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A GREEN NEW DEAL FOR SWEDEN - A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PLAN TO SOLVE THE CLIMATE CRISIS

With A Green New Deal for Sweden, we want to raise the level of ambition in the political debate. We need an honest and frank discussion of the work needed to address the climate crisis seriously and how the transformation will be funded. We are setting the bar where it should be: a fossil-free, just and competitive Swedish economy by 2035. This would be in line with the Paris Agreement, what scientists are telling us, and the Social Democrats' promise of a more egalitarian society and a better life for the next generation.

This is not an insurmountable challenge. Sweden can become fossil-free and climate-neutral within 15 years with the Reformisterna's plan. Moreover, if we are willing to step up, Sweden can be a global leader in the technologies and industries to tackle the climate crisis, reaping the economic and social rewards that this would bring. This plan is the largest job creation and prosperity inducing programme since the fifties, and underpinning it is sound economics and prudent fiscal management.

The key to Sweden's success in leading the change is efficiently targeted investment in a green and fair transformation of industry, infrastructure and the wider economy. It is not only our climate but also our jobs, welfare and future competitiveness which depend on the investments we make in the coming years. Together with the Reformisterna's other proposals for economic reforms, the plan constitutes a powerful package for a green transformation, a strengthened welfare state, reduced inequality and full employment.

A Green New Deal for Sweden addresses the two major challenges of our time: the climate crisis and growing income inequality. It is based upon the latest climate science and the Paris Agreement, which means that the challenge is greater than official targets indicate. At the same time, it instills courage as it provides a clear path for building a more socially just and ecologically sustainable society. The report is the first of its kind, presenting a fully-funded reform package, with 73 policy proposals covering the entire economy and showing how Sweden can become climate neutral by 2035, a decade ahead of current targets .

The plan is a modern, progressive and green adaptation of Social Democratic industrial and welfare policy, where the State takes a leading role in promoting a societal transformation that benefits the large majority of the population. We cannot just rely on individual responsibility to solve the climate crisis. Instead we need to muster our collective resources to seriously address the structural problems at hand. The plan is based on two pillars. The first pillar is an active state that steers industry and the economy with a mixture of carrots and sticks, to promote a green industrial revolution. The other pillar is an inclusive state that distributes the costs and benefits of a green transformation fairly. To achieve this, the state must be given financial headroom to implement and enable the required investments. This is both economically sound and prudent.

Internationally, the legitimacy of this policy approach is growing. This can be seen both in the European Green Deal, Joe Biden's proposals for investment in a green transformation and strengthened public welfare in the USA, and in the broader international discussion on a Green New Deal. It is clear that economic, industrial, and climate policies are all undergoing a paradigm shift. This is very encouraging. At the same time, it is crucial that Sweden keeps up with these

developments. It is not only our climate but also our jobs, welfare and future competitiveness which depend on the investments we make in the coming years.

With our plan, Sweden is expected to become climate neutral as early as 2034. For ordinary people, it will be possible to eat, live, and travel sustainably - regardless of your income or where you live. At the same time, Sweden will take the lead in developing the necessary technologies. The Green New Deal for Sweden is estimated to lead to 150,000 to 240,000 new jobs across the country in the first three years alone, while overseeing the transformation of existing industries and the emergence of new, strategically important green industries.

In order to receive the payoffs from a vibrant green industry in Sweden, we need to be prepared to make the necessary investments. We expect government expenditure to grow to 0.8-1.5 percent of GDP per year during the adjustment period. This is far less than the cost of present employment tax deductions. And the investments do not only help save the climate: they create jobs, tax revenues and competitive companies, benefits that have not been included in the above-mentioned expenditures. Indeed, a Green New Deal is a lucrative investment for society with real returns for the state: when applying the Swedish government's carbon cost valuation, our cost benefit analysis shows that the plan creates societal benefits worth 3325 billion Swedish Krona¹ between 2020-2035.

At the same time, the transformation needs to be part of a broader promise: a better future for all. It must therefore be combined with investments in strengthened public welfare and reduced inequality. Meeting this double challenge requires both a new fiscal policy framework and tax reforms that raise the tax revenue-to-GDP ratio and reduce inequality. The government needs to be given leeway for necessary spending and investments, both for the green transition, and the broader social good.

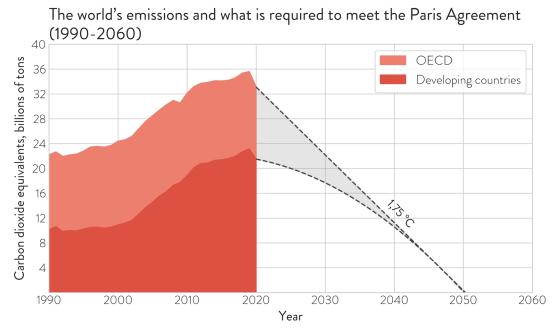
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IT IS OUR LAST CHANCE TO KEEP GLOBAL WARMING BELOW 1.5 °C - WE MUST TAKE IT

2021 saw new temperature records. The world is now 1.2 °C warmer than in pre-industrial times. We are rapidly approaching the tipping point between 1.5-2 °C warming that the countries of the world, according to the Paris Agreement, have agreed they must absolutely avoid.

For a decent chance of meeting the Paris Agreement's goals, global emissions need to be halved by 2030 and, in principle, eradicated by 2050. The calculation assumes that large amounts of carbon dioxide can be taken out of the atmosphere in the future - a task many scientists doubt is possible. This calculation also applies globally. The world's emerging and developing countries will not be able to halve their emissions by 2030. This means in practice that emissions in Sweden and the industrialized world need to approach zero already in the 2030s.

1 The equivalent of 325 billion euros



Sources: IPCC (2018) and Global Carbon Project (2020)

A green recovery after the corona crisis is probably the last chance to achieve the Paris Agreement goals. Today, Sweden's climate goal is net zero emissions by 2045 - this would need to be reached by 2035. The task also needs to be combined with a strengthened welfare state and a reversal of the trend towards increasing economic inequality. If not, a radical green transition will not receive the broad support it needs.

The challenge may seem hopeless. It isn't. The reason behind the climate crisis is not that a green transformation is impossible, the reason is decades of weak climate policy. In cases where politics has delivered, change has occurred. The clearest example is renewable energy. The political commitment and investments from a few countries have made solar and wind power cheaper than fossil based power production in large parts of the world.

The renewable energy revolution is the biggest climate policy success to date. A green transformation has turned from an expensive dream into a commercial opportunity. This development, together with higher emission prices, has led to acollapse of coal use in the EU and the USA. The same thing now seems to be happening for oil. Battery technology and electric cars are becoming cheaper. And soon the turn will come for green hydrogen gas. Green technology is driving fossil fuels into extinction.

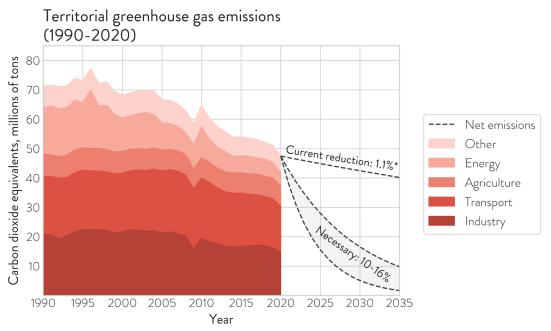
This makes a green transformation an existential challenge, not only for the climate but also for the Swedish economy. Our prosperity is based on sectors that today emit large amounts of greenhouse gases. A failure to transition means that in the future there will be no demand for the products that are our lifeblood, that provide the tax revenue that funds our welfare system. Strong climate policy is no longer a business disadvantage - it provides a competitive edge for Swedish industry

CURRENT STATE OF SWEDEN'S EMISSIONS

Sweden is usually lauded for its strong climate policy, which is correct, relatively speaking. Sweden introduced a carbon tax early. We have a climate law, a climate policy framework and an ambition to become one of the world's first fossil-free welfare states.

But here it ends. Sweden's emissions are declining far too slowly. This applies both if we aim for net zero emissions in 2045, or if we are serious about the Paris Agreement and want to reach net zero emissions by 2035. Before the pandemic, Sweden's emissions decreased by 1.1 percent per year (average reduction rate in 2015-2019). To meet today's climate goals, that rate needs to increase to 5-8 percent. To reach net zero emissions during the 2030s, the rate needs to increase to 10-16 percent.

The Swedish Climate Policy Council has in several reports pointed out that current policy is insufficient. Even if all current political proposals were to be implemented, we will fail to reach net zero emissions by 2045 by a wide margin.



Source: The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (2021)

The problem is not that the climate goals are impossible to achieve. The problem is that our climate policy is too weak, underfunded and poorly coordinated. Sweden is basically in a good position to implement a green transformation. We are a rich country, with good technical know-how, abundant natural resources and good access to renewable energy.

Most of Sweden's emissions come from four sectors of society: industry, transport, agriculture and forestry, and the energy sector. Industry and transport are the big emission giants. Together, they account for over 60 percent of emissions. The transport sector accounts for a third of emissions, of which passenger cars make up a large proportion. In industry, the greatest emissions come from the iron and steel industry, the cement industry, and refineries.

The Swedish energy sector is already virtually fossil-free. For our green transformation to succeed however, we need to increase energy efficiency efforts, expand our electricity grid and provide an extensive expansion of green electricity production in order to enable electrification of industry and transport.

Emissions from agriculture and forestry come largely from animal husbandry, and are difficult to address. At the same time, there are enormous opportunities to reduce emissions and increase the carbon sink in land, forests and water, while protecting biodiversity.

To achieve net zero emissions in a few decades, so-called negative emissions will be required. This means that carbon dioxide is removed from the atmosphere. This can be done in different

ways, both naturally, by storing more carbon in forests and land, and through technology, for example by separating carbon dioxide from bioenergy plants or pulp industries and storing it underground (bio-CCS). Sweden has great potential to create negative emissions. But this requires government investments and support, because there are currently insufficient commercial drivers to do so.

This short review of A Green New Deal for Sweden focuses on Sweden's territorial emissions, i.e. those produced within Sweden's borders. However, Sweden is also for the emissions we give rise to through our total consumption. Consumption-based emissions also include emissions from imports and international transport, which can be difficult to address with national measures. Consumption-based emissions also point to the need for climate justice. Calculations show that the richest ten percent of Sweden's population contribute up to seven times higher emissions than the ten percent of the population with the lowest income.

THE GOVERNMENT NEEDS TO PUSH FOR A GREEN TRANSFORMATION...

The state must take a far more active role, in order for Sweden to be able to implement a fair green transformation in line with the goals of the Paris Agreement,. The basis for a Green New Deal is an active and entrepreneurial state that, with carrots and sticks, pushes for a green transformation of industry and the economy as a whole. The market-oriented and passive climate policy of the last 30 years has failed on this front. It is time for the state to take the lead.

An active state that addresses society's major challenges and takes responsibility for developing solutions is nothing new. The development of the internet and the 1960s Moon landing projects - both led by the US government - are two examples. The fact that solar and wind power today is competitive is also related to government policy and investments in a handful of countries, from Germany and the USA, to Japan and China. The Danish state's investments in wind power since the 1970s have laid the foundation for one of the world's largest wind power companies, Vestas, and have made wind power one of Denmark's most important export industries. There are many other examples we could point to.

To succeed, the state's policy for a green transformation needs to be significantly strengthened. The efforts need to be coordinated and purposefully focused on agreed climate goals. Above all, strengthened financing and a new fiscal policy framework is required to enable large-scale investments.

Large industrial companies will need extensive access to fossil-free electricity, batteries, hydrogen, electrofuels and sustainable biofuels. In order to realise the potential of industry led investments into fossil-free steel, emission-free cement and the electrification of transport, the government must also invest sufficiently in education, innovation, infrastructure and fossil-free energy. The state must also enable the commercialisation of a number of key technologies such as green hydrogen, electrofuels and carbon dioxide capture and storage (CCS). Through climate-neutral public procurement and a reform of the current obligation for fuel distributors to mix fossil fuels with green fuels, the state can act as a proactive customer and create demand for sustainable products.

We estimate that the government will initially need to implement and mobilize investments corresponding to just over SEK 100 billion (Ca 10 billion euro) per year. With the help of a national investment bank, long-term financing can be mobilised from the private sector and enable investments in both new and old industries that need to restructure. This is crucial to transform the core of Swedish industry and will moreover lead to the growth of new industries.

At the same time, it is not enough for green sectors of the economy to grow. Clear regulation is also required that defines when emissions should be reduced to zero. Today's climate targets need to be strengthened to net zero emissions by 2035, the sale of fossil fuels must be banned by 2035 and binding emission targets must be introduced for all sectors of society. At the same time, all investments driving emissions need to be forbidden. Moreover, today's fossil fuel subsidies need to be phased out and new legislation and practices must ensure that investments and community planning meaningfully comply with climate goals. We estimate that SEK 13 billion per year of fossil fuel subsidies can be directed to climate initiatives.

As conditions differ greatly between different sectors, specific solutions are necessary for different sectors of society. In the transport sector, investments are required in high-speed rail, public transport and targeted subsidies that make it possible for everyone to travel sustainably. In the energy sector, electricity networks need to be strengthened, energy storage, and comprehensive energy efficiency programs for housing and premises need to be introduced; and in agriculture and forestry, subsidies for green transformation and major investment in increased carbon sequestration in forests and land are necessary.

... AND MAKE THE TRANSFORMATION FAIR

An active, entrepreneurial state is necessary to drive a green structural transformation. But that is not enough. In order to receive broad support, the transformation needs to be fair. The green transformation that we have envisioned is the largest structural transformation since the industrial revolution. In addition, it has to be implemented after decades of growing inequality. To succeed, the transformation needs to be part of a broader promise: a better future for the many.

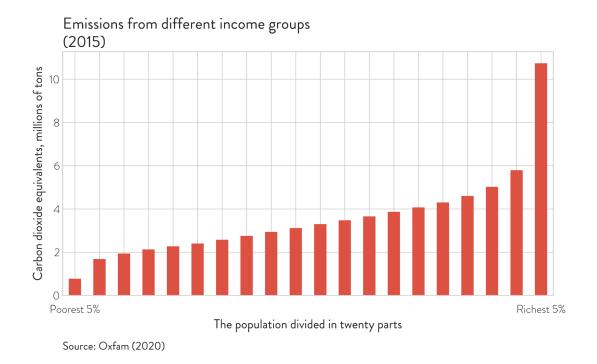
That is why an inclusive state is also needed. The task of an inclusive state is to ensure that green structural change does not leave anyone behind, that green alternatives can be used by all, that the costs of a green transformation are shared in a spirit of solidarity, and that its rewards benefit everyone.

Properly navigated, a green transformation can lead to hundreds of thousands of new jobs and provide a unique opportunity to reach full employment. At the same time, jobs will disappear. To capitalise on the potential for job creation, extensive training programmes and strengthened labour market policies are necessary. The state needs to offer further education, guarantee new jobs where old jobs disappear and strengthen the social security nets to make the transformation secure.

The goal of a just transformation is to empower everyone to be able to lead a good life without destroying the climate. The policy must make it possible for everyone to use environmentally sustainable alternatives, regardless of their wallet or wherever you happen to live in the country. This requires investments in green infrastructure and subsidies for green alternatives until they become cheap enough. This would mean expanded public transport, upgraded railways, access to charging posts throughout the country, subsidised loans for the purchase of green cars or incentives to get rid of old, fossil-powered cars.

In the long run, everyone benefits from a green transformation. In the short term, however, it will be costly. Today, there is a lack of funding for the change. We do have a carbon tax. This is an important instrument for restructuring industry and production, but a poor instrument in terms of redistributive policy. The tax does not take into account that people have different personal circumstances, for example whether they live in a big city or in the countryside and are dependent on a car. In addition, the income generated from the carbon tax will disappear as fossil fuels are phased out. Thus the carbon tax needs to be supplemented with taxes that can

permanently finance the transformation in a collective manner, taking into account economic ability.



The figure shows carbon dioxide emissions for different income groups in Sweden. The richest tenth decile is estimated to generate seven times higher emissions than the poorest tenth decile. This is not a blame game. In the end, everyone's emissions need to approach zero. The point is that different groups have different responsibilities for the climate problem and different abilities to contribute to a solution. The climate issue is a class issue. High-income earners have a larger margin to pay for a green transformation and generally bear a greater responsibility for emissions. Therefore, we propose that the current carbon tax is supplemented with a climate protection tax on high incomes and a green inheritance and gift tax.

A just transformation is not only about distributing burdens. It is also about everyone being able to benefit from the opportunities delivered by the transformation. In the end, a just transformation is impossible in a society where inequalities are growing. The rewards of economic development simply need to be better distributed than in past decades. Therefore, the policy for a green transformation needs to be paired with a broader agenda, for reduced inequality and a strengthened public welfare state.

To succeed in this double challenge, tax reforms with a focus on wealth, capital and the most affluent are required. But above all, a new fiscal policy framework. The government must be able to borrow in order to make the necessary investments, at the same time as tax funds are freed to enhance public welfare. Without a new fiscal policy framework, it will be very difficult to implement a green transformation and at the same time strengthen public welfare and social security.

Our food, energy and raw materials are produced in rural areas, and these areas also play an important role in preserving biodiversity. If our society is to function and become sustainable, the countryside must also be sustainable - economically, socially and ecologically. Therefore, it is reasonable that, for example, property tax from expanded wind power is allocated to the municipalities and delivers rewards to the areas where they are built. The tax transfer system between the regions also needs to be changed so that sparsely populated municipalities are guaranteed equal and sufficient resources.

OUR PLAN: A GREEN NEW DEAL FOR SWEDEN

A Green New Deal for Sweden is a comprehensive programme for a fair green transformation over the next 15 years. Here is a summary of the 73 reform proposals. The prerequisite for these proposals is a new fiscal policy framework.

3 measures to ensure that the state has the administrative and financial ability to lead the transformation:

- A transformation council reporting to the Prime Minister coordinates the work and ensures that the climate goals are achieved.
- Secure long-term financing for the entire transformation period.
- A climate protection tax, and a green inheritance and gift tax will be introduced to strengthen equitable financing.

16 cross-sectoral measures spanning different sectors in society to halt emissions and drive the transition:

- Tighter climate targets for net zero emissions by 2035, binding sector-specific targets for climate neutrality, and complementary emissions targets for aviation, shipping and consumption-related emissions.
- Setting an end date for sales of fossil fuels in 2035.
- Levy-based financing of negative emissions.
- Mandate climate neutrality in public procurement.
- Phase out all environmentally harmful subsidies in favour of financing for climate initiatives.
- Ensure that all investments and public community planning are evaluated against the climate goals.
- Establish a National Green Investment Bank.
- Support the commercialisation of hydrogen, electric fuels and sustainably produced biofuels.
- Ensure access to skilled labour through extensive training programmes.
- Introduce a job guarantee for populations impacted by the changes.
- Involve citizens and the trade union movement.
- Take steps to adapt infrastructure to climate change.
- Champion a tightening of EU climate policy, including the Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS).
- Reduce the risk of carbon dioxide leakage by championing climate tariffs and a mileage tax for heavy transport within the EU.

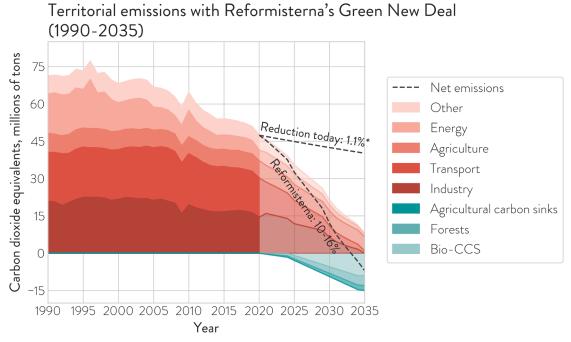
In addition, 59 complementary sector-specific measures are proposed, a selection is listed below:

- Industry: Increase access to government investment capital, stimulate the development of carbon capture technology and promote exports of the industry's new sustainable products.
- Transport: Strengthen the national infrastructure plan, provide state support for expanded public transport networks, introduce a mileage tax, reform the obligation to mix fossil fuels (with biofuels and e-fuel), introduce subsidized loans for green cars, reform the bonus-malus system for passenger cars, introduce a ban on new sales of passenger cars with petrol and diesel engines from 2027, and introduce an obligation to mix fossil fuels (with biofuels and e-fuel) for aviation and shipping.
- Agriculture and forestry: Restore wetlands, introduce climate goals and harvesting goals for forestry, create a levy-based financing system for the purchasing of forests with conservation value, reimburse landowners who create additional carbon sinks in forests and land, reimburse forest owners who ringfence their forests for protection as a climate measure, support biomass production in agriculture, lower the yield requirement for the public forestry company Sveaskog, and expand natural marine reserves.

■ Energy: Expand and strengthen the electricity grid, implement a national efficiency program, issue new government directives for the public utility companies Vattenfall and Svenska Kraftnät, and increase energy storage.

WHAT COULD OUR SOCIETY LOOK LIKE IN 2035?

With our plan, Sweden would be fossil-free and climate-neutral as early as 2034. By that time, emissions would have decreased by 85 percent compared to 2019. The remaining emissions are more than offset by increased sequestering of greenhouse gases in forests and land and by negative emissions using bio-CSS. Sweden would then be in line with the goals of the Paris Agreement to limit global warming to 1.5-2 degrees.



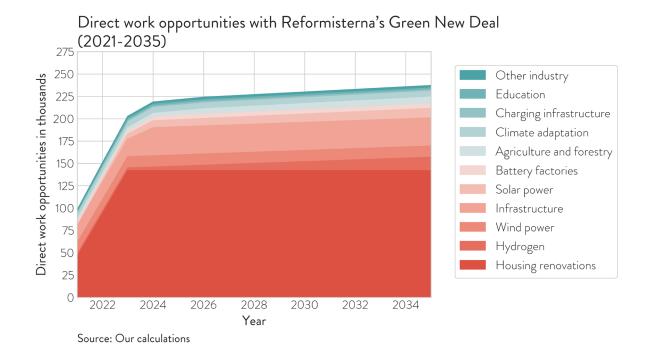
Source: The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, our calculations

Business would also look very different. New industries would emerge: wind and solar power, hydrogen production, electric aviation, battery manufacturing, production of recycled and renewable plastics, biofuels, fossil-free mineral fertilizers, and electric fuels. The iron and steel industry, the cement industry and the refineries would produce fossil-free and bio-based products, in addition to reduced electricity prices. The construction sector would be climate-neutral, achieved via requirements for climate-neutral public procurement and energy efficiency measures.

Full employment could become a reality again. Within four years, it is estimated that over 200,000 new jobs would be created. The full potential by 2035 is probably significantly higher. A large part of the jobs are in the building of new infrastructure and in making existing housing more energy efficient. Many jobs are also created through industrial transformation. Municipalities in rural areas could finally have a sound economy with new jobs and industries, infrastructure investments and enhanced prosperity. With more government engagement, economically and ecologically sustainable agriculture and forestry would also be possible, where jobs and economics are not pitted against biodiversity and climate benefits.

^{*}Average reduction 2015-2019

^{**}The negative emissions (colored green) are additional

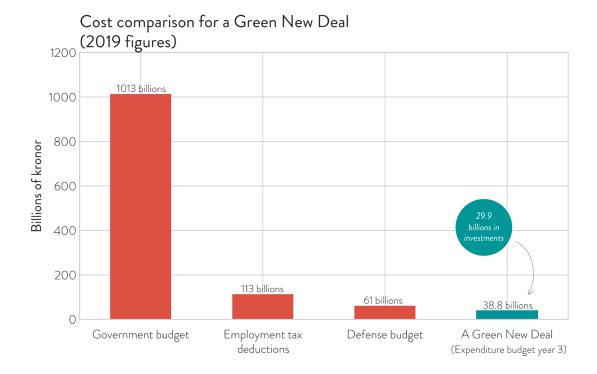


THIS IS NOT ONLY POSSIBLE, BUT ALSO PROFITABLE

Many have the impression that we cannot afford climate transformation. But since there has been no clear plan for what needs to be done, no one has been able to calculate the costs.

We want to see a new fiscal policy framework that enables the government to debt finance investments in industry and infrastructure - and thus afford to use tax reforms to finance the increased investments that are also required in education, social security systems and public welfare. With our proposal for a National Green Investment Bank, the state can also mobilise long-term capital from the private investment market. The state should not bear all the costs, but be a catalyst and share risk with the business community, and in return be rewarded with interest.

Central government revenues from climate taxes and the phasing out of climate-damaging subsidies are expected to be just over SEK 50 billion after three years. The annual cost of the state budget for the investments is then estimated to be just under SEK 40 billion. In addition, after three years, the state will invest nearly SEK 30 billion per year in areas including industrial investments, housing renovation, and infrastructure. Both expenditures and investments are then planned to increase over a period of time and then decrease again around 2035.



The net cost of a Green New Deal is estimated to be approximately SEK 60-75 billion per year. This corresponds to 1.5 percent of GDP. It is a lot of money, but should be put in perspective when considering that Sweden's total government budget annually amounts to just over SEK 1,000 billion. The cost of Sweden pulling its weight to save our civilisation from a climate catastrophe is roughly equivalent to the defence budget and is significantly lower than the cost of employment tax deductions.

The plan would avoid 475 million tons of carbon dioxide emissions. From a societal perspective, this means saving an equivalent of just over SEK 3,300 billion through reduced climate impact. If this is weighed against the costs of a Green New Deal, the net economic benefit to society would be between SEK 2,200 and 2,400 billion. This is without taking into account new jobs, increased tax revenues and other benefits. Implementing a Green New Deal is therefore not only possible and desirable - it would also be profitable.

OPENING THE DOOR TO A BETTER FUTURE

A Green New Deal focuses on the climate crisis and how Sweden will become fossil-free and climate-neutral in 15 years. At the same time, we know that the climate crisis is only part of a larger sustainability equation. The earth's natural resources are becoming increasingly depleted, biological diversity is being wiped out at a pace that has not been seen for millions of years. We risk exceeding a number of planetary boundaries linked to ecological sustainability in the 21st century, which would bring complex consequences that are difficult to foresee.

These challenges are linked to the climate crisis. The problems fuel each other, while solutions can support one another. Together, they raise difficult questions about economic growth and capitalism itself. Many researchers today agree that the economic growth model of our time is unsustainable. However, there is no clear answer as to what a future, sustainable economic development model should look like. Some hope that new technology will solve most things. Others are equally convinced that the world economy must shrink.

Our starting point is more pragmatic. The green parts of the economy need to grow, the environmentally harmful and destructive parts must be shrunk and phased out - and the rewards of the economic development need to be distributed more fairly. A Green New Deal for Sweden is a reform package for economic transformation - not unrestricted growth. With the help of public investments and an active management of the market, the state is pushing for a new direction of the economy. What the end result will be in terms of GDP growth is actually less interesting. It is the content that is crucial.

You can read more about these broader sustainability issues in the full version of our report. Among other topics, we address issues of biofuels, sustainable forestry, biodiversity, emissions from investments, consumption-based emissions and circular economy.

A Green New Deal for Sweden does not claim to have all the answers. It is not a complete map of what a socially and ecologically sustainable world should look like in 50 years. But it is a necessary u-turn from an obviously unsustainable path and opens the door towards a more hopeful future. It is, in Ernst Wigforss' words, a provisional utopia - reforms that are concrete enough to be implemented and visionary enough to change the system. In a world marked by fear, growing inequality and an unbridled climate crisis, it is a necessary first step towards a better future.

DO YOU WANT TO MAKE THIS A REALITY? GET INVOLVED!

We are all facing a choice. We can choose between an unsustainable society that continues to ignore the message of science, where the environment around us is destroyed, the rich get richer, public resources are insufficient and people are pitted against each other. Or we can commit to change.

A Green New Deal is Reformisterna's proposal for the Social Democrats' climate policy. Together with Reformisterna's other six programme proposals, it constitutes our reform agenda for a sustainable and equal Sweden: a new fiscal policy framework, a new equal tax system, a new secure and equal pension system, a social housing policy for jobs and housing for all, a democratic and sustainable working life and a secure and fair welfare and regional policy. It is with this programme that we want the Social Democrats to meet the voters in the election in 2022. A policy that instills hope and faith in the future and dares to take on the collective challenges we face.

Reformisterna is a Social Democratic association. We want to see a stronger, bolder Social Democracy. We are convinced that many people want to be involved in creating policy for a better society.

Do you also want to see change? Get involved in Reformisterna to pursue our programme and make it a reality! www.reformisterna.se/

You can read the entire Reformisterna reform programme here: https://www.reformisterna.se/reformprogram/vi-har-rad-med-framtiden-r

This is an abridged version of the complete report A Green New Deal for Sweden. You can find the full version (in Swedish) here: https://www.reformisterna.se/gron-ny-giv-for-sverige

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