

The Swedish Social Democratic Party  
International Policy Program

# A just world is possible

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## 1. A just world is possible

Everything that happens in the world affects everyone and concerns everyone. The future of mankind is more than ever before a common concern, regardless of whether we like it or not. The Social Democratic movement has chosen to regard it as our common concern.

For those of us who are social democrats mankind is our goal – development and freedom, the will to grow, the sense of responsibility for coming generations, solidarity with others. The purpose of politics is the liberation of people. For this reason social democrats strive to combat economic and social divisions, widen the scope of solidarity and contribute to the creation of a world in which poverty and powerlessness are things of the past.

No society can gain from standing aside when it comes to developments in our world. We can be one step ahead or one step behind, but in the long term the rate of change is determined by the conditions provided by our situation in the world. We must shoulder the demanding but possible task of creating a better world. By doing so we will build a better Sweden.

The situation in our world has changed radically over the recent years – mostly for the better. More people than ever before live in democratic societies. The aggregate welfare of mankind increases, the forces of production are more balanced in their use of natural resources, more and more people rise from oppression, famine, sickness and illiteracy than ever before. For the first time ever poverty can be a fact of history. It is possible to wipe out poverty within the span of a generation if only the political will is there to do it. In spite of this the world experiences increasing injustice both within and between countries.

As social democrats we do not believe in a predetermined development. We know that people working together create their future by choosing political goals. The struggle for a fairer world is one of the main lines of thought in the history of democratic socialism. Our movement was born from the insight and challenge facing working people in every country to join together in a common cause.

The struggle has been meaningful and successful. Colonialism, though not its heritage, is now a matter of history. Dictatorships are on the retreat. However we witness new alliances between undemocratic regimes and international capital. The risk of war between states is low today. Our country has made the long trip from “Poor Sweden” to a leading welfare country.

The party programme of the Social Democratic Party from 2001 describes five paradoxes in our world today:

The first is that while so many poor countries now enjoy rapid development and more and more people can benefit from this growing welfare the fact remains that the divisions between rich and poor are growing. A new type of poverty and social exclusion is developing even in the rich countries.

The second paradox is that while democracy spreads it is threatened by strong capitalist interests, by nationalist and fundamentalist forces and by ethnic prejudice.

Thirdly there is the fact of increased migration which enriches many countries and the paradox that the problems of achieving integration have led to a sense of powerlessness and brutality.

The fourth paradox is that while disarmament has made real progress and the risk of armed conflict between states has been reduced there remains the fact that violence and civil war within countries have increased.

The fifth paradox is that alongside the growing awareness of the importance of an ecologically sustainable development, there is the pressure on the global ecosystem from production methods and consumption behaviour that make for demands on our natural resources.

Two more factors can be added to these paradoxes:

The progress within science and medicine, communications, information technology, the use of energy and production systems are spread throughout the world at the same time as many people are unable to enjoy the fruits of this progress.

The development of democracy is threatened by the rise of terrorism. Organisations that use violence to achieve their aims call for tough opposition. At the same time this opposition must not be allowed to compete with respect for human rights and the individual's right to respect for personal integrity.

This is the form in which the classical conflict between new conditions for production and labour is now displayed. The struggle between the interests of the people and those of capital continues, the issue of whether power should be measured in terms of money or in terms of every person's democratic right to vote.

Continuous change is nothing new or for that matter unwelcome for a progressive movement. What is new is the rapidity of change and the far reaching dependence it creates. This globalisation offers great opportunities but brings with it problems and very real challenges.

For this reason we social democrats must constantly examine and review the ways in which we wish to carry out our policies. The interwoven world in which we live poses new challenges to the nation state. The challenges of yesterday were liberation from colonialism, the cold war, the arms race and conflicts between nation states. It was only natural that the independence of the nation state stood in the forefront.

Globalisation means that we can no longer rely solely on national solutions to problems. Sustainable development and security must be achieved in concert. At the same time democracy in nations, municipalities and regions remain the indispensable cornerstones for better communities and a better world. Instead of replacing or undermining democracy, international co-operation must aim to expand and strengthen democracy in communities and at all levels where it is lacking.

Women make up half the population of the world but their opportunities to exercise influence, participate in and benefit from development remain limited

in most countries. The world is still ruled by men. Equality between men and women has a decisive impact on the social, economic and political development of communities and equality must always be one of the basic preconditions when we seek solutions to global problems such as poverty, environmental waste, security and migration. The principles of democracy and of human rights are universal and indispensable conditions if our common answers to the problems are to win acceptance and work in practice. The risks to and the future of children must be taken up in every situation and the Children's Convention of the UN must be applied in a consequent manner.

Power over global development cannot be left to multinational companies and their search for short term returns on capital. The interests of the few must not be allowed to dominate the shaping of international rules and agreements. The struggle against corruption must be continued.

The globalisation of democracy and the democratisation of globalisation are natural aims for social democrats. When the market forces can be reined in then globalisation will be a force that can serve everyone. By strengthening the global trade union rights and free trade unions these can then function as a strong counterweight to the interests of capital. On the global level we must work for a shift of power from the market to political institutions. International bodies such as the United Nations must be more representative even for those countries with limited resources. Social democrats must take the lead in organising global solutions to global problems even though the obstacles can appear insurmountable and we meet opposition from individuals and powerful capitalist interests.

Within the U.N. an agenda has been drawn up for a more secure and safer world. It is the responsibility of all nations to live up to this commitment. Sweden is a model in terms of its coordinated policy for a sustainable and just global development. In different parts of the world there is now emerging a more institutionalised and dutiful cooperation that can also contribute to reinforcing the decision making powers of the U.N. In our part of the world the European Union has become the foremost instrument in shaping a holistic view of questions that require co-operation across borders.

The work of creating a just world continues. The international social democratic labour movement is prepared to shoulder its responsibilities in the same way as we did when our movement first started and we can draw inspiration from the demands of a new age for insight, methods of working and decision-making.

## 2. A globalised world

*“Today’s world offers unique opportunities for a safer and richer life for all, such are the resources created by modern means of production. But the opportunities remain unfairly distributed. Today’s world is characterised by deep divisions in both welfare and power, both between people and between countries.”*

(Extract from the party programme)

Never before have people traded so much with each other as they do today. Never before have we travelled as widely as we do today. Never before have so many people crossed national borders to look for work or to seek asylum as they do today. Never before have so many jobs been dependent on events and decisions made on the other side of the world from where they live.

In the debate on globalisation many negative pictures are easily conjured up. When the strongest critics of globalisation focus only on the problems following on international economic integration, the strongest supporters turn a blind eye to the problems that arise when economies become borderless while politics remains largely national in character. Neither of these two parties is right.

We social democrats believe in the opportunities presented by globalisation. The economic globalisation of the past decades has led to greater welfare and contributed to a reduction in poverty for several hundred million people.

The distances between people have been reduced in the wake of globalisation; knowledge and understanding of the living conditions on the other side of the globe have improved. Day by day the demands for democracy, respect for human rights and social security grow stronger round the world. There have never been so many democratic states as there are today. The link between democracy and economic development is strong.

People all over the world bear the same hope of being able to live in a secure and socially responsible society based on respect for human values. Through democratic elections between free political parties citizens can make their voices heard on issues of social reform and free trade union rights. The advances of democracy mean that fewer people die of famine and fewer wars are fought between nation states. Infringements on trade union rights or none at all, poverty line wages, imprisoned workers, child labour and wage dumping meet with a trade union and political struggle for democratic freedoms and rights.

At the same time globalisation is a source of concern and insecurity. The demands for flexibility and the rapid swings in economies make for insecurity and a sense of powerlessness. People find it difficult to keep up - many of us feel that we are chasing after development instead of directing it. Adaptation to the new economy creates a sense of worry about the future both in the rich as well as in the poorer countries. There is a concern that more and more manufacturing jobs will move to low pay countries and no new jobs will take their place. Low-pay countries are pitched against each other and this makes it difficult to struggle for better conditions.

Globalisation can therefore be seen as good or bad. While manufacturing jobs move to other markets the new knowledge – based and labour intensive sectors employ more and more people. In Sweden the number of employees in the manufacturing sector has fallen by half a million over the past thirty years but during the same period the number of employees in the service sector has risen by over one million.

It is however more apparent that the desire of international capital for bigger and quicker profits shows little concern for the human side of things. People are used as counters in a game. Today countries and companies compete with each other to get the most valuable links in the production chain and to hold on to them for as long as possible. We social democrats regard it as unacceptable that competition for company investments should be based on less security in the labour market, tax dumping or lower standards in environment care.

The informal sector's share of the economy is growing, not least in the developing countries. Unregulated or directly illegal conditions often entail a lack of legal protection for individuals and for all companies which are often exploited in a grim fashion both as employees and as sub-contractors. Deregulation and privatisation, which increase this exploitation, are barriers to sustainable growth. The ownership rights of the poor as well as the laws of contract and labour laws create opportunities for real growth. The right to the land that one tills is of central importance.

Our conclusion is not that we should prevent change but rather that we must steer the process of change. It will not be international capital interests that ensure that people will be prepared for work in new branches. What is needed instead is firm political decision-making and trade union-political co-operation in order to achieve success in the face of global competition.

One of the most important ideas in the social democratic movement is that security for people and investment in skills is a prerequisite for greater growth. Unlike the Right in Sweden and in the international world, we do not believe that insecurity and fear of losing one's job can contribute to development.

Despite the tough international competition, societies that have high ambitions when it comes to equality and a fair distribution of wealth in combination with a common welfare system – societies such as those in the Nordic countries – remain strong. Advanced economies with world-leadership in production are complex and require a good social framework. Collective solutions to the problems of education, health, the environment and infrastructure are often the most effective. Companies are dependent on a high level of education, quality research and good living conditions in order to recruit staff, they depend on modern means of communication and supply chains, reliable social services and legal institutions. Far reaching specialisation, system building, creativity, engagement and the involvement of all personnel are the characteristics of high value production and they are promoted in an open, democratic and equal society.

We social democrats have two parallel strategies. We can in a spirit of solidarity work to ensure that globalisation spreads welfare all over the world and that everyone can feel secure in their jobs. At the same time Swedish employees will offer a competence of world class. The Swedish labour market will provide

the security and the opportunities for development for individuals in a way that makes change a positive possibility.

### *Distribute the benefits of globalisation fairly*

The expanded globalisation of the last few decades has contributed to increased welfare and a higher average income level almost everywhere. If the world economy continues to grow at the same pace as hitherto – and the distribution of wealth is fair – it will be possible to achieve the goal set by the governments of the world to halve poverty by the year 2015.

Still today, almost half of the world's population live on an income of less than two dollars per day. The majority are women. More than half a billion people in work earn less than a dollar per day.

Injustice has many forms. A person living in the industrialised world is expected to live almost 30 years longer than a person living in one of the least developed countries in the world. One child in five in the developing countries does not attend school; the figure for the rich world is only two percent. Developments in the poorer countries are not uniform. Success and misery live side by side. Poverty is everywhere and affects even our lives in the richer countries.

A world with 246 million child workers with 180 million working in the worst of conditions is not a humane world. When workers are locked into factories in so called free zones then the equal value of every person is not respected in practice.

### *Combating the dumping of working conditions*

In line with a strong international labour movement and the fact that societies move closer to one another, more and more people will demand better welfare, greater security in the labour market, human rights and participative democracy. This will move in the same direction as it did when workers began to organise and put forward their demands in the early days of industrialisation.

Social democrats can never accept that competitive strength is brought about by means of lower wages, poorer working conditions, an exploitation of the environment and lower welfare. We will work to ensure that more countries strive towards the best of conditions, with opportunities for development and a fair distribution of wealth.

Moreover the economic integration can lead to prices and wages moving closer together in a world with a free movement for goods, services, capital and people. This change is tumultuous for all, both in the industrialised countries and in the non-industrialised nations.

Progress can be achieved through investing in people and by caring for the environment. We have no wish to see cheaper consumer goods bought at the price of bad working conditions and subsistence wages in other parts of the world. Growth without human rights, increased social divisions and a poorer environment do not make us richer. On the contrary only a socially and sustainable development from an environment point of view will provide for

sustainable growth. Only in this way can we enjoy an improvement in security and in the quality of life regardless of where we live in the world.

### *Sustainable global development*

Poverty cannot be measured only in terms of income per capita. Global development and reduced poverty do not come about just because people have the daily bread they require but through the fact that everyone has the opportunity to make the most of their resources in a democratic society where everyone has access to good health care, education and a job. The lack of influence, poor health and illiteracy are evidence of poverty. Among the poor it is the women and children who least influence over their communities and over their own lives.

The millennium goal of the U.N. calls for action. We need to see action at every level, in municipalities, regions, government, and multilateral institutions. Regardless of whether countries cooperate on farm policy, public health or national security it is sustainable development that must be the end goal of co-operation.

A sustainable global development can be achieved not only by means of free trade, the writing-off of debt or aid. Many factors must combine if we are to see increased welfare and a reduction in poverty. A more holistic policy must be adopted in individual countries as well as in international institutions. Not least we must ensure that the common actions of the EU are in harmony when it comes to different areas of policy.

### *Health and education – human rights and the basis for development*

Every year some six million people die of HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria – all of them diseases that can be prevented or cured. Almost three million children who die every year could be saved through vaccination.

An important precondition for a strategy for sustainable global development to be a reality is political action at the local and regional levels in every country. Think global, act local is a meaningful challenge to the peoples of the world and requires political action in municipalities and regions if we are to achieve global goals and mobilise citizens to these ends.

Disease steals away people's dreams of a better future. The connection between poverty and disease in the world forms an evil circle. Poverty increases the risk for disease and sickness involves the risk of people and communities becoming poorer. Ill-health is one of the greatest barriers and threats to growth and welfare.

Mankind has a common responsibility to act against ill-health. A health system is one of the primary responsibilities of national governments. The struggle against contagious diseases in poor countries requires sufficient resources being channelled through aid or other international efforts. Medical skills, the capacity to provide care and medicines must be accessible to all, regardless of income. Patent rights and individual profit interests cannot be allowed to get in the way of this goal, especially since medical progress is often financed by public funding.

Today millions of children die of malaria and measles or from sicknesses related to malnutrition. The struggle against these problems wiped out diseases in the rich world and this effort must now be strengthened.

Today the lack of clean water is a cause of much ill-health. The struggle for water is already a cause of tensions between countries and involves a risk a future conflicts. The right to clean water is also being challenged by forces that want to see a privatization of water resource. We Social Democrats will fight to insure the right of everyone to clean water.

One of the biggest barriers to development is the spread of HIV/AIDS. Over 60 million people in the world have been affected and the most rapid increase in the pandemic is taking place in Eastern Europe and in Asia. In South Africa HIV/AIDS has created immense problems from the point of view of development. Because of HIV/AIDS people in Botswana, to take one example, have in the span of ten years lost more of a life span than they won between the years 1960 and 1990.

HIV/AIDS are a question of equality between men and women. Sexual and reproductive health and the rights associated with these are human rights and must be secured for all. The rights of women over their own bodies are human rights but also the most important factor in preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS.

In many countries there is neither knowledge of nor access to protection against sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancies. The international community must, through individual states, create the resources needed in this type of work. Today religious communities often have a strong influence on how poor countries prioritise their health resources and this has led to politically controversial issues on the rights of women, equality between the sexes and sexuality being given a backseat. We cannot accept this.

Education is fundamental in strengthening the individual's control over his or her own situation. The importance of this grows in line with the development of the knowledge-based economy. Young people and children must be given such status in society so that they are not regarded merely as a future resource, they must be seen to be important here and now. Everyone has the right to primary education and educational differences on the basis of sex must be eliminated. Efforts to improve the education of girls are the best form of investment for many communities.

Education for adults is needed to meet the continuous changes in society and in working life. Positive results from Sweden show that adult education is decisive in enabling countries to make the most of people's abilities. The illiterate must also be given new opportunities.

Basic needs both for the individual and the community, such as health care and education should be public responsibilities in every society. Access should not be limited by international terms of trade or a market mentality that allows purchasing power a decisive say.

### *Free, fair and sustainable trade*

Despite the fact that trade in goods and services has increased stupendously over the past few decades, global production has not increased welfare in every part of the world. There is a clear link between lower barriers to trade and increased trade. It remains however the case that it is still the rich nations that trade with each other. As long as the richer nations protect themselves with trade barriers free trade will remain a utopian dream. And so long will increased welfare be unevenly distributed between different parts of the world.

Sweden has like many other industrial nations built its welfare on a strong export industry. For all too long these export successes were based on unfair barriers to trade, with cheap raw materials from poor countries being turned into valuable products that were then sold at high prices by the export industries. The single minded focus on export profits in the rich countries has to a great extent been carried out at the expense of the poorer countries.

A country that builds its welfare on a small number of export successes is because of globalisation just as vulnerable as a country wholly dependent on its raw materials. Economic and social development is best served by a mutual exchange. Production and welfare are created not only through trade. Just as important are the politics of redistribution, education, improvements in infrastructure, communications and technical developments.

There are forces that push for an unbridled and unregulated commerce.

There are also forces that will turn back development to a time of protectionism and nationalism. Market liberals all over the world want to see more free trade but oppose social and trade union rights. The far Right and the Left are united, in spite of their different motives, in once again retreating behind national boundaries.

It is the task of social democrats to offer an alternative to extremes such as unbridled capitalism and closed borders. We social democrats say yes to free trade but not at any price. We say yes to new forms of production but not at any price.

Alongside the increase in trade we have seen a change in the patterns of trade. Barriers to trade have been substantially reduced over the past decades but have at the same time developed new forms that have hit producers who lack the backing of a strong state. Along with this we have the African continent and parts of Latin America that remain outside the positive flows of trade. In Asia development has been different.

Economic growth has been extremely high over a number of decades especially in China, the most populous nation on earth, and has led to millions of people rising above the poverty line. China is one of the world's biggest economies but still has millions of poor. This rapid economic development has also created unemployment. The country lacks a well functioning system of social security. Along with the high level of growth and openness to the rest of the world, come the rightful demands for political freedom, something that the government of China has hitherto met with oppression. The absence of democracy in China makes for an unhealthy relationship between labour and capital. The ban on trade unions is an infringement on the rights of free association, a break on continued development and it makes for social dumping against other developing countries.

Free trade means that we have the possibility of creating increased welfare in every part of the globe. The interests of capital should not be allowed to determine the development of other nations or to provide a free zone without democratic control and social responsibility.

Free trade cannot be introduced overnight. Countries that have been closed off or that have a limited means of production must be given time to prepare for lower trade barriers. A poor and closed country that is swept into the currents of free trade and unbridled capitalism will seldom be able to build a sustainable means of production. The price, in the form of increased social divisions, insecure supplies of food production and unemployment can be high if the transition is too rapid. Raising taxes by other means than import duties is also important if we are to reduce trade barriers in an orderly fashion.

### *Abolish farm subsidies*

Making demands for a trade policy for developing nations and sharpening the struggle for decent working conditions is not enough. The industrialised world must not disadvantage developing nations by means of import tariffs and export subsidies to their own industries and to farming. The developing nations lose the incredible sum of 700 billions dollars annually – equivalent to twice the Swedish GNP – because of trade barriers. It is especially important that subsidies to farming in tobacco production and alcohol are abolished ongoing.

Farming is the most important sector in developing economies. It is therefore of decisive importance that the European and North American farm policies are reformed. The EU initiative in abolishing trade barriers for the least developed countries is a step in the right direction.

Every year the EU spends almost half of its budget on direct subsidies to agricultural production, equivalent to more than the total global aid budget. These resources should be used to develop welfare, improve the environment, develop the countryside and strengthen European competitiveness instead.

When farming in developing countries improves it will be possible for more people to improve their welfare and to diversify their economies. A fundamental precondition for development is that families and cooperatives own the land they till. Family-owned farms provide for a higher rate of growth and reduce disadvantageous redistribution more than is the case where colonial and feudal plantations dominate. Both domestic disadvantages and foreign dumping of foodstuffs strike hard at the majority of the world's poor who depend on agriculture for a living. This situation is untenable.

Better incomes in the countryside means that labour will be used in a more rational way and the opportunities for industry to compete on the basis of bad wages and poor working conditions will be reduced. Genuine free trade in agricultural products would provide for greater security and better incomes for both farmers in developing countries as well as for industrial workers in the rich countries.

### *Rights in working life in the world as a whole*

The basic human rights in working life must be strengthened and respected everywhere. Freedom of association and freedom to make agreements must be guaranteed and slave labour, child labour and discrimination, including wage discrimination between men and women, must be eliminated. It is unacceptable that 73 million children under the age of 10 work and that 22 000 children die as a result of accidents at work. The work of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) must be given greater authority and more countries must be persuaded to ratify the ILO's conventions.

The Swedish as well as the international trade union movement plays a decisive role as a force for change in society and as a resource for sustainable economic development. Free and democratic trades unions protect the rights of workers and their conditions of employment and contribute to greater social justice. Without trades unions and progressive political movements that cooperate across borders the multinational companies will easily be able to pitch industries and countries against each other. Companies act across borders. So too must trades unions and politics. For this reason workers all round the world must be guaranteed the right to take international sympathy action.

The emergence of a stronger European and international labour law and of international trade union agreements is promising both in terms of economic development and in terms of justice.

Social democrats and the trade union movement can and should cooperate across borders. We demand that basic human rights in working life are included in international trade agreements. Sweden must defend the rights of wage earners in international organisations such as the IMF and the World Bank, by means of bilateral contacts and with procurement rules at every level of society, global as well as national. For this reason Sweden must ratify the ILO convention 94 on public procurement. It is imperative that we awaken opinion to the miserable working conditions that exist in the world.

The labour movement must work to reinforce the social dimension in the work of the multilateral organisations. International bodies such as the WHO and the UN must be given greater powers to make clear demands on how trade between countries should be organised so that social progress in rich communities does not take place at the expense of or together with terrible conditions in other countries.

The more that benefit from trade the more there are who can share responsibility for the consequences of trade. Trade in goods and services must, as in other markets, fall within a clear framework of rules and protection for weaker actors and countries.

### *The environment requires cooperation across borders*

The goal of Social democrats is the planned use of the world's resources so that coming generations can take over a world where they can still drink its water, breathe fresh air and enjoy a richness in species that have not been decimated.

There is a risk that the overexploitation of natural resources can result in ecological, economic, health and social collapse. What is most dramatic is the risk of climate change. The Kyoto protocol is a step in the right direction but far from enough.

The environment problems of tomorrow require solutions today. The Swedish social democrats belong to the most progressive movements in the field of environment work. No other country in the world has pursued such a radical policy for sustainable development as Sweden has under the leadership of the social democrats. But no single country can handle the global environment problems on its own since these are problems that cross borders. The change-over to an ecologically sustainable development is the responsibility of the world community and a task that social democrats must follow up in every area. Research into and the export of environment technology provides for real economic opportunities for a leading nation.

Natural disasters are made worse by the grim exploitation of natural resources and hit the poorest most of all. The flood wave of the 26<sup>th</sup> of December 2004 led to a major natural disaster in South East Asia that affected millions living in the disaster area as well as many Swedes. The impact was probably worsened by the exploitation of coastal areas. In the space of a few decades the mangrove swamps in Thailand, India and Sri Lanka have been more than halved. Trees have been chopped down to make way for tourist retreats and shrimp fisheries. On top of this the coral reefs have been destroyed to a great extent by excessive trawling and boat traffic. Mangrove swamp forests and coral reefs are natural flood breakers. Earthquakes cannot be prevented but the impact can be diminished by protecting and preserving natural resources along the coastlines.

Economic growth must not be achieved at the price of ecological values. At the same time ecological efforts must be made in harmony with economic growth and the development of welfare. This is the core of the work for sustainable development. What is required is a balance between the economic, social and environmental development. Every generation has a responsibility to provide coming generations with the means for a quality of life that is as good if not better than their own.

The goal of sustainable development requires a new approach and a drastic change in our consumption and production patterns. Economic growth must be separated from the exploitation of finite natural resources.

Efforts to achieve sustainable development must be made at the local, national as well as the global levels. The EU bears a special responsibility to set norms for the member states and for the rest of the world.

Multilateral co-operation for sustainable development is decisive. In conjunction with the world summit meeting in Johannesburg in 2002 the concept of sustainable development with its economic, social and environmental dimensions, was definitively recognised as an overriding principle for the work of

the UN. This meant a strengthening of the work for sustainable development on the global, regional and national levels. The conclusions must not stop at the public statements. The UN must play an active leading role in the work for sustainable development, which should also characterise the work of bodies such as the World Bank, the IMF and WTO as well as the regional development banks.

The rules of international trade must be combined with environmental conventions and international environment law. Earlier experience shows that market forces have no difficulty in adapting to more proactive environment legislation.

### *The responsibility of companies*

Multinational corporations play a decisive role in the world economy. Half of the world's biggest economies consist of corporations. Despite the fact that 300 of the world's biggest companies represent more than a quarter of the total global GNP they employ only 3 – 5 percent of the global labour force.

Within the framework of the UN, OECD, ILO, the World Bank and other bodies there are the means to provide for rules governing the responsibility of corporations for human rights, labour rights, the struggle against corruption and a better environment.

Incentives should be created to get companies to work in a way that leads to a reduction in the social divisions between countries and people. Co-operative organisations have a special opportunity to combine profits with social responsibility. In order to get companies to take on a global responsibility there must be sharper legislation and compulsory regulations. A transnational tax on corporations should also be considered. In order to protect the smaller companies in economies that have not yet started to develop, there should be global rules for competition and norms that companies must follow.

Short term faceless capital must give way to more long term ownership and investment. Collective pension funds can be an effective instrument in this regard.

Demands should not only be made on multinational companies. In every country, rich or poor, there are unfortunately, many national and local companies that exploit workers beyond what can be considered human. There is role here for trades unions, consumer groups and the globalisation movement in building up public opinion against these companies.

### *Sweden and international competition*

Competition is increasing regardless of whether it is in the fields of spare parts for cars, computers, foodstuffs or services. That regardless of whether companies are found at the local, national or international markets. All businessmen are affected by the new technology, wage competition, and the rapid pace of change in business life. Today investors demand an ever higher return on their capital. Company profits, even at the level of billions are not enough if more could be made in another country. Production moves to the most productive inputs.

Well functioning competition is an advantage for consumers. It can lead to lower prices and a larger supply of goods and services. But it can also entail wearing down people, unemployment and increased social divisions. It can lead to nations and people being pitched against each other.

Sweden holds its own well when it comes to international competitiveness. An important reason why Sweden is still one of the richest countries with a high level of growth, high employment, and a healthy business community lies the struggle waged by the Swedish labour movement to protect the rights of wage earners.

Only when everyone is given the chance of high quality care for the elderly, when their grandchildren are secure in their schooling can we face the challenges of the future. For this reason the cornerstones of the Swedish welfare system, health services, care and education must be the best in the world. The social democratic recipe for success has long been security in a time of change and will so remain. This is the only way in which we can meet the challenges of the future together.

An important precondition for success in the global economy is a strong business sector with strong companies. The barriers to setting up a business must be set low in Sweden. At the same time we must build up world leading centres of knowledge through sustained efforts financed privately, by public funds or in partnership. A global knowledge-based economy is today a complement to our basic industries that are founded on natural resources. Only when everyone's ideas are made the most of can Sweden hope to meet the challenges of the future.

The challenges of globalisation require an intensive cooperation within the EU. Alone is not strong. Within the framework of the European Union we can strengthen the rights of wage earners, combat unemployment, increase competitiveness, carry out effective industrial investments and improve our living environment. Together we can make Europe a more secure place to live in.

Within the EU it is possible to create a fairer competitive system. An active European policy on competition will make it more difficult for multinational companies to take over larger shares of the markets at the expense of consumers. Large company mergers can be stopped in order to maintain greater plurality and lower prices.

### *The opportunities of migration and its difficulties*

Internationalisation brings with it increased migration. It is now easier and cheaper to travel than ever before. Never before has migration within and across borders been as great as it is today. Almost 200 million people live today in another country from the one they were born in. There are many reasons for this. Many have moved in search of jobs, to study or because of marriage, but some have also been forced to flee from political oppression, persecution and natural disasters.

Mobility opens up opportunities. When people meet, ideas flow. Knowledge spreads. Development can be stimulated in the recipient country as well as in the country of origin. Incomes are sent home and contacts established. Most move away from home only for a short period, and many return home with

new experiences. A country closed to influence from abroad has no future. The multicultural community is becoming an ever more important component of all societies in the world. Unfortunately however the economic and social segregation in the industrialised world has developed ethnic dimensions, which can contribute to a rise in racism and make it difficult to achieve integration.

At the same time as the multicultural community is becoming an all important part of every society in the world, migration can give rise to tensions. Together with the tougher conditions on labour markets we can see how increased segregation and marginalisation have become common features of the industrialised world. Racism and xenophobia are on the rise in the Western world at the same time as the integration of immigrants into their new home countries has become more difficult.

Sweden and Europe must remain a haven of asylum for people who are persecuted for political or religious reasons, because of their trade union activities, sex, sexual preferences or ethnic background. This human right must not be coupled to labour market demands. Those who come here seeking asylum must clearly, when they have been granted asylum, be given a place in the community and obtain work.

As social democrats it is our duty to work for a common asylum policy within the EU, a policy that gives the asylum seekers a legally secure treatment of their appeal, a process that minimises human suffering, shortens the process of appeal and provides for a decent reception within the union as a whole. Special consideration must be given to children at risk and to their special needs. The responsibility for receiving asylum seekers must be shared between the member states. This will enlarge the capacity to offer asylum to those in need. In the long term the right of free movement must apply to all those who hold residence permits in one of the member states, and not be limited only to citizens.

But Sweden must also have a strategy on migration policy for more than just asylum seekers. The population of Sweden is getting older and this means that fewer people must provide and care for an ageing population. In the long term this represents a threat to welfare and to the Swedish welfare model unless the number of people in work increases substantially. The Swedish Right has already begun to use this demographic perspective in their arguments for a cutback in welfare.

If only for this reason we must be prepared to open our borders for a controlled recruitment to the labour force from countries outside the EU. At the same time we must be aware that the Right sees in this their opportunity to put pressure on the Swedish labour market from outside in order to weaken the position of trades unions and water down the basic social rights in our society.

All of the labour force must be paid in accordance with the collective agreements in force regardless of whether the work done is of a temporary nature or not. People who come to Sweden to work must not be discriminated against; they must enjoy the same rights and have the same obligations as the rest of the working population. This is a fundamental principle. We do not want to see a system of guest-workers with employees from abroad have limited access to our welfare system. We do not want to see people exploited on the labour market in a way that involves the risk of wage dumping or lowering working conditions for all.

Each and every person who gets the chance to work in another country must be able to provide for themselves and live a decent life.

Social democrats will never allow the labour force to be exploited as counters in a game. Those who enter the Swedish labour market must under no circumstances be divided into an A and B team. On the contrary the advent of newcomers into the community and the labour market must be met with full support.

### *Control the economy of speculation*

The globalisation of the finance markets has led to increased vulnerability. Financial crises can lead to disastrous human consequences. The crisis in Asia at the end of the 1990s led to greater poverty and a loss of incomes that was ten times greater than the total in world aid.

The economy of speculation must be controlled and the framework for international capital must be strengthened. Tax havens must be met with forceful measures. The multinational financial organisations must increasingly promote financial stability and act against the flow of capital speculation. Their lending policies must show more consideration of the social effects that can be the result of financial crises.

The combating of financial crises requires a long term engagement on the part of many actors. Since most financial crises have their roots in an economic or political crisis it is within the arena of political economy that the struggle against financial crises must be fought.

On top of this we need to see better coordination in macro-economic policies, primarily between the biggest economies in the world. It should not be possible for one economy to dump its problems on another.

### *Reform global economic governance*

*“The development of poor countries is of common interest for both the rich and the poor parts of the world. Economic institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund must include social justice and social development in their strategies.”*

(Extract from the party programme)

The party program demonstrates the importance of reforming the global financial institutions. Since their foundation at the end of the Second World War much has happened. From the start the goal of the IMF has been to secure stability in the international monetary and financial systems while the primary task of the World Bank has been to provide support to developing countries and to combat poverty.

For a long time justified criticism was levelled at the IMF and the World Bank because of their neo-liberal approach to the need for reform in recipient countries. This has in part been changed. The program of the World Bank shows more consideration to the priorities set by the poor countries themselves in combating poverty effectively.

However the IMF and the World Bank still face serious problems. Power in the organisations no longer reflects the economic relationships in the modern world. Their relationship to the UN is unclear. It is however important to underline that the IMF and the World Bank are independent institutions that are build on the contributions of their member states. In all probability membership and contributions will remain the backbone of these financial organisations.

It is vital that the international financial institutions be reformed. What is needed is a principle of public transparency worthy of the name. Democracy and human rights should be included in the terms for their lending to a much greater extent than is the case. Likewise it is important that employment becomes part of the effort for greater growth and the struggle against poverty.

The link between the IMF, the World Bank and the UN system must be strengthened. The UN must be able to make decisions that the financial institutions are obliged to follow. One good idea is the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) be transformed into a council for human development. Another possibility is to try out the role of a reformed Security Council in making decisions also on economic matters, the IMF and the World Bank.

The influence of low- and middle-income states must be strengthened partly by changing the rules based on shareholding and voting rights and partly by expanding the number of seats on the governing boards of the institutions. Any other alternative is unreasonable. The EU can play a major role in the work of reforming the international financial institutions. Together the EU nations own almost a third of the capital assets in the IMF and in the World Bank.

### *The debt burden must be reduced*

Many of the poorest countries in the world are in a debt trap that prevents them from achieving growth and fighting poverty. Many countries pay up to three times more in debt servicing than they spend on health and education.

The aggregate debt burden in the poorest countries must be reduced much more quickly. Already in the 1970s Sweden wrote off a number of bilateral loans. For some time now efforts have been made to reduce the multilateral debt burden of countries, trough the so called HIPC-initiative among other measures for poor countries with a high level of debt. But too little has been done.

Countries in most need of debt reduction have debts equivalent to what the rich nations pump into agricultural subsidies annually. What is needed is an international agreement to write off all debts for the poorest countries. All the rich nations share a responsibility for freeing the poorest in the world from the growing burden of debt.

It is moreover vital that we set up an international body for bankruptcy. This would minimise the risk that an economic crisis would have to be paid for by the people of a single country instead of being paid for by the actors in the financial markets.

## *Aid*

Used in the right way, aid can act as a catalyst for increased education, equality between men and women and for building faith in the future but it can also be used to fight corrupt and undemocratic governments. Together with efforts in other areas aid can create the conditions for development. For this reason we social democrats are proud of the fact that Sweden during 2006 will achieve the goal of using 1 percent of our GNP in aid to developing countries. This makes us one of the stronger voices in the world for justice and faith in the future.

Unfortunately there are few countries in the rich world that live up to the goal set by the UN of setting aside as much as 0.7 percent of their GNP in aid. It is therefore important that we get more countries to give more of their resources in the form of aid to poor countries. Within the EU we are well on our way and aid is rising slowly but surely, though countries like the USA and Japan must join in with considerable contributions.

The increase in aid today is not enough. We welcome the different initiatives presented for increasing the flows of aid in the world, but also for finding new ways of financing these flows. One way to increase global resources is to introduce taxes and charges by means of agreements between states.

Poverty is a question of unreasonable conditions of living and of hunger but also of a lack of democratic influence. Aid is a contribution to breaking the powerlessness that forces people in the poor world to remain in a state of hunger and hopelessness. For this reason the issues of democracy and human rights are fundamental also when it comes to aid. Aid on its own does not create a positive development. On the other hand it contributes to creating the conditions for development together with efforts in other fields.

It is a question of a long term effort to promote democracy and human rights, strengthen civil society and build institutions that function well. The poorest countries must be given the opportunity to build health and educational systems and other institutions that the international investors show no concern for.

Aid makes for demands on the recipients as well. The main responsibility for a positive development lies with every country and its people. Democracy, human rights and the economic policy pursued, must not stand in the way of sustainable development in the countries that receive aid. Corruption of every sort hinders development. For this reason it must be combated in different ways. One way is to hold back aid to governments that lack ambitions when it comes to a fair distribution of welfare – countries where taxes are low and where corruption is widespread.

Women are often the poorest among the poor and those most at risk. The power relationship between the sexes means that girls do not get to go to school to the same extent as boys do, that laws governing ownership are advantageous to men, that women have lower wages and poorer working conditions and very little say in the development of their societies. Swedish aid must contribute to increasing the opportunities for people to run their own lives and to exercise influence over the development of their countries.

### 3. Social democratic values in a borderless world

*“Social democrats seek to meet the challenges of today, national as well as international, with our values of freedom, equality and solidarity as our starting point, from what we have learned from our political experience and from our trust in the strength and reliability of the democratic society.”*

(Extract from the party programme)

Our values must colour our actions in every situation. When we evaluate events in the world, make decisions alone or with others, or when we engage in international organisations we can never abandon our values of freedom, equality and solidarity. The same measure must apply wherever we are, regardless of the body, state or any other power however it may act or whatever people are involved.

The programme of the social democratic party states that people are subject to oppression because of class, sex and ethnic origins. Our global policy like our national policy focuses on our human responsibility to combat class divisions, break with traditional gender roles, combat racism and other attacks on “every person’s equal worth, dignity and rights.”

#### *The culture of democracy*

Confidence in the democratic organisation of society is the very heart and soul of social democracy, based as it is on the values and experience underpinning reformist advances. No social organisation can be resilient that does not build on the free will of people to create a community. A social culture that makes community trustworthy and secure for the vast majority is of tremendous importance. The Swedish social model of the people’s home is an expression of this desire. The freedom of the majority, equality and solidarity are the guiding principles.

Today many traditional social communities have been weakened and are exposed to difficult challenges. The causes are at root both positive and negative. New technology, knowledge and economic conditions give more people the chance to explore the opportunities offered by globalisation that many of us in the developed economies take for granted. At the same time as new communities are created across earlier geographic and cultural borders there is a risk that old communities will be undermined. People no longer identify so easily with a community of work, housing area or even nation state.

Individualisation, specialisation and fragmenting forces create instead new identities and patterns for human contact and for the rise of subcultures.

Over the recent past the political freedom of people has increased throughout the world. The chance to influence political decisions has thus been strengthened. Paradoxically enough the sphere of political influence has been narrowed. At the same time as democracy is more widespread than ever before it has also become shallower and weaker.

Media based on ideas has disappeared at the same time as new media have arisen, but in the new media world what is important is often drowned in the unimportant; the wise reasoning voice has become more difficult to distinguish from the loud and thoughtless. Many people have ceased to listen or to make their voices heard.

Speed and the logic of commerce have in many respects stimulated the rise of superficiality. Deeper knowledge is at the same time in the possession of more people but is kept to tight privileged circles. Sources, especially for most of the news media have become fewer and more commercial. Public as well as privately controlled media are used as sophisticated instruments of power. In the absence of alternative channels one-sided information is difficult to challenge.

The dominance of English in international contacts, not least in the field of the sciences, entertainment and on the Internet is practical; in the same way as easily accessible and cheaper new information technology provides new opportunities. It is a democratic challenge to provide everyone with access to a new language and new information technology at the same time as the depth and richness of ones own language is preserved and developed.

### *Human rights and freedom*

Respect for human rights is a precondition for democracy and a fundamental expression of the basic values of social democracy. Human rights as expressed in the general declaration of the UN from 1948 as well as in other conventions form an inviolable whole.

Despite the fact that all states have formally recognised the declaration of human rights violations of these rights take place all the time and deliberately. The political rights that give people the right to influence the development of society are crushed under foot, at the same time as their protection in law and their promulgation has never been greater. Conservatives and liberals willingly ignore the social, economic and cultural rights that require an active collective, human responsibility in order to be a reality. They accept only the formal political freedoms. On the other side we have the communist, religious fundamentalist and other totalitarian ideas and societies that deliberately violate individual rights and freedoms on the basis of the illusions that they are serving a higher goal in the future.

Social democrats hold that the human, political, economic, social and cultural freedoms and rights are universal, indivisible and individual. They must not be violated by states or any other actors. A decisive step forward is the possibility of holding individuals to account for crimes against human rights within the framework of international justice.

The rights of women have always been at risk and rooted in a traditional cultural under- ordering in every society, though expressed in different ways. Equality between men and women is a central social issue for both men and women. Creating equal opportunities, rights and obligations entails changes in a number of areas of social life. It is a human right not to be discriminated against because of sex, sexual preferences, and to choose who to live with, together with the right over ones own body and reproduction. Neither in our own society nor in

any other culture can this type of violation be accepted. That women, regardless of what they want, are passed on as chattels to the relatives of their men if they die, female circumcision and murder in the name of honour are all examples of traditions that must cease to be observed.

Abortion is a right that we all take for granted in Sweden but in many countries it is forbidden or at risk. When women are not given the right to decide over their own bodies it is not compatible with a social democratic concept of humanity.

Women must be given the same rights as men in every area of social life. Her position of under-ordering is a serious threat to development. Poverty and structural disadvantage means that women and children face special risks of being exposed to horrible forms of trade in people and of sexual exploitation. This involves serious violations of their human rights. This is one more reason to fight poverty and strengthen the rights of women and children. This work must be carried out both at the national and the international level. The role of men and the violence perpetrated by men must be given more thought. The discrimination of half of humanity must be made visible and combated.

The violation of children's rights is extensive and especially distasteful since the victims have no way of protecting themselves. It is often their guardians that commit the crimes and the home that is the scene of the crime, just as it is for women. The UN convention represents a step forward and the Swedish social democrats were active in promoting the convention.

When children instead of being given a good upbringing, care and education are exposed to exploitation early on, it leads to a catastrophe for both the victims and society as a whole. Child labour and other forms of slavery, every form of sexual exploitation, the use of children in war, crime, smuggling people and trade in children and their organs – all this must be combated forcefully. Unless individual states are prepared to do something about this then it is up to the international community to step in.

In a world where recognition, identity, security and influence are needed to defend one's interests and where they have been intimately linked to national states, the rights of those who are stateless are at serious risk. One of the most extensive crimes in Europe during the last century was the extermination of the Jews, Gypsies and other groups that the Nazis disliked. Their lives, value and dignity were taken from them since they did not fit into society according to the Nazis. At the same time Europe was deprived of a cultural heritage whose importance cannot be overestimated. This took place in a Europe where imperial ambitions were maintained with violence and with this the ambition to rule over many peoples.

Most ethnic groups have, regardless of whether they are spread within or beyond borders, a historical experience as minorities and sometimes as majorities, of being the victims of more or less violent discrimination, repression and persecution. In spite of all this the same crimes are perpetrated today almost everywhere, this is undignified and unacceptable in a world that claims to recognise freedom, tolerance and the dignity of man.

Murder and abuse are always wrong, even when carried out by states in the name of justice. For this reason we will continue undaunted in our struggle against capital punishment and torture.

### *Respect for plurality*

Popular education and knowledge are important if we are to respect traditions, cultures and religions. A lack of respect and understanding leads to racism, xenophobia, homophobia and religious fundamentalism. Democracy, peace and a good social order become the first victims.

On the other hand respect and understanding do not mean that we abandon our basic values of freedom, equality and solidarity. Crimes against these values can never be accepted on the grounds of ideology, tradition, culture or religion. It is important that we understand and recognise that there are nuances and even large differences within a culture or a religion. No culture or religion can claim to stand free from democracy and human rights as overriding values. For this reason the same principled approach must be applied when it comes to the rights of citizens such as freedom of expression, free and regular elections, free media and the legal rights of individuals. Only by doing so could European democracy conquer fascism and communism.

Conservative ideas have been put forward from a cultural, political and religious quarters on a struggle between civilisations, instead of promoting the value of a many faceted world based on a democratic foundation. These ideas must be dismissed. We social democrats are convinced that dialogue, respect, tolerance and common sense can overcome differences and divisions. Fundamentalist intolerance and a lack of respect lead to deep divisions in the relationships between people, nations and civilisations. Wise political leadership can instead enrich the world with this plurality.

Fundamentalism that can lead to violent extremism is something that exists in all world religions. This fundamentalism is the expression of a philosophy of man that is foreign to democracy, humanism and tolerance. Action to meet this extremism must to begin with be handled by political and religious leaders and not between religions.

Over the past few years terrorism in the name of Islam has received most attention because of the acts of violence. The vast majority of Moslems are against the Islamic idea of a religious and ideologically controlled society and seek to combine Islam with the values of democracy, human rights and social justice.

Globalisation entails a greater awareness of the fact that we see the world in different ways. Not only ideological, political, and economic but also cultural differences become apparent. When people and communities look for answers to the eternal questions about who we are and why we are here they often use what is close to hand in giving an answer. We define ourselves through our heritage, class, religion, language, history, values, customs and institutions. We organise ourselves into ethnic groups, nations, clans, religious communities or civilisations. Our own identities become a part of politics and can be used by political leaders positively or negatively. A single line of development towards western civilisation is therefore neither credible, acceptable nor desirable.

## 4. Peace and disarmament

*“To combat poverty, strengthen democracy and preserve peace are goals that are interconnected”*

(Extract from the party programme)

A policy for peace and human security starts from our values of freedom, equality and solidarity. Justice, both between people and between countries and regions, is our means but also our goal.

The knowledge that our world has become more peaceful brings with it a sense of hope and faith in the future. Distrust and conflicts have been replaced by a sense of confidence and dialog all round the world. There is a growing insight that security is indivisible and cannot be won at the expense of someone else. Since the beginning of the 1990's the number of armed conflicts between states has been reduced dramatically. It is however serious that the political détente between the East and the West and in several regional conflicts has failed to brake the international trend of increased military expenditure. States chose to meet non-military threats with military means and for this reason the world needs a new culture of disarmament and demilitarisation.

Despite the development of détente between countries, conflicts within states force many people to live with the horrors of war. This suffering could often have been avoided but the world has reacted only when the crisis is a reality. This can be seen most clearly in the systematic oppression of ethnic and religious groups within a state which after many years leads to regional armed conflict and ethnic cleansing.

Many of today's threats and crisis have their roots in the unjust distribution of resources, the lack of democracy or the absence of respect for human rights. Extreme poverty is a direct threat to millions of people, and provides the ground for armed conflicts. Every country and its people must be given the opportunity for development, only in this way can we achieve a safer world. Economic and social development is a precondition for peace. The opposite is also true, peace and security for people are a precondition for development. As long as millions of people live with the threat of armed conflict or flee from crisis, then all their energy is channelled to surviving and protecting themselves and their families. For the individual and for the community what we get is an evil circle of conflicts, insecurity and poverty.

In the rich part of the world we can see how violence, arms and vulnerability have changed character to a great extent. There are now other weapons than military that can be used to knock out vital functions in society, create instability and stress and damage people's trust in our model of social organisation. It is no longer only states but to a greater extent groups and individuals who represent this type of threat. By damaging electricity supplies, telecommunications and IT-systems within sectors such as hospital care, financial transactions and such like, they can threaten our ability to control our own lives.

The rapid development in technology means that our everyday dependence on high technology systems is now one of the foremost challenges to national security. The monopoly of power held by states has been broken and the security of people today can be threatened by attack aimed at damaging values and functions, threats that cross borders and can strike without warning. Countries cannot build isolated security zones. Sweden must live up to a deeper solidarity with the other EU-countries.

Swedish defence policy is based on striking back at attacks from another state by military means. Our defence ability in a new age must be more than this. The challenge facing the defence forces must start from an insight into the vulnerability of our nation and the new actors and their means in a new age.

### *Common responsibility*

Sweden and the rest of the world community have a common responsibility to meet both military threats and other challenges to democracy and security. In order to put threats and their solutions into a wider perspective we need a broader concept of security, how to work in a more preventive manor and at the same time be able to act more quickly and forcefully when conflict cannot be avoided. Our starting point must be the protection of people and of human values and not only states and their borders.

The social democrats have pushed for a Swedish policy for preventive action that includes concrete proposals for negotiating, political pressure, monitoring by the police and actions to strengthen the legal system combined with rapid and forceful military inputs. Sweden must put more effort into spreading and carrying out the strategy for preventive action that now exists. Once a conflict has broken out we need rapid action to handle the crisis. It is decisive that we act as early as possible to prevent the spread and the worsening of a conflict. We have seen too many examples of conflicts that lead to mass murder or ethnic cleansing. What is needed here is a strengthening on the international level both of resources and the ability to be able to handle acute crisis rapidly.

A military input is only part of the solution to conflicts. It can prevent, dampen and in that way achieve a level of security that makes it possible for negotiation, civil aid and social reconstruction to be started up. In order to achieve lasting peace in a community torn by conflict what is required is a long term effort at reconstruction with a combination of civil and military means. In countries that have experienced long periods of conflict and where young men for long periods of time have only known life as a soldier or guerrilla fighter, what is needed is education and a programme to help these young men return to a normal life.

Work with human security often lacks a perspective on gender, something that is needed in order to understand the different needs of women and men when it comes to security. The situation is often not considered. Women and children are those who are hardest hit in any conflict. Systematic rape is used to break up communities. Substantial resources must be used to meet the needs of women and girls for protection and support before and after a conflict. At the same time it is important to underline the vital work and roll of women in the peace processes as described in the UN Security Council resolution 1325.

*From the defence of territories to the defence of common values*

For today and for the foreseeable future a military attack on Sweden from another state is unlikely at the same time as the need for international efforts for peace and security increases. The defence policy of Sweden must adapt to this reality. We must leave behind the invasion based defence of the cold war and develop a modern and flexible defence effort that is directed at handling and preventing crises in our surrounding region.

In this way we can contribute to peace and security globally – at the same time as we strengthen our own and the security of Europe. This reinforces our standing in the eyes of others and can increase our ability to influence international politics. This change in the direction of defence policy must be reflected in the use of resources. Our ambition when it comes to international efforts must provide the guidelines for both medium term and long term policy. Our ability to take part in international efforts is a question of being present in an area of conflict for a considerable period of time in the interests of stabilisation and of being able to engage rapidly when a conflict breaks out. Swedish efforts must therefore cover a wide span from preventive efforts to peace enforcement within the framework of a security mission.

We cannot however dismiss the fact that an armed attack on Sweden can be launched in the longer term. We need therefore systems and functions over and above those that are needed for current international missions. Many of these resources now available within the military structure and that are used mainly for non-military crisis management must be transferred to civil authorities that are responsible for this type of work. This can strengthen our preparedness for sudden catastrophes in Sweden and abroad.

Swedish security policy aims at preserving peace and the independence of our country, contributing to stability and security in our neighbourhood as well as strengthening international peace and security. Our military non-alliance gives us freedom of action. Non-alliance means that we have the possibility of engaging in international conflicts where states, tied by military considerations, are unable to engage. Sweden can meet the need for international conciliation efforts better because of this.

NATO has changed since the end of the Cold War from being an important organisation for discussion on security policy and decisions to being more of a military toolbox.

NATO today is the organisation that sets the standard for the military structure in all other countries.

Sweden cannot apply for membership of NATO since membership would not increase our security. Sweden can continue to be non-allied. Sweden must however continue with a close co-operation in all areas apart from binding obligations concerning defence, as has developed over a number of years. International operations are more and more demanding and complex and this requires far reaching standardisation and joint manoeuvres. In order to facilitate Swedish participation in international crisis management it is therefore important

that our soldiers are trained and take part in joint exercises with the soldiers of other countries. This is organised primarily within the framework of NATO.

The EU is developing into an actor with the scope of instruments needed to meet the multifaceted threats in today's world. This is positive. The solidarity that exists between the countries of Europe means that it would be unthinkable for Sweden to adopt a passive stance if another member country were to be struck by a serious crisis.

We shall continue our active involvement and participation in international activities within the framework of the UN, EU, NATO and the OSSE.

### *The responsibility of the EU for global security*

At the same time as the United Nations has the overall responsibility for peace and security in the world, the UN has raised its demands for regional organisations such as the EU to take on a greater responsibility. A region that represents some 450 million people, a quarter of the wealth of the world and that spends more than 1 500 billion SEK per year on military defence, should also take on a greater responsibility for peace and security. It is therefore important that the policy for peace and security that is developed within the EU provides for an increased ability and capacity for crisis management.

There is no conflict between participating in the crisis management of the EU and a continued involvement in the UN. On the contrary a well run crisis management in Europe will reinforce the UN and provide for stable and reliable security in Europe. The EU crisis management must in every aspect conform to the principles laid down in the UN charter. For this reason the EU should improve its ability to prevent and manage crises in co-operation with the UN.

The EU has access to a broad spectrum of instruments. These cover diplomacy, trade agreements, aid, support to legal systems and to the police forces all the way to military activities. The breadth of instruments as well as the ability to coordinate them within a common framework makes the EU a unique actor in the field of crisis management. Already today the EU carries out military as well as civil crisis management operations.

The EU and regional organisations such as the African Union require support for speedy international actions. There is today a real lack of global capacity for such efforts. It is decisive that efforts are close at hand if we are to prevent a crisis from growing and spreading.

It is important that the EU sets up rapid engagement units composed of rescue units, health services, police and prosecutors. These units can be engaged at short notice to help the victims of terrorist actions, natural disasters or other crises.

### *Disarmament*

International disarmament must be speeded up. Over the past decades we have witnessed a tangible détente and more common rules for how certain types of weapons should be handled.

But more needs to be done. The goal is the complete removal of weapons of mass destruction, biological as well as chemical and nuclear. The prevention of the spread of weapons is an important part of the work of disarmament. In order to achieve this, the nuclear powers must reduce their arsenals as from now.

The collected force of nuclear weapons in the world, mainly those of the USA and Russia, could wipe out all life on earth several times over, despite a very real reduction of strategic weapons since the end of the cold war. Nuclear weapons cannot be used deliberately – but certainly by error – and must be seen as political rather than military weapons. It is in the interests of humanity and the world community for survival and for common security that all nuclear weapons are eliminated. The nuclear powers have solemnly agreed to abolish all nuclear weapons in the non-proliferation treaty from 2000. We social democrats will work in the EU and in the UN to ensure that these pledges are carried out. Social democrats will work to get all de facto nuclear powers to sign the non-proliferation treaty.

The ongoing modernisation of nuclear weapons, primarily tactical weapons, represents a massive waste of economic and human resources which should instead be used to promote the goals of development mainly in developing countries, with the aim of creating greater global justice and a more secure, more sustainable world order.

The threat from nuclear weapons is far from over. On the contrary it has increased. The USA and Russia refuse to carry out a real disarmament and instead modernise as do other nuclear powers, their nuclear arsenals. Added to this, we have a number of countries that were not previously nuclear powers, and that have now build up a nuclear capacity with the risk that a further spreading is greater in the future. Finally there is the risk that nuclear weapons will be spread to terrorist groups.

In order to succeed with disarmament we need tougher control systems. Sweden and the EU must play a leading role in this work. We want to see the emergence of a collective responsibility in the struggle against weapons of mass destruction. We want to see a stronger IAEA with the right to inspect all nuclear technology everywhere. We have real progress when certain types of weapons have been limited or completely prohibited as in the case with personnel mines.

The work of minimising the number of light arms must be pursued with greater energy. These weapons such as pistols and machine guns are accountable for 90 percent of all killings in armed conflicts and they cause the death of half a million people every year. They are used in a silent war against women and children. Owning a weapon is not a right.

All trade in arms and defence materials must be controlled with strict international rules. Sweden must be a forerunner in this regard by having strict regulations for the Swedish export and import of weapons and war materials. The

legitimate procurement of weapons in the interests of self defence and military ability to maintain the rule of international law must be made clear.

Non-democratic regimes and those countries that violate human rights cannot be given the same legitimacy in the procurement of arms. When it comes to export, consideration must be given to the risk of war or if the state violates human rights. The rules for import of war materials should also be drawn up in line with the same principles that apply for the export of the same type of products.

## 5. The international order of law and human security

*“The UN must always be a central actor in the struggle for human rights and in the struggle against poverty, which is at the centre of solidarity when the process of liberation from colonialism is now largely complete.”*

(extract from the party programme)

The nation state is too big to solve all the problems people face but too small to solve the problems of humanity. For this reason we need more co-operation between states, regions and within international institutions than before. In the same way as our vulnerability has become borderless so too have the challenges in other areas. Social and economic development hangs together on the global level. Security is more and more a common concern not just because of terrorist attacks and the fact that regional conflicts can have global consequences. In order to meet the problems of environmental damage and protect human rights we wish to work internationally, within the Nordic area, Europe and globally.

A global market, global challenges and ever more borderless lifestyles require a global policy. The problem so far has been how to build international institutions that function make them democratic and ensure popular engagement and participation.

### *The United Nations must be strengthened*

The most important international institution is the United Nations, but the UN is never stronger than its member states allow it to be.

The UN must be reformed if it is to be stronger. The organisation must be able to handle crises and to promote human rights as well as promote social and economic development. It is vital that the link between peace, security and development is made clear. Without effective efforts to combat the causes of conflict, poverty and political extremism the conflicts will themselves be beyond control. The same is true when it comes to the work of reconstruction after a conflict. Unless security can be guaranteed, often with outside help, then the process of reconstruction and development will never get off the ground.

A modern international law puts the security of people before the sovereignty of states. It is first and foremost the state that must protect and help its citizens. They are responsible in the eyes of their citizens and of the international community. It is unreasonable that states under the claims of sovereignty violate the rights of their own people. Sovereignty cannot only mean the right to protection from outside interference, it must also entail a responsibility towards the international community for the population of the country. If a state cannot or will not live up to this obligation it is the responsibility of the UN to act, regardless of whether the state in question accepts this or not.

### *Change the decision making process of the UN*

The UN has a responsibility for international peace and security and decisions are made in the Security Council. Its composition is based on the situation at the end of the Second World War and bears no relation to what the world looks like today. Because of the right of veto the council is blocked when it deals with certain conflicts. For the same reason it is difficult to reach agreement on much needed reforms.

Our vision is that we have another order of things when it comes to international law. We want to see an efficient Security Council that can exercise its responsibilities to the full on issues of international peace and security. Decisions should be made by qualified majority in the council or in the general assembly and the right of veto abolished. A common view and unanimous action are what are desirable but seldom better than no action at all.

In order to win legitimacy and to be more relevant the council must be expanded and represent the peoples of the world better. The dominance of the super powers must be broken and every state given the chance to exercise influence, even if it is natural that democracies are given more credence together with those states that contribute most actively to the UN both the budget and its actions. The General Assembly, the Security Council and the economic decision making bodies, as we wish to see it, must be more transparent and open to initiatives from international popular movements and popularly elected parliaments.

An expansion of the council must not lead to a further shift in power to the rich countries. More permanent members would only mean a cul-de-sac for reforms, especially if the right of veto is retained. A balance between different regional perspectives is very important, but cannot be satisfied only by giving more power to already powerful states in a region.

The EU and other regional bodies can be given more responsibility for greater coordination in the UN. When it comes to economic matters the EU is an ever important voice.

### *International order of law*

There is a need for an effective and legally secure international set of rules that do not entail violations of human rights or the violation of personal integrity in meeting terrorism and organised crime. The international Court of Justice and the International Court for Crimes against humanity must be provided with better means and resources to fulfil their tasks. When the justice system of individual states does not function or when they refuse to punish war criminals, crimes against humanity or genocide, it is important that the International court for Crimes takes over. This provides the means to sentence higher political and military leaders and prevents further crimes. It is important that all states sign and ratify the convention on the setting up of an International Criminal Court so that it can be given the best opportunity to act.

The struggle against discrimination on grounds of sex, ethnic origins, sexual preferences, disability, and religion must be carried out both at the national and the international levels. The rights of children and equality between men and

women must be reinforced in international law. Human rights in working life and the application of ILO conventions, especially the right to build trade unions and the struggle to end child labour and slave labour must be given more consideration.

Europe has the European Court of Justice which can pass sentence on individual states for infringements of the European Convention on human rights. A similar order should be set up on the global level where individuals can take their case to court if they feel that the state has infringed on their rights.

Sanctions are discussed as means of putting pressure on states in the event of conflicts and of infringements of international law. The use of sanctions is blunt in its effect and often affects those most exposed to injustice while the guilty go free. What are needed are sharper and well directed sanctions. By freezing assets or introducing restrictions for those responsible sanctions can have an effect.

#### *Democracy and popular participation must increase*

In many states democracy functions well on the local, regional and national levels but falls short on cross - border issues. The European Union is the organisation that has come furthest when it comes to direct popular influence on the international level, both by the fact that the organisation consists only of democratic states and through the fact that the European parliament is a directly elected body. Regional cooperation in Latin America and Africa is moving in the same direction and has made important gains. Asia has however not come as far.

A goal for our foreign and aid policies must be to influence more states to develop towards democracy. Democratically elected representatives must be given more opportunities to influence international organisations.

#### *A stronger regional responsibility*

Today international cooperation is developing quickly on the regional level. In Europe the EU is on its way to becoming an all-European organisation. Regional co-operation is also developing through Mercosur in Latin America, Asean in Asia and in Africa through the African Union. These are mainly directed at economic cooperation but touch on human rights, common security and questions that must be addressed in concert.

These regional forms of cooperation must take on more responsibilities than they have today both for their own development and for security. It should be the EU that has the primary responsibility for upholding international peace and security in Europe and the AU that shoulders this mission in Africa. The EU with its superior resources should support the organisations in other regions. The final responsibility lies with the Security Council of the UN. Increased joint regional engagement strengthens both the UN and global security.

#### *North and South must cooperate*

Along with greater regional responsibilities comes the need for more coordination between them. We need better forms for consultation between the

EU and AU for example and between the EU and Mercosur, but also with the regions in the South.

There are still great differences between the North and the South even if the differences within these areas have increased dramatically. The need for a well functioning dialogue is pressing. We must take into consideration the perspectives and viewpoints of the South when we shape our policies. This applies to aid, foreign, and security policies as well as policies in different rounds of international negotiations and organisations, not least in the field of economics.

Even other areas of the world require a well functioning dialogue. One such area is education and culture, where increased cooperation between the EU and AU could increase mutual understanding and promote exchange even in other areas.

### *The Middle East*

The conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians affects the world in a way few other conflicts do, and it affects our common security. Israel as the stronger party has a special responsibility to demonstrate caution in the use of violence and to take the initiative in pushing the peace process forward. Israeli settlements, the construction of the wall on occupied territory and excess violence must cease. The Palestinians must distance themselves from the suicide bombers. Terrorism can never be justified.

We want to see an independent democratic and vitalised Palestine side by side with Israel, with safe and recognised borders for both parties. No change in the borders is acceptable that has not been agreed on by the parties.

Without mutual engagement there can be no peace. The world community must take responsibility for supporting the Palestinians in the work of reconstruction. An international presence is needed to strengthen security and combat terrorist actions. The EU must shoulder more responsibility. The goal is a sustainable and just peace based on international law and the resolutions of the UN. Swedish social democrats support the forces for peace on both sides and will become more engaged in the Middle East issue.

### *Our relationship to the United States*

The strong economic and political standing of the USA and Europe entails a special responsibility to contribute to a development in the world community that involves the strengthening of international law and human rights.

Extensive trade, human and cultural contacts and a common history make Europe and the USA dependent on one another. A stronger co-operation across the Atlantic is always better for the world than deep mistrust and isolationism. The so called transatlantic link is important but we must of course retain the responsibility to criticise a super power's policy when we deem it necessary.

Basic values when it comes to human rights and democracy are shared by the USA and Europe with some serious exceptions such as our views on capital punishment, the international criminal court, reproductive health, the role of the UN and binding agreements on disarmament and on the environment. Moreover the American defence of the principle of preventive military attacks which can

lead to a drastic reduction in the threshold level of violence, is a serious break with the common view on important values.

The UN, IMF World Bank, WTO and other multilateral bodies depend on a strong engagement on the part of Europe and the USA. This fact calls for a deeper dialogue across the Atlantic on the need to strengthen the multilateral organisations. Our globalised world today needs more co-operation and less isolationism. The fact that Europe and the USA have different resources and abilities that can complement each other, can contribute to peace, security and development in the world.

Cooperation between the labour movement and progressive forces in the USA must be increased. Our organisation has a responsibility to bridge political divisions between Europe and the USA just as much as any other.

### *Russia.*

Developments in Russia are of central importance for the future stability and security in Europe. Against the background of the war in Chechen, the situation for the independent media and the free expression of public opinion in Russia is a matter of concern. It is important for Sweden and for the EU to contribute to a democratic development and to a strong state governed by law in Russia.

## 6. The continued integration of Europe

*“Cooperation within the EU is an extension of the international political work in municipalities, regional bodies and in parliament. This co-operation increases the opportunities to uphold central political goals such as full employment, ecologically sustainable development and sustainable tax bases.”*

(Extract from the party programme)

The European co-operation is the platform for co-operation across borders. The European Union is a mirror image of the political landscape in the EU's commissioning countries, the member states.

It is in the member states that the citizens elect their national parliaments, and through them the governments. The governments in their turn influence to a great extent the agenda of the EU depending on which political forces are strongest. The citizens of the EU elect the parliament which in its turn can influence politics depending on which parties win the election.

The future direction of the development of the EU is thus decided in general elections, at the national as well as the European levels. Despite this, voter participation is falling in many member countries and in the elections to the European parliament. It is as if the democratic demands on the exercise of responsibility have become stuck at the national borders, between national and European politics. This development is serious.

If anywhere it is in the general elections that the citizen must feel that his or her vote means something. We social democrats seek to give people power through the means of political decision making. The bourgeois parties in Sweden and in Europe are instead more interested in reducing the role of politics and in giving the market the right to decide over our lives. As social democrats we can never accept that politics abdicates in favour of market forces.

Many people in Sweden and in the rest of Europe are concerned for the future in an age of globalisation. But in a situation where the European Union is most needed, many citizens feel that it does not live up to their demands.

The right to demand accountability has become less clear in step with the reduction in the importance of borders. When citizens go to the polling stations in their countries some feel concerned about the ability of their national politics to meet their demands and wishes. When it comes to elections to the European parliament, mistrust among many people towards the institutions of Europe is strong.

We social democrats must be the first to take this criticism seriously. It is our task to demonstrate clearly that we will work to remove the democratic deficit and the problems in decision making at the national level and in the European Union. Only if we make the right decisions at the right level and through clear and simple rules can the confidence of our citizens in national and international institutions be strengthened once again. For this reason co-operation must be given a chance to be open and to be effective.

### *The right decision at the right level*

In order to improve trust in political assemblies at the national and European levels the right decisions must be made at the right level. The Swedish parliament must make the decisive choices when it comes to Swedish affairs and to Swedish self-government.

That which we cannot manage on our own is then a subject for co-operation. Matters that are best dealt with at the local, regional or national level are not matters for the EU. There may be differences of opinion as to what the right level is. The overriding goal for the social democrats in Europe is very clear. If we social democrats take over power when it comes to the future development of Europe, then a well developed welfare system and full employment are at the top of our list

In order to protect the interests of wage earners in a more and more internationalised world we need more labour law decisions at the European level. More of the EU's resources must be used to promote sustainable development, get more people into work and improve the social situation in Europe.

### *A social democratic agenda for a future Europe*

Sweden has been a member of the EU since 1995 and membership has not yet become part of everyday political life. The simplified and increased exchange across Europe's borders for students, those active in voluntary associations, businessmen as well as in private matters is felt as something positive by most people. At the same time there exists a strong criticism of the EU and its methods of working.

We social democrats have a clear alternative for politics in Europe. An alternative that offers the chance to realise more of our social democratic ideas at the European level. An alternative that breaks with the goal of the Right to reduce the influence of politics.

The social democratic agenda for the EU is based on social democratic values. The main core of social democratic visions is realised in the day to day work in our municipalities, county councils and in parliament. But those matters which we cannot manage on our own are the subject of co-operation.

In today's Europe, characterised by an ever deeper integration, politics must take on a greater responsibility at the European level. Together with other social democrats we seek to put people before markets in the whole of Europe.

We will use the EU to carry out a progressive social democratic policy.

### *A sustainable development*

When social democrats control the development of Europe we will in all earnest work to realise the ambitions of the EU when it comes to sustainable development, a development that satisfies the needs of today without putting at risk the opportunities for future generations to meet their needs.

For us social democrats, a sustainable development means that the dominance of the inner market must be broken. Social, ecological and economic dimensions must work in harmony to create a sustainable development. Then the

short term economic interests of today will not be allowed to dominate in the way they do now. On the contrary we put people before markets.

### *More and better jobs in Europe*

The EU strategy to become the most competitive economy in the world with full employment, social and ecological issues in harmony and the so called Lisbon strategy is an important starting point for our work. Even if every country is responsible for its employment we must make more effort to get more and better jobs in Europe. To reach this goal we need to see more of the resources of the EU being used to get more people into work and to promote land winning innovations, that a more active labour market policy is carried out in every country and that the EU gets a more robust labour law. The EU must get itself an employment strategy worthy of the name. A stability pact for jobs and full employment must be a goal for the EU. Regional policy is an important instrument for good employment and competitiveness. The economic support within the EU must be directed primarily towards the poorest regions in the EU.

### *Welfare for all in Europe*

We social democrats will work for a minimum level both in terms of social standards and in terms of working life. Every European citizen should be able to enjoy a minimum of welfare regardless of where he or she works and lives in Europe. It must become easier for a European citizen to travel and work in other countries than his or her homeland. Welfare policies must be formed in each and every member country. In order to improve welfare in the EU we need more co-operation between Europe's social democratic parties and the trade union movement.

### *A sustainable level of growth with people at the centre*

The EU strategy for sustainable growth and employment must be carried through and Europe must be the most competitive economy in the world. Competitiveness must be built on knowledge, security, welfare and care of the environment not on insecurity, low wages, bigger class divisions and the raw exploitation of nature. The EU must be a catalyst for research and innovation. In order to improve the open coordination we need a stronger engagement on the part of national organisations and parliaments.

### *The best environment policy in the world*

The idea of an ecologically sustainable society must permeate every area of politics. Environment problems are transnational and so too the solutions. Europe will be best on environment issues and be an aggressive proponent for the environment cause. Emissions must be reduced, transport cleaner and safer, the Baltic must become a clean inland sea, the control of chemicals must be tougher, so too the control of foodstuffs and of farming must be linked to positive effects. High demands on the environment in the EU will lead to new competitive technology and products. The investments in environment technology can lead to more jobs. The goal of the EU should be that half of the world's environment technology should be European. The change-over to a sustainable society must be

speeded up with the help of economic incentives in the whole of the EU. Greater efforts must be made to stimulate renewable energy and forceful measures are needed to build a sustainable transport system on our continent. The idea of sustainable development should permeate the aid and trade policies of the EU.

#### *People before the markets*

The free movement of the inner market is most developed when it comes to goods, services and capital. The movement of people across borders is still limited by extensive bureaucracy and large differences in the systems of social security. Freedom of movement must be improved for the citizens of Europe. The inner market ensures that prices are kept down and demand kept high, though the rules for companies must be made clearer. Trade in services must be regulated without risk to labour laws and to wages. A new regulation of trade in services must not limit the ambitions of the member states to secure and develop public welfare. Consumer protection must also be strengthened. Only when people have confidence in the inner market will it begin to function well. For this reason we must defend collective agreements. Secure consumers dare to make demands.

#### *The work of the EU for everyone's rights*

For us as social democrats, the anti discrimination work of the EU is of central importance, both within and outside the EU's borders. We must get rid of all discrimination regardless of whether it is based on sex, sexual preferences, and the colour of ones skin, age or disability. One area that must be strengthened is the work to prevent trafficking.

#### *Sustainable economies*

No country should be allowed to misuse public financing. At the end of the day the bad public finances of one country strike at the other countries. The financial framework of the EU must be respected. We social democrats want to see the EU budget put to better use and to ensure that spending does not increase. The Swedish EU contribution must fall in relation to the membership contribution of the other countries. Tax evasion and cheating in the EU and outside its borders must be combated.

#### *The EU institutions must be reformed*

We want to see the EU institutions opened up to public review and that they are completely open in the long term. We want to reform the functions and workings of the institutions, carry out a more modern personnel policy and ensure that budget control is further tightened. Equality between men and women must rise in all the EU institutions and we want to see an ombudsman for gender equality in the EU.

#### *The EU as a force for justice in the world*

The EU must have a concerted and consequent policy for global development. Actions in the area of trade must not run counter to this goal. Only through the EU can we promote financial stability on the global level as well as a

fair policy on trade. The EU nations are also the world's biggest donors of aid. We social democrats want to set up a goal for the aid from EU countries. One demand is that all EU countries reach the promise made at the UN to set aside 0.7 percent of their GNP to aid. At the same time the common aid policy must be reformed. The misuse of EU aid funding must be prevented and coordination improved.

#### *Remove the subsidies to agriculture*

Each year the EU spends almost half of its budget in direct subsidies to agriculture, a sum equivalent to more than the total sum spent on aid in the world. These resources should instead be used to develop welfare, improve the environment, develop rural areas and strengthen the competitiveness of Europe. It is especially important that agricultural subsidies on tobacco and alcoholic beverages are removed immediately.

#### *Security and civil crisis management*

Security is no longer based on armies that protect territories. Security is created through diplomacy, crisis management, preventive measures to achieve peace, environment policies, support for democracies and better co-operation between national bodies. The foreign policy of the EU must to a greater extent be characterised by measures aimed at preventing conflict and measures in the field of civil crisis management. Terrorist acts and natural catastrophes demonstrate the need to prepare Europe to manage common rescue operations.

#### *An EU for the whole of Europe*

The latest large expansion of the EU with 10 new member states was not the last. We social democrats stand for a Europe that remains open to the world around it. A precondition for negotiations on membership in the European Union is democracy and respect for the fundamental values of the union. The only limits to expansion that we can see are geographical. All democracies on the European continent that respect the values of the European Union should be offered membership. Only when every country has met the demands for membership and joined the Union, will we have a united continent. We social democrats want to see a common policy for asylum seekers in the whole of the EU, one where every country shoulders the responsibility to take in those in need of protection in Europe. Trade in women and children must be combated as also the borderless criminality and the problem of drugs.

## 7. Social democracy in a changeable world

*“Internationalisation entails new challenges for democratic participation.”*

(Extract from the party programme)

We want to strengthen the labour movement all over the world. The main challenge is to change the policies of redistribution within countries, at the same time as we continue to demand just trade rules and the removal of agricultural subsidies. In many countries free trade unions are forbidden. The rights of workers are violated. Those who are active in politics and in trade unions are imprisoned and harassed in every part of the world. Strong social democratic parties and alert unions which demand justice in each country as well as globally, are decisive if we are to create a just world. 70 percent of the poorest, those who survive on less than a dollar a day, live in middle-income countries.

We will work to strengthen trade union–political co-operation both at the global and at the European levels – between the Socialist International and the Free Trade Unions and between the European Social Democratic Party (ESP) and the European Trade Union Organisation for Co-operation.

It is of the greatest importance that we, through practical efforts in the form of international exchange and development of democracy in close cooperation with our sister parties, contribute to the development of a global social democracy. Social democracy will never be stronger than its weakest link, and as long as capital interests can pitch countries and their labour forces against each other we will find ourselves at a disadvantage. It is therefore important that we increase our efforts to contribute to the development of sister parties in other countries.

This work is also important in order to strengthen parties in countries with weak or underdeveloped democracies. It is only right that we support democratic parties in other countries and in that way strengthen a pluralistic democracy. Aid for democracy and other forms of support that are channelled only to organisations free from political ties, means that democracy remains weak and fragmented.

The exchange between the parties’ international organisations for co-operation and closely related popular movements in the interests of forming public opinion in line with existing support programmes for democratisation, can also be strengthened. There is much to be gained from this work. It strengthens civil society and the preconditions for democracy.

This means that the work in our international organisations within the labour movement is of great importance. The Socialist International has over 160 member parties over the world. It is an important meeting ground where social

democrats discuss the issues of globalisation, the fight against poverty and different regional crises. The International acts as a meeting place for who need an arena beyond the scope of government. After demands from among others the social democrats in Sweden, the SI has made greater efforts to act and to draw up an agenda in line with the international meetings at the UN, trade negotiations and such like. We must actively push for an SI that can play a more offensive role in world politics. The SI should have a common strategy at for example international talks.

The Socialist International needs to be reformed in order to meet the challenges of today more effectively. Not least what is needed is that we make higher demands on the member parties, both when it comes to joining the organisation and point out that membership requires that basic democratic demands must be met.

The European Social Democratic party (ESP) has begun to find its form for common action within the EU: clear social democratic demands on what the EU should do, the exchange of experience in the run up to European elections and referenda, policy development and a start to coordinating social democratic government ministers before the meetings of the different councils of ministers. The social democratic party in Sweden should give priority to the work of the ESP and make an active contribution to strengthening its activities.

Our relationship with the other parts of the Nordic labour movement is unique and has provided inspiration and support in our common struggle for a solidaristic and just world. We should therefore not abandon our close co-operation and common efforts but rather reinforce them and nurture the Nordic labour movement's traditional meeting grounds. The Nordic labour movement's coordinating committee SAMAK, the meeting ground for both the trade union movements and the parties for more than 100 years, still has an important role to play. Close co-operation makes it desirable that we change our views so that the domestic debates in our neighbouring countries are something that concerns us all. Co-operation and the exchange of experiences on welfare issues, economic issues and elections provide a source of great value to us.

The special strength of the new social movements is their ability to meet and to co-operate between organisations and movements that work with different questions and that have different lines of interest. At the World Social Forum, where over 100 000 people meet each year; there are meetings of women's groups, organisations for human rights, farmers organisations and trade unions. At these meetings the environment groups draw up common aims together with students, and trade unions find allies in their struggle against neo-liberal ideas on world order in the shape of indigenous group representatives and church representatives.

Social Democracy must be better at creating alliances and co-operation with these new social movements, among others the consumer group movement, and

learn to make tougher demands. That is the most effective way to improve conditions of production in other parts of the world. The day there is no longer a market for products produced by child labour that day will see the end of child labour. When millions of thinking consumers start to consume products marked with a justice symbol then the large companies will have no choice. The struggle for human rights and a sustainable development will be more effective through such actions.

Networks arise that are stronger than the organisations that build them. In order to meet these new movements in a better way the Socialist International, the European Social Democratic Party and the parliamentary group of the Social Democrats in the European parliament have set up an organisation called the Global Progressive Forum, which will among other things run a campaign in HIV/AIDS. This new way of working should be supported.

We must moreover make it easier for people who wish to engage in European and / or international questions to be able to do so within the framework of the labour movement. Today it is difficult to find a channel for this type of engagement by joining a local social democratic association. We therefore risk losing a large group of people who wish to contribute to changing the world on the basis of social democratic ideals. We therefore support the work in progress to find ways to enable the individual to engage in the SI and ESP.