THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE PARTY
OF LABOUR
OF ALBANIA
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PARTY OF LABOUR OF
ALBANIA

Adopted by the 3rd Congress of the PLA

(Including amendments made at the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Congresses of the PLA)

THE «8 NËNTORI» PUBLISHING HOUSE
TIRANA, 1977
I

THE PARTY

The Party of Labour of Albania is the organized vanguard detachment of the working class of Albania, its highest form of organization. It is made up of conscious revolutionaries tested in the struggle for the cause of the people and socialism, vanguard fighters for the implementation of its general line, who come from the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, and from the people's intelligentsia.

The Party of Labour of Albania is a voluntary militant union of communists with a monolithic ideological and organizational unity, which does not allow any kind of divisive or factional activity or any kind of deviation from its general line, from Marxism-Leninism.

The Party of Labour of Albania gives overall leadership to the working class in all aspects of the life of the country - political, eco-
nomic, cultural and military. It is the leading force of the Albanian people, defending their vital interests and the interests of socialism on a national and international scale.

In defining its policy and in all its activity, the Party of Labour of Albania is guided by Marxism-Leninism. Loyalty to Marxist-Leninist principles, their creative application in the internal conditions of the country and the concrete international circumstances are the source of its strength, its steel-like unity, and its historic victories.

The Party of Labour of Albania is the heir to the brilliant patriotic and democratic revolutionary traditions of the Albanian people.

The Party of Labour of Albania is the direct continuation of the Communist Party of Albania. It was founded on November 8, 1941 by the Albanian communists on the basis of the Albanian workers’ and communist movement, through the merging of the communist groups into a single revolutionary party of the working class on Marxist-Leninist ideological and organizational foundations. It originated from the union of the workers’ movement with scientific socialism, with the communist ideas which spread in Albania following the Great October Socialist Revolution.
The Party of Labour of Albania was created and tempered as a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party in fierce struggle against the fascist occupiers, against the local reactionary exploiting classes, against the imperialists and their tools, against the enemies of Marxism-Leninism and of the Party — factionalists, Trotskyites, opportunists and revisionists — within and without its ranks.

The Party of Labour of Albania is the leader and organizer of the historic victory of the Albanian people in the National Liberation War against the fascist occupiers and the traitors. On November 29, 1944 the Albanian people won their freedom and complete national independence, overthrew the power of the bourgeois and feudal exploiting classes, and established the people’s power. Albania broke away for ever from the world capitalist system and started on the road of socialism.

Under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, the people’s revolution developed uninterruptedly from an anti-imperialist democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. The People’s Republic of Albania was established. The People’s state power which emerged during the National Liberation War, was transformed into a dictatorship of the pro-
letariat in the form of a state of people’s democ-

cracy. This state power served as a decisive

weapon to carry out deep-going revolutionary

transformations in the political, economic, so-
cial and cultural fields. The Land Reform was
carried out, foreign capital was nationalized,
the local exploiting classes were expropriated,
socialist industry was set up, agriculture was
collectivized, the socialist system of the econo-
my was created. In this way, the economic
base of socialism was set up and the principle
«from each according to his abilities, to each
according to his work» was implemented both
in town and countryside. Albania was trans-
formed from a backward agricultural country
into an agricultural-industrial country.

The unity of the people around the Party
has found its embodiment in the Democratic
Front of Albania — the direct continuation of
the National Liberation Front created by the
Party during the National Liberation War, as
a political organization of the broad masses of
the people, the foundation of which is the al-
liance of the working class with the coopera-
tivist peasantry under the leadership of the
working class.

The immediate objective of the Party of
Labour of Albania is the complete construction
of socialist society. In order to attain this objective, it sets itself these main tasks:

to develop the socialist revolution uninterruptedly and carry it through to the end on the economic, political and ideological fronts, by consistently adhering to the law of the class struggle;

to ensure the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism by developing the forces of production at a rapid rate in order to transform Albania from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one, and later on into an industrial country with advanced agriculture;

to further develop and continuously perfect the socialist relations of production by extending and strengthening socialist ownership over the means of production, by uninterruptedly perfecting the forms of distribution and methods of management of the socialist economy; to fight for the gradual narrowing of the distinction between the working class and the peasantry, between town and countryside, between industry and agriculture, and between mental and manual work;

to ensure, on the basis of the development of the forces of production and the perfection of the relations of production, a continuous rise
in the material wellbeing and the cultural level of the people;

to ceaselessly strengthen and perfect the dictatorship of the proletariat, the principal weapon for the complete construction of socialist society and for the gradual transition to communism;

to steadily raise the socialist consciousness of the peoples for the complete triumph of the proletarian ideology and communist morality.

During the socialist construction of the country the Party is guided by the principle of self-reliance.

For the complete construction of socialist society in Albania, it is necessary for the Party to perfect its own organization continuously on the basic Marxist-Leninist principle of democratic centralism, to guard its unity and iron discipline as the apple to its eye, to further develop its internal democracy, the activation and creative initiative of all the communists and all party basic organizations; to strengthen the collective method as the highest principle of the leading work of the Party, and the control of the Party from above-down, and especially from below-up; to strengthen criticism and self-criticism to disclose and eliminate shortcomings and errors; to improve its composition
continually with resolute, conscious, vanguard fighters for the cause of the Party, the people and socialism, to strengthen the revolutionary ideological tempering of the communists.

The Party of Labour of Albania is a revolutionary detachment of the international communist movement. In holding aloft the triumphant banner of the great ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, its tasks are:

to defend the purity of the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and wage a irreconcilable principled struggle up till the complete ideological and political exposure and destruction of modern revisionism, with the Soviet revisionist leading group, which is the chief enemy in the international communist movement, at its centre, as well as to fight dogmatism and every other anti-Marxist trend;

to wage a resolute struggle against imperialism, to ensure freedom and national independence, the triumph of socialism on a world scale, and the defence of peace, by strengthening the revolutionary anti-imperialist front, directed first of all against US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism — the chief common enemies of the peoples of the whole world;

to support and help all Marxist-Leninist parties and other revolutionary forces in the
struggle against imperialism and revisionism; to support with all its strength the revolutionary liberation movements of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples;

to fight for the Marxist-Leninist unity of the international communist and workers’ movement on the basis of proletarian internationalism, to fight for friendship and close fraternal collaboration with the peoples of socialist countries and for friendship with all the peoples of the world who fight imperialism, social-imperialism, modern revisionism, and reaction.

In its relations with fraternal socialist countries and with sister Marxist-Leninist communist and workers’ parties, the Party adheres to the principle of independence, complete equality, non-interference in internal affairs and reciprocal fraternal international cooperation and aid.

The ultimate objective of the Party of Labour of Albania is the construction of communist society in Albania, in which the principle, «from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs» will be applied.
II

PARTY MEMBERS, THEIR DUTIES AND RIGHTS

1) Any working man or woman, who is a citizen of the People’s Socialist Republic of Albania, who does not exploit the labour of others, who accepts the program and Constitution of the Party and who works actively to put them into practice, who takes part and works in one of the party organizations, carries out all the decisions of the Party and regularly pays membership dues can be a member of the Party of Labour of Albania.

2) The duties of the party members are:

a) to resolutely defend the unity and the purity of the ranks of the Party, the main condition for its strength and invincibility; the
Party does not permit the existence of factions within its ranks;

b) to strictly abide by and implement the Constitution, the policy and decisions of the Party, the laws of the state, the norms of communist morality, to preserve and further develop the patriotic traditions and the good customs of the people; it is not enough for the party member merely to accept the decisions of the Party, he must also be an active fighter for carrying them out; a passive and formal attitude of communists towards party decisions weakens the fighting capacity of the Party; the party member should always take a revolutionary stand in regard to party decisions; there cannot be two disciplines in the Party, one for the leaders and one for the rank-and-file; the Party has only one discipline, which is equally obligatory on all the party members, regardless of the merits and the position any individual may have;

c) to work untiringly to master the Marxist-Leninist theory, linking it closely with life, with the practice of socialist construction, to fight relentlessly to temper his own revolutionary consciousness; to think, work and live like a revolutionary and to put politics in command in all his activity;
d) to continuously strengthen his ties with the masses, to live up to his principles, be just, honest, modest, with a strong character and will, to love the people and serve them loyally; to win the respect and confidence of the masses of the working people; to be a vanguard fighter everywhere and at all times, to always be an example of good behaviour and communist morality and not separate his word from his deeds; to be an enemy of conceit, arrogance, servility, career-seeking, indifference, liberalism and the spirit of commanding the working people; to learn from the masses and be a leader and educator of them, to work actively in the mass organizations; to be an agitator, propagandist, and ardent defender of the line of the Party; to explain the policy and decisions of the Party to the working people, to rely firmly on them, on their experience, to listen attentively to the voice of the masses and to put into practice their correct opinions and proposals for the fulfilment of the tasks of the Party, to work tirelessly to strengthen the unity of the people in the Democratic Front under the leadership of the Party;

e) to set an example of conscientious work, to be a tireless worker, to work ceaselessly to raise his educational and cultural level, to en-
hance his professional abilities, to master technology, to steadily increase the productivity of his labour and work and produce with high quality, to fight any alien attitude towards work, to energetically support the progressive new and fight for its dissemination;

f) to protect and strengthen the socialist common property, the sacred and inviolable foundation of our socialist order at all costs, to fight sternly and unhesitatingly, against those who misuse or damage it, against disorder and neglect in its management, bearing in mind that misuse of and damage to the common property, failure to look after it, are grave crimes;

g) to place Party and state interests — the interests of the people — above his personal interests; he enjoys no privilege whatever before the laws of the state and is answerable the same as all other citizens for violation of them; to be the first in facing up to difficulties, the first to make sacrifices, and against any privilege or unjust claim;

h) to be a ruthless and courageous fighter against the class enemy, to wage the class struggle unhesitatingly and uninterruptedly, to constantly sharpen his revolutionary vigilance in defence of the Party, Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian interna-
tionalism; to rise courageously against any distortion and wavering in the implementation of the line of the Party, against any influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideologies, to fight relentlessly against bureaucracy and liberalism and for the eradication of all alien manifestations, of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois remnants in people's consciousness and backward customs; to consider the preservation of party and state secrets a sacred duty, bearing in mind that any carelessness in this respect is to the direct advantage of the enemies of the Party and charges the communists with grave responsibility;

i) to be a resolute fighter for the defence and strengthening of the socialist Homeland and the people's power against external and internal enemies, to be exemplary in carrying out the tasks of military training, of reaching a high level of combat readiness and physical tempering;

j) to develop unrestricted criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below-up, to be severe and merciless towards his own shortcomings and errors, which he should not conceal from the Party, as well as towards the shortcomings and errors of others, to expose them, and through his example and just strug-
gle help to correct them, to be irreconcilable with those who suppress criticism or hamper its development and replace it with bombastic words and praises;

to struggle against being satisfied with little, self-satisfaction and becoming dizzy with success;

it is his duty to intervene energetically to correct shortcomings and weaknesses observed in work and unjust attitudes, and, if necessary, to report them to the leading organs of the Party right upt to the Central Committee, without hesitation and regardless of what person may be involved; the party member should never conceal an unsatisfactory state of affairs, and should allow no unjust actions, which harm the interests of the Party and the State, to be committed.

k) to work with justice and honesty in any job to which he is appointed, and not allow concealment and distortion of the truth, bearing in mind that lack of sincerity towards the Party and deception of the Party are serious crimes for a communist; to always be guided by the principles of the Party, to be irreconcilable with the solution of problems on the basis of relations of friendship, personal connections, kinship and local interests; to fight
for the precise implementation of the policy of the Party in the selection of cadres and the appointment of people to work, on the basis of their loyalty, their political and moral qualities and abilities.

If he fails to carry out the above duties properly the party member is subject to criticism and disciplinary measures of an educative character. In cases when he violates them seriously, breaches the unity of the Party, transgresses the laws of the state and the decisions of the Party, damages the common property and the general interests of the people, or deceives the Party, for these grave faults he is punished severely, up to expulsion from the Party.

3) The Party member has the right:

a) To take part freely and actively in the discussion of problems of party policy, at party meetings and in the party press;

b) to criticize, at party meetings, the activity and conduct of any party member, regardless of the post he holds;

c) to elect and to be elected to the leading organs of the Party;

d) to take part personally on all occasions
at which a decision is taken concerning his activity or conduct;

e) to address himself to all the leading organs of the Party, up to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, over any personal or party problems and to ask any questions, and make any requests, statements and proposals to them.

4) Admission to the Party

Admission to the Party is done in an individual manner only. New members are admitted only from the ranks of candidates for party membership, who have completed the set probation period. The new members admitted to the Party must come from the ranks of the working class, the working peasantry and the people’s intelligentsia and be conscientious, active, of strong character, and excellent conduct and morality, ready for any sacrifice, clear politically and ideologically, consistent revolutionaries, linked with the masses and of proven loyalty to the cause of communism.

For admission to the Party no distinction is made on account of nationality, race or sex.
Those admitted to the Party must have completed 18 years of age.

The rules for admission to the Party are as follows;

a) All those seeking acceptance as candidates for party membership must present the recommendations of three members with not less than five years membership of the Party, who have known the candidate during their work together for not less than three years, with the exception of particular cases; candidate members applying for admission to the Party do not present new recommendations, since the recommendations they have already presented for their admission as candidates for membership are still valid;

Note one: For admission to the Party of members of the Labour Youth Union of Albania, the recommendation issued by the basic organization of the LYUA and approved by the district or regional committee of the LYUA or another committee of the same rank, replaces the recommendation of one party member.

Note two: Members and candidate members of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania abstain from giving recommendations.

b) the question of admission to the Party is
examined and decided at the meeting of party basic organization; the decision of the party basic organization comes into force after being approved by the Party committee of the district or region; following this approval, the member admitted to the party is given his Party card, whereas the candidate member is given his candidate’s certificate;

**Note:** It is not obligatory for those who recommended the candidate to attend the meeting of the basic organization, when the question of the admission to the Party is examined and decided.

c) young man and women up to 20 years are admitted to the Party only from the ranks of the LYUA;

d) those who have been members of other parties can be admitted to the Party of Labour of Albania only in exceptional cases and with the recommendation of four party members, three of whom must have a length of party membership of not less than ten years, while the other must be a party member at least from the year 1943; the admission is done only through the party basic organization and comes into force only after being approved by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania;
e) the party members who give their recommendation must be well acquainted with the candidate whom they recommend and must be fully convinced that he will be a worthy member of the Party; they are responsible to the Party for the quality and trustworthiness of their recommendations;

f) the length of party membership of the person who is admitted as a party member from the ranks of candidate members starts from the day when the meeting of the party basic organization decides to admit him as a party member.

5) The member of a party organization, when transferred to another party organization, is enrolled by the latter as its member.

**Note:** The transfer of the party members from one organization to another is done according to the rules set out by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

6) **When, without reason,** a party member, does not take part in the meetings of his basic organization or does not pay his membership dues for three months in succession, the party organization must examine the question of his remaining in the party ranks and take a decision on this. Regardless of what measure is taken on this occasion, the decision of the basic
organization, comes into force after being approved by the committee of the district or region.

7) The expulsion of a member from the Party is decided by the meeting of the party basic organization of which he is a member and comes into force after being approved by party committee of the district or region.

Pending the approval of the decision of expulsion by the district or region committee of the Party, the Party member keeps his Party card and has the right to participate in the meetings of the party basic organization.

8) The party basic organization cannot take the decision to expel a member from the Party, or reduce him to a candidate member, if he is a member of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, or of the Party committee of the district or region.

Expulsion from the Party or reduction to candidate membership of the members of the district party committees, is decided by the plenums of the respective committees, if the respective plenum deems it necessary on the basis of two-thirds of the votes.

9) The question of the expulsion of a member of the Central Committee of the Party of
Labour of Albania from the Central Committee, as well as of his expulsion from the Party or reduction from a Party member to a candidate member, is decided by the congress of the Party and, in the period between two congresses, by the plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, with a majority of two-thirds of votes of the members of the Central Committee. The member expelled from the Central Committee is replaced by a candidate member of the Central Committee by decision of the Plenum of the Central Committee.

10) The decision on the expulsion of a member from the Party must be taken only after a thorough examination of his conduct and faults, after a careful verification of whether the charges brought against him are true, and after they have been judged in a most comradely spirit, with the greatest justice and maturity.

For less serious faults and mistakes, party disciplinary measures of an educative character (in accordance with the rules laid down by the Central Committee of the Party) are taken and expulsion from the Party, which is the gravest disciplinary measure in the Party, is not immediately resorted to.
When necessary, as a disciplinary measure, the party organization may decide to reduce a party member to a candidate for party membership for a period of not less than one year. The decision of the party basic organization to reduce party member to a candidate for party membership, comes into force after being approved by the district or party committee of the region. After the elapse of the period set, the question of the party member reduced to a candidate for party membership is examined by the basic organization and if he is readmitted to the Party, his former length of membership is recognised.

11) Disciplinary measures of an educative character taken against a party member may be lifted when, through his work and good attitude he gives proof that he has corrected himself and that he is fulfilling his duties as a party member regularly and conscientiously.

12) The decision to expel a member from the Party must be examined by the respective organs of the Party not later than thirty days after the adoption of the decision by the basic organization.

13) For violations of the unity of the Party, failure to carry out the decisions of the higher organs, and other grave faults in opposi-
tion to the line of the Party, such disciplinary measures may be taken against basic organizations as a general re-enrolment of the members (the dissolution of the party basic organization). The decision on the general re-enrolment of members comes into force only after being approved by the Central Committee of the Party.

14) Anyone expelled from the Party, or any communist against whom disciplinary measures of an educative character have been taken, enjoys the right of appeal against the decision on his expulsion from the Party or the disciplinary measure, up to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. The appeal lodged by those expelled or by communists against whom disciplinary measures have been taken, must be examined by the respective local organs of the Party not later than thirty days after it has been lodged, and by the Central Control and Audit Commission not more than forty-five days later.

The return to the Party of a member unjustly expelled from it is decided by the organ of the Party which has approved his expulsion or by the higher organs of the Party. In these cases the member's former length of membership in the Party is recognised.
CANDIDATES FOR PARTY MEMBERSHIP

15) All those who wish to join the Party, must serve the probation period fixed for the candidates for party membership, a period indispensable for the candidate for membership to acquaint himself with the program, the Constitution and the tactics of the Party, and for the basic organization to become thoroughly acquainted with the personal qualities of the candidate member, first and foremost, in the practical implementation of the line and tasks of the Party.

The probation period for a candidate member must serve to temper him with the qualities of a communist and to test whether he is capable of preserving and developing them further, even in difficult conditions and circumstances. The probation period for candidates for
Party membership, especially those with origin or status as officials, or who come from intellectual families, or are such themselves, must be carried out wherever the party basic organization or the party committee assigns them, mostly to difficult sectors of work, according to their profession, or simply to manual work, near their place of residence or outside it. The probation period should serve the intensive, all-round, ideological education of the candidate member, therefore he must place himself completely under the direction of the party basic organization and the workers' collective where he works, and everybody must know that he is being prepared for admission to the Party.

16) The time fixed for the probation period of the candidate member is two to three years.

17) Candidates for party membership have the same duties as the members of the Party. Candidates for membership take part in the meetings of the basic organization with the right to a consultative vote; they cannot be elected to the organs of the Party, conferences of the Party, the presidiums of basic organization meetings, and cannot give recommendations for admission to the Party.
18) The party basic organization has the duty to help the candidate to prepare himself in order to be admitted to the Party. After the candidate has completed the probation period, the party basic organization must immediately take up the question of the candidate for party membership up at its meetings and decide whether he is worthy of being admitted as a member of the Party. When the party organization has proofs that the candidate is not worthy of being admitted to party membership, it takes the decision to expel him from the ranks of the candidates for membership of the Party.

19) For the expulsion of candidates for party membership as well as for the adoption of disciplinary measures of an educative character towards them, if they fail to carry out the duties and the rules set by the Party, the procedure is the same as for the members of the Party.
THE STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY. THE INTERNAL DEMOCRACY OF THE PARTY

20) The guiding principle of the organizational structure of the Party is democratic centralism. This means that:

a) all party leading organs are elected from below-up at meetings of basic organizations, at general meetings of communists, at conferences and congresses;

b) the leading organs are obliged to render account periodically to their party organizations;

c) all leading organs of the Party must listen continuously to the opinion of lower party organizations and the mass of party members, study their experience and provide timely solutions to their problems;

d) the lower party organizations must
render account to the higher party organizations for their work;

e) decisions are taken after a free thrashing out of opinions, but from the moment a decision is taken, unanimously or by a majority of votes, all party members are obliged to implement it without further discussion;

f) the decisions of the higher party organs are binding on the lower organs.

21) The collective method is the highest principle of the leading work of the Party; all party organizations implement the principle of combining collective leadership with personal responsibility. Every important question is solved collectively. At the same time, it is indispensable that the individual, too, should play his full role within the bounds of the tasks assigned, in conformity with the rules of collective work.

22) The Party of Labour of Albania is constructed on a production and a territorial basis. This means that:

a) party basic organizations are set up in production enterprises, institutions, or in other centres and places of work;

b) party organizations in a given territory (in a district region or the Republic as a whole) are united in a single party organization and
have a single leading organ; the organization of the Party and its leading organ in a given territory are higher than all the organizations and organs of the Party which are active in a part of the territory or a particular work centre:

c) the Party organization which operates in a production centre or work site, as well as its leading organ, is higher than the party organizations which operate in a part or sector of the production centre or work site.

23) All the organizations of the Party settle their local problems themselves, provided that their solutions and decisions are not contrary to the decisions and line of the Party.

24) The highest leading organ of each organization of the Party is the party meeting (for the basic organizations), the conference (for the district or regional party organizations) and the congress (for the entire Party).

25) The meeting of the basic organization, the conference or congress of the Party elects a bureau or committee, which is its executive organ and directs the daily work of the organization;

26) In elections to party organs, block voting is prohibited. Voting is by secret ballot and separate for each candidature, beginning from the Party basic organizations. All party mem-
bers are guaranteed the unrestricted right to propose and criticise candidates and to demand the withdrawal of candidatures put forward. The candidates who receive most of the votes, and more than half of the votes of those participating in the meeting, conference or congress, are considered elected.

If the members of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and the members of the Central Control and Audit Commissions are not elected as delegates to the Party congress, they take part in its proceedings with the right to a consultative vote. If the members of the party committee and members of the control and audit commission of a given district, region, military unit or detachment are not elected as delegates to the conference of the respective district, region, military unit or detachment, they take part in its proceedings with the right to a consultative vote.

27) In districts or regions, the respective party committees call meetings of the activists of their party organizations to discuss important party decisions, as well as important problems of the party organization of the region or district. At the meetings of party activists, the committees regularly report to the party organizations on their activity, therefore they
should not meet merely to give formal and solemn approval to the decisions or issues under consideration, but to genuinely discuss and judge them, on the basis of criticism and self-criticism, and to ensure their best possible implementation in practice.

28) Free and healthy discussions about the problems of party policy in the various organizations or throughout the Party is an inviolable right of every party member, which stems from the internal democracy of the Party. Only on the basis of the internal democracy of the Party can criticism and self-criticism be developed, can the activity and initiative of the communists be increased, and the discipline of the Party, which must be conscious and not mechanical, be strengthened.

However, a broad discussion of problems of party policy, especially a discussion throughout the Party, must be organized in such a way as not to allow attempts by a minority to impose its will upon the majority of the Party, or attempts to create factional groups with the aim of breaking the unity of the Party, or attempts at disruption which weaken the Party and disturb its stability.

A broad discussion throughout the Party
can be considered necessary only in the following cases:

a) when the need for this is expressed by several party organizations of districts or regions;

b) when there is not stable majority in the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania on the principal problems of the policy of the Party;

c) when, although the Central Committee has a stable majority holding a definite stand, it considers it necessary to verify the correctness of its policy through a discussion within the Party.

Only by meeting these conditions can it be ensured that the internal democracy of the Party is effective, and that it is not abused by elements hostile to the Party, or exploited to the detriment of the Party and the working class.