

## **1. Programme of the Communist Workers' Association**

### **I.**

#### **The Communist Party**

§ 1. The Swedish working class must have its own political party in order to abolish capitalism and establish a socialist society in which the working class holds power. The Communist Workers' Association is a party-building organisation with this aim.

§ 2. Every political party represents class interests and is guided by an ideology. Our ideology is historical and dialectical materialism, the scientific socialism originally developed by Marx and Engels. Their theories were further developed by Lenin, leading to the victory of the October Revolution and the establishment of the first socialist workers' state. The third stage is represented by Mao Zedong, who led the Chinese people to victory against Japanese imperialism and the Guomintang. Mao Zedong further developed Marxism-Leninism in a number of areas, both with regard to the path to socialism and the construction of socialism. What matters is not what this ideology is called today, but rather the ideological and political line, which determines everything. When we call ourselves Maoists, this includes the earlier designation of Marxist-Leninists.

Maoism is not a set of dogmas but a guide to action. Therefore, the Communist Workers' Association strives to grasp the revolutionary essence of Maoism, to learn from both the successes and mistakes of the communist movement, and to creatively develop Maoism in the Swedish context. Only such a party can develop a correct policy both for achieving a socialist society and for defending socialism. This party must at the same time be a proletarian internationalist party, which supports all struggles against oppression, exploitation and racism throughout the world.

§ 3. The historical task of the working class and the Communist Party is to create a classless, communist society. Communism is a society in which no one is permitted to exploit another human being, a society in which inequality between town and country, between manual and intellectual labour, and between men and women has disappeared. In communist society, there are no longer any classes. In principle, the Communist Party no longer fulfils any function and is abolished.

§ 4. Socialist society is a transitional period between capitalism and communism. Communism cannot be established until socialism has triumphed throughout the world, and communism, in turn, cannot triumph until the material foundations have been secured and a complete transformation of people's thinking has taken place. In communist society, the fruits of production are distributed fairly: 'From each according to their ability, to each according to their needs.'

### **II.**

#### **Imperialism and the era of the proletarian revolution**

§ 5. We live in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. Imperialism means that a handful of imperialist great powers strive to dominate the world, exploiting and oppressing the masses of the world's peoples. The capitalist monopolies are engaged in a frantic hunt for new markets and new profits. There are no longer any new territories to discover and colonise. Consequently, imperialism leads to increased exploitation and oppression of the peoples of the world, particularly in the neo-colonial countries. Imperialism also leads to conflicts and wars over raw materials and markets. But the oppression of imperialism also leads to resistance. Wars of liberation and revolutions will defeat imperialism and a fairer world will be created.

§ 6. Today's world is characterised by a series of fundamental contradictions, of which the following are the most important:

- a. The contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other.
- b. The contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and state-capitalist countries.
- c. The contradiction between the imperialist powers, which today is primarily expressed in the form of the contradiction between the imperialist countries, led by the USA, and social-imperialism (socialism in word, imperialism in deed) in the form of China.
- d. The contradiction between the working masses and the big and comprador bourgeoisie in the neo-colonial countries.

§ 7. In today's world, the contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other, as well as the contradiction between the imperialist countries and social-imperialism, is particularly acute. These four fundamental contradictions influence one another, and therefore different contradictions may become the most important in a particular situation.

§ 8. Until the end of the 1980s, there were only two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, competing for world domination. However, the Soviet Union collapsed due to both internal and external factors, and what remains is Russia, a medium-sized imperialist power. Today there are two superpowers, the USA and China, the latter of which is on the rise. Capitalism always develops unevenly; imperialist great powers come and go. Former great powers such as Britain, France, Germany and Japan have been reduced to medium-sized imperialist powers.

§ 9. The contradictions are intensifying between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other. The most important class struggles and liberation struggles are taking place in the neo-colonial countries today, as these are particularly exposed to the imperialist great powers' outright interference and intervention, as well as proxy wars. The imperialist great powers, led by the USA, seek to reduce the neo-colonial countries to raw material producers, exploit their cheap labour, subject them to debt

slavery and impose economic policies that lead to increased class divisions, poverty, as well as hunger and climate disasters.

§ 10. The small and medium-sized imperialist powers cannot compete with the two superpowers for world domination. Some of them, particularly those linked to NATO and the EU, also have limited political and economic freedom of action; however, in certain cases, their interests conflict with those of the US. Paradoxically, the growing rivalry between the US and China leads to increased room for manoeuvre not only for small and medium-sized imperialist powers but also for regional powers such as India, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Nigeria and Brazil, among others.

§ 11. The US has been the undisputedly strongest imperialist state since the Second World War. However, the US's economic and political strength has, relatively speaking, weakened. Yet US military expenditure still accounts for nearly half of the world's military expenditure, and the US maintains military bases across the globe and deploys its fleet on all the world's oceans. The long-term aim is to encircle China, the US's only real challenger today. Over the past few decades, the US has committed acts of aggression against Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya, and intervened in a number of countries, such as Syria. A superpower in decline is attempting by every means to halt this development. Following Mao Zedong's death, a coup took place within the Chinese Communist Party, resulting in the restoration of capitalism in China. China has the world's largest proletariat, which is, moreover, exceptionally exploited. Capitalist development in China has been very rapid; China's purchasing power-adjusted gross domestic product is today on a par with that of the US, which distinguishes China from the Soviet Union of the 1980s. This also means that China is now a capital-exporting country and increasingly dependent on imports of raw materials. China is undertaking a rapid military build-up, but cannot yet match the military strength of the US.

§ 12. As long as imperialism exists, wars are inevitable. Imperialism has already given rise to two devastating world wars and countless regional wars. Imperialist great powers need not initiate full-scale world wars but may just as easily wage war through proxies. Nor does history repeat itself like a sleepwalker. Even before the First World War, the USA had dethroned Britain as the leading imperialist superpower. The First World War saw the rising imperialist power of Germany defeated, and the Second World War saw the Western powers, together with the Soviet Union, defeat revanchist Germany and fascist Japan. At the same time, colonial powers such as Britain and France were reduced to second-rate powers. Until the mid-1980s, there was a threat of war stemming from the rivalry between the US and the Soviet Union, but the collapse of the Soviet Union prevented a large-scale confrontation. Exactly what forms the rivalry between the US and China will take in the future is difficult to predict; it depends on China's continued economic expansion and military build-up, and on the countermeasures the US will take. The forms of the rivalry also depend on the development of internal contradictions in the US and China respectively.

### **III.**

#### **The conditions for revolution**

§ 13. The overarching goal of the Communist Party and the proletariat in an imperialist state in the present era is to carry out the socialist revolution. This applies even if Sweden were to be occupied by an imperialist great power and the Swedish people were to wage a national liberation war to drive out the aggressor. In such a case, the Communist Party and the proletariat would take the lead in the liberation struggle to guide it to complete victory, establish people's power, and subsequently carry out the socialist revolution.

§ 14. For a revolution to take place, it is not enough for the exploited and oppressed masses to realise that it is impossible to continue living in the old way and to demand change; for a revolution to take place, it is crucial that the exploiters are unable to live and rule in the old way and that there is a Communist Party capable of formulating a correct line of action in this situation. To date, socialist revolutions have taken place in various ways; partly through an armed urban revolution such as the October Revolution of 1917, and partly through victorious people's wars against an imperialist aggressor, most significantly in China, which developed further into a socialist revolution. Furthermore, the Cuban people overthrew a national comprador regime in a revolution that originated in the countryside.

§ 15. The struggle of the proletariat is national only in form – it is international in content. Proletarian internationalism is the hallmark of a revolutionary communist party. This is particularly true in today's world, in which class antagonisms within the imperialist countries are generally less sharp and pronounced than in the neocolonial countries. Regardless of whether income and wealth disparities have increased within the imperialist states since the 1980s, these cannot be compared at all with the corresponding disparities within the neocolonial countries. In the latter countries, large sections of the working masses – the proletariat and the peasantry – live on or below the subsistence level. They often live in appalling conditions and lack basic democratic freedoms and rights. Precisely because the class struggle is so acute, advanced forms of struggle are also developing in these countries in the form of strikes, armed resistance and even people's war. The struggle of the oppressed in the neo-colonial states and the struggle of the proletariat within the imperialist states are closely linked and mutually supportive.

§ 16. The Communist Party takes the lead in defending Sweden's national independence. This means that the Communist Party opposes any surrender of Swedish sovereignty to imperialist great powers or alliances of great powers, as this infringes upon the Swedish proletariat's scope for action. It also follows that Sweden must withdraw from the EU and never join NATO. This also means that the Communist Party opposes the Swedish monopoly bourgeoisie when it, on its own – or together with imperialist great powers – attempts to promote its own interests at the expense of the interests of smaller states or other peoples. Only the proletariat is truly patriotic; never the bourgeoisie, which looks first and foremost to its own class interests.

#### IV.

#### **Sweden is a capitalist society**

§ 17. The capitalist system entails production for profit and not production to satisfy the needs of the people. This occurs because the bourgeoisie, which controls the means of production, appropriates the surplus value created by the working class. Since the working class – the propertyless class – owns only its labour power, it is forced to sell this to the capitalists, who pay a price lower than the value the worker creates in production.

§ 18. Competitive capitalism developed into monopoly capitalism as production became centralised in the hands of an ever-smaller number of players. Small businesses are continually going bankrupt or being bought up by large monopoly groups. For these monopolies, it is not enough to control the market in individual countries; they must engage in international exploitation to avoid being driven out of the market. Capitalism has reached its highest stage – imperialism.

§ 19. Sweden entered its monopoly-capitalist (imperialist) stage shortly before the First World War. Sweden is a small but hungry imperialist state. The Swedish imperialist bourgeoisie has never been able to pursue an independent policy towards the imperialist great powers. Instead, it has previously attempted to ally itself with one of them or manoeuvre between them. Today, however, the Swedish government has openly chosen sides by joining NATO.

§ 20. Capitalism in Sweden has developed into state-monopoly capitalism. The means of production are not only highly monopolised – the state, in its capacity as the total capitalist, plays an absolutely essential role in supporting the monopolies, securing general economic development and alleviating the constantly recurring crises. In recent years, various governments in Sweden, primarily openly bourgeois ones, have privatised large parts of the public sector to ensure the capitalists' pursuit of profit.

§ 21. The two main classes in Sweden, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, form the principal contradiction in Sweden. This principal contradiction is decisive and determines the course of social development. It can only be resolved through a socialist revolution, that is, by the working class violently seizing power from the bourgeoisie and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class must prepare itself for a violent seizure of power, as history teaches us that the bourgeoisie does not relinquish social power voluntarily but must be forced to do so by violence.

§ 22. The proletariat, which is estimated to make up around 70 per cent of the population in Sweden, has gradually changed in character since the mid-1970s. The proportion of manufacturing workers has fallen, whilst the number of workers in the retail, service and public sectors has risen, as has the proportion of white-collar workers. The proportion without permanent employment has increased, primarily due to the introduction of temporary employment agencies. Furthermore, wage dumping occurs as a result of EU membership and uncontrolled immigration. At the same time, trade union membership among the Swedish working class has fallen from 90 per cent to just over 60 per cent.

§ 23. The third class is the petty bourgeoisie, which makes up around 30 per cent of the population. The true petty bourgeoisie—that is, small business owners, farmers and

fishermen, etc.—is characterised by the fact that they own their own means of production and must themselves participate in production. This section of the petty bourgeoisie is shrinking. At the same time, the petty-bourgeois intermediate strata are growing. These are formally wage labourers, but by virtue of their position of authority and depending on their income and working conditions, they do not belong to the proletariat. The petty bourgeoisie has a dual character: on the one hand, it strives to develop into the bourgeoisie – on the other hand, parts of it are constantly being proletarianised. The petty bourgeoisie's antagonistic and competitive relationship with the bourgeoisie can be exploited by the proletariat. Sections of the petty bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois strata are the working class's natural allies. The lumpenproletariat consists of declassed elements from the other classes.

§ 24. The ruling class consists of the bourgeoisie, which amounts to no more than 2 per cent of the population. Within this, a stratum has emerged, the monopoly bourgeoisie, which ultimately holds power in society and exercises decisive influence within the state apparatus, particularly the apparatus of violence, which consists, among other things, of the armed forces, the security police, the police force and the judiciary. Every parliamentary government in Sweden has subordinated itself to the long-term political and economic interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

§ 25. In Sweden, bourgeois democracy prevails. Formally, this implies the equality of citizens before the law and that all power emanates from the people. In reality, however, the laws, the courts and the administrative apparatus at all levels are ultimately tools of the bourgeoisie for maintaining exploitation and oppressing the working masses. The parliamentary assemblies (the Riksdag, county councils and municipal councils) must adhere to the framework established by the capitalist social order. The bourgeois state is and remains merely an organ for managing the common affairs of the bourgeoisie. The fact that the working class can vote for any party in the elections every four years does not alter this. Historical experience shows that the bourgeoisie never allows a movement that threatens the foundations of capitalism to gain a majority in parliament. The working class's seizure of power does not take place via the parliament.

§ 26. The Communist Party defends bourgeois-democratic rights, such as freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of demonstration, the right to strike, freedom to form trade unions, and so on. The working class has fought for these rights, and the communists will defend them against any form of restriction. Since the bourgeoisie controls the majority of the press, radio, television and other important channels of information and propaganda, these rights are ultimately exercised on the terms of the ruling class. The defence of democratic freedoms and rights therefore always becomes a matter of struggle, and our defence of them often becomes a struggle against the bourgeoisie's way of administering them and a struggle over their concrete content.

§ 27. The continued existence of state-monopoly capitalism is also defended by a number of openly bourgeois parties and bourgeois workers' parties. The openly bourgeois parties, primarily the Moderates, the Sweden Democrats, the Liberals, the Centre Party, the Christian Democrats and a petty-bourgeois party such as the Green Party, draw their support mainly

from the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and the politically backward sections of the proletariat. The Social Democratic Party, which has traditionally drawn its strongest support from workers affiliated to the LO, has gradually lost this traditional class base. As long as the party can keep the proletariat passive and firmly within the framework of class collaboration, it serves the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie better than the openly bourgeois parties. The Left Party, a left-wing social-democratic party, has since long been reduced to a parliamentary party, functioning as the left wing of social democracy.

§ 28. Since the principal contradiction lies between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the Communist Party and the working class must direct their main thrust against the monopoly bourgeoisie and its state. The working masses must first and foremost be mobilised around day-to-day and immediate issues, in the struggle in workplaces and residential areas.

§ 29. The Communist Party develops its policies and line on all issues of day-to-day politics on the basis of the following fundamental guiding principle:

a) The Communist Party strives to take the lead in the struggle for the immediate demands of working people, such as wages, working conditions, housing issues and other immediate interests. Victories in this struggle are never lasting under capitalism, and the struggle for immediate issues must therefore be united with the struggle for a socialist society.

b) Spontaneous struggles in the workplace, such as strikes for higher wages, do not automatically lead to the realisation that socialism is necessary. We must therefore demonstrate the necessity of socialism in every struggle.

c) The Communist Party applies the united front method. This means uniting all those who can be united in any given action to achieve maximum strength and impact for a correct policy. In doing so, the Communist Party always maintains its independent role and propaganda and seeks to win the united front over to a proletarian line.

d) The Communist Party works within existing mass organisations, primarily in the trade unions, as well as in other movements of significance for the development of the class struggle. The Communist Party combines and utilises all appropriate forms of struggle, both legal and illegal.

§ 30. The Communist Party wages an uncompromising theoretical and ideological struggle against all forms of bourgeois ideology, primarily against reformism and revisionism within the working class. A correct line can only be developed in the struggle against erroneous lines, even within the Communist Party.

## V.

### **Socialist Sweden**

§ 31. Socialism entails the class rule of the proletariat, the socialisation – a mixture of state, municipal and cooperative ownership – of the majority of the means of production, and the initiation of planned production for the people's needs. But socialism represents no end in itself; it is merely a transitional period from capitalist society to communist society.

Therefore, socialist society is characterised by continuing class struggle. The question of the socialist or capitalist path is not settled until communist society has been established.

§ 32. A socialist Sweden must be based on domestic, concrete conditions as well as historical traditions. All so-called socialist states have been transformed into state-capitalist states or even outright capitalist states. The latter applies to Russia, the former Soviet republics, the states of Eastern Europe, including the Yugoslav republics and Albania, as well as China, which has simultaneously developed into a social-imperialist state owing to its economic strength. This development must serve as a negative and cautionary example. The Communist Party of China is a communist party in name only. Central planning in the interests of society as a whole has been consigned to the dustbin; the dominant sector is governed by private capitalist interests whose guiding principle is profit maximisation. The Chinese working class, the world's largest, and the working people have been reduced to wage slaves with no power over enterprises or society. They lack all basic democratic freedoms and rights. Opposing them is a Chinese monopoly bourgeoisie.

§ 33. No guarantees can ever be given regarding future development. The class struggle continues under socialism in order to constantly increase the power of the working class and the working people and to halt the spontaneous emergence of capitalist tendencies. Bourgeois rights, which may manifest themselves in the preservation of wage differentials, must be persistently combated. Technological progress facilitates improved planning of production with minimal bureaucracy. Working hours can be reduced. At the same time, a well-educated working class has greater opportunities to break down the previous division of labour bit by bit. The contradictions between intellectual and manual labour, men and women, town and country, and so on, can be overcome. In the struggle to counter bureaucracy, as in the struggle to combat bourgeois, racist and misogynistic ideas—which are based on the oppression of people by other people—the socialist state must rely primarily on democratic discussion and the democratic mass movements of the people. Democratic mass movements must, as far as possible, replace bans and criminalisation. The revolutionary organs built up by the working class during the struggle for socialism must continue to control the bureaucracy and the state and guard against anti-socialist and anti-democratic tendencies.

§ 34. The proletariat cannot seize state power as a result of peaceful developments within the framework of bourgeois democracy. The proletariat must defeat the bourgeoisie through a socialist revolution, smash the bourgeois state apparatus and replace it with its own state power. The establishment of the proletarian class rule is the absolutely decisive instrument without which no socialist construction is possible.

§ 35. Socialist society can neither exist nor develop towards communism if proletarian state power does not exist or if proletarian state power is not led by a communist party. But the class rule of the proletariat can never be a representative dictatorship. The Communist Party can only lead the proletarian state power by virtue of the proletariat's continued voluntary support and active participation. The Communist Party therefore enjoys no special status enshrined in law. This special status must be constantly won through correct policy.

## VI.

## **Form of Government and Administration**

§ 36. The bourgeois state apparatus is thus replaced by the proletarian state apparatus at all levels:

a) The leading figures within the military, the security services and the police are replaced by cadres loyal to the new state power. The new apparatus of force consists primarily of a people's army based on universal conscription, and of a people's militia, comprising the entire able-bodied population, as well as the necessary security forces. Under socialism, all independent armed forces are abolished, and the workers' own organisations take over their functions. Military service is compulsory for all able-bodied women and men.

b) A parliament of a new type, to which regular, free and secret elections are held, is established. As the most important means of production have been nationalised or transformed into cooperative property, the bourgeoisie, as well as the leading bourgeois media houses, have been deprived of their economic base and position of power. It is no longer possible for a minority to control public opinion. New parties may emerge under these new conditions.

c) The administration of justice and the judiciary shall build upon domestic legal traditions, which shall be brought into line with the new socialist constitution. This means that no one can be convicted without a hearing, that no one is imprisoned without investigation and trial, and that everyone has the right to a defence, etc. Unlike in capitalist society, equality before the law can be transformed from a mere phrase into reality.

d) Bureaucracy and central administration are kept to a minimum. Administration is simplified and decentralised as far as possible. Necessary administration and bureaucracy are handled as far as possible by elected officials, who can be removed by the bodies that elected them. No officials or civil servants shall receive a higher salary than a worker in production, and all shall regularly participate in production.

§ 37. In the working-class state, democratic freedoms and rights are guaranteed in the constitution, namely freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association and of religion, as well as the right to strike. However, these freedoms do not include the right to exploit, oppress or degrade other people. Pornography or racist literature are not included in freedom of the press. Likewise, associations that organise armed counter-revolution, or that have previously supported an occupying power, are prohibited. Propaganda against socialism and its overthrow is permitted. But the proletariat's state power will crush any armed counter-revolution by force.

§ 38. The right of national minorities and immigrant groups to preserve their languages, culture and other national characteristics is guaranteed in the Constitution. The Sami nation is granted all national rights, including the right, if it so wishes, to establish autonomy or secede as a separate state.

§ 39. The state is responsible for overall economic planning. The means of production, with the exception of society's common infrastructure, are managed by the workers themselves

through workers' councils at every workplace or factory. Company management is elected by the workers' councils and may be dismissed at any time. Like all other officials, company management and white-collar staff must regularly participate in production. A conscious effort must be made to ensure that every person's work is a combination of manual and intellectual tasks.

§ 40. Since the class struggle continues under socialism, and the Communist Party can never encompass the entire class, the initiative of the masses must be encouraged and mass organisations must play a major role under socialism. Trade unions retain their character as defence organisations for the working class.

## VII.

### **The economic structure**

§ 41. Monopolies, medium-sized enterprises, banks and estates are immediately confiscated by the proletarian state and transferred to state ownership. The proletarian state may take over smaller enterprises by other means. Peasants, fishermen, the self-employed and others who themselves operate the means of production they own are permitted, during a transitional period, to retain these. They may sell their products through state sales organisations on terms determined by negotiation. Since small-scale production is a breeding ground for a capitalist mode of production, it is a conscious policy under socialism to turn all petty bourgeois into wage workers and thereby abolish the petty bourgeoisie as a class.

§ 42. Production under socialism aims to satisfy the people's material and spiritual needs to an ever-greater extent and to create the material conditions for communism. Production must therefore be organised in such a way that it can utilise all human and material resources in the most efficient manner without leading to the exploitation of people and nature or contributing to the deterioration of the Earth's climate. This presupposes that profit as the driving force of production has been abolished. Under socialism, production is planned; that is to say, it is based on a central plan established following extensive and thorough discussions amongst the working people.

§ 43. The economic structure of socialism presupposes the comprehensive development of the country. The impoverishment of northern Sweden and the concentration of people and production in a few metropolitan areas must be broken. The aim is instead, in the long term, to create a coherent industrial and agricultural landscape, as well as to decentralise both administration and production. The distinction between town and country must be gradually eliminated.

§ 44. In order to eventually facilitate the transition to a communist society, all rational needs must be met. People's needs can never be fully satisfied; the concept of 'need' is elastic, new needs constantly arise, and nature's resources are limited and must be protected against overexploitation. One of the most important prerequisites for communism – alongside the satisfaction of people's most basic needs – is a radical transformation of people's thinking. Therefore, the objective must be to constantly increase production and adopt the most modern technology, automation and computer technology. Working hours must be gradually reduced

and leisure time increased. Education must be geared towards creating a well-rounded proletariat and, in the long term, breaking down the distinction between manual and intellectual labour. Socialism is a transitional society in which the conditions for a classless society are created. Socialism will for a long time remain an unequal society where the slogan 'to each according to their work' prevails, where wages vary, where experts are necessary, and where a certain degree of exploitation and private ownership of the means of production may temporarily occur. It will take a long time before bourgeois ideas are overcome. Taken together, these phenomena constitute a breeding ground for capitalism, careerism and the pursuit of privileges. Furthermore, the bourgeoisie, both nationally and internationally, will do everything in its power to regain power. Therefore, the class struggle continues under socialism on all levels.

## VIII.

### **The Struggle for Communism**

§ 45. Throughout the socialist transition period, the class struggle continues, above all to strengthen and develop the socialist relations of production and to revolutionise the superstructure. The struggle within the superstructure takes on particular significance. Bourgeois ideology, characterised by selfishness, careerism and short-sightedness, must be eradicated and replaced with a socialist ideology, which represents the exact opposite. The Communist Party of Sweden advocates a proletarian internationalist perspective and supports all struggles for liberation and revolution in other countries, and is prepared to assume its responsibility for the survival of humanity by fighting against climate change.

§ 46. All people must be given the opportunity to take their rightful place in the collective of society. The struggle against the oppression of women continues. Women are given the right and opportunity to participate fully in social production, which is a prerequisite for women's emancipation and for women to be able to participate in the construction of socialism. No distinction is made between Swedes, national minorities and immigrants; everyone is treated equally and has the same rights during the construction of socialism. Pensioners are not regarded as a worthless problem group, but as veterans who enjoy the respect that a lifetime's work rightly deserves. Those people who have been excluded from normal social life under capitalism due to alcoholism, drug abuse, prostitution, crime, etc., are given, through ideological influence and education, criticism and self-criticism, the opportunity for rehabilitation and to take their rightful place in production. Socialism creates the necessary conditions for eradicating drug abuse and putting an end to the exploitation of people that gives rise to marginalisation and social problems under capitalism.

§ 47. Schools are geared towards providing pupils with the knowledge required for socialist construction and instilling in them the working-class worldview. At the same time, schools must encourage them to become critical thinkers who dare to hold dissenting views and go against the tide. Culture and science are encouraged and given a central role in socialist society. The role of the mass media becomes more informative and supervisory, rather than the commercial and sensationalist approach it takes under capitalism.

§ 48. The construction of socialism takes place constantly with communism in view. Socialism is not the promised land. But it is the only society capable of creating the possibility of abolishing all exploitation and oppression of the overwhelming majority. It is the only society that sets itself the task of abolishing itself in favour of a classless society.