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Socialdemokraterna
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Security in a new era

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

5 Too many people in our country do not share in the prosperity that our economic development has created. People feel that they do not get what they expect from society.

10 This is a dangerous development. Sweden's entire success story is based on our society gradually becoming a little freer, a little more equal and 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.

15 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 in 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.

20 Consequently, we are developing the Swedish Model so that we will 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
25 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.

30 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.

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

In these troubled times, we need more cohesion than ever before. It isn't 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.

5

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

10 **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 arrivals' lead time into employment must be reduced. This is how Sweden can continue to move towards full employment.

15 **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. This is how we achieve social cohesion in Sweden.

20 **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 all students with good opportunities to learn. This is how Sweden can develop a school system that is equal and shows leading edge knowledge results.

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We will have a welfare system that can be trusted. As safety 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.

30

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. This is how we will secure a future for coming generations.

35 **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 in which more countries shoulder their responsibilities. We will be a strong voice for poverty reduction, trade and detente. This is how we will solve global challenges.

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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.”

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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 a better future

The Social Democrats have always set the bar high, and used the 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.

5

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.

10

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 good working conditions and salaries. 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.

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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

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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.

30

Many people feel today that 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 in abandoned petrol stations.

35

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 letter conversations. The opportunity to meet face to face must also be there.

5 Digitalisation means that more people can work 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 a nearby urban area or have your home in a satellite municipality and commute to the inner city.

10 The housing shortage is acute and more housing is needed as the population grows more rapidly. This shortage inhibits the 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 move to study or take a new job. At our previous Party Congress, we decided to implement an aggressive construction program and build 250 000 new homes by 2020. This has begun. Last
15 year 64 000 new homes were started. When our target is reached, we will map out the route to 2025. The housing shortage will be remedied by the construction of homes!

We want to see more rental units, good housing for seniors, student housing, mixed
20 neighbourhoods, with detached houses, terrace houses and apartment buildings in order to break growing residential segregation. 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:

25 **Continued massive construction.** 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.

30 **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. 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 will begin, as well as the planning of regional public
35 transport in order to establish good connections to the new stations. Continued rapid expansion of fixed and mobile broadband will occur. By 2025, the entire country will have access to broadband.

Decentralisation for more jobs and increased growth. In order to take advantage of the capacity of growth across Sweden, business and industry and labour market policy must become better adapted to regional conditions. Regional competence platforms, where the social partners play an important role, will have more influence over resources. Support to help companies to increase their exports will be available throughout the country. There will be continued investment in universities and various forms of learning centres. Government agencies will have a presence all over the country.

Smart industry and growing small enterprises

Four years ago, the then conservative Prime Minister said that Swedish industry was "basically gone". The Conservatives do not understand that the foundation of the Swedish Model that has built, and still builds, Sweden's growth and prosperity is successful industrial companies. As a result, the Conservative 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 something completely different. Industry is Sweden's growth engine. Together with industry-related service companies, they employ a million people, and most of our exports originate from the industry sector. So we will do everything we can to assist industry with the rapid transition that characterises our times. Together with the social partners, we want to make the Swedish system of short-time work during temporary production declines more competitive.

Industrial innovation 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 push for more sustainable production. For instance, new technologies as 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. 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 small businesses develop, grow and hire more people.

A stronger business environment requires a comprehensive policy for companies in the different phases they go through. Sweden's entrepreneurs need to be at the top as concerns digitalisation and digital maturity in order to strengthen their competitive edge.

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 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 shortened. Income security systems will be designed so that self-employed, small business owners and people who walk in and out of the entrepreneurial role also receive the same protection as others.

Everyone who can work must work

Work lays the foundations for everything. It 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.

Today the right-wing parties have introduced proposals to weaken working conditions and reduce salaries in the labour market as a way to fight unemployment. We say no. We fight for the right to decent salaries and conditions. 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.

At the same time as many people feel that they cannot work as much as they want due to the limits imposed by involuntary, uncertain part-time and hourly 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. So 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, 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 will 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 to be met. Over 100 000 newly arrivals will enter the labour market up to 2020. This is a mixed group. Some have extensive education, training and experience, others have little or no education and training. This will require more training, more effective language training, improved job matching and validation of newly arrivals' skills.

The Swedish economy is driven by increased productivity. We face the future with new innovations, better education and rapid transitions. At the same time the entrance to 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 or in many cases assigned to professionals who are currently in short supply. Many of those who have difficulty in getting jobs can help by relieving existing staff of these additional tasks. This applies in municipalities, county councils and the private sector.

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 decent salaries. 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 continue to work for the abolition of general fixed-term contract employment (allmän visstid) in the Employment Protection Act.

Secure employment and secure transition. Unemployment insurance will serve as transition insurance. It is important that more people join the insurance system and therefore it will become cheaper. The national agreement between the trade 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 employment will be the norm throughout the labour market. 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 a good work environment and early rehabilitative efforts should be strengthened.

More routes to jobs. In order to successfully manage supply of competence across the Swedish labour market, it is essential to have more training places aimed at occupations that are in demand and open up more career paths. Everyone unemployed is to be offered 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 more matching actors who can function as bridges between employers and people with employment support so that it becomes easier to employ, for private employers too. More people with disabilities that impair their capacity to work must be given the opportunity to work.

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 worst global refugee crisis since World War II means that Sweden, at the same time, is facing the greatest integration challenge ever. This requires more effort 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.

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 all children enjoy 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 to be 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, all people are equal, but also because it is smart. A just society is also a strong society.

Where you grow up and live today 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. So we have changed the direction of Swedish politics. We have replaced the 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 until 2025. It is based on broad cooperation between municipalities, civil society, governments and researchers. There will be no more short-term, individual projects. Now it is necessary to 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. 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 confronts us with

great 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. So 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.

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A society with high unemployment rates will always be difficult to hold together. Today's employment rates in 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.

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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 teaching quality deteriorating for those already attending school. One critical factor in our success both at work and at school is that all the municipalities shoulder and share this responsibility.

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Together, we must also fight the prevalence of begging and its causes. Begging is not a way out of poverty. 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, and 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.

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

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We intend to legally prevent people from making money out of other people's begging. In addition, it will be easier to evict squatters, also from private land, and we want to review of the Public Order Act. 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, relevant industrial associations and NGOs.

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

5 **Shortening the route to a job.** Swedish studies, validation of qualifications, expertise and professional experience must occur more rapidly. More opportunities to begin work 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.

10 **More resources to schools operating in the toughest conditions.** Extras 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. For newly-arrived
15 students who are older, language introduction must be strengthened. We want more schools to take responsibility for the introduction of newly-arrived children by, for example, imposing a ceiling on the proportion of newly arrivals in the same school as research shows that this exerts a major impact on results.

20 **A housing policy with shared responsibility for newly arrivals.** More smaller homes are needed. Types and sizes of housing units are to be mixed. The apartments in the large-scale developments of the 1960s (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.. As a first step, we will review the opportunities of imposing conditions for their
25 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 must be countered by all means possible. The Social Democratic Party will stand at the forefront of this struggle.

30 When belief in the future is lost, 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
35 place of their own.

Gang-related crime is on the increase in all three of the major cities, and also in other parts of the country and with it increases in weapons crimes and violence. It is a frightening development that today there are residential areas in Sweden where one in three women are reluctant to go out

alone after dark, where young people fall victim to deadly force and where people fail to intervene when they see someone in distress.

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

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Crime is born out of inequality, insecurity and substance abuse. Successful crime prevention requires early intervention and social involvement. Municipalities must operate active on 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 an 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 reintegration of former offenders.

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The rule of law must always react strongly against crime. Through the sanctions generated by a crime we demonstrate our values and strengthens what is right and wrong. Those who commit crimes must expect severe punishment. 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. 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 get killed in criminal disputes. It is crucial that the police force prevents and solves more crimes.

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In recent years we have witnessed horrific acts of terrorism around Europe - on Utøya, in Copenhagen, Brussels, Paris, Berlin. We must find the strength to consider the idea that attacks may also strike our country. Sweden will be well equipped. 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.

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

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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. Social work 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 a particular focus on investments in leisure activities and sports in socially vulnerable areas.

- 5 **More police where they are most needed.** All residents must expect available and effective policing. The police must have good capacity to investigate crimes committed and treat victims in a good way. 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.
- 10 **Vigorous action against violence against women.** More focus will be put on prevention. Support for children who witness domestic violence will be improved. Women victims must receive support, protection and assistance to complete the entire legal process. More offenders will be prosecuted. 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
- 15 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
- 20 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 standing up for them and not giving way if differences or cultural conflicts arise. Equality and equal opportunities
- 25 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 knowledge is
- 30 essential for democracy to work. Fewer and fewer people today are using the free and open media. More and more people use the information that confirms their worldview, and do not question it. The media landscape is in a state of ongoing change which means that local journalism has been dismantled. This is worrying.

- 35 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 gives our country enormous opportunities. But it is an

opportunity that must be managed well, otherwise it might be abused or used by destructive forces. Threats, hate and misinformation online are examples of such activities.

5 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 the analogue or digital platforms, we need journalistic presence in the entire country in the future too.

10 The transformation of our media habits should not be a threat, it should be an opportunity. 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 a prerequisite for a functioning knowledge-based society and a strong democracy.

15 People must participate and take joint responsibility for the development of society - not as customers or consumers but as citizens. The work of clubs and 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 strengthen democratic values.

20 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.

25 Today it is more important than ever to provide inspiration and guidance in order to understand the world around us. The individual's ability for self-reflection in order to orient themselves in the world is essential, as well as their need to meet others. Culture schools, county theatres, museums, regional music institutions, non-profit cultural organisations and libraries contribute to such a vibrant cultural life. Through common experience we create cohesion and community all
30 over our country.

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

35 **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. We

want to see tougher regulations for confessional schools, and we want to strengthen supervision to ensure that all education is free from religious and political influence.

A pro-active media policy. It is essential to identify methods to convert press subsidies so that the entire country has access to relevant journalistic coverage. We want the public service networks to be strong throughout Sweden. New forms of media will be promoted. We want to see increased editorial responsibility for content also 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. We wish to implement a digital education initiative. An action programme against resistance to facts - the phenomenon of refusing to be influenced by facts that contradict your own opinion - will be developed. Young people and their parents need opportunities to increase their source criticism ability and to improve media and information literacy. The free admission reform for museums will be expanded in the longer term to include regional institutions. More children and young people will take part in cultural and music schools of high quality. We want more libraries to evolve into meeting places and open knowledge centres.

3. Knowledge makes Sweden stronger

The Swedish school will be the flagship of our social structure. Children and young people must be given 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 trends that mean children are increasingly sorted into different schools on the basis of parental income and educational background. Market mechanisms in the school system must be greatly constrained and the hunt for profits from our schools stopped. Together, state and local authorities will take greater responsibility for improving school results.

More young adults 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 gain qualifications, study further, change careers and participate in further education in the entire country. This is how we will solve the labour shortages that industry after industry is sounding alerts 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, but also the shivers and 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.

Research shows that helping children early, in preschool and primary school, increases the chances of them reaching educational targets later in school. 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.

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 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. More time is needed for learning during the school day, and also during after school care. Reading, play and learning is to be encouraged and opportunities for homework help, extra support and improved student health will be extended. In the long term, both athletic and aesthetic activities may be carried out in collaboration between after school care and clubs and associations.

Upper secondary school education has almost become a prerequisite for getting a job. The status of vocational programmes needs to be improved, including through closer ties to working life and through better guidance and counselling. We want to break the gender- segregated labour market by actively working to change ingrained gender roles. 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 by 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 primary schools through more school days. We would like upper secondary school to be made compulsory and compulsory schooling extended until 18 years of age. Summer school will be made mandatory for those who do 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 at all schools to relieve teachers of their administrative tasks. The opportunities to further improve complementary training 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 study additional teacher training.

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 to strengthen teachers' leadership ability in order to keep order in the classroom, including through training and monitoring. 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. Strengths are developed when the black-clad poet successfully completes a group task on democracy along with the guy who has his sights set on becoming an economist. When the football girl in the seventh-grade crams for a social science test together with those who came to Sweden just a few years ago. When the child who does not have anyone at home good at maths gets help from someone who has already finished all the sums in the book.

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 competing for a limited student base 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 students' different needs.

5 With hindsight it is clear that this has not happened. Results 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.

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

15 **Increased equality.** Equal opportunities require different resources. Consequently, the system of school vouchers will be reviewed and the allocation of resources become more fair. In order that quality will be high at schools in smaller communities, digital solutions for peer learning and skills development will be fostered. Schools facing the greatest challenges will be given greater resources and better opportunities to recruit the best teachers. Students will be able to choose schools, but schools will not be able to select students. We want a single application procedure for all schools, regardless of the mode of operation, to ensure that students with different backgrounds meet. One proposal is removing the waiting time as a selection criterion.

20 **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. 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. The state must always be able to vouch for operations of high quality.

30 **Stop the hunt for profits.** We want to stop commercialisation to the benefit of a coherent knowledge-based school. Profits to be significantly limited, while diversity and freedom of choice will be guaranteed. Profit may not be created by selecting students, reducing staff numbers, investing less in education or employing a high proportion of unqualified teachers. School will be based on knowledge, education and equality.

Better opportunities to study further

35 Educating yourself once when young and then devoting yourself to the same job the rest of your career – that time is past. The labour market today requires more. More people must have a higher education to get a job. The opportunities to update and supplement qualifications must be improved.

Today the lack of skilled workers is holding Sweden back. There are more than 100 professional titles on the list of professions in which there is shortage today. So since we took office we have got off to a flying start and 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.

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 undertake higher education. A large proportion of the Swedish population must have a higher education qualification.

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

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

More young people attending vocational colleges or university. Opportunities for higher education must be ensured throughout the country. Collaboration with various regional stakeholders and industry will be strengthened. We want learning centres to be established in many places in the country so that education becomes accessible to more people.

Focus on in-demand vocational training. Through strong vocational programmes 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 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. In addition, education may take place at flexible times or remotely. We want schools to offer more advanced courses for graduates who want retrain during their professional careers.

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 health - all this makes it possible to combine family and working life.

Our social security policies protect us from major income drops 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. It 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 local 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. 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 we will invest major resources in our common welfare.

5 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 for 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 could
10 increase 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. At the same time, the fiscal framework must be
15 safeguarded. 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
20 priority to:**

Reducing income disparity and increasing equality. We want everyone to be part of the growing 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
25 of resources contributes to greater equality between women and men. We wish to appoint a 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
30 order to provide good planning preconditions. We will take control over costs and take the necessary measures where needed. 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 in order to secure long-term tax revenues. Efforts to combat tax evasion and aggressive tax avoidance will be strengthened. Tax
35 evasion in the sectors relying on cash payments and the exploitation of illegal labour is to be combatted.

Secure welfare all through life

Universal welfare will give everyone the opportunity to travel through life well - from child health centre to retirement home. 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 broken 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 kinds 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 too unequally distributed. 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, like 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. When you are at your weakest, welfare must be at its strongest. For many people with a disability means the right to assistance and other help so they can live their lives like everyone else. Discrimination against people with disabilities must be reduced and accessibility improved.

The Swedish Model will be developed by provision of a secured 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. As a step on the way insurance should be divided into three equal parts. Child care must work for all parents - even those who work irregular hours. We intend to strengthen families' financial positions.

5

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 it provides is not undermined. When biases are revealed, they must be corrected so that the sustainability of, and confidence in, the system are also safeguarded for the future.

10

Strong support for people with disabilities. Anyone with the right support will get it.

Assistance allowance to be characterised by high quality levels and legal certainty. Funding must go to the necessary assistance, not marketing or profit. Efforts to increase access will continue.

15

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 the retired

Today's seniors have laid the foundation for our welfare society. It is their hard work that 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.

20

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.

25

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 take longer parental leave, greater responsibility for home and children, work part-time in jobs with lower salaries than men do. This exerts a major impact on a pension levels.

30

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 more often 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.

35

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 combated.

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. Also more people need to start work earlier in life and age discrimination must be reduced.

Safe care for all elderly. More people will be employed in elderly care so that the quality of operations can be strengthened. Food provision for the elderly will be improved. 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 are necessary to secure the supply of skills.

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. Prevention is essential to good health throughout life. The care you need often must be provided by good-quality, accessible health centres.

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 to recover.

Cancer is one of our greatest 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 time as short as possible, for treatment to be fast and the same high quality throughout the country. Today, the differences are too great.

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 this as early as their

school days and it is creeping down through the ages. We need to get better at prevention and early diagnosis when young people are feeling bad. Student health is an important activity that must reach out to all children and young people. This is where everyone can turn to, without necessarily involving their parents.

5

It is expensive to go to the dentist and many adults simply do not go. Sooner or later everyone must, however, and then there is a great risk that it will be very expensive. The current system needs to be reviewed to promote regular, preventative dental care.

10 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. But now, 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
15 healthcare should maintain such high quality that private health 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.
20 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 responsibilities shifted from each school to the municipality for more coordinated
25 operations.

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 with access to the latest knowledge and primary technology will be available in several places in the country with different
30 specialties. University hospitals should be owned and operated by the state. Research, education and highly specialised emergency care should 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 wallet must apply. No one should be able to
35 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 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 strong security provided for the individual, an equal education system and good opportunities for industry and business.

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

For a long 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 strong joint action to keep 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 one of the world's first fossil-free welfare states.

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. By 2045, Sweden 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 as 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.

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.

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

10 **Leadership globally and in the EU.** Sweden will support the high-level climate ambitions of the EU. We want stricter emissions trading and more countries taking greater responsibility. The EU must adopt 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.

15 **Sustainable transport.** More goods will be transported by rail and sea. Truck transport must become more energy efficient and renewable fuels be promoted. The infrastructure for new fuels must be disseminated all over the country. Airlines will bear their own environmental impact. Our cities and our infrastructure must be planned in a modern climate-smart fashion. Cycling and public transport will be stimulated.

20 **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 would like to promote innovations that reduce emissions in the service sector too.

A more secure energy supply with 100 percent renewable energy

25 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.

30 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
35 maintaining a secure supply of electricity.

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

5 **Expansion of renewable energy.** We wish to promote more investment in wind, solar, biomass and other renewable energy sources. Research and innovation in energy must focus on what contributes to climate adaptation and strengthens Swedish growth and exports.

10 **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.

15 **Reducing the risk of power deficit.** 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

20 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.

25 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.

30 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, transition is the everyday business of the municipalities. 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:

5 **Reducing the amount of harmful chemicals in our food and our environment.** We want to see tougher chemical regulations in the EU. Consumer demand for organic and locally-produced food must be met with increased Swedish food production. Endocrine disruptors must not be allowed to affect people and the environment, heavy metals and other harmful substances to be restricted or replaced. Antibiotic resistance must be given higher priority on the EU agenda. Places where children spend their days should be non-toxic. Our drinking water must be better
10 protected and eutrophication of the oceans will decrease.

15 **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.

20 **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 more effective and simpler. 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 establishments.

5 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
10 Macedonia. Our aim is global justice.

Trade, migration, and international cooperation have laid the foundation for our prosperity and our security. We depend on a close exchange with countries in Europe and other parts of the world. In troubled times we do not withdraw into our fortress, we seek more cooperation.

15 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.

20 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 detente, disarmament and confidence-building measures in order to create mutual benefits. We will build common security.

Global development for peace and justice

25 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,
30 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 and more refugees than ever before in modern times. The global economy is characterised by intense competition, and in its wake
35 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.

Social Democratic foreign policy is active, courageous 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.

We need stronger support from the UN. Sweden will take an active role in the UN Security Council in which we are a temporary member 2017 to 2018. After years of stagnation as concerns nuclear disarmament, Sweden is once again taking up the issue of a ban on nuclear weapons. This year will begin important negotiations concerning a global ban under the United Nations. Our goal is a world without nuclear weapons.

EU continues to be Sweden's most important foreign policy arena. Together with the other member countries, 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 is addressed using enhanced cooperation. Dialogue remains our most important instrument for stability and detente.

The war in Syria continues to cause enormous suffering. 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. The violent sect 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 create a future for the people who lived under the Daesh terror regime in which they can live a dignified life.

This year, Israel has 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 the Palestinian refugees given the right to return.

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 required, a holistic approach that includes all policy areas must be applied.

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

More than 65 million people in the world has been forced from home. No country, no continent and no organisation can handle this challenge on their own. 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 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 150 000 Syrians. It is our greatest humanitarian effort ever, and it was possible thanks to the fantastic efforts of the country's municipalities. We continue to take great responsibility, despite tighter regulations. Last year, more than 60 000 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. It 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. 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. In the EU, we will push for families to remain together and for both permanent and temporary residence permits to be granted in order to provide protection.

Order in Swedish refugee policy. Ruthless refugee smuggling must be combated. We want to increase the number of quota refugees to Sweden via UNHCR from today's numbers. 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 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.

In 2015 a long-term trend of defence funding cuts was broken in a multi-party decision to gradually strengthen our military capability. This takes 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 defence capability to defend 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.

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. The availability of trained personnel is to increase and conscription reintroduced.

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.

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 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. The Union's basic values are under attack in several member states. 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. 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. Swedish Social Democracy is to be a constructive, bridge-building and positive force.

The EU should be for the people. We will continue to develop the EU to get more jobs and stronger economic growth, so that the people enjoy a better life. The single market with free circulation of people, goods, services and capital, is an important tool in this work. The expanding economic pie must be distributed so that everyone can get a slice. Competition will

not be served by poorer conditions, reduced taxes and weaker environmental regulations. Social justice must be a priority, otherwise confidence in the EU to be eroded.

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

5

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.

10

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.

15

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 the cooperation.

SVENSKA MODELLEN SKA UTVECKLAS INTE AVVECKLAS



Socialdemokraterna

FRAMTIDSPARTIET