, and enhance the values of equality and community that we want as the dominant characteristics of our country.

### Together to end segregation

Social Democrats are fighting for a society where everyone has the same chance, where your background does not determine your future. We fight this fight because it is right, everyone is equal, but also because it is smart. A just society is also a strong society.

Where you grow up and live exerts a major impact on your future income, health and wellbeing. The centre-right government gave priority to large-scale, unfair tax cuts, allowed unemployment, the housing shortage and the differences between schools to increase. After eight years of right-wing politics, problems have become urgent. We have changed the direction of Swedish politics. We have replaced tax cuts with huge investments in more jobs, better schools and stronger welfare. This work will continue.

The Government has launched a reform programme to reduce segregation, a long-term plan up to 2025. It is based on broad cooperation between municipalities, civil society, governments and researchers. There will be no more short-term, individual projects. Now we must break down the fundamental structures that cause segregation.

This task is more important than ever because segregation is likely to increase over the next few years. Between 2012 and 2015, Sweden received around 340 000 asylum seekers. We are very proud of this. All of them will not be staying, but many have been granted, and will be granted, residence permits. No other country in the OECD has ever experienced such a high per capita influx. This will confront us with great opportunities, as well as challenges, for a long time to come. Many people with limited education, who are a long way away from the labour market become concentrated in certain neighbourhoods, increasing segregation. We have to work to design a housing policy that integrates, an education policy for greater equality and a labour market that takes advantage of everyone's skills as well as a vital civil society that builds social contact networks.

A society with high unemployment rates will always be difficult to hold together. Today's employment rates in the socially most vulnerable areas are significantly lower than in the country as a whole, particularly low among foreign-born women. Pushing back this unemployment will require professional training, more language training, better and faster validation of previous professional experience and education. We also need simpler ways of entering the labour market. The difference in employment rates between Swedish-born and foreign-born people must decrease.

Many children and young people who have recently come to Sweden will be welcomed into school and have the opportunity to achieve the same learning objectives as everyone else, without the teaching quality deteriorating for those already attending school. One critical factor in our success at work, at school and in the housing market is that all the municipalities shoulder and share this responsibility.

Begging is never a way out of poverty. Together, we must counteract begging and its causes. For more than 100 years Social Democrats have struggled to demolish the structures that force people to stand with cap in hand at the mercy of individual benefactors, instead we have built a society where everyone has equal opportunities. In today's globalised world, this political fight must continue in the EU. The right to education, basic social security in cases of illness or unemployment, the opportunity to earn a living must apply in all the EU countries and for all these countries' inhabitants.

We will not stand idly by and see begging and homelessness normalised. Several measures need to be undertaken to eliminate the vulnerability that is characterised by begging. We must ensure that those who are begging today are offered an alternative in their home countries and tighten up and clarify Swedish legislation.

We intend to legally prevent people from making money out of other people's begging. In addition, opportunities to evict squatters must be improved at the same time as the people concerned must be treated in a legally secure manner and with consideration for their situation.

We intend to review of the Public Order Act – the same regulations must apply in all municipalities. Anti-Romer racism will never be accepted. In order to create opportunities for work and training for the vulnerable EU citizens who are begging today, we want to strengthen the agreements that the Social Democratic-led government has concluded with Romania and Bulgaria, as well as initiating broad cooperation between municipalities and NGOs.

**The Swedish Model will be developed in order to break segregation in Sweden. We will give priority to:**

**Shortening the route into a job.** Swedish studies, validation of qualifications, expertise and professional experience must occur more rapidly. Adult education is a decisive factor in successful integration. More work opportunities are required for older people with little or no education. Barriers to women starting work have to be removed. Society must improve opportunities for, but also increase demands imposed on, the unemployed to make themselves employable in a more active fashion.

**More resources to schools operating in the toughest conditions.** Extra efforts will be made to ensure that all children and young people enjoy equal opportunities to achieve the learning objectives in school. We want general preschool to be introduced from the age of two, and more resources will go to preschools and schools in socially vulnerable areas. It is essential that students living the most difficult conditions meet the most skilled teachers. We want to study how more schools can take responsibility for the introduction of newly-arrived children as research shows that the percentage of this group of children exerts a major impact on results. Language introduction must be strengthened for the older children in this group.

**A housing policy with shared responsibility for new arrivals.** More homes are needed. Types and sizes of housing units are to be mixed. The apartments in the large-scale developments of the 1960/70s (the Million Programme) will be refurbished and overcrowding reduced. Today's residential living system for asylum seekers, EBO, will be replaced by a new system that encourages integration and counteracts segregation. As a first step, we will review the opportunities of imposing conditions for their accommodation to ensure that dwellings meet certain basic requirements in terms of size and function.

## **Strong rule of law**

Crime is a threat to democratic society and the insecurity it causes must be countered by all means possible. The Social Democratic Party will stand at the forefront of this struggle.

When belief in the future has faded, when there is nothing left to lose, then gangs and violence become an option. We will fight crime, but also the causes of crime. The most effective way to prevent young people from choosing a life of crime is to offer something better: a good

education, something meaningful to do in their leisure time, a first job, the opportunity to find a place of their own.

Gang-related crime, weapons crimes and extreme violence are totally unacceptable. Forceful action is necessary to ensure that children do not fall victim to violence that women do not feel insecure in their own home areas and that young people are not tempted into crime.

We refuse to accept the emergence of a Sweden in fear.

Crime is born out of inequality, insecurity and substance abuse. Successful crime prevention requires early intervention and social involvement. Municipalities must work actively with crime prevention. It is especially important to prioritise early intervention for children and adolescents who are at risk of being drawn into crime and drug addiction. Social Democratic policy will give everyone the opportunity to choose a life without crime. Education, addiction treatment and gang exit projects must always provide an open door for those who have gone wrong. Legal measures against crime must be combined with efforts for crime prevention and the reintegration of former offenders.

The rule of law must always react strongly against crime. Through the sanctions established to punish a crime we demonstrate our values and strengthen what is right and wrong. Those who commit crimes must expect severe punishment. The prison and probation services will continue to develop. Anyone being released from such an establishment will be equipped to live a life without criminality and drugs. Young people who turned to crime need a way out from environments that exacerbate their problems. Men's violence against women causes death and immense suffering. It is completely unacceptable. The Social Democrats have adopted a zero vision as concerns men's violence against women. Women's security must increase - both in the home and in public spaces. Society must never stand idly by while the drug trade expands and people are killed in criminal disputes. It is crucial that the police force prevents and solves more crimes.

In recent years we have witnessed horrific acts of terrorism - on Utøya, in Copenhagen, Brussels, Paris, Berlin. Now such a terrible attack has also struck us here in Sweden. Society must act firmly against those who support terrorism, whether in Sweden or abroad. A number of measures have been taken since 2014. It is now illegal to travel to a conflict zone for the purposes of terrorism. The rules have been tightened up as concerns applying for, and taking out, Swedish passports. All municipalities must work actively against violent extremism. Sweden's level of preparedness for the prevention of acts of terrorism must be high. Further measures will be necessary.

The Swedish Model will be developed so that Sweden is a safe country for everyone. We will give priority to:

**The fight against gang-related crime.** Efforts to stop recruitment to gangs will be greatly strengthened. The penalties for possession and purchase of illegal weapons and for serious violent crimes must be severe, and laws that make it difficult for organised crime will be strengthened. Specific measures will be targeted at young offenders. There must be more social measures targeting young people at risk and their families. Open social inputs are vital, but more detention orders under the Care of Young Persons (Special Provisions) Act in terms of the most criminally-active youths are also necessary. We want to see an additional focus on investments in leisure activities and sports in socially vulnerable areas.

**More police where they are most needed.** All residents, wherever they live in the country, must expect available, present and effective policing. The police must have sufficient capacity to investigate crimes committed and treat victims properly. There must be high levels of police presence in the socially most vulnerable areas. Targeted efforts to combat drug trafficking and organised crime are necessary. Our goal is 10 000 more employees within the police by 2024. The police training college to be expanded.

**Vigorous action against men's violence against women.** More focus will be placed on prevention. Support for children who experience domestic violence will be improved. Women victims must receive support, protection and assistance to complete the entire legal process as well as assistance with a permanent home. More offenders will be prosecuted. Sexual exploitation and any sexual acts that are not voluntary are assault and this should be reflected in legislation on sex crimes. We want to increase protection against forced marriages and child marriages. More honour crimes will be detected and their penalties made stricter.

## Defend democracy and our open society

Every individual is unique - and at the same time human dignity is equal and inviolable. As Social Democrats we will, in all circumstances, defend democracy, human rights and our open society. Our movement is a freedom movement on a democratic basis. We will not diverge from our progressive values.

When voices are raised to divide people into 'us' and 'them', Social Democrats stand up for equal value and rights. The defence of democratic values must be based on always safeguarding them and not giving way if differences or cultural conflicts arise. Equality and equal opportunities will increase in Sweden, not decrease. Public space must be protected against hate and threats. Discrimination based on gender, sexual identity, ethnicity, religion, disability, sexual orientation or age must be discouraged.

Free and open debate is crucial in the social structure. Personal reflection and education are essential for basic democracy to work. A strong, vital civil society reinforces the strengths of democracy. The popular education movement is a vital part of lifelong learning. Adult study organisations and folk high schools increase opportunities for individuals to develop their knowledge and exercise their democratic choices. At the same time, we do realise we must identify new educational pathways in the public space and would like to state the importance of libraries as meeting places.

Fewer and fewer people around the world are using the free and open media, fewer and fewer people in Sweden read the work of independent journalists. The media landscape is in a state of ongoing change which means that local journalism has been dismantled. This is worrying.

At the same time, the digital transition opens up endless possibilities for a freedom movement like social democracy. More people can express themselves and make their voices heard. Accessibility increases. Individual creation of a text or a film is just few clicks away. The reshaping of media and technology brings our country enormous opportunities. But it is an situation that must be managed well, otherwise it might be abused or used by destructive forces. Threats to journalists and political representatives are also a threat to democracy that cannot be accepted.

Real knowledge is not only about access to information, it is just as much about the ability to interpret that information. Hate, filter bubbles, impact operations and disinformation via the online media inhibit the digital conversion potential for free opinion building. The fact that women and young people are hit harder than others is a serious democratic problem.

Well-funded, independent public service broadcasting is essential for democracy and freedom of expression. New digital opportunities must be combined with the development of editorial material. Irrespective of whether it is written, spoken or performed on analogue or digital platforms, the presence of independent journalism is essential.

The transformation of our media habits creates opportunities. Social Democrats will never accept a society where inequality of access to knowledge, freedom of opinion or culture prevails. The individual's journey towards knowledge is our mission and an essential prerequisite for a well-functioning, knowledge-based society, and a strong democracy.

People must participate and take joint responsibility for the development of society - not as customers or consumers but as citizens. The work of clubs, associations and social movements, with sports clubs, educational associations and NGOs in the lead, is crucial to creating meeting places across class boundaries and to strengthening democratic values.

Democracy begins in the day-to-day community. This means culture is a tool for community development and our common welfare. The position of culture is a measure of a society's dignity. In this work, idea-based popular education plays a central role.

Culture brings unique human values, provides a perspective on, and understanding of, your own life and the world and consequently contributes to the development of both individuals and communities. This is why the professional cultural life, performing artists, civil society and the state cultural institutions are so important. Consequently, we have a strong state culture policy in Sweden to ensure that everyone may participate in, and benefit from, culture all over the country.

Today it is more important than ever to provide inspiration and guidance in order to understand the world around us. Individuals' ability to self-reflect in order to orient themselves in the world is essential, as well as our need to meet others. Diversity in all the different cultural expressions, like the multicultural perspective, contributes to a vibrant cultural life. Through common experience we create cohesion and community all over our country.

**The Swedish Model will be developed so that openness and democracy are encouraged and protected. We will give priority to:**

**Standing up for our progressive values.** We are a feminist party. Women and men must have the same opportunities and equal rights in all spheres of life. Women and men are, and should be, treated as equals. Public funds must never go to organisations that violate human rights and undermine democracy. The school's democratic mission must never be questioned. Children's right to knowledge and education based on democratic values must always be centre stage.

**A pro-active media policy.** The entire country must enjoy access to independent journalistic coverage. We want the public service networks to be strong throughout Sweden. Digital development will go hand in hand with modernised press support that guarantees long-term and responsible conversion to new platforms. Finding forms for the adjustment of press support is essential. New forms of media will be promoted. We want to see increased editorial responsibility for content on social media platforms. Efforts to counter online hatred and threats will be strengthened. Police work aimed at fighting Internet crime will increase. We must have modern criminal law protection against online hating.

**A new cultural and general education initiative.** Social democracy wants to create a knowledge society based on education and training. A digital knowledge initiative is required, as well as an action program against fact resistance. All Sweden's citizens need opportunities to increase their capacity for source criticism and their media and information skills. Culture is surrounded by social thresholds, which society must help to reduce. This is why we want children and young people to be given the opportunity to experience and practice culture in different

forms. We want to work for more physical meeting places, especially in our suburbs. The museum and gallery free entrance reform will be extended in the long run to include regional institutions. Our cultural approach and cultural policy will be manifested in a programme prior to the 2018 general election.

### **3. Knowledge makes Sweden stronger**

The Swedish school will be the flagship of our social structure. Through the compensatory activities of each school, children and young people will be provided with the best preconditions for learning. We must believe in children, so that they dare to believe in themselves, show them that practice makes perfect, that with a little help you can get through difficulties - a complex text or a seemingly impossible maths problem. We will all help with this - the state, municipalities, school managers, teachers, students and parents.

Students will learn more and all schools will be good schools. We will break the trend that sees children increasingly sorted into different schools on the basis of parental income and educational background. Market mechanisms in the school system must be severely constrained and the hunt for profits from our schools stopped. Together, state and local authorities will take greater responsibility for improving school results.

More people will be able to study at vocational colleges, technical colleges and universities. Opportunities to develop on a continuous basis throughout working life will be improved. It will be possible to become more informed and to gain qualifications, study further, change careers and participate in further education all over the country. This is how we will solve the labour shortages that industry after industry are sending up warning signals about.

In global competition, Sweden will participate with the smartest ideas, the most exciting innovations and the most effective solutions. We will compete with knowledge, expertise and rapid transition on the labour market - not with low salaries.

#### **Students must learn more**

Few things are as much fun as meeting a child going to school for the first time. The joy, the anticipation and curiosity, and the shivers, the nervousness that every child feels on that day - all that is worth preserving.

The school's mission is to respond to this curiosity with a never-ending stream of knowledge and creativity, from preschool all the way up through upper secondary. In the centre of this mission are the teachers. They have one of the most important jobs and, with the right preconditions, one of the most fun jobs too.

Teachers must be valued highly and treated with respect for their professional expertise. They will get the best education. They must have proper qualifications, teach the subjects they are competent in and be well rewarded for one of the most important jobs in the community - raising our children to become knowledgeable, democratic and independent citizens. We impose high levels of demands on teachers because this profession drives the development of the school. Experiments will be replaced by long-term sustainable reforms based on research and evidence.

Preschool is the starting point for lifelong learning. Research shows that helping children early, in preschool and primary school, increases the chances of them reaching educational targets later. Small classes in primary schools and small groups of children in preschool make it easier for teachers to discover who needs help in good time. There will be more face time between teacher and student. More special education teachers can give each student the right support. We also need to make more effort to help the children and young people who are tired of school and whose motivation has flagged. Physical activity strengthens learning and health.

School must be a good place for learning - creatively and in motion some moments, quiet and calm mostly. Students must respect their teachers and each other. Parents, teachers, school managers and other school staff need to take joint responsibility with the students to ensure that everyone is treated well in school. All the students must feel safe. There will be zero tolerance of bullying.

Knowledge must come first. High levels of expectations and the belief that everyone can succeed will meet the students every day. Good study results come from hard work and the desire to learn. More time is needed for learning during the school day, and also during after school care. Reading, play and learning are to be encouraged and opportunities for homework help, extra support and improved student health will be extended. We want both athletic and aesthetic activities to be carried out in collaboration between after school care and clubs and associations.

Upper secondary school education has become almost a prerequisite for getting a job. Study guidance and counselling will be strengthened. We want to break the gender-segregated labour market by actively working to change ingrained gender roles. The status of vocational programmes needs to be improved – one way is to move the training inputs closer to working life. Academic preparatory programmes must provide good levels of knowledge that will equip young people to cope with advanced university degrees.

**The Swedish Model will be developed to include a knowledge school based on equality. We will give priority to:**

**Increased focus on knowledge.** Early intervention will characterise the Swedish school with support introduced in preschool and primary school. After school care will be developed with the

aim of accommodating extra support, homework and recreational activities. We want to increase teaching time in school and improve the quality of the teaching. We would like upper secondary school to be made compulsory and compulsory schooling extended until 18 years of age. We wish to develop summer school for everyone who does not gain proficiency in Grades 8 and 9.

**Improving the position of teachers.** School management will be strengthened. Principals and teachers will have the freedom to design education. Teaching assistants will be available in Swedish schools to provide relief for teachers. The opportunities for further education of good quality will increase. More development efforts such as the Mathematics Initiative based on systematic peer learning will be implemented. Teacher shortages to be met by higher quality in, and more places on, teacher training courses. We want to see more career options and more people who have teaching qualifications attracted back to the profession. We want more people with other academic qualifications to gain an additional teaching qualification.

**Peace and quiet in the classroom.** Teachers and school management will receive the support they need to be able to give all their students the best possible learning environment. The state will take more responsibility for strengthening teachers' leadership ability through training and monitoring in order to keep order in the classroom. We want to increase staffing and improve conditions for teachers and principals to provide security and a good work and study environment at school.

## All schools will be good schools

In school, children and young people with different experiences and backgrounds meet. It is in this meeting of pupils with different perspectives that new knowledge is created and our children and young people are prepared to become active citizens in a democratic and equal society.

Over the course of the last decade, this mixture in Swedish schools has decreased. Students with well-educated parents gather at certain schools. In other schools, the proportion of students with social difficulties is increasing. In large parts of the country, students are far from able to freely choose between many upper secondary school programmes. In other cases, municipal and independent schools compete for a limited student base and end up with half-empty classrooms.

The Swedish school system has become more unequal. Where students live, their home life and background play an increasingly important role in whether our children and young people can manage the school's learning goals. For Social Democrats, this is unacceptable. Our goal is an egalitarian school with a focus on learning and education.

Today, the Swedish school system is globally unique in that it is based on market mechanisms. No other country combines independent school choice, deregulated establishment of independent schools, publicly-funded school vouchers and profit. When the reforms behind this

liberalised school system were implemented in the 1990s, the idea was that it would improve results, strengthen equality and create a diversity of educational options tailored to different student needs.

With hindsight, it is clear that this has not happened. Result levels have fallen for many years and we are now among the medium-moderate countries in the OECD in terms of both knowledge outcomes and equality in schools. It is one of the country's greatest political failures. Many different factors have contributed to this trend, and each one must now be open to reconsideration so we can build a stronger school system.

**The Swedish Model will be developed so that all schools are good schools. We will give priority to:**

**Increased equality.** State and municipal resource allocation will take socio-economic factors into consideration. Equal opportunities require different resources. The system of school vouchers will be reviewed. Schools facing the greatest challenges will be given greater resources and opportunities to recruit the best teachers. All school organisers must try for a mixed student structure at their schools. Students will be able to choose schools, but schools will not be able to choose students. We want a single application procedure for all schools, regardless of their mode of operation. Waiting lists should not be a selection criterion. Digital solutions will be developed for collegial learning and skills development, and also for students in smaller places where they can be used to enhance the quality of education.

**More clearly-defined government control.** In order to break the growing inequality trend in the education system, the state must take greater responsibility for the development of the school system. We want to review the state school authorities' mission and governance to enhance the work of school improvement and strengthen the regional structure. We want to see stronger public planning concerning the establishment and location of independent schools. Local authorities must be awarded decisive influence here and also for the long-term planning of all school activities. The state must always be able to vouch for operations of high quality.

**School free from profits and religious influence.** Swedish school is to be a place of openness, democracy and knowledge. We want to stop commercialisation in favour of a coherent and equal knowledge school. The purpose of Swedish school should not be a profit. Profit will not be created by choosing students, reducing teacher density, investing less in skills development or having a high proportion of unqualified teachers. Diversity and freedom of choice are guaranteed. Schools will be based on knowledge, education and equality. We want a school free from religious elements, respecting the international commitments entered into by Sweden and the position of national minorities. Each student will be free to shape his or her own perception and future.

## Better opportunities for further study

Educating yourself once when young and then devoting yourself to the same job the rest of your career – that time is past. Today's changeable labour market today requires more. More people must have a higher education to get a job. Opportunities to update, validate and supplement qualifications must be improved. It must be possible to grow and change all through life.

Today the lack of skilled workers is holding Sweden back. There are more than 100 professional titles on the list of professions needing more employees. So, when we took office we got off to a flying start and to date have created the preconditions for 70 000 new training places at all levels. We have introduced a fast track for some 20 occupations, and we want to develop more so that the more than 100 000 job vacancies available in Sweden can be filled. The knowledge initiative will be expanded throughout the country.

Everyone must have good chances of continuing their studies at colleges or universities. Recruitment bases will be broadened so that more people will be the first in their family to attend higher education. The proportion of the Swedish population with a higher education qualification will increase over time. Popular education will play a continued role in lifelong learning.

Sweden will be one of the world's leading research and innovation countries. Cooperation between industry, the public sector and academia will increase in order to strengthen Swedish competitiveness. It is impossible to know when and where scientific breakthroughs occur. Consequently, it is vital to support both independent basic research and more applied research. Research funding will increase, become long-term in nature and be distributed on a gender equal basis.

**The Swedish Model will be developed to secure competence supply. We will give priority to:**

**More young people attending folk high schools, vocational colleges or universities.**

Opportunities for higher education of good quality must be ensured throughout the country. Study support to be strengthened for the people with the shortest educations. Collaboration with various regional stakeholders and industry will be strengthened. We want learning centres to be established and developed in many places in the country so that education becomes accessible to more people.

**Focus on in-demand vocational training.** Through strong vocational programmes providing academic qualifications and solutions for limited vocational fields such as specialist schools, better opportunities will be created to supply the skills needed. Vocational and adult apprenticeships must be expanded. Cooperation with the social partners, nationally and regionally, will increase to develop the educational inputs now available, for example in the form

of vocational colleges, in additional business areas. Regional planning responsibility must be introduced in order to strengthen the role of upper secondary education within competence supply.

**New opportunities to study and work at the same time.** The social partners and the Government must develop better systems for competence supply and transitions in the labour market. We need new models for study financing in which the individual, the employer and the state can contribute to assist people who are already working to develop their competence. We want the range of independent courses and supplementary education at colleges and universities to increase so that more professionals can retrain and develop their skills. The commissioned courses tasks of universities must be clarified. In addition, education may take place at flexible times or remotely.

## 4. Welfare that can be trusted

There is a clear correlation between economic strength and welfare. When we believe in the future we dare to start a family and have children, move, change jobs or train for a new qualification. Our welfare services; preschool, after school care, care of our elderly, good healthcare - all this makes it possible to combine family and working life.

Our social security policies protect us from major income cuts when life suddenly changes; you become ill, have children or lose your job. Social security and the ability to adjust to a new living situation may not be allowed to depend on whether you can afford to take out additional insurance.

When welfare encompasses everyone, individual freedom can grow. This insight is the basis of all social democratic policies. Right-wing logic is the reverse: proposals for reduced unemployment benefits, reduced sickness benefits, lower salaries and a weakened welfare. This is based on the idea that hungry wolves hunt best. This is a concept that not only increases insecurity, but holds labour force participation and development back. It is bad for the Swedish economy.

Major investments in the welfare sector must be made in the next few years as the population is growing rapidly and becoming more elderly. Local government must work with increased quantity and improved quality. Cooperation must be enhanced between the municipalities and county councils so that patients, especially the elderly, do not fall between the cracks. The governance of welfare activities must be characterised by trust in employees and locally-elected representatives. The professionals must be allowed to be professionals. Knowledge and experience will be utilised. And when this happens operations will improve.

Crucial for the financing of our future welfare system is that more people work, pay taxes and that tax revenues are used for what they are intended for. A body of regulations is necessary that stops the hunt for profits in schools, care and treatment. Revenue may not be hidden away through aggressive tax avoidance or tax evasion. Everyone has to do their part.

## **Economic policy that ensures a strong welfare system**

A sustainable economic policy creates favourable preconditions for jobs and growth. It lays the foundations for investment and safeguards welfare in the long term. Financing is secured by everyone who can work doing just that. The fight against unemployment and to increase hours worked is our overall goal.

Thanks to our responsible economic policy, a surplus is now emerging in the budget. We will use this surplus to ensure general welfare of high quality. Needs in the coming years will be substantial due to population growth and because we are getting older. There is no room for large, unfunded tax cuts. The tax cut era in Swedish politics is over. Now instead we will prioritise increases in government resources allocated to our common welfare.

Good margins in better times create room for manoeuvre when the economy busts or when demographics change. The fiscal policy framework with a surplus target and expenditure ceilings ensures good order in public finances and serves Sweden well. This has meant that the national debt has been reduced so we have also been able to reduce our surplus target. It gives us more space to apply an active finance policy including the necessary investments, while long-term sustainable economic policies are secured. Due to our responsible and proactive fiscal policy, public investment as a share of GDP has increased in recent years. A government investment plan has been developed and is reported for the same period as the expenditure ceilings are established.

We are positive to considering debt financing of certain strategic infrastructure projects, such as was used when the Öresund Bridge was built. We want to increase investments in infrastructure at the same time as safeguarding the fiscal framework. Within the framework of the pension agreement and the primary objective of ensuring future generations' pensions, a strengthening of public pension capital opportunities to invest in housing construction and infrastructure is under consideration.

**The Swedish Model will be developed by the application of a responsible economic policy that creates jobs, growth and that secures the welfare system. We will give priority to:**

**Reducing income disparity and increasing equality.** We want everyone to be part of the increasing prosperity that growth creates. Economic policies must contribute to a fair and equal

society. A gender equality analysis of proposals and reforms must be made so that the allocation of resources contributes to greater equality between women and men. We wish to appoint an equality commission.

**Safeguarding the welfare system.** Public finances in good order allow reinforcements to local government in order to strengthen the welfare system. This will be carried out well in advance in order to provide good planning preconditions. We will take control over costs and take the measures where necessary. Welfare must be protected against exploitation and against those who steal resources through outright fraud.

**Fair taxation.** Taxes will be levied according to ability to pay. We want to see a broad political overview of the tax system with the aim of a new reform aimed at securing long-term tax revenues and promoting jobs, growth and equality. Broad tax bases, tax according to sustainability, good environmental governance and neutrality between different forms of allocation are important starting points. Efforts to combat tax evasion and aggressive tax avoidance will be strengthened. Tax evasion in the sectors relying on cash payments and the exploitation of illegal labour is to be combatted. In addition, deductions for travel costs are to be examined.

## Secure welfare all through life

Universal welfare will give everyone the opportunity to travel through life well – and when you are weakest, welfare will be strongest. Everyone must contribute and everyone will benefit from welfare under the same conditions. Social Democrats are convinced that this offers the best preconditions for everyone - and our entire society - to grow and develop. Today this is not the case. The welfare system has deteriorated after years of cuts. These trends have been turned around but there is still much to be done to improve the quality of welfare operations.

Sweden is one of the best countries to grow up in, but as income gaps grow more children have been negatively affected by insecurity. Well-functioning child health and childcare means that society can identify children at risk and can support both them and their families. Family policy must be developed to counteract children's vulnerability.

Today there are many different kinds of families. Sweden is full of stepchildren, every other week parents and different shapes of families. The rules and systems must also change and adapt. Childcare must function well even for those who are single and work evenings, nights or early mornings.

Stress in working life is on the increase. Meanwhile, unpaid housework is still distributed unequally. Sick-leave rates have increased by almost 80 percent in the past six years. Two out of three are women and psychiatric diagnoses are the most common cause, for both women and

men. Sick leave is most common in the caring professions, such as social workers and practical nurses.

This trend must be broken not by impairing the security of those who are ill, but by working actively for healthier workplaces. Employees must be able to influence their work situation. Expertise, experience and professional ethics must be utilised. Health insurance will provide security and the potential to recover and be able to return to work. The goal is a long-term stable low absenteeism rate.

Society must provide assistance to the individuals who need it most. The intentions behind the Act concerning Support and Service for Persons with Certain Functional Impairments must apply. For many people with a disability this means the right to assistance and other help so they can live an independent life. Discrimination against people with disabilities must cease. Accessibility is to be improved. Working life and parenthood must be possible also for those with disabled children.

**The Swedish Model will be developed by provision of a secure welfare system all through life. We will give priority to:**

**Gender equal family policy to safeguard children.** Parental insurance must be modernised so that it works for all the different family constellations. For children's rights to their parents and for increased gender equality in society, we need individualised parental insurance, divided equally between the parents. A further step and a schedule will be developed during the next mandate period. Child care must work for all parents - even those who work irregular hours. We intend to strengthen families' financial positions. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child will become Swedish law.

**Modern social insurance system.** Our jointly-financed social security system will be preserved and developed so that people maintain their financial security even when life changes. Social security systems must be adapted to the development of society, so that the help they provide is not undermined. The principle of income loss will apply and will cover broad groups. When biases are revealed, they must be corrected so that the sustainability of, and confidence in, the system are strengthened.

**Strong support for people with disabilities.** Anyone with the right to support will get it. Personal assistance and allowance to be characterised by high quality levels and legal certainty. Funding must go to the assistance necessary, not to marketing or profit. Confidence in this reform must be strengthened. Efforts to increase access will continue. New products, services, environments and programmes to be designed so that they can be used by everyone who needs them to the greatest extent possible.

## Respect for the contribution made by pensioners

Today's seniors have laid the foundation for our welfare society. Their work has created the benefits that enable us to be healthier and live longer than ever. For most older people there will be many good years after retirement - years of leisure, socialising and family time. Many want to work longer into old age, but on their own terms. This is good. Every hour worked is needed. Their experience must be utilised.

Others with heavier tasks do not have the strength to work all the way to retirement. In the past, this group often consisted of men with heavy industrial jobs. Today it includes women who work in the welfare system. A good working environment is essential to reduce the workload and stress of many professions. It also allows for a longer and more sustainable working life.

All pensioners must be able to live on their pensions. The difference between men's and women's pension levels is unacceptable. It is a consequence of an unequal work situation, where women often took longer parental leave, greater responsibility for home and children, worked part-time in jobs with lower salaries. This exerts a major impact on pension levels.

Many older people live an active life, but for others loneliness increases. We want to reduce any isolation that may arise. For many people it is a comfort to be able to live at home as long as possible, but the continuity of home care services must be improved so that the elderly meet the same staff. When it no longer feels safe to continue to live at home, there must be a place available in a nursing home. The staff there must have the time to see each human being as an individual. New technology must be utilised to improve both the care provided and the working environment. Cooperation between home care and medical care must be strengthened.

**The Swedish Model will be developed to respect for the working lives of older people. We will give priority to:**

**Better conditions for pensioners.** We take a stand for those who built our prosperity. More action is needed to increase long-term pensions for everyone. Step by step, the unjust tax gap between pensioners and working people will be abolished. We want to improve the situations of those with the lowest pensions. Basic pension security must be reviewed and strengthened. The differences between men's and women's pensions must be reduced. Consequently, the full-time norm will apply to the entire labour market, parenthood will become more equal and salary discrimination combatted.

**Opportunities to work longer.** In order to maintain sustainable pensions and ensure the welfare of an aging population, more people will be given the opportunity to work longer. We want to see new opportunities for transition, training and career changes. More people need to start work earlier in life and age discrimination must be stopped.

**Safe care for all elderly people.** More people will be employed in elderly care so that the quality of operations can be strengthened. Tax funding for care of the elderly will be used for their welfare. The aim of elderly care may not be profit. Food provision for the elderly will maintain high quality. Staff working conditions and work environment will be developed so that there is time for conversations with the elderly and for recovery during the day. More training and professional development for nurses, assistant nurses and care assistants is necessary to secure the supply of skills. The status of assistant nurse will be strengthened and professional roles clarified. We have taken a positive position to the title of assistant nurse becoming a protected professional title/qualification.

## Good health care all over the country

Nothing is more important than for the family to be healthy. One element of basic security is that there is good health care close by when a child falls on the ice rink and ends up with a concussion or when the elderly need wounds redressed or help with prescription medications. Care that is equally good wherever you live is a basic tenet of the Swedish Model.

The care you need will often be found in good, accessible health centres. More care currently available in hospitals needs to move closer to people in the future: to health centres, local ERs and, in some cases, also into people's homes. Care needs to be better at utilising the potential of digitalisation.

Hospitals with access to the most advanced medical expertise will be available for those who become seriously ill. Medical care will be ultra-modern, equitable and of high quality. Where you live may not be allowed to make any difference to your chances of recovery.

Cancer is one of our most prevalent and worst illnesses. One in three Swedes suffer from it at some time in their lives. Long waiting periods are unacceptable when there is a suspicion of cancer. Our goal is to keep waiting times as short as possible, for treatment to be fast and of the same high quality throughout the country. Today, the differences are too great.

Many of the challenges we face in today's healthcare emanate from difficulties in educating, recruiting and retaining staff with the right skills, as well as the fact that these skills are all too often not used properly. Health care needs grow with an aging population. This development needs to be met by active preventive work and a targeted public health policy for equality in healthcare. More concerted efforts for patients with the greatest care needs are essential, for example elderly people with multiple problems. Here we see a danger that healthcare is split up and privatised through different care systems.

Mental illness is growing in Sweden. It dominates among new sick leave causes and one in five people over 65 suffer from mental illness. Many young people experience problems as early as their school days and the phenomenon is creeping down through the ages. We need to get better at prevention and early diagnosis when young people are feeling poorly. Student health is an important activity that must reach out to all children and young people. This is where everyone can go, without necessarily involving their parents.

It is expensive to go to the dentist and many adults simply do not go. It is likely that sooner or later both their health and their wallets will be affected when they finally have to go and then it will probably be very expensive. Today's system needs to be studied in order to move it closer to the healthcare system so people can benefit from regular, preventive dental care. Steps should be taken during the next mandate period to achieve more equal dental care where dental health is not a class issue.

It has taken decades to build up a care and treatment system in Sweden that is top class internationally as far as medical quality is concerned and at the same time provides the same services for everyone. We should be proud of it. However the number of private health insurance schemes is increasing. This undermines the Swedish model and reduces the long-term willingness to pay taxes for the general medical system. This is both unfair and inefficient. In Sweden, our healthcare should maintain such high quality that private healthcare insurance is not required.

**The Swedish Model will be developed to provide a good standard of care and treatment all over the country. We will give priority to:**

**Care closer to home with shorter queues.** A broadly-based access reform will be implemented. We want to introduce a patient contract which means that patients receive a schedule for referrals, appointments and any treatment immediately. Health centres staffed with doctors, nurses and other key professionals will be located close to where people live. Faster treatment will be given using new technologies and digital solutions. Student health will be strengthened and school coordination around this work should be strengthened. It is particularly important to pay attention to early discovery and prevention of mental ill health among students. The right to equal student health care will be given priority.

**Better cancer care.** Waiting times must be cut in cancer care and the quality of care ensured throughout the country. Hospitals with highly-specialised expertise and access to the latest knowledge and primary technology will be available in several places in the country with different specialties. University hospitals to be owned and operated by the state. Research, education and highly specialised emergency care to remain together.

**Care according to need, not the contents of your wallet.** The principle that health care is to be provided according to need and not according to wallet must apply. No one should be able to buy their way past the queue to publicly-funded hospitals. Those with the greatest need come first. Publicly-funded health will be so good and so readily available that additional healthcare insurance is unnecessary. We want to eliminate the tax deductibility of private health insurance.

## 5. The world's first fossil-free welfare state

The climate crisis is perhaps humanity's most difficult challenge. Social Democrats want to take up that challenge by modernising Sweden. We have a strong tradition of transformation. We welcome new ideas and see opportunities in change, thanks to the security provided for the individual through our strong welfare system, an equal education system and good opportunities for industry and business.

With the transition to a fossil-free society, we can respond to the climate threat and simultaneously reduce unemployment by creating new green jobs. In the words of Anna Lindh: *"From two problems, we will make one opportunity."*

For a long period of time we have discussed the threat of climate change as if it were something that is generations ahead and concerns the eventual survival of the planet. Today, climate change is here. The Arctic ice is melting faster than scientists predicted, storms are becoming more common, growing seasons are affected and the poorest people in the world suffer the most. In short: this is urgent.

It was with this insight that world leaders in 2015 agreed on the strong joint goal of keeping global temperature rise as far below 2 degrees as possible and to work for 1.5 degrees. We will take the lead. Sweden will be the world's first fossil-free welfare state.

### Green jobs are the jobs of the future

Sweden has what it takes to adjust. We have the technology, expertise, resources, and we have the will. Policy, research, business and civil society are working together to make Sweden a leading-edge green country. We will introduce a climate framework whose goal is that Sweden by 2045 will have no net emissions of greenhouse gases to the atmosphere, which means that emissions must be at least 85 per cent lower than they were in 1990.

Climate adaptation is a great opportunity to generate more jobs and better quality of life. A new global market is rapidly developing for goods and services that limit emissions. Swedish companies are ready to sell the innovations that the world demands. Investments in environmentally-friendly energy, infrastructure for fossil-free transportation and reduced energy consumption are good for the environment, and for the Swedish economy.

Rural jobs and companies, with access to Sweden's natural assets: meadows, forests, water, wind and sun, carry the key to the future of Sweden. Through the green industry, we can produce biomass and renewable materials that can replace fossil fuel options for the chemicals in materials in both vehicles and in industrial processes. Through better and more comprehensive labelling and requirements during procurement, we can promote organic and local foodstuff production. Both national and local inputs are necessary to achieve sustainable consumption.

The rich countries account for the greatest emissions and at the same time they attract the greatest benefits. Social Democrats will work to make climate policy more justly designed, both nationally and globally. Sweden builds its credibility by choosing the international before the national and that the municipal level takes precedence while we still take local preconditions into consideration.

**The Swedish Model will develop so that Sweden will be on the leading edge as concerns achieving the UN climate goals and become the world's first fossil-free welfare state. We will give priority to:**

**Leadership globally and in the EU.** Sweden will move the high-level climate ambitions of the EU forward. We want stricter emissions trading and more countries taking greater responsibility. We will work to ensure that the EU adopts a phase-out plan for coal power. Swedish surplus of emission allowances will not be sold to other countries. Sweden will be a strong donor to the UN's Green Climate Fund.

**Sustainable transport.** More goods will be transported by rail and sea. The share of electric cars on the market will increase significantly. Truck transport must become more energy efficient. Renewable fuels will be promoted via long-term, sustainable regulations and the infrastructure for new fuels being disseminated all over the country. Airlines will bear their own environmental impact. Our cities and communities plus our infrastructure must be planned in a modern climate-smart fashion. Based on the priorities walking, cycling and public transport, sustainable travel will be stimulated all over the country, especially in urban areas where car traffic must be reduced.

**Innovations for a fossil-free Sweden.** Sweden will create green jobs by stimulating innovations for fossil-free goods, materials and fuels from green industries. We will create new jobs in the circular economy by re-engineering production and making it possible to demand these products. We would like to promote innovations that reduce emissions in the service sector too.

## A more secure energy supply with 100 percent renewable energy

Sweden will enjoy a robust electrical power generation system with a high level of delivery reliability and low environmental impact that delivers electricity at competitive prices. The multi-party agreement in the energy sector is a milestone that creates long-term market players, particularly electricity-intensive industries, and contributes to job creation and investment in Sweden.

Renewable electricity production will be expanded so that the electrical generation system is 100 percent renewable by 2040. The modernisation and upgrading of hydro-electric power, wind power, energy storage, electricity from high-efficiency cogeneration based on waste and biomass and expansion of photovoltaics, Sweden will manage the phasing out of nuclear power, while maintaining a secure supply of electricity.

**The Swedish Model will be developed with secure, sustainable electricity supply. We will give priority to:**

**Expansion of renewable energy.** We wish to promote more investment in wind, solar, biomass and other renewable energy sources. It will become easier to be an electricity micro-producer. Research and innovation in energy must focus on what contributes to climate adaptation and strengthens Swedish sustainable growth and exports.

**Continued energy efficiency.** Investment in energy efficiency will increase. Companies and industrial associations will be involved in efforts to develop targets and instruments that lead to improvements in the energy efficiency area.

**Reducing the risk of power deficit.** Use of electricity for heating will decrease. Electricity networks must be developed to handle both varying production levels and customers who change their usage patterns. The trend toward smart grids and expansion of electricity networks will continue. The electricity market will continue to evolve so that there will be no risk of power deficits during peak demand periods.

## Strengthened environmental activities

Sweden is a country in which the environment is at the forefront. The Swedish Social Democrats initiated the first UN environmental conference in Stockholm in 1972 and we have been proactive throughout the entire journey to today's global environmental goals. This high level of ambition remains.

Today, the EU is our most important arena in global environmental work. Sweden must be a model as concerns following EU environmental and nature conservation directives. When required, we will be the driving force behind tougher environmental legislation.

The market cannot handle this transition on its own, but together policy and market can achieve a lot. When long-term, clearly-defined rules are set up to make it more profitable for companies and individuals to go green, then change will occur rapidly. Consequently, instruments must be developed in balance with competitiveness and jobs.

Around the country, the municipalities and the regions will take greater responsibility for transition. Here there are major opportunities for green, sustainable urban development. Charging posts for cars are installed. New bike lanes opened. Food waste becomes biogas. It is becoming easier to make environmentally-sound choices. We want consumption to be sustainable and consist of more locally-produced and climate-smart foodstuffs.

**The Swedish Model will be developed to ensure a good living environment. We will give priority to:**

**Reducing the amount of harmful chemicals in our food and our environment.** We want to see tougher chemical regulations in the EU and internationally. Consumer demand for organic and locally-produced food must be met with increased, sustainable, Swedish food production. Endocrine disrupters must not be allowed to affect people and the environment, heavy metals and other harmful substances to be restricted or replaced. The eutrophication of the seas will be stopped. Antibiotic resistance must be given higher priority on the EU agenda. Places where children spend their days should be non-toxic. Access to clean drinking water must be secured and our potable water will enjoy better protection.

**Environmental targets within the planet's boundaries.** The efforts now being made to achieve environmental goals will continue. Future environmental systems will be developed with measurable and ambitious goals that help us to live within the planet's boundaries. Measures to promote biodiversity, climate, marine and non-toxic living form a priority. Sweden will work to fulfil the global sustainability goals.

**An economy that makes it cheaper to choose climate smart.** Efforts to achieve a sustainable future are channelled via a green circular economy. The collection of waste for recycling must be increased and made simpler and more effective. The spread of plastic in our land and waters will decrease. Deposits to be introduced on more products such as batteries and household electronics. We need new instruments and bans on hazardous chemicals and measures to ensure clean air and clean water.

## 6. Cooperation for common security

We live in troubled times when populism, religious and political extremism are spreading in Europe and in the world. Many countries are turning inwards and channelling people's anger and frustration against globalisation, against immigration, against institutions and elite groups.

For Social Democrats the answer is, and always has been, a different one. We are an international movement founded on the ideas of solidarity, equality and freedom. Our struggle is shared with friends around the world: those who fight for better working conditions in Tunisia, those who work for democracy and human rights in Burma, those who fight against corruption in Macedonia. Our aim is global justice.

Trade, migration, and international cooperation have laid the foundation for our prosperity and our security. We depend on close exchanges with countries in Europe and other parts of the world. In troubled times we do not withdraw into our fortress, we seek more cooperation. We will work harder to achieve détente in our geographical area.

Common solutions are the way forward. If the new global development goals are to be reached, peace is to be achieved and climate agreements fulfilled, role models and advocates of just and sustainable global development are required. This will be Sweden's role in the world.

We will increase security as a nonaligned country along with other. Our goal is to break the logic of confrontation, deterrence and zero-sum games and to instead emphasise détente, disarmament and confidence-building measures in order to create mutual benefits. We will build common security.

## Global development for peace and justice

We have a shared responsibility for building a safe and sustainable world. Globalisation has given us new tools. Opportunities to exchange ideas, be connected to the world and to fight poverty are greater than ever. In the last 25 years, both global poverty and child mortality have been reduced by half. Nine out of ten girls and boys go to school every morning. Technical advances make sustainable development possible in both rich and poor countries. More people live longer, are healthier and enjoy more freedom than ever before.

But our times are contradictory. Parallel to this fantastic growth we see armed conflict that has become increasingly brutal with more civilian deaths, sexual violence as a weapon in war and more refugees than ever before in modern times. The global economy is characterised by intense competition, and in its wake constant attempts to reduce salaries and impair working conditions. The lure of easy solutions favours fundamentalism in a conflict-filled world of growing religious and political extremism which is expressed in the persecution of minority groups as one example.

Social Democratic foreign policy is active, courageous, feministic and constructive. More than ever we need to stand up for the principles of international law and human rights. Maintaining every individual's right to protection against discrimination is our joint responsibility. Sweden will be a global voice for sexual and reproductive health and rights, and the rights of every individual regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity.

Millions of people are exploited in the trafficking of human beings. The majority are women and children who are used and forced into prostitution. We will contribute to international efforts to stop trafficking and help its victims.

Stronger support for the UN is vital. Sweden will take an active role in the UN Security Council of which we are a temporary member 2017 to 2018. After years of stagnation as concerns nuclear disarmament, Sweden is now taking up the issue of a ban on nuclear weapons. This year will begin important negotiations concerning a global ban under the United Nations. All measures must be considered in the work of banning nuclear weapons globally. Both legislation and nuclear-free zones can be considered as a means of achieving this goal. Our vision is a world without nuclear weapons.

EU continues to be Sweden's most important foreign policy arena. Together with the other member states, we are building common security. The breadth of security policy instruments such as diplomacy, mediation and confidence-building measures will help to prevent threats. The deterioration in the security situation in close proximity to Sweden, including in the Arctic, is to be addressed using enhanced cooperation. Dialogue remains our most important instrument for stability and detente.

The war in Syria continues to cause enormous suffering, not least due to repeated chemical warfare attacks on the civilian population. When attempts at peace talks are sabotaged time and again, the world must show their anger against the Syrian regime, and against all the forces contributing to the war. Sweden will, through our membership of the EU, through our place in the UN Security Council and through our strong, diplomatic tools, help build world public opinion which will force the parties to make peace.

Combating Daesh and its operations must continue. This terrorist organisation must be pushed back through active international cooperation, including in the global coalition. However military forces to combat terror groups are not enough to establish security. Through increased development cooperation, Sweden can contribute to creating a future for the people who have lived under the Daesh terror regime, a future in which they can live a dignified life.

This year, Israel will have been occupying Palestine for 50 years. The situation is deteriorating all the time with new illegal settlements. Our goal is a two-state solution with Israel and Palestine

living side by side in peace and security. Our recognition of the State of Palestine is aimed at strengthening the moderate forces in Palestine and enabling diplomatic progress. All parties must renounce violence and permit peace negotiations. The wall in occupied territories must be demolished and Palestinian refugees given the right to return. We will continue to work to ensure that goods from occupied territories are labelled as such.

After more than 40 years, it is time for the West Saharan people to be given their right to self-determination. We will support the UN process to find a fair and mutually-acceptable negotiated solution. We will assist West Saharan refugees with humanitarian and political support.

Sweden's development policies are recognised internationally. We are one of the largest donors in the UN system and we are one of the few countries to live up to the UN one percent aid target. This gives our words great weight internationally, but it also brings a special responsibility. Our aid is to be effective, assist in humanitarian crises and so contribute to democratic development. For long-term global development, more than aid is necessary. What is required is a holistic approach that includes all policy areas, for example climate issues, global food supply, trade, migration and security.

For globalisation to benefit everyone, we need to work for better working conditions and increased social dialogue between employers and employees. It is basically a question of justice, but our Swedish experience also shows that this leads to greater productivity, less sick leave and fewer industrial injuries. It is good for people and good for businesses.

**The Swedish Model will be developed to encompass deeper global cooperation. We will give priority to:**

**Building common security.** The EU global strategy will strengthen its management of the challenges ahead, not least in the field of security and defence. We will actively participate in civil and military crisis management. Sweden has a place on the UN Security Council 2017-2018 and will work to prevent relapse into conflict and stress the link between security and development.

**Developing a feminist foreign policy.** The fulfilment of women's and girls' fundamental human rights is a prerequisite for achieving the broader foreign policy objectives of peace, security and sustainable development. More women will participate as mediators in peace processes and be included in peacekeeping missions, as this contributes to the sustainability of peace agreements concluded.

**Implementation of Agenda 2030.** Our development cooperation will be based on the 17 global objectives and encompass all policy areas. The EU will be strengthened as a global actor for

development, free and fair trade and the defence of democracy. A new global handshake between labour, capital and society must be developed – the Global Deal.

## **A responsible migration policy characterised by solidarity**

Diversity is part of the explanation of Sweden's success. Without immigration, our country would be poorer – economically, socially and culturally.

Refugee policy is based on everyone's moral duty to provide protection for people on the run from war and oppression. The world is plagued by many difficult conflicts and wars. More than 65 million people have been forced from their homes. Managing migration issues and refugee flows is one of the greatest challenges of our times. No country, no continent and no organisation can handle this challenge alone. But together we can make a difference. This requires global leadership and shared responsibility.

Social Democratic migration policy is more than its national refugee policy. It begins with an active foreign policy and a progressive development policy which does its utmost to prevent war, contributes to peace and reconstruction when conflicts end, which creates the preconditions for long-term economic development. Immigration policy is a part of a complete policy of solidarity in order to strengthen democratic development, respect for human rights and sustainable development.

The right to seek asylum is a basic human right, but providing protection for refugees can never be solely one individual country's responsibility. It must be shared. Consequently, it may not be possible to choose the country that offers you protection. The cases of those seeking asylum in our country should be examined in a legally secure manner. Anyone who is in need of protection will be allowed to stay. Anyone who is denied asylum has to return. We stand up for regulated immigration because we do not want parallel societies where people are exploited in a grey labour market.

In 2015, more than 160 000 asylum seekers came to Sweden. In the autumn, the situation became untenable. A good reception could no longer be guaranteed, and several basic functions of society were severely strained. This led to the Government pushing through temporary asylum legislation more in line with other countries in the EU. Sweden introduced both internal border control and ID checks. The number of asylum seekers has since fallen sharply.

Sweden has shouldered great responsibility for the global refugee crisis. Since the war in Syria broke out in 2011, Sweden has given shelter to more than 140 000 Syrians. It is our greatest humanitarian effort ever, and it was possible thanks to the fantastic efforts of the country's municipalities and government agencies, but also thanks to our NGOs and popular movements.

We continue to take great responsibility, despite tighter regulations. In 2016, more than 67 000 asylum seekers were granted a residence permit in Sweden.

Refugee reception must be sustainable. There must be sustainable conditions allowing us to receive asylum seekers in a good manner and to give those who are permitted to stay the preconditions to live and work. Sweden must take its share of responsibility for refugees, but this requires a well-functioning, common asylum system in the EU, with more harmonised legislation and implementation. It is not possible for Sweden to apply legislation that is substantially different to other countries in the EU.

Opportunities for labour immigration are vital to Sweden's economic development. This should focus on occupations where there are major shortages and where people with the right qualifications cannot be found on the Swedish labour market. Jobs that require little or no qualifications will primarily be filled by unemployed people who already live in Sweden.

**The Swedish Model will be developed to encompass a responsible refugee policy. We will give priority to:**

**Increased global cooperation.** Sweden will be a driving force within the EU and globally to defend the right to asylum and to ensure more countries take responsibility for people fleeing to find a safe haven. It is therefore vital to work to establish more legal routes for people in need of protection. Both increased resettlement and greater humanitarian efforts are necessary. We will work for more, and improved, coordination globally. The root causes that force people to flee should be combatted through long-term development cooperation. Positive effects of migration must be utilised.

**Shared responsibility in the EU.** Asylum seekers who come to the EU must receive equal treatment, and every country will be involved and share responsibility. Both asylum legislation and refugee reception must be further harmonised. The principle position of the Social Democrats is that permanent residence permits and the opportunity to reunite families increases security and promotes good establishment of refugees. We will work in the EU for improvements of these aspects.

**Order in Swedish refugee policy.** Ruthless refugee smuggling must be combatted. We want to increase the number of quota refugees to Sweden via UNHCR. The case examination by the Migration Agency will be legally secure and effective. Refugee reception will create opportunities for newcomers to quickly get to work or to start studies. Those who are refused must return home. All municipalities must share in the responsibility for receiving new arrivals.

## Strong defence with continued military non-alignment

Our security policy will be clear, long-term and without abrupt changes. Current non-participation in military alliances remains. This is a position that has never meant inaction, but rather active responsibility for detente and increased security, for our country and for the region as a whole. We say no to membership of NATO.

In 2015 a long-term trend of defence funding cuts was broken in a multi-party decision to gradually strengthen our military capability. This is taking place against the background of a deteriorating security situation in our region. Exercises and intelligence operations in the Baltic region have increased. Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea and their continuing aggression in eastern Ukraine threatens European security.

Lobbying operations, cyber operations and disinformation are increasing and Sweden has also been targeted. The EU southern neighbourhood area is characterised by instability, armed conflict and terrorism. The outcome of the US election has contributed to increased uncertainty about the US role in European security.

A credible Swedish total defence capability, military and civil, to maintain our territorial integrity, our fundamental values and democracy are a prerequisite for our military non-alignment and essential in troubled times. Increased Swedish military defence capability raises the threshold for hostile intervention, but also gives a clear signal to the world that our country takes its security responsibilities seriously. Sweden's defence will be modern, efficient and withstand both traditional and new security threats. Regulations governing the export of war materiel are to be modernised and will include the democracy criteria.

**The Swedish Model will be developed by continued military non-alignment. We will give priority to:**

**Upgrading military capabilities.** The capacity of operational units will be given priority and the total defence capability will be secured. The availability of the necessary trained personnel will be put in place and the reactivated conscription to military service for both men and women will be used to achieve this.

**Enhanced international cooperation.** Defence and security cooperation with countries, regions and organisations in our neighbourhood will be deepened. Cooperation with Finland is particularly important. The transatlantic link remains essential. The EU interstate security and defence cooperation will be developed, as will collaboration concerning security in the Arctic.

**Reinforced, coordinated readiness to meet new threats.** Security policy will be developed to withstand increasingly complex security threats. Sweden will be able to meet the threats of

terrorism and violent extremism, conflict risks resulting from climate change and pandemics, cyber-attacks and external attacks on vital public IT systems.

## **A fair and gender-equal Europe for everyone, not just for some**

The European Union was formed to secure peace and freedom through cooperation and trade. Countries have been linked more closely together and prosperity has increased through the expansion of the internal market. Today, we can study, work or start, operate and expand a company throughout the EU. This is one of the most important successes of the European project.

But now EU's strength and unity is threatened. Britain has decided to leave. Economic recovery is moving too slowly. Youth unemployment is still sky high in many countries and there is still great poverty. The refugee crisis has exposed a genuine unwillingness to take joint responsibility. Extreme nationalistic parties have made gains in many elections, both nationally and in the EU Parliament. The Union's basic values are under attack in several member states. EU tools for maintaining the rule of law, democracy and human rights must be sharpened up. Today it is even more important to work to ensure the EU anti-discrimination legislation is strengthened. The goal is comprehensive legislation covering all grounds for discrimination.

EU challenges are to be met with better political solutions that benefit everyone. Openness and transparency will characterise this cooperation. EU's main priority must be cross-border problems. The member states are stronger together than separately when it comes to solving them. The issues that matter most to Europe's citizens must be the focus - migration, climate change, jobs and workers' rights. Sometimes binding common regulations are necessary for all member states to achieve the desired political result. Swedish Social Democracy is to be a constructive, bridge-building and positive force, preferably together with Social Democrats in other European countries.

The EU should be for the people. We will continue to develop the EU to achieve more jobs and stronger economic growth. The single market with free circulation of people, goods, services and capital, is an important tool in this work. The expanding growing economic pie must be distributed more fairly. The EU must never be reduced to becoming a tool for the market alone. For Social Democrats, the EU is also important so that people can live a better life. Otherwise, confidence in the EU may be eroded. Competition should not take place through poorer conditions, cutting taxes and weakening environmental rules. Social justice must be prioritised, otherwise confidence in the EU will be eroded. We aim for progressive trade agreements and to eradicate trade barriers while standing up for the environment, the interests of employees and human health.

The Swedish Model will be developed by increasing cooperation within Europe. We will give priority to:

**A strong internal market open to the world.** A third of Swedish jobs are dependent on exports. Work on dismantling trade barriers must continue. Our internal market should be open to the world.

**Good working conditions for everyone working in the EU.** We want to see a Europe that stands up for good, equal conditions for everyone working within the Union, which defends the human right to safe workplaces and union organisation. A social protocol should be added to EU treaties to ensure equal pay and conditions for equal work in accordance with the rules and agreements in the country of employment.

**Strengthened cohesion in the EU.** All member states must stand up for joint decisions and take their share of the resultant responsibilities. Countries that do not live up to their commitments should not benefit fully from EU structural funds. Both rights and duties must characterise cooperation.

**SVENSKA  
MODELLEN  
SKA UTVECKLAS  
INTE AVVECKLAS**



Socialdemokraterna

FRAMTIDSPARTIET