Erlander VS Tito: A comparative analysis of ideology

Authors: Handzic, Medina & Imsirovic, Haris

Supervisor: Fredrik Sunnemark

Examiner: Ann Towns

Bachelor’s thesis in Political Science 15 ECTS
Department of Economics and Informatics

University West

Spring term: 2018
Abstract

This thesis intends to do an analysis of the socialist ideology in former Yugoslavia and Sweden during the time 1948 until 1962. The analysis is done on 8 political speeches each, from the former president of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito and from the former prime minister of Sweden, Tage Erlander. We have specified our analysis on five certain policy areas which are: labour market, welfare, foreign policy, democracy and national identity. The aim of the study is to find what kind of similarities and differences that can be found in the speeches, in relation to socialist values. The reason for analysing the views from these two politicians’, is because both claim to be socialist. The study shows that the socialist ideology in Sweden and Yugoslavia, have both similarities and differences. Both Erlander and Tito stem from a Marxist idea tradition which is evident in how they advocate for economic socialism, the labour theory and for the overall implementation of socialism in their respective nation. The main differences that is evident from their speeches is how they look upon the control of government, something which makes them very different in terms of socialist values. Erlander is advocating for a social democratic socialist model which is controlled by the people in a democratic manner, whereas Tito is advocating for a revolutionary, soviet-like socialism that is controlled by himself and the party he represents. The differences and similarities in the
socialist values becomes apparent in the different policy areas. Where in some areas, the socialists values differ a lot and in some, less.

Keywords: Yugoslavia, Sweden, Ideology, Tito, Erlander

Acknowledgements

We would like to give the most thanks to our academic supervisor Fredrik Sunnemark. He has been the greatest support through the work with our thesis. He has encouraged our ideas and pushed us to do our best. He has given us the right advices and he has always met us with optimism and encouragement.
List of contents

1. Introduction .................................................. 1

2. Literature review .............................................. 3

2.1 Previous research on the concept Ideology .................. 3

2.2. Previous research on socialism in former Yugoslavia and Sweden ............... 6

3. Theory .......................................................... 8

3.1 Ideology ...................................................... 8

3.1.1 Socialism as an ideology .................................. 11

3.1.1.1 The Swedish social democratic model & the former Yugoslavia’s socialist model 13

3.2 Labour market ............................................... 14

3.3 Foreign Policy .............................................. 14

3.4 Welfare ....................................................... 15

3.5 National identity ........................................... 15

3.6 Democracy .................................................. 16

3.7 Analytical framework ....................................... 18
1. Introduction

The socialist ideology has developed to modernized versions of socialist ideology from its fundamental Marxist tradition. The manifest differences in the ideology is apparent on many levels, the most evident difference the political structures as socialist ideologies advocate for the authoritarian control of governance whereas the other ideologies argue for pluralist governance by the people. Interestingly, the latent meaning of all socialist ideologies is based on the same core socialist values that are fundamental for all socialist ideologies. Studying the differences and similarities of socialist ideologies is an ongoing theme for scholars active in the field of socialist ideology.

The socialist federal republic of Yugoslavia was created after the second world war and consisted of six-republics Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Serbia. Josip Broz Tito started as the head of government and then became the president on lifetime in 1953, ruling until his death in 1980. The first period of his politics was based on the Soviet-communist model. After being excluded by Stalin from the Cominform, Tito had developed a revolutionary socialist ideology with a centralized governance, that scholar’s label Titoism (Pavasovic 2014; Manic Torlak & Simeunovic Bajic 2011).

Sweden’s Social democrats were founded in the year 1889. Tage Erlander became prime minister in 1946, and governed Sweden until the year 1969. Erlander’s democratic socialist ideology was based on the former social democratic program, known as the People's home. His latent ideology referred to the progressive social reforms for a strong and growing working class, within a capitalist system. While Tito governed a multi-ethnic society, Erlander governed a culturally homogenous Sweden at the same time (ne.se 2018; Oredsson 2012).

Previous scholars in the field of studies of socialist ideology, have studied different political parties, leaders and contexts in time. However, the studies have not been made in the form of comparative studies that investigate the ideological similarities and differences, of two political objects. The comparative analysis of ideology of the two political leaders Tage Erlander and Josip Broz Tito have been chosen to fill the gap left by previous research in the field of study of ideologies. The chosen analytical framework consists of 16 speeches,
ensuring that the socialist values are considered in relation to the policy areas: labour market, foreign policy, welfare, national identity and democracy. The contribution is scientifically important because it allows for a comparative approach towards the study of ideology. The question the thesis wants to answer, as a result becomes: *What kind of similarities and differences in the speeches of Tage Erlander and Josip Broz Tito can be found in relation to socialist values, between the years 1948 and 1962?*

The theory chapter includes a broad explanation of the concept of ideology, socialism as an ideology, socialism in Yugoslavia and Sweden and the five policy areas. The reason why we look at these specific terms within the ideology, is because we have seen certain themes while studying the characteristics of Erlander’s and Tito’s politics. Both focus on the labour market and welfare society, when it comes to foreign policy we can see that both wanted a neutral position, so we want to evaluate that further. The fourth theme we have chosen is national identity and it is interesting to study since Tito ruled over a multi-ethnic society while Erlander ruled a very culturally homogenous society. The fifth and last theme is democracy, since it is interesting to evaluate how the two politicians understand and speak democracy.

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. In this introduction part, we have presented a general background about Tito and Erlander in relation to their politics, in such a way that we argue for the importance of this knowledge, both from a societal and academic perspective. In the second chapter, we provide a literature review on previous studies on the related lines of scholarship on the research field that is connected to the aim and question of the thesis. Here, we also argue how the thesis contributes to the existing material. In the third chapter, theories are explained and operationalized into how we are going to use it in our analysis. The third chapter also includes an analytical framework that we will use to apply to our analysis. The fourth chapter features the specific aim and research question. In chapter five design and method are presented on how we are going to analyse our data for the thesis. In chapter six, the analysis of the political speeches by Tito and Erlander is performed. In the last chapter, the findings and conclusions of the analysis are presented.
2. Literature review

The aim of the thesis is to contribute to two lines of scholarship, within the field of study of ideologies. The first line of scholarship is studies of ideology, with a focus in conceptual approach to socialist ideological analysis. The second contribution to scholarship is analysis of socialist ideology in former Yugoslavia and Sweden.

Most of the literature reviewed is concerned with comparative research designs that contributes to the field of historical studies. The themes most notable from previous literature are studies on Swedish socialism, Swedish Social democrats, welfare states, military and strategic studies, communism, Tito’s legacy, Yugoslavia’s socialism and the discourse of speeches. No scholarly content has been found explicitly on the studies of ideology, in relation of the former Yugoslav socialism and Swedish socialism within the field of political science. The study will be conducted with analysis of political speeches as material. The literature review will be presented in the following order: first the scholarship on socialist studies of ideology will be examined. Secondly, the scholarship on study of ideology on Sweden and former Yugoslavia will be examined.

2.1 Previous research on the concept Ideology

The research on ideology has advanced over the past three decades. Three lines of scholarship are evident in the field of study of ideology; conceptual, discursive and quantitative approaches. Discursive approaches to ideological analysis is associated with in-depth analysis of how some ideas became created. Quantitative approaches to ideological analysis is related to the frequency of a certain political phenomena that exists in political material. Relating to the field of intellectual history, conceptual approaches is becoming a field of its own as the scholarship is interested in ideologies as a system of ideas that are important to study and understand in terms of their ideational content (Rosenberg 1988; Freeden 1996; van Dijk 1998).

Michael Freeden (1996) defines “concepts” as being the central tools for making analysis of ideology. The conceptual analysts are distinguished from discursive analysts within the study of ideology, as they are more interested in studying political movements and the intellectuals behind ideologies than quantitative approaches, or the deep institutional constructions through which the ideologies are composed. Freeden’s (1996) morphological approach is a prominent
example of concept- built scholarship on analysis of ideology. There are many scholarly works on study of ideology as crucial features that are determined through the different traditions, they “de-contest” their fundamental concepts, asserting on them clear features and specific implications. Freeden concludes that oppositional ideologies seldom completely discount each other’s core concepts. Thereby, it is the contrarily de-contested implications of concepts and the variation in importance asserted to them which establish most of the significant ideological differences.

Quentin Skinner (1978) and Reinhart Koselleck (1985) have made a lot of contributions to the field of conceptual analysis of ideology. Koselleck’s contributes to conceptual analysis of ideology with his scholarship on Begriffs-geschichte conceptual history, which is not fully focused on ideology but investigates concepts in terms of analysing the maturity of political thought. Skinner’s formulations on ideology is not partial to concepts alone, rather he studies concepts together with conventions. Conventions is understood as the collection of principles, assumptions, terminologies and epistemic criteria, which together outline the rational environment of specific political issues and contexts. In Skinner’s view, ideologies are asserted primarily for the progression of approval in internal political issues, so historical intellectuals originate the extreme ideological transformations succeeding changes in power structure. The previous research done on the study of ideology, and the previous research done on the conceptual approach to socialist ideology is rich in content, however there is little research done on comparative studies on socialist ideology, in relation to, two or more political objects. The intention of completing the study, has been to give the research field of study of ideology and study of socialist ideology, a new conceptual approach to how socialist ideology is similar and different in two different geographical areas.

2.2 Previous research on socialism in former Yugoslavia and Sweden

A lot of research has been done on the scholarship on former Yugoslavia’s socialism in the western world. The legacies of socialism are embedded in studies of communist ideology, post-Yugoslav wars, security studies, self-management system studies and historical studies. Some of the recurring themes in the different studies involve the causality of the dissolvent of Yugoslavia, the legacy that is left behind from Tito’s governance and the nostalgia that is left behind in the absence of Yugoslavia as an official nation.
There have been many studies in the field of communism in Yugoslavia and studies regarding the politics of Tito. Pavasovic (2014) discusses Tito’s politics, as his own version of communism, called Titoism. Pavasovic (2014) concluded that the aim Tito had with his ideology, was to lessen the inequalities between the various religions and nationalities that existed in former Yugoslavia. The study showed that Tito’s politics was not favourable for all Yugoslavs, as it had been recorded that opponents of Tito’s governing experienced hardship.

Another recent study on Tito’s governing is done by Manic Torlak and Simeunovic Bajic (2011), where the two scholars concluded that Yugoslavia had once experienced a strong and rapid economic development which led to a large decrease in social inequalities by the time Tito introduced his new politics. In the field of security studies, which is relevant to the theme of Tito’s ideology, scholars have been interested in areas such as ethnic, national and conflict, regulation in communism and post-communist regimes. Haug (2011) focuses on identifying Yugoslavia’s transformation, as a merged social and national transformation which is done by analysing the government officials and the former Yugoslavia Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia party program. Haug contributes with a clear rationale behind the approach and policy to the national question in socialist Yugoslavia, which helps to make sense of the historical legacy of the socialist Yugoslav research.

Two prominent scholars that have influenced the field of socialism in Yugoslavia, are the professors Lydall (1985) and Riddell (1968). The scholars are not explicitly interested in Yugoslavia’s socialism, but have contributed a lot to the field, as they have focused on the self-management system, which was a central component of former Yugoslavia’s socialism. Riddell presents the self-management system of former Yugoslavia’s socialism in the perspective of industrial workers. Riddell points out how the ambition to implement the conception of socialist democracy was different among the Yugoslav leaders. Riddell concludes in his research that the development of Yugoslavia’s society and its governing party was ignored by the assessment of self-government.

Lydall (1985) focuses on the policy area of economics. Lydall points out that the Yugoslavia’s independence required a revised ideology, in response to Stalin’s threat to undermine the Yugoslavia’s development. Lydall argued, that with a Soviet-type command economy the presentation of a self-management system offered a step forward for the Yugoslav nation, despite that there were no reductions in the monopoly of power of the
leading political party at that time. Lydall presented both the upbringing of the self-managed system in Yugoslavia’s socialism, but also the fall of the self-managed system that was so special about the Yugoslavia’s socialism in relation to other socialist nations.

Four prominent scholars that have influenced the field of studies in socialist ideology are the scholars Ambjörnsson (1984), Berman (1998), Andersson (2006) and Larsson (2014). Ambjörnsson (1984), argues that socialism cannot be analysed externally outside history, but only internally inside history. The many associations of socialism in history means that the socialist ties can be studied in relation to the many existing socialist relations. Ambjörnsson’s biggest contribution to the study of socialist ideology is how the different socialist ideas can be de-contested in terms of their contextual environment insofar as them being linked to a certain time and location, which ties them to socialism.

Berman (1998) makes a comparative study of the Swedish and German social democratic parties in the interwar period, to present their different structural developments. Berman uses an ideational method to dig deeper into the parties’ explicit manifests. Berman concludes that the notion of socialism is fundamentally distinctive in their approaches. Berman’s biggest contribution to socialist ideology, has been her historical examination of the socialist ideology and her analysis of how the social democratic ideology has influenced the political outcomes of 20th century Europe.

Andersson (2006) presents how social democracy in modern time process capitalism. The point she makes is that social democracy today, has changed into a third-way socialism that incorporates neoliberalism. The development in the modern social democratic socialism, is most visible in the social interventionist latent that is trying to keep its Marxist roots, while at the same time is paving away from it. Andersson’s biggest contribution to the studies of socialist ideology has been her insight on the transformation of the social democratic socialism in the post war period. A very influential scholar in the field of studies of reformative socialism is Reidar Larsson (2014). Larsson identifies the reformative socialism manifests as progressive social reforms. The goal of reformative ideology is to promote increasing benefits for the working class within an existing capitalist society (Larsson 2014).

By making this study, the writers of this thesis want to fulfil the literature gap in the two lines of scholarships mentioned earlier, related to existing scholarship of studies of ideology. The
incentive is to make a scientific contribution, since there are no previous studies that compare socialist ideology in Sweden and Yugoslavia, based on political speeches. Socialist ideology can be presented very differently, depending on where, by whom and under what circumstances the ideology is practiced. The socialist ideology has had significant impact in Sweden’s and former Yugoslavia’s socialism. By comparing the two socialist ideologies presented by respective leader, the incentive is to identify similarities and not just differences in the socialist statements presented in the selected speeches.
3. Theory

This chapter discusses the selected theories and concepts that guide the analysis. The chosen theories guide the analysis of the political speeches in terms of socialist values, where five themes are identified. The themes are welfare, labour market, foreign policy, national identity and democracy. The themes will be presented more precisely in this chapter.

This chapter will also include a brief explanation of the concept of ideology, presented by two important scholars in the field of ideology. This will be followed by an overall explanation of socialism as an ideology, which then follows to the presentation of socialist ideology in Sweden and Yugoslavia. In the analytical framework, a textual content analysis is made of the political speeches, to find out how the political leaders stand on different policy areas in relation to the socialist ideology.

3.1 Ideology

Liedman (1999) defines the word idea as “something that people can write, say or think and ideology as a series of ideas that are close connected with action patterns in a tensioned devise”. Ideology is separated into two analysis tools, manifest and latent ideologies. Manifest ideologies are defined as the explicit and consciously formulated expressions within an ideological content that combines real world statements, norms and values. Latent ideologies are the contexts and relations behind the expressions, which explains what can be analysed behind the manifest ideologies (Liedman 1999). Liedman and Olausson (1998) present the term ideological changes, as ideas that change in relation to their relatable organization changes. When environmental changes occur, it leads to ideological changes (Liedman and Olausson 1988).

Heywood (2014) argues that there is no definitive explanation of what an ideology is, only a collection of rival definitions. To study ideology, is to consider a certain type of political thought, such as ideas, theories and doctrines that have been developed in different ideological schools. All types of ideologies approve that there is a connection between theory and practice. Heywood defines three sections of ideology as: is, should and do. The ideologies may not share the same values on the issues in society, nor do they offer the same solutions to identical problems. However, all ideologies share the worldview of is, that explains what the
ideal future world should look like, should that explain a theory about what the world has looked like and do that explains a theory of what they want it to look like (Heywood 2014).

The theories of ideology are relevant for this thesis, since the writers of the thesis intends to view ideology the inclusive definition. Liedman’s latent and manifest concepts will be used in relation to Heywood’s definitions of ideology in this thesis, as the socialist values on the policy areas will be analysed, based on the material of political speeches. The aim is to see if there are any ideological differences or similarities between Erlander’s and Tito’s statements.

3.1.1 Socialism as an ideology

Freeden (1996) makes a clear analysis of the ideology of socialism. A part of his analysis includes the core of socialism as an ideology, which Freeden splits into five conceptual themes: “the constitutive nature of the human relationship, human welfare as a desirable objective, human nature as active, equality, and history as the arena of (ultimately) beneficial change”.

The constitutive nature of the human relationship concerns the notion of group membership, as individuals together create a community. Human inter-relationships are important in comparison with their civic organization. Associated to the value, is the conviction that building of an egalitarian community is founded on the premise of cooperation and solidarity. The two premises are based on the optimistic belief of human’s attitude to cooperating with others. The premises are diversified among socialist, as for those who advise self-governing communities without hierarchy or law the premise becomes vital. For others who advise the hierarchical structure of states and parties, the optimism is less vital. However, most socialist share the belief that changes in the world are possible, through conscious human agency. This notion resembles the core socialist value of history as the arena of (ultimately) beneficial change insofar as humans acting as subjects of history, rather than passively waiting for fate to write history. From the understanding of Hegelian-Marxist assessments about history, history can act as an advanced reason in society that explains the realization of freedom considering self-mastery. Even though this understanding is aspiring, it can wound the limiting view on the progression of development and the capability of end-states. The value functions as a motivational spark that promises future control by societies over their own
destinies, which would mean that history will be created in terms of the conditions of the community (Freeden 1996; Newman 2005).

The desirability of human welfare as an objective, means the removal of material wants so that human needs are satisfied. There are different types of socialist paths, therefore the concept of welfare differs. Socialists distinguish between ethical and economic socialism which is two ways of achieving socialism and welfare in society. Economic socialists support any activity that means that property will be undertaken by society on behalf of the poor. This refers to human welfare as a desirable object, as by exercising economic socialism, the earning of decent living, the environmental improvement, education and self-control would be implemented, which would authorize the abolishment of poverty.

The ethical socialists mostly accepted the economic basis of socialism, however they held socialism primarily as an altruistic system of ethics that would influence all people. They believed that the object of human welfare, would be realized through complete participation of the working class accompanied by other members of the society in spiritual, intellectual and material heritage of humans (Freeden 1996).

The differences between economic and ethical socialists are many. In the manifest with Marx as a frontal figure, there is an importance of de-contesting the socialist core by opposing it with dehumanizing efforts that would breakdown the chains of capitalist structures. Revolutionary type of socialism is based on the premise that society consist of inequalities and injustices that needs to be solved if socialism will become realized. The premise is achieved by revolutionary actions, such as abolishment of poverty, empowerment of workers and evening out class differences and overall improvement in the society.

The concept of human nature as active, can be understood as the productivity of humans for the development of the society they live in. Labour is viewed to achieve social mechanism industry, which creates satisfaction of human wants in addition to the mechanism of material social progress. Freeden distinguishes socialist creativity and productivity with the conception of wealth-creation, as a dominant view of liberal capitalist ideology. The concept is coined the labour theory, which is achievable through the duty and willingness of human labour.

Equality of human beings is important in the socialist ideology. Equality is divided into two aspects which are the historical construct and the ambition of having human relationship. The historical construct is the original condition that applies to the fundamental statement of
socialism. The second aspect that concerns the ambition of building human relationships, is believed to be possible by the conducting of economic and political reorganization. Even though equality is seen as a core value in the ideology of socialism, it has been questioned by scholars such as Freeden. Freeden makes the argument that equality cannot be held as the socialist core value since socialists give several different formulations of what is meant by equality. This means that socialism does not own the idea of equality as it cannot carry out the ideology by itself, in relation to that liberty cannot be carried out by liberalism, by itself. The value of equality can only be carried out by socialism, if the concepts of community, creative-cum beneficial view of human nature and the welfare are mutually constructed (Freeden 1996).

The five conceptual socialist themes are highly relevant to this thesis, as the task is to find the similarities and difference of socialist values in the speeches of two political leaders.

3.1.1.1 The Swedish social democratic model and the former Yugoslavia’s socialist model

The socialist clause is what socialists and its critics commonly refer to as the “common”, or public ownership of the means of exchange and production, as fundamental to the socialist ideology. A deeper understanding of the concept is found in the commonality-cum-community, the key of production and with control. It is the spread of ownership in relation to equal shares, which can be found in the “common “control of equity that makes the socialist clause a fundamental value for socialist ideology. When the “common” is de-contested and it is found in the level of control, then it frequently implies some sort of property. In this context property, is often seen as nationalization, where a state is the owner of the exchange and means of production. As the state becomes the subject of control, it is often understood in terms of what kind of power differences that exists and what kind of inequality that can be found. The “common” control of the state, is however not something that all socialist agree upon. The types of control are manifold, such as the non-states that can be found in the guild, the syndicate, the cooperative or mixture of private and public actors.

An example of a mixture of public and private control is found in the history of the Swedish social democratic party. The social democrats have long ago changed the notion of nationalization, as a means to control. This change was realized by the introduction of state socialism, called democratic socialism, as the focus have been directed on the emancipation
of the innovative potential in its members. The change in means, in terms of nationalization allows the agents of the government to chase the goal of creating an egalitarian system, with a “common” and democratic control of the community. The primary democratic socialist, related to the revisionist socialists attempted to alter the Marxist theory in some respects without changing its core values. Democratic socialists have dissented away from the Marxist theory during time. The democratic socialists reason with a different logic than the communist socialists, as they argue that socialism is realized when the members of the society live in socialism and act in socialism. Democratic socialist believes in the common control of the society, and hence see that objects in the society will gradually change, with the democratic spirit of its members (Freeden 1996).

Socialists that argue for other types of control than the common, believe that the control of the community is best decided by a single agent, or few agents. Such socialists also believe in the notion of nationalization to control. The more authoritative type of control is commonly associated with the socialist branch communism, more specifically the Soviet Union communism model. The big difference between the social democratic socialism and the authoritarian communist model, is in the notion of nationalization as a means of control. The latter models often inquire the need for revolution in the different policies that govern the state. Hence, the models often use the concept of economic socialism to encounter any issues in the society. The socialist model of Yugoslavia, the self-management model has its roots from the soviet-communist system. The goals of the communist model are to spark a revolution in the society, hence it is often associated with revolutionary socialism. Revolutionary socialists argue that the realization of socialism is done by eradicating the current mode of the society and the societal order. Only then, can the empowerment of socialism take place and the socialist policies can be implemented.

The concept of socialism as an ideology is interesting to our study, because the task is to compare two political figures that are assumed to be fundamentally socialist, and the only way research can be concluded is to find out what the core of socialist values are, based on what the theory of socialism teaches. Hence, the theory of socialism as an ideology is a useful theory for analysis of manifest and latent ideology. The combination of the five core conceptual themes presented above, will be used in this thesis as a normative viewpoint that explains how the two political leaders think the society should look like. From their normative viewpoint, it will be possible to make an analysis of ideology in the speeches that examines the similarities and differences that the two political leaders have on the different policy areas
that are described in the analytical framework. The chapter continues to explain each policy area and concludes in how the chosen areas are relevant for this thesis.

3.2 Labour market

Socialism has its fundamental manifest coming from the concept of the community. *Community* in relation to labour market, consist of fundamental ideas of equality and cooperation in the societal sphere, where cooperation comes before competition and egoism. Socialist ideology sees that humans are active, this is understood as humans being productive in the society they live in. Hence, by having humans work, the development of the society becomes realized. So, the socialist ideology sees that state control and influence in the market economy as a vital factor for managing the economy. The issue that socialist see in the labour market, is that there exists some inequalities and injustices among the population. Socialist argue that to achieve justice and extinct inequalities is done by creating jobs in the market so that people can become satisfied through the work they do and help the societal needs (Freeden 1996). There are two reasons why the selected policy area of labour market is interesting for this study. These reasons are formulated by the fact that the authentic policy area of labour market can be studied in relation to the socialist concepts of *human nature as active* and *History as the arena of beneficial change*.

3.3 Foreign Policy

Conventional international relations theories frame foreign policy as the producer of state behaviour, that is the engagements made by governmental delegates which follow orders on behalf of the sovereign states objectives and goals (Carlsnaes, Risse et al 2002). Valerie M. Hudson (2005) formulates foreign policy, as the national government's approach to accomplish its own objectives in connection to external entities. These approaches would include the ruling of being passive, and not doing anything. (Hudson 2005; Smith et al 2012) The decision of using foreign policy as a policy area in this thesis is defended by the argument that global economies had finally rebuilt themselves in the 1950’s, and they were not willing to stop advancing. In the same time, nations had to claim their sovereignty and called upon their alliances, if they had any. Otherwise, nations claimed to be neutral in the different blocks that existed in the time of the cold war era. For these reasons, the policy area of foreign policy
is interesting to study in relation to the socialist concept of *History as the arena of beneficial change* and *the constitutive nature of the human relationship*.

### 3.4 Welfare

Directly related to the policy area of labour market is the policy area of welfare. Welfare in the socialist ideology, refers to the belief that social and economic problems in the society are best solved by the collective. Any improvement in the society is done by evening out differences in class relations, something which relates to the socialist core values of *equality* and *human welfare as a desirable object*. The individualist factor is however not entirely dismissed by the socialist ideology, as socialists believe that everyone should strive to reach its potential. This belief is not attributed to individual freedom, as too much individual freedom means that people become self-interested and competitive. Cooperation and solidarity is advocated before competition and individualism. Ideas of collective actions are related to the socialist core value of *the constitutive nature of human relationships*, as socialist are very fund of the benefits from group membership. In comparison to liberalism, socialism ideology strives to alter the capitalist system via reforms that will eradicate material inequalities (Freeden 1996). Welfare is thus a policy area that can be studied in relation to the socialist concepts of *the constitutive nature of human relationships*, *human welfare as a desirable object* and *equality*. And thereby the concept of welfare is directly relevant for answering the research question of this thesis.

### 3.5 National identity

The concept of *national identity* is often associated to nation and nation-state. The concept of nation refers to a network of persons who together act as a political entity. The idea of nation can be compared to the socialist core value of *the constitutive nature of the human relationship*, as a nation can be understood as a community which consists of members that shares a membership and the perception that they belong together in the community (Freeden 1996). The political entities are different, as states attempt to become independent with well-defined borders that distinct itself from other states. Nations-states are similarly, considered all entities where the residents recognize themselves as a cohesive single nation that aspires to persist in being a single nation. An associated concept of nation states is the concept of *nation building policies*, which relates to the formation of homogeneity in states. Homogeneity is a
result of policy efforts, such as the implementation of a single religion and an “formal” national language that becomes the recognized policies of that nation. The recognized policies are made to serve the authoritarian group inside of the nation-state. National identity is connected to the concept of nationalism. Nationalism is acknowledged by scholars as the dogmatic notion of protection of “the other”, that relates to someone being different in any way out of the ordinary (Haas 1986). The concept of “The other”, is thereby distinct from the national identity in terms of characteristics and traits that is ordinary to the “we”, which relates to the national identity. These characteristics are found on differences in language, culture, appearance, history and religion. The combination of the perception of a shared identity constructed by people who identify themselves with a nation and the construction of the people who do not belong to the perceived shared nation, does in turn portray “we” and “the other” of nationalism (Kymlicka 2007).

The theme national identity is selected for the analysis of the political speeches because the concept of national identity is understood and integrated in the politics of different political leaders, in different ways. It is also an interesting inquiry to study to reveal how the two political leaders, Erlander and Tito position themselves on the authentic policy area of national identity in relation to the socialist concepts of the constitutive nature of the human relationship and equality.

### 3.6 Democracy

According to Lundqvist, a democratic political system is based on that the basic needs are fulfilled for the citizens within the society. Lundqvist means that our public ethos comprises our perceptions of reality, values and ideas and how they are going to be applied. Our legislation decides the path to be able to reconstruct our public ethos. The obvious adoption is then that our society is a democracy and our institutions are democratic as well. The citizens of the society are subjects and there should exist democratic institutions with the aim to encourage, negotiate, honest competition, compromise and equal rights. All these rights should include all people of a society. There have been several discussions about democratizations of ownership (Lundqvist 1998). Arrhenius (2012), brings up the so-called limitation problem. He describes four economic models that is viewed as economic democracy.
The first model *democratic capitalism* is based on private ownership of the means of production. The owners take care of the profits and rule the businesses. The production is decided by the demand and supply. This means that the workers income is based on the demand and supply, together with negotiations with the employer and unions. The second model *Democratic plan economy* explains how the owners are the state and the owners of the means of production and profits goes to the state. Since the government regulates the market, they are also the ones setting the prices. The taxes are used for investments in the capital. The third model is called *democratically centralized market socialism*. It is essentially based on the state owning and controlling the means of production, by employing CEOs. The profits go to the citizens of the society. As in the first model, production is decided by demand and supply. The fourth model is a *democratic decentralized market socialism*. Here, the means of production is owned collectively through worker owned businesses or a municipal ownership. The wages from the workers is abolished and is replaced by shared profits. The production is decided by demand and supply. The democratically elected government rules the state. Also, here, money from taxes goes to investments in the society (Arrhenius 2012).

The theme of democracy is selected for the analysis of the political speeches because the concept of democracy is a frequent political terminology used by socialist leaders. The choice to use Lindqvist’s definition of democracy is justified, in it being a good explanation of what is defined by the general perception of democracy. Since the object is to analyse the full spectrum of democracy Lindqvist’s definition is not enough. Therefore, Arrhenius definition of economic democracy is included.

Democracy relates to the three socialist core concepts of *the constitutive nature of the human relationship, human welfare as a desirable objective* and *equality*. The socialist concept of *the constitutive nature of the human relationship*, explains how the people as a collective best can govern the society. It can be understood as the people rule the society, while the political party or leader marks the representative voice of the people. The second socialist concept *human welfare as a desirable objective*, is directly related to democracy as the socialist ideology considers that the most exposed group in a society should receive the same welfare opportunities as the already prosperous group of society. The third socialist concept that the theme democracy is related to is equality. Equality in society is a fundamental idea that socialist ideology strives to achieve in terms of having socials benefits which makes a wide middle class.
3.7 Analytical framework

The five themes selected for this analytical framework explains how the political leaders position themselves on authentic policy areas. Consequently, five questions are asked to do an analysis of the political speeches presented by Erlander and Tito, in the period of the year 1948 to 1962. The policy areas are labour market, foreign policy, welfare, national identity and democracy. The areas will be analysed according to what type of statement is made in relation to the socialist ideology. By doing this we can compare and analyse the socialist manifest and latent ideology between the two chosen political leaders. Our interest in answering questions, will be focused at the following conditions:

- How does the political leader position himself on the issue regarding labour market?
- How does the political leader position himself on the issue regarding foreign policy?
- How does the political leader position himself on the issue regarding welfare?
- How does the political leader position himself on the issue regarding the national identity?
- How does the political leader position himself on the issue regarding democracy?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The constitutive nature of the human relationship</th>
<th>Human welfare as a desirable objective</th>
<th>Human nature as active</th>
<th>Equality</th>
<th>History as the arena of (ultimately) beneficial change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labour market</td>
<td>-Economic socialism</td>
<td>-Economic socialism</td>
<td>-Advocating solidarity</td>
<td>-Using history for reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Labour theory</td>
<td>-Collective put before individual</td>
<td>-Advocating cooperation</td>
<td>-Advocating solidarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Collective put before individual</td>
<td>-Complete participation of working classes to all material, intellectual and spiritual inheritance of humans</td>
<td>-Collective put before individual</td>
<td>-Advocating cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Complete participation of working classes to all material, intellectual and spiritual inheritance of humans</td>
<td>-Complete participation of working classes to all material, intellectual and spiritual inheritance of humans</td>
<td>-Complete participation of working classes to all material, intellectual and spiritual inheritance of humans</td>
<td>-Complete participation of working classes to all members of society to all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policy</td>
<td>-Aspiration to high standard of human welfare</td>
<td>material, intellectual and spiritual inheritance of humans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Advocating solidarity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Advocating cooperation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Complete participation of all members of society to all material, intellectual and spiritual inheritance of humans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Satisfying as many humans as possible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Aspiration to high standard of human welfare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare</td>
<td>-Advocating solidarity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Advocating cooperation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Complete participation of all members of society to all material, intellectual and spiritual inheritance of humans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Economic socialism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Labour theory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Complete participation of working classes and all other members of society to all material, intellectual and spiritual inheritance of humans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Collective put before individual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Advocating solidarity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Advocating cooperation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Complete participation of all members of society to all material, intellectual and spiritual inheritance of humans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Using history for reason</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Advocating solidarity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Advocating cooperation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Complete put before individual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Complete participation of all members of society to all material, intellectual and spiritual inheritance of humans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Collective put before individual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Advocating solidarity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Advocating cooperation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Complete participation of all members of society to all material, intellectual and spiritual inheritance of humans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Using history for reason</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National identity</td>
<td>- awareness</td>
<td>- Collective put before individual&lt;br&gt;- Aspirations to consist in being a single nation&lt;br&gt;- Nation building policies&lt;br&gt;- Complete participation of working classes and all other members of society to all material, intellectual and spiritual inheritance of humans</td>
<td>- Complete participation of all members of society to all material, intellectual and spiritual inheritance of humans&lt;br&gt;- Satisfying as many humans as possible&lt;br&gt;- Advocating solidarity&lt;br&gt;- Advocating cooperation</td>
<td>- awareness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Democracy | -Advocating solidarity
-Advocating cooperation
-Complete participation of all members of society to all material, intellectual and spiritual inheritance of humans | -Aspiration to high standard of human welfare
-Government by the people
-Collective put before the individual
-Economic democracy
-Social security
-Abolish class differences | -Government by the people
-Social security
-Economic socialism
-Complete participation of working classes and all other members of society to all material, intellectual and spiritual inheritance of humans
-Labour theory | -Government by the people
-Social security
-Economic socialism
-Complete participation of working classes and all other members of society to all material, intellectual and spiritual inheritance of humans
-Advocating solidarity
-Advocating cooperation | -Using history for reason |
4.0 Specified Aim and Research Question

The specified aim of the thesis is to compare socialist values in the chosen areas which are welfare, labour market, foreign policy, national identity and democracy to identify differences and similarities in the socialist ideologies stated by the former Swedish prime minister Tage Erlander and former Yugoslavia’s president Josip Broz Tito. We will base our analysis on political speeches with a focus on the themes that are presented in the analytical framework and more detailed in the theory chapter. The time we selected for our study was between 1948 and 1962, hence the speeches selected are from that period.

After analysing the certain themes in the speeches, we will be able to compare how their statements are similar and different from each other, in terms of socialist ideological statements. The research question is: *What kind of similarities and differences in the speeches of Tage Erlander and Josip Broz Tito can be found in relation to socialist values, between the years 1948 and 1962?*
5.0 Research Design

This thesis is done with a comparative textual analysis design, with the focus to do an analysis of ideology in speeches. Based on selected political speeches by Erlander and Tito, the study intends to identify similarities and differences in socialist values during the years 1948 and 1962.

The time is chosen since that was the boom period in many sectors for both countries. The countries shifted from a worse to a better time when it came to economic growth, high employment, GDP, education and export. The time periods are important due to the fact of this boom period and the influence of the political leaders really acted. The stated question is: What kind of similarities and differences in the speeches of Tage Erlander and Josip Broz Tito can be found in relation to socialist values, between the years 1948 and 1962?

The material for the analysis presents political speeches stated by Erlander and Tito, which were the government officials during this period. The analysis of ideology of the speeches will enable us to gain knowledge on how the socialist ideology in the chosen areas differed and how similar they were in the themes presented in the theory chapter. We will in this chapter discuss the pros and cons of the choices of research design we made to fulfil our aim and answer the stated question. We will also in this chapter include a part where we describe the limitations of the study. The limitation part argues why we have chosen to analyse certain areas in the ideology and not all areas in our analysis. The method is supported by the analytical framework, presented in the theory chapter.

5.1.1 Design

We chose to use a comparative and textual analysis design to be able to identify the similarities and differences in socialist values. Bryman (2012) argues that the aim with a qualitative research is to study small amounts of cases and get a deeper understanding of them rather than many cases and brief knowledge. We chose not to use a quantitative design, because it fits more for a thesis that would like to do a research on many cases and generalize the conclusions. The qualitative design fits this study as the goal is to understand and describe how the speeches differ in terms of socialist values, which needs a more concentrated knowledge.
When we began to think about which periods to analyse, we thought about the time between the year 1970 to 1980, since it is the time previous scholars have analysed. However, Yugoslavia experienced an oil crisis which led to some economic crisis and the foreign debt increased, so this period was quite unstable for the federation, therefore we argue that the period between 1948 and 1962 is more suitable. At the same time as Tito governed Yugoslavia, Erlander was the prime minister of Sweden. Both leaders had a mandate during the post-second world war era, which meant that both leaders had experienced rapid economic growth in their nations. This enabled Sweden to join the G10, ten of the world's strongest economies (Oredsson 2012). The political leaders were key figures during these years. Both pushed for development and reforms in the countries and were fortunate to rule for enough time to see their initiatives being implemented. Their way of politics also had an impact on the socialist ideology as such since both created their own versions of socialism beyond the traditional manifest.

5.1.2 Limitations

We have chosen to focus our analysis of political speeches on the areas labour, foreign policy, welfare, national identity and democracy. In addition, instead of analysing political speeches presented by several government officials, our study will be limited to the top political leaders in two different nations. Also, limitations on analysis of ideology in speeches have been made since we have chosen to focus on the different starting points of socialism that Erlander and Tito brought. Our study will focus at the time between the years 1948 and 1962. The analysis is made on the similarities and differences of their statements, and not on the “ideal” socialist ideology.

A critique of our conceptual themes is that the conceptual themes are not sufficiently comprehensive, based on that studies of socialist ideology contains much more than what is evaluated in the selected conceptual themes, making it problematic to determine the ideology of the two political leaders studied with the use of the selected themes (Beckman 2005). By choosing the conceptual themes it will give the study a narrower approach which promotes a limited interpretation. It is argued that the conceptual themes establish comparison which is vital for future studies. A critique is found in that the writers of the thesis demarcated the study by narrowing down the analytical material, which could lower the validity of the study. Therefore, the empirical evidence is not completely addressed in the analytical framework.
because of the demarcations of the study. In defence of this critique, the writers of this thesis have carefully evaluated the analytical material in the political speeches which is not mentioned in the analysis or the analytical framework. The demarcation is clearly defined in the material, which makes future studies possible and strengthens the intersubjective in addition with the validity for the study. The thesis is strengthened in validity because the empirical material can be replicated in the policy areas that the political speeches are divided into, and that the policy areas can be traceable. The speeches have not changed from when they were presented. This makes the source solid since the content is the same. Another defence of the strength of validity and reliability of the thesis is that the empirical material has been evaluated several times by the writers of the thesis to be able to justify that the study really measures what it is intended to measure. This has been done to limit other interpretations. And because even though the validity is strengthened using an analytical framework for a qualitative direct content analysis on ideology, one cannot completely rely on that the validity will be secured from other interpretations (Bergström & Boréus 2012).

The analysis of ideology method is defended with the argument that the study requires emphasis on ideologies, since ideologies are the focus of the thesis. The choice of using a directed content analysis over quantitative method is defended with the argument, that the context of the speeches is more important than the frequency of terms that are counted in the speeches. In conclusion, the alternative of using a quantitative method for speeches which captures the frequency of words or terms is not relevant for this study (Esaiasson, Gilljam, Oscarsson & Wängnerud 2012; Halperin and Heath 2012).

5.1.3 Primary Source of data: Speeches

Politicians strive to speak on behalf of their political parties, hence they are considered representatives of their parties, just as they are representatives of themselves. Political speeches establish a greatly accessible source of data, since the spoken act remains in the civic sphere once performed. Surely the terminology of a political party can be interpreted using content analysis on party programs, where texts are analysed in the context in which a statement is addressed. However, parts of the political terminology will be missing as politicians have the possibility to utilize the language in terms of presenting issues and the policy alternatives that is not evident by evaluating party programs, conducting surveys, conducting interviews or conducting case studies (Black 2014).
The qualitative content and comparative design have required methods which allows us to review the content and compare the material. To fulfil the aim and answer the stated question, the method should carefully examine the material. The qualitative method is therefore done on the content of the speeches, not in the rhetoric or characteristics of the speaker. The material consists of sixteen speeches. Eight of the political speeches are held by the Swedish prime minister, Tage Erlander and the other eight speeches are held by the former Yugoslav president, Josip Broz Tito. The reason why we chose this number of speeches, is because it gives us enough material to analyse the areas that we are interested in and generalize the similarities and differences of the statements. If we had less material our analysis would not be complete, as it would not enable us to generalize the similarities and differences in the speeches. Some of the speeches have been transcribed from audio files to textual material to be able to make a content analysis of the speeches, while the rest of the speeches are found in textual form.

Since all the speeches from Erlander were in originally in Swedish, we translated them into English. The original quotes are written as footnotes in the text. Most of the speeches by Tito were found in English, therefore no footnotes on the original quotes exist, except for the speech in Split in 1962. Both writers of the thesis know Bosnian and Swedish language fluently, which has enabled the translation of the original speeches into English language. We are aware that the deep understanding of texts with translation could mean that some knowledge cannot be transferred in its exact notion, since it is sometimes hard to get the exact translation from one language to another. However, we argue that this fallacy should not be regarded as a problem in this thesis, as it is the meaning found in the context and content of the speeches that is important for this study.

Among the eight speeches held by Erlander, the speech concerning the People’s home speech [Statsminister Tage Erlander – Folkhemmet Sverige 16.09.1948], dated from 16 September 1948, deals with the reform programs of 1940’s and has some reference to welfare politics and social reforms.

Speech held at the SAP 70 years’ anniversary [Statsminister Erlanders tal vid Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetarparties 70-års jubileum den 19 april 1959], dated on May 19, 1959, deals with the struggles and achievements of the social democratic party in retrospect and has some reference to social reforms and labour market.
Erlander’s speech at the opening of Expo Norr [Statsminister Tage Erlander’s tal vid invigningen av Expo Norr], held in Östersund 1951, deals with the subjects of Swedish economic policies, the employment of the Swedish labour market, social security policies and the result of implemented governmental actions.

The First of May 1952 speech [Första maj 1952], held in Stockholm on May 1st, 1952, concerns the achievements of the Social democratic party in the past and the latest period. The speech is related to the policy areas of democracy in relation to the Swedish state, foreign policy in relation to humanitarian works to the United Nations and the Swedish non-alliance politics.

The First of May 1954 speech [Första maj 1954], dated on May 1st, 1954, concerns the achievements of the Social democratic party in the past and the latest period. The statements refer to the policy areas of labour market and welfare.

The Speech concerning Swedish atomic bombs [Statsminister Tage Erlander – Svenska atombomber 18.5.1954], dated from 18 May 1954, encounters the subjects of national security and the Swedish non-alliance politics.

The Speech held in the first chamber of the Riksdag session in January 1956, deals with the displeasure of failed expectations on societal employment. The focus is about social security, which is seen as a goal that is attained in the progress of societal employment.

The metal speech [Metalltalet], dated from 22 August 1961, contains statements about Sweden's political stance in foreign policy, during the cold war era.

Of the eight speeches held by Tito, Speech at the first congress of worker’s council’s, dated at June 25, 1957, deals with Yugoslavia’s market economy. The speech contains reference to the policy areas of labour market and welfare, as the workers are both consumers and producers of the production.

The “Speech in the Indian parliament”, dated from 27 December 1954, was held in New Delhi in India. The speech is delivered in with a sense of cooperative purpose as the Yugoslav
leader Tito announces his support and respect to the Indian nation. The speech refers to the policy areas of foreign policy and democracy, as the speech deals with the subjects of interrelated cooperation of the Yugoslav and the Indian nation.

The Speech delivered at the mass meeting of Cairo citizens, dated from the February 21st, 1959, was held in the city of Cairo, in Egypt. The speech deals with Yugoslavia’s interrelated co-operations with the aforementioned nationalities. The speech includes some reference to the policy areas of foreign policy, national identity and welfare.

The speech, Concerning the National Question and Social Patriotism was held November 26, 1948, at the Slovene Academy of Arts and Sciences in Ljubljana. The speech deals with the notion of national identity and national awareness, as Tito tries to promote the unification of all ethnic groups that existed in Yugoslavia.

The Split speech [Govor u Splitu], held in Split 7th May 1962, deals with the unification of the people of Yugoslavia. The speech is related to the policy areas of national identity, foreign policy and welfare.

The “Speech on the occasion of the opening of the congress of the international union for child welfare” speech, from 30 August 1954, deals with the policy area of welfare and foreign policy with the focus of child welfare in the world.

The “Historical Development in the World will move Towards the strengthening of Socialism” speech, dated from 19 April 1959, deals with the implementation of socialism in the global world. The speech refers to the policy area of foreign policy.

The eight speech, “Message to the International conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy”, dated from August 27, 1955, deals with the Yugoslav position regarding the topic of atomic energy. The speech refers to the policy area of foreign policy.

The reason why we chose political speeches as material for solving our scientific problem, is since the spoken act of political speeches in comparison to party programs or historical texts, can attribute the researcher in studies of ideology with political terminology that is utilized by the political leaders. As in our stated research question, the aim is to identify similarities and
differences in the socialist values as presented in the analytical framework. We argue that we will find our answer in the analysis of the material, since their statements on different topics presented their stance on different socialist concepts.

5.1.4 Method- Analysis of Ideology in Erlander’s and Tito’s speeches

The research involved measuring differences in the contents and expressions of Erlander’s and Tito’s socialist values. Direct content analysis and analysis of ideology was employed as the methodology. (Esaiasson and others, 2012) argue that this kind of analysis sets up to be critically analysed and break down the meaning with it.

For the analysis of ideology, we conducted Liedman’s (1980) three steps. First, all speeches were read and analysed, focusing on the obvious or explicit meaning of the manifest ideology. Secondly, we focused our reading and analysis on the latent ideology of the speeches. The third step was done by setting the latent and manifest ideology of the speeches in relation to the material, social and full context of reality. The procedure of analysis is expected to guide us in getting specified answers that will be added in the boxes of the analytical framework to complete our aim and to answer the research questions for the thesis (Esaiasson 2007)

The directed content analysis was exercised by having some specific theory and research question, which then guided the analytical reading of the texts. The analysis is further guided by a deductive category application, which is found in the analytical framework. The main feature of the analysis is to apply specific examples, definitions and categorical instructions to every deductive category that resembles the themes in relation to conceptual statements of policy areas. The text of observation is then investigated, categorized and analysed in terms of what category a paragraph has and which category definition resembles the category agenda (Hsieh & Shannon 2005).

Socialism as an ideology, has no real ideal type. The ideology is diversified into several different forms of socialism. For this reason, it can be said that socialist ideology is apparent in many socialist nations that construct their politics with the use of fundamental socialist manifest. This notion consequently means that socialist nations and socialist parties have many similarities and differences that are noteworthy to study. The core values of any ideology are not strictly sealed in that ideology itself, but rather can be shared by other ideologies as well. For instance, the core value of equality is incapable to conduct socialist
ideology on its own, just as the core value of liberty cannot be conceded explicitly by the liberal ideology. Another argument for conducting ideological analysis is that an ideology can function as ideal types, which can be portrayed as parameters and framework. Ideologies thus do not need to be definite. The material becomes relevant to the thesis, because it bestows a picture of the construct of socialist ideology presented by the two political leaders in their own words (Freeden 1996; Heywood 2014).
6.0 Analysis of Ideology in the speeches of Tage Erlander and Josip Broz Tito

This chapter provides an analysis and discussion of the thesis which will lead us to the conclusion and the results of the thesis. The analysis is divided into five sections based on the policy areas provided in the analytical framework, which are: Labour market, Foreign policy, Welfare, National identity and Democracy. As stated previously in the thesis, we will in this chapter analyse speeches given by Tage Erlander and Josip Broz Tito between the years 1948 and 1962 to identify differences and similarities in socialist values. We will in the analysis take one area at the time and discuss similarities and differences between the statements and answer the questions in the same order as presented in our theoretical framework. After finding and analysing each statement from each area we will make a comparison to one another. In the conclusion of the analysis we will be able to answer our question and the similarities and differences are evaluated in terms of socialist values from the two political leaders. By doing this, we will fulfil the aim and answer the research question of this thesis.

6.1.1 Analysis of Labour market

During Tito’s first mandate period as president, there was a big focus on developing and building up the new Yugoslavia, with much focus on the economy and labour market. In the speech at the first congress of worker’s councils in 1957, Tito argues:

This was a major, one can say historic, act in the development of our socialist social system, an act dictated by our social needs at a particular stage, that is to say, the need for democratisation in the economy, the establishment of new, socialist relationships in production, based on the wide participation of workers, not only in the management of production but also in its further development and in distribution. The aim of this act was to make it possible for workers to develop their creative abilities and self-initiative to the maximum, a development which had been held back by centralised management of production. (Speech at the First Congress of Worker’s Councils).

The reference of building socialism relates to the latent of the revolutionary socialist ideology, which means that by acknowledging the labour theory and economic socialism, the chains set by the bourgeois can be broken down by the proletariat. The socialist core value of human nature as active, relates to Tito’s manifest ideology of the introduction of the self-management system. Tito continues:
As a heritage from the old underdeveloped Yugoslavia there was a very small number of skilled, competent personnel; and then again, the Liberation War, that is to say, the People’s Revolution, had claimed from the most skilled ranks of the small working class particularly heavy sacrifices. But we saw that our young workers were full of amazing zeal and skill in mastering the techniques for the production of various complicated machines, particularly in making high quality products and creating technical means, including various equipment for new factories and electric power stations. The problem of creating and training a new skilled labour force, as demanded by the ever-increasing rate of industrialisation, could in fact be settled by transferring the factories and enterprises to management by workers’ collectives; which, as has been shown, has produced outstanding results (Speech at the First Congress of Worker’s Councils).

The reference made to the people’s revolution in the speech resembles the latent ideology of the revolutionary socialist ideology. The manifest ideology that Tito advocates for has the goal to change the societal and political structure with the means of the labour theory and by utilizing economic socialism. When the latent ideology of equalizing the burden of the workforce is realized, then the chains from the bourgeois can be broken down by the proletariat which would indicate that the socialist value of human nature as active would be initiated. This realization would in turn initiate the core socialist value of human welfare as a desirable object, as with the latent ideology Tito sees the potential of worker’s effects on the societal development and evening out of class differences. In another speech, Tito argues:

[...] Our peoples today have progressed so far in their consciousness, that they have already realised that they cannot live one without another. They have realised that our community provides for comprehensive development — economic, cultural, political, and so on. They have seen that it provides for building socialism in our country, that it provides safeguards for their existence and peaceful development. It would, of course, be erroneous to think that unity based on socialist awareness has already been achieved here. This will not be achieved in this country so long as there is a class struggle, so long as there are elements which are holding up the development of socialism in this country [...] (Speech Concerning the National Question and Social Patriotism).

The reference of building socialism relates to the core socialist value of human nature as active in relation to the manifest of the revolutionary socialist ideology, as Yugoslavia’s workforce being the means to achieve the latent ideology of the socialist core value human welfare as a desirable object. This logic is based on the labour theory and economic socialism which means that class differences are evened among the different ethnicities with the participation of workers. As the latter value is integrated in the society, the socialist core values of equality and human nature as active will be set off as the Yugoslavs will be united.
in the socialist awareness which completes the socialist core value regarding the constitutive relation of human relationship. The workers act as a group and thus the building of socialism becomes possible.

First of May in 1954, Tage Erlander held a speech regarding the progress and the current situation of the Swedish society. Erlander used the connotation of revolution as a metaphor for socio-economic policies. He argues:

 [...] A revolution occurred in the way of considering the relationship between citizens and society when it was generally accepted that society is responsible for ensuring that employment policies cannot be sustained by a weak society without influence on economic life. Society must have resources in its hands. From the employment point, today's location is satisfactory. We have a high level of employment. This result has been achieved without price increases. We live in a balanced boom. External or internal disturbances can cause the upswing to drift at a too fast pace (First May speech 1954).

It becomes evident from this statement that Erlander is acknowledging the manifest and latent of the democratic socialist ideology. By advocating for the strong society, he is presenting the core socialist value of human nature as active, with the means of labour theory and economic socialism, Erlander shows his trust in the latent ideology of democratic socialism. The ideology advocates state socialism and economic democracy in terms of the state having limited control in the market economy.

In the year 1951, Erlander held a speech at the exhibition of Expo Norr. The speech is aimed at the Swedish economy and the Swedish labour market. A significant remark is made to the value of Swedish enterprises to the Swedish export. Erlander argues:

 [...] Even the most ignorant knows nowadays, what Norrland means to Swedish enterprise. For our export, the Norrländic forest and the northern forest industry is of crucial significance. The forcing extension of hydroelectric in the last years, have attached attention on Norrlands wealth in this respect. No comments are needed to point out what the ore in the Norrbotten and in the Västerbotten means to us. We are all happy that in the current extension of our iron industry Norrbottens ironworks is taking an eminent place. [---] (Erlander’s Speech at the opening of Expo Norr: 58-59).

The manifest ideology of the statement is referred to the socialist core value of human nature as active, as the evening out of classes in society and the empowerment of workers is done by
having workers own the means of production. In this context, Erlander is promoting the public, state-owned enterprises which makes a significant part in the mixed private and public control of the latent ideology of democratic socialism that Erlander advocates. Erlander gives room for the promotion of small Swedish enterprises in the next part of the speech:

[..] Handicrafts and small-industries possibilities to compete alongside the big industries, which use economies of scale, depends largely on the ability to keep its products on a high level of quality. That implies both the deposition at domestic- and foreign markets. However, it is not least important to expose their goods on the right way. We already have a good reputation abroad, for our technical skills and good quality goods. It is about consolidating and building up that reputation, not least because of our economic recovery depends to a large extent on our export markets (Erlander’s Speech at the opening of Expo Norr: 58-59).

Erlander manifest ideology is found when he promotes the socialist core value of human nature as active in relation to the labour theory, as Swedish citizens are doing their part in raising socialism by being the fuel of the economic socialist drive force. A big part of this economic socialist drive force, which is found in the employment to the handicrafts and small-industries must do with the dependence of the export market to the Swedish economy and to the Swedish welfare. This latter logic is a typical example of the latent ideology of the core socialist value of human welfare as a desirable object. The chosen focus on the smaller, private enterprises that Erlander makes in the speech would indicate this significance.

Two core values that both politicians advocate for are human nature as active and the constitutive relation of human relationship. In relation to the labour market, the first value is resembled in the full participation of the workforce and the second resembles the relation among humans that be both producers and consumers. Both Erlander and Tito advocate for the full participation of the workforce but they have conflicting values on the idea that humans are both producers and consumers. Erlander advocates for a mixed control of the economy as the big enterprises are publicly owned and the small are privately owned. Tito advocates for a self-management system that is owned by the state. Both politicians advocate for the third core value of human welfare as a desirable object, but Tito is advocating the latent and manifest ideology of revolutionary socialism whereas Erlander is advocating for a democratic socialism.
6.1.2 Analysis of Foreign Policy

*History as the arena of beneficial change* is the socialist fundamental core value that is closely related to the concept of foreign policy. In this respect, a socialist political leader will see the other countries as like their own. On interrelated relations Tito argued:

[...] You know that you have a great friend in the peoples of Yugoslavia. We followed your fight for independence and our sympathies were on your side. Our peoples continue to follow with interest your efforts to develop your country as well as your endeavours and struggle to safeguard your independence. Last year they were happy to welcome the unification of two countries, Egypt and Syria. The peoples of Yugoslavia are in deep sympathy with you, as they have also had to cope with similar situations as the one with which you are faced today. We have also had to face very difficult moments in our history, both more remote and recent. We are not in an easy situation today either, but we are strong thanks to the unity of our peoples. And here, when we watch you, your United Arab Republic, we realise wherein lies the guarantee of your power: it is in your unity (Speech delivered at the mass meeting of Cairo citizens).

The latent ideology of this statement is found in the understanding of the societal developments of nation states in relation to the socialist core value of *History as the arena of beneficial change*. The encouraging manifest of solidarity from Tito’s statement resembles the comparison that Tito makes to the Arab nations and his Yugoslavia. In the comparison, the Arab nation is seen as a struggling nation and Yugoslavia an advanced nation. Similarly, the speech “Concerning the National Question and Social patriotism”, presents Tito’s view on the relation between socialist countries.

[...] What, in my view, ought to be relations between socialist countries in the given stage of socialism in the world? Marxism-Leninism has given the theoretical solution for creating socialism as a system, as a new social formation. This system is now being implemented in the Soviet Union, in Yugoslavia and other people's democracies, according to the given conditions, as a new social system. But it has not yet been possible to study theoretically the question of relations between countries which are building socialism. Lenin says, in his works, and this was later brought to pass in the USSR, that it is possible to create socialism in a single country. In saying this he had in view, in the first instance, the Soviet Union, but nowhere has he said that this is not possible outside the Soviet Union (Speech Concerning the National Question and Social Patriotism).

The latent ideology of this statement lies in the understanding of the core socialist value *History as the arena of beneficial change*. The comparison that Tito makes with other socialist countries and socialism in the world can be understood as the reading of history and social advancement of Yugoslavia, in relation to other socialist nations. Tito’s remark on the
possibilities to build socialism in other countries outside the Soviet Union, can be understood as encouraging manifest ideology to solidarity and cooperation. The encouraging remark of spreading socialism in the world, is notable as Tito is inviting other nations to join “the group” of socialist nations. This reasoning is also found in the next example when Tito argues:

[...] I will not talk of other countries; I can, however, say that this has seemed quite possible here in Yugoslavia, although it is denied by various wiseacres, who thumb tirelessly through the scientific works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, in order to find quotations to corroborate their own erroneous points of view. Nevertheless, we are successfully and surely building socialism, not out of sheer obstinacy but for historical necessity; we are building socialism, profoundly convinced that it will not only be of value to our peoples but will be an example to other nations (Speech Concerning the National Question and Social Patriotism).

The core socialist value *History as the arena of beneficial change* resembles Tito’s latent ideology, as the comparison of Yugoslavia’s socialism and the Soviet communism that Tito makes, is a way to come closer to the socialist nations in the international community.

Another core socialist value that Tito enlightens with his latent ideology is *human welfare as a desirable object*. The value is present, as the comparison relates to the expansion of socialism in the international community. It is not only in the Soviet Union, that the socialist system is working according to Tito, but also in Yugoslavia so there must be a chance for other nations to have a socialist governing system. The encouraging latent ideology to solidarity is also evident as Tito advocates socialist building. On a similar note, Tito had spoken about the economic relations that exists between socialist countries. Tito argues:

[...] Economic relations today between socialist countries are still based on the capitalist practice of commodity exchange. Nothing has been changed here. Obviously, such relations give no impetus to a closer getting together of socialist countries. This is, in a sense, understandable, if one bears in mind that the majority of countries I have been talking about suffered a great deal during the war and they are now trying to deal with the devastation as quickly as possible. All this is understandable; but what is incomprehensible is that with regard to the matter of exchanging goods, in other words trade, less favourable terms are offered by the countries of people's democracy to Yugoslavia than to certain capitalist countries. We have not asked anyone to make any exceptions in our case in this respect, and that is why we have taken various measures to extricate ourselves from all possible existing difficulties. In so doing, we have never done anything in any way different from the actions of our allies in the East, that is to say — we have done what the other countries of people's democracy have done. If that is not to anyone's liking, then a motive for attacking our country should be found in these questions, rather than that various matters completely without foundation should be concocted (Speech Concerning the National Question and Social Patriotism).
The latent ideology statement relates to the socialist core value of \textit{constitutive nature of the human relationship}, as the object in the speech relates to notion of group membership. Tito means that nations that are regarded as “socialist” should take into consideration that they are in fact making trades and helping non-socialist nations, instead of considering making trade with their respective members, such as the socialist member Yugoslavia. Tito’s manifest ideology is encouraging cooperation with socialist member nations. The same reasoning of manifest ideology with the socialist core value of \textit{constitutive nature of the human relationship}, in relation to encouraging solidarity and cooperation is found in Tito’s “Speech in the Indian parliament”. Tito argues:

[...] As against blocs and ideological division in the world, and if mankind is to be saved from the greatest catastrophe in history, we can see real possibilities in co-existence between nations and States with different systems. I am not thinking here of some sort of passive co-existence, but of an active co-operation and a peaceful understanding to settle various problems and eliminate all elements which might hamper comprehensive co-operation between small and large countries. Further, such co-existence is not merely a real possibility, it is absolutely essential if we are to avoid a new world war with all the appalling consequences of the latest methods of destruction, such as atomic and hydrogen bombs, etc (Speech in the Indian Parliament).

Tito’s manifest ideology of nations choosing sides for them to keep their sovereignty, relates to the socialist core value of \textit{constitutive nature of the human relationship}. Using Hudson (2005) formulation of foreign policy, Tito’s latent ideology statement regards the human nature of group categorization, in relation to external solidarity of nations against the use of atomic bombs and hydrogen bombs. He continues:

[...] You are aware that Yugoslavia, at the price of heavy material sacrifices, has created a military force which is powerful by European standards. This was necessary because our country was in danger of losing its independence. This military force has today, and will have in the future, as its sole task, the defence of the peaceful development and independence of the Yugoslav people. In other words, it will never be used for aggressive aims of any kind; but on the contrary, as the Army of a peaceable socialist country, its existence conduces to the strengthening of peace in that part of Europe (Speech in the Indian Parliament).

Tito’s manifest ideology relates to the core socialist value of \textit{History as the arena of beneficial change}, as Tito is encouraging solidarity and cooperation with European nations in relation to the socialist belief that history and changes in the world are determined by the actions of human beings. The socialist core value of the \textit{constitutive nature of the human
relationship is also apparent in the latent ideology, as Tito is saying that Yugoslavia will defend itself, if the independence of Yugoslavia is questioned, albeit the consequences of exclusion from the global community.

On the international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, Tito argues:

[...] These results have further strengthened Yugoslavia's conviction that comprehensive co-operation on a basis of democracy and equality within the framework of the Organisation and in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations is the basic way of ensuring harmonious development of relations in the world and of eliminating the terrible dangers that might arise for mankind as a result of a possible misuse of the great achievements of contemporary science. Yugoslavia will continue in the future to give her full support to every initiative aimed at international co-operation in this and other fields, regarding such a policy as a contribution to peace and the progressive development of relations in the world (Message to the International conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy).

The manifest ideology of the statement relates to the socialist core value of History as the arena of beneficial change, as Tito is encourages solidarity and cooperation with the members of the United Nations in relation to perceiving other nations, to come closer to the socialist nations in the international community.

Erlander had a similar latent ideology of group membership. An example of this opinion can be found in the famous Metal speech. Erlander argues:

[---] It is important for us to calmly and methodically seek to penetrate the problems from the point of view of Swedish interests, thus preparing for the in-depth negotiations. [...] Close consultation will of course be maintained with other nations and with relevant groups and opinions in our country. It is therefore not, a matter of some passivity from the Swedish side. In parallel with English and French, we and the rest of the EFTA countries want permission contact with the six. [...] At the same time, we have a clear commitment to, in the meantime, in all ways try to strengthen and deepen the cooperation that has been initiated with such success in EFTA. During these years, we have managed to build a spirit of understanding and trust in this circle of cooperating nations. We have achieved significant results in promoting a free product exchange. In view of the uncertainty that characterizes the future, we have every reason to safeguard EFTA (The Metal speech).

The latent ideology of group membership in this context is related to the socialist core value of constitutive nature of the human relationship. Erlander cares for the interrelated relationships that Sweden has with the member states that are part of the EFTA union and the
EEC union. However, Erlander makes clear of his manifest ideology, as Sweden is not ready to integrate the EEC demands with a sense of calm rationality that wishes to keep the good relations that exists with nations inside the EFTA union. This manifest ideology resembles the core socialist value of *History as the arena of beneficial change*, as the statement relates to the socialist belief that humans act as subjects of history in relation to changes in the world. The main reason for Sweden not wanting to commit to a membership in the EEC is found in the next part of the speech:

[...] In an uncertain position, it is of particular importance that we have a clear goal for our actions. We have never hesitated for an economic cooperation with a free exchange of goods, as a target. It is in a determined will to produce results, in line with this objective as that we go into negotiations. Simultaneously, our foreign policy is firm. It would be extremely unfortunate if that perception would be spreading- at home and abroad, that Sweden is moving away from the neutrality politics. It would be fatal if the idea was spread so that we felt so threatened by the economic consequences of being outside European cooperation that we are prepared to give up what has been the main line of Swedish foreign policy for many years (The Metal speech)

Erlander’s latent ideology in the statement is present in the prioritizing of Swedish non-alignment and neutrality over the economic wealth, that would come from a membership in the EEC. The statement is related to the core socialist value of *constitutive nature of human relationship*, as Erlander is substituting the notion of group membership inside the EEC union for the notion of group membership of the Swedish nation. Erlander is promoting the nation state awareness of the nationalist group of Swedes, with nation building policies. In another speech, Erlander spoke about the different circumstances that would mean that Sweden would act against its non-alliance stance. In the speech concerning Swedish atomic bombs, Erlander said:

Gotland would badly manage its long peace dictators if we were not prepared to be actively trying to achieve a general disarmament and a realistic and effective control of nuclear energy. But we must be prepared to defend our independence, if a great war breaks out, it is likely that nuclear weapons will be used. This means that we must be ready to defend ourselves in a future war, even against an enemy who uses nuclear weapons against us. We should not make any illusions about the way in which such defence can come about. But I'm confident that I interpret the perception of all democratic members of this parliament and of the vast majority of our people if I say that not even the threat of an atomic war can lose our determination to utterly defend our freedom and our independence from every attack (Speech concerning Swedish atomic bombs).
Erlander’s manifest ideology is the socialist core value of *History as the arena of beneficial change* in relation to having trust of cooperative capabilities of humans to act as subject of history to change the world. This becomes evident in Erlander’s encouraging solidarity with the global community that are against the use of atomic energy. The latent ideology of Erlander’s statement is found in the promotion of socialist core value of the *constitutive nature of the human relationship*, insofar as nation state awareness and nation building policies. This becomes evident as Erlander is making sure that the national group of Sweden comes before the group of countries that are against the use of atomic bombs, in the event of foreign invasion on Sweden.

Erlander’s latent ideology of interrelated co-operation with the global community is also found in his first of May speech from 1952. Erlander said:

[...]

We have a direct interest in supporting all the constructive forces that seek to deny conflicts that can lead to war. That's why we wholeheartedly participate in the United Nations, which is why we regard today's support for the underdeveloped countries as a vital issue. Indeed, it means a major risk to world peace that the majority of the world's population lives on a living standard so low that even the poorest of us can hardly imagine it (First of May 1952).

Erlander’s latent ideology statement can be understood as encouragement for helping the less advantageous group of countries in the world, in relation to the socialist core value of *History as the arena of beneficial change*. The statement can be understood as the reading of history and social advancement of Sweden, in relation to the underdeveloped countries of the international community. In this respect, he also makes a latent ideology in relation to *Human welfare as a desirable object* and *constitutive nature of the human relationship*. The argument is that Erlander wishes the best possible support for the underdeveloped countries, hence he is encouraging the socialist concepts of solidarity, cooperation and the collective which is founded on helping as many human beings as possible.

Both political leaders advocated for the core values of *constitutive nature of the human relationship* and *history as the beneficial arena of change* in relation to *human welfare as a desirable object*. In relation to foreign policy, the first value is resembled in internal and external group membership that each leader has for its nation and for the global community. The other two values are evident in how both leaders encourage solidarity and cooperation, in
relation to reading history and social development of their own nation. Both Erlander and Tito claimed that military force will not be used for aggressive purposes, but that they are ready to defend their national independence in the event of foreign invasion.

### 6.1.3 Analysis of Welfare

Tito held a speech at the first congress of worker’s councils, related to the welfare society. Tito argues:

[...]
The objective difficulties which were in the way of a more rapid and suitable development of workers self-management must be discussed by those of us who are responsible for the overall development of socialist construction in this country. For we cannot and must not fail to admit our responsibility for delays in eliminating certain obsolete regulations and devices which slow down the rate of production and, as a result of this, curb the rise in our workers' living standards. [...] But it does happen that difficulties of an objective character become subjective; and then, we who are in leading positions must do all we can to remove these shortcomings as quickly as possible, because that depends on us, in the leadership. [...] (Speech at the First Congress of Worker’s Councils).

The manifest ideology in this statement is related to the socialist core value of *History as the arena of beneficial change*, as the reading of history and social advancement is done in relation to Yugoslavia’s economical past. The latent ideology relates to the core socialist values of *human welfare as desirable object* and *equality*. The socialist labour theory has according to Tito, not been implemented in relation to economic socialism, which has meant that the rise in living standards of all the workers has failed in relation to the slowdown of economic growth. Another relatable core socialist value in relation to Tito’s latent ideology is *human nature as active*, as Tito puts his trust in the labour theory an economic socialism to improvements in societal welfare. Tito continues:

[...] While creating better economic conditions, it had to give up a great deal, to the detriment of its own standard of living, for the benefit of our industrialisation and for the benefit of the transformation of our country. If we survey our country today, we shall see numerous factories and enterprises with up-to-date equipment, which is transforming a once backward Yugoslavia into an increasingly industrially developed country. The creative energy of our working people found the greatest expression precisely during this most difficult period [...] (Speech at the First Congress of Worker’s Councils).
The manifest ideology of Tito’s statements relates to the socialist core value of human welfare as a desirable object, as Tito is advocating economic socialism and the labour theory. The latent ideology is based on the socialist core value of human nature as active in relation to the History as the arena of beneficial change. The reading of history and social advancement is made of the old Yugoslavia. The socio-economic problems came from the sacrifices that workers did to sustain Yugoslavia, thus showing the potential and creativity in the Yugoslav people. Tito continues:

[...] It goes without saying that we must eliminate as quickly as possible the elements which do not conduce to the productivity of labour and which still hamper the creative talents and initiative of the workers, preventing them from developing to the full. When we speak of greater productivity of labour, we must at the same time think of increasing the living standard of the workers. We can't go on making appeals to the sense of duty of the workers to get them to produce more, unless they too are to feel the results of their efforts, in the form of increased remuneration and increased living standard (Speech at the First Congress of Worker’s Councils).

The manifest ideology of the statement relates to the core socialist value of human nature as active, in relation to the labour theory and economic socialism. The latent ideology is related to the core socialist value of human welfare as a desirable object, as the full participation of the workforce is believed to advance the welfare in society.

The claim of the importance of the functioning of welfare was also made by Tito. At the speech on the opening of the congress of the international union for child welfare, Tito argues:

[...] We live at a time when all the nations of the world have come to the conclusion that child welfare, welfare for the younger generation, is a matter for the whole nation, that is, for the whole social community, as a question of vital importance not only for the correct development of the young, but also for the vitality and viability of nations, and so they are making, to the best of their abilities, great efforts to secure conditions for the normal development of children both in a physical and also in a cultural sense (Speech on the occasion of the opening of the congress of the international union for child welfare).

Through this reasoning, Tito encourages the socialist latent of economic socialism and the labour theory. In another speech, Tito continues to talk about the welfare society:

[...] We have every right to be proud of our glorious past and of our present activity in building socialism in this country, and also of the contribution, modest though it may be, which we are making to the development of socialism in the world. It is
nonsensical to call every expression of pride at the successes of our Party antisocialist or nationalist. [...] (Historical Development in the World will move Towards the strengthening of Socialism).

The manifest ideology of the statement relates to the core socialist value *History as the arena of beneficial change*, as the mentioning of building and expansion socialism indicates the reading of the social development and history. The argument of latent ideology is made in relation to the core socialist value of *human welfare as a desirable*, as building socialism means to build welfare, which is the latent ideology of revolutionary socialism that Tito advocates.

Similarly, Erlander talked about the developments in the Swedish welfare society. He argues:

[...] In addition to employment policy, social policy is the most important expression of the new view of society as a supportive and aides to individual people. In the social policy area, post-war times have been filled with significant progress. About the 1946 decision on raising the national pensions, 1947 decision on child support, 1952 decision on the three-week holiday. We are pleased to note that the 1953-54 reform pact is not taken but, on the contrary, the rate of increase. The standard increase for the national pensioners is the big winnings (First May speech 1954).

The manifest ideology relates to the socialist core values of *human welfare as a desirable object and equality*, in that Erlander argues that the collective is reassured of their social benefits. The latent ideology relates to the core socialist value of *human nature as active and equality*, as Erlander is advocating for economic socialism and the labour theory in relation to anyone who can work should work and pay taxes so that the whole collective can benefit from it. This line of thought is also found in another of Erlander speeches held at the SAP 70-year anniversary:

[...] Crisis policy not only meant an indication of funds for launching emergency preparedness work. It implied a principled position of extraordinary importance, namely, that man could be freed from being a playbook for the hard game of economic forces, if the citizens clustered and allowed the principles of solidarity and co-operation to guide society's policies. The society was responsible for employment, not just for relief activities among unemployed people, an idea that completely characterized the aftermath of the post-war program by the workforce movement (Speech held at the SAP 70 years’ anniversary).

The manifest ideology in this statement relates to the socialist core value *human welfare as a desirable*, as the expected effects of economic socialism that Erlander advocates is built on
the latent ideology of full employment of the workforce in relation to the socialist core value of *human nature as active*. With this notion, Erlander emphasizes the creativity and potential of workers in latent ideology of democratic socialist, where the means of production is control by the workers. In hindsight of the economic socialism that Erlander advocates, the welfare is based on the tax revenues that comes from workers’ wages. This becomes evident in the first of May speech of 1952, as Erlander says:

[...] Obviously, every government party strives to meet the voters under the favourable atmosphere that a taxation-cut implies. But on the other hand, funds must be provided for the expenditure and, secondly, such a significant overbalancing of the budget will be made clear that the budget instrument in the struggle against high price and inflation will not be useless (First May speech 1952).

The latent ideology of full participation of workers is made in relation to the socialist core value of *human nature as active*. This in turn, relates to latent ideology of the socialist core value *human welfare as a desirable*, as workers’ pay tax which contributes to the budget and standards of welfare in society. Erlander is arguing that the overbalance of the budget needs to be used carefully in the event of inflation and high prices, therefore the ruling parties must keep its tax levels unchanged.

*Human welfare as a desirable object* is the most evident socialist value that both leaders advocate in relation to the policy area of welfare. In this respect, both leaders advocate economic socialism and the labour theory to utilize the creativity and potential of the workforce. Equivalently, both leaders have the goal to achieve welfare in society in relation to satisfying as many humans needs as possible. However, the way to complete the obstacles looks different in the latent ideology of the two leaders. Erlander is advocating for a democratic socialist manifest ideology of progressive social reforms, whereas Tito is advocating for a Yugoslav post-Soviet socialism manifest ideology that resembles a one-party rule with a revolutionary program.

6.1.4 Analysis of National Identity

The speech “Concerning the national question and social patriotism” makes a good case on the area of national identity, as Tito argues:
Without a correct solution of this question — in the manner in which we have settled it — it would be impossible to go on building socialism, because without internal unity, without constructive brotherhood and unity among the nationalities in our country, it would be impossible to reconstruct our country and quite out of the question to fulfil the Five-Year Plan, or to carry out many of the other measures, or to achieve such successes as we have to date (Speech Concerning the National Question and Social Patriotism).

The manifest ideology of the statement is related to the core socialist value of the constitutive nature of human relationship, as Tito is emphasizing that Yugoslavs makes up for the internal unity, which is the foundation of building socialism. It is not possible to carry out measures or achieve success without a united population, hence he is arguing for “brotherhood and unity” of the existing nationalities. Tito continues this reasoning in the next part of the speech:

In the old Yugoslavia national oppression by the great-Serb capitalist clique meant strengthening the economic exploitation of the oppressed peoples. This is the inevitable fate of all who suffer from national oppression. In the new, socialist Yugoslavia the existing equality of rights for all nationalities has made it impossible for one national group to impose economic exploitation upon another. That is because hegemony of one national group over another no longer exists in this country. Any such hegemony must inevitably bring with it, to some degree or other, in one form or another, economic exploitation; and that would be contrary to the principles upon which socialism rests. Only economic, political, cultural, and universal equality of rights can make it possible for us to grow in strength in these tremendous endeavours of our community (Speech Concerning the National Question and Social Patriotism).

The manifest ideology found in this statement relates to the core socialist value of the constitutive nature of human relationship and equality, as the unification process of building the national group of Yugoslavs starts with the universal equality of rights of all existing nationalities. The logic of his argument resembles the latent ideology, meaning that the collective must be put before the individuals. This reasoning of collectivism is also found in the Split speech, as Tito argues:

Some communists only look at their narrowest circle, so there has been political dissatisfaction and irregularities in some republics. We have spilled the sea of blood for the brotherhood and unity of our people, and we will not allow anyone to touch us or to destroy this fraternity and unity from the inside. These political weaknesses and irregularities are the result of cultural development in our country. People are returning to their history back, starting to flutter and forget about the future development of our socialist community as a whole. Not one of our republics would be anything, that we are not all together! We must create our history, our Yugoslav socialist history, unique and in the future, without touching the national law of certain republics to make their traditions, not to the detriment of the community, but to complement each other (Speech in Split).
The manifest ideology in this statement is related to constitutive nature of human relationship and equality. Tito advocates for the unification of all national groups with his emphasis on “brotherhood and unity”, which resembles the reading of history and social development that is related to the socialist core value of History as the arena of beneficial change. The latter value is done as nation building policies, which means that Tito attempted to form homogeneity in Yugoslavia. He continues:

[...] One simply seizes the pain when he sees that this chauvinism began to settle down with our youth. I do not think it came from the cloud, but from home, from the elderly. We must guard our greatest course, brotherhood and the unity of our peoples because it enables us to move forward creatively forward, to create a strong socialist community and a happier life for our people. Even today, 15 and more years after the war, we must still talk about brotherhood and unity, although they must be the blood and flesh of every citizen of Yugoslavia (Speech in Split 1962).

Tito’s manifest ideology in this statement is related to the socialist core value of constitutive nature of human relationship in relation to the socialist core value of History as the arena of beneficial change. The relation between the two values is based on Tito’s latent ideology by reading of history and social advancement of the old Yugoslavs, the object of unifying national ethnicities is evident when existing ethnicities can get past their forefather’s perception of nationalism and ethnic differences. In another speech held in the Indian parliament, Tito argues:

[...] Right at the beginning of the struggle the contours of the future development of Yugoslavia could be discerned, in that the people adopted the slogans that were given, as for example, in the first place, the slogan referring to the settlement of the nationalities problem: that every nationality in Yugoslavia has the right to self-determination. During the war itself the proper settlement of the social question was stressed as a slogan, and the features of the future Yugoslav State were also marked out. Thus, the unity of the people and the features of the future State were forged in the process of the Liberation Struggle; and after the war this had a tremendous significance in the definitive formation of the Yugoslav State as a country with a new social system (Speech in the Indian Parliament).

The statement’s latent ideology is related to the socialist core value of History as the arena of beneficial change in relation to him reading the social development and history, as all nationalities in Yugoslavia benefitted from the social package and lessened inequalities. Tito compared the old nationalistic Yugoslavia with the upcoming Yugoslavia and found that a
new nation had emerged with a new social system. The manifest ideology of the statement is related to the socialist core value of *constitutive nature of human relationship*, as Tito is advocating for national building policies in favour of the new Yugoslav nation.

In the famous metal speech, Erlander had touched the subject of national identity:

[...] In order to meet our foreign policy interests as far as possible, we need a measure of both formal and actual freedom of movement. Freedom of alliance constitutes a very important element of this freedom of movement, but it must be complemented with a consistent endeavour, to even outside, avoid the military policy, the binding that makes it difficult, or impossible for Sweden, to face a conflict, choosing a neutral course and which will lose the confidence of the outside world to Sweden, that it really wishes to choose such a course (The Metal speech).

This latent ideology of Swedish neutrality being recognized and associated with Sweden, relates indirectly to the socialist core value of *the constitutive nature of the human relationship*. As the neutrality is seen as a nation-building policy effort, it is not farfetched to say that the formation of homogeneity in a part of the Swedish state has been achieved. The latent ideology of the statement relates to the core socialist value of *history as the arena of beneficial change*, as the reading of Swedish history and social development shows that Sweden faces the possibility to become isolated from the international community if the neutrality is questioned.

On a different occasion, Erlander had spoken about the people’s home:

[...] Now, the major social reform efforts have also been accepted by all political parties. This has undoubtedly contributed to the avoidance of everything in the design of social reform work, which could give the character of class policy. Attempts have been made to give reforms a content so that we can penetrate all homes in all social groups, public retirement, child support, health insurance. The major pillars of social security Sweden cover all our people and treat urban and rural areas in principle equally. The sixteen years have given us a social standard, which is higher than any other country in the world, may show opposition. It has been known that you have been with, and built on, the people's home Sweden (The Speech concerning the people’s home).

Erlander’s latent ideology in this statement relates to the socialist core value of *the constitutive nature of the human relationship* in relation to the socialist core value of *history as the arena of beneficial change*. The emphasis made on Sweden’s historical reading of the social network is made in relation to nation building policies, as the national identity among
the Swedes is strengthened when they relate to the struggle and progress of the people’s home.

Another connotation to Erlander’s nation building policies is found in the Speech held in the first chamber of the Riksdag session in January 1956:

[...] I am convinced that the difficulties of the US government largely depend on the fact that in America there is a mass unemployment, which makes it natural for many white to try to wander over poverty and unemployment on the blacks in the belief that they thus not having to suffer themselves. We Swedes live in such an infinitely happier situation. Our country's population is homogeneous, not only in terms of race but also in many other respects. Therefore, we can tackle unemployment problems in a completely different way, knowing that what we do is one thing that is in any case not influenced by differences in skin colour or religion without our efforts being motivated solely for the sake of unemployment itself. Therefore, we may have to be a little humbler when we approach this problem than we may be many times (Speech held in the first chamber of the Riksdag session in January 1956).

The core socialist value of history as the arena of beneficial change is acquired in this statement, in relation to the manifest ideology of reading history and social development of Sweden in comparison to the United States. Erlander’s latent ideology resembles nation building policies, which is related to the formation of homogeneity in Sweden. This reasoning in turn, relates to the socialist core value of constitutive nature of the human relationship, as Erlander’s comparison of Sweden and the United States is done in favour of strengthening the national group of Swedes.

The socialist core values that both politicians shared on the policy of national identity were the constitutive nature of human relationship, equality and history as the arena of beneficial change. The first socialist value is founded on nation building policies, where both leaders saw their nation as a specific group, with a specific identity. Erlander’s reading of the historical and social development of the national group of Swedes, was done as the people who were raised in the social democratic program of the people’s home. All Swedes shared the same benefits and were subject to struggles of maintaining the capitalist society that socialists had achieved. Tito saw the national group of the new Yugoslavia, as a multi-ethnic nation that needed to be unified in terms of “brotherhood and unity”. The Yugoslavs did not have equal opportunities from the beginning, hence Tito advocated for the unification of a new socialist Yugoslavia where the class system would be evened out.
6.1.5 Analysis of Democracy

In a speech in New Delhi, Tito argued about democracy:

[...] Although founded on a federal basis, Yugoslavia between the end of the war and 1950 had a centralised system of management in the economy and to a large extent also in the administration. Why was this so? The first reason was that the country was exceedingly backward, and furthermore it was completely devastated; for that reason, it was necessary, for the sake of rational utilisation of basic resources and an even distribution of those resources and the means of production which were in any case slender, that economic matters should be directed from one centre. Here it is particularly important to stress the fact that the State at the very outset took the line that the developed republics should help the backward ones (Speech in the Indian Parliament).

In relation to this statement, the manifest ideology is founded on the socialist core value of the constitutive nature of human relationship in relation to the socialist core value of equality. Tito is advocating for a one-party rule of former Yugoslavia; hence he is arguing that the government should be controlled not by the people, but by his political party. The latent ideology of his statement is related to the socialist core value of history as the arena of beneficial change, as Tito’s reading of the old Yugoslavia on history and the social development makes him stress the benefits of an authoritarian rule regarding rational utilization of basic resources. He continues:

[...] It was necessary to pass a whole host of laws, based on the Constitution, to enable the federal units to work. But as soon as the material conditions had been created, as soon as the industry of our country, in the first-place heavy industry, had reached a level at which centralized management of the economy and the administration was becoming a brake on further development, we went ahead with the decentralization and democratization of management both in the economy and in the administration. The first significant act of decentralization was the transfer of all economic ministries to the jurisdiction of the republics; and in April 1950 one of the most significant laws was passed, by which all means of production were handed over to management by workers collectives, which has to date produced outstanding results (Speech in the Indian Parliament).

The manifest ideology of this statement is related to the core socialist value of equality in relation to the socialist core value of the constitutive nature of human relationship. Tito’s latent ideology is the self-management system in relation to the democratic plan economy, which is based on state ownership of the means of production that he argues is owned by the worker’s collectives and hence is democratically owned. Tito also spoke about the democratization of the worker’s management in another speech:
It should not be forgotten that our socialist society is an enormous collective in which the interests of the individual must coincide with the interests of the whole community. It is very harmful for the community if, instead of real socialist relationships in factories and undertakings, the principle of the stronger prevails. Disloyal competition, and the setting up of a number of enterprises of the same sort, merely for the sake of competition with already existing enterprises, is exceedingly harmful, because too much investment is absorbed which could be more usefully employed for other purposes. Another harmful practice is when certain enterprises refrain from any co-operation which might result in cheaper production of certain products, and so on (Speech at the First Congress of Worker’s Councils).

Tito’s statement resembles the latent ideology of the socialist core value of the constitutive nature of human relationship in relation to the socialist core value of equality. Democracy is described as citizens being the subjects and it should be democratic institutions with the aim to encourage negotiations, honest competition, compromise and equal rights. The manifest ideology founded on Tito’s reasoning is related to the socialist belief that socialism is best implemented by collective action rather than individual action. He continues:

I cannot help mentioning here the criticisms of our entire social order made by many Western critics, in which they deny its democratic character. They too should come into our factories and talk to our workers, and then try to understand where the roots of true democracy lie: in multiparty political squabbling, which is doggedly proclaimed as the perfect democracy but where there exists a legalised right for every capitalist to exploit the labour of others for his personal enrichment, or in a system where the means of production are at the disposal of the producers themselves, and where the widest masses of the people have the opportunity to participate themselves, and do participate, in management, both in the economy and in other fields of social life (Speech at the First Congress of Worker’s Councils).

In democratic societies, all institutions should be democratic not just certain areas. Democracy means that the basic needs are fulfilled for the citizens such as freedom of speech and voting rights. Tito claims that the democracy practiced outside Yugoslavia is viewed as the correct one, therefore the one in Yugoslavia is being criticized since there is only one-party system. Within one party system, citizens do not have any rights to choose political leaders or freedom to speak openly about it. This can be connected to the fourth model in the economic model, which is democratic decentralized market socialism here, the means of production is owned collectively through worker owned businesses.

Some years later Tito held a speech in Split, he argued:
For some time, however, it was argued that because decentralization is now being done, because it is democracy now, the Communists have no right or duty to respond to the internal development of our country. That's wrong. We must once again emphasize the Communist's responsibility for the development of socialism in our country (Speech in Split).

Here Tito argues that the building of socialism in Yugoslavia is the communist’s effort. The decentralization and democracy has made the communist not having any responsibility for the internal development. He continues:

Many people wonder how such things happen. Some blame that it comes from external influences, influences from the West. Others consider this to be too widespread democracy, etc. I think that the main weakness is just in the instigation of the Communists, who somehow lost their leadership role. For although Communists are no longer the commanders, as once needed, they have to direct the development in our country, they must be an example to others, so that everyone else can see them (Speech in Split).

Erlander has a different manifest ideology of democracy, as he argues that the collective is important and that the human is not created to be alone, but still the importance of self-growth and democratic rights are argued for. The people have become more educated in using all the new technology and work, with that they have also become wiser with what kind of benefits they must receive from the society. Erlander says:

But a human being is not created to be a lonely creature. She confined herself to other people. She must cooperate. At the same time, respect for the individual and her rights has risen. Now, of course, it is considered that everyone should have a word in the team. It is acknowledged from all directions as fundamental to our entire system of society that all - poor and rich should be treated equally before the law. [...] development has been due to many factors. Technology development has enabled an ever faster increase in production. The machines have been utilized by a skilled and skilled people. Our resources have been used with thrift and wisdom "(First May speech 1954).

A core socialist value is the constitutive nature of human relationship, just as Tito pushes for the benefit of all, so does Erlander claim that the individual is not created for being alone, individuals need to cooperate and that the respect and the freedom of the human being has increased, and it is viewed as something naturally to involve the opinions from the people. To involve people's opinions is a core factor in a democracy. According to Lindqvist, the society needs to encourage negotiations and honest competitions, compromises and equal rights. Erlander encourages these values by arguing that the rights for the individuals have increased. However, Tito has restricted these rights since he argues that individuals can become too egoistic by competing, which is not positive for the collective. Erlander argues that these
rights have been developing in the same time as the technological development, and the equipment has been used by a competent working force. So, a development both at an economical level and social level occurred, while Tito for most part argued for the economic development only.

In “the SAP 70 years’ anniversary speech”, Erlander says:

[...]Once the story of the first half of the 1900’s is written, this effort of this youth federation will certainly be a major consideration. It means that Swedish working youth and thus Swedish workers movement are won for democracy. The Youth league has many proud businesses inscribed in their tabs. When I welcome the youth federation to us, I would like to thank you for what you did in educational matters, for our vocational school, and for you a sometimes-tremendous criticism of the olds empire within the party. But your main act is the working youth's education for democratic thinking, which has always been at the heart of your business (Speech held at the SAP 70 years’ anniversary).

With these statements, Erlander acknowledges the manifest of the democratic socialist ideology. Erlander is certain of the latent meaning of the economic socialism and labour theory in relation to the activation of the youth workforce. In some paragraphs later in the speech, Erlander speaks about democracy in relation to the social democrats. Erlander says:

Democracy is for us the only way of equality and free people to bring the societal united”, as Per Albin Hansson once expressed it. For this reason, it has always been important for us to guard the democratic power of action. If you want to anchor the ideas of democracy in humans, democracy must show the ability to act. The government's ownership is not essential, but the essential thing is if this creates opportunities to accomplish something, to realize a program. In my view, it has been a great force for Swedish democracy that there was a party with such strong anchoring among the people that it had been the basis for a purposeful policy (Speech held at the SAP 70 years’ anniversary).

The latent and manifest ideology of the democratic socialist ideology is acknowledged by Erlander in this part. The manifest part of the statement refers to the gradual change of the society with its existing political structure. The latent ideology resembles the anchoring of democratic values into citizens in relation to democratic socialist doctrine. Erlander continues:

A government with strong support but without programs becomes weaker than a government with a narrow parliamentary base but carried by a clear program and the assurance of representing a righteous thing (Speech held at the SAP 70 years’ anniversary).
Once again, Erlander is acknowledging the latent and manifest ideology in relation to the democratic socialist doctrine. This is done, as Erlander is advocating for the socialist core value of the *constitutive nature of human relationship*, with the notion of the collective. The collective represents the people and the issues in a society is best dealt with collective actions, which resembles the core socialist value of *human nature as active*.

The socialist core values that both politicians shared on the policy of democracy were *Constitutive nature of human relationship* and *equality*. The first value is founded on the *collective*, where both the leaders saw the benefits of a society being united as people are helping each other rather than being self-interested. The socio-economic issues were best solved collectively so that everyone could benefit from the social package. *Equality* is seen as an important value since everyone should have the same opportunities. Yugoslavia had a one-party system while Sweden had a plural party system, so we can conclude that there was different “levels” of how the concepts *collective* and *equality* was reputable as important by the political leaders.
7.0 Conclusion

This thesis set out to answer the research question: *What kind of similarities and differences in the speeches of Tage Erlander and Josip Broz Tito can be found in relation to socialist values, between the years 1948 and 1962?* To get an answer we completed an analytical framework that covers five core socialist values in relation to five policy areas, which were Labour market, Welfare, Foreign Policy, Democracy and National Identity. With the analytical framework and our research question, we considered Erlander’s and Tito’s values in relation to each policy area, their context within the speeches and how they compared to the other political leader. As a result, both similarities and differences could be found in the speeches regarding the socialist values in each policy areas. In some policy areas, there were both big and small differences, but also similarities.

In the first policy area of labour market, we could identify similarities in the manifest ideology of the socialist core value *human nature as active* in relation to economic socialism and the labour theory. As both nations started to develop their industry, much emphasis was made on how to build a strong socialist society. Both leaders saw the manifest ideology of a creative and productive population, as both advocated for the full participation of workers to build socialism. However, the latent ideology to build socialism was different among the two. Erlander and the social democrats had long ago accepted the capitalist structure of society, whereas Tito and his socialist ideology saw that revolutionary action was needed for building socialism. Another latent ideological difference was apparent among the two, as Erlander’s democratic socialist ideology advocated a mixed public and private control of the means of production whereas Tito advocated for a central control of the means of production that was organized on the self-management system.

In the policy area foreign policy, we could identify many similarities but also some differences in their statements on manifest and latent ideology. In relation to the core socialist value *history as the beneficial arena of change and the constitutive relation of human relationship*, both Erlander and Tito read the history and social advancement of other nations in relation to their own. Erlander manifest ideology on the policy area of foreign policy, was evident in the reasoning that Swedish policy of neutrality and non-alignment has stood the experience and test. Tito’s manifest ideology on the policy area of foreign policy is evident in his reasoning of Yugoslavia as a significant nation in the global community of socialist
nations. An important similarity of both leaders latent and manifest ideology is found on the core socialist value the constitutive nature of the human relationship in relation to history as the beneficial arena of change. This ideology is evident as both leaders were advocating cooperation and solidarity in relation to reading the history and social advancement of other nations in relation to their own. Interestingly, both leaders also advocated for neutrality in relation to the disarmament of artillery and atomic bombs but were clear that this campaign would be settled if the national independence was at stake.

In the policy area of welfare, we could identify many similarities in their statements. The latent ideology in relation to the socialist core values of human nature as active, equality and welfare as a desirable object were evident in the manifest ideology that Erlander and Tito advocated. The same manifest ideology is evident in the ideology of both politicians, as both Erlander and Tito saw the potential of the full participation of the workforce for the building of socialism and improving the welfare in society. There reflects the importance of the paroles, collective, cooperation, solidarity before competition and individualism from the statements of both politicians. Which relates to another similarity, the progress in the social policy area in both nations. Both Tito and Erlander advocated for improvements in child welfare, investments in education, building new schools, roads and healthcare benefits. The evident differences on statements regarding the policy area of welfare is based on the latent ideology of Erlander and Tito. Welfare is according to Tito, achieved with the authoritarian revolutionary program of Yugoslavia’s post-Soviet socialism. Erlander’s welfare program is achieved with democratic socialist manifest ideology of progressive social reforms, controlled by the people. To conclude, the statements regarding the policy area of welfare of both leaders is similar in the manifest ideology of economic socialism and the labour theory but differs in latent ideology in relation to the programs to achieve welfare.

In the policy area of national identity, there was a lot of differences in both politician’s latent ideology in relation to the socialist core value of history as the beneficial arena of change and the constitutive nature of the human relationship. The reading of history and social development by both leaders showed that Tito ruled over a big multi ethnic Yugoslavia, while Erlander ruled over a culturally, homogeneous Sweden. Yugoslavia had for a long time experienced nationalistic conflicts which Tito wanted to change with his nation building campaign of “brotherhood and unity”. Sweden's national identity was very much associated with the social democratic program, known as the People’s home. Even though Erlander did
not have the problem of internal conflicts in Sweden as opposed to Tito, he still advocated nation building policies to strengthen the national group of Swedes. To conclude, both leaders read the history and social advancement of their nation in relation to other nations to strengthen the own nation.

In the policy area of democracy, the arguments from the two political leaders mainly differ but are also similar in some respects. Sweden had a plural party system while Yugoslavia had a one-party system. Tito’s manifest ideology was that the system in Yugoslavia was not democratized, at least not according to the western perspective of democracy. Tito had democratized the economy but after a while he changed it back, since people became self-interested instead of thinking about the collective which is important in socialist values. Other voices of democracy were not always practiced in Yugoslavia. While, in Sweden citizens enjoyed self-growth, individual and democratic rights, while the economy and material area expanded. The difference is that both nations experienced democratization which continued in Sweden but stopped in Yugoslavia since it went too far from what the communists had built up. A similarity and difference at the same time, is the manifest ideology of the socialist value of the collective. It was important with the welfare society and people's home, to include everyone. This was important for both politicians, but Erlander argued that the individual needs freedom and self-growth while the society is becoming bigger and stronger. While on the other hand, in Tito’s latent ideology the individual got lost somewhere in the building of socialism and the unity in Yugoslavia.

In our analysis, we have revealed both differences and similarities in their statements. Tito and Erlander both claimed to be socialists, but they practiced two different doctrines. This makes it obvious why differences in the socialist values could be identified. Even though the differences in the foundations of their politics, similarities were also revealed. In national identity, both had a modern way of thinking despite the difference in size and nationalities. Both wanted to create a strong identity. Erlander, wanted to abolish class differences with the help of the People’s home while Tito also wanted to abolish class differences by creating the term Yugoslav, so that people can identify themselves as the same and not by different ethnicities and religions.

After studying the previous literature on the field of studies of ideology and studies of socialist ideology, we found that there existed two gaps that this thesis could fill. The first
one was to contribute to the study of socialist ideology. Secondly, we want to make a comparison between the socialist ideologies in Sweden and Yugoslavia, based on the material of political speeches.

By only using political speeches and excluding party literature as material, our analysis has in opposition to previous research on studies of socialist ideology, been able to analyse the manifest and latent ideology directly from statements by socialist leaders. This secure material is thus highly relevant for producing new knowledge in the field of studies of ideology.

Our answer to the research question is thus that the two political leaders do have differences and similarities in the socialist values. Since we have given an answer to what similarities and differences there are in the statements from Tito and Erlander, the relevance of our study becomes twofold. It is relevant from a scholarly perspective since it has identified similarities and differences in socialist values in five policy areas in a period that is viewed as the record years and when socialism was a topical ideology. This can be used in future research that aims to study socialist ideology to one another, comparing similarities and differences in statements of speeches historically to see if there have been any changes in socialist values in two different time periods. Therefore, this would be a good way to continue the research of this thesis. Our research is also relevant from a political perspective since the socialist ideology has different doctrines and it is also changing. Ideologies can be titled the same, but its values can differ in some areas. One could therefore argue that there exists a need to understand these kinds of differences and similarities in ideology, which is something this thesis contributed to in the case of socialism in Yugoslavia and Sweden.


Broz, Josip Tito (1963) *Selected speeches and articles, 1941-1961*. Zagreb: Naprijed


Haas, Ernst (1986) “What is nationalism and why should we study it?”. *International Organization* 40(03): 707-744


Held, David (2005) *Demokratimodeller.* Uddevalla: MediaPrint


Larsson, Reidar (2014) *Politiska ideologier i vår tid.* Lund: Studentlitteratur


Lydall, Harold (1985) *Yugoslavia in Crisis*. Oxford University Press, USA


**Speeches**

**Erlander, Tage**


Erlander, Tage (1951) *Speech held at the SAP 70 years’ anniversary* [Statsminister Erlander’s tal vid Sveriges Socialdemokratska Arbetarparties 70-årsjubileum den 19 april 1959]. Sweden: Tage Erlanders arkiv, Arbetarrörelsens arkiv
Erlander, Tage (1952) *First of May speech 1952* [Första Maj 1952]. Stockholm, Sweden: Tage Erlanders arkiv, Arbetarrörelsens arkiv


**Broz, Josip. Tito**


Tito, Josip Broz (1959) *Historical development in the world will move toward the strengthening of socialism*. Yugoslavia: *Tito: Selected Speeches and Articles, 1941-1961* pp. 244-248; originally published in the "Introduction" to *Book I*, p.42-46

Tito, Josip Broz (1959) *Speech delivered at the mass meeting of Cairo citizens*. Egypt, Cairo *Tito: Selected Speeches and Articles, 1941-1961* pp. 240-243; originally published in the "Introduction" to *Book XIV*, p.117-120.

UNIVERSITY WEST
School of Business, Economics and IT
Division of Law, Economics, Statistics and Politics
SE - 461 86 TROLLHÄTTAN
SWEDEN
Phone +46 (0) 520 22 30 00
www.hv.se