**Supplementary Online Appendix**

**Appendix B – Power Orientation in a New Leftist Party**

27 Excerpts from the Swedish Green Party’s Party Programme:

Available at: https://www.mp.se/sites/default/files/mp\_partiprogram\_english.pdf

Accessed on August 18, 2020.

“We want to tear down all discriminating and unsustainable **power structures** in society**.** We are a feminist party dedicated to equal rights and potential for everyone to fully participate in building society. Every human has the right to be – and grow into – the person he or she wants to be. We are convinced that differences make us richer and that diversity and equality are the foundation of a just society. Together, we can create belief in the future and quality of life” (p. 3).

“We believe in a democracy with active and involved citizens. We want a society in which every individual is able to **contribute according to his or her ability** to the development of society and in which **all people have equal rights**. To make this possible, society must guarantee a welfare state which provides everyone with new chances to grow and evolve throughout life” (p. 4).

“The Swedish Green Party supports decentralization. **Decisions should be made as close to the people affected as possible**…Letting people choose what kind of education to have in school or how to be taken care of when old are some of the ways to move decisions closer to people” (pp. 4,5)

“It is of utmost importance for democracy that various experiences and backgrounds are represented in all assemblies where decisions are made, and to that end we want to **promote equality and diversity in all contexts**” (p. 5).

“We need policies give more resources to the most disadvantaged familiesin order to give all children security and **reduce the gaps** in Sweden. Financial vulnerability should not be hereditary” (p. 6).

“Discussing the **equal value of all humans** should be a natural part of the education from its very start” (p. 8).

“Everyone must have **equal rights**…the fight for equal rights and against discrimination must be integrated in all areas in society” (p. 10).

“The Swedish Green Party wants a society that uses resources in such an efficient and just manner that **basic human needs can be satisfied everywhere**…Respect for natural diversity is a core value of the Green ideology. We believe that **all living beings have an intrinsic value** regardless of its utility for humans” (p. 14).

“Economic policy should aim for **economic equality**…Equality is not about people being the same; it’s about giving everyone good opportunities despite different conditions” (p. 18).

“We want to promote education and work that **give people more power over their own lives**” (p. 18).

“Everybody is entitled to financial security. Public services should be of high quality and accessible for everyone. **An egalitarian society** is safer for all its inhabitants. Therefore, we want to combat economic inequality…It is fair that those who are well-off financially contribute more to the common safety system than those with smaller financial margins” (p. 24).

“A policy for **more even distribution** of people’s consumption opportunities, nationally as well as globally” (p. 25).

“Decisions should be made **as close to the citizens as possible**” (p. 25).

“A well-functioning tax system should produce **equal economic conditions** for municipal services in the entire country” (p. 25).

“For us in the Swedish Green Party, it is self-evident that a gender and **egalitarian perspective** should permeate all healthcare. Obtaining the same level of healthcare, regardless of gender or socioeconomic status, is self-evident…Healthcare should be completely free of charge for children up to 18 years… “**Patient empowerment and participation** are increasingly important in healthcare. Patients should have the right to inspect and influence their own medical records…The objective should always be to primarily treat the cause of the disease and not the symptoms” (p. 27).

“When both private and public organizations grow too large, they might get too centralized, which could hold back creativity and job satisfaction. Therefore, we want to work in favour of decentralization, and **strengthen the influence of employees in their workplace**” (p. 31).

“The Green movement always strives to add a global perspective on politics. The Swedish Green Party strives for a world in balance where solidarity and respect for human rights are combined with **sustainable development and climate justice across the globe**.Within the Green movement, there is widespread support for the idea that we have to strengthen international cooperation regarding the environment, peace and international development, while at the same time finding ways to **make the global economy more democratic**” (p. 32).

“Rich countries must reduce their ecological footprints. **The Earth’s poor must be allowed a larger share of resources** and environmental space in order to lift their countries to decent standards without having to repeat the rich countries’ mistakes” (p. 32).

“The Swedish Green Party advocates decentralization. This means that we want decisions to be made as close as possible to those affected by the decisions. **Power should be exercised by those who are affected by it**. This conviction has given us a fundamental skepticism towards centralized control and decisions that move **power** further away from people” (p. 33).

“The principle of **public access to official records and the protection of persons providing information** according to the Swedish model should also be applied in the EU. The degree of influence should not be determined by financial resources, and lobbyism must therefore be regulated and the **power** of economic interests should be balanced by active social movements and increased opportunities to scrutinize and influence all EU institutions” (p. 33).

“There should be **less centralized control** and more freedom for the individual countries. Sweden should be independent towards the EMU and not introduce the euro” (p. 34).

“The Swedish Green Party puts international law and human rights at the core. Domestic and foreign policy must be based on the same values…requires **a levelling and a more just distribution** of the Earth’s resources” (p. 35).

“Tax evasion should be stopped. Trade conditions should be designed based on the ultimate goal of **distributing resources more evenly**” (p. 36).

“The Swedish Green Party has a vision of a world without borders, where all people can move, but no one is force to flee. We don’t believe in countries’ right to choose their citizens; we believe in people’s right to choose where they want to live. We should greet people with opportunities, not with walls. **Everyone should be able to live, work and realize their dreams where they want to**. Freedom of movement should be a human right…We want Sweden to be a country open for labour immigration. The opportunity to go from one country to the next in order to work is a basic right and beneficial for both the sending and the recipient country” (p. 36).

“Compassion and solidarity are universal. **Human rights should apply to everyone**, and refugees should be guaranteed a legally secure asylum process in Sweden” (p. 37).

“Xenophobia and racism are incompatible with a society where **everyone can live and work on equal terms**…We are proud to be the most open party when it comes to migration…we want Sweden to lead the efforts towards **a world with no borders**…a world where everyone can move freely” (p. 37).

**Appendix C – Power Orientation in a Traditional Leftist Party**

30 Excerpts from the Swedish Left Party’s Party Program: Published March 27, 2018

Available at: [www.vansterpartiet.se/resursbank/partiprogam/](http://www.vansterpartiet.se/resursbank/partiprogam/)

Accessed on August 18, 2020.

Translation via google chrome software.

“Class oppression manifests itself mainly in inequality in terms of **power** and influence in society” (p. 6).

“Patriarchy is not a by-product of capitalism but an independent **power** factor in society” (p. 8).

“Patriarchy gives the men as a group **power** over women as a group and gives men benefits that they do not voluntarily give up. When women demand changed **power** relations, they become a threat to men’s power” (p. 9).

“The transnational corporations are conquering ever larger markets and ever more **power**” (p. 13).

“The successful attacks on welfare show that reforms within the framework of capitalist society can be quickly rolled back when the **balance of** **power** between labor and capital changes” (p. 14).

“Decisions made in parliamentary assemblies depend on the **balance of power** in the rest of society, not least in the labor market. They are also affected by **international power relations**. Transnational corporations and large currency speculators can put pressure on governments and countries” (p. 26).

“Democracy is not just laws and rules. Civil disobedience is an extreme opportunity for people who lack the **power** to defend popularly rooted values such as human rights” (p. 27).

“Democracy is more than universal suffrage and formal freedoms – it must be made **the people’s power** over society” (p. 28).

“The UN must be democratized and the dominant position of the **great powers** broken” (p. 29).

“Women are generally less represented than men and have **less power** and influence in all EU decision-making bodies” (p. 31).

“Sweden must pursue an independent foreign policy where democracy, respect for international law and human rights, sustainable development, the liberation of women and international solidarity are guiding principles. This presupposes that Sweden dares to **challenge the power** of the United States, the EU and international capital” (p. 35).

“A common and solidary sector, based on the principle ‘of each according to ability, for each according to need’ **evens out class and gender differences**. A fairer distribution of income and living conditions” (p. 38).

“With full employment as a goal, **rights linked to individuals instead of families or workplaces** and greater social responsibility for childcare has been important for women’s self-sufficiency” (p. 39).

“Taxes will help to **even out income and wealth gaps**” (p. 39).

“The **decisive** **power** in all social systems lies with those who own and control the means of production – in the capitalist system a small minority or large capitalists. Human labor and creativity are reduced to goods. Neither political democracy, expanded public sector not trade union rights have been able to abolish the fact that capitalism is by definition undemocratic” (p. 41).

“For those who work in companies, it is the **local power** that is most important. The natural expression of this is the worker-owned, cooperative company where the company management is elected democratically and guidelines for the business are decided jointly” (p. 42).

“The Soviet Union” was “born out of struggling people’s dreams of a better world, but became the opposite of those dreams…The left has learned important lessons from this. Democracy and freedom must be constantly defended, recaptured and exercised.  **State** **power** is worthless if it can only survive by trampling on human rights. Socialism can be nothing but the realization of democracy and freedom. Socialism cannot be planned and dictated by parties and political leaders” (p. 47).

“The crucial thing is to pursue a policy that actually changes the prevailing **balance of power** in a democratic direction and thus lays the foundation for a socialist social transformation” (p. 50).

“A class society like ours can in the long run not exist without people at least passively accepting the prevailing **power relations**” (p. 50).

“The production of ideology…takes place in a defense of various interests, both consciously and unconsciously. The dominant ideas of a society are determined by the prevailing **power relations**, but not in a mechanical way” (p. 51).

“Make life richer and freer for more people, here and now, while fundamental **power** **relations** are made visible and attacked” (p. 52).

“Reforms that permanently **change the balance of power** in the struggle for an equal societythat entails a real democracy, that deepens and expands democracy at the expense of the market and capital power and that reduces the gaps in society” (p. 52).

“Developments must be met with reforms that facilitate organization and can thus **shift the balance of power in society**. The realization of full employment, a solidarity wage policy and secure employment conditions are key elements in a strategy to strengthen the positions of the working class” (p. 55).

“The **power of finance capital** must be broken through regulations and increased democratic control” (p. 59).

“A state cultural policy must guarantee a democratically **equal distribution of resources** across the country and all residents’ access to cultural activities” (p. 74).

“The Left’s fundamental political objectives – to democratize society and create a world based on equality, gender equality, solidarity and ecological sustainability – **challenge the prevailing power relations in the world**. National progress must be complemented by the building of a solidarity-based international order in order to be lasting” (p. 83).

“At local, national, regional and global levels, **power** **needs to be transferred** from transnational oligopolies and political and bureaucratic elites to democratically controlled systems” (p. 83).

“We support the building of a more democratic world order in which poor and small countries and populations should have the right and opportunity to assert their interests against both new and old **great powers**. We always support democratization that grows from below” (p. 84).

“The Left Party works to break up today’s US-dominated, militarized and financialized **global power order** and instead strives for a multipolar world where countries and regions have both the right and opportunity to equally develop and control their production, their financial flows and their natural resources” (p. 84).

“Transfer technology and resources to the South and East to compensate for the long time when value transfers have gone in the other direction…Social, democratic and ecological considerations must take precedence over capital interests. **No country or region** should be allowed to have such military superiority that it can **force itself on others**” (p. 85).