

**The discrete charm of *the*
Swedish **social** democracy
and Why *Antifascism* is
not enough**

SödrⒶ Klubben



Södr[Ⓐ] Klubben was launched in the fall of 2015. We are an anarchist collective with different ideological backgrounds, and we stand for political diversity. We are fed up with passivity, symbolic activism and we believe in escalating the uprising and consequently class struggle. In a period when the state and capital wage another economic and social war against society, we reclaim our city through resistance, self-organizing, and creating spaces where we can, ourselves, decide. When fascism is instrumentalized to disarm resistance and to create scapegoats, our weapon is solidarity with the anarchist/autonomous movement, migrants and sans papiers, and others who do not fit the fascists' dystopia. With direct action we attack the apparatus that tries to control our lives. By acting locally in antiauthoritarian and antisexist structures, our aim is to take direct control of our lives and our futures. Södr[Ⓐ] Klubben is a walk on the streets of Malmö where thousands of contradictions arise against a grey background, where our needs and doubts color everyday life with resistance.

You can reach Södr[Ⓐ] Klubben at: sodraklubben@riseup.net

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"In a time of verbal inflation, 'fascism' is just a buzz word used by leftists to demonstrate their radicalism. But its use indicates both a confusion and a theoretical concession to the State and to Capital. The essence of antifascism consists of struggling against fascism while supporting democracy; in other words, of struggling not for the destruction of capitalism, but to force capitalism to renounce its totalitarian form."¹

Introduction

There is a growing discussion, mainly within the margins of the anarchist/autonomous movement but also in public debate, about the decline and deradicalization of the movement in Sweden. One characteristic depiction of this discursive construction was an article by Petter Larsson that appeared in the cultural pages of the Swedish tabloid Aftonbladet in the summer of 2019 - Från stenkastning till flyktinghjälp - om hur den autonoma vänstern avradikaliseras – [From throwing stones to helping refugees – about how the autonomous left was deradicalized]. The author builds his argument on an academic survey conducted by political scientist Jan Jämte and sociologist Magnus Wennerhag that shows a quantitative drop in different expressions of radical political action. Larsson goes as far as to contest direct action, politically motivated violence and solidarity work, drawing himself an imaginary line between otherwise complementary practices that autonomous and anarchists' movements have been simultaneously working with for decades. This brochure does not constitute an answer to either the survey nor the article. However, we see a correlation between this kind of fatalist prognosis of the movement, the content and the line of action within antifascism in Sweden today.

This brochure is written in the very particular political context for the country's internal affairs. The racist and populist party, the Swedish democrats, is now established as the third power on the Swedish political map, between the red and the blue blocks, often setting the tone on issues of central political interest such as migration, employment, and social policy. At the same time, there has been an upheaval of traditional block politics in Sweden as we knew them: red consisting of social democrats, the green party and the left party and blue consisting of the conservatives, the liberals, the center party, and the Christian democrats. The new 2018 coalition government across the blocks between the social democrats, the green party, the liberal party and the center party signified and confirmed something that we all knew for more than two decades



Södra Klubben's anti-election poster, 2018

now, that is, there is no alternative for parliamentarism: neoliberal economics hand in hand with racist policies is the only game in town. The international and Swedish capital dictates economic reforms that the state unquestionably implements.

What was new and perhaps shocking, especially for red voters familiar with and supportive of the chimera of the all-mighty welfare state, was the fact that the majority of the red block (social democrats and the green party) is more ready than ever to cancel and erase the historical achievements of the labour movement such as the right to strike, retirement age, unimpeded access to social security and healthcare, the Employment Protection Act [LAS]. In addition to these erasures there has also been the distancing from important components of the so-called Swedish model such as an allegedly “open” and “friendly” migration policy, adopting nationalist and xenophobic standpoints instead. At the same time, parts of the blue block (the conservative and the Christian democratic parties) openly normalize the alt-right populism of the Swedish democrats by tolerating them or in some cases even seeking to cooperate with them in both the parliament and local governments. It is obvious to us that the 1990s boneheads have put their suits on, let their hair grow out and entered the parliament creating echoing alliances and setting the agenda, while fringe neo-nazism has mutated into a widespread but easy to digest nationalist and racist plague impregnating many aspects of everyday life and services of the welfare state.

From the closure of national borders for non-Europeans in 2015 and the numerous deportations, to police registers of ethnic groups, and the enactment of racist laws, the Swedish welfare state constitutes a shadow of its own past. Or does it? If we look closer at the history of the Swedish state perhaps, we might find some important answers. Every state’s political ideology is nationalism-patriotism, namely, the modern political religion that leads to the construction of a common national identity (including common language, religion, history) for the general population. The Swedish welfare state does not constitute an exception. The modern concept of nation was constructed when older constituencies (empires, monarchies, duchies, estates, baronies) needed to redefine their geographical limits by unifying and homogenizing different ethnic and cultural communities, attributing them with a common behavior and consciousness.

In our understanding, one of the unifying factors of the modern Swedish nation-state was the proliferation of social democratic ideas and the construction of the *folkhemmet* – The People’s Home. As we will show, the construction of the Swedish national identity also involved methods of racist and nationalist character enforced by the social democratic regime.

Setting the ground: social democratic nationalism and the autonomous movement

The aim of this brochure is twofold. First, we will outline a political historical account of the development of the modern Swedish state to understand the political context in which the autonomous/anarchist movement has evolved. The state generally stands for the group of institutions that hold the authority to establish the rules for controlling the population of one or several countries, and which holds internal or external sovereignty over a given geographical area. Simultaneously however, the state must be understood as something much larger than just this group of institutions. The state is also a producer and stabilizer of normality through the procurement of laws and the protection of the constitution alongside the backup that exists as its monopoly to violence - the army and the police. The state also seemingly constitutes an internal conflict in that it is responsible for hostile and antisocial policies that define, create, and manage certain unwanted populations but is also responsible for the provision of rights that are supposed to protect said populations.

Second, we will delineate and discuss how we perceive the autonomous/anarchist movement in Sweden at this very moment and put forward this brochure's main political concern; why we consider antifascism as it is defined/understood/practiced/prioritized in the current political and social context, insufficient as a political tool, platform, agenda and vehicle to perform radical left politics. For us, the problem starts when antifascism (a militant and pluralist tactic practiced by the broader left to physically and discursively confront nazis, nationalists, fascists and other authoritarian ideologies - not an all-eater empty concept that even liberals can claim - gains an ontological status of its own, independent from an ideological backup or a political analysis.

There is a huge risk when a radical tactic “becomes a self-contained tendency with limited objectives”ⁱⁱ. In our understanding, there has been a serious misinterpretation conflating a tactic with a whole movement that spun off to a political lifestyle, creating an imbalance between discourse/aesthetics (stickers, t-shirts, flags, published memorabilia, and merchandising) and action. The aestheticization of antifascism gives birth to spectacle rather than action. Memorabilia in the form of publications is important for preserving the historical memory of the struggle, but social movements must also create events that can turn into historical memory. **It is important to mention here that this brochure does not aim to undermine and scorn the precious political activism consisting of generations of antifascist street action, starting from the early 1990s in Sweden and in Northern Europe in general, confronting the neo-nazism phenomenon to contemporary antifa groups in the US and elsewhere confronting alt-right and white supremacy.** It is clear that this work is very important since the bodies of these fascist individuals and groups pose a serious threat to all of us – anarchists, autonomous, migrants, queers, women, various types of freaks and free-minded people – in many ways. What we suggest, as a solution to the above mentioned, is a broader and deeper understanding of antifascism which leads the autonomous movement to a more pluralist anti-nationalist action, including anti-statist and anti-capitalist imperatives.

Nevertheless, the antifascist work that we most commonly see today in Sweden is heavily focused on one, quite narrow, aspect of the material reality of fascism: self-identified fascists and their organizing. Let us not forget that the largest threat always stems from established power structures, such as the nation-state and/or the capitalist market, two actors that actually constitute two sides of the same coin. As anarchist anthropologist David Graeber (2015) explains, “maintaining a free-market economy required a thousand times more paperwork than a Louis XIV-style absolutist monarchy”ⁱⁱⁱ. The modern capitalist market cannot exist without the support and protection of the bureaucratic liberal state. In this context, while antifascism has strangely enough claimed a hegemonic position in the radical politics of the autonomous/anarchist movement in Sweden for many years now, it is more than obvious that nowadays it lacks a concrete, well-articulated, aggressive analysis and action-based arsenal against the chauvinist nation-state, delegative democracy, and the capitalist market. This also sets the tone for other groups that have lost their way amongst (or even worse, mixed up) parliamentary leftist politics and “autonomous” positions, with the risk of turning antifascism into the militant arm of the institutional left. For us, it is unclear what has caused what, if it is the egg or the chicken, but this lack of analysis may lead to an absence of action and vice versa.

Passage from the text Anti-Anti-Antifa:

“Marianne Garneau takes those few steps in a recent essay for Ritual Magazine, “Antifa is Liberalism.” “Through both their criticisms and their tactics,” Garneau writes, antifa wants “to draw our attention away from systemic problems and towards individual behavior. It primarily addresses racism in terms of the virulent thoughts or attitudes in the mind of the racist...rather than systemic forms of race- and class-based domination and exploitation.” The result is that antifa turns away from revolutionary politics in favor of “individual displays of heroic resistance rather than attacking the problem at its root by building a mass movement”^{iv}

We **do not** consider antifa to be liberal or to fall under the umbrella of liberalism. However, we do share the concerns that a one-dimensional and obsessive devotion to the hunting of violent para-state neo-nazi gangs (such as NMR, NPD, Golden Dawn, Combat 18, Blood and Honor, Soldiers of Odin to name a few) may begin to lose touch with the important current structural and systemic developments of the modern state-capitalist complex, as the ones described in the introduction. **We argue for the necessity of also acknowledging and attacking the established institutions who define, steal, and limit our lives while they secure profits for the ruling classes and provide support to fascist groups.** To do that we must deconstruct and put forward the main elements that have formed and constituted the modern Swedish capitalist nation-state as well as the movement itself. Katsiaticas^v in his description of the German Autonomen argues that to understand the movement, we need to address the historical, political, and economic context that allowed it to flourish. The protestant ethic being at the heart of this capitalist system also constituted a powerful force imposed but also reproduced by activists. Similarly, in the following sections we will reconstruct the context and main elements that have defined the autonomous/anarchist movement in Sweden. In doing so, the point of departure cannot be anything else than the Swedish social democracy, the so-called

Swedish model, and its codependence with the construction of the Swedish national identity and capitalism.

Historical account of the development of the modern Swedish state/model

First, we will address the historical development of the modern Swedish state to contextualize the evolution of the autonomous/anarchist movement. In parallel, we will also address the role of Swedish capital, its relation to the Swedish state and the constitution of social democratic nationalism.

Saltsjöbaden agreement or kill the social democrat inside you!

Already at the end of the 19th century, social democratic ideas were born to bridge the schism that the Second International left between Marxists and anarchists as well as to tame the bourgeois concerns proceeding the 1917 Russian revolution. From the very beginning, social democrats declared their attachment to the principle of “political pluralism” and bourgeois liberalism while opposing fascism and bolshevism alike. At the same time, strong and differing social democratic programs took place in several places in Europe (UK, Scandinavia, Germany, Austria, Belgium). Whatever differences these programs had, the social democratic alternative anticipated the acceptance of representative democracy and the contempt of Leninism. To understand the role of social democracy for sustaining the bourgeois liberal state within this historical context, we need to address some historical facts.

In the September 1932 volume of the German newsletter *Deutsche Führerbriefe* (the confidential newsletter of the German Industrial Federation to the leaders of financial capital), a study called “The Social Re-stabilization of Capitalism”^{vi} was included that reveals how the ruling classes perceived social democracy at that time. The study begins with the argument that the survival of capitalist hegemony is dependent on the split of the working class. According to the same study, whichever grassroots labour movement occurred would be revolutionary and the ruling class would eventually be incapable of controlling them; not even by imposing military force. Therefore, the only real danger was and is a unified labour movement. Capitalism can only survive with the facilitation of social peace with groups outside of its range. Social democracy provided capitalism with exactly this: social peace in the post-war era.^{vii,viii} Social democracy played a significant role in the evolution of the institutions of the bourgeois liberal state. The hegemonic social democratic idea is depicted in Henri de Man’s (the leader of the Belgian Labor Party’s right-wing during the Great Depression) reasoning: “we are not a class revolutionary party, but a popular party, a democratic governmental party of the majority, a lawful party of order and power, a national party”^{ix}. This statement is characteristic of social democracy, since it accepts, in contrast to Marxist-Leninist parties, the idea of a progressive transformation of society through the utilization of a number of structural

reforms as well as the reinforcement of state intervention^x. The social legitimization of this governance model stems from the guarantee that reforms aiming at economic redistribution (in terms of taxes, social services, decrease of social inequality and the general increase of labour class's living conditions) will not be ignored.

Sweden has become known as the prototype of the social democratic welfare nation-state. The debate surrounding modern social politics was already initiated in Sweden beginning in the 1880s, inspired by Bismarck and the German social political discourse, but also due to significant societal issues and class frictions in the late 19th century (with poverty, emigration, social and economic insecurity on one side, and urbanization, industrialization, and the introduction of capitalistic wage labour on the other). Nevertheless, the establishment of social democracy in Sweden can be interlinked to one of the first major crises of the capitalist system in the 20th century. Notably, the 1930s financial crisis which established class compromise and consensus politics as a national response to the threat posed by global economic uncertainty.

2. Die Eingliederung des Nationalsozialismus

Man wird in einer Zeit, die als Lebensfrage der Rekonsolidierung der bürgerlichen Herrschaft vorgeschrieben ist, dem Faschismus der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung, wenn nötig, mit Gewalt ein Ende machen müssen, aber nur, um den Nationalsozialismus selbst gleichzeitig in ein *gewaltloses* Organ umzuwandeln, das dieser Herrschaft zur Stütze dienen und in ihrer städte Ausgestaltung positiv eingegliedert werden kann. Die Möglichkeiten, die sich dafür bieten, können hier nur in größtmöglicher Kürze angedeutet werden. Die *einzigste* Bedingung jeder sozialen Rekonstruktion der bürgerlichen Herrschaft, die in Deutschland seit dem Kriege möglich ist, ist die *Zusammenarbeit*. Jede geschlossene, von unten hervorwachsende Arbeiterbewegung müßte revolutionär sein, und gegen sie wäre diese Herrschaft darauf nicht zu haben, auch nicht mit den Mitteln der militärischen Gewalt. Auf der gemeinsamen Basis dieses notwendigen Bedingung unterscheiden sich die verschiedenen Systeme der bürgerlichen Konsolidierung nach den zureichenden Bedingungen, die hinzukommen müssen, um den Staat und das Bürgerturn bis in breite Schichten des gespaltenen Arbeiterschaft hinein zu versenken. In der ersten Rekonstruktionslinie des bürgerlichen Neoliberalismus, in der Ära von 1923/24 bis 1929/30 war die Spaltung der Arbeiterschaft fundiert durch die *absoluten* und *relativen* Ertragsunterschieden, in die die Sozialdemokratie den revolutionären Ansturm einmündet. Diese nämlich funktionierten als eine Art Schließungsmechanismus, durch den der bewährte und fest organisierte Teil der Arbeiterschaft in Arbeitsmarktfülle einen *zweiten* abgestuften, aber dennoch in sich geschlossenen erheblichen Niveaustufen gegenüber der arbeitlosen und folksstürmenden Masse der unteren Kategorieen stellt und gegen die volle Auswirkung der Arbeitslosigkeit und der allgemeinen Kürzungen der Wirtschaft auf seine Lebenshaltung relativ geschützt war. Die politische Grenze zwischen Sozialdemokratie und Kommunismus verläuft fast genau auf der sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Linie dieses Schließungsmechanismus, und die gesamte, jedoch bis jetzt vergeblich gebliebene Anstrengungen des Kommunismus gelten dem Einbruch in dies geschützte Gebiet der Gewerkschaften. Da zudem aber die sozialdemokratische Ummantelung der Revolution in Sozialpolitik zusammenfällt mit der Veräußerung des Kampfes aus dem Betrieben und von der Straße in das Parlament, die Ministertum und die Kanzeln, d. h. mit der Verwandlung des Kampfes "von unten" in die Sicherung "von oben", waren fortan Sozialdemokratie und Gewerkschaftsbürokratie, müßten aber auch der gesamte von ihnen geführte Teil der Arbeiterschaft mit Haut und Haaren an des bürgerlichen Staat und ihre Machterteilung an ihm gebettet, und zwar solange, als erstens auch nur noch das Gelingen von jenen Ertragsunterschieden auf diesem Wege zu verteidigen übrig bleibt und als zweites die Arbeiterschaft ihrer Führung folgt.

Vier *Führer* aus dieser Analyse sind wichtig. 1. Die Politik des "kleineren Übels" ist nicht eine Taktik, sie ist die politische *Solvat* der Sozialdemokratie. 2. Die Bindung der Gewerkschaftsbürokratie an den *staatlichen* Weg "von oben" ist zwingend als eine Bindung an den Kommunismus, also an die Sozialdemokratie, und gilt gegenüber jedem bürgerlichen Staat, der sie einberufen will. 3. Die Bindung der Gewerkschaftsbürokratie an die Sozialdemokratie steht und fällt politisch mit dem *Parlamentarismus*. 4. Die Möglichkeit einer liberalen Sozialverfassung des Monopolkapitalismus ist bedingt durch die *Volkszustände* eines *monopolistischen* *Jahreswachstums* der Arbeiterschaft. Ein bürgerliches Regime, dem an einer liberalen Sozialverfassung gelegen ist, muß nicht nur überhaupt parlamentarisch sein, es muß sich für die Sozialdemokratie öffnen und die Sozialdemokratie ausreichende Ertragsunterschiede lassen, ein bürgerliches Regime, das diese Ertragsunterschiede versichert, muß Sozialdemokratie *und* Parlamentarismus offen, muß sich für die Sozialdemokratie einen Ersatz verschaffen und zu ein gebundenen Sozialverfassung übergehen.

Der Prozess dieses Übergangs, in dem wir uns augenblicklich befinden, weil die Wirtschaftskrise einen Ertragsunterschieden zwingend zentral hat, durchläuft das akute *Gefährdungs*, daß mit dem Fortfall jener Ertragsunterschieden auch der auf ihnen beruhende Spaltungsmechanismus der Arbeiterschaft zu wanken anfängt, müßten die Arbeiterschaft in der Richtung auf den Kommunismus ins Gittern gehen und die bürgerliche Herrschaft sich der Grenze des Notstands eines *Ministertums* nähert. Der Eintritt in diesen Notstand aber wäre der Eintritt in eine Phase *sozialistischer* Konsolidierung in die der *Kühnheit* der bürgerlichen Herrschaft. Die Rettung von diesem Abgrund ist nur möglich, wenn die Spaltung und Bindung der Arbeiterschaft, da ihrer Schließungsmechanismus in anstehendem Maße nicht wieder aufzuheben geht, auf *andere*, und zwar *absolute* Weise gelingt. Hier liegen die positiven Möglichkeiten und Aufgaben des *Nationalsozialismus*. Das Problem selbst weist für sie eindeutig nach zwei Richtungen. Entweder man gliedert den in der freien Wirtschaft beschäftigten Teil der Arbeiterschaft, d. h. die Gewerkschaften, durch eine *neuartige* politische Verkörperung in eine *gesellschaftliche* *Verfassung* ein, oder man versucht sich umgehend auf den arbeitlosen Teil zu stützen, indem man für ihn unter dem *Regiment* eines *Arbeitsidentifiziert* einen *kollektiven* *Stärke* der Wirtschaft organisiert.

Durch ihre Lösung von der Sozialdemokratie erfüllt für die Gewerkschaften ihre bisherige politische Repräsentation, an deren Stelle sie in einem nicht oder nur sehr bedingt parlamentarischen Staat eine neue und *neuartige* politische Führung brauchen. Wenn es dem Nationalsozialismus gelänge, diese *Führung* zu übernehmen und die Gewerkschaften in eine *gewaltlose* *Sozialverfassung* einzubringen, so wie die Sozialdemokratie sie früher in die überale eingebaut hat, so würde der Nationalsozialismus damit zum Träger einer für die künftige bürgerliche Herrschaft unentbehrlichen Funktion und müßte in dem Sozial- und Staatssystem dieser Herrschaft notwendig seinen *organischen* Platz finden. Die Gefahr einer *sozialkapitalistischen* oder *gas-reaktionellen* Entwicklung, die oft gegen eine solche berufständische Eingliederung der Gewerkschaften unter nationalsozialistischer Führung eingewandt wird, wird in Wahrheit durch sie *gerade* *gehoben*. Die vom *Taktik* "propagiert" *Dritte Front* ist der Typus eines *Fehlentschlusses*, wie sie in Zeiten des sozialen Vakuum aufzusetzen, sie ist das *Trägheit* eines Übergangszustands, in welchem die Gewerkschaften, weil aus der bisherigen Bindung freigesetzt und noch in keine neue eingefangen, den Schein eines Eigeninteresses vorzeigen, die sie *versonnlich* *gas* nicht haben können. Zwischen den beiden Möglichkeiten einer Rekonstruktion der bürgerlichen Herrschaft und der kommunistischen Revolution gibt es keine dritte. Wold aber gibt es theoretisch wenigstens, neben der ständischen Eingliederung der Gewerkschaften für die bürgerliche Rekonstruktion des zweiten Weg, das *arbeitlose* Volk durch *sozialpolitische* und *Zielung* zu organisieren und an den Staat zu binden. Dem inneren, selbst aus keiner *organischen* Wurzel *zunehmenden* Wesen des Nationalsozialismus scheint diese Aufgabe besonders nahe zu liegen, wie sie denn auch

Passage from the Deutsche Führerbriefe (Berlin) 1932. "Die soziale Rekonsolidierung des Kapitalismus, n° 72 et 73 (septembre 1932). [in original language]

To deal with the crisis, the Swedish social democrats developed a corporatist system based on three ideas: 1. Abandoning socialist ideas and accepting capitalism. As Meidner explains, "the Marxist elements of the social democratic ideology were eliminated at an early stage and 'nationalization' was forsaken by the first social democratic government in the 1920s"^{xi}. 2. The state, unions, and employers cooperated to manage the economy and to distribute the national product through central and extra-parliamentary negotiations and agreements. This led to the so-called **Saltsjöbaden Agreement** on December 20th, 1938, signed between the Swedish Trade Union Confederation [Swedish: Landsorganisationen] and the Swedish Employers Association [Swedish: Svenska arbetsgivareföreningen] that later became a model for other agreements. The rules on industrial action have come to be regarded almost as general legal principles

within conflicts between the labour market forces. The agreement cemented the Swedish social norm that the two sides shall conclude agreements without interference by government. 3. The labour movement integrated and subordinated labour.

The Saltsjöbaden Agreement set the tone for social democratic politics for almost half a century. The agreement had ended a prolonged period of labour unrest through a compromise to maintain private property and ownership, guarantee labour and social peace as well as promises of welfare state expansion and higher wages. While the agreement indicated that the labour movement had gained significant political power to claim redistributive measures, social peace did not come without a price. Employers, on their part, accepted the accumulated power of the unions because they could retain their economic power. In addition, labour struggle methods were considerably pacified. To implement the Saltsjöbaden Agreement the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) had to change their statutes and tame the labour movement. The new statutes included authorizing the secretariat to suspend conflict aid to a member union that refuses to approve the secretariat's proposals for settlement. The secretariat may also prohibit a strike if it covers more than three percent of the members of a member union, or if it is in danger of becoming too large through a lockout. Member unions of the LO were also required to have a provision in their statutes empowering the board of the confederation to decide on issues of contract and industrial action, even against members expressed wishes. This resulted in the possibility of initiating a general strike effectively impossible.



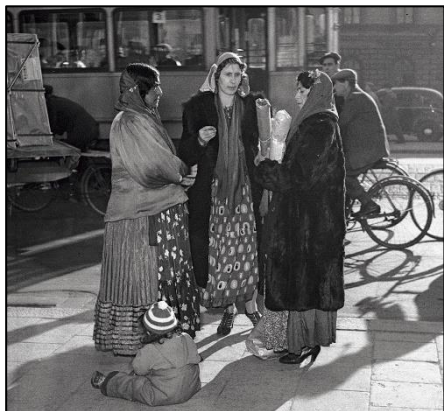
Signing of the Saltsjöbaden Agreement. August Lindberg of LO sitting to the left and Sigfrid Edström of SAF to the right.

The folkhemmet is made of blood

Apart from these important political and labour reforms, the Saltsjöbaden Agreement launched an era of consensus political culture in the Swedish labour market, the so-called "saltsjöbadsandan" (Saltsjöbaden spirit), which characterized labour policy in Sweden at

least until the late 1960s in addition to Swedish politics more generally. This also led to the construction of a national imagery of Sweden as a large family and a people's home (folkhemmet). Out of this developed a clear path to the construction of a Swedish national identity and social modernization as well as a specific Swedish form of rationality, characterized more by moderation than by logic driven to its conclusion. If there is a Swedish word to capture this, it is the word lagom, which means both 'reasonable' and 'middle-of-the road'. The Swedish modernization is associated with the social democratic folkhemmet and it is a product of reasonable social engineering. This is when the protestant ethics of capitalism met with the blind conformity of Swedish consensus culture. This marriage will give birth and identity to **the Swedish model exceptionalism**, that is, the national narrative that the Swedish generous welfare state is based on inclusion, income redistribution, human penal punishment, transparent public institutions, and an unquestionably democratic political system. Vanessa Barker claims that the Swedish welfare system is based on five foundations related to strong nationalist ideas:

1. The welfare state was a national project.
2. The welfare state freed individuals from traditional dependencies but it tied them to the state and the fate of the nation.
3. The welfare system became a basis of Swedish national identity - a source of civic pride.
4. The welfare state crystalized a kind of citizenship that was nationally bound, democratic, and modern, but inherently exclusionary.
5. The welfare state relied on hard and soft power to sustain itself.^{xii}



Roma people in Sweden

Thus, the Swedish welfare state formation, that is, the social democratic folkhemmet and its cultural load, were translated into specific institutional mechanisms that constituted the notorious Swedish model. What the above foundations show is that the model was not solely born in consensus politics, national homogeneity, war neutrality and social cohesion. It was born in a hidden but prevalent state chauvinism. The social democrats, by employing the concept of folket - the people, embarked on a metaphor commonly used by conservatives and nationalists to invoke traditional values. The metaphor of folket draws a line between those who belong and those who shall not

have access to national welfare. To be part of the folkhemmet, you must abandon your own cultural patterns and assimilate to the general living conditions of the rest of the population. A characteristic example was the racist "gypsy policy" between 1954 and 1969, an attempt by the Swedish welfare state to 'turn' the Roma minority into Swedes.

Another example is that of the Sami population in northern Sweden and the state's attempt to confiscate their land. The geographical area of Northern Sweden is largely located on a colonized landmass called Sapmi, home to the indigenous Sami people. The history of this colonization dates to around 1300 when Swedish kings began claiming the right to the land above Hälsingland. The colonization has continued until this day: mining companies are trying to open disastrous new mines, forest industries continue to clear-cut the land, and hydroelectric energy is extracted from the waters of Sapmi. The history of Sweden's colonization of the area has, amongst other things, brought oppressive borders, separating the Sapmi land into Swedish, Finnish, and Norwegian territory; displacement of indigenous people; eradication of language and separation of children by forced relocation to Swedish boarding schools. The construction of the folkhemmet was impregnated by a homogenizing 'treatment' of those who deviated from the nation-state norm.



Nordic Sami people in Sapmi (Lapland), 1900-1920

Moreover, the concept of the folket was not just a political or cultural construction. It was scientifically supported by anthropological measurements and ethnic attributes conducted by the State Institute for Racial Biology, which was a Swedish governmental research institute founded in 1922, with the support of politicians such as the social democrat Hjalmar Branting. The aim of the institute was to study eugenics and human genetics. The institute was in Uppsala and as a governmental agency, it was the world's first of its kind. The institute began gathering statistics and photographs to map the racial make-up of about 100,000 Swedes. With the help of this research, race hygiene was integrated in the Swedish social policy. Thus, in the 1930s, Sweden became a progressive welfare state in which ethnic conflict was practically unknown. A passion for social justice preserving the physical and mental health of the Swedish stock was

fundamental. Therefore, in Sweden race hygiene merged with the vision of the folkhemmet. Social engineers were responsible for organizing society for the greater good. The nation ranks higher than the individual. The Swedish stock must be protected by inferior and foreigner elements. Individuals with inferior traits must be prevented from procreating.

The work of the Institute for Racial Biology later became one of the foundations of a eugenic program by the Swedish government, which consisted of both voluntary and involuntary sterilization of persons with so-called negative genetic characteristics. The program began in 1935 and lasted until 1975 and led to 62,888 sterilizations, as the result of two laws enacted in 1934 and 1941. Swedish social democracy was a substantial actor behind the enactment of these two laws. The sterilization bills were firmly embedded in Swedish social policy of the time, which advocated eugenics as well as social engineering. This shows the determining role of social democracy in the ideological application of eugenics in Sweden. While Sweden was a pioneer, eugenics was far from an exclusively Swedish phenomenon.

In the early 20th century, a popular eugenics movement emerged in the United Kingdom, and then spread to many countries, including the United States, Canada, and most European countries. However, the Swedish case of eugenics is peculiar for two reasons. First, the extent to which sterilization was performed on physically healthy individuals, which was far greater than in all other Nordic countries with similar laws. It was the only country with a state eugenic society, and among the Nordic countries it was the



The Swedish Institute of Racial Biology took part in the 1930 Stockholm Exhibition with a showcase displaying photographs of the country's "races".

one in which eugenics was met with its greatest "success". Second, the role played by social democracy in these policies is of great importance. Eugenics is usually linked with conservative ideologies, with racial nazism, etc. **There are no other profound examples associating eugenics and social democracy or any other kind of center or leftist politics.**

The basic idea of eugenic social democracy was to engineer a welfare community for 'the fittest' or a 'welfare eugenics', based on standards of 'right-living' that defined and excluded those individuals who were nonproductive. In this sense, the folkhemmet was built on standards such as efficiency, productivism and social margins. In other words,

the determining factor for exclusion from the community was not race but the productive capacity of a member of society. Again, the construction of the Swedish national identity is based on the protestant work ethics of capitalism. While the nazis turned the idea of labour efficiency from meritocratic to racial terms, the Swedish social democracy mainly focused on the productivity performance of the industrial society. This resulted in the intensifying categorization and exploitation of 'internal others' such as Roma people, Sámi people, 'loose women', or the mentally and physically disabled, who were deemed to be sources of physical as well as moral degeneration but also potential sources of knowledge.

The danger inherent to an inclusive dystopia of a society with strong communal ties is that those falling outside of the collective norms may well become particularly subjected to social discipline and/or social sacrifice for the improvement of the healthy and disciplined national labour force. For instance, the introduction of general maternal leave and other allowances during post-war period was discussed in a context where definitions of deserving and undeserving (female) beneficiaries were permeated by bio-political perceptions of (un)desirable citizens. Official recommendations pointed out that women categorized as 'zigenare' [Romanies] 'tattare' [travellers], 'sinneslösa' [the mentally disabled] or 'asocial' would be prohibited from receiving maternity benefits unless they agreed to be sterilized.^{xiii}

In that sense, the Swedish welfare state was very serious about the greater good of the nation and the protection of the Swedish labour force by all kinds of intruders. In 1942, 99.99 percent of the Swedish population had dental cavities. The Public Dental Health Care system, which had been established in 1938, was struggling to cope with the task of providing care to all. To remedy the situation, the Swedish Government ordered a public investigation into the causes of dental cavities. In response, the Board of Medicine initiated an experiment: The Vipeholm Dental Caries Studies from 1945 to 1955. The Vipeholm experiments were a series of experiments with intellectually disabled patients at Vipeholm Mental Hospital who received a diet based on sweets with the aim of causing dental cavities. The sponsors of the tests were both the sugar industry and the community of dentists, to determine whether carbohydrates were related to the formation of cavities. The scientists involved in the experiments found themselves caught between the divergent goals of research and patient care as well as being under immense pressure from both political and economic interests. This summarizes the Swedish social democratic agenda: it was acceptable to sacrifice the intellectually disabled for the greater good of the collective. Today the experiments rank as one of the cruelest ever conducted on human beings. A full-scale torture-like experiment directly sanctioned, approved, and encouraged by the social democratic workers' party. These people were not included in the Swedish folkhemmet. They were sacrificed for the nation's well-being.

The creation of a Swedish national identity did not only include racist features and eugenics, but the welfare state institutions and arrangements were also founded on the conservative notion of a neutral, rational, pragmatic, Realpolitical, class-transcending, corporatist, consensus-striving, national state. Sweden's, for example war policy of neutrality during WWII, was based on national unity. Sweden managed to keep itself

“outside of the war” at the expense of others, such as the people of Norway and ethnic minorities in Scandinavia or thousands in the Soviet Union during the German invasion in June 1941, when Germany demanded transit through Swedish-held territories and the use of Swedish railroads and Sweden obliged. Even regarding the Holocaust, the Swedish administration was among the first to know about the nazi’s atrocities but did nothing about it. Being neutral was a commitment to silence. Sweden could have done more, and it should have been a haven for refugees, instead Sweden chose to avoid conflict.

Thus, the severe social conflicts and confrontations of the 1930s and 1940s were tamed by a class-transcending spirit of rationality and consensus, which eventually defused within an institutionalized system of central dealings and enforced neutrality. All this for the greater good of the nation. From the Ådalen shooting^{xiv} to the social democratic “neutrality”, national unity is made of blood. Regardless, national unity brings national economic miracles and prosperity... for the privileged insiders.



An anonymous memorial beside the mass grave in the northern cemetery of Lund, reminder of the dark past: "To the memory of the patients from the Vipeholm hospital that died in the period 1935-1965.

From blood-stained “neutrality” to the *record years*^{xv}

The Swedish WWII economy had demonstrated the possibility of achieving the maximum use of all productive resources. The Allies believed that without the Swedish iron ore, the German war effort would grind to a halt because not only was the ore being sent in large quantities, but it was also of very high quality, making German steel manufacture extremely efficient. The US military was also outraged with Sweden for escorting German ships, allowing use of its own ships to transport the ore and for its failure to stop the transit of German soldiers and war materials across its territory. There is no need to expand on this profit-making “neutrality”, but this meant that Sweden entered the post-war period with full production capacity and could benefit from the immense demand for commodities in a ruined Europe. As an exporter of scarce investment goods and raw materials Sweden benefited from the WWII mayhem and the following European restoration process. The Swedish engineering and forestry industries boomed, and unemployment problems

disappeared. The opposite and unexpected occurred: a shortage of labour and with it, the threat of inflation. As elsewhere in Western Europe, the experience of the Great Depression and the nightmare of war then imposed state intervention as the only game in town. This signified the Keynesian “Golden Age of Europe” and the Swedish social democrats were well placed to capitalize on it. The Swedish economic post-war miracle was a historical fact.

The Swedish post-war social democratic program anticipated nationalization of basic industries and financial institutions as well as the central planning of investment. The government was assigned with the task to restructure the country's industries. The social democratic state acted as a guardian for achieving and maintaining full employment. Pretty soon these ideas were abandoned, and a deradicalized labour movement took the lead in developing Sweden into a welfare state, with the chauvinist characteristics described in the previous section. However, the full employment imperative did not anticipate the upcoming shortage of labour which caused wage increases exceeding productivity gains and, consequently, cost - push inflation. The given solution constitutes the main attribute of the Swedish Model.

**RUBRIK-
ANNONSERNA**

i dag på sidorna 16—19.

SVENSKA DAGBLADET

Ondagen den 10 April 1940

**RUBRIK-
ANNONSERNA**

i dag på sidorna 16—19.

Till kungs



Overkattmästaren för svenska Tyskland. Bilderna på sidorna till denna häftning äro kommande. Här ses han till Skansen på väg upp till den blått blått klippan.

Tyskland begär strikt neutralitet av Sverige

Hemliga plena.

Utrikesnämnd och konselj.

Bilderna i Danmark och Norge följde på meddelandet om beslutet på något annat sammanträde. Bilden är svensk utställning.

Internationella konferenser följde som ett naturligt resultat därpå. De äro tillräckligt stora för att kunna utövas i alla länder. De äro tillräckligt stora för att kunna utövas i alla länder. De äro tillräckligt stora för att kunna utövas i alla länder.

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Sverige förbehåller sig frihet att värna sin neutralitet.

En förklaring av statsministern.

Enligt vad statsministern meddelat, har tyska regeringen till svenska regeringen riktat en framställning med uttalande av förväntan, att Sverige skulle iakttä strikt neutralitet. Framställningen har av svenska regeringen besvarats med ett meddelande, att den kommer att fasthålla vid den neutralitetspolitik, som den redan flera gånger under det pågående kriget deklarerat, och att den förbehåller sig full frihet att vidta alla sådana åtgärder som befinnas nödvändiga för bevarandet och försvaret av denna neutralitet.



En bild från den svenska flottans historia, som utgörs av typiska vid frambesökandet av svenska Östergötland.



Nordiska hamnar under fredliga förhållanden.

Bilderna i Danmark och Norge följde på meddelandet om beslutet på något annat sammanträde. Bilden är svensk utställning.

Internationella konferenser följde som ett naturligt resultat därpå. De äro tillräckligt stora för att kunna utövas i alla länder. De äro tillräckligt stora för att kunna utövas i alla länder.

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Headline of the Swedish daily newspaper Svenska Dagbladet, April 1940: Germany demands strict neutrality by Sweden

Passage from the article: Why did the Swedish model fail?^{xvi}:

“Full employment is an imperative condition of union strength. Yet wage restrictions in periods of high profitability when firms can pay higher wages cause distrust amongst the rank and file towards the union leadership. The trade-off between full employment and price stability was the point of departure for the development of a union proposal for a stabilization model which, in its final shape, became the central part of ‘The Swedish Model’ as a whole [...] Total demand, exercised through fiscal and monetary measures, should be high - but not high enough to ensure the full use of all productive resources and all skills in each branch and in each region [...] To avoid inflation, total demand must fall below the level where practically all labor can be absorbed. ‘Islands of unemployment’ should be eliminated, not by increasing general demand but by selected and targeted labor market policy measures such as retraining, mobility - promoting allowances, wage subsidies for disabled workers and public work for older and immobile labor”.



The redevelopment of Normalm and the Stockholm Metro during the record years

The leadership of the labour movement contributed to the Swedish economic miracle by trading off their class consciousness to social consensus and national unity when it was tempted with the goods of the social democratic welfare state. This compromise rested on an implicit understanding between labour and the bosses regarding the role of private enterprise. According to Wilks, “such class compromises represent an agreement between capital and labor in which wage restraint on the part of workers provides for greater profitability and more stable economic conditions”^{xvii}. In the case of Sweden, this compromise was reinforced by a democratic corporatism, that is, compensating wage restraints with a ‘social wage’, in other words, through welfare state development. According to proponents of Keynesian economics, the social democratic welfare state

can mutually serve capital and domestic labour. As if their interests are common, compatible, and equal. As if profit making is compatible with human survival. However, in Sweden the Saltsjöbaden Agreement and the so-called "saltsjöbadsandan" (Saltsjöbaden spirit), that is, the enforced social peace and abolishment of class politics, led to a rapid welfare state expansion until the 1960s. This did not occur without a price.

The country's expanding economy enabled an instrumentalization and exploitation of moving populations by the Swedish state and capital. The initial post-war labour shortages starting in 1945 were solved through the import of skilled labour, which complemented the domestic work force. Migrants arrived mainly from Finland, Western Germany, and other Nordic countries. After a new capitalist restructuring in the 1960s and when the weakened labour movement attempted to introduce economic democracy and greater equality in the workplace, the state-capital complex answered with massive import of so-called unskilled or low-skilled workers. The exploitation of low paid migrant workers, mainly from Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia, aimed to substitute costly Swedish workers, keeping the wages low despite labour scarcity. These two initial waves of migration to the country signified the inauguration of the famous "open" and "friendly" Swedish migration policy. **When states and media talk about economic "miracles" try to look for undervalued and alienated (foreign) labour.** The cheap foreign labour force was exploited by the Swedish state and capital to maintain the traditional industrial structure, despite promises and indications of significant transformations.

No state, not even a social democratic one, has ever gone against the will of private enterprise in favour of the labour force, local or foreign. Instead, it imposes restrictions or criminalizes migration. There are several examples in the history of Swedish migration policy where migrants have been used as scape goats for economic failure and capitalist recession. We will get back to that. Along these lines, in the late 1960s, the Swedish government reacted to the criticisms of the role of foreign workers by imposing restrictions on their entrance to Sweden. From 1968 and onwards, non-Nordic workers were obliged to apply for residence and work permits before they entered the country. This drastically cut down the influx of migrant workers in the years thereafter. The truth is that the country's economic growth followed the pattern of the international capitalist cycle and dropped at the beginning of the 1970s. The cheap labour force was overflowing at that period, therefore, it had to be limited. This was not solely a Swedish phenomenon. From colonial slave-trades to modern brain-drains, western states have diachronically exploited migrant workers following the trends of capitalist cycles and needs. Sweden, in practice, closed the borders for migrant workers in 1972. In the early 1970s the combination of growing migrant numbers, economic recession, and growing criticism directed at migrants raised political concern and constructed migration as a new social problem.

Capitalist cycles: from economic growth to urban segregation or racist business as usual

Despite the rapid economic growth and expansion of the welfare state with plenty of social provisions for Swedish citizens, migrants seemed to not benefit from social democratic affluence. Poor housing, horrible work conditions and exploitation dominated the life of the migrant workers and led to the emergence of a new underclass. In a society that had constructed its national identity on terms of labour efficiency, absence of inequalities and social consensus, migration constituted a threat to the very essence of Swedishness. By the mid-1970s, the main contributor to the migrant population were refugees^{xviii} from Chile, Poland, Turkey, Ethiopia, Iran, and other Middle Eastern countries. In the 1990s, people from Iraq, former Yugoslavia, and Eastern Europe also arrived in Sweden. The capitalist need for cheap labour and Sweden's international obligations to absorb certain percentages of asylum seekers per year contributed to a significant rise in the numbers of foreign population in the country.

At the same time, several voices demanded all kinds of policy measures to either counter the migration influx and/or to address the needs of migrants. These policies were required to meet the realities of changing migratory trends and movements that were less easy to control. An important field where the Swedish social democratic racist and discriminatory policies were implemented was that of housing. **Many voices claim that the Swedish model for the provision of housing had been extremely fair. If you were a Swede, we would add.** The housing shortage, also because of the arrival of new populations, was accommodated by state subsidies that made decent housing available to most of the Swedish population. However, the social democratic housing policy failed in avoiding residential segregation. It is more than obvious today that there is a marked division between "migrant" and "Swedish" sections in certain urban neighborhoods with heavy foreign populations.

The Million Program, an ambitious public housing project implemented between 1965 and 1974 by the social democrats to make sure everyone could have a home at a reasonable price, is a characteristic example of segregation in the Swedish urban landscape. These new houses were allocated to all sorts of newcomers in the local housing market: young families, migrants from the rest of Sweden, labour migrants etc. These populations often lacked roots in the area of question and were rather mobile. Those who were financially able to move, left the area within a year or two. The rest, guess who, were stuck there. Simultaneously, these areas became the housing solution and last resort for all sorts of people needing social assistance: drunks, other sorts of drug users, people diagnosed with mental health issues, impoverished, freaks, etc. As these groups had to live with the help of social benefits and could not pay their rent, they were moved to areas where demand was low and empty dwellings were available.^{xix} Consequently, many Million Program areas turned into human warehouses, a place for Sweden's "Les Misérables".



Housing built in Täby, Stockholm, as part of the Million Program

The rise in migration figures and urban segregation paved the way for the breakthrough of an anti-migrant wave, too. This was also depicted in parliamentary elections. The far-right anti-migration party New Democracy gained 6.7 per cent of the votes in the 1991 election. As the demographics of Sweden changed and migrants constituted themselves the new proletariat, the long arm of the state/capital complex, nationalism/fascism/racism (re)appeared in the politics of the country. But was this a new phenomenon? There is widespread and self-referential belief, among Swedes at least, that up till the 1970s racism was nonexistent in Sweden and that the country lacks a history of racism and repression of ethnic minorities. This self-understanding of the country appears to us as an illusion that is based on selective forgetfulness and denial. In our opinion, racism is, and has been, an integral part of the Swedish society and the Swedish welfare state. As Jämte himself points out:

“The Swedish self-image is false, something that needs to be corrected since it constitutes a central dimension of structural and everyday racism. According to researchers, the Swedish self-image and the dominant understanding of racism has enabled the [“ethnically”] Swedish majority-society to close their eyes to discrimination, their own privileges and their own role in producing and reproducing an ethnic power order in society”.^{xx}

On the contrary and as we discussed in previous sections, Sweden has not only been an active member of Europe’s racist history, but it has also significantly contributed to the development of Western racism and has implemented racist policies against ethnic minorities (Roma, Sami). Racism has permeated both the political and welfare system as well as science. To this day, racism constitutes an important structural element of Swedish society and the Swedish state. From the work of the Institute for Racial Biology (1922-1975) and Herman Lundborg in Uppsala to the implementation of a comprehensive DNA database containing genetic information on every Swedish citizen under 43 (which the Swedish state is ready to open to law enforcement and to private insurance

companies^{xxi}) and the police registers of Romani families in Skåne in 2013, to name a few examples, the historical continuity of Swedish racism is a fact. The social democratic welfare state has been “inclusionary and integrative for most, but exclusionary and repressive for many others”^{xxii}. Politicians and theoreticians of the *Third Way*^{xxiii} acknowledge and praise the Swedish model for its provisions to those fully included in the folkhemmet. **What about those not included? What about the partial members? How does the body politic of the Swedish welfare “paradise” portray, define, and treat those who do not readily fit the national narrative and do not participate in the affluence of the Swedish model? Who is to decide and how is to be decided the access to Swedish citizenship, and therefore access to the provisions of the welfare state?**



A protest in Malmö against the police's "Roma Register" in 2013. Photo: ERIKA OLDBERG / TT.

▶ Roma Register: State guilty of ethnic discrimination

Updated fredag 10 juni 2016 kl 11.09 Published fredag 10 juni 2016 kl 09.52

The Stockholm district court ruled Friday that the state was guilty of ethnic discrimination in a suit brought by eleven people who were included in the Skåne Police's so-called Roma Register database.

The State against the state: daily newspaper Dagens Nyheter revealed in the fall of 2013 that the Skåne Police had been keeping a list of some 4,700 men, women, and children that helped them trace family ties in what are primarily Romani families. The Swedish Commission on Security and Integrity Protection ruled that the list was illegal because it violated a rule about what information the police may keep.

Citizenship is based, by the Swedish state, on the right of blood and not of soil or birthright. The Swedish nationality and participation in the folkhemmet are defined by

blood ties and not by civic attributes. For example, in Sweden second generation migrants do not get birthright nationality.

They must apply for legal residency before they turn 18. As we analyzed before, the folkhemmet was a nationalist project launched by the Swedish social democrats that turned class struggle into national unity and homogenization of the population. Grounding the participation to the folkhemmet on blood right, determined that the Swedish model acted as a constant generator of racists policies and conflicts in relation to individual belonging to the wider population. Furthermore, these policies also effectively worked to compartmentalize Swedish society into various included, semi-included, and non-included members and groups.

Swedish nazism

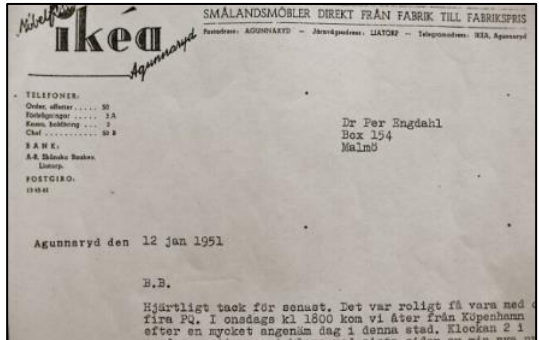
As we saw before, Sweden maintained a position of “neutrality” during WWII and at the same time acted as a major supplier of raw materials to Hitler's war machine, laundered the gold confiscated from Holocaust victims, and often failed to provide adequate asylum for war migrants including the almost exterminated Norwegian Jews. Some Swedes even volunteered with the Waffen SS. When the war broke out, the former Youth League received a boost. The SNF's activities increased and membership soared. Its vogue proved short-lived, and opposition increased. Demonstrators showed up to its meetings and fighting was common. After a meeting in Uppsala on May 4, 1945, the police were unable to hold the crowds apart and rioting broke out. After the war, the SO renamed itself the New Swedish Movement (NSR, Nysvenska Rörelsen) and in a public attempted to distance itself from nazi Germany and its own history. In private, it helped smuggle and conceal nazi collaborators, soldiers, and Waffen-SS volunteers from the refugee camps and allied powers. The regular party activities continued unabated after the war, but the conditions deteriorated.

The NSR cultivated ties to similar organizations, primarily in Denmark and Norway, and it established an employment office in Malmö for the Danes and Norwegians who collaborated with the wartime occupation forces and fled to Sweden. On May 21, 1951, it hosted 60 delegates for the first "pan-European congress" of nazis. In addition to the NSR, the Nordic Reich Party [Swedish: Nordiska Rikspartiet] was formed in 1956 and became particularly active in the postwar years. It had a paramilitary faction called the National Action Group [Swedish: Riksaktiongruppen], and several of its members were convicted of assaults and threats. In the late 1980s one of the RAG activists was selected as chair of the newly formed Sweden Democrats.

Because of wartime “neutrality”, Sweden never experienced the outright bans on nazism and propaganda of the former Axis powers. National Socialist parties are still allowed to campaign for office. A law in 1950 prohibiting incitement against ethnic groups was passed in response to anti-Semitic activities [Swedish: Lagen om hets mot folkgrupp]. The next major legislation did not occur until 1994 when an amendment was passed making racist motivations for crimes aggravating circumstances. In 1996, the Swedish

supreme court ruled the display of a swastika could be considered incitement. The government set up a commission in 1997 to investigate the transfer of nazi gold and diamonds to Sweden and the **involvement of Swedish companies in the Holocaust**. It is also worth mentioning that IKEA's founder Ingvar Kamprad was a member of the Swedish nazi party. Kamprad gave money and recruited members to the nazist Sweden's Socialist Union (SSS). He was a close friend of the Swedish nazist Per Engdahl, and a member of the New Swedish Movement between 1942 and 1945. The founder of IKEA, the capitalist company which more than any other else is associated with 'Swedishness', was a nazi.

At the end of the 1980s a new National Socialist movement developed in Sweden. This cannot be classified as classical nazism, but it has roots in the interwar National Socialist Parties. The link between these parties and the new nazism is mediated largely by the Nordic National Party. In its outlet, the Storm magazine, the party hoped to collect all the "race-conscious whites" in Sweden and collect the scattered movement. In line with its effort to unify the movement, Storm sought to collaborate with the National League of Sweden (SNF), the Creative Church, the Nordic Reich Party, and the Norwegian group, Zorn 88. At a meeting in Stockholm on April 20, 1998, it formed a new network named VAM (The White Aryan Resistance). At the same time John Ausonius, the "Laser Man" engaged in a shooting spree targeting migrants. He was not involved in the neo-nazi movement, but the concurrence of the events garnered press exposure. In 1993 the penultimate issue of Storm claimed the movement was divided into two camps: the parliamentary and the revolutionary. VAM no longer exists as a movement, but there are numerous organizations rooted in it, including the Nordic Resistance Movement (NMR).^{xxiv}



Detail from letter sent from Ingvar Kamprad to the fascist leader Per Engdahl, dated 12 January 1951. The letter begins with BB, "best brother." Kamprad starts off by thanking Per Engdahl for their latest get-together.

Education and nazism

Contrary to today's main view regarding the connection between nazism/racism and level of education, it was evident that student unions and universities, and especially students connected to noble families and children of professors and such, constituted an important contribution to nazism in Sweden. In early 1939, just after the Night of Broken Glass (Kristallnatten), several student unions revealed themselves in opposition to ten Jewish doctors getting residence permits in Sweden. It all started with a students' meeting in

Uppsala, the so-called Bollhusmötet, in February of 1939 where the student union decided to adopt a protest; what they called the Jewish "invasion". Soon after, in March of the same year, the student union in Lund took the same stand but also specifically marked their idea "that a migration that causes foreign racial elements to be absorbed into our people appears to us as harmful and unpredictable for the future". Clearly, the world of the universities has played an active role in the history of Swedish nazism.

The Swedish model gives birth to boneheads... and social-democratic anti-migration policies

Swedish racism is of a peculiar form entangled with the Swedish national identity, the welfare state chauvinism, the protestant work ethos, the social democratic nationalism, and the Swedish model exceptionalism. The influx of almost 500,000 migrants in the period between 1950-1960 did not raise any major concerns of the public. On the contrary, migration was perceived as something that served the nation's well-being and interests. Migrants would stay in the country temporarily and they would return home when their tasks were completed. Or at least, this was what most of Swedes believed at the time. During the same period, the Swedish self-righteousness decided that the country did not suffer of phenomena such as racism or discrimination. According to this understanding, Sweden had solved all issues related to nationalism and racism and only marginalized extremist groups represented this kind of ideas. The Swedish national narrative hid the repression of Romani under the carpet along with the sterilization of the disabled, the prohibition of the Finnish language and so on, giving birth to the myth of the Swedish exceptionalism and the world's most egalitarian, tolerant, and hospitable society. As previously discussed, Swedish migration policy during this period focused on the assimilation of migrants that were supposed to become Swedes and to adjust themselves to the cultural habits of the local society.

When migration issues eventually received widespread attention in political and media discourses, the first anti-migration voices were raised in the start of 1970s. These voices were translated into concrete political measures against migration which was perceived as a threat to the Swedish model in regard to lower wages, undefined working conditions, labour conflicts and housing antagonisms. When the capitalist economy collapses, then the state takes over and creates scape goats. In reaction to this, the first anti-racist movements in Swedish civil society took root which demanded equality of rights, obligations and living conditions for both migrants and locals. Following the general trends in the western world and the explosion of radical movements at the end of the 1960s and start of the 1970s, solidarity groups with anti-racist imperatives emerged in the Swedish political arena.

During the 1980s the political climate was even harder for migrants. The Swedish state, which by then received only asylum seekers, imposed stricter measures to airlines regarding the issuing of tickets and there was a widespread construction of a Swedish "we" opposed to the foreign "others" who were perceived as deviating and parasitizing of

the Swedish welfare state. Racism and nationalism gained significant attention while violent and migration critical groups, such as Bevara Sverige Svenskt [Keep Sweden Swedish] and smaller bonehead groupuscules, were formed. These groups carried out xenophobic actions such as demonstrations, vandalisms, threats, and severe physical assaults. In the 1990s, the nationalist phenomenon intensified. The far-right divided into two lines. One expressed by the Swedish democrats aimed for parliamentary power and started acting as a, self-portrayed, trustworthy political party.

The other line was oriented towards more militant and openly racist actions. The 1990s was a period of intensive activity for the neo-nazi groups in Sweden, following a domestic financial crisis, historical developments characterized by the collapse of the soviet bloc and the rise of neo-nazism in Germany. Eight people were murdered by nazis and thousands of attacks, threats, insults, and racial agitation took place in the second half of the decade. Syndicalist Björn Söderberg was one of the victims of the fascist plague. At the same time, nazist propaganda began spreading on the internet and several racist and nationalist websites were created in the dawn of the new millennium. Neo-fascist and nazi groups used different types of cultural appropriation tools and the new media technologies to spread their poison. However, the most important landmark for the Swedish far-right was the Salem marches, initiated in 2000 after the death of a nazi in a Stockholm suburb of the same name.

For ten years, these marches gathered swaths of fascists from Northern Europe and resulted in battlefields with antifa as opposition. The Swedish state, regardless of who was in office, always granted the nazis permission to demonstrate, based on the notorious, liberal freedom of expression. To paraphrase Michel Rosenfeld, it seems contradictory to extend freedom of speech to nazis who, if successful, ruthlessly will suppress the speech of those with whom they disagree. We have no illusions, expectations, or demands from any nation-state, including the Swedish social-democratic model, which has also offered physical space and protection to boneheads.



**Syndicalist Björn Söderberg, 1958-1999.
Murdered by nazis**

The Swedish social democrats attempted to confront the ideological vacuum and political contradictions that characterized the so-called Third Way from the late 1980s and the advent of Thatcherism and Reaganomics (which signified the prevailing of the “there is no alternative” to neoliberalism) by inventing the Green Folkhemmet and the vision of an ecologically sustainable development and a national system of innovation. **But a bankrupted political philosophy cannot be saved with desperate and cheap replicas of the “glorious” past.** The social-democrats’ green fiasco did not only fail to lead to an eco-modernization of Sweden, but it also paved the way to hardcore economic liberalism with privatizations and further anti-migration policies. Public health, education, and public transport were introduced to New Public Management, providing a significant boost to privatizations and market competition. During a deep economic and social crisis at the start of the 1990s, Sweden carried out a profound political-ideological review of its policies on migration. A new integration policy was to replace the earlier migration policy.

This was achieved through consensus across party blocs, since the social democratic government could not have passed the Bill through parliament without the support of its main political opponent, the Moderate Party. Although the two parties are commonly perceived as one another’s main adversaries, co-operation between the social democratic Party and the Moderate Party on matters of anti-migration policy has been a recurring pattern. Despite differences between the Left and Right concerning the exact interpretation of the new integration policy, there is an obvious convergence with the neoliberal turn in Swedish politics in general, in which the ruling Third Way social democratic party elite was the driving force. The result of this shift in the Swedish migration policy was, in the words of Schierup and Ålund:

“A growing number of migrants and minority ethnic Swedes have been pushed from the center to the periphery of the welfare system, into a casualized labor market and a degraded informal sector”^{.xxv}

As mentioned above, the international ideological collapse of the Third Way at the end of the 1990s, also affected the Swedish social democrats who increasingly adopted a neoliberal approach in their policy making based on New Public Management and privatizations during the mandate period between 2002-2006.^{.xxvi} Their loss in the national elections of 2006 was almost expected. They gave the impression that they did not even want to win, revealing their ideological dead-end and their political fatigue after so many years in power. As a result, the whole political system moved to the right and in 2006, after 15 continuous years of the social democrats in office, a right-wing coalition government, consisting of the Conservative, Liberal, Christian-democrat and Centre parties, won the elections. The first mandate period was mostly devoted to a radical reforming of the Swedish state and economy, by establishing hardcore New Public Management models in public administration, making the labour market even more flexible to the benefit of corporate giants, severe cutting of social policy and disgraceful reforms in both the healthcare system and education. They privatized parts of the healthcare system which were perceived to be profit-making (leaving the non-profitable parts to the state) and in schools introduced the market logic by initiating a voucher system, a la Pinochet^{.xxvii}, where each student could choose themselves to which school

they would study. This immediately created schools of different quality. Even university education would be aligned to entrepreneurial needs at the expense of critical thinking. Disability benefits would then be limited, and social policy will not refer to disability assessment any longer but to work ability assessment. After all, “work sets you free” (Arbeit macht frei).

In the period of 2006-2014, the country shifted from a chauvinist welfare state to a neoliberal experiment focused on urban policing (mainly targeting migrants) and the deepening of entrenched class society. At the same time, the right-wing government would show off its “successful” profile based on rational state macroeconomics, on profit-making innovation systems, on the creation of a new form of social elite, the reduction of taxes, and the rise of consumption. The same period is characterized by a new baby-boom and a widespread hysteria around healthy athletic life, jogging accompanied by expensive quantified-self gadgets and smartphone apps, the extensive and excessive use of social media for the reproduction of individual ‘heroic’ achievements, and so on. Whichever radical idea does not disturb the neoliberal ethos, is assimilated in clever ways. A characteristic example is the pre-election campaign poster of the Liberal party with the slogan: feminism



Feminism without socialism - Poster of the Swedish Liberal Party for their 2014 election campaign.

without socialism. Such a totalitarian socioeconomic model does not allow any kind of deviations. The economic success of the individual is directly linked to the greater good of the nation. The chauvinist social democratic ideal, the protestant work ethos, and neoliberal economics are again displayed to be combined in right-wing governance. The obsession with the Swedish model transcends the political spectrum, and it can be adjusted and stretched to fit even the ideological needs of a right-wing government.

This reminds us, of course, of the confluence of the social democrats and the Institute for Racial hygiene in the 1920s. Different times, new actors, but the same recipe. The construction of the normal, the included, the good citizen now goes through the idealism of the successful individual worker, the bright career, the successful nation, but also demands the construction of the pariah. The unemployed, migrants, benefit receivers, sick people, poor youngsters, the disabled etc. constitute a deviation from the hegemony

of the normal, from the imperium of success that the new Swedish model stands for. The structural racism of the Swedish model is here again and attacks the most vulnerable.

In 2010, when the right-wing coalition went through a second term of administration (for the first time in Swedish history), and a renewed public hysteria against the influx of migrants erupted, fascists re-appeared in the Swedish streets. **So did the fascist face of the Swedish state.** As we discussed above, the structural racism deeply ingrained in the social fabric of the Swedish “paradise” has produced so-called ghettos, second-class citizens and established work-related exclusions. The right-wing coalition went one step further and materialized racist antimigration policies in the Swedish urban space. For example, the police project REVA (Legal and Effective Enforcement Work) enabled roadblocks on public transportation hubs where inspections of citizens were carried through daily to identify migrants with no papers. However, the cops displayed a compulsive bias towards people with very specific racial characteristics. As Tobias Billstrom, former minister of Migration and Asylum Policy, described: “people who sheltered undocumented migrants are unlikely to be middle-aged, blonde-haired and blue-eyed Swedes”. If, in this context, we also take into account the discrepancy between the higher unemployment rates affecting disproportionately migrant communities and youth in comparison to locals and individuals over 45-years-old respectively, as well as the significantly higher salaries enjoyed by locals in contrast to migrants for the same work, we can see how these help to account for the aggressive reactions of migrants and the consequent rise of the far-right (for example the insurrection in the suburbs of Stockholm following the murder of a migrant and the following fascist attacks in Kärntorp and Malmö).

In May 2013, after the assassination of an elderly migrant from Portugal, called Lenine Relvas-Martins, in one of Stockholm’s notoriously segregated suburbs, Husby, corporate mass media and the cops described the victim as a lunatic with a machete who posed a serious threat. His wife however accused the cops of killing him in cold blood after a common misunderstanding in the street which led to him refusing to open the door of his apartment to a bunch of heavily armed police officers. This immediately sparked an unprecedented reaction by hundreds of residents in the area who spontaneously torched dozens of cars and clashed with the police. The insurrection was immediately spread to several areas in the whole of Sweden. The cops then inflamed the situation reportedly calling young migrants causing a disturbance “monkeys” and “negroes”. The reaction of the kids was:

“We grew up in a world made of concrete and now the politicians wonder why we throw stones”.

We need to comment here that the Swedish autonomous/anarchist movement was essentially absent from the suburb riots, with few exceptions that did not translate into a movement that provided material or political solidarity with the insurrected young migrants, totally failing to side or participate in one of the most important insurrectionary events in the modern Swedish political history of class struggle. At the same time and as several analysts noted, the implementation of REVA’s police

state and the insurrection of the suburbs gave the impression of a country in crisis, which had more to do with economics than migration and more about social inequality than culture.



Husby, Stockholm 2013. Signs of an uprising

The 2014 elections signified an important change in the political landscape and the transformation of the country from a pretentious princess to a real frog, from the last refuge of supporters of Keynesian macroeconomic reforms and capitalism with-human-face to an avant-garde of the ideas of Milton Friedman with a progressive coalition of social-democrats and greens in office. The election results depicted the tensions in recent Swedish history. The continuous flirt between neoliberals with social Darwinism and structural racism promoted and resulted in the establishment of systemic fascists in parliament (Swedish democrats received 13% and were the real winners of the 2014 elections being the third largest party in the country) and the presence of para-state nazis in the streets (we will come back to that). The red block won a Pyrrhic victory with a minor majority in parliament. The left party paid the price for distancing from the militant antifa demonstrations and despite their impressive campaign received a small rise in their percentage.

The Swedish state however continued its consensus tradition. In December of 2014, the red minority government achieved the decemberöverenskommelsen [the December agreement] that anticipated parliamentary consensus regarding defense and safety, pension, and energy issues. This, of course, came with a price. After the summer of migration in 2015 and the great migratory flows, especially from Syria to Europe, the

Swedish state presented its far-right face again. On November 12, 2015, Sweden introduced border checks to prevent refugees from entering its territory. This development led to the establishment of a reinforced and well-organized border-check apparatus, even though the Swedish Prime Minister Stefan Löfvén stated in September 2015 that “my Europe does not build walls”. Suddenly, Europe’s “most open and tolerant society” took the lead in a violent domino effect of closed borders across the European continent. Sweden was the first nation-state that turned its back to migrants and established Fortress Europe “2.0”.



Stockholm, Sweden, 6th September 2015. Refugees welcome - Solidarity manifestation at Medborgarplatsen. The Prime Minister of Sweden, Stefan Lofven, states: “we will continue to be a country that carries solidarity as our greatest value”. Two months later he closed the borders.

The discourse of Swedish exceptionalism has been central also in connection to migration policies, constituting a “focal point” for the construction and establishment of threat and crises narratives during the past five years of the so-called “refugee crisis”. Ericson describes how the idealization of the Swedish modern welfare state has been instrumentalized to push for stricter, anti-migration policies and increased securitization, either by being portrayed as a trait to be “powerfully defended” or as a weakness, a vulnerability of the naïve Swedes that required change in order for the folkhemmet to be rescued.^{xxviii} November 2015 signified a shift of the state’s migration policies when the decision to introduce border controls along the borders with Denmark was taken. It was only two months earlier, in September of 2015 when the social democrat PM Stefan Löfvén stated in a speech that “we will continue to be a country that carries solidarity as our greatest value”. Yet, on November 12, the PM together with a minister from the Green Party were about to launch a drastic development of closed borders, justifying the change

on national status reports by the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency that were pointing “to major strains on several vital public services”. Among the claims it was articulated that “Sweden is in need of breathing space”. Some days later, following the security police raising the ‘terrorist threat’ level, on November 19, Löfven stated that “Sweden has been naïve”, a narrative that soon gained momentum in the public discourse, especially by corporate media, which was in line with the right-wing rhetoric that Sweden would soon face a “system collapse”. This rhetoric provided, with “legitimacy”, claims for securitization, for example the ‘extended mandate of surveillance’ given to the security police.

Framing Swedes as naïve was instrumental to creating the alarming situation where the folkhemmet, characterized by its values of solidarity and equality, had to wake up and become realistic of the limits of their good intentions that could eventually suffocate them. Meanwhile, what was silenced was the dismantling of the welfare state by the neoliberal reforms since the 1990s. The construction of such a crisis could allow and justify more restrictive policies in the name of ‘anti-terrorism’ or ‘migration control’, including the intensification of police searches, deportations and so on as well as openly racist media claims about the newcomers (see for example a number of articles in the Swedish press connecting the newcomers to the rise of resistant bacteria).

And the downhill for the social democratic illusion has no end, as we described in the introduction of this brochure: upheaval of traditional block politics with a government consisting of the social democrats, the green party, the liberal party and the center party, neoliberal economics, anti-migration policies, limiting the right to strike, changes in the retirement age, limited access to social security and healthcare, changes in the Employment Protection Act (LAS) that are welcomed by center-right parties and businesses, but received criticism from labour unions, detention centers for migrants, nationalist and xenophobic standpoints. **Social democracy is dead, long live social democracy and the nationalist Swedish model for the privileged some!**

Antifascism in Sweden: a short tale

In this second part, we will make a short historical account of antifascism in Sweden. We will do so to situate antifascism in the current political and social context and to draw conclusions about its application. This will enable us to conduct our critique for the ineffectiveness of antifascism in its current form to provide political and activist answers to the socio-political deadlock that both the local antiauthoritarian, autonomous, anarchist, leftist movement as well as Swedish society more generally are facing at the moment.

Four waves of antifascism

According to Jämte^{xxix} the history of antifascism in Sweden can be divided into four distinct periods. The first wave of antifascist mobilization in Sweden was as a response to the increase of fascist and nazi activities during the 1920s. During this period, several parties and groups with nationalist ideologies appeared. Worth mentioning is that the organization “30e novemberföreningen”, best known for organizing marches in Lund resulting in clashes with counter demonstrators, was founded in this period.^{xxx} The antifascists of this period consisted of everything from radical social democrats and unions to revolutionary communists and anarchists. For instance, the unions of LO, which have been historically controlled by social democrats, were organizing a boycott against goods from Germany. After being heavily criticized by the social democratic party, LO decided to quit the action a few years later. During the same period more militant antifascist organizations also appeared, such as “Röd Front” in 1930. Röd Front was a militant organization, with links to the Swedish Communist Party, which aim to participate in uprising events and against scabbing. The political analysis of Röd Front was noticeably more holistic. They claimed that it would be a mistake to state that fascism is only represented by the openly fascist organizations. Instead, the openly fascist organizations are just the uttermost expression of fascism.

Röd Front defined fascism as a direct byproduct of the bourgeois and capitalist system, the state, the police, and the justice system. All these institutions held fascist tendencies that Röd Front believed were worth attacking. **Prophetically enough, they went as far as accusing the social democrats of being a central part of the fascist problem.** Concretely and according to Röd Front, during WWII, the social democrats were actively critical of and putting guilt on the autonomous movement for jeopardizing Swedish “neutrality”, acting as warmongers and communist infiltrators in a way to marginalize the movement. By the time of Hitler’s defeat and the end of WWII the social democrats themselves shifted their political stance to being against nazism. As war came to an end and the nazi parties & organizations in Sweden died off so did the autonomous antifascist movement.



During the 1960s, the anti-apartheid movement constituted the central anti-racist activity in Sweden and gathered thousands of people, such as during the blockade against the tennis game between Sweden and Rhodesia (Zambia today) in 1968.

The second wave of antifascism, according to Jämte, was characterized by actions and reactions against racism and fascism outside Swedish borders in the period 1950-1980. Typical political questions during this wave were connected to imperialism, the Apartheid in South Africa and black liberation in the US. As the political standpoints were connected to countries far away it made it easy for many to join a movement against e.g., the Apartheid. This created a broader

movement consisting of everything from liberals, social democrats, and anarchists. Internal political conflicts occurred when the fight was taken “home”, for example during boycotts and attacks on Swedish corporations being involved with the South African regime. **After all, it is not racism when the Swedish state and capital is doing it...**

As we mentioned above, the Swedish self-righteousness had decided that the first racist tendencies appeared in Sweden during the 1980s. It was then that the most famous and apparent racist organization Bevara Sverige Svenskt claimed that Sweden was experiencing a wave of migration that would lead to higher criminality, use of narcotics and a degradation of Swedish culture. The Swedish stock was under attack. During this period, several racist parties were also formed and in response to these organizations and parties, antifascist mobilization began again; this is the third wave of antifascism according to Jämte. The most prominent antifascist organization was Stoppa rasismen. Stoppa rasismen was based on the lowest common denominator, this meant that the organization found a common ground in being against racism and nazism but did not manage to form a common political analysis regarding the causes of racism and what methods to apply to attempt to remedy it. Many of Stoppa rasismen’s active members did agree on criticisms of the system and a materialistic analysis but chose to tone down this approach to depoliticize the mobilization for the sake of the “masses”. **The chimera of the populist “pleasing the masses” will re-appear several times in different contexts of the antifascist/autonomous movement and remains an active gangrene on the body of the autonomous movement.** As a result, at the end of the 1980s the antifascist movement had been significantly weakened.



Boneheads demonstrating in Stockholm on November 30, 1991 to commemorate the death of king Charles XII. This demonstration would lead to several riots in Sweden

As described before, during the first years of the 1990s another wave of racism resurfaced. In the 1991 elections, two major parties that sympathized with the liberal antifascist movement, the Left party and the Green party, lost a significant part of their electoral votership and at the same time a racist party, New Democracy, received 6,7 percent of the votes. In the coming years, an increase of militant street based fascist activity also took place, including several racist motivated assaults. The most well-known organization was called Vitt Ariskt Motstånd [White Aryan Resistance]. Worth mentioning is also the appearance of “laser man”, John Ausonius, a lonely fascist “wolf” whom from August 1991 to January 1992 shot eleven people in the Stockholm and

Uppsala areas, most of whom were migrants, killing one and seriously injuring the others. Ausonius' murder attacks can be seen through the prism of a surge of xenophobic sentiments in the country in the early 1990s, including the success of the New Democracy party in the elections. At this point the right-wing government was heavily criticized for disregarding the threat of the existing racist structures. The reaction was the formation of several new antifascist organizations, including AFA (Antifascist Action), the most prominent organization of militant antifascism in Sweden, which was founded in 1993; this constitutes the fourth wave.

AFA started its important political work where Stoppa rasismen failed to prioritize effective militant antifascist action. While Stoppa rasismen carried out valuable work related to asylum issues and anti-discrimination, they could not massively mobilize against fascist rallies, such as the ones on November 30, 1991.^{xxxix} A group of anarchists took the initiative for an antifa working group that would stop the fascist rally. For many years, the nazis had used November 30th to show up in the Swedish streets, to abuse people, and to spread nazi propaganda. But in 1991 this came to an end. A broad amalgam of antifascists took to the streets in both Stockholm and Lund, and by using a mosaic of protest methods, including militancy, stopped the fascist rallies. In the years to come, antifascist counter-demos clashed with nazis on several occasions around the country. This led to a gathering of several antifascist groups from the whole of the country in September 1993 that launched a nationwide network that was entitled Antifascistisk Aktion.^{xxxix}

Since then and till present, AFA has had an impressive record of valuable antifascist work including rallies, discourse building, collective militance, direct action, research on fascist activity and so on. AFA also networked and became part of the international antifascist movements, especially with those in the rest of Scandinavia and Germany. Militant antifascism in the second half of the 1990s in Sweden became a huge defense against the spread of the neonazi plague. **For many years, the fascists will feel the hot breath of AFA and other antifas on their neck.** Another important antifa group with significant activity was the Revolutionary Front (Rev Front). The group was formed in 2002, after the Gothenburg riots in 2001. The group suffered from state repression and several of its members did time in prison following the conduct of spectacular antifascist actions; in September of 2015, the organization dissolved.

In the year of 2000, the drummer of the fascist music group Vit Legion, Daniel Wretström was murdered. After Wretström assaulted, with racial motivation, a girl at a party. A group of youths followed him to a bus station and a fight ensued in which he was assaulted by the group in retaliation. After he was beaten and rolled into a ditch, he was found stabbed to death. Wretström's murder was utilized by Swedish neo-nazis, ultra-nationalists and other far-right activists who organized an annual demonstration known as the Salem March. The fascists consider Wretström to be a martyr to their cause. The neo-nazi group Blood and Honour has called him "the Horst Wessel of our generation", vowing to exact revenge. Their demonstrations drew counter-demos from several militant antifa groups. The antifa counter-demos in Salem grew every year and reached its peak in 2007, where over a thousand antifascists confronted the police setting barricades on fire to disrupt the

nazi march. The following year the Salem march saw its lowest participants since it started and 2010 was the last rally to take place.

The fifth wave of antifascism?

The decade of 2010 has been largely influenced by the Swedish democrats' (the fascist party) entrance into parliament and the proliferation of fascist street action again. The reaction of the antifascist movement was strong in the beginning. Wherever the Swedish democrats and other fascists appeared there was also a counter demonstration. The widespread belief is that the Swedish democrats are fascists in suits and any form of counter-act is legitimate. Ironically enough and even though all actors in the parliamentary spectrum have rhetorically condemned and taken distance from the fascist party, the Swedish democrats have been influential enough to set the agenda in contemporary Swedish politics. In combination with the international rise of alt-right politics (Trump in the US, Bolsonaro in Brazil, Orbán in Hungary, to name a few prominent examples) and the severe economic struggles and structural segregation that a great part of Swedish society (including the poor, the migrants, benefit receivers and youngsters) face after so many years of hardcore neoliberal politics, a strong anti-migration and racist discourse has risen across the Swedish parliamentary spectrum. The Swedish democrats, by combing an old-fashioned social democratic working-class-friendly rhetoric around the significance of preserving the folkhemmet, for Swedes, and an aggressive anti-migrant propaganda, entirely aligned with the alt-right vocabulary, have gained widespread popularity and evolved into a catalyst in contemporary parliamentary politics. As a result, a new political normality has proliferated with increasingly racist statements coming from parties that are not commonly perceived as racist or fascist, in order for them to catch up with the populist success of the Swedish democrats. The fascists, feeling empowered, also took to the streets (NMR, Soldier of Odin).

AFA in Salem, Stockholm, 2005.



When the national state fails to preserve social peace with the usual tools of consensus politics, class compromise and law enforcement, it employs the Boogeyman!

The nazi attacks in December of 2013 against a small antiracist rally in Kärntorp, Stockholm, and in Malmö on the 8th of March 2014 after a separatist queer feminist rally most certainly did not come out of the blue. A repetitive climate of sociopolitical polarization stemming from the neoliberal reforms that gradually dismantled the all-mighty Swedish model and racist/anti-migration rhetoric gave space to another call for national unity and consensus politics once again against the “foreign intruders” that threaten the Swedish stock. On the frontline of this call were of course the guard dogs of the national state: the fascists. While the former nazi party of the Swedish democrats doubled its percentage in the 2014 elections hijacking the earlier rhetoric of the social-democratic folkehmmet, the nazis of NMR attempted to establish themselves in the streets of the Swedish capitol and six members of the nazist SvP party attempted to murder antifascists in the multicultural neighborhood of Möllevågen in Malmö. The nazis were back in the streets to clean up the mess that the government had left.

The direct initiative of the Left was to organize notably massive but peaceful antiracist rallies in Stockholm and in Malmö. 2014 was an election year and none of the systemic representatives of the institutional Left dared to raise the extra-parliamentary tones. The promises for a progressive and antiracist future went through the usual sentimental blackmailing for the need to vote. The pre-election stillness was only disturbed when antifascists, anarchists, anti-capitalists and members of the radical Left organized counter-demos and attacked the pre-election appearances of members of the nazist SvP in Stockholm and Malmö, in August of 2014, only some weeks before the elections. The Swedish state had granted both election events of the nazis (the same party whose members was accused of attempted murder in Malmö some months before – we will get back to that) with permission and severely repressed the counter-demos, by using brutal force against antifascists, protecting the nazis once again. No surprises there. The master-state always protects and praises its guard dogs.

As the Swedish democrats became ever more normalized, new fascist parties and groups have been campaigning, the most prominent being Soldiers of Odin, Alternativ för Sverige [Alternative for Sweden] and Nordiska motståndsrörelsen – NMR [Nordic Resistance Movement]. In January of 2016, dozens of fascists went on an anti-migrant pogrom in Stockholm in an apparent revenge for the stabbing death of a Swedish woman at a refugee center earlier in the same week. The crowd went on a violent spree in and around the Stockholm’s main railroad station. They attacked anyone who did not look like what they considered an ethnic Swede. The pogrom followed a rally of some 200 people, who protested the presence of migrants in Sweden. They were handing out leaflets saying, “Enough now”. The leaflets accused police of failing to deal with migrant-related crimes – particularly those committed by gangs of foreign youths – and of failing to protect Swedish society. The antifascist movement in Stockholm was unable to prevent or react to this development. In March of 2016, Soldiers of Odin began patrols in Sweden, marching in several cities and towns. The Swedish chapter of the group consists of many

members who are unashamed nazis, are convicted of serious crimes and is headed by Mikael Johansson - earlier a member of Nationaldemokraterna.

While their patrols went undisturbed in Stockholm and other cities, Gothenburg and Malmö turned into their own Waterloo and the “notorious” Soldiers of Odin had to ask the police for protection. In Gothenburg, in April of 2016 several Soldiers were punched and kicked on the streets. One member of their organization, which has links to far-right groups, was taken to hospital after some type of fluid was splashed into their eye. In Malmö during the same month, a diverse group of antifascists from different autonomous and anarchist groups showed up at a Soldiers of Odin’s meeting place.



Antifas and cops at Soldier of Odin’s meeting place, moments after the fascists were chased and beaten up. Malmö, April 2016

Some of the fascist bullies (former members of nazi parties, leaders of Hells and Angels and so on) fled the place immediately after being humiliated, mocked and lightly “hugged”. The rest got what they deserved. Many of them patrolled... the emergency room of the hospital of Malmö. The treatment of the soldiers followed an antifa rally in the streets of Malmö passing through areas where Roma people, homeless and migrants spend the night. In September of 2017, NMR, the most radical and violent fascist organization in Sweden, called for a demonstration in Gothenburg. As the fascists reached the city center, the police started to escort them through town. The fascists themselves did not follow the route given by the police and therefore got stopped. Thousands of antifascists attempted to reach the nazis, clashes emerged, and NMR was once again protected by the police. It is important to mention that parliamentary parties, liberal “antifascists”, and of course the media condemn militant antifascism in connection to the Gothenburg events. The whole spectrum of national unity, consensus politics and institutional “antifascism” opposed the leftist violence. No surprises there, either.

In any case, the structural issues of Swedish class society were still alive and kicking, while parts of society found easy solutions to complicated questions by supporting the fascists - the Swedish democrats. In this context and with great social polarization, a broad antifascist movement seemed to develop in the mid-2010s that was self-organized in an anti-authoritarian and extra-parliamentary way. **Antifascists, autonomous and anarchists had a unique opportunity to lead the way and organize important struggles in multicultural neighborhoods, in workplaces, in football arenas and so on as well as to produce political discourse that did not only refer to antifascism but to equally important sectors of the political spectrum such as healthcare, housing, the economy.** Unfortunately, the movement, also due to severe repression by

the Swedish state as well as the typical assimilation by mainstream politics, progressively lost fuel and withdrew once again in a subcultural terrain. This was not a coincidence. The movement itself allowed the Trojan horse of delegation, parliamentarism, and recuperation to be injected in the body of autonomous politics.

The Janus-faced antifascist movement and bourgeois legal chimeras

Parts of the autonomous and antifascist movement, with hegemonic tendencies, appear Janus-faced. While they lead and carry through impressive antifascist actions, campaigns, and protest events, their dynamic, valuable know-how, and ability to mobilize are essentially exhausted on nazi groups. Despite many antifascist/autonomous groups' alleged anticapitalism and anti-statism, the antifascist movement seems to focus on direct action obsessively and solely against para-state fascist organizations, lumpen members of nazi organizations, and occasionally against racist mainstream politicians. Antifascism, for us, constitutes a revolutionary method to fight against all kinds of oppressive authority, and not a limited militant anti-nazism (with indeed spectacular effects and results) that occasionally flirts with parliamentarism (definitely every four years) and co-organizes extra-parliamentary protest events with parliamentary parties. **Our antifascism does not demand a more human state, does not perceive the reshuffling of parliamentary blocks in power through a cost-benefit analysis, does not tolerate in its ranks employees of state repressive authorities, and does not delegate faith to the bourgeois juridical system.** Dependence, tolerance, reconciliation, and negotiation with the present system bears the risk of assimilation and Lethe. This kind of interaction (and perhaps in some cases fascination) with the hegemony of the Swedish model, multiplies and solidifies the pillars of the Swedish chauvinist project: social democracy. This is the monster that hegemonizes, controls, and has governed the Swedish public life for decades. And the face of the monster is repulsive, for all the historical reasons that we presented and discussed in previous sections of the brochure. **If you tolerate and get used to the monster, then you will start look like the monster.** Or simply the monster will backlash on you.

A characteristic example of the latter is the different criteria and sentences that the Swedish judicial system tries antifascists and fascists with. After the brutal nazi-attack in Kärntorp in December of 2013, a comrade from Stockholm was sentenced to five years and six months in prison after defending an anti-racist demonstration that consisted of locals of all sorts, including parents with their children, elderly, and youth. The nazis attacked the anti-racists with knives, sticks and glass bottles. Antifascists at the scene defended the local families from the attack and were injured themselves. One of the



The Swedish Center for Preventing Violent Extremism.

antifascists got arrested by the police a few days later although the anti-fascists did nothing but defending themselves. Similarly, during the major counter-demos against the pre-election rallies of the nazist SvP in Malmö and Stockholm, in August of 2014, law enforcement brutally repressed and detained antifascists both during the events but also after, using video material. More than 20 comrades were sentenced to prison or house arrest after these demos.

On March 8th, 2014 after attending a demonstration in support of International Women's Day, comrades confronted a group of nazis in the leftist area of Malmö, Mölllevången. The nazis were there, armed, and looking for antifascists to attack. Six comrades were taken to the hospital; four of them with injuries from being stabbed; and one underwent several operations since his life was in danger. A high-ranking member of the Swedes Party (SvP) – Andreas Carlsson, was involved in the attempted murder. Carlsson is one of the members of the Swedes Party who travelled down to Kiev as "Ukrainafrivilliga" [Ukraine volunteers] to support the Svoboda party's efforts in taking power. Two of the six nazis were detained to be released the same night. Carlsson was asked by the cops to leave the scene, even if it was obvious that he was wearing a Svoboda hat. Three days after the attack, the Malmö police announced that they will arrest Andreas Carlsson, but they only showed up at this conclusion on the fourth day. Carlsson had already fled the country and on March 14th flew back to Ukraine.



March 16, 2014. Malmö. Antifa demonstration after the nazi attack. Around 10,000 people

After several days inexplicable delay, the Swedish police finally issued an international warrant. Carlsson was finally arrested by the Ukrainian secret services in November of 2015 and he was transferred to Sweden in March of 2016, where he was remanded in

custody, together with his comrade Magnus Ingvar Holmqvist. Their court trial started in Malmö's district court in July of 2016 and Carlsson was sentenced to three years in prison for aggravated assault (and not attempted murder!) whereas Holmqvist was acquitted. The decision was appealed and before the Court of Appeal's verdict, Andreas Carlsson was released. In October of 2016, the Court of Appeal decided that Carlsson was acquitted of criminal suspicions. The court considered that he acted in self-defense.

This is not a surprise and our aim is not to demonstrate or complain about the unfair bourgeois legal system. We do not believe in liberal democracy and its institutions. The bourgeois legal system is a class system and part of an oppressive state apparatus. **Our critique goes to the antifascist movement itself that delegated hope to such a trial, stayed outside and inside the courtrooms claiming bourgeois justice, and finally kept silent and inactive after the acquittance of the nazis.** What is certain is that fascist organizations and nazis will continue to pollute our breathing space, either in the background (such as NMR and other para-state thugs) or in the front scene (such as the Swedish democrats), depending on the conjunctural interests of those in power. The expectation that the bourgeois legal system will be fair and will punish the nazis legitimizes the effort of liberal democracy to wash itself. This is an expectation mediated by the fairytales of the parliamentary Left and professional leftist and center politicians, who aim to constitute themselves as an obligatory passage point for performing antifascism. This kind of legal and institutional "antifascism" darkens the nature of both fascism and the liberal institutions and their entanglement, as we showed in the previous sections of this brochure. It separates fascism from its state root and neutralizes the state apparatus and its institutions, constituting them the only acceptable musketeers of social peace. But as we described above, social peace in the Swedish "paradise" is made of blood. Fascism/racism permeates the very core of the Swedish liberal democracy.

What do we really expect when asking the liberal state to judge and punish the nazis with the very same laws and juridical processes that they try and sentence antifascists, anarchists, autonomous and the working class? First, we unwillingly recognize the state monopoly to justice-making. This kind of justice however solidifies and guards, in class terms, the "justice" of those in power. Second, we unintentionally (?) support the bourgeois institutions. In this way, we take an echoing distance from our own principles for opportunist and self-interested "tactical reasons". The ghost of pleasing the masses haunts our dreams, again. This kind of interaction with the institutions of the state cancels the whole point of self-organized, grassroots militant antifascism. No state is our ally! The trial of the nazis after the attack in Malmö constitutes a major antifascist fiasco. The ways certain groups and individuals handled the trial, pacified the antifascist movement, took distance from our methods, and offered the nazis a political victory with the eulogies of the liberal state. To date and as far as we know, no action took place after the acquittance of the nazis.

It is naïve, historically uniformed, and undialectical to an autonomous and antiauthoritarian antifascist movement to hope for the crumbs of bourgeois justice or to be in a dialectic relationship with the State. The Swedish state that is defined by its chauvinist characteristics and racist history of the social model described above.

Expanding the Swedish exceptionalism even to the autonomous/anti-authoritarian movement is a major political foul that hypnotizes whatever movement exists, washes the fascist nature of the Swedish state, and makes for an antifascism that is extremely limited in scope. **For us, this kind of antifascism is simply not enough.**

Moving forward: antifa means... attack against the nation state and capital!

In this last part, we will elaborate on our critique against the nationalist/fascist state and capital, and we will present our political thesis by highlighting the fundamental need for developing a multifarious agenda for antifascist, anti-statist and anti-capitalist methods and actions. We want to come back to the start of this brochure where we referred to the historian and social theorist George Katsiaficas and his assertion that in order to understand a social movement, we need to address the historical, political, and economic context that it has evolved. We made a thorough account of what we perceive is the historical context for the Swedish autonomous movement, namely the Swedish state model, social democracy, consensus politics, and Swedish exceptionalism. We see these institutions/phenomena/political actors/cultural attributes as major catalysts and influencers for the development and configuration of an antifascist movement with specific characteristics: militant anti-nazism, reformist convergence with the state or at least an echoing tolerance or reduced aggressivity towards state institutions (such as the police), populist conformism, and political elitism. At the same time, **there is a profound lack of a holistic political approach and set of actions against the principal matrix of fascism in the country, and any country: the state and capital!**

In many aspects, antifascism has been understood as the opposite of racism and nazism. This framing of antifascism has had consequences both for Swedish society as a whole and for the antifascist movement more broadly. Rather than seeing fascism as wider expressions and actions of the state-capitalist complex that span over the party-political spectrum and ideologies, the main focus has been targeted on nazi individuals, parties or groups, thereby overlooking racist and fascist politics by those who are not defined as solely fascists/racists and sit in power. In Sweden, most of the population would identify themselves as antifascists and anti-racists. However, we made evident in our historical analysis that fascist/racist policies have been broadly supported by both the Swedish public administration and society since at least the 1920s. This has led to a reduced political, analytical, and direct-action activity against the state, for at least the last ten years. At the same time, by solely focusing on nazi groups and individuals, the antifascist movement constitutes the nazis as the primary enemies of society, disorienting our attention from the real enemies (and not their subordinates), from the real generators of fascism. In comparison to the Swedish state and over-class, the criminal activity of nazis is minimal. It is the Swedish state that locks us up, beats us at the borders, sterilized us, experiments on our bodies, forces us work, "educates" us, forced the Swedish language on us, kills us, register us, force-feeds us with psychiatric drugs and so on. Think of the

numerous examples of police brutality and murders. If we reflect on the prison system, the “work” of migration authorities, the detention centers for migrants, we will dialectically end up in a self-evident assumption: the governments of merely the last 20 years have considerably more blood on their hands than the nazis.

Daily life in Sweden is defined more than anything by control and submission. We go to work, we “study”, we appear in court, we tell our friends to keep taking their psychiatric drugs, we obsessively feed with content and attention for the machines of surveillance capitalism. Our existence is repetitive and dull as well as filled with extreme amounts of institutionalized violence. For the most part, we are accepting the violence that we are being subjected to constantly. In fact, we are exerting parts of it all by ourselves, since one crucial aspect of violence concerns control in the form of surveillance – the means used to uphold discipline. The state no longer needs to monitor us because we are doing it more efficiently ourselves, and this constant monitoring deepens the internalized discipline that makes us such perfect citizens, completely preoccupied with everything else other than attacking the structures – external as well as internal – of control and submission. Foucault was probably right when he said that there is an inner fascist in all of us. This fascist stops us from acting out rebellious passions and dreams and prevents our desires for freedom to go wild. The enemy is a nazist in an NMR-demo. But the enemy is also our inner fascist, the social democrat. The enemy is order and normality. The national unity normality.

Our take: incessant struggle against national unity

The narrative of national unity refers to a homogenized language, a dominant cultural, a common history, one people. Nationalism-patriotism constitutes an integral structural element of the creation of modern nation-states. It is the basic ideological tool that attributes the state apparatus with the role of the safeguard of national unity. Submission and fear, hierarchy, and trust to the imaginary community of the nation are ideas nurtured already in young ages through the core family and later through the school, the university and the labour market. This kind of cultivated nationalism leads the lower classes away from class solidarity, creating conditions of multi-split as well as hostility within the class. As we saw in our historical account, through the construction of national unity in Sweden, racism, patriarchy, class exploitation, repression, segregation, and eugenic biopolitics were legitimized within the Swedish model. At the same time, the national homogeneity to prevail needs a constructed enemy, external (Jews, Muslims, Finish people, Sami, Roma etc) or internal (migrants, the disabled, addicts, loose women, benefit receivers, freaks, the poor), against whom the healthy, successful, and homogeneous Swedish stock must show national patriotism and social engineering. Whatever and whoever resists and threatens the reproduction of state mechanisms constitutes an enemy that disturbs national unity. **Creating a collective and homogeneous national consciousness, as we saw for example through the Saltsjöbaden spirit and consensus politics, makes social control easier for the state.**

Nationalism-patriotism, as a tool of social control, assists the Swedish state and capital to implement policies to facilitate the uninterrupted well-functioning of the capitalist machine. The limitation of the right to strike is such a tool. The Swedish state, whenever aimed to implement policies which would have social consequences and in order not to cause strong reaction or to reduce social and class resistance, used the card of the 'greater good for the nation' (war neutrality, boycott against nazi Germany, financial crisis of the 1990s, artificial migration crisis in 2015). The supremacy of the great Swedish nation acts in the collective consciousness as a relief against poverty, segregation, racism, and the class society. The nationalists-patriots of the lower classes truly believe that by protecting the nation, their living standards will be improved. After all, the sources of all evil are the foreigners that aspire to destroy the glorious Swedish model (the Roma people, beggars, Muslims). This is the official ideology of the Swedish state and not the standpoints of fascist parties and organizations. Through this kind of propaganda, state and capital continue applying the same kind of neoliberal and exploitative policies, escalating class exploitation, racism, patriarchy, and nationalism-patriotism, that are, the principal roots of modern fascism.



Modern fascism marches through parliamentarism, through liberal democracy, in the form of declining freedom. Neonazi and populist fascist parties only act as the avant-garde of contemporary totalitarianism, testing the tolerance and stamina of the social body against the increasing class devaluation, but they do not constitute the main expression of contemporary fascism. The nazis are part of the deep state apparatus. Antifascism through the filter of Swedish exceptionalism that we opposed above also acts as an assistive technology to the bourgeois delegative democracy. The flirt of antifascism with parliamentarism gives birth to an undialectical oxymoron that does not effectively counter

the fascist ideology. Moreover, by promoting ‘internationalism’, that is the relations between nation-states, as an alleged method for countering nationalism, intensifies the deadlock. In the current context, institutional racism prevails against migrants in detention centers, in border controls, in deportations, in the bureaucracy of the Swedish Migration Authority. It is manifested in the national unity of anti-migration policies that hinders family reunification. It is apparent in the national silence about the Swedish war industry that trades weapons to repressive regimes and the Swedish state’s contribution to the creation of migration influxes^{xxxiii}. This political stance does not contribute to anything else aside from patriotism-nationalism.

All this while class exploitation is deepened. This becomes evident through the impoverishment of many in the lower classes. The rise in unemployment and the flexibility of the labour market, the annulation of the right to strike, the proliferation of precarious application-based low-paid work as the future model of labour, the decrease of social security funds, horrible working conditions (notably for healthcare personal in the time of COVID-19), extensive police repression and changes in the Employment Protection Act [Swedish: LAS] in favor of companies are all attacks against the working class. Simultaneously, patriarchy, this “invisible” authoritarian social construction, continues to blind us as a fog through the imposing silence regarding the numerous victims of sexist violence. While the Left party feeds us with humanitarianism and social rights as they are facilitated by the liberal state, patriarchic violence is reproduced undisturbed also through the liberal juridical system of the state.

For a society without nations and states – for a world of solidarity, mutual-aid and equality

Nationalism is the political religion of the state and will continue existing as long states exist. Our struggle against nationalism/fascism cannot be any other fight than one against the state and capital. Opposition to fascism means the establishment of class consciousness, that is the consciousness of the oppressed and exploited by powerful state apparatuses, it also means universal solidarity, the interlinkage of struggles on a local or international level. Solidarity is not a concept to apply only for struggles abroad, far away. Solidarity is a concept that ought to be an integral part of our politics even in domestic affairs. For example, to practice solidarity with migrants, with Roma people, with prisoners, with all those who face the barbarity of the national state and capital. Solidarity is an integral part of the autonomous movement and fully compatible with militant antifascism. Antifascism also means to attack the detention centers for migrants and solidarity with sans papiers. As an old slogan said, ‘we need to bring the war home’. Not war, but the class war. But we also need to create ties and solidarity networks with vulnerable populations, not as avant-garde protectors of social interests but as facilitators of horizontally organized political meeting places. It is important to share and co-configure

the struggle for a just and egalitarian society with social groups that have been excluded from the affluence of the Swedish model “paradise”.



To do all this, historical awareness is imperative while we continue to preserve the memory of the struggles of our comrades. We must oppose social cannibalism as it is developed in work environments, in the public space of modern metropolis, in the competition of the economy, and the surveilled environment of social media. We need to oppose the naïve state narratives of national duty and the greater good for the nation. There is nothing to be proud about acquiring a national passport and identity. We must deny our obedience to national unity and respect for national borders. We must siege war against exploiters and the powerful, no matter nationality, against racist, xenophobic, homophobic, sexist, patriarchic, fundamentalist logics, and behaviors. Resistance to fascism means continuing and escalating social and class struggles, which contribute to improving our living standards, developing ties of class and social solidarity, radicalizing our struggles and longing for freedom. As anarchists, we fight for a stateless and classless society that will include rather than exclude. Against the homogenizing activity of fascism/nationalism, we propose self-organization in groups and networks (labour unions, local neighbor assemblies, cooperatives or collectives, squats and collective living).

The world we fight for is not divided by borders, is not hegemonized by states and is not controlled by bosses. It is organized in federal self-organized structures. We fight for a society of political freedom, economic equality, and social solidarity. We fight for anarchy....

No nation unites us, no border divides us, no state is ours!

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- ⁱ Dauvé, G. 2013. *Fascism/Antifascism*. Kaleidoscope, Elephant Editions
- ⁱⁱ Gittlitz, A.M. 2018. "Anti-Anti-Antifa: Today's fascists aren't like yesterday's fascists. Today's antifascists aren't like yesterday's antifascists. What will tomorrow bring?" Retrieved on October 2, 2020 from <https://communemag.com/anti-anti-antifa/>
- ⁱⁱⁱ Graeber, D., 2015. *The utopia of rules: On technology, stupidity, and the secret joys of bureaucracy*. Melville House Publishing.
- ^{iv} Gittlitz, A.M. 2018. "Anti-Anti-Antifa: Today's fascists aren't like yesterday's fascists. Today's antifascists aren't like yesterday's antifascists. What will tomorrow bring?" Retrieved on October 2, 2020 from <https://communemag.com/anti-anti-antifa/>
- ^v Katsiaficas, G., 1997. *The subversion of politics: European autonomous movements and the decolonization of everyday life*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press. (p. 185).
- ^{vi} Deutsche Führerbriefe (Berlin) 1932. "Die soziale Rekonsolidierung des Kapitalismus, n° 72 et 73 (septembre 1932).
- ^{vii} Basse Classe 2015. "About social democracy". Volume 2. [in Greek]
- ^{viii} Dutt, R.P., 1935. *Fascism and social revolution: a study of the economics and politics of the extreme stages of capitalism in decay*. International publishers
- ^{ix} Henri de Man 1935. *Corporatisme et socialism*. Bruxelles, Éditions Labor.
- ^x Manin, B., & Bergounioux, A. 1979. *La Social-Démocratie ou le Compromis*. Presses Universitaires de France.
- ^{xi} Meidner, R., 1993. "Why did the Swedish model fail?". *Socialist Register*, 29(29).
- ^{xii} Barker, V., 2012. "Global mobility and penal order: Criminalizing migration, a view from Europe". *Sociology Compass*, 6(2).
- ^{xiii} de Los Reyes, P., 2016. "When feminism became gender equality and anti-racism turned into diversity management", in Martinsson, L. and Griffin, G. eds., 2016. *Challenging the myth of gender equality in Sweden*. Policy Press.
- ^{xiv} The leadership of the social democratic party prohibited members attending the funerals of the killed protesters as they were regarded as collaborators with the revolutionary communist party.
- ^{xv} The record years [Swedish: Rekordåren] is a period in the economy of Sweden, dating from the international post–World War II economic expansion to the 1973 oil crisis.
- ^{xvi} Meidner, R., 1993. "Why did the Swedish model fail?". *Socialist Register*, 29(29).
- ^{xvii} Wilks, S., 1996. "Class compromise and the international economy: the rise and fall of Swedish social democracy". *Capital & Class*, 20(1).
- ^{xviii} We oppose the division between migrants and refugees. We consider the division artificial and a bureaucratic construct of states and superstate organizations to manage and control moving populations.

^{xix} Andersson, R, & Molina I., 2003. "Racialization and Migration in Urban Segregation Processes. Key issues for critical geographers". In Öhman, Jan & Simonsen, Kirsten (Eds) *Voices from the North – New Trends in Nordic Human Geography*. Ashgate.

^{xx} Jämte, J., 2013. *Antirasismens många ansikten* (Doctoral dissertation, Umeå universitet).

^{xxi} Arstechnica 2016. Sweden's national DNA database could be released to private firms. Retrieved on October 20, 2020 from <https://arstechnica.com/tech-policy/2016/07/sweden-national-dna-database-private-firms/?fbclid=IwAR0fZ0PNXOIJaxG8sYuD6xlOG2vrhpNRvkxikq8Co8cCyiMIRc2CoUxVhD0>

^{xxii} Barker, V., 2012. *Global mobility and penal order: Criminalizing migration, a view from Europe*. Routledge.

^{xxiii} The Third Way is an attempt of center parties and politicians to reconcile right-wing and left-wing politics by advocating a varying synthesis of centre-right and centrist economic platforms with some centre-left social policies. The Third Way initiated a re-evaluation of political policies within various centre-left progressive movements in response to doubt regarding the economic viability of the state and the overuse of economic interventionist policies that had previously been popularized by Keynesianism, but which at that time contrasted with the rise of popularity of neoliberalism and the New Right starting in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s. The Third Way has been largely promoted by social-democratic parties. Lead proponents of the Third Way were Bill Clinton and Tony Blair. Third Way social-democratic theorist Anthony Giddens has said that the Third Way rejects the state socialist conception of socialism and instead accepts the conception of socialism as an ethical doctrine that views social-democratic governments as having achieved a viable ethical socialism by removing the unjust elements of capitalism by providing social welfare and other policies and that contemporary socialism has outgrown the Marxist claim for the need for the abolition of capitalism as a mode of production. (Information retrieved from Wikipedia).

^{xxiv} This part was retrieved mainly from Wikipedia. It is not in the scope of this brochure to review the genealogy of Swedish nazism.

^{xxv} Schierup, C.U. & Ålund, A., 2011. "The end of Swedish exceptionalism? Citizenship, neoliberalism and the politics of exclusion". *Race & Class*, 53(1).

^{xxvi} Rolfer, B. 2016. *When the market comes rushing into the Swedish model: a book from Kommunal about the privatisation of the welfare services in Sweden*. Kommunal.

^{xxvii} Chile implemented a universal school voucher program in 1981, as part of a series of free-market economic reforms ushered in by Dictator Augusto Pinochet, who rose to power in a 1973 coup d'état of the socialist government led by the democratically elected Salvador Allende. Chile's transition to a "free-market" education system in 1981 created three types of schools: public municipal, private subsidized, and private non-subsidized. Both public municipal and private subsidized schools accept

vouchers, while private non-subsidized did not accept vouchers and catered to the elite. Chile's voucher program has been widely studied and largely found to have exacerbated inequality, reduced public school enrollment, and had minimal to no impact on student achievement. Retrieved on November 5, 2020 from <https://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/edcentral/chiles-school-voucher-system-enabling-choice-or-perpetuating-social-inequality/>

^{xxviii} Ericson, M., 2018. "Sweden Has Been Naïve": Nationalism, Protectionism and Securitisation in Response to the Refugee Crisis of 2015. *Social Inclusion*, 6(4).

^{xxix} Jämte, J., 2013. *Antirasismens många ansikten* (Doctoral dissertation, Umeå universitet).

^{xxx} Pries, J. & Brink Pinto, A., 2013. *30 november: kampen om Lund 1985–2008*. Lund: Pluribus.

^{xxxi} An important date for the Swedish fascists that symbolizes the death of the Swedish king Karl XII, who devoted his life in war of conquest to expand Sweden's geographical influence. During an imperialist war against Norway, on November 30, 1718 he was shot dead. His death ended the violent Great Power era (Stormaktstiden) and Sweden entered a parliamentary period usually called the Age of Freedom (Frihetstiden). The date of his death became a day of celebration initially for bourgeois students but soon after turned into a fascist memorial. For more information about November 30 see:

<https://konstochpolitik.org/2011/06/23/betydelsen-av-30-november/>

^{xxxii} Meurling, O., 1998. "Inga fascister på våra gator – Antifascistisk Aktion, en kort historic", *Anarkistisk tidskrift*, 12.

^{xxxiii} The nation-state of Sweden also plays its fair role and has its position in the global antagonisms both directly and indirectly. Being member to the European Union, Sweden has indirectly supported Ukraine in the conflict with Russia, while it has contracted business (trade of a variety of weapons including the JAS fighter) with Saudi Arabia which has instigated war against Syria and Yemen.

“We argue for the necessity of also acknowledging and attacking the established institutions who define, steal, and limit our lives while they secure profits for the ruling classes and provide support to fascist groups”.

“How does the body politic of the Swedish welfare “paradise” portray, define, and treat those who do not readily fit the national narrative and do not participate in the affluence of the Swedish model? Who is to decide and how is to be decided the access to Swedish citizenship, and therefore access to the provisions of the welfare state?”

“The chimera of the populist “pleasing the masses” appears several times in different contexts of the antifascist/autonomous movement and remains an active gangrene on the body of the autonomous movement”.

“It is naïve, historically uniformed, and undialectical to an autonomous and antiauthoritarian antifascist movement to hope for the crumbs of bourgeois justice or to be in a dialectic relationship with the State. The Swedish state that is defined by its chauvinist characteristics and racist history of the social model. Expanding the Swedish exceptionalism even to the autonomous/anti-authoritarian movement is a major political foul that hypnotizes whatever movement exists, washes the fascist nature of the Swedish state, and makes for an antifascism that is extremely limited in scope. For us, this kind of antifascism is simply not enough”.

“There is a profound lack of a holistic political approach and set of actions against the principal matrix of fascism in the country, and any country: the state and capital”.

Södr[®]A Klubben

