



OUR HISTORY

A PART OF MEMBER TRAINING

FOR THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY



Socialdemokraterna
FRAMTIDSPARTIET



Contents

- 5 Foreword
- 6 Brief introduction

Session 1: The labour movement emerges

7

- 7 Sweden in the 19th century
- 10 Era of pioneers
- 16 Political-union cooperation

Session 2: Breakthrough era

21

- 22 Union dissolution and world wars
- 23 Party division
- 24 Fight for the right to vote
- 27 Eight-hour workday
- 29 Minority governments of the 1920s
- 30 Labour market conflicts
- 31 Breakthrough for social democracy

Session 3: Era of the Swedish welfare state

33

- 33 New focus on consensus
- 34 Keynes and unemployment
- 36 Spirit of Saltsjöbaden
- 37 Sweden during World War II
- 39 More than four decades in power
- 40 Founding of the welfare state
- 43 Struggle for pensions
- 45 Issue of Swedish atomic weapons
- 46 An active labour market policy
- 47 Equality reforms
- 48 Land of emigration becomes land of immigration
- 49 Party leader change in 1969
- 51 Issues of the 1970s
- 53 Electoral defeat in 1976
- 54 Struggle for LGBTQ equal rights

Session 4: Social Democratic Party after 1982

55

- 56 EU membership
- 57 The crisis of the 1990s
- 58 Post-crisis period
- 59 Liberal and conservative alliance in the 2006 election
- 60 Frequent Party Leader changes, elections and difficult governing
- 61 Right-wing populism and racism
- 64 A century of social democracy
- 65 Characteristics of the 20th century

Session 5: Party Programmes of the Social Democratic Party

68

- 68 Suggestion for an extra session
- 69 Programme of 1897
- 69 Programme of 1911
- 71 Programme of 1920
- 71 Programme of 1944
- 72 Programme of 1960
- 72 Programme of 1975
- 73 Programme of 1990
- 73 Programme of 2001
- 74 Programme of 2013

Study guide and suggestions to circle leader

77

- 77 What is a study circle?
- 77 A good study circle...
- 77 Role of the circle leader
- 78 Suggestions for a good circle
- 78 How you can work in the circle
- 78 Getting started
- 79 Literature suggestions

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Foreword



There are several reasons to read about the history of the labour movement. You learn something about the values of the movement and the Party and how they have changed and been reinterpreted over time. The history is also a matter of the identity and special nature of the Social Democratic Party and the labour movement compared with other parties and movements.

These study materials are focused on the history of the Social Democratic Party. However, it should be emphasised that the Social Democratic Party grew forth as a social movement by and through the working class. Union and political work went hand in hand and sometimes one also speaks of “the red fabric”, the network of various organisations that once embraced those who were active from cradle to grave, not least in mill towns and industrial cities.

Properly understood, history is not nostalgia – the longing for the past – but rather reflection on what factors have shaped social development, how past events affected the present and what lessons the past can provide for the future. In moving forward, old and new, continuity and renewal are always mixed.”

Lena Rådström Baastad

Party Secretary

Tomas Eneroth

Study Manager, Party Executive Board

Brief introduction

At the end of the material, you will find more information about how to work in a study circle and suggestions for the circle leader. The following is a brief introduction to easily get started.

Four sessions

This study material on the history of the Social Democratic Party is made up of four parts adapted to four sessions in a study circle. Every section has a theme:

1. The labour movement emerges
2. Breakthrough era
3. Era of the Swedish welfare state
4. The period after 1982

There is also the possibility of additional sessions in the study circle. An extra section is about the Social Democrats' different Party Programmes and may constitute a fifth optional session. In addition, each section can be divided into several parts. For example, one particular session can delve into the historical background, or the union-political cooperation. Further study can also take place around important individual events or periods, such as the breakthrough of democracy, the Party schism, or the post-war expansion of welfare. Only your interest and time set the limits!

Activity suggestions

Feel free to invite guests to the study circle who can tell about an era in the history of the movement, or give a different perspective on what you read about in the material. This may be a former member of parlia-

ment (MP), someone from the union or a former chairperson of a municipal party organisation. Or a former women's club chairperson who can give a different perspective on the status of women in the movement.

Reading suggestions

At the back of the material, there is a list for further reading for those who want to immerse themselves more in the history of the labour movement. Several of these books are excellent for further discussion in the study circle if you want to deepen your understanding of the history of the Party and the whole history of the labour movement.

Don't forget that there is also a local labour movement history. The majority of the Party districts, municipal party organisations, trade unions and larger union chapters have produced various historical and commemorative texts. Feel free to pay a visit to the local popular movement archive or the like, where the local history of the movement is documented. If the circle is in the Stockholm region, a study visit to the Labour Movement Archives and Library (ARBARK) in Flemingsberg may be valuable.

Buildings such as "Folkets hus" and sites such as "Folkets park" also hold historical memories, not least in the form of art. In many places, various "Dig where you stand" projects have been done where the town's workers' and labour movement history has been mapped and documented.

1.

The labour movement emerges

Sweden in the 19th century

It may be hard to imagine what life was like in Sweden when the labour movement was formed. Conditions in Sweden in the early 1800s were very reminiscent of those we see in the poorest countries in the world today. Sweden's industrialisation can be compared to what is taking place in many developing countries. Wealth and poverty side by side, improvements for many while life gets worse for others.

In the 1800s, Sweden was a poor agricultural country on the edge of Europe where most people lived in rural areas. The cities were small. In 1850, Stockholm had just over 90,000 residents, approximately the same population as Växjö Municipality has today.

After belonging together for 700 years, the connection between Sweden and Finland was broken in 1809 and a new border was created against the then Russian Finland that left the Finnish-language Torne Valley in Sweden. In 1814, Norway was forced into a union with Sweden that the Norwegian population did not want, but which would last until 1905. A former French general, Jean Baptiste Bernadotte, and his descendants ascended the Swedish throne.

In the late 1800s, Sweden's former foreign policy orientation toward France was replaced by a new orientation towards the new superpower Germany, which came to be fostered by the royal family and the Swedish au-

thorities. It was the perceived threat from Russia that led Sweden into Germany's shadow. During the 1800s, the population grew as a result of medical advances, and improved hygiene greatly reduced mortality, particularly infant mortality.

A capitalist agriculture with higher yields arose from the land reforms. The land reforms meant that the land was gathered in contiguous fields and pastures instead of being divided into small allotments whose management required cooperation between the farmers. The villages from the Middle Ages were broken up and some farmers moved out of the village to new locations closer to their allotted land. The differences between the farmers grew based on the quality and the amount of land they received through the allotment. The land reforms, mechanisation of agriculture and population growth increased class divisions in rural areas and gave rise to a poor rural proletariat. One group among them was the "statare" or agricultural labourers – married farm workers who received a large portion of their wages in kind from a landowner. These agricultural labourers were on large farms in southern and central Sweden. They were normally employed on one-year contracts. During the last week of October, known as "slankveckan" or the slim week, agricultural labourers were permitted or forced to move and seek employment at other farms. The agricultural labourer system in Sweden did not come to an end until 1945.



Photo: Unknown

K. J. Tiderman family, Tibro outside their cabin.

The industrialisation of Europe spread out from the United Kingdom, which as early as the beginning of the 1800s had become home to the world's leading manufacturing companies. A major obstacle to the development of capitalism in Sweden was removed in 1846 when the guild system was abolished. Industrial capitalism was accompanied by urbanisation, in which people moved from the countryside to the cities where the new jobs were located. Industrialisation was promoted by the rapid expansion of a railway network and improvement in other means of transportation.

Poverty was high and there was unrest in Stockholm and some other major cities several times during the 1800s. Most famous are the Rabulist riots in 1838 and the March riots in 1848 when some 30 people were shot dead by the military. The March riots were inspired by the French February Revolution and what has been called the "People's Spring" in Europe. That same year, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels also published the Communist Manifesto.

With crop failures came starvation. The last years of starvation in Sweden took place in 1867 and 1869 and mainly affected northern Sweden, as well as Russian Finland. During the years of starvation, emigration to North America increased dramatically. In the 1880s, Swedish grain production only increased slowly, and

large amounts of cheap grain were imported from the United States and Russia, where the railway now made it possible to transport huge amounts of grain at a low cost. It became difficult for Swedish farmers to find a market for their products. In 1888, the Swedish Parliament imposed import duties on grain and pork, which incited large protests among workers.

Despite even more efficient agriculture, Sweden was unable to feed its growing population. Over a million Swedes emigrated, mainly to the United States where Chicago had as many Swedish residents as Sweden's second largest city, Gothenburg. The exodus essentially continued until World War I. In its final stage, especially after the general strike of 1909, workers active in trade unions who were blacklisted by employers joined the exodus. Their names were spread among employers so that they could not find employment anywhere.

Through emigration and returnees, interest in the United States and a positive image of it arose as a more modern, more democratic, less class-bound and more future-oriented country than those in Europe.

Sweden's first large industrial area emerged when hundreds of steam sawmills were built along the coast of Central Norrland. The rapid growth of the sawmill communities was built on migrant workers from other re-

gions, such as Värmland, Norrbotten, and Finland. Central Norrland's coastal area was called "little America", because people chose between moving there or emigrating to the United States. Through railway construction, northern and inner Norrland were also opened up to colonisation and industry. In 1899, the Malmbanan or Iron Ore Railway Line reached Kiruna and the following year, the city plan was established. LKAB was now able to expand its mining in the Malmfälten ore fields.

Alcohol consumption in Sweden was a major social problem in the 1800s. Many working men drank to forget their woes, and often drank up their daily earnings, which had a severe effect on both women and children. Some men were also partly paid in "brännvin" or distilled spirits. Making a living became tough and family violence accelerated. This was a time when masters, foremen and married men could beat subordinate workers, wives and children, without facing legal consequences. Corporal punishment was seen as a natural part of raising children. Of course, there were opposing forces. The temperance movement grew forth and taught many of the pioneers of the labour movement in Sweden. Popular adult education became a weapon that was recommended by both liberals and Social Democrats against poverty and alcohol abuse.

Women's position in society was weak. Upper class women did not generally work outside the home after they got married. Working class women worked but received substantially lower wages. Equal inheritance rights were introduced in 1845, but the husband disposed over the wife's property. It was not until 1920 that married women formally received full rights. Only men could attend higher education. Girls attended the same primary schools as the boys, but did not go on to public secondary school or university. Private girls' schools or self-study was the only option available for the girls.

There were no pensions, but only poor relief for the elderly. Child labour existed all the way into the 20th century. Health and medical care was substandard for those who could not pay.

Families had many children at the same time since the church and state took a dim view of birth control and sex education. In 1910, the sale of condoms and information about their existence were banned. Homosexuality was prohibited until 1944 and was labelled an expression of mental illness all the way up to 1979.

Sweden was officially a religiously and ethnically homogeneous country for a long time. Although, those of the Jewish faith and Catholics had lived in Sweden since the 18th century and the revivalist movement emerged as a popular movement in the 1800s. The Lutheran state church kept a strong grip on most Swedes, however. Among other things, primary school was governed by the church council until 1930. In the late 1800s, Swedish citizens were permitted to leave the state church, although only on condition that they join another religious denomination recognised by the state. It was not until 1951 that religious freedom was established in the constitution, and it was only then that Swedish citizens obtained the right not to belong to any religious denomination.

In Sweden, there were plenty of descendants of Finnish immigrants from the 1600s and the Torne Valley was home to a Finnish minority with its own dialect, Meänkieli. The Sami indigenous people dominated large parts of the northern half of the country, except for the areas closest to the coast. Roma, who were called "Gypsies", were a consistently poorly treated minority in Sweden who were often mixed up with another minority, the travellers ("tattarna").

Discussion questions

- Do you recognise the picture of what Sweden and the world looked like in the 1800s, when the labour movement began to emerge? What are your own stories – how were the conditions in the area(s) your relatives come from?
- Which conditions in society and events do you think played the greatest role in the organisation of the labour movement?

Era of pioneers

Social democracy's pioneer generation were active in an environment that was prepared in terms of ideas. The bad and unjust lives of the majority of people provided strong material and moral support to the calls

for changes. By people organising themselves, mainly in trade unions, they sought to force the creation of better living conditions.



Photo: Axel Malmström

The tailor August Palm tries out pants on Rasmus Hansen, 1902.

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Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth!
For justice thunders condemnation:
A better world's in birth!
No more tradition's chains shall bind us
Arise, ye slaves, no more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations:
We have been nought, we shall be all!

First verse of the Internationale

Politically, hope was tied to universal and equal suffrage to democratise and change society's institutions.

Social democracy's start in Sweden is usually counted from the first time the tailor and agitator August Palm held a speech in Sweden on the theme "What do the Socialists want?". The speech was held at the Hotell Stockholm in Malmö, Sweden in November 1881. The time from 1881 until around 1900 can be described as the pioneer years. The first tentative steps toward a Swedish organised labour movement.

Swedish social democracy emerged as an offshoot of the older and more developed labour movement on the continent, mainly the German labour movement. Germany and Denmark also served as a knowledge bridge where August Palm, Thorsson, Anna Sterky and other leaders encountered socialism for the first time and were then schooled in political and trade union work. Both Karl Marx and other socialist thinkers were also known in Sweden before Palm.

Trade unions and societies to improve the workers' social conditions, so-called workers' associations, existed long before 1881. The Stockholm Typographical Association was founded as early as 1846 and the great Sundsvall strike among sawmill workers took place in 1879. But the first unions were weak, and they politically shifted between liberalism and socialism.

The first leaders devoted a great deal of time to travelling around, agitating and holding meetings to organise the workers in different parts of the country. Sometimes, the halls rented for meetings could fill up and they usually charged an entry fee at the meetings. For a smaller country town in Sweden, it was a big deal when the famous August Palm came to visit.

The party's active members had to work against strong resistance and great sacrifices were demanded of the workers and others who led the Party in their home town or the newly-formed trade union organisation at their workplace.

The workers were poor and, at work, it was the employer who ruled. Income was enough to support the family but not much more. Losing one's job was a dis-

aster for the family's finances. Consequently, participating in the actions of the trade union, such as strikes, was risky. It took a lot of courage and self-sacrifice for the labour movement to grow. This was true of those who put themselves at the forefront of the movement, whose names we recognise today as the pioneers of the movement. But perhaps even more so of all of those who stood up for the cause in the local work, who campaigned and organised their workmates, who made sure that the movement grew throughout the country and made it possible to form a mass social movement.

The Norberg mining district was a mining giant in the late 1800s. Here, one fifth of Sweden's iron ore was mined, and most of it was exported to Germany. In connection with a recession, the mining company cut the workers' wages. Workers responded with three rounds of strikes in 1891. The last strike was the longest, lasting for seven months. The strike came to be about not only wages but the right of association, meaning the workers' right to organise themselves in independent trade unions.

It was the rich who decided over municipalities and in parliament. The right to vote was dependent on the level of income and wealth one had. While many people were too poor to even have the right to one vote, the mill directors and factory owners had the right to hundreds of votes.

When social democracy emerged, they had to fight against a superior power that had many means at its disposal to oppose the labour movement. The government was completely in the service of the powers that be. People were not allowed to hold meetings, without being specifically registered with the police and the police felt they had the right to be present at various meetings, both public and private. What was said and written was carefully monitored. Criticism of the monarchy, the state church, and the parliament could lead to imprisonment, which many socialist agitators experienced.

One notable example of how the government acted was the tightening of the Freedom of the Press Act that occurred in 1887, which in 1889 was followed by the "muzzling law". The aim was to limit socialist "propaganda". During the so-called prosecution frenzy of 1888, Dan-



Photo: Unknown

Picture from the Social Democratic Workers' Party Congress in Gothenburg in 1894.

ielsson, Branting and four other socialist editors and agitators were imprisoned for their social criticism.

Newspapers were an important part of the struggle

What in the 1800s was called agitation, we would today call advocacy, disseminating information and arguments for their case. Newspapers were started in various locations to conduct more continuous agitation. Some of the newspapers that began to be published at the end of the 1800s by the movement's agitators were Palm's newspaper *Folkviljan*, *Social-Demokraten* in Stockholm, *Arbetet* in Malmö and *Ny Tid* in Gothenburg. The newspapers' success varied; many were forced to close after just a few issues, while others had a longer life. However, a factor common to all of the social democratic newspapers

was that circulation was small and that they constantly wrestled with financial concerns.

The Social Democratic Workers' Party was founded

Almost eight years after August Palm's first speech in Malmö, the Social Democratic Workers' Party was founded. On Easter weekend in 1889, from 19-22 April, 49 delegates met at Tunnelgatan 12 in Stockholm. The delegates represented 69 organisations, and had the task to form a social democratic party and choose representatives for the Party. The men dominated. Of the 49 delegates, there was only one woman, tobacco worker Alina Jägerstedt from Stockholm. It was far from a nationwide organisation that held a Congress in 1889, where delegates represented organisations in 14 cities.

The Congress elected seven representatives for the newly formed party, including Hjalmar Branting, August Palm and Axel Danielsson. Branting came to be the Party's leading representative, but no Party Leader was elected at the Congress. (The tailor Claes Emil Tholin was later appointed to be chairman of the Party Executive Board with administrative tasks.) It was not until 1907 that the Party had an elected Party Leader, when Hjalmar Branting was elected.

The first Congress adopted no Party Programme, but expressed its views on a number of political issues of the day, such as a standard eight-hour working day, a minimum wage, prohibition of child labour and constitutional protection for the workers' right of association. Implementation of democracy was high on the agenda and, in terms of this issue, the Congress could be willing to collaborate with the liberals.

The Congress also took a position on a number of issues of principle on working methods. The party would only use the methods that correspond to the "people's natural sense of justice" and that the Party would "prevent reckless, violent outbursts of popular discontent". The latter with the addition that if the revolution was provoked the Party would still work for the popular gains made by the revolution to be utilised.

Six social democratic leadership generations

In the classic Social Democratic historical writing, six generations of leadership are often depicted from the Party's founding until today. There are prominent persons at the national level, but also men and women who built up and developed the labour movement in large and small around the country.

The first generation of leadership

The first generation, the pioneer generation, included the future Party Leader and Prime Minister Hjalmar Branting, agitator August Palm, the future editor of the newspaper *Arbetet* in Malmö Axel Danielsson and LO's first chairman Fredrik Sterky. Other colourful names were sexual educator and anarcho-communist Hinke Berggren, agricultural socialist Fabian Månsson and the first woman in the Party Executive Board, Kata Dahlström.

Many of the pioneers were defined as more radical than the Party's mainstream, of which Hjalmar Branting was a part. In the 1880s, the pioneer generation was between 20 and 30 years old (with the exception of Palm). The 1880s was a radical decade in culture and writing as well when August Strindberg made his debut with the novel "The Red Room".

August Palm, who played an important role in urging the workers to organise themselves, quickly lost his influence in the Party and was not again entrusted to be in the Party leadership at the Second Congress in 1891. Axel Danielsson and Fredrik Sterky died within a month of each other in 1899 and 1900. As many of the early pioneers passed away, Branting increasingly emerged as the Party Leader and in his shadow, Frederick William Thorsson, later the Finance Minister, emerged as the Party's second name.

The women during the pioneer years

Women played important roles in the labour movement since its beginning. They often met resistance and the role of women was frequently underestimated in the Party's description of its history. Even the labour movement was patriarchal.

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If the agitation among the men was full of toil and hardship, it was easy compared with agitation among the women. It was fighting against prejudices not only among women but often perhaps even more often among men.

Martha Larsson in Malmö Municipal Party Organisation's commemorative publication in 1907

We know the names of the leaders' spouses and in some cases they also played their own political role. Elma Danielsson (born Sundquist) was the first woman on the Malmö Municipal Party Organisation's Board and continued to write in *Arbetet* after her husband's death.

Anna Sterky (born Nielsen) was active politically and in the union movement in Denmark when she met Fredrik Sterky. After his death, she worked in the Party office for 25 years, was the Chairwoman of the Women's Trade Union and the first editor of the *Morgonbris* which later became the Women's Association's magazine.

Another famous woman was Kata Dahlström (born Carlberg), who agitated among railway workers and textile workers, and later became both a left-wing socialist and Buddhist. Amanda Horney was the first Chairwoman of the Public Women's Club in Stockholm, Sweden's first Social Democratic women's organisation in 1892.

Growing movement despite tough times

Despite the difficulties and opposition of the ruling elite, the Party grew. The ideological foundation had

been established and clarified. At the Norrköping Congress in 1891, the Party distanced itself from anarchist ideas. The importance of workers being able to organise themselves was emphasised. From the beginning in 1890, May Day became a mobilisation and rallying day that should show the strength of the labour movement and manifest its demands.

From the beginning, the social democratic movement was built on a socialist basis with a German model. Efforts to reform the conditions of the working class were placed in the foreground and dominated the Party's activities. Pragmatism, trying to make the best possible out of the situation, came to guide the Party.

In 1896, the Swedish Social Democratic Party received its first representative in the Swedish Parliament when Hjalmar Branting was elected on a liberal list. The right to vote was still extremely limited and 822 votes were enough to elect Branting to Parliament.

Discussion questions



- The Social Democratic Party was formed to represent the interests of the working class. Who are workers today?
- Can a society that does not have freedom of speech and freedom of the press be truly democratic, even if people have universal and equal suffrage?
- Is there more to say about other social movements during the age of democracy's breakthrough? For example, what did the Free Church and temperance movements mean to the development of society and what was the labour movement's relationship with them? Why was the temperance issue so important in the early years of the labour movement and what has happened since?
- The establishment of social democratic newspapers was an important part of the effort to spread a social democratic social analysis, and several of the leading agitators were newspaper editors. How has it gone for the social democratic press, and what does it mean for a movement to have access to its own media channels? How can modern agitation work be done, and what kind of media can be effective in spreading the message?
- What was social democracy's relationship to the Church of Sweden and religion like? Was and is social democracy secular?

Political-union cooperation

The union-political cooperation between LO and the Social Democratic Party demands an historical explanation. It is not possible to understand how both branches of the Swedish labour movement work together and the strong organisational ties between LO and the Party without first having studied their history. This section will describe the history and background of this cooperation.

Trade unions formed the Party

When the Social Democratic Party was founded in 1889, it was largely trade union organisations that were represented at the Congress. Associations that sent representatives to the Congress were often union clubs, workers organised at a workplace. Of the 69 organisations that were represented at the Congress, 16 could be described as being political, while the others, aside from one sickness and burial society and one temperance society, were trade unions. The party was “as much a central union organisation as a political party,” writes union historian Sigfrid Hansson.

The Social Democrats’ first Party Programme, much of which had the German brother party’s programme as a model, featured the unique addition of the unions’ position when it came to realising the social democratic goals.

When the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) was formed in 1898, it came after a Congress decision by the Social Democratic Party which felt that the trade unions had a need for a central organisation. Formally, the Party was given the possibility to appoint a couple of representatives to the Board of LO.

It was also from the Party that the leadership of the new organisation was gathered. Fredrik Sterky became LO’s first chairman.

So it was the unions that took the initiative to form the Social Democratic Party and it was the Party that took the initiative to form LO. It’s no wonder that there

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Through their political organisations, the workers seek to remove the causes of society’s misfortunes. Through their trade unions, the workers seek to remove the consequences of the current system. So the union organisation is more designed for defence, the political for offence.

Fredrik Sterky, LO’s first Chairman, article in *Nya Samhället* on 12 June 1886.

are strong ties between the two organisations, which originated from each other this way. The foundation was laid, and it became a collaboration that functions to this day, although tensions are often great between both branches of the labour movement.

Collective affiliation

When LO was formed, an historic decision was also made. All trade unions which wanted to become affiliated with LO would also become affiliated with the Social Democratic Party. This decision was made after a fierce debate, but won with a clear majority. The Swedish Iron and Metal Workers’ Union (one of the trade unions which formed IF Metall) could not accept this decision and considered itself not be able to become a part of LO as long as the decision was valid.

It was also not an unconditional decision that would apply from the end of the Congress. The trade unions that had not already become affiliated with the Par-



Photo: Unknown

Social Democratic Women's Federation's Congress in 1924.

Some organisations with close ties to the Party

The Workers' Educational Association (ABF)

Pioneers of the labour movement quickly realised that there is a great need for education and training to be available on the workers' terms. Therefore, the Social Democrats, LO and the Swedish Cooperative Union founded ABF in 1912. Right from the beginning, participation was largely free and voluntary, because the participants themselves decided what should be studied, how it was going to be done and what the studies would lead to. Organisers were appointed in the various popular movements, whose task was mainly to produce offers on what would be studied and then incite the members' interest in these studies. The core of ABF has always been the study circle, which puts the participants in the centre to share their own knowledge and experiences. ABF has grown progressively with more member organisations, new operational branches and extensive open activities directed at the general public, and is today Sweden's largest study association. The newspaper of the association is "Fönstret" [the Window].

LGBT Social Democrats Sweden

"HBT-socialdemokrater Sverige" (LGBT Social Democrats Sweden) is an independent association that works on the basis of the values of the labour movement for

all people being equal and having equal rights especially regardless of sexual orientation, gender identity and gender expression. The association was formed in 2008 and now has branches throughout Sweden, all of which are local organisations in their respective municipal party organisations or party districts. The first social democratic LGBT association was established in 1988 as a local chapter of the Stockholm Municipal Party Organisation.

Social Democrats for Faith and Solidarity

The Christian Social Democrats, who were also referred to by their association newspaper *Broderskap* [Fraternity], formed their organisation in 1929. In 2011, they changed name to "Socialdemokrater för Tro och Solidaritet" (Social Democrats for Faith and Solidarity), in part to emphasise that it is an organisation for Social Democrats, regardless of religious faith. In 2011, the association's newspaper changed its name to "Tro & Politik" [Faith & Politics].

Social Democratic Women in Sweden (S-Women)

"Socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbundet" (Social Democratic Women in Sweden), also known as "S-kvinnor" (S-Women), was founded in 1920 with Signe Vessman as the association's first Chairperson. In several places,



Photo: Mattias Yepsjö

women's chapters had been around for several decades, including the Stockholm Public Women's Club founded in 1892. Signe Vessman had previously been the chairperson of the Women's Trade Union that briefly existed at the beginning of the century to promote women organising trade unions. S-Women also grew considerably during the 1930s and the women's chapters discussed housing policies and family policies, and participated in raising awareness of contraception and abortion. In the 1950s, S-Women were strong opponents of Swedish nuclear weapons. The association's newspaper is called "Morgonbris" [Morning Breeze].

Social Democratic Students of Sweden (S-Students)
 "Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Studentförbund" (Social Democratic Students of Sweden), also known as "S-studerenter" (S-Students), was founded in 1931, but merged with SSU "Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Ungdomsförbund" (Swedish Social Democratic Youth League) in 1970. Then in 1990, S-Students was recreated. The association's newspaper is called Libertas.

Swedish Social Democratic Youth League (SSU)
 The Party's current youth association SSU was founded in 1917 as the third youth movement in the Party's history. The former youth league formed the core in a party split and the formation of the Social Democratic

Left Party. Due to this, SSU subsequently focused on political issues relating to young people and less on general political issues. In the 1930s, SSU was Europe's strongest social democratic youth movement with more than 100,000 members and extensive social activities among working class young people. In the 1960s, the SSU gradually assumed a more independent stance to the Party and has since been a driving force in the Party on many issues – often together with the other branch organisations. In the 1970s, SSU conducted popular movement campaigns and developed "broadened activities", such as workers' theatre and club groups who wrote and performed their own political music. The association's newspapers are "Frihet" [Freedom] and "Tvärdrag" [Cross Draft].

Young Eagles
 "Unga Örnar" (Young Eagles) was formed in 1931 out of the need for recreational activities for children of the working class based on the values of the labour movement. The inspiration largely came from the youth organisation of the German labour movement "Die Rote Falcon" (The Red Falcon). Young Eagles became a competitor with the then-dominant arranger of children's activities - the Church. The organisation is the youth organisation of the labour movement, conducts activities for children and young people and exercises influence in children's policy issues.



Photo: Unknown.

Social Democratic Women in Sweden. Signe Vessman, Anna Pettersson, Julia Ström-Olsson, Anna Sterky, Jenny Karlsson and Isadora Karlsson. Around 1910.

ty were given time before this would happen. Before this time had run out, LO had held a new Congress in 1900, and made another, less drastic, decision. Now, it was said that LO would encourage the local trade unions to become affiliated with the Social Democratic municipal party organisations. It was no longer a requirement to be a member of the Party to be able to remain a member of LO.

The system where the union organisations affiliated their members with the municipal party organisations was called collective affiliation. It was criticised from both the left and right in politics. “Compulsory affiliation” became the usual designation in the non-socialist press.

The system illustrated different ideological understandings of the concept of freedom. Liberals argued that it stifled the individual’s right to choose his or her own political affiliation.

The labour movement’s motive for collective affiliation was that it did not want to limit the unions’ freedom to decide whether they in various ways wanted to support and gain influence in the political party that the majority of the members wanted to belong to.

It was also far from all local union chapters that became affiliated with the Social Democratic Party. About one

third of the LO associations’ members were collectively affiliated to the municipal party organisations.

Hence, the labour movement’s defence of collective affiliation was that it gave freedom to the trade unions, as well as influence to them in the political process. It became natural that a large number of trade union members received political appointments. At the same time, criticism of collective affiliation grew during the 1970s and 1980s. Eventually the Left Party joined with the non-socialist parties and threatened to support legislation abolishing the possibility of collective affiliation. The internal criticism was also rancorous at times. LO Chairman Stig Malm argued that collective affiliation was a millstone around the neck.

Industrial women workers would be organised, and the municipality sent us out to conduct propaganda for the trade union idea. I have been involved in the formation of more than one trade union among the city’s and the province’s women. Elma Danielsson, in Malmo Municipal Party Organisation’s commemorative publication in 1907.

So, at the beginning of the 1990s, the possibility of collective affiliation of individuals to the Party was abolished. Instead, union Social Democratic associations (s-associations) were formed and an opportunity

for trade unions to become members of the Party (organisation affiliation) was introduced. The union-political cooperation has continued, including union representatives on the boards and union committees at every organisational level of the Party. Many of the Social Democrats' representatives in the municipalities, county councils and Parliament come from the union ranks.

The development of union-political cooperation – the changed union structure and different roles

The relationship between the Social Democratic Party and the trade union movement is not uncomplicated. The last twenty years have clearly shown that tensions between the two branches can be both hard and almost irreconcilable. Nor has media attention made it easier to conduct the discussion about different trade-offs that need to be made in the political work.

Sometimes you hear voices claiming that discussions in the past were conducted in more closed rooms, without media insight. But even in the past, criticism was expressed in full openness, like when LO Chairman Arne Geijer strongly attacked the economic policies of the Social Democratic government at the time in a

speech at the LO Congress in 1971. The policies led to disastrously high unemployment, he maintained.

Although both of the white-collar union organisations TCO and SACO had long had a large numbers of members and great importance, it was only after 1980 that LO began to shrink in size and in the percentage of wage-earners. This development means that the Social Democratic Party's union-political work is increasingly directed at white-collar workers and university graduates. But the "template" the Social Democrats had in the cooperation with LO does not work there. The Social Democrats have historically dominated in party sympathies among LO members and close organisational solutions have therefore been possible to establish. This is not the case with TCO and SACO.

The union-political cooperation is of great importance to the future of social democracy. Voter-strong social democratic parties such as the Swedish party have been characterised by good cooperation with the trade union movement. In Europe, right-wing populist parties in many countries have won strong support among working class voters who lost confidence in the social democratic and other left-wing parties being able to truly represent them.

Discussion questions



- How does the union-political collaboration between the Social Democrats and LO work today? To what extent can the Social Democratic Party cooperate with TCO and SACO unions?
- What role do the Party's branch organisations play today? Is there still a need for a youth association, a student movement and women's association? Is there a need for organisations of religious Social Democrats and LGBT Social Democrats?
- What has it meant that social democracy is also a "social movement" or popular movement with an abundance of movements around it? From closely related organisations like SSU to more loosely-affiliated movements like KF? What is the Party's position today as a "social movement"?
- How can the labour movement make use of the commitment of the new emerging popular movements?

2.

Breakthrough era



Photo: Axel Malmström

Suffrage demonstration in Stockholm 1902.



Photo: Unknown

Hjalmar Branting speaking at a general strike rally, Uppsala 1909.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the organisation grew and more and more people became members of the Party and trade unions. The Swedish Cooperative Union was established in 1899 and the number of consumer associations was also growing. Consumer cooperation was regarded by many as a “third leg” of the labour movement, besides the Party and trade unions. The Social Democrats’ support among voters was growing, but few workers earned enough to vote. In 1900, the Party had

one single member of Parliament, Hjalmar Branting. In the election in 1902, three more Social Democrats were elected into Parliament and in the subsequent elections the Social Democrats won an increasing number of mandates. After the election of 1908, there were 33 Social Democrats in Parliament’s directly-elected second chamber and in 1920, the first Social Democratic minority government was formed.

Union dissolution and world wars

In 1905, the Norwegians declared the Union with Sweden to be dissolved. War threatened when the King and the right wing wanted to force Norway back into the Union, but both Liberals and Social Democrats acted decisively for a peaceful dissolution of the Union. Large demonstrations in the streets showed the people's desire for peace. In the elections of 1905, the left, Liberals and Social Democrats, won a majority in Parliament. It meant that the right wing lost the Prime Minister post for the first time. It was the King who appointed the Prime Minister, and he was forced to appoint the Liberal Karl Staaff to that post.

Hjalmar Branting declined to be a part of the Staaff government. In the social democratic sphere in Sweden, there were different views on cooperation with the non-socialist parties and participating in the non-socialist dominated governments. However, at the Second International, the assembly of social democratic parties, the majority distanced itself from so-called ministerial socialism. After the 1907 election, the Right-wing Party retook control of the government. However, Karl Staaf returned as the Prime Minister after the 1911 election in which the Social Democrats became larger than the Liberals.

The first few decades of the 20th century were also marked by a fierce struggle for the right to form trade unions and a time of major labour market conflicts. Through the 1905 industrial conflict, the Iron and Metal Workers' Union succeeded in establishing a nationwide collective agreement. One out of four of the 200 employees at the sul-

phite mill in Mackmyra were under age. When the workers wanted to form a union in 1906, the employers closed the mill. Three days later, the company began to evict 42 working families from their home, which were owned by the company. The evictions caused a public outcry and after a six-month long lockout, the company recognised the right of association. The largest conflict was the general strike of 1909, when the whole labour movement was mobilised in the fight for workers' rights. The general strike was a major defeat that cost the union movement many years of rebuilding. The defeat also led to the formation of the syndicalist trade union, SAC.

For years, Europe's Social Democrats had promised to stop the impending World War with a general strike at the assembly of the socialist parties, the Second International. But when war was imminent, the Social Democrats throughout Europe did not keep their word. The German Social Democrats voted in favour of the German Emperor's war and in England and many other countries the social democratic parties were divided on the war. World War I broke out in 1914 and, like the other Nordic countries, Sweden declared itself to be neutral in the war.

The attitude to the military and defence also developed in different directions in Sweden. Some Social Democrats argued that Sweden needed some kind of defence, while others who were pacifists called for a rapid disarmament. A third group was caught up in the idea that the military could be taken over by the soldiers and that the military would take part in an armed revolution.



General Strike Committee in Stockholm in 1909.

Photo: Axel Malmström

Party division

Different attitudes on the large and pressing issues of the time increased conflicts within the Social Democratic Party in the 1910s. The defence issue, ministerial socialism, the role of Party leadership and strategic choices in the struggle for suffrage came to be some of the many issues hotly contested in the Party Executive Board and Parliamentary Group, and consumed the Party Congresses.

In the spring of 1917, Social Democrats in Sweden divided into two parties. The former Youth League broke away and formed the basis of the Social Democratic Left Party. In Norrbotten and Västernorrland, the Party districts joined the new party, while in most other places there were individual members who broke away.

The new party was a motley mix of many different groupings who were unhappy with social democracy's development under Hjalmar Branting's leadership. However, the new party's election results were poor in 1917, and many of the MPs who had broken away lost their seats.

Just like the left-wing elements of the social democratic parties of other countries, many looked to the revolutionary Russia and the new Soviet State. In 1921, the new party changed its name to the Swedish Communist Party, and it divided again based on disagreements within the international communist movement. In three rounds between 1923 and 1937, many of the leading figures of the party split returned to the Social Democratic Party. The Swedish Communist Party changed its name to the Left Party Communists (VPK) in 1967 and to its current name, the Left Party (V), in 1990.

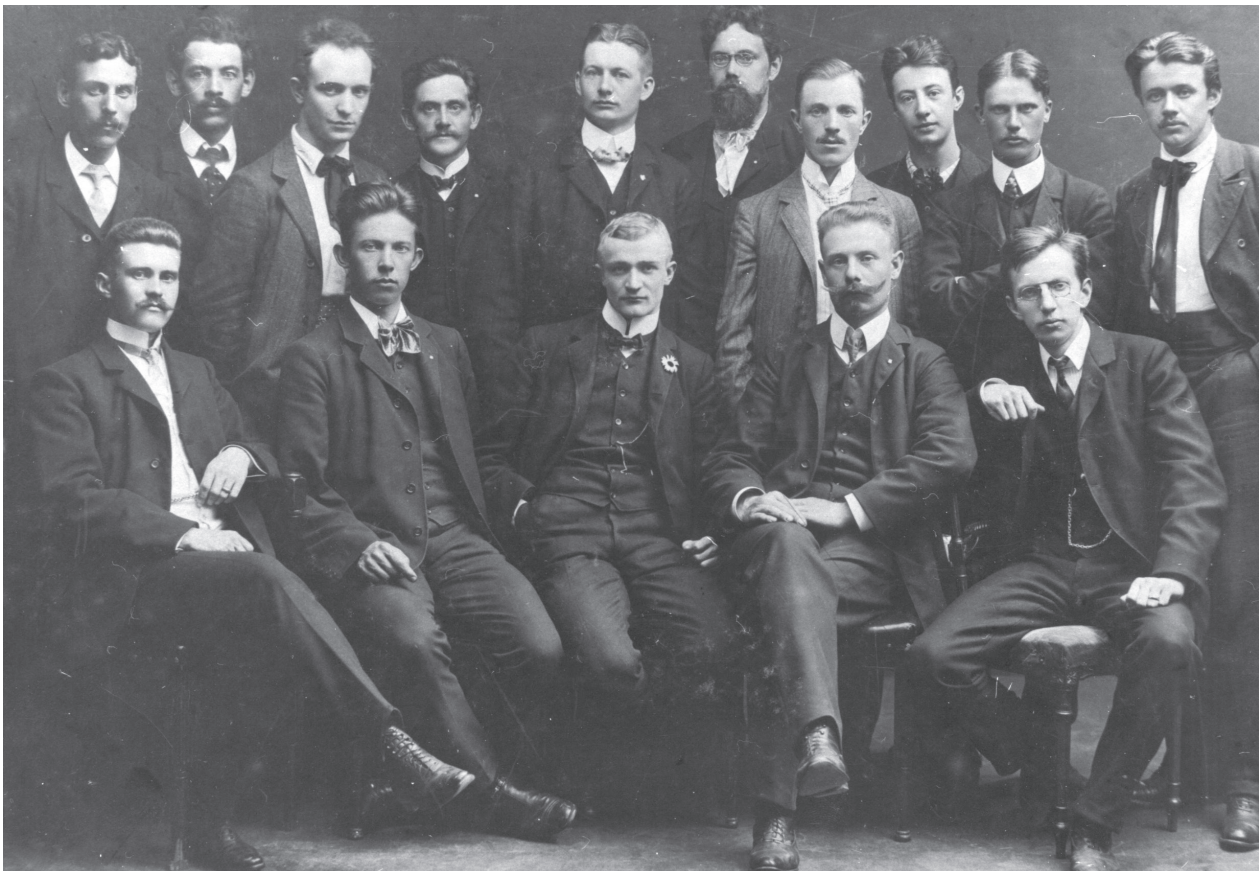


Photo: Unknown

The Central Board of the Social Democratic Youth League (SDUF) in 1907. Emil Wallin, Hjalmar Gustavsson, Gustav Möller, Hjalmar Larsson, Zäta Höglund, Johan Hederstedt, Anton Hjalmarsson, Per-Albin Hansson, Severin Sjöstedt, Bernhard Nilsson, Oscar Olsson, Ernst Åström, Adolf Olsson, Rickard Sandler and Einar "Texas" Ljungberg. Just ten years later, the former Youth League was disbanded and the SSU was formed.

Fight for the right to vote

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Hence, universal suffrage is the price for which the bourgeoisie can buy a settlement by administration, instead of bankruptcy, pending in the court of revolution.

Hjalmar Branting, speech in Gävle 1886.

The fight for the right to vote was one of the most important struggles for social democracy from the very beginning. The Social Democrats were not alone in pushing the issue. Even Liberals conducted an active campaign for universal and equal suffrage. But universal suffrage had still not been achieved. The right to vote in parliamentary elections was limited to men and was based on income and wealth. When the Riksdag of the Estates was dissolved in 1865-1866, 20 per cent of the male population had the right to vote. With increased incomes, this percentage had grown to 60 per cent in 1908.

In 1902, a political general strike was carried out in favour of universal suffrage. A large number of workers was involved in the strike, but eventually had to call it off without achieving any results. However, a lasting effect of the general strike was that employers joined forces in the Swedish Employers' Confederation (SAF).

Support for universal suffrage grew, however, and at the same time, the powers that be were increasingly worried that more revolutionary sentiments would gain more support if the issue did not reach a solution on suffrage.

The first left-wing government in Sweden, led by the Liberal Karl Staaff in 1905, failed to reform electoral

law. In 1907, a right-wing government took office again under the leadership of Admiral Arvid Lindman. Lindman was forced to submit proposals for extending the right to vote, despite his own party's opposition. Men who reached 24 years of age the year before the elections and were not bankrupt, had paid their debts to the state and municipality and completed military service were given the general right to vote in elections to the Parliament's second chamber. Municipal voting rights were still not general, but followed a 40-point scale, meaning that wealthy people had more votes than the poor.

These changes were not greeted with any enthusiasm. The right wing thought that it relinquished too much power and the left felt that there was still a long way to go. However, the 1911 election was a huge success for the left, especially for the Social Democrats. Karl Staaff again became Prime Minister, but was forced by King Gustav V to resign because Staaff refused to build up the armed forces the way the right wing and the King wanted. However, the Social Democrats continued to increase their support in the electorate and became the largest party in the directly elected second chamber in 1915.

The fight for women's suffrage

The first proposal for women's suffrage was made in Parliament as early as 1884. Between 1902 and 1921 an intensive campaign for women's suffrage was pushed within the cross-party National Association for Women's Suffrage (LKPR). The Chairwoman of the National Association for Women's Suffrage in 1911-1914 was the Social Democrat Signe Bergman, who would later become the first Chairperson of S-Women.

The realisation that universal suffrage must apply to women gradually grew forth in the young labour movement. The young Per Albin Hansson presented three reasons why voting rights should also be given to women:

1. It is a human right that should go to all citizens,
2. Women have special interests to be protected in law,
3. Through their special characteristics, women would enrich political work.

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I was barely out of the pram before I had to mount the platform. Some big bosses smirked and some upper-class ladies (judging by their clothes) stared at me as if I were a strange animal. I immediately began to sort out ‘What do the Social Democrats want?’ – the jeers stopped, and even the ladies began to look like they were interested. My investigation was thorough. After the end of the speech, an older farmer’s wife came up and said ‘Thanks for telling the truth’ – this made me really happy, because it showed that they understood me. Loud applause followed, which altogether drowned out attempted heckling.

The first major social democratic meeting had now been held in Misterhult, Kanalen, and a breach shot in ‘Meurling’s wall’ – I felt satisfied. Our driver told me: You might think there were a lot of people here, I counted 120 bikes, and that is a lot indeed.

Kata Dalström in Stormklockan no. 41, on an election tour in August 1911.

Universal and equal suffrage becomes reality

During the war years, a “party truce” prevailed between the parties. They cooperated for the country’s best and avoided inciting political conflicts. In the war, the sympathies of the right-wing and the King rested with Germany while Social Democrats and Liberals sympathised with the UK and France. The war led to food rationing, which was poorly managed and led to social unrest. Under the influence of the Russian Revolution, the unrest in Sweden and the collapse of the German Empire - after which the Social Democrats came to power, the question of suffrage was also resolved in Sweden.

In 1917, the Social Democrats became a part of the government for the first time, together with the Liberals. Now, parliamentarianism also made its breakthrough. From now on, a government had to have the support of the Parliament. Previous governments had been built on the King’s approval. The new government tried to secure a deal with the right-wing, which, however, was unsympathetic to immediate changes in voting rights. Against the will of the right-wing, a government proposition was made on 14 November 1918 that entailed equal municipal voting rights for men from the age of 21. The proposition also included women’s suffrage and the elimination of several of the so-called lines, which limited the right to vote for those with low incomes.

However, the right to vote was still limited for those who were dependent on poor relief for their livelihood.

Facing facts, the right wing chose not to oppose the government proposition, although not without a fight. On 17 December 1918, the proposals on the right to vote in municipal elections were discussed in Parliament and that was essentially when Sweden received a democratic constitution. The following year, Parliament addressed the issue of women’s right to vote. In 1919, the first chamber was dissolved and municipal elections were held under the new regulations. In 1921, Parliament confirmed the previous decisions made on constitutional amendments. New elections were held soon thereafter. This was the first democratic parliamentary election, when five women were also elected to Parliament. They included the Social Democrats, Nelly Thüring and Agda Östlund.

Sweden was far from the first to implement universal suffrage; several Nordic countries were before. The UK, Australia, the United States and several other countries had also already implemented democratic reforms. In terms of women’s right to vote, New Zealand (1893) and Australia (1902) were the first, followed by the Nordic countries, with Sweden in last place.

Victories and setbacks for democracy in the 20th century

The beginning of the 20th century, when people in many European countries had won the right to vote, was no definitive victory for democratic ideals. Many setbacks could be noted during the 1920s and 1930s, when fascism, Nazism, military dictatorships and other forms of authoritarian regimes took over in almost all of Europe. After World War II, communist dictatorships were established in Eastern Europe. Spain remained a dictatorship, as did Portugal, and in Greece, a military junta seized power in 1967. Military dictatorships in Latin America came one after another.

But the end of the 20th century has entailed a new broad breakthrough for democracy. The southern European countries essentially democratised peacefully. The communist dictatorships collapsed with the Berlin Wall beginning in 1989. In Latin America, country after country was democratised so that the whole continent could be said to be democratic by the end of the 20th century. There are still many countries with dictatorial regimes, among them the world’s most populous state, China. But the democratic ideal of freedom seems still impossible to resist.



Photo: Unknown

First of May 1918.

Eight-hour workday

The eight-hour day had been on the political agenda of social democracy from the very beginning. In Sweden, an eight-hour day had been the main slogan since the first demonstration in 1890. Rhetorically, the reform demand was logical: eight hours of work, eight hours of recreation, eight hours of sleep.

Law or agreement?

Early discussion arose as to whether working hour reforms would be implemented in Parliament through legislation or by agreement between unions and employers. Several trade unions believed that it should be by agreement. There were mainly three reasons cited in support of legislation on a limit on working hours.

Firstly, international developments were pointed out. Many countries implemented reforms which limited

working hours to eight hours per day. Peaceful social change was considered essential and dissatisfaction with long working hours could be a source of unrest.

Secondly, the importance of workers' physical health was pointed out. Accidents at work most often occurred in the last few hours of the working day. Thirdly, it was argued that the workers' need for free time for family life, participation in civic affairs and the use of opportunities for the acquisition of skills and training.

One argument against legislation was that it would cause a shortage of labour. The right wing was against legislation, arguing that one should not lose touch with the national economic side of the matter, which meant that they complained about the reform as a path of suffering that they hoped would be as short as possible.

Employers were also against legislation and rejected the proposal.

But despite the opposition, success was achieved in Parliament. When the Social Democrats formed a government together with the Liberals in 1917, rapid reform efforts began. In February 1918, a working hours committee was appointed and 385 days later in March 1919, the government put forth a bill after the committee's report had been issued and circulated for comment.

Working Hours Act is expanded

The first Working Hours Act was temporary and was renewed on several occasions during the 1920s. It was not until 1930 that the law limiting working hours to eight hours a day became permanent. Subsequently, the laws were passed that applied to the employee groups that were exempt from the original law: farm workers (in 1936 and 1948), retail employees (1939) as well as the hotel and restaurant employees (1944).

The organisation of working hours was regulated in the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1949. There were rules on breaks and rest periods, as well as the fundamental prohibition of night work. The working hours issue became a first example of the practical social changes that could be implemented when the Social Democrats had political power, which was the result of the suffrage reforms that had been implemented. The debate on the extent of working hours has since been very much alive over the years.

Shorter working hours after the war

The law on the eight-hour workday did not entail a general 40-hour work week, but a 48-hour week. Most people worked all of Saturday. The work week was shortened to 45 hours through a decision of Parliament in 1957, a decision which was carried out in 1960. Through an agreement between LO and SAF, the work week was shortened to 42.5 hours between 1966 and 1969, which also had an impact on the Working Hours Act. In 1970, Parliament decided to shorten work hours to 40 hours a week, which occurred in two equally large steps. It was not until 1973 that working hours were down to eight hours a day for five days a week.

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Photo: Unknown

Three members of the first Social Democratic government of 10 March - 27 October 1920. From left: Minister for Finance Frederick William Thorsson, Prime Minister Hjalmar Branting and Minister for Foreign Affairs Erik Palmstierna at the government accession.



Photo: Unknown

The female Social Democratic MPs in May 1928. Agda Östlund, Olivia Nordgren, Signe Vessman, Stina Ekberg and Nelly Thürns.

Minority governments of the 1920s

Once the equal and universal suffrage was implemented, the Social Democrats' cooperation with the Liberals ended, and the Liberals also split into two parties based on different views on the need for an alcohol ban in Sweden. The first Social Democratic minority government was formed in 1920 with Hjalmar Branting as Prime Minister, and was followed by two more. However, the non-socialist parties had a majority in Parliament and the Social Democrats found it difficult raising support for their labour market and social policies.

During his third term, Branting fell ill and turned over the Prime Minister post to Rickard Sandler in 1925. Soon afterwards Branting died and shortly thereafter the finance minister and the Party's second in command, Frederick William Thorsson, who Branting actually intended to be his successor, also died.

The 1920s have been described as the empty decade. One government succeeded another. The Social Democrats did not have enough support to implement their social reforms. Once universal and suffrage had been secured, new parties also entered Parliament.

Labour market conflicts

The growing social conflicts in society concerned not least the labour market. Employers were trying to drive down wages and strike-breaking was common in conflicts. Trade unions and the working class were outraged by this, while bourgeois politicians and voters criticised the “trade union tyranny” and claimed “the right of third parties”. This included the notion that society and the citizens should not be affected by the consequences of labour market conflicts.

An important issue in labour market policy concerned compensation for those who were active in the labour market policy measures of the day. The non-socialists claimed that the unemployed could then be compensated with very low pay. The Social Democrats felt that they should have a salary equivalent to what a worker earned locally within the profession.

In 1926, the small mining town of Stripa became a part of Swedish history. There, a strike was long under way, launched by the syndicalists, but then sanctioned by the Mine Workers’ Union. In 1926, the Unemployment Commission decided to refer the unemployed to the workplace, in practice as strikebreakers. Those who refused were suspended from unemployment assistance.

The issue was raised in the Sandler Government, which felt that the decision was against the rules of neutrality in labour disputes that Parliament had approved. The Social Democratic minority government was then brought down by Parliament, where the Centre Right Party had a majority, and six years of different non-socialist minority governments followed. In 1928, the Ekman Liberal Government made proposals for collective agreements and a labour court which were met with disgust and anger in the labour movement.

The People’s Home generation and the 1930s

After the deaths of Branting and Thorsson in 1925, the second leadership generation of the Social Democrats appeared, whose most prominent members Per Albin Hansson, Gustav Möller and Ernst Wigforss shaped the policies of the 1930s, and much of what we currently perceive as social democratic content and characteristics. Post-war foreign policy doctrine, non-alignment in peacetime and neutrality in wartime are associated with Östen Undén. They turned 50 during the 1930s just like the Party (1939) and were characterised by a solid and long-lasting political background in the labour movement.

At his side throughout his career, Party Leader and Prime Minister Per Albin Hansson had Party Secretary and Minister of Social Affairs Gustav Möller. They had started in the youth movement and took part in the struggle against the left-wing together. Finance Minister Ernst Wigforss, the linguist who became an economist, was deeply involved in discussions about economic democracy just before and after 1920. Other prominent names were ABF founder Rickard Sandler, Prime Minister after Branting’s death and later foreign minister. Cultural politician and radical Arthur Engberg, the long-serving post-war Foreign Minister Östen Undén (1945-1962) as well as Minister for Agriculture Per-Edvin Sköld, who also became Minister for Finance after Wigforss. Women in leading roles as elected representatives or officials were still vanishingly few or quite isolated in both the Party and the trade union movement. None belonged to the inner circle of the labour movement and it is therefore not surprising that the People’s Home policies acquired paternal features. In the good People’s Home, the righteous man ruled.

Breakthrough for social democracy

The troubled 1920s turned into the even more troubled 1930s, mainly in mainland Europe but also in Sweden and the other Nordic countries. Communist parties acted on direct orders from the Stalinist Soviet Union and tried to gain control over the trade unions which led to bitter battles with Social Democratic trade unionists. Fascism, Nazism and various other authoritarians grew in influence and overthrew democracy in country after country. In Sweden, different Nazi movements appeared with their animosity directed not only at the Communists but also at social democracy and the trade union movement.

The stock market crash on Wall Street in the United States in 1929 led to a deep economic recession throughout the Western world, the Great Depression, with mass unemployment and a crisis in agriculture as well. The extreme political movements now believed they could gain political power through people's despair, like the Russian Communists did in 1917 and the German Nazis did in 1932.

Here lies
A Swedish worker
Fallen
In peacetime.
Unarmed,
Defenceless
Executed
By unknown bullets.
The crime was hunger.
Never forget him.

Erik Blomberg, poem published in the paper Social-Demokraten after the events in Ådalen in May 1931.

Further study: See the movie "Ådalen 31" [Adalen Riots] (directed by Bo Widerberg) and discuss the film's content.



The newspaper Social-Demokraten's front page on 15 May 1931.



The unemployed in line at the Unemployment Commission in 1933.

Photo: Meyerhöfstr

Sweden was also hit hard by the Depression; exports declined sharply and the government was stuck in the idea that the crisis should be combated through cut-backs and lower wages. A major bankruptcy for the global matchstick group Kreuger shook the country in 1932. Prime Minister Ekman had taken money from Kreuger and had to resign.

In the labour market where the unrest and strikes grew along with strikebreaking, a disaster occurred in 1931. During a strike in Ådalen, employers as usual called in strikebreakers. A demonstration was organised and

the workers marched through Lunde. Then soldiers, who had been called out, shot at the workers, killing five people. The labour movement expressed its horror at the incident and at the same time called for calm in the country.

The Depression, the Kreuger crash and the tragedy in Ådalen in 1931 created a social climate that, together with the inability of the non-socialist parties to find solutions to the problems, paved the way for social democracy's future success.

Discussion questions



- Discuss the decisions made by the Social Democratic Party during the emergence of democracy. Should they have been more insistent and militant? Could the development have gone faster? Why were compromises and step-by-step solutions needed? Did the Party act tactically correctly by prioritising universal and equal suffrage for men and letting women's suffrage lag behind or was this an expression of a patriarchal attitude in the Party, i.e. that women's suffrage was less important than that of male industrial workers?
- What should our position be on other authoritarian states today? Both we ourselves and these states often want to trade in goods and services, that we invest in them or they invest in us and have all sorts of exchanges. Should we take into account the "degrees of difference in hell" when discussing these states, when and what demands for democracy or human rights should be made?
- Opponents of universal and equal suffrage felt that those who had property would take greater responsibility for a stable development of society than those who had nothing of their own to lose, and that it was therefore reasonable for the rich to have more votes and thus more influence than the poor. Are there traces of this view left even today?
- The shortening of working hours to eight hours a day, and then the 40-hour week took place gradually over the 20th century. In several other countries, working hours continued to be reduced. The six-hour work day has been a goal for decades, but very little has happened. Should the Social Democrats push harder for the reduction in working hours? Or is the price for shorter working hours too high?
- The labour movement was deeply critical of the legislation on collective agreements and a labour court that was introduced in the late 1920s, when it sharply limited the right to strike. Today, strikes during the collective bargaining period – so-called wildcat strikes – are forbidden and a trade union organisation that calls for such strikes is subject to large fines by the Labour Court. Why did the Social Democratic Party eventually endorse and support the new order? What do you think about "wildcat strikes"?

3.

Era of the Swedish welfare state

New focus on consensus

After Branting's death in 1925, Per Albin Hansson was elected as the Party leader after some debate. He had numerous opponents in the Party, not least those who had returned after the split and in many cases had extensive influence. Per Albin Hansson struck a new tone for social democracy in which unity and cooperation were held up as a better recipe for the future than conflict and confrontation. As early as a Parliament debate in 1928, Per Albin Hansson held his famous "People's Home speech".

With Per Albin's formulations about the "folkhemmet" or People's Home, the new social democracy took shape. The social democratic values were still there, but there was a new tone and he pointed to new methods for solving the conflicts that existed. The emphasis was on solidarity. Equality and solidarity were necessary so that the masses would be able to enjoy the freedom that the well-off few had always had.

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The foundation of the home is the sense of community and belonging. The good home knows not of privileged or disadvantaged, no favourites or black sheep. There, no one looks down on another, no one is trying to gain advantage at the expense of others, the strong do not push down and plunder the weak. In the good home, equality, consideration, cooperation and helpfulness prevail. If Swedish society is to become the good home to its people, class differences must be eradicated, social care must be developed, an economic equalisation must take place, employees must be given a stake in the financial management, democracy must also be implemented socially and economically.

Per Albin Hansson, speech in the parliamentary debate, 1928.

Keynes and unemployment

On the economic-political front, a standard policy prevailed in the 1920s, based on the idea that unemployment was due to the fact that employees demanded excessively high salaries. If only employees adapted their wage demands, that is to say, actually lowered their wages, demand for labour would increase.

The British, social liberal economist John Maynard Keynes presented another solution in 1929. He claimed that unemployment was in fact due to demand being too small. If wages and activity in the economy were decreased in this situation, the problems would actually get worse; unemployment would rise. The state should instead use the budget to stimulate demand through subsidies, public works and investments – primarily in construction. Similar ideas were put forward in the United States among those who went on to become advisers to President Roosevelt and in Sweden among economists in the so-called Stockholm School.

Early on, Ernst Wigforss decided to support policies that stimulated demand and began to work based on this idea as the minister of finance. It was the basis for a crisis agreement in 1933 which entailed both employment efforts and support for agriculture. The agreement was reached with the Farmers' League, which had made gains in the 1932 election together with the Social Democratic Party.

Basically, one could say that Wigforss pursued an economic policy that made the subsequent social policy

reforms possible since more people found work and growth got started. The Liberals were divided on their attitude towards the new economic policy and the Right was isolated in its negative resistance.

The fiscal stimulus also had the help of monetary stimulus in the form of Sweden abandoning the gold standard in 1931. When the value of the Swedish currency fell, exports became cheaper for buyers abroad and the competitiveness of Swedish industry improved.

Per Albin Hansson provided a framing of the whole thing through the idea of the People's Home emphasising cooperation and consensus. LO's support was also ultimately necessary to avoid conflicts and LO felt that their members benefited from these policies because, in addition to the increased wages, it also meant social welfare reforms, and this became an important part of the Swedish model. Per Albin Hansson and the Social Democrats were able to rule in the minority until World War II, while electoral support continuously grew during the 1930s. However, in the summer of 1936, the government resigned when Parliament wanted to give more money to the armed forces than the government did, and the Farmers' League was then able to form a government, establishing the so-called "holiday government". A common solution which involved the higher defence spending was quickly agreed, however, and a new red-green coalition between the Social Democrats and the Farmers' League took office.



Photo: Unknown

Per Albin Hansson, speaking in 1940.



Photo: Unknown

Ernst Wigforss.

While the rest of Europe in the political and economic crisis of the 1930s and was beginning to mobilise for war, stable political conditions were created in the Nordic countries through collaboration between ever-stronger social democratic parties and non-socialist farmers' parties. An economic recovery was under way based on a cautious Keynesian policy and the first steps in the construction of the welfare state were taken.

Many major welfare reforms were begun in the 1930s and 1940s: new national pensions, unemployment insurance, preventive health care, the child allowance and the housing allowance. A social housing commission was also appointed, which worked in 1933-1947

with the aim of mapping overcrowding and developing guidelines for more and healthier homes. In 1935, an improvement initiative was begun for families with many children living in overcrowded conditions.

The ideas behind the reforms were largely formulated by Gustav Möller and Alva Myrdal. The reforms were based on an idea of welfare as a social right linked to citizenship. The welfare reforms were also based on the idea of a productive social policy. Better living conditions and preventive efforts would lead to better health and fewer social problems and would pave the way for a better economic development. All these measures became a part of the Swedish model.



Photo: Sallsredt

Gustav Möller in consultation with Sickan Carlsson.

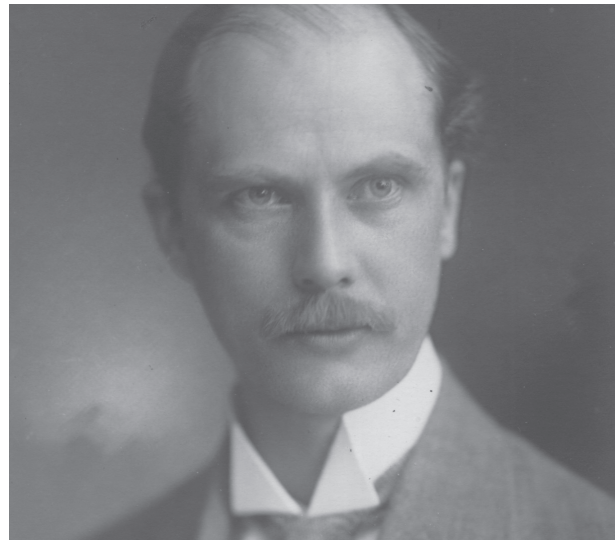


Photo: Unknown

Rickard Sandler.



Photo: Unknown

Dag Hammaskiöld and Östen Undén in 1959.



Photo: Unknown

Kata Dahlström.

Spirit of Saltsjöbaden

For a long time, the Swedish labour market had been marked by severe conflicts. Neither side was gaining ground. The workers continued to strike for better living conditions, and the employers continued to bring in strikebreakers and push for even tougher laws to make it harder for workers to organise. For example, it was common that workers' housing was owned by the employer, and that strikers were evicted.

In 1936, LO announced that negotiations with SAF would begin. Negotiations were held in Saltsjöbaden and in December 1938 the Saltsjöbaden agreement was reached. The "Swedish model" of voluntary agree-

ments within the framework set by society was born. Industrial peace was set as the common goal. LO accepted the Labour Court as an arbitration tribunal, but disputes over working conditions and other matters would primarily be resolved through negotiations and not by industrial action or court order.

The employers' side also ended the previously organised strikebreaking, which has since only occurred to a minor extent. The Swedish model on the labour market, built on consensus and agreement, would later develop in other areas of society and with other parties.

Women in the labour movement until World War II

Agda Östlund and Nelly Thüring have been mentioned. Östlund worked actively in Parliament against wife battering, for women's right to a pension and for better health care for women and children. When she took up the right to abortion, many MPs left the hall. Typographer and MP Olivia Nordgren became the only woman in the Party executive board in 1924 and for many years to come. In 1942, Anna Sjöström-Bengtsson became the first Social Democratic woman in the first chamber of the Swedish Parliament. In 1958, only 10 per cent of the Party's MPs were women. Hulda Flood became the Party's first female functionary in 1929. Her task was primarily to agitate among women.

Sigrid Ekendahl was the first female LO Ombudsman. She started out as a café waitress, and became active in union work in 1927. Ten years later, in 1937, she became the Ombudsman of Chapter 48 of the Swedish Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union. She was LO's first female Ombudsman and was Ombudsman 1948-1964. In addition to this, she was a long-serving member of Parliament.

However, the most famous social democratic woman after Kata Dahlström was Alva Myrdal (1902-1986, born Reimer). Her academic studies included psychology and family sociology. Together with her husband Gunnar Myrdal, she wrote the book "Crisis in the Population Question" in 1934, which became an important starting point for social democracy's social policy reforms. The book highlighted things that are givens today, such as responsibility for children should be divided between parents and society should take responsibility for the children through public child care. After the war she was increasingly involved in the disarmament issue. She did not become a cabinet minister until after the age of 60 in 1966-1973. Her commitment to peace led to her receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 1982, which she shared with Mexico's Alfonso García Robles.

Sweden during World War II

The Russian attack on Finland in the autumn of 1939 pulled the Nordic region into the politics of the great powers. The social democratic line was to keep Sweden out of the superpowers' conflicts. However, substantial support was given to Finland during the Winter War and many Swedish volunteers participated.

In December 1939, a coalition government was formed under Per Albin Hansson, where the Right-wing Party, the Farmers' League, and the Liberal Party took part. (The two liberal parties had reunited in the Liberal Party in 1934). Per Albin Hansson's idea of national unity from 1928 now appeared to be extremely foresighted and far-sighted. Nazis and Communists were isolated as extreme "fringe parties" and potential traitors.

After the German occupation of Denmark and Norway in 1940, Sweden was isolated between the German Nazi Empire to the west and south, and the Soviet Union in the east where the 1940 Soviet occupation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, moved its border to the west at the expense of Finland and divided Poland with Germany.

In terms of foreign policy, the war years entailed a difficult balancing act for the coalition government. Legitimate criticism has been levelled at our economic relations with Germany (among other things, Swedish mines supplied the German war machine with iron) and the government agreed to allow German troops to travel through Sweden.

Immediately after the war, there was a similar debate about what many believed was a Swedish and social democratic appeasement toward the Soviets. In particular, this concerned the extradition of Baltic soldiers in 1946 and Raul Wallenberg's disappearance in Russian captivity.

In terms of domestic policy, there was a truce between the parties and a comprehensive regulation of production and consumption was built up. The rationing system worked relatively well unlike the system in World War I when famine and riots were impending even in Sweden. The Social Democratic Party gained experience from business and financial management, which it was later able to build on after the war.



This is what it looked like in Stockholm on 1 September 1939 when all of these newspapers announced that war had broken out.

Photo: Göstra Ask

The election of 1940 was social democracy's greatest victory of all time with 53 per cent of the votes and was also a major victory for Per Albin Hansson personally. He was now seen as a symbol and guarantee of Sweden's independence. He became the first "father of the country" and also came to be called "Per-Albin" by the majority of the Swedish people.

In the elections of 1944, the Communist Party made extensive gains, but it was only a temporary success. The Cold War returned the Communists to a role on the fringe with only 4 to 6 per cent of the vote. The left-wing to the left of the Social Democratic Party, however, was yet to play an important role in the era of the Swedish welfare state, as promoter and initiator of some of the social changes that took place.

The policy of neutrality after World War II

The Social Democrats' foreign policy line had already been established during World War I by the then Minister for Foreign Affairs Östen Undén. It was peacetime non-alignment, aiming at wartime neutrality. An attempt was made at applying this line in World War II as well.

The policy of neutrality has played a major role in Swedish foreign policy. After the Second World War, it meant that Sweden stood outside the two defence alliances that were formed, in the West by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and in the East by the Warsaw Pact. Sweden also tried to encourage its Nordic neighbours to join a Nordic defence alliance. These efforts were fruitless, because Norway and Denmark felt obligated to join NATO while Finland had special considerations to show towards its large neighbour in the East, the Soviet Union.

The Swedish policy of neutrality, as it was officially conducted, meant that the country had to have relatively large armed forces, because we could not count on the support of other countries in the event of an outbreak of war. In practice, however, there was cooperation with NATO countries on measures to be taken in the event of Soviet aggression.

Despite the fact that the right-wing and the Social Democrats had always been far apart in the issue of defence, the situation almost demanded agreement on the defence budget. Long-term defence decisions have been pursued about every five years.

The foreign policy line has had many implications for politics in practice. It was a decisive argument for the Social Democrats and other political parties to refrain from applying for EU membership until the mid-1990s. It was also an important argument to be active in other international bodies, such as the United Nations, which had been formed after the end of World War II. It was a clear Swedish ambition that the United Nations would play an important role in efforts to maintain world peace. Dag Hammarskjöld was the Secretary-General of the United Nations in 1953-1961 and as such strived to ensure that the UN would be independent of the superpowers. This also contributed to Sweden's support for the United Nations.



Photo: Hemriec

May Day demonstration in Stockholm in 1960. Tage Erlander and Kanyama Chiume from Nyasaland.

More than four decades in power

A Social Democratic minority government took office in 1945 and the Social Democrats retained power until 1976, despite the Liberal Party and its new leader Bertil Ohlin's successes in the 1948 election. Accordingly, the Social Democrats ruled almost continuously for 44 years. A coalition with the Farmers' League in 1951-1957 was followed by the Party ruling alone as a minority government. Fragmentation of the non-socialist parties was a significant contributing factor. The Farmers' League, which later became the Centre Party, did not want to be part of a non-socialist bloc and both collaborated in coalition governments and stood in opposition with the Social Democrats.

In terms of foreign policy, the Centre Party also held the same view as the Social Democratic Party.

Party leader change in 1946

Per Albin Hansson died suddenly in 1946. After voting in the Party executive board and the parliamentary group, the former Minister of Education Tage Erlander was unexpectedly elected to be the new Party Leader and Prime Minister over Gustav Möller. Erlander remained until 1969 and towards the end was also seen as a Father of the Nation under whose governance the welfare state was created and Sweden experienced a unique period of high growth and jobs for all.

Founding of the welfare state

After the Second World War, the social reform policy that started in the 1930s was completed. It would later be further expanded in the 1960s and 1970s. We received a welfare state based on the principle of general welfare, everyone and not just those identified as “poor” would benefit from welfare. Children and the elderly were at the heart of the improvements. The national child allowance was added in 1948 after ten years of investigation. Pensions were raised in 1946, and municipal housing supplements for pensioners were added in 1952.

Möller’s goal that no pensioner would need to rely on poor relief was achieved. In 1956, the Social Assistance

Act replaced the humiliating and stigmatising Poor Relief Act. Holidays were extended from two to three weeks in 1953 and national health insurance was established in 1955. (Previously, many unions organised their own sickness benefits societies in the same way as unemployment benefit societies.) The welfare system was not mainly built at the state level, but through a continuous expansion of municipal operations. Small municipalities were brought together through a variety of municipal reforms into large municipalities. The last major municipal merger was completed in 1971. The municipal expansion, slum clearances, construction projects and transportation projects were often headed up by individual strong local politicians.

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The quest for security has always been at the heart of social democracy’s political work – security against unemployment, security against want and financial hardship. There is no conflict between the pursuit of security and the desire for freedom. In fact, the feeling of security is an asset of freedom of enormous significance to the individual. In a poor society, one must limit oneself to somewhat rough, general methods in order to achieve a practical solution to the problems of security at all. In a more affluent society, where the standard is rising and many of the basic problems with freedom are resolved, it is possible to increase the level of ambition and set up bolder objectives for the policy. There, society’s efforts can be deliberately targeted in such a way that they expand the individual’s sphere of freedom, adapt the efforts to the individuals’ special circumstances and thereby increase their possibilities of choosing how they want to shape their lives.

Tage Erlander in *The Society of Choice* (Tiden in 1962), p 77

Housing was another key social policy issue. Housing construction took place under public sector direction and 50,000 flats were built per year from World War II until 1958. The housing shortage was due partly to higher standards, but also to an influx of people from rural areas. The last major step in housing construction was made through the “Million Programme”, the construction of one million homes between 1965 and 1975. Housing was not only built in the suburbs, but urban centres in many cities were also cleaned up and rebuilt in the 1960s and early 1970s. The redevelopment of Stockholm began as early as the 1950s and a Metro network was also built there. The increase in

motoring led to road construction and various transportation projects around the country.

Tage Erlander and other leaders of the third generation were a driving force in the various welfare issues, especially Möller’s successor as the minister of social affairs, the organiser of agricultural workers and road agitator, Gunnar Sträng, who also became minister for finance in 1955. Tage Erlander talked about “the strong society”. The increase in private consumption should be followed by major public investments. These investments and expanded welfare demanded higher taxes.



Photo: Eric Lundqvist

Alva Myrdal. Post-war conference in 1943.



Photo: Unknown

Sven Aspling.



Photo: Hennried

Karin Kock.



Photo: Unknown

Gunnar Sträng.

The third generation of leaders

Prime Minister Tage Erlander and Minister for Finance Gunnar Sträng became icons of post-war development with a higher standard of living, the welfare state and high employment. Ever the Prime Minister, Erlander was of a stature as long as the Social Democratic Party's governance and equipped with an unyielding belief in reason and progressive optimism. Sträng was the symbol of economic security, seemingly infallible like the Pope in his economic assessments and with discipline over both employers and trade unions.

Another important leader in the third generation was Torsten Nilsson, who after he resigned as Party Secretary was in government from 1940 to 1971 in key ministerial posts as the Minister of Defence, Minister for Social Affairs and, after Östen Undén's departure, as Foreign Minister in 1962-1971. Two other prominent leaders were "Big Sven" and "Little Sven", that is, Sven Andersson and Sven Aspling. Sven Andersson succeeded Torsten Nilsson as Party Secretary, but passed the baton to Sven Aspling, who had the post from 1948 to 1962 after which he became Minister for Social Affairs until 1976. Sven Andersson became both minister of communication and then defence minister when Tor-

sten Nilsson left these posts and finally also minister for foreign affairs in 1973-1976.

Under the third-generation leaders, women began to emerge. The first woman to become cabinet minister was Karin Kock in 1947. Most notable was the pugnacious Ulla Lindström, cabinet minister from 1954 to 1966, who however Erlander never entrusted with a full ministerial responsibility, but rather had to make the most of running a "general store".

Somewhat typical of the period, Minister for Education Hildur Nygren was sacrificed when the coalition government was formed with the Farmers' League in 1951. She was also considered too weak by Erlander. The question is, however, what demands he placed on the men. After many years of waiting, Alva Myrdal joined the government in 1966 when Ulla Lindstrom retired. In 1967, the government had two women for the first time, when Camilla Odhnoff also became a cabinet minister. In addition to Ulla Lindstrom, there was Inga Thorsson, perhaps the most prominent and driving woman of her generation. She was never let into the government, but received a number of foreign appointments including that of ambassador to the UN.

Discussion questions



- The Social Democrats were in power in Sweden almost continuously for 44 years, and during that time large parts of the welfare state we have now grew forth. What enabled such a long period in government? How did being in power affect the Party?
- The new Keynesian economic policy that the Social Democrats introduced in the 1930s was a response to the global financial crisis, the Great Depression. What similarities exist between the economic crisis of the 1920s and 1930s and the recent financial crisis that hit the world in 2008?
- The 1930s marked a clear shift in social democratic politics. The more direct arguments around socialising industry were replaced by a clear focus on regulation and Keynesianism. The welfare state began to be built up as something of a "socialist sector" in society, owned and managed collectively and without private profit interests. At the same time, the bulk of the economy continued to be privately owned, and policy focused on setting limits for the market through laws, agreements and public investment. How should we have it today – what do we need to own together and what should be carried out on a regulated market?

Struggle for pensions

The biggest reform and welfare issue during the 1950s was the question of pensions which also developed into a political battle. A battle that was to reactivate the labour movement and lay the basis for the electoral successes of the 1960s.

The issue that dominated the entire 1950s was a pension reform that would give workers a reasonable occupational pension. The general national pension was out of date, and had already been introduced in 1914 by a Liberal government. But there were still poor conditions for the elderly in many places. Many older people had a low standard of living, and often lived on annuities in crowded cottages. When the public took care of the elderly, it was often in the form of an old people's home where the elderly were forced to sleep

in the large halls with very low standards. The financial compensation for old age, the pension, was also very unequal. White-collar workers had assured themselves a remuneration in proportion to their income through agreements. Blue-collar workers often had to make do with only the basic state pension, and had no pension linked to earned income.

As the general standard of living rose throughout Sweden, so did the expectations of resolving the pensioners' financial circumstances. The entire 1950s were marked by attempts to resolve the question of a national supplementary pension, ATP. Already in 1944, the first motion in question was submitted to Parliament and the first commission was appointed in 1947.

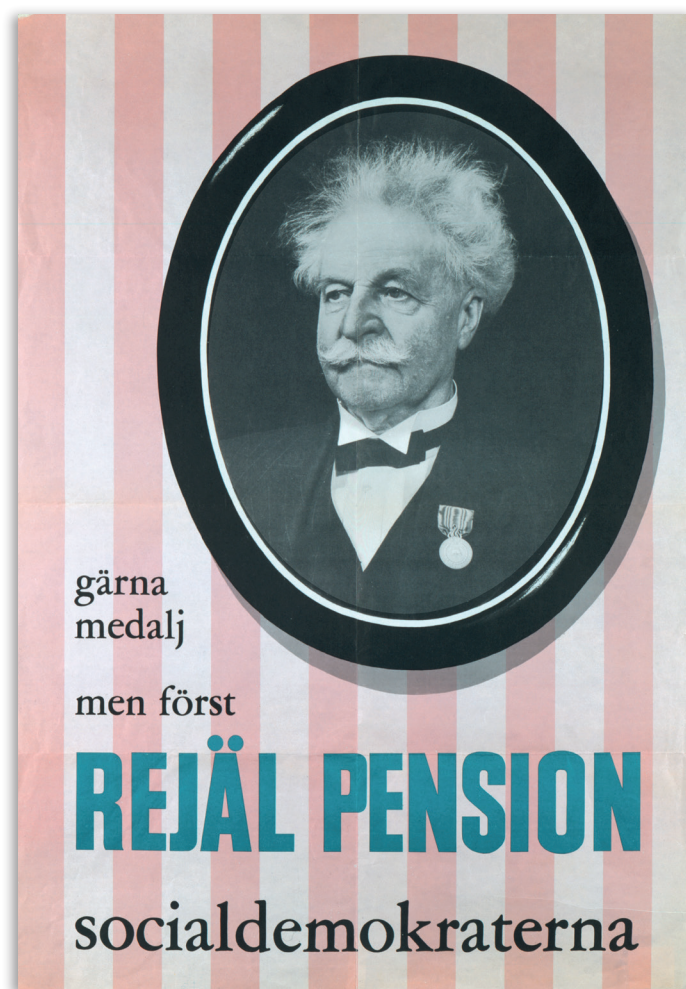
In total, three major commissions were carried out of the national supplementary pension before the decision would be made. The last commission submitted its report at the beginning of 1957. Three different lines to resolve the pension issue came forth. The Social Democrats wanted to finance the national supplementary pension through payroll taxes, and that this pension would be in proportion to income during working life. This line was supported by the Left Party, LO and TCO. The Centre Party had its own line and wanted to see an increased national pension and an optional additional insurance, guaranteed by the state. The Right-wing Party and the Liberal Party wanted the labour market parties to reach agreements on funds

Occupational pension system

The ATP system as it was structured in the 1950s continued to largely remain in effect until the mid-1990s. Then, Parliament decided on a radical reform of the pension system. The cost of the ATP system was independent of the economic development of society and calculated on the basis of a certain average life span. When growth did not occur in the crisis years of the early 1990s and life expectancy increased without ATP fees being increased to the same degree, this increased concern for the long-term financing of the pension system. In the years 1994-1998, the new pension system was introduced, which is defined contribution rather than defined benefit. The new system came into effect on 1 January 1999. The pension is now determined by lifetime income and premiums paid, as well as developments in the premium reserve funds. The new pension system was designed as a compromise between the Social Democrats and the four non-socialist parties in Parliament.

Referenda in Sweden

1922 Prohibition referendum on the sale of alcohol. 1955 The change-over to right-hand traffic. 1957 National occupational pension. 1980 Energy vote on the phasing-out of nuclear power. 1994 Referendum on Sweden's membership in the European Union. 2003 On Sweden's participation in the third stage of the EMU (Economic and Monetary Union).



Election poster in 1958.

that were managed by the companies. This line was also supported by the SAF, now the Confederation of Swedish Enterprise and SIF, the Swedish Union of Clerical and Technical Employees in Industry.

In October 1957, there was a referendum on the ATP. The line supported by the Social Democratic Party and the LO got the most votes. But the results could be interpreted in different ways, the Social Democrats' line got less than 50 per cent of the vote. Through negotiations between the various parties they tried to resolve the issue. The negotiations were interrupted in early 1958 because no consensus could be reached. The Farmers' League's representatives in the government resigned and a purely Social Democratic minority government was formed. At the beginning of 1958, there was a government proposal in the ATP-issue that fell through in the parliamentary vote.

The government had declared that it would resign if the proposal did not go through. Parliament's second

chamber was therefore dissolved and early elections were called. The election was held on 1 June 1958 and was a success for the Social Democrats and a blow to the Liberal Party.

But still, the Social Democrats did not have enough support in Parliament's second chamber to push through their policies. In March 1959, the government presented a new proposal in the ATP-issue. The Liberal Party MP Ture Königson announced that he would abstain from the final vote, despite the fact that the Liberal Party was against the government proposal. His reason was that only the government had a worked-out proposal, the two other proposals were only a proposals of principle. At the vote in 1959, it was 115 votes for the government's proposal against 114 against and one abstention, which meant that the government's proposal was approved by Parliament. A Liberal who chose not to follow his party's line therefore decided ATP-issue in Parliament. On 1 January 1960, the ATP entered into force, and in 1963, the first ATP pensions were paid.

Issue of Swedish atomic weapons

The other major political issue in the 1950s was whether Sweden should also acquire atomic weapons. Sweden had the technical knowledge and some saw potential savings in defence costs through a nuclear weapon deterrent. The supreme commander demanded that the matter be investigated in 1954. The Social Democratic Women in Sweden which was led by Inga Thorsson took a clear stand against nuclear weapons at their Congress in 1956 while SSU was both for and against. Several of the older persons in the Party were also against nuclear weapons, including Ernst Wigforss and Östen Undén. Per Edvin Sköld was the most

immediate proponent, while Erlander faltered in his position. A compromise in the Congress of 1958 ended up in the need to study the issue. A study group was set up in late 1958 with Erlander as chairman and Olof Palme as secretary. In December 1959, a report came from a unanimous study group stating that “at present, there are overwhelming reasons against the decision on a production of Swedish nuclear weapons.” This was then approved by the Party Congress in 1960, and the problematic matter was also thereby removed from the social democratic agenda.



May Day demonstration in Stockholm in 1957. Women demonstrate against atomic weapons.

Photo: Svenskt Fotoreportage



Photo: Unknown

In the post-war period, Sweden increased the standard of living at rocket speed. Apartment interior in 1954. Sven Vikström with family.

An active labour market policy

Sweden, which stayed out of the war, was able to take advantage of the construction of Europe during the post-war period that took a long time – not least in Germany. Swedish industry was intact and exports increased to countries that were under construction. Apart from a minor crisis, with rising inflation and economic problems in the early 1950s, the so-called Korean crisis, we were able to note 25 years of robust growth, large rationalisations, increases in standards and comprehensive reform activities.

The full employment played a major role and labour market policy was developed through the so-called Rehn-Meidner model (which is a part of the Swedish model) in the 1960s. It meant that an active labour market policy would be pursued that made sure to educate and keep the unemployed active to the furthest possible

extent. The state would give grants to individuals and companies that received employment through active efforts. The workforce would be mobile, move to industries and companies that were expanding and to regions where demand was high. Mobility allowances were a frequently used instrument.

It was so successful that the protests grew. “We aren’t moving!” became a Norrland slogan in the 1970s and the abbreviation of the Swedish National Labour Market Board, AMS, was said to mean “All Must South”. To meet the criticism, a regional policy was drawn up in the late 1960s. They began to ask why labour should move to the companies and not the other way around. Companies received grants to relocate operations to places with a weak labour market.

Equality reforms

There were not enough men to fill the Swedish labour market's needs. From 1950 to 1970, the number of women in LO doubled. The number of gainfully employed women tripled from 1950 to 1990. So that women could participate in the labour market, a massive expansion of child care was required. In 1950s, there were 10,000 – 15,000 places, in 1971 around 90,000 and 1990 approximately 400,000. The need for more labour drove the gender issues that attracted the attention of Party Congresses in 1960 and 1964 and became a major issue at the Extraordinary Party Congress in 1967.

The Social Democrats were very successful in parliamentary elections in 1962, 1964 and 1968. However, municipi-

pal elections in 1966 yielded results that were low in their day. Social Democrats were perceived as tired and running low on ideas, which led the Party leadership, headed by Tage Erlander, to convene an Extraordinary Party Congress in 1967 under the theme "Greater equality". It had become clear that growth policy had not eliminated all the old class divisions, and had created a number of new social problems. A new sub-class had grown forth in the suburbs and large residential areas.

Another important area for the Social Democrats was the education system which was now fundamentally changed. The old system of short-lived elementary school and secondary school for some was replaced by the nine-year compulsory school for all by a parliamentary decision in 1962 and an upper-secondary school for almost all in 1971. Higher education was expanded, although the large expansion would come with the universities in the 1970s.

A number of "new" issues were addressed during the 1960s, especially by young people and these issues formed the basis for new or revitalised social movements. Equality between men and women began to be discussed in earnest now that the women accounted for a significant share of the labour market. The expansion of the welfare state mainly occurred with a female workforce and there were also not enough men in industry. With more women in the labour market, childcare was demanded, as was more equal sharing of domestic work and care of children. Environmental issues began to be recognised as various chemicals had begun to be liberally used in both agriculture and industry. The higher pace of work and increasing stress in the 1960s also contributed to making occupational safety and health issues of current interest.

The 1960s were a time of change with liberal, social democratic and even more left-leaning social and political winds. The secularisation of society was clear. Similarly, a number of prohibitions and taboos were challenged. Discriminatory structures and legislation began to be phased out.



Photo: Unknown

May Day demonstration in 1975 – Day care for Johan!

Land of emigration becomes land of immigration

Until the 1920s, the exodus of the poor from Sweden had been very extensive. In the 1930s, this turned around as a result of hard times in the United States and better times in the new People's Home Sweden. Before and during World War II, there was some refugee immigration of Jews and political refugees from Nazi-controlled parts of Europe – something that incited criticism among large parts of the Swedish right-wing.

After World War II, Sweden had extensive labour immigration. Towards the 1960s, the addition of women as wage-earning workers was not even enough to cover Sweden's needs. A majority of the immigrant workers were Finns and other Nordic citizens, but there were also significant elements of immigrants from Italy, what was then Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey.

Immigration took place to the major cities and industrial municipalities, where there was a need for manpower. Some municipalities bordering on Finland and Norway received a high percentage of foreign nationals and the Finns became a large population group in several municipalities, mainly in central Sweden. The trickle of political refugees that Sweden had always taken in also grew as transportation improved. After 1973, Syrians from Turkey and the Middle East, as well as Chileans became the first major, non-European immigrant groups in Sweden.

Foreign nationals who had residence permits were given the right to vote in the municipal and county council

elections in 1976, but the first election in which immigrants without citizenship could vote was to some degree a disappointment with turnout only reaching 60 per cent. At the time, few anticipated that turnout among foreign nationals would subsequently fall even more to reach about 35 per cent in the 2000s. The immigrants were even more under-represented in elected assemblies than women, which is still the case today. In the 1996 book "Beslutsfattarna" (Decision-makers) about the Social Democratic Party's parliamentary group, women's representation is addressed, as well as issues of social and age representativeness.

The immigrants are not mentioned. Danish-born Grethe Lunblad from Helsingborg, an MP from 1968 to 1991, may have been one of the early representatives. Erkki Tammenoksa from Stockholm was involved in establishing the first Finnish-speaking social democratic organisation, a trade union club in Metall in 1965. He later became an MP from 1982 to 1991. The Finnish-born female textile worker Lahja Exner was a member of Parliament from Borås in 1979-1994 and a member of the Party executive board in 1981. With Juan Fonseca, born in Colombia, an MP in 1994-1998, the Social Democratic Party probably had its first MP with a non-European background. It was not until after the elections in 2002 that a large group of people born outside Europe became Social Democratic MPs. The first Social Democratic cabinet minister who was born abroad was the Minister of Justice, Laila Freivalds, who was born in Latvia.

Discussion questions



- Which factors were most important to the strong economy in Sweden after the Second World War?
- How important to economic development were gender reforms that made it possible for women to be gainfully employed?
- Sweden has been neutral since before the First World War. At least officially. Is it important to maintain neutrality in the future? Why?

Party leader change in 1969

Tage Erlander stepped down at the Party Congress in 1969 after 23 years as Party Chairman and Prime Minister. Once again, the Party was facing a change in Party Leadership, this time planned and prepared well in advance compared to when Per Albin Hansson suddenly and unexpectedly died in 1946. This time, the Party also opted for a generational shift. In 1946, the

quite unknown Erlander was chosen over the veteran Gustav Möller. Now Olof Palme was chosen, Erlander's young long-time colleague. With Palme, the Party sought a leader in stride with the times, who could energise the Party in relation to the radical youth groups. The international issues were highlighted, and solidarity with the Third World was emphasised.

Olof Palme (1927-1986)

Palme was the Social Democratic Party Chairman from 1969 until his death on 28 February 1986. He was Prime Minister between 1969 and 1976 and between 1982 and 1986.

Olof Palme came from a bourgeois home, marked by the upper class in Östermalm as it was. He became convinced of the ideas of social democracy in his early adolescent years. He was active in the SSU in the 1950s and was employed by Tage Erlander in the Prime Minister's Office as early as 1953. He had a tremendous capacity for work and gradually was entrusted with duties of increasing responsibility.

He was elected to the first chamber of the Swedish Parliament in 1958 and entered the government in 1963. From 1965 to 1967, he served as communications minister and then minister of education until he became Prime Minister in 1969.

He was associated with many controversial and powerful expressions. He called the Franco regime in Spain "Satan's murderers" and the police chief in Prague who obediently followed the orders of the occupying Soviet forces a "tool of the dictatorship". He was perhaps most notorious for his comparison of the U.S. bombing of Hanoi on Christmas 1972 with the oppression in South Africa, extermination camps in Poland and other acts of violence carried out by unscrupulous regimes.

Already in his lifetime, Olof Palme was a controver-

sial figure in conservative circles and in the left-wing. As Party Leader, he was subjected to harsh smear campaigns. Since 1982, a lot of these concerned the Soviet submarine violations of Swedish territorial waters.

In his time in office, Palme carried out important labour market reforms, of which co-determination and job security were the most important. He led reforms that would increase the influence of employees in their workplaces. Employee investment funds were also implemented during his second period as Prime Minister. A number of educational reforms were also carried out during his term. Especially the student welfare reform with student grants and student loans bore his mark. Palme was also a far-sighted environmental politician. Early on, he pointed out the waste of resources that characterised the Western world, and called for a change in views on the consumption of goods and finite resources.

He was a devoted internationalist, with many missions on the international political scene. He asserted the small nations' right to self-determination. He brokered peace in the Iran-Iraq war, and he led a UN team tasked with formulating a strategy for "common security", a report that heralded the end of the Cold War.

Olof Palme was murdered in the street in Stockholm on 28 February 1986. The killer has not yet been able to be convicted in a legally-valid judgement.



Olof Palme.

Photo: John Wahlbärj

Issues of the 1970s

The long period of high economic growth in Sweden levelled off in the 1970s. In 1974, the so-called oil crisis occurred when the cartel of oil-producing countries OPEC drastically raised the price of oil, which drove the entire Western world to a recession. As a small export-dependent country, Sweden was hit hard. During the recession of the 1970s, industry-specific crises also arose, primarily in the shipbuilding, textile and steel industries.

From the beginning of the 1970s, major investments were made in a new source of energy that would have direct political implications. Sweden's first commercial nuclear reactor, which is still in operation, Oskarshamn 1, became operational in 1972. A total of 12 reactors were built at four sites, of which those in Barsebäck evoked the most protests.

A number of reforms were implemented in the early 1970s. In the equal opportunity area, individual taxation was introduced in 1971. Married women gained economic independence and were now taxed in the same way as men. Equality was also manifested in the maternity allowance from 1955 being replaced by pa-

rental insurance in 1974. The man now received the same right to stay home and take care of the children as the woman. A right which helped to increase men's responsibility for home and children. Another important freedom reform for women was the right to abortion.

In the winter of 1969, a wildcat strike broke out at the state owned LKAB's mines in Kiruna. This was a clear manifestation of the problems in working life discussed in the trade union movement as well as the income gaps.

At a brisk pace, Sweden gained new labour law in the 1970s that significantly advanced the positions of employees. Work environment legislation was tightened up significantly. Responsibility of employers for a good working environment was emphasised and it became possible, for example, for safety delegates at the workplace to stop production if he or she considered there to be a danger to life and health if work continued. Job security was improved with the introduction of the Employment Protection Act (LAS). In addition, the Co-determination at Work Act (MBL) was also introduced, which was supposed to give workers more influence



Photo: Unknown

The working group that formulated the proposal for employee funds. Carl Lidbom (SAP), Rune Molin (LO), Rudolf Meidner (LO), Kjell-Olof Feldt (SAP), Anna Hedborg (LO) and PO Edin (LO).

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History is not dead. This is what I learned when I travelled around and studied American companies in Latin America. The corporate masters did not want to hear about the sins of the past. But the results of the past sins – land, buildings, machinery, or simply put: capital – was something they naturally did not want to give up. It was inviolable private property and could not be touched. History is important because the result of it remains. The past is still providing returns. The past is still providing power. In Sweden as well as in Latin America. This book shows how you can explore the history of labour and capital at your own workplace. It is a practical manual that describes how to go about examining a job – in the world, in your home town, in the company, at the union, at school, at the office of the Labour Inspectorate, in genealogy, in the tax calendar, in letters and journals, at museums, with the insurance company, in court, in inventions and in many other ways. Sixty years after the conquest of political democracy, the Swedish labour movement is now ready to conquer economic democracy. It requires a new view of the company, a view that puts the work and the workers in focus. The starting point is your own experience – this book shows you what you can make of it. Dig where you stand!

From “Gräv där du står – Hur man utforskar ett jobb” (Dig where you stand – How to explore a job) by Sven Lindqvist, 1978

over the conditions in the workplace. The solidary wage policy also meant that there was an unused margin to increase wages in many companies that had a greater capacity to pay wages than the average wage development. These excess profits created concern in the employee ranks and the union answer to the issue at the 1976 annual LO Congress was employee funds. Excess profits would become union-controlled equity, which would increase democratic influence over the economy. The proposal for employee funds was modified several times and after the Social Democrats' victory in 1982, became

a profit-sharing tax for regional funds. The funds were liquidated in 1992 and the capital was used to strengthen the pension system and research.

Discussions on nuclear power marked a large part of the political debate during the 1970s and 1980s. The nuclear power debate culminated to a certain extent in the 1980 referendum, although the debate on the decommissioning of the 12 nuclear reactors has subsequently continued. The Barsebäck nuclear power plant was shut down completely in 2005.

Electoral defeat in 1976

In 1976, the Social Democrats lost power after 44 years. For the first time, new leader of the Centre Party, Torbjörn Fälldin, entered the Centre Party into close cooperation with the Liberal Party and the Moderates (formerly the Right-wing Party). However, their time in government did not go very well, and there were four centre-right governments in the span of two election periods. The Centre Party was thought to have brought down the Social Democrats in the election with the help of the nuclear issue. But nuclear power then came to create divisions within the non-socialists because neither the Liberal Party nor the Moderates were opposed to nuclear power.

Unemployment was high compared to before and the national budget deficit grew. The Social Democrats won the 1982 elections and returned to government.



Photo: Unknown

A happy Olof Palme celebrates the election victory in 1982.

The fourth generation of leaders

Palme's government after the election in 1973 was the first in which he himself selected the cabinet ministers. It can be said to represent the fourth generation of leaders in the Social Democratic Party. There were names like Ingvar Carlsson, Kjell-Olof Feldt, Sten Andersson, Birgitta Dahl, Anna-Greta Leijon and Tage G. Petersson. In 1982, Kjell-Olof Feldt became the new Minister for Finance, and Ingvar Carlsson was given the role of Deputy Prime Minister. Sten Andersson was already Party Secretary since 1962, but as of 1985 became a cabinet minister (first the Minister for Social Affairs and then Minister for Foreign Affairs). Just like Ingvar Carlsson, Tage G. Petersson held various ministerial posts and ended his political career as the Speaker of the Swedish Parliament. The fourth generation was shaped by the late 1940s and early 1950s with the Cold War and a nascent welfare.

More women as cabinet ministers

Palme's government in 1973 also had first four and then five female cabinet ministers, which at that time was considered to be many and an expression of equality. In addition to veteran Alva Myrdal, there were Gertrud Sigurdsen, Nancy Eriksson (later known as Sweden's first female county governor) and Anna-Greta Leijon. Sigurdsen later became Minister for Social Affairs and Leijon was both the Minister for Labour and the Minister for Justice. In 1974, just before her 31st birthday, Lena Hjelm-Wallen also joined the government. She thereby beat Östen Undén's old record from 1917, when he was just over 31 years at the time of his appointment. Birgitta Dahl became a cabinet minister in 1982, later the Minister for the Environment and Energy, and then the Speaker of Parliament from 1994 to 2002. After Palme's death, Ingvar Carlsson continued with "Palme's Cabinet" in various central posts until the electoral defeat in 1991. In the 1994 election campaign, Carlsson had promised that a Social Democratic government would have an equal number of men and women and he kept his promise, as 11 of the 22 cabinet ministers were women.

Struggle for LGBTQ equal rights

In the 1970s, the first steps were taken in a new revolution for freedom, the struggle for LGBTQ equal rights. Until 1934, homosexual intercourse had been illegal, punishable by up to two years of hard labour. It was the Social Democratic MP Vilhelm Lundstedt who made sure that this regulation was abolished. Homosexual acts remained illegal until 1944. Then, they were no longer criminal acts, but were branded as a mental illness until 1979.

RFSL, the Swedish Federation for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer Rights was formed in 1950 and became more politically active in the 1970s. Among other things, the Federation worked to do away with the mental illness label. A campaign outside the National Board of Health and Welfare in 1979 resulted in the newly appointed head of the Board, the Liberal Party's Barbro Westerholm, to abolish the branding of

homosexuality as an illness. Between 1978 and 1984, the National Commission on Homosexuality worked to remove remaining discrimination of homosexuals from legislation, which took place gradually.

Continued progress for LGBTQ equal rights

In 1995, Sweden passed a Registered Partnership Act that gave same-sex couples the same civil law protection as in a marriage, a first form of protection against discrimination in working life and, in 2003, a ban on incitement of hatred on the grounds of sexual orientation.

The Stockholm Pride Festival was first held in 1998 and has since become a growing event that no political party ignores. In the 2000s, several important reforms were implemented, such as the right of same-sex couples to adoption and a change in partnership and marriage legislation so that it was the same regardless of gender.

Discussion questions



- Sweden's minorities and immigrants were long invisible in Swedish society, and Social Democrats also did not pay them full attention. What can we learn from this?
- Since the late 1960s pointed criticism has been levelled against the Social Democratic "concrete policy", an insensitivity to how individuals are affected by the implications of political decisions. This concerned, for example, our support of people in Sweden moving into the cities, an insensitivity in conjunction the demolition of various old buildings and various transportation issues. What are your views on this? Which mistakes have been made? Could the Party have made different choices, and what choices should be made today and when? Discuss based on the past and present in your own town.
- Since the 1970s, environmental and climate issues have become increasingly important. How can Social Democrats combine respect for the environment and good economic development?
- The employee funds were an attempt to create economic democracy, which has periodically been a major issue throughout the history of the labour movement. Were employee funds doomed to failure? How should we view the issue of economic policy today?

4.

Social Democratic Party after 1982

When the Social Democrats returned to power in 1982, incoming Minister for Finance Kjell-Olof Feldt started with an enormous devaluation. The weaker Swedish krona gave a boost to Swedish exports, and thereby the economy as a whole. Now an economic policy was launched known as the third way policy. It meant that we would both save and expand our way out of the crisis.

During the 1980s, unemployment fell and activity in the economy increased. But at the same time, inflation soared and the economy became increasingly overheated after the extension of credit and foreign exchange trading had been deregulated in the mid-1980s. When the Social Democrats wanted to cool down the economy with different actions, a fierce debate took place between the unions and the political labour movement. LO harshly criticised the new economic policy. This conflict came to be known as the War of Roses.

In February 1986, the assassination of Olof Palme was a traumatic experience for the entire Swedish people. In-

gvar Carlsson, Palme's stalwart and Deputy Prime Minister for decades, was chosen as his successor. Carlsson served as the Party Leader for ten years. During his time, crisis politics stood were the focus. Difficulties in getting control over a runaway economy and problems holding together both branches of the labour movement in a difficult time were other elements of Carlsson's time as Prime Minister.

The Party, however, celebrated its centenary in 1989 in good spirits. It had not only won in 1982, but also won the next two elections. The economy appeared to be on an even keel again and new reforms were discussed. Ingvar Carlsson helped to lay the foundation for a radical renewal of the policies in key areas. This concerned tax policy, Europe, defence policy and energy policy.

Europe was in a state of flux and in autumn 1989, dictatorships in Eastern Europe fell, and Germany was reunited the following year. In 1991, even the Soviet Union was dissolved.



Photo: Anders Löwdin

On 1 January 1995, Sweden became a full member of the EU after a yes vote in the referendum in 1994.



Photo: Marcus Frenberg

Ingvar Carlsson, Party Chairman 1986-1996 and Prime Minister in the two periods.

EU membership

After World War II, the cooperative organisation EEC was formed by six member countries on the continent. The intention was to open the borders for trade between countries and create greater cooperation. All six countries belonged to the NATO military alliance.

Cooperation grew gradually – partly by more Member States being added and partly by focusing work on more areas where cooperative bodies also received greater and greater powers. Today, the organisation goes under the name of the EU, the European Union.

In Sweden, at the end of the 1960s, accession to the EEC was discussed. However, Sweden stopped at a free-trade agreement in 1972. The main reason for this was that the Social Democrats did not find membership to be compatible with neutrality.

After the changes in Eastern Europe began and the Wall had fallen, the Carlsson Government made the assessment that the security situation had changed enough to submit an application for membership to the EU. The Party had previously been sceptical if not negative, but now changed its tune. The economic and political benefits of being part of the Union were fully considered to outweigh the risk of a weakened democratic influence and a European adaptation of Swed-

ish legislation with the risks this could entail for the achievements of the labour movement.

Economic cooperation was expanded by goods, services, capital and people being able to move freely across national borders within the EU. In addition, monetary union was begun through various steps, including the exchange rates between their currencies being more closely tied to each other, an independent central bank being established in the various countries and by the commitment to stay within the financial frameworks.

In January 1999, the single currency, the Euro, was introduced as a means of payment in several of the then Member States of the EU. The Swedish Social Democrats were divided on the matter – supporters saw a transition to the Euro as a key step in European integration while opponents feared the economic and democratic consequences of the monetary union. An Extraordinary Party Congress in March 2000 was in favour of a “yes” vote to the Euro as a currency, but in the referendum held in September 2003, the “no” side won. The economic decline that followed the international financial crisis of 2008 affected individual Euro area countries hard and the strains raised questions about the future of the eurozone.



Photo: Anders Löwdin

Göran Persson, Party Chairman and Prime Minister 1996-2007. Photo:

The crisis of the 1990s

At the beginning of the 1990s, the economy was overheated and the Social Democrats had trouble getting their proposals passed in Parliament. The Carlsson Government was forced to resign in 1990 and then to come back. A series of political scandals showed up and “hunting journalism” was born in earnest. Elections in 1991 resulted in a non-socialist four-party government which, however, was in the minority and needed support from the immigration and xenophobic New Democracy to push through its policies in Parliament.

The strong recovery in the late 1980s, however, quickly changed into an even stronger decline in the early 1990s, when more than half a million jobs were lost.

Sweden fell into its deepest crisis since the 1930s. Industrial employment dropped rapidly the early 1990s. Almost one out of every four manufacturing jobs were lost between 1990 and 1994. It was not until the end of 1997 that employment began to grow again. The service sector, especially the private service sector, accounted for all the employment growth that has taken place in the labour market since 1997.

The Moderate Bildt Government was forced to come to terms with the Social Democrats on both an economic crisis package as well as issues concerning a revised pension system.

Post-crisis period

After the elections in 1994, the Social Democrats returned to government. Now, Göran Persson became the Minister for Finance and pushed through a programme to create a balance in the state's finances through an extensive programme of cuts and large tax increases.

In 1996, Ingvar Carlsson resigned at an Extraordinary Party Congress. The Party Leader transition was planned and announced well in advance. Yet, the transition was marked by high drama when the first candidate, Mona Sahlin, had dropped out after a credit card scandal. In the end, the Party agreed on choosing Göran Persson as its sixth chairman.

Under Göran Persson's time as Prime Minister, a budgetary framework was created that aims to avoid budget deficits and huge national debt. At the same time, a comprehensive initiative was carried out, where employees and the unemployed were offered the opportunity to obtain upper-secondary qualifications as adults. In addition, university admissions were in-

creased and new regional universities were started. The Social Democrats went lost some support in the 1998 election as a result of the stringent budgetary clean-up policy. The Left Party, however, made strong gains as a result of its criticism of the same. After the election, a budgetary partnership was introduced with the Left Party and Green Party that would last for eight years.

Göran Persson's ambition was that Sweden would become a leading country for sustainable development. The state encouraged resource-saving activities in different ways. An Oil Commission was appointed to find solutions on how Sweden could replace fossil fuels as an energy source. Two nuclear power plants were phased out and fairly comprehensive tax exchanges took place, where the tax on energy weighed increasingly more.

By the turn of the Millennium, the unemployment that was sky-high by Swedish standards and was the legacy of the crisis and budgetary clean-up had been cut in half, and voters rewarded the Social Democrats with a victory in the 2002 elections.

Discussion questions



- It is said that it has become more difficult to implement social democratic policies since 1980. Is this true, and if so, what is it due to?
- What does the word "globalisation" mean? What possibilities does the movement of capital and people offer, and what new problems arise in globalisation's wake? For example, what does the EU's freedom of movement do to the trade unions' possibilities defending collective agreements from wage dumping?
- What was the significance of the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union for the Social Democrats? Has communism's crisis rubbed off on social democracy? Why? Has the fall of communism made it easier for us to call ourselves socialists? Do you call yourself a socialist?
- The Social Democrats have wavered in their views on EU membership. Many members have also been hesitant about it. What do the Social Democrats want with membership in the EU?
- What was the impact of the 1990 crisis and economic budgetary clean-up under Göran Persson on Sweden and the Social Democrats? What did we do well and what was done less well? Is full employment, insofar as was occasionally achieved before the crisis of the 1990s, achievable and how can we do it? What did the budgetary clean-up after the crisis of the 1990s mean to the finances of the municipalities?

Liberal and conservative alliance in the 2006 election

Over the next few years unemployment increased again and a non-socialist movement that sensed a shifting wind attacked the Social Democrats for having abandoned full employment. The non-socialists pointed to the large groups that stood outside the regular labour market regardless of whether they were openly unemployed, in labour market policy measures, on sick leave or had sick pay. Everything was placed under the same heading and was called “exclusion”.

Unemployment was also one of the issues that decided the 2006 election when the Social Democrats lost power to a coalition alliance of the four non-socialist parties. The Moderates played a leading role, not least by launching itself as a new party that had moved towards the middle and changed positions on a number of important issues. The Moderates now called themselves “the new Moderates” and said that their sights were set on one goal: that anyone who found themselves excluded would have a job.

In connection with the electoral defeat, Göran Persson announced that he would step down as the Party Leader.

After the takeover in 2006, Fredrik Reinfeldt and the non-socialist four-party government worked to transform Sweden in a non-socialist direction. Not since universal suffrage was introduced had a non-socialist government ruled Sweden for so long. Nor had anyone from the right wing held a Prime Minister post for so long.

Government policy was directed towards the three pillars of the social democratic welfare state model. By sharply lowering unemployment benefits and making union membership more costly, the balance of power that had existed since the Saltsjö Agreement of 1938 was offset to the favour of capital. Impairing the state’s social security systems led people to instead seek private insurance. Finally, the common welfare services were privatised and made subject to greater market control.

The Reinfeldt Government lowered taxes by SEK 100 billion in its first period in office. The attack on the trade union movement was successful.

The number of members in the LO unions totalled 1,700,000 people in 2008. In December 2010, the number was just over 1,500,000 people, a decrease of 200,000 people in two years.

In 2008, a new, large financial crisis broke out. The crisis was initiated by a financial bubble in the United States that spread around the world. The crisis was above all related to the market for home loans in the United States. However, the Swedish state finances were in extremely good condition this time and the four major banks were also able to withstand the crisis, despite extensive lending in the Baltics. On the other hand, job growth was strangled and many manufacturing companies carried out layoffs and had problems with the banks’ unwillingness to grant credit. In terms of opinion, the Social Democrats failed to take advantage of the crisis despite issuing early warnings about it.



Photo: Linda Håkansson

In 2007, Mona Sahlin was elected to as Party Chairman. The seventh in succession – and the first woman at the post.

Frequent Party Leader changes, elections and difficult governing

After the electoral defeat in 2006, Göran Persson resigned. Mona Sahlin was elected unanimously to become the seventh Party Chairman of the Social Democrats at an Extraordinary Party Congress in 2007. She thereby became the Social Democrats' first female Party Leader.

For most of the years in opposition 2006-2010, the Party had the advantage in opinion polls and the Social Democrats had high approval ratings. A Red-Green cooperation was established, and aimed for a government coalition between the Social Democrats, the Left Party and the Green Party. This was the first time that the Social Democrats announced in advance which other parties they would form a government with in an election victory. Earlier, the Party often governed in a minority, but then sought support for its policies with other parties in Parliament, rather than to inviting them into the government.

However, the 2010 election ended in a new electoral loss, where the Social Democrats lost more support compared with 2006 and received only around 30 per cent of the

vote, which was barely more than the Moderates. However, the non-socialist government lost its majority in that the Sweden Democrats entered Parliament.

At an Extraordinary Party Congress in March 2011, Mona Sahlin was replaced as the Party Leader by MP Håkan Juholt. In the autumn, Juholt was subjected to intense media scrutiny and the opinion ratings of the Social Democrats fell drastically. In January 2012, Håkan Juholt resigned and IF Metall's chairman Stefan Löfven was elected as the new Party Leader after an extended Party Executive Board meeting. Löfven was elected by the Party Congress at its regular meeting in 2013. It was the first time that a trade union leader was elected to be the Social Democratic Party Chairman. The Moderates and the non-socialist Alliance lost significantly in the 2014 election, while the Social Democrats made insignificant gains. Löfven became Prime Minister in a minority government consisting of the Social Democrats and the Green Party. The Sweden Democrats became Sweden's third largest party. In the municipalities and county

The fifth generation of leadership (and the beginning of the sixth)

In March 1996, Göran Persson entered into office as the Party Leader and Prime Minister, and would come to be in office for ten years. Persson and his cabinet ministers represented the fifth generation of leaders, born in the 1940s and early 1950s and shaped by the 1960s and 1970s. During Persson's government, there were multiple government reshuffles and ministerial shifts. Four people served as deputy Prime Ministers: Lena Hjelm-Wallén, Margareta Winberg, Lars Engqvist and Bosse Ringholm. Among the more high-profile changes of ministers were Mona Sahlin's return as a minister after the 1998 election, the choice of lawyer Thomas Bodström as Minister for Justice in 2000, and Minister for Finance Erik Åsbrink's departure in 1999 after disagreements about economic policy.

The prominent names also included Pär Nuder – State Secretary in 1996, the Minister for Coordination in 2002 and Minister for Finance in 2004. Prominent female names in addition to Winberg and Sahlin were Margot Wallström and Anna Lindh. After 1994, Wallström was the Minister for Culture and then the Minister for Social Affairs. After 1998, she was Sweden's EU Commissioner. Anna Lindh was first Minister for the Environment and from 1998 Minister for Foreign Affairs until she was murdered on the eve of the Euro referendum in 2003.

All of the Party leaders after Persson, Mona Sahlin, Håkan Juholt and Stefan Löfven, can be counted among the fifth generation. In and around Stefan Löfven's government in 2014 and the Party executive board in 2013, you can see the beginning of a sixth generation who were born in the 1970s and later.

Right-wing populism and racism

councils, there were similar election results, which led to a number of coalitions across the blocs. An extra election was almost at hand when the joint non-socialist budget proposal for 2015 was voted through in Parliament with help of the Sweden Democrats. Through the so-called December Agreement, it appeared as if Löfven would call for an extraordinary election for a political agreement between the government and the four non-socialist parties. The December Agreement was intended to be in place until the 2022 election. It meant that the candidate for the post of Prime Minister who gathered support from a party constellation which was larger than all the other plausible government constellations would be allowed to form a government. A minority government would be able to pass its budget by letting the largest “block’s” budget apply. Breakouts from the budget would not be permitted. Furthermore, three political areas (defence and security, pensions, energy) were pointed out for cooperation and conversations aimed at agreements across the blocks. The Left Party opted to remain outside of the December Agreement and the Sweden Democrats were not invited to take part in the discussion.



Photo: rorintekompis.se

The campaign “don’t touch my friend” was founded in France by the SOS Racisme network and came to Sweden in 1985. The rights are owned by the Stockholm County SSU district.

Regarding defence and security policy, an agreement across the blocks was reached in 2015 with all of the December Agreement parties except for the Liberals. The Christian Democrats, who changed Party Leader after the election, passed a decision in its national assembly in October 2015 to leave the December Agreement. The Moderates’ new Party Leader Anna Kinberg Batra followed this up by declaring that the December Agreement was dissolved.

During the second half of 2015, the number of asylum seekers in Sweden dramatically increased, mainly due to the civil wars in Syria and Iraq, which led to the largest number of asylum seekers ever, around 160,000, compared with the previous record year 1992 of around 85,000 in connection with the conflict in Bosnia. Because municipalities and authorities said that they could no longer handle a dignified reception of many asylum seekers in such a short time, at the same time that the rest of the EU, except Germany and Austria, had not shown willingness to take their share of the responsibility, a decision was made toward the end of 2015 to implement various measures to reduce the number of asylum seekers. 2015 was also the year that the countries of the world signed a global climate agreement in Paris.

Hostility towards immigrants and discrimination have long existed in Sweden. In politics, however, anti-immigrant and fascist (Nazi) political movements were insignificant in Sweden into the 1980s. Just like in the rest of Europe, an young extra-parliamentarian neo-Nazi movement sprouted up in Sweden in the 1980s based in the English-inspired “skinhead culture” and “white power” music.

This extraparliamentary neo-Nazism was united with historical Swedish Nazism and fascism in what became the Sweden Democrats in 1988. The Sweden Democrats are also a part of the Party family which in Europe are usually called “right-wing populists”. Right-wing populism is nationalist and also likes to call itself social conservative. It has fluctuated between a sometimes new liberal and sometimes almost social democratic position on the welfare state and economic policy.

Immigration and especially refugee immigration are seen as the great social problem. Right-wing populism sees a multicultural society as an impossibility; the “foreign element” which is considered to invade the existing nation only creates problems. Even different national minorities such as Roma are pointed out as collectively responsible for criminality, for example.

In the 2000s, right-wing extremism and right-wing populist parties grew ever stronger in Europe and Sweden. From a position on the fringe in terms of the vote in several municipalities, the Sweden Democrats have received growing support and in the 2010 election managed to make it into the Swedish Parliament.

However, the Sweden Democrats are not the first anti-refugee and anti-foreigner party in the Swedish Parliament. The party New Democracy was in Parliament from 1991 to 1994. In New Democracy’s rhetoric, the “elite”, mainly the political “elite” was pitted against “the people” who no party was considered to represent any more, according to the supporters of New Democracy.

When New Democracy sat in Parliament, the so-called “Laser man” kept Stockholm and Stockholm’s immigrants in fear in 1991-1992 with his killings where he afterwards claimed that he was influenced by the New Democracy’s anti-immigrant message.

Many of Europe’s anti-foreigner parties place increasing focus on the so-called “threat” from Islam and immigrants who are Muslims. In the 21st century, general anti-immigrant and anti-foreigner sentiment has been increasingly directed at Muslim immigrants and Islam, which is alleged to want to “take over” Europe. This has taken place especially after the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York in the USA on 11 September 2001 and other terrorist attacks by Islamic terrorists and the subsequent U.S.-led “war on terrorism”. The anti-Gypsyism which characterised historical fascism and Nazism are carried forward in today’s anti-foreigner parties.

So, in our time, racism has partially changed costumes. Nazism believed that it was “scientifically” possible differentiate “races” of people and that the Aryan (white) race was more advanced than other races, and that it therefore had the right to rule over other races. This “science” has been disproved and crushed, and nobody can say that a

person of one “race” is better than another and still be taken seriously. Instead, anti-foreigner forces have started to talk about “cultural differences.” All people from different cultures are essentially different from each other, and people from certain cultures are barbaric and prone to criminality. It is striking how similar this reasoning is to how Nazis reasoned about human races. According to this new approach, it is dangerous for people from different cultures to meet and live by side, culture is destroyed if it is changed and “mixed.”

Hostility towards foreigners is also expressed violently. A new murderer and equivalent to the “Laser man” was arrested in Malmö in 2011. In June 2011, a similarly anti-foreigner terrorist carried out a bombing in Oslo and a massacre of members in the Social Democratic Youth League of Norway on the island of Utöya with countless fatalities. An anti-racist demonstration was arranged in Kärntorp in 2013, which was violently attacked by armed Nazis. The protest demonstration that was arranged as a reaction against this shortly thereafter received around 16,000 participants, and was estimated to be the largest anti-racist demonstration ever in Sweden. In 2015, a school was attacked in Trollhättan which led to the deaths of three people, in addition to the perpetrator himself.

Islamic terrorist groups or Jihadists have carried out several violent acts in Europe, including the use of suicide bombs. In January 2015, the editorial office of the satirical paper Charlie Hebdo in Paris was attacked for its satirical Muhammed cartoons and twelve people were killed; a connected hostage drama at a Jewish food store claimed further innocent victims. In a number of coordinated terror attacks in November 2015 more than 130 people were killed in Paris. In 2010, a bombing was carried out in Stockholm during Christmas shopping, but only the perpetrator himself died. Many young people have travelled from Europe and Sweden to join the Daesh terrorist movement which has established a self-proclaimed caliphate in Syria and Iraq.

Throughout Europe, democracy is being besieged by the violence of both right-wing extremists as well as Jihadists. Social democracy in Sweden and Europe has a major task to both combat extremist violence and ensure that the multicultural society has a common set of values rooted in democracy, tolerance, freedom from violence and gender equality.

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Democracy is firmly rooted in this country. We respect the fundamental rights and freedoms. Muddled racial theories have never found a foothold. We like to consider ourselves to be open-minded and tolerant.

But yet it's not quite so simple. Prejudice does not need to be rooted in any hideous theory. It has much simpler origins. Prejudice has always been rooted in everyday life. It sprouts in the workplace and in the neighbourhood. It's an outlet for one's own failures and disappointments. Above all, it's an expression of ignorance and fear. Ignorance about other people's individuality, fear of losing a position, a social privilege, a right of first refusal.

A person's skin colour, race, language and place of birth have nothing to do with human qualities. Grading people with such a yardstick is in stark contrast to the principle everyone being equal. But it's shamefully easy to do so for someone who feels inferior – at work, in social life, in the competition for the girl or boy.

That's why prejudice is always lurking, even in an enlightened society. It can flare up in a jibe, a thoughtless comment, a petty meanness. The person acting might not intend any harm. But for the person struck it can open up wounds that never heal. Most of us people have a need to hold our own against others. And then prejudice stands against the person who is different – the foreigner, the stranger – available as a last defence.

Radio address by Olof Palme, 25 December 1965

A century of social democracy

It was more than a century ago that the tailor August Palm stood there at Hotell Stockholm in Malmö. How society would be transformed and changed, of course, could not be predicted. All that could be done was to try and evoke people's interest in the ideas that shaped the thinking of the first Social Democrats. And it succeeded indeed!

Someone who looks back and studies the movement's early development is struck by how long it took to achieve real success. The tool, the democratic breakthrough, took nearly 30 years to realise. An economic policy with which the welfare state could be built did not arrive until after 50 years. The welfare state in itself was not "finished" until the 1970s. The first two steps, political and social democracy, have in many ways been implemented. The third step, the issue of democratic and public influence over the economy, remains.



Photo: A-bild

The Social Democrats built Sweden! In 1954, Vällingby Centre was inaugurated, and became an international role model.

Of course, it is difficult to determine, what the 20th century would have been like without the strong social democracy that dominated the century and built up general welfare policies. Like other European countries, we would have certainly received some form of welfare state, but inequality would have been greater, class differences more comprehensive and full employment not as prominent.

Since the 1990s, the social democratic ideological direction and political palette have become more multifaceted. It had become clear that the dividing line in politics no longer only concerned class, but also the green, ecological issues that would later be increasingly directed at the climate, the status of women (feminism), ethnicity and multiculturalism, as well as the freedom to live the life you want to live regardless of sexuality and gender roles.

At the same time, the classic, socialist issues remain fundamental even in the case of the "new" dividing lines. The issues of the economy, people's livelihood and work.

Congress elected Party Chairmen

1889-1907	The Party had no Congress-elected, formal chairman
1907-1925	Hjalmar Branting
1925-1946	Per Albin Hansson
1946-1969	Tage Erlander
1969-1986	Olof Palme
1986-1996	Ingvar Carlsson
1996-2007	Göran Persson
2007-2011	Mona Sahlin
2011-2012	Håkan Juholt
2012-	Stefan Löfven

Characteristics of the 20th century

A country built on consensus

Both the history of Sweden and Swedish social democracy have been strongly affected by the fact that Sweden, from the Napoleonic wars onwards, has been a small, peripheral European state which stood outside the conflicts of the superpowers. Sweden has not experienced any wars, revolutions, occupations or had any more violent labour disputes (excluding the events in Amalthea in 1908 and Ådalen in 1931). General strikes (1909, 1980) and other major labour disputes have met with police violence to a low extent. After,

Ådalen, the military has also not been able to be involved by law. Strike-breaking also ended through the spirit of the Saltsjöbaden Agreement.

These conditions have strengthened social democracy in Sweden and the other Nordic countries. Similar political alliances, notably with the farmers' parties which have also been particularly strong in the Nordic region thanks to a tradition of freeholders, developed and contributed to national consensus and social democratic political dominance.

Social democratic governments to-date

Years	Party	Prime minister
1917–1920	Liberals and Social Democrats	Nils Edén
1920–1920	The Social Democrats	Hjalmar Branting
1921–1923	The Social Democrats	Hjalmar Branting
1924–1925	The Social Democrats	Hjalmar Branting
1925–1926	The Social Democrats	Rickard Sandler
1932–1936	The Social Democrats	Per Albin Hansson
1936–1939	The Social Democrats and the Farmers' League	Per Albin Hansson
1939–1945	Coalition government during World War II	Per Albin Hansson
1945–1946	The Social Democrats	Per Albin Hansson
1946–1951	The Social Democrats	Tage Erlander
1951–1957	The Social Democrats and the Farmers' Union	Tage Erlander
1957–1969	The Social Democrats	Tage Erlander
1969–1976	The Social Democrats	Olof Palme
1982–1986	The Social Democrats	Olof Palme
1986–1991	The Social Democrats	Ingvar Carlsson
1994–1996	The Social Democrats	Ingvar Carlsson
1996–2006	The Social Democrats	Göran Persson
2014–	Social Democrats and Green Party	Stefan Löfven

Being in government for a long time

There are democratic few countries in which one party dominated the country's development as extensively as the Social Democrats did during the 20th century. For more than 70 years, the Social Democrats have taken part in Swedish governments and over the past 80 years, there has been a Social Democratic Prime Minister for more than 65 years.

Being in government for so long and the great responsibility that it has entailed have obviously had an impact on the Social Democratic Party. The positive aspect was that it meant that ideological development occurred in interaction with practical policy. What we have wanted and what we have achieved have grown together. The negative has been that social democracy has, in part, become part of the establishment and less of an opposition and change movement.

Consensus-oriented

The Social Democrats have stood up for key principles while seeking collaboration where possible. The Social Democrats in government have on two occasions been in coalitions with the Centre Party (in the 1930s and the 1950s) and during World War II led a coalition government together with the three non-socialist parties. The Social Democrats have had their own majority only in a very few periods, despite their strong position.

A clear commitment to values combined with a pragmatic and practical approach to issues has meant that the Swedish Social Democrats found it easy to reach agreements, know when it is time for collaboration and wherever possible sought broad political solutions on important issues.



Party Chairman Stefan Löfven and Party Secretary Lena Rådström Baastad.

Strong trade union-political cooperation

In almost all countries, social democratic parties have developed together with the trade union movement. But there are few social democratic parties that maintained Swedish Social Democratic Party's close relationship with the trade union movement. It is a tremendous strength that the two branches of the labour movement had such strong ties throughout the decades, and that despite all of the internal tensions there has been a shared insight that both branches' members and activities are promoted by this cooperation.

Innovation, pragmatism and strong ideology

The Social Democrats have had the ability to continually renew their policies, and seek new ways to solve the challenges of society and people's problems. It is only when a party is able to identify what the people want and confront that with what is possible that long-term success is achieved. In the short term, it is possible to ride the populist wave but in the long term, we must help achieve sustainable solutions. The Social Democrats have had the ability to remain firm in the ideological tenets and objectives, and at

the same time renew the practical policies, the means, according to needs and circumstances that exist.

Social movement and party for the masses

The Social Democratic Party has been able to maintain its character as a popular movement, a party for the masses, involving people from all walks of life. Despite its nature as a workers' party, it has always been open to other groups in society and identified with the interest of the entire people. It has not become a party solely of significance to specific segments of the population. It is the social movement behind the elected representatives that give the Social Democratic Party its strength.

A movement in the whole country with a policy for the whole country

The Social Democrats have existed throughout Sweden, and had local organisations in every municipality. Few other parties can demonstrate such strong local roots. The Party has also essentially functioned as a whole – it has hung together from north to south and from metropolitan areas to sparsely populated areas.

Discussion questions



- What were the electoral successes of the Moderates in 2006 and 2010 due to? What shortcomings in the Social Democratic Party's policies during the years in government 1994-2006 may have contributed to the Reinfeldt Government's victory?
- How should we respond to the Sweden Democrats and other anti-immigrant and xenophobic parties? Why have such parties received greater support? Are xenophobic parties represented in your municipality or in a neighbouring municipality? How do the Social Democrats in the municipal or city council handle this?
- Sweden has gone from having five parties in Parliament until 1988 to eight parties today; what does this mean for us with regard to winning elections and governing? How do you view the interaction with various other parties, nationally and in municipalities and county councils?
- What do you think of the media coverage of politics, in other words, media's growing role in the formulations of political problems and the search for new political scandals? What does the emergence of new social media mean?

5.

Party Programmes of the Social Democratic Party

Suggestion for an extra session

One way to mirror history is to study the Party's development through the Party Programmes. The Social Democrats have had nine different programmes. A Party Programme can be said to fill two key functions, according to the Program Commission and its Chairman Lars Engqvist during the last revision in 2013.

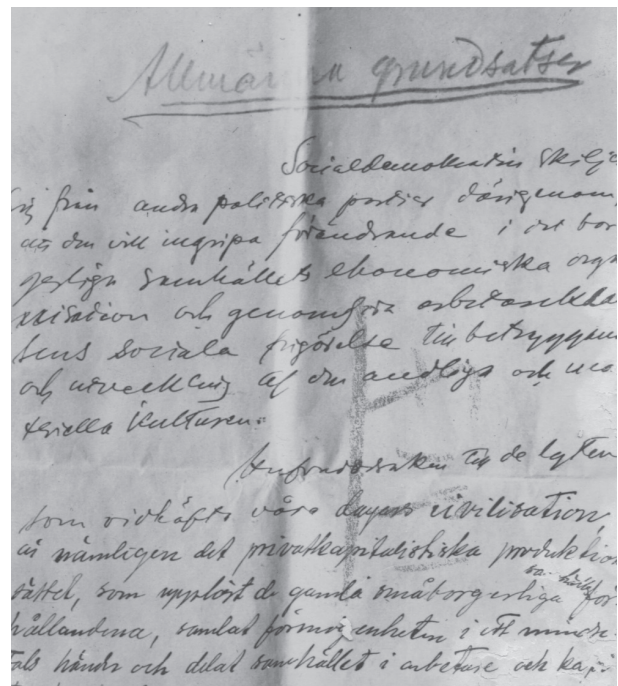
First, to give a description of the Party's fundamental ideas, values, view of society and analysis of the surrounding world. Secondly, to present the long-term political objectives, important choices and positions of principle. A Party Programme should actually differ from an action programme. It should be complemented with programmes for the various areas of policy and an election programme or election manifesto.

A Party Programme is needed to hold the movement together. Tage Erlander put it this way: *"The discussions before decisions are at least as important as the actual programmes. Program revisions are a recurring ideological self-examination and political positioning. The movement is welded together when members are given the opportunity to reflect on society's changes and what they mean to the Party's work and choices."*

A Party Programme should also contribute to a common narrative: *"Only if a party's active members have a reasonably common and full story about society can it*

win the long-term confidence and trust of the majority. A splintered band with different stories will soon be relegated to the margins." (Tony Judt)

According to Lars Engqvist, the paradox of programme work is that the more the current message is concentrated to a few key political tasks, the more important it is that there is also a narrative, in which the policy of the day is put into broader whole.



Axel Danielsson's manuscript for SAP's programme in 1897.

Photo: Axel Malmström

Programme of 1897

The first Social Democratic Party Programme was written by Axel Danielsson. It had the German Social Democrats' Erfurt Programme from 1891 as a model. The program was based on Marxist foundations. The goal was a thorough social transformation, but how this transformation should take place in more exact terms was not described by the programme.

An addition to the Swedish programme was the emphasis of the role of the unions. The programme was based on the Marxist notion that society is divided into classes and states that the Social Democratic Workers' Party is the Party of the working class.

Some key phrases from the programme: *Social democracy differs from other political parties in that it seeks to completely transform civil society's economic organisation and implement the social emancipation of the working class, to assure and develop the spiritual and material culture. The objectives could only be achieved through the abolition of the private capitalist monopoly*

on the means of production and its transformation into the joint property belonging to the entire society, as well as the replacement of the unplanned production of goods with a socialist production corresponding to the actual needs of society.



Photo: Unknown

Axel Danielsson, editor and founder of "Arbetet".

Programme of 1911

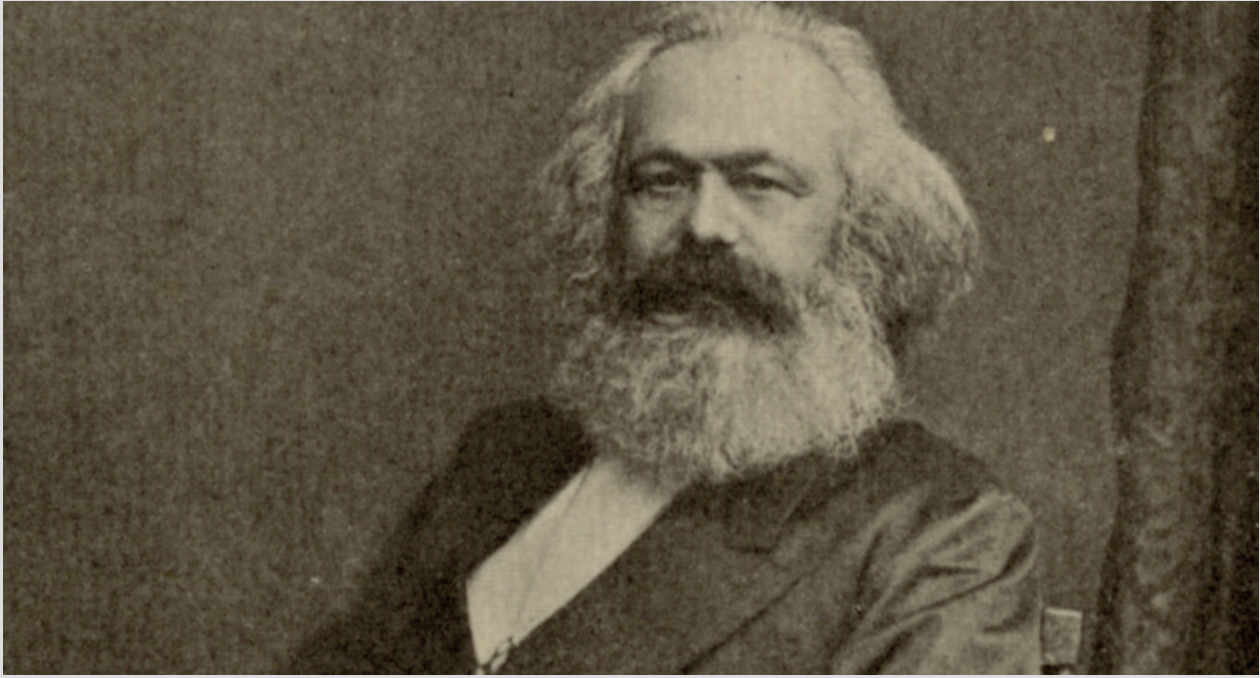
The programme revision conducted in 1911 was affected by the influence of the humanist and friend of the subsistence farmers Carl Lindhagen. In the programme's general principles, the term working class was replaced with the term suppressed classes. Cooperation was highlighted as contributing to the workers' fight against capital.

Party Programmes of the Social Dem-

Programme of 1897, Programme of 1911,
Programme of 1920, Programme of 1944,
Programme of 1960, Programme of 1975,
Programme of 1990, Programme of 2001,
Programme of 2013.

The so-called middle groups in the Marxist analysis, small farmers, artisans and small merchants were given a new role. They were groups that should disappear under the previous programme. Now, these groups would instead be defended and developed. It was worded as follows in the general principles: *Capitalism requires, however, not only the submission of wage earners. Even where it allows the old middle classes – small farmers, craftsmen, small merchants – to formally remain, it undermines their independence.*

The programme also demanded a ban on intoxicating drinks. The majority of the delegates at the Congress were teetotalers, and the prohibition question was debated lively throughout society during this period.



Marxism

The early social democratic movement was heavily inspired by Marxism, and Marxist-inspired thoughts have also continued to play a significant role in the ideological development of social democracy.

Marxism is both a political and philosophical ideological direction and a current in a number of academic social sciences. It was formulated in its original form by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the 19th century. Two of the key works of Marxism are the *Communist Manifesto* (1848), and *Capital*. *Capital* consists of three volumes. The first volume was first published in 1867 by Marx himself, and the two subsequent volumes were edited and published by Engels after Marx's death in 1883.

Marxist philosophy is based on the dialectic that conflicts drive development to a higher level. This philosophy is in turn the basis for Marx's theory of history, sometimes called the materialist conception of history. According to this theory, the development of science and technology drives history forward in combination with class struggle. Throughout history, different production conditions have existed, and they have brought with them classes struggling against each other. Under capitalism, the working class constitutes the suppressed and revolutionary class.

Marx believed that emancipation of the working class would be the working class' own work. The latter formulation was directed against the 19th century bourgeois, often wealthy social reformers, who wanted to help the workers with a top-down perspective. However, it can also be contrasted with Lenin's and communism's elite party model for the implementation of the revolution. Marx's economic theories say that the workforce is what creates an added value in production, added value that the ruling class, based on their power over the production conditions, controls. Under capitalism, the working class does not receive the full product of their work.

To the economic theory, the young Marx brought philosophical reasoning about working-class alienation – estrangement – from their work, its product and themselves.

Marxism has been given many interpretations and additions by different thinkers. Marxism or parts of it are also included as a school in sciences such as sociology, economic history and history. Together with other thinkers such as Émile Durkheim and Max Weber, Karl Marx is one of the architects of modern social sciences.

Programme of 1920

The Party Programme of 1920 was affected by the Party split that took place in 1917, in which leading representatives of the left-wing of the Party broke away and formed the Social Democratic Left Party. But the effect was not that Marxist thinking was toned down, quite the contrary. The programme was given a clear Marxist character, which some believe was linked to an ideological marking against what was perceived as a boisterous, ideologically-motley and therefore “un-Marxist” Social Democratic Left Party.

It was the exploited classes’ social emancipation that would be carried out. The programme stated that:

“This capitalist exploitation rules, if also in changing forms, modern society and leaves no area untouched.” The programme calls for class struggle, a class struggle that will not cease until the society is so reshaped that capitalist exploitation is entirely abolished, class society has fallen and mass poverty is done away with. The programme clearly called for a publicly planned economy and that natural

wealth, industrial companies, credit institutions, as well as means of transportation and communication routes would be transferred in society’s possession.”

The programme was written by Per Albin Hansson, Gustav Möller, Rickard Sandler and Arthur Engberg. They were well schooled in Marxism and it characterised the programme texts. Sandler, who was the Party executive board’s rapporteur on the programme at the Congress, would later translate Karl Marx’ Capital into Swedish.

The clear Marxism in the 1920 party platform met with resistance. From the 1920s to the decision on a programme revision in 1940, the youth organisation SSU, among others, demanded that the “vulgar Marxism” in the Party Programme should be cleaned out. The reasoning was linked to Nils Karleby’s ideas that the functions of ownership should be socialised, instead of the ownership itself.

Programme of 1944

The 1944 Party Programme was largely formulated by Ernst Wigforss. It did not break with the Marxist ideological tradition in the 1920 programme, however, the language was changed and substantially “modernised”. Words such as class struggle, exploitation and impoverishment were removed. Wigforss himself argued that the words could be misunderstood and therefore they did not serve any purpose.

The party had been in government since 1932 and this meant that the immediate social changes were highlighted, rather than the long term social changes.

At the same time that the new Party Programme was adopted by the Congress, it also adopted an action programme, the so-called post-war programme. This

action programme was given greater importance in the political debate after the war than the new Party Programme. Wigforss introductory formulations in the Party Programme’s general tenets in the 1944 Party Programme would largely remain in the programmes until the programme that was adopted at the Party Congress in 2001.

The wording of the general tenets in 1944 was as follows: *Social democracy’s goal is to reshape the civil society’s economic organisation, so that the right of disposal over production shall be placed in the hands of the whole people, the majority shall be liberated from dependence on a small number of capital owners and the social order build on economic classes shall make way for a community of citizens collaborating on the foundation of freedom and equality.*

Programme of 1960

Tage Erlander's wish was that there would be no major difference between the Party's programme and its practical policies. This wish characterised the programme revision that was carried out in 1960. Criticism of capitalism was left in the programme text, but was adapted to what was perceived as the new more social liberal age.

The Party Programme took a cautious stance to the demand for socialisation. The programme text noted that different corporate forms should not be considered an end in themselves and that *the choice between*

them must be determined by what tasks are to be done. The programme was also marked by the progressive optimism of the era and actual progress. Technological developments were praised, and rationalisation efforts and competition were highlighted as key drivers of a growing prosperity. The programme was influenced by the debate around the German SPD's new Bad Godesberg programme from 1959 and the ideological debate within the British Labour Party on reformism in the Keynesian post-war society.

Programme of 1975

Before the change of the 1975 Party Programme, consultations and study circles were conducted that reached many party members. The programme then was sent out for comments and a large number of motions involving the Party Programme poured in to the Congress.

The programme work was led by Olof Palme. The international issues were highlighted, marked by the liberation and solidarity movements. They were ideologically tied to the reformist Marxist traditions. Capitalism's downsides were criticised and workplace democracy was highlighted as one of the means to democratise the economy.

The programme was the first Party Programme that fully and harshly attacked communism: *Even where communist parties have long ruled, there are large differences in income and social standing. Neither as citizens, as workers in the production nor as consumers are people allowed to freely express their opinions and demands.*

The programme was marked by the idea of social democracy as a third way between capitalism and communism. Perhaps for this very reason, social democratic values were given greater attention. In the section

“What social democracy wants”, the basic values were formulated with the following key phrases: *Social democratic ideas have their deepest roots in the conviction of the inviolability of every human being and that all people are equal (...) Through its reshaping, social democracy seeks to increase people's freedom (...)*

Compared with the 1960 programme, criticism of income inequalities and unequal distribution grew. Equality and solidarity became keywords: *Social democracy wants to achieve equality as an expression of all people being equal (...) Social Democracy wants to let solidarity characterise the conditions of society (...)*

The demand for economic democracy was clear: *Social democracy regards democracy as the foundation for its way of thinking. It wants to defend democracy against the abuse of power and aspirations for dictatorship, extend it in the economic field and let its ideals make their mark on all areas of life in society.*

Even the concept of work gained renewed vitality in the introduction of the Party Programme: *Social democracy argues that work is the basis of all welfare and that the willingness of the people to work is the nation's most important asset.*

With regard to the implementation of democratic socialism, a clear reformist declaration was made: *The progress gained through the struggle of the labour movement has entrenched social democracy's conviction that the peaceful social transformation on the basis of democratic socialism offers the only viable way to people's liberation.*

This social transformation is based on human will and human efforts. We must implement this liberation in a society that relies heavily on an environment marked by

major conflicts, repression and a lack of freedom, and powerful capitalist interests. It will be implemented on the road of democratic conviction during open debate and with consideration and respect for other beliefs belonging to democracy." ...

Democratic socialism is based ultimately on faith in people's will and ability to create a society characterised by community and human dignity.

Programme of 1990

Both Ernst Wigforss's opening paragraph from 1944 as well as Olof Palme's wording around democratic socialism as a third way remained. An addition was made, however, about the environment.

One of the issues, which were discussed in the debate on the 1990 Party Programme, was central planning or the "planned economy", as it was called in the 1975 Party Programme. The wording in the 1990 Party Programme on the planned and market economy are more comprehensive and nuanced than in earlier programmes with concrete discussion on why and when the market needs to be regulated. In ownership issues, the programme establishes in the same chapter the functional socialist approach that the Social Democratic Party had practised since it won government power: citizens' rights take precedence over property rights, and when important public interests must be asserted

against owners of companies, social democracy works with restrictions on ownership instead of socialisation. Here, the term "citizens' rights", pops up – a concept that Ingvar Carlsson added to the Party Programme.

The 1975 programme revision already entailed a strong internationalisation of the Party Programme. This is strengthened in the 1990 programme. Here, threat of war is dealt with, but also the peace and disarmament efforts, famine but also the work to redistribute resources, conflicts but also international cooperation.

Lastly, one of the main issues in all the international sections in the 1990 programme is the global threats to the environment and to humanity's survival. Overall, the 1990 programme was the first that is marked by an ecological perspective.

Programme of 2001

The 2001 Party Programme removed an opening paragraph from 1944 stating that social democracy wants to reshape society so that "the right of disposal over production and its distribution shall be placed in the hands of the whole people". It was replaced with the wording that social democracy
... strives for an economic order in which every human being as a citizen, wage-earner, and consumer can influ-

ence the direction and distribution of production, and the organisation and conditions of working life. Social democracy wants these democratic ideals to influence the whole of society and human interaction.

Market mechanisms were both valued and criticized, while a clear distinction is made between capitalism and the market economy: *"The market is needed for ef-*

efficient production that creates and recreates the resources for welfare. Capitalism and the market economy should be kept apart. The market economy is a distribution system, where goods and services change owners with money as exchange value. Capitalism is a power system with the remuneration of the capital as the overriding norm.”

A new section is about equality and diversity. The issue of equality was also expanded so that it not only concerns class, but also gender and ethnicity. The program described the benefits of the public interest *struggle of the labour movement has entrenched social democracy's conviction that the peaceful social transformation on the basis of democratic socialism offers the only viable way to people's liberation.*

The programme featured the same clear criticism of communism as the 1975 and 1990 Party Programmes and also predicted the changes that were taking place: *Democratic socialism welcomes any change towards a more open debate, political and economic pluralism and a popular participation in the public decision-making process. It condemns all forms of violence and oppression,*

which are intended to prevent the development of freedom and democracy.

The programme still also contained harsh criticism of capitalism and the market: *Economic interests never have the right to place limits on democracy, on the contrary, it is always democracy that sets the limits of the market and economic interests. Social democracy rejects a society where capital and the market dominate and commercialise social, cultural and human relations. Market standards may never determine people's value or create the norm for social and cultural life.*

At the same time freedom of choice was stressed: People are different, with different needs and requirements. Therefore, different educational styles, different forms of healthcare and different care options are required. It must be possible to choose between different forms of healthcare, education and care, provided that there is a basis for several options. There were also new sections on the changeover to ecological sustainability, a knowledge-based society's prerequisites, internationalism and the consequences of accession to the EU in 1990.

Programme of 2013

The programme with the title: “A programme for change” establishes in the introduction.

Together we can create a better future. The most important lesson of social democracy's history is just that: society can be changed. When social democracy emerged, many people still lived under the notion that life was determined by fate or by an inaccessible higher power. Man could not do very much to change the circumstances.

The labour movement's primary role was to show that inequality and social misery had to do with shortcomings in the organisation of society, and that this organisation was not a given. People can take power.

The Programme Commission said that the fundamental values of democracy and equality of all human beings stood fast, but that these must now be asserted in

a new world. Five changes in content compared to the 2001 programme were specified.

1. The global perspective and the international challenges were put in first place.
2. Sustainable development was pointed out as our generation's greatest task.
3. Individual freedom is the goal, but this freedom presupposes equality.
4. Social democracy's role as a democracy movement is emphasised more strongly.
5. A new section on civil society was added.

In the programme, there were also new texts on production and reproduction:

Social democracy was born out of an understanding of how the basic production conditions are for society and

for people's living conditions. But production does not explain everything in a society. Equally central is the role reproduction plays.

Reproduction is about family life, food, rest and recreation, but also everything else which is a precondition for us to be able to contribute in the workplace: care, training, development of our social capabilities. How reproduction is organised has equal importance to social development and people's understanding of themselves and the world as a production order.

The primacy of democracy is highlighted too:

The market and the profit interest are thus a part of economic life. But financial interests never have the right to limit democracy. On the contrary, it is democracy that has the superior right to set the terms and limits for the economy.

Despite its basic nature, the Party Programme is also marked by the political debate current at the time. Consequently, the 2013 programme takes up jobs and writes about full employment:

Full employment is the overall goal of social democratic economic policy. It is both a social and an economic objective. It prevents the lack of freedom of unemployment and makes everyone involved in the creation of welfare.

Only with full employment and full utilisation of capacity can we meet future demographic challenges. Social democratic growth policies are therefore about providing favourable conditions for people's work, creativity and entrepreneurship, throughout the country.

In the increasingly fierce international competition, Sweden shall compete with knowledge. Our challenge is to constantly improve ourselves and be at the forefront in the development of new business ideas, production systems, products and services.

In terms of sustainable development, it was emphasised that Sweden should take the lead and be a fore-runner:

A wise management of the Earth's resources is a prerequisite for the future of mankind. Economic development must be in tune with what is ecologically sound, if future generations are to live in a world with clean air and clean water, natural climate and biological diversity.

The necessary conversion to environmentally sustainable development is a responsibility of the entire international community, but the rich countries which today account for the majority of emissions must lead the way.

We Social Democrats see it as our duty to take the initiative and act promptly both in Sweden as well as in the international arena. Sweden will be a driving force for a new global climate agreement and a pioneer in its own national climate policy.

Finally, the 2013 Party Programme raises the issue of trust in society and the community which is needed for trust. For this, popular movements or with a more modern and more extensive term, civil society plays an important role:

"A strong and vibrant civil society is the foundation of democracy. It consists of non-profit associations and foundations, non-governmental organisations and associations, cooperatives, action groups and networks, which have been built by people in free interaction to realise their ideas, develop the community and protect its interests.

Social work must be based on confidence in and respect for the citizens' own commitment and organisations. Policy should be shaped in a live dialogue with civil society and create good conditions for the development of civil society."

Discussion questions



- What are your impressions of the various social democratic programmes from a purely ideological perspective? How have the programmes developed over time, and the what changes in society do you think will influence the next Party Programme?
- What important social democratic values live on in the Party Programmes?
- How important are the Party Programmes? Have you read parts of the current Party Programme? If you have, what do you think of it?

Study guide and suggestions to the circle leader

This is a study guide that will help you hold a study circle about the organisation of the Social Democratic Party. The objective is to deepen the knowledge about the Party organisation and provide suggestions and inspiration for campaign work and election work. The target group is new members of the Social Democratic Party, but of course other interested social democrats as well.

These study materials are only available digitally, but anyone who wants to can of course print out the materials to be able to read them on paper.

What is a study circle?

A study circle is a format where people regularly meet to study, discuss or practise something together. From an educational perspective, it is ideal when there are between seven and 12 participants including the leader, but there can be between three and 20 participants in a circle.

In a study circle, you participate freely and voluntarily. There is no set course syllabus, and all participants are involved in determining the contents and the set-up. In a study circle, work is done based on the needs of the participants and everyone's experiences are utilised.

The study circle is a democratic format for study and discussion that is based on everyone's active participation. Respect for each other is important. Nobody may dominate the discussions. Everyone should have the opportunity to speak and should be given about the same space.

Decisions should be made in an open and democratic spirit. The circle leader serves as a guide and provides inspiration and leads the group's work forward. But

new knowledge emerges in the interaction between the circle leader, the participants and the study materials.

You should register the study circle with ABF. There are some formal requirements in order for the study circle to get financial support from ABF for material costs or something else. The circle must comprise at least nine hours of study (one hour of study = 45 minutes) divided into at least three sessions. Three participants including the leader are a minimum.

A good study circle...

- Gives all of the participants about the same amount of space.
- Utilises everyone's experiences.
- Combines a search for knowledge with dialogue and problem solving.
- Adapts the level of ambition to the participants.
- Lets different perspectives come up in the discussion.

Role of the circle leader

The circle leader is responsible for coordinating the work in the circle, obtaining the study materials and maintaining contact with ABF. In some circles, the circle leader is already chosen in advance and sometimes the group appoints one of the participants to lead the study circle.

The circle leader is a member of the group, not somebody who has to possess all of the subject knowledge. It can be helpful for this person to be a source of inspiration and share his or her knowledge, but the leader should not get stuck in a lecturing role. Circle leadership is very much about creating a good

mood in the group, getting the conversations and discussion started, getting everyone involved, making the choices clear, handling any problems, working out disagreement in the group, and leading the circle towards a common goal. The keyword is dialogue, and circle leadership is often more about asking questions than giving answers.

Suggestions for a good circle

As a circle leader, you can contribute to getting everyone involved, nobody taking over, and the dialogue being constructive.

Here are a few suggestions that may be of help:

- Make a round in the group. Give everyone the chance to say something and everyone gets about as much space.
- Use a speaking ball/baton that gives the right to talk. The person who is done talking passes it on.
- Are there more than eight of you? Then, it may sometimes be good to divide the circle into smaller groups of two or three, with feedback in the large group. This will give everyone the courage to participate.
- Ask targeted questions, like “Anni – what do you think?” Some people need to be given the floor to say something. At the same time, one naturally has the right to pass.
- Ask a follow-up question to draw out more from a participant who gives short answers.



- Act as the “joker in the deck”. Introduce thoughts and ideas that are not otherwise in the group.
- Try to guide the discussion back to the topic if it has gotten off track. Ask a follow-up question.
- Keep supportive notes so you can summarise the discussion around each issue.

How you can work in the circle

Feel free to let one or more of the participants briefly give an account of what they have read and what impressions they have had at the beginning of each session. Everyone should have read before the session.

The most important element is the discussion. Begin with the suggested discussion questions or formulate your own. Feel free to discuss the questions in groups of two or three and then report in the large group. It may be good to invite an expert, organisation representative, teacher or somebody else who can answer the participants’ questions and participate in the discussion.

Getting started

Begin by making a quick round where everyone says their name. Then bring up what the study circle should be about and what the set-up for the day looks like.

Talk over and decide on practical matters – when you will meet from here on out, how the participants should report absences, arranging coffee for the sessions, etc. Talk about what a study circle is and how the circle can be constructive and participatory. Agree on how you should treat each other and work together.

If the participants do not know each other very well before the beginning of the circle: Let the participants interview each other two and two (for around five minutes each) and introduce each other to the rest of the group. A few things to find out in the interviews are: name, place of residence, occupation, leisure interest, political involvement, and last but not least expectations of the study circle.

Gather together the participants’ expectations and talk about them for a while – how can they be met?

Based on the expectations, you can formulate goals for the study circle. Go through the study materials so that everyone gets an overview. Decide on the arrangement of the rest of the circle.



Suggestions on literature for further reading and deeper study

Broad historical descriptions

- The Workers' Cultural Historical Society: "*Folkhemmet tur och retur? Nya perspektiv på svensk socialdemokrati*" [The Welfare State there and back again? New perspectives on Swedish social democracy] (AKS, Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek)
- Håkan Blomqvist & Werner: "*Efter guldåldern – arbetarrörelsen och fordismens slut*" [After the Golden Age – the labour movement and the end of Fordism] (Carlssons)
- Hans Haste: "*Det första seklet: Människor, händelser och idéer i svensk socialdemokrati*" [The First Century: People, events and ideas in Swedish social democracy] part I and II (Tiden)
- Yvonne Hirdman: "*Vi bygger landet*" [We are building the country] (Tiden)
- Åsa Linderborg: "*Socialdemokraterna skriver historia*" [The Social Democratic Party is making history] (Arena)
- Lars Olsson and Lars Ekdahl: "*Klass i rörelse – Arbetarrörelsen i svensk samhällsutveckling*" [Class in motion – The labour movement in Swedish society] (Arbetarnas Kulturhistoriska Sällskap och Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek)
- Donald Sassoon: "*One Hundred Years of Socialism*" (Atlas)
- Francis Sejerstedt: "*Socialdemokratiens tidsålder. Sverige och Norge under 1900-talet*" (The Age of Social Democracy. Sweden and Norway in the 20th Century) (Nya Doxa)
- Erik Åsard: "*Makten, medierna och myterna.*"

Socialdemokratiska ledare från Branting till Carlsson" (Power, the Media and the Myths. Social Democratic Leaders from Branting to Carlsson) (Carlssons förlag)

Political-union cooperation

- Per-Olov Edin, Leif Hägg, Bertil Jonsson: "*Så tänkte vi på LO – och så tänker vi nu*" [How we thought at LO – and what we think now] (Hjalmarsson & Högberg 2012)
- Anders L. Johansson & Lars Magnusson: "*LO andra halvseket. Fackföreningsrörelsen och samhället*" [LO at the second half century. The Labour movement and society] (Atlas)
- Bengt Schüllerqvist: "*Från kosackval till kohandel. SAP:s väg till makten*" [From Cossack election to cattle trading] (Tiden)

Workers' culture, workers' literature and popular adult education

- Kjersti Bosdotter and Maths Isacson (eds.): "*Fram träder arbetaren – arbetarkonst och industrisamhällets bilder i Norden*" [The Worker Goes Forward – Workers' Art and Industrial Society's Images of the Nordic Region] (Arbetarnas kulturhistoriska sällskap)
- Lars Furuland & Johan Svedjedal: "*Svensk arbetarlitteratur*" [Swedish workers' literature] (Atlas)
- Inge Johansson: "*Bildning och klasskamp – Om arbetarbildningens förhistoria, idéer och utveckling*" [Formative education and class struggle – About workers' education's prehistory, ideas and development] (ABF, 2002)

- Kurt Johannesson (red) *“Agitatorerna. Arbetarrörelsen och språket”* [The Agitators. The labour movement and language] (Carlssons förlag)
- Tony Samuelsson: *“Arbetarklassens bästa partytricks”* [The Working class' best party tricks] (Wahlström och Widstrand)
- Margareta Ståhl: *“Möten och människor i Folkets hus och Folkets park”* [Meetings and people in the People's House and People's Park] (Atlas)
- Per Sundgren: *“Kulturen och arbetarrörelsen. Kulturpolitiska strävanden från August Palm till Tage Erlander”* [Culture and the Labour Movement. Cultural Political Aspirations from August Palm to Tage Erlander] (Carlssons förlag)
- Lennart Weibull, et al.: *“A-pressen 100 år”* [The A-press 100 years] (Premiss)
- *“Folkbildningens 50-tal”* [Popular education in the 50s], *“Folkbildningens 60-tal”* [Popular education in the 60s], *“Folkbildningens 70-tal”* [Popular education in the 70s] and *“Folkbildningens 80-tal”* [Popular education in the 80s] (ABE, written during te 2000s)

Historik om politiska sakfrågor och debatter [History of political issues and debates]

- Håkan Blomqvist: *“Nation, ras och civilisation i svensk arbetarrörelse före nazismen”* [Nation, Race and Civilisation in the Swedish Labour Movement before Nazism] (Carlssons)
- Björn Elmbrant: *“Så föll den svenska modellen”* [How the Swedish Model Fell] (Fischer & Co)
- Urban Lundberg: *“Juwelen i kronan. Socialdemokraterna och den allmänna pensionen”* [The Jewel in the Crown. The Social Democrats and the General Pension] (Hjalmarsson & Högberg)
- Parliament's Jubilee Fund and the Ministry of Justice: *“Rösträtten 80 år.”* [Suffrage over 80 Years] Research Anthology (Ministry of Justice)
- *“Socialdemokratin i krig och fred. Ingvar Carlsson 75 år”* [Social Democracy in War and Peace] (an anthology of social democracy's foreign and security policy published by Gidlunds förlag)
- Kjell Östberg *“Kommunerna och den svenska modellen: socialdemokratin och kommunalpolitiken fram till andra världskriget”* [Municipalities and the Swedish Model: Social Democracy and Local Politics up to World War II] (Östlings bokförl. Symposium)

Social Democratic Ideas (today)

- Ingvar Carlsson and Anne-Marie Lindgren: *“Vad är socialdemokrati?”* [What is Social Democracy] (Arbetarrörelsens Tankesmedja)
- Kjell-Olof Feldt: *“En kritisk betraktelse: Om socialdemokratins seger och kris”* [A critical reflection: About social democracy's victory and crisis] (Bonniers)
- Klas Gustavsson: *“Socialismens liv efter döden”* [Socialism's Life after Death] (Atlas)
- Carl Hamilton: *“(S)-koden. Den socialdemokratiska utmaningen”* [The (S) Code. The social democratic challenge] (Norstedts)
- Tony Judt: *“Ill Fares the Land”* (Karneval)
- Ingemar Lindberg: *“Välfärdens idéer”* [Welfare's ideas] (Agora)
- Anders Nilsson & Örjan Nyström: *“Reformismens möjligheter. Åter*

till den bättre framtiden” [The Possibilities of Reformism. Back to the Better Future] (Premiss)

- Christer Persson, Stefan Carlén and Daniel Suhonen: *“Bokslut Reinfeldt”* [Closing the Books on Reinfeldt] (Ordfront)
- Richard Wilkinson: *“The Spirit Of Equality”* (Karneval)

Party leaders

Hjalmar Branting

- Nils-Olof Franzén: *“Hjalmar Branting och hans tid”* [Hjalmar Branting and His Time] (Bonniers)
- Olle Svenning: *“Hövdingen, Hjalmar Branting en biografi”* [The Chieftain, Hjalmar Branting a Biography] (Albert Bonniers förlag)

Per-Albin Hansson

- Anders Isaksson: *“Per Albin I–IV”* (Wahlström och Widstrand)
- Ulf Larson (ed.): *“Per Albin Hanssons anteckningar och dagböcker 1929–1946”* [er Albin Hansson's Notes and Diaries 1929-1946] (Elanders)

Tage Erlander

- Tage Erlander: *“1901–1939”, “1940–1949”, “1949–1954”, “1955–1960”, “1960–talet”* [1960s], *“Sjuttital”* [1970s] (Tiden)
- Sven Erlander: *“Tage Erlanders Dagböcker”* [Tage Erlander's Diaries] (Erlander's original diaries which the son published yearly at Gidlunds förlag).

Olof Palme

- Peter Antman and Pierre Schori: *“Olof Palme – den gränslöse reformisten”* [Olof Palme – the boundless reformist] (Tiden)
- Henrik Berggren: *“Underbara dagar framför oss: En biografi över Olof Palme”* [Wonderful Days Ahead: A Biography of Olof Palme] (Norstedts)
- Göran Greider: *“Ingen kommer undan Olof Palme”* [No One Gets Away from Olof Palme] (Ordfront)
- Olof Palme: *“Palme själv – texter i urval”* [Palme Himself – Selected Texts] (Tiden)
- *“Solidaritet utan gränser. Olof Palme. Tal och texter i urval med texter av Majgull Axelsson, Gunnar Fredriksson och Helle Klein”* [Solidarity Without Borders. Olof Palme. Speeches and texts in the selection of texts by Majgull Axelsson, Gunnar Fredriksson and Helle Klein] (Atlas)
- Kjell Östberg *“I takt med tiden: Olof Palme 1927–1969”* [In Keeping with the Times: Olof Palme 1927-1969] (Leopard)
- Kjell Östberg *“När vinden vände: Olof Palme 1969–1986”* [When the Wind Turned: Olof Palme 1969–1986] (Leopard)

Ingvar Carlsson

- Ingvar Carlsson, *“Så tänkte jag”* [This is How I Thought] (Hjalmarsson och Högberg)
- Ingvar Carlsson: *“Ur skuggan av Palme”* [Out of the shadow of Palme] (Hjalmarsson and Högberg)

Göran Persson

- Erik Fichtelius: *“Aldrig ensam, alltid ensam: samtalen med Göran Persson 1996–2006”* [Never Alone, Always Alone: Conversations with Göran Persson, 1996-2006] (Norstedt)

- Olle Svenning: *“Göran Persson och hans värld”* [Göran Persson and His World] (Norstedts)

Mona Sahlin

- Håkan. A Bengtsson: *“Mona Sahlin tur och retur”* [Mona Sahlin Round Trip] (Hjalmarsson & Högberg)
- Mona Sahlin: *“Med mina ord”* [With My Words] (Månocket)

Håkan Juholt

- Fredrik Loberg: *“Håkan Juholt – Utmanaren – vad var det som häände?”* [Hakan Juholt – The Challenger – What Happened?] (ETC förlag)
- Daniel Suhonen: *“Partiledaren som klev in i kylan”* [The Party Leader Who Stepped into the Cold] (Leopard förlag)

Other leading representatives

- Ulf Bjereld: *“Och jag är fri. Lennart Geijer och hans tid”* [And I am free. Lennart Geijer and His Time] (Atlas)
- Björn Elmbrant: *“Stockholmskärlek – En bok om Hjalmar Mehr”* [Stockholm love – a Book About Hjalmar Mehr] (Atlas)
- Kjell-Olof Feldt: *“Alla dessa dagar”* [All These Days] (Norstedts)
- Arne Helldén: *“Wigförss”* (Tiden)
- Yvonne Hirdman: *“Det tänkande hjärtat. Boken om Alva Myrdal”* [The Thinking Heart. The Book About Alva Myrdal] (Ordfront)
- Nine Christine Jönsson and Paul Lindblom: *“Politik och kärlek: en bok om Gustav Möller och Else Kleen”* [Politics and Love: a Book about Gustav Möller and Else Kleen] (Tiden)
- Anders L Johansson: *“Gunnar Sträng – landsvägsagitatorn”* [Gunnar Sträng – the Roadway Agitator] (Tiden)
- *“Människovärdet är grunden. Tal och texter av Anna Lindh”* [Human Dignity is the Basis. Speeches and texts by Anna Lindh] (Premiss)
- Lars-Olof Lundberg: *“En aktiv vänsterinner: LO:s ordförande Gunnar Nilsson (1922–1997)”* [An active Leftist: LO’s Chairman Gunnar Nilsson (1922-1997)] (Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek)
- Ulla Lindström: *“I regeringen. Ur min politiska dagbok 1954–1959”* [In the Government. From My Political Diary 1954-1959] (Norstedts)
- Ulla Lindström: *“Och regeringen satt kvar. Ur min politiska dagbok 1960–67”* [And the Government was Still Sitting. From My Political Diary 1960-67] (Norstedts)
- Yngve Möller: *“Rickard Sandler: folkbildare, utrikesminister”* [Rickard Sandler: People’s Educator, Foreign Minister] (Norstedts)
- Yngve Möller: *“Per Edvin Sköld”* (Tiden/Athena)
- Yngve Möller: *“Östen Undén: en biografi”* [Östen Undén: a biography] (Norstedts)
- Torsten Nilsson: *“Människor och händelser i Norden”* [People and Events in the Nordic Region] (Tiden)
- Torsten Nilsson: *“Lag eller näve”* [Law or Fist] (Tiden)
- Torsten Nilsson: *“Utanför protokollet”* [Off the Record] (Tiden)
- Pär Nuder: *“Stolt men inte nöjd”* [Proud but not Satisfied] (Norstedts)
- Lena Näslund: *“I en värld av män. En biografi över Gertrud Sigurdsen”* [In a world of men. A biography of Gertrud Sigurdsen] (Hjalmarsson & Högberg)
- Lena Svanberg: *“Anna Branting”* (Legenda Opus)

- Ernst Wigförss: *“Minnen I–III”* [Memories I-III] (Tiden)
- Mats Wägersjö: *“Göran Johansson. En färgstark visionär”* [Göran Johansson. A colourful visionary] (Tre böckers förlag)

Women in the labour movement

- Christina Carlsson: *“Kvinnosyn och kvinnopolitik. En studie av svensk socialdemokrati 1880–1910”* [Women’s Views and Women’s Politics. A Study of Swedish Social Democracy, 1880-1910] (Arkiv)
- Gunnel Karlsson: *“Från broderskap till syskonskap. Det socialdemokratiska kvinnoförbundets kamp för inflytande och makt i SAP”* [From Fraternity to Sister and Brotherhood. The Social Democratic Women’s Federation’s Battle for Influence and Power in the SAP] (Arkiv)
- Anne-Marie Lindgren and Marika Lindgren Åsbrink: *“Syststrar, kamrater! – Arbetarrörelsens kvinnliga pionjärer”* [Sisters, Comrades! – The Labour Movement’s Female Pioneers] (Arbetarrörelsens Tankesmedja, 2007)
- Kristina Lundgren: *“Allt för mycket kvinna : en biografi om Else Kleen och den nya kvinnan som samhällsförbättrande journalist”* [Too much Woman: a Biography of Else Kleen and the New Woman as a Social Betterment Journalist] (Carlssons)
- Ann-Sofie Ohlander and Ulla-Britt Strömberg: *“Tusen svenska kvinnoår. Svensk kvinnohistoria från vikingatid till nutid”* [Thousand Swedish Women Years. Swedish Women’s History from Viking Times to the Present] (Norstedts)

Historical writings, other

- Ronny Ambjörnsson: *“Den skötsamme arbetaren. Idéer och ideal i ett norrländskt sågverksamhälle 1880–1930”* [The Industrious Worker. Ideas and Ideals in a Norrland Sawmill Community 1880-1930] (Carlssons).
- Leif Andersson: *“Beslut(S)fattarna. Socialdemokratiska riksdagsgruppen 100 år”* [Decision-maker(S). Social Democratic Riksdag Group 100 years] (PM Bäckströms förlag)
- The Workers’ Cultural Historical Society: *“...faror för staten av svåraste slag. Politiska fångar på Långholmen 1880–1950”* [.. the Hazards for the state of the hardest kind. Political Prisoners in Långholmen 1880-1950] (Stockholmia förlag)
- Sven Aspling: *“100 år i Sverige. Vägen till folkhemmet”* [100 Years in Sweden. The Road to the People’s Home] (Tiden)
- Nisha Besara & Klas Gustavsson (eds.): *“Strebrar, fraspolitiker och alla vi andra. SSU 90 år”* [Careerists, phrase-politicians and all the rest of us. SSU 90 years.] (Premiss)
- Barbro Björk and Jan Bertil Schnell: *“Sundsvallstrejken 1879 samtida dokument och historisk belysning”* [Sundsvall Strike 1879 Contemporary Documents and Historical Enlightenment] (Sundsvalls museum)
- Sven Bodin och Carl-Adam Nycop *“Första Maj 1890–1980”* [May First 1890-1980] (Tiden)
- Ragnar Casparsson: *“LO under fem årtionden”* [LO for five decades] part 1 1898–1923, part 2 1924–1947 (Tiden)
- Nils Elvander: *“Skandinavisk arbetarrörelse”* [Scandinavian labour movement] (Liber)
- Lotta Gröning: *“Vägen till makten: SAP:s organisation och dess be-*

tydelse för den politiska verksamheten 1900–1933” [The Road to Power: SAP’s organisation and its Significance for Political Activity 1900 - 1933] (Almqvist & Wicksell)

- Ingvar Flink: “*Strejkbryteriet och arbetets frihet: en studie av svensk arbetsmarknad fram till 1938*” [Strike-breaking and the freedom of work: a study of the Swedish labour market up to 1938] (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis)
- Bo Gustafsson: “*Den tysta revolutionen. Det lokala välfärdssamhällets framväxt. Exemplet Örebro 1945–1982*” [The Quiet Revolution. The development of the local welfare society. The example of Örebro 1945-1982] (Gidlunds)
- Gunnar Gunnarsson: “*Socialdemokratins idéarv*” [Social Democracy’s Ideological Heritage] (Tiden)
- Eric J. Hobsbawm’s economic history books on “*the long 19th century*”: “*The Age of Revolution*”, “*The Age of Capital*”, “*The Age of Empire*” and “*the short 20th century*”: “*The Age of Extremes*” (Tiden)
- Hilding Johansson: “*Folkrörelserna i Sverige*” [Popular movements in Sweden] (Sober)
- Sten O. Karlsson: “*Det intelligenta samhället. En omtolkning av socialdemokratins idéhistoria*” [The Intelligent Society. A reinterpretation of the history of ideas of social democracy] (Arkiv)
- Sigurd Klockare: “*Svenska revolutionen 1917–18*” [The Swedish Revolution of 1917-18] (Prisma)
- Leif Lewin: “*Planhushållningsdebatten*” [The Planned Economy Debate] (Uppsala University)
- Anne-Marie Lindgren: “*Arbetarnas Stockholm*” [The Workers’ Stockholm] (Murbruks förlag)
- Jan Lindhagen: “*Socialdemokratins program del 1. I rörelsens tid 1890–1930*” [Social Democracy’s Programme Part 1. In the Age of Movements 1890-1930] (Tiden)
- Jan Lindhagen: “*Socialdemokratins program del 2. Bolsjevikstriden*” [Social Democracy’s Programme Part 2. The Bolshevik Battle] (Tiden)
- Sven Lundkvist: “*Folkrörelserna i det svenska samhället 1850–1920*” [Popular Movements in Swedish Society 1850-1920] (Sober)
- Ingrid Millbourn: “*Rätt till maktighet: om den svenska socialdemokratins lärprocess 1885–1902*” [Right to Sluggishness: On Swedish Social Democracy’s Learning Process 1885-1902] (Östlings bokförlag Symposion)
- Klaus Misgeld; Villy Bergström; Klas Åmark & Karl Molin –eds “*Socialdemokratins samhälle: SAP och Sverige under 100 år*” [Social Democracy’s Society: SAP and Sweden during 100 years] (Tiden)
- Rune Nordin: “*Den svenska arbetarrörelsen. Idé, organisation och historia i sammandrag*” [The Swedish Labour Movement. Idea, Organisation and History in Brief] (Tiden)
- Birger Norman: “*Ådalen 31: en berättelse*” [Ådalen 31: a tale] (Murbruk förlag)
- Olle Nyman: “*Krisuppgörelsen mellan socialdemokraterna och bondeförbundet 1933*” [The Crisis Resolution between the Social Democrats and the Farmers’ League 1933] (Almqvist & Wicksell)
- Lars Olsson: “*Då barn var lönsamma: om arbetsdelning, barnarbete och teknologisk förändring i några svenska industrier under 1800- och början av 1900-talet*” [When Children were Profitable: On

the Division of Labour, Child Labour and Technological Change in Some Swedish Industries during the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries] (Tiden)

- Bo Rothstein: “*Den socialdemokratiska staten. Reformerna inom svensk arbetsmarknads- och skolpolitik*” [The Social Democratic State. Reforms in the Swedish Labour Market and Education Policy] (Arkiv)
- Olof Ruin: “*I välfärdsstatens tjänst*” [In the Service of the Welfare State] (Tiden)
- Berndt Schiller: “*Storstrejken 1909: förhistoria och orsaker*” [The General Strike of 1909: Prehistory and Causes] (Elander)
- Lennart Schön: “*En modern svensk ekonomisk historia: tillväxt och omvandling under två sekel*” [A Modern Swedish Economic History: Growth and Transformation over Two Centuries] (Studentlitteratur)
- Socialist Debate: “*Från Palm till Palme. Den svenska socialdemokratins program 1882–1960*” [From Palm to Palme. The Swedish Social Democracy’s Programme 1882 -1960] (Rabén & Sjögren)
- Herbert Tingsten “*Den svenska socialdemokratins idéutveckling (I–II)*” [Swedish Social Democracy’s Idea Development (I-II)] (Bonniers)
- *Vår enighets fana – ett sekel fackliga fanor* [Our Unity’s Flag – a Century of Trade Union Banners] (LO och Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek)
- Ingemar Wörlund: “*Kampen om det ideologiska rummet. En studie av variationer i SAP:s regionala väljarstöd 1921–1940 mot bakgrund av partiorganisatorisk aktivitet och lokal organisationsmiljö*” [The Struggle for Ideological Space. A Study of Variations in SAP’s Regional Support 1921-1940 Against the Background of Party Organisational Activity and Local Organisational Environment] (Umeå University)

Links

Labour Movement Archives And Library (ARBARK)

<http://www.arbark.se/>

The library also publishes the magazine “Arbetarhistoria” with various historical articles.

<http://www.arbetarhistoria.se/>

The Workers’ Cultural-Historical Society (AKS)

http://arbetarkultur.se/?page_id=13

AKS organises seminars, trips, publishes books and has walks in the footsteps of the workers’ movement during the summer in Stockholm

The Museum of Work in Norrköping

<http://www.arbetetsmuseum.se/>

Arkiv förlag

<http://www.arkiv.nu/Start/tabid/71/List/1/Default.aspx>

In addition to books, Arkiv förlag publishes the magazine Tidsskriften Arkiv for the study of the labour movements history: Centre for Labour History (Cfa) <http://www.arbetarhistoria.org/>

Cfa is a research network consisting of Lund University, Department of History, the Labour Movement Archives in Landskrona and the non-profit association Cfa.

Gothenburg University Library

Pioneering women and pioneers

<http://www.ub.gu.se/kvinn/portaler/arbete/biografier/>

Fiction and poetry

- Lars Ahlin: *“Täbb med manifestet”* [Täbb with the manifesto] (Bonniers)
- Susanna Alakoski: *“Svinalängorna”* [The Swine Rows] (Bonniers)
- Ove Allansson: *“Ombordarna”* [Those Onboard] (Författarförlaget)
- Bernt-Olov Andersson: *“Agitatorerna”* [The Agitators] (Ordfront)
- Mary Andersson: *“Maria och Amalthea”* [Maria and Amalthea] (Carlssons)
- Mats Berggren: *“Orent ackord”* [Impure arrangement] (Rabén & Sjögren)
- Håkan Boström: *“Första striden”* [The First Battle] (Tiden)
- Håkan Boström: *“Drakens år”* [The Year of the Dragon] (Rabén & Sjögren)
- Alexandra Coelho Ahndoril: *“Mäster”* om August Palm [Master - about August Palm] (Bonniers)
- Fredrik Ekelund: *“Stuv Malmö, kom!”* [Stevdoring Malmö, come!] (Bonniers)
- Fredrik Ekelund: *“m/s Tiden”* [m/s Time] (Bonniers)
- Maja Elelöf: *“Rapport från en skurbink”* [Report from a Pail] (Norstedts)
- Svante Foerster *“Klasskampen”* [The Class Struggle] (Rabén&Sjögren)
- Per-Olov Enquist: *“Musikanternas uttåg”* [Musicians' Exodus] (Norstedts)
- David Ericsson: *“Taxfree”* (Ordfront)
- Kjell Eriksson: *“Att skjuta hästar”* [Shooting Horses] (Ordfront)
- Jan Fogelbäck: *“Körjournal”* [Logbook] (Oktoberförlaget)
- Per-Anders Fogelström: City-series of Stockholm that begins with “City of My Dreams” (Norstedts)
- Maria Hamberg: *“Drömfabriken”* [The Dream Factory] (Ordfront)
- Elsie Johansson: *“Berättelsen om Nancy”* [The Story of Nancy] (trilogi)
- Lena Kallenberg: *“Apelsinflickan”* [The Orange Girl] (Tiden)
- Torgny Karnstedt: *“Slamfarmen”* [The Sludge Farm] (Prisma)
- Sara Lidman: *“Gruva”* [Mine] (Bonniers)
- Ivar Lo Johansson's autobiographical suite that begins with *“The Illiterate”*
- Kjell Johansson: *“Huset vid flon”* [House at Flon] (Norstedt)
- Elin Lindqvist: *“Facklan”* [The Torch] (Piratförlaget)
- Hans Lagerberg: *“Saknar bildning – en krönika om hundra års bildningskamp”* [Lacks Training – a Chronicle of One Hundred Years of the Struggle for Education] (Barrikaden)
- Torgny Lindgren: *“Övriga frågor”* [Other Issues] (Litteraturfrämjandet)
- Kristian Lundberg: *“Yarden”* (Symposion)
- Moa Martinsson's autobiographical trilogy that begins with *“Mor gifter sig”* [Mother Marries] (Natur & Kultur)
- Vilhelm Moberg *“Soldat med brutet gevär”* [The Soldier with a Broken Rifle] (Bonniers)
- Vibeke Olsson: *“Sågverksungen”, “Bricken på Svartvik”, “Sågspån och eld”, “Amerikauvet”, “Glödens färger”* [Sawmill kid, Bricken at

Svartvik, Sawdust and Fire, America Timer, The Glow of Colours] (Libris)

- Bunny Ragnerstam: Four volume work on the emergence of the labour movement in Kristianstad beginning with *“Innan dagen gryr”* [Before the day is dawning] (Gidlunds)
- Olle Sahlström: *“Don Emilios badkar”* [Don Emilio's bath] (Atlas)
- Kurt Salomonsson: *“Mannen utanför; Sveket; Skiljevägen: tre romaner om folkhemmet”* [Man outside; The betrayal; A cross-road: three novels about the people's home] (Norstedts)
- Maria Sandel: *“Droppar i folkhavet”* [Drops in the Sea of People] (Murbruks förlag)
- Stig Sjödin: *“Sotfragment”* [A Fragment of Soot] (Lindelöws förlag)
- Olle Svenning: *“Inte bli som vi”* [Don't be Like Us] (Tiden)
- Ragnar Thoursie: *“En öppen stad, ej en befästad, bygger vi gemensamt”* [An open city, not a fortress, we will build together] (Ellerströms)
- Aino Trosell: *“Hjärtstocken”* [The Rudder] (Oktober)
- Hertha Wirén: *“En bit bröd med Anna”* [A Piece of Bread with Anna]
- Jenny Wrangborg: *“Kallskänken”* (Kata förlag)

For children and young people

- Sven Wernström's Thrall-series (Gidlunds)

NOTE: The above is only a sample and there is a lot more work by writers/poets, especially from older times. Also look through LO's Ivar LO-Award winners.

Some Movies/TV series

- Bertolucci's *“1900”*
- Bille August's: *“Pelle The Conqueror”*
- Gustaf Edgren's *“Karl Fredrik reigns”*
- *“Four days that shook Sweden: Midsummer crisis 1941”* drama documentary on SVT Open Archive
- Gunnar Hagner's *“Soldat med brutet gevär”* [Soldier with broken rifle] (TV series based on Vilhelm Moberg's novel)
- Keve Hjelm's *“God natt, jord”* [Good Night, Earth] (TV series based Ivar Lo-Johansson's novel)
- Maud Nycander's and Kristina Lindström's *“Palme”* (documentary)
- Pernilla Oljelund's *“Fröken Frimans krig”* [Miss Friman's War] (TV series)
- Gabriela Pichler's *“Eat Sleep Die”*
- Ingvar Skogsberg's *“City of My Dreams”* (based on Fogelström's novel)
- Åke Sandgren's *“The Slingshot”*
- Skattefria Andersson [Tax free Andersson] (election film)
- Jan Troell's *“Everlasting Moments”*
- Bo Widerberg's *“Raven's End”*
- Bo Widerberg's *“Ådalen 31”*
- Bo Widerberg's *“Joe Hill”*
- The party's election films 1934-1994 can be found at www.filmarkivet.se

You can find all of our study materials at:
socialdemokraterna.abf.se

