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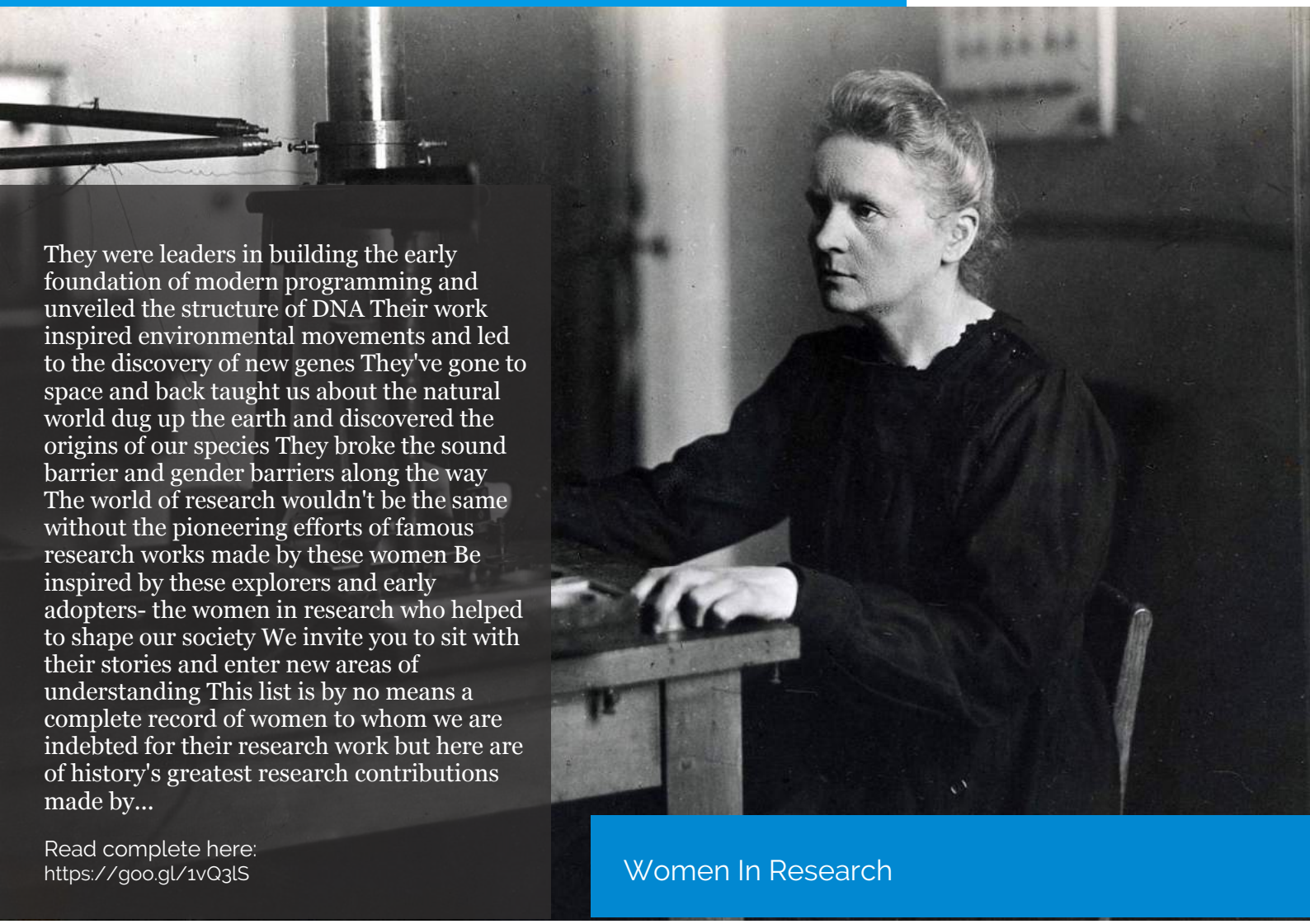

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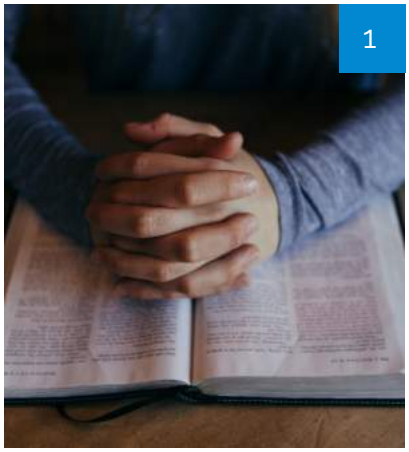

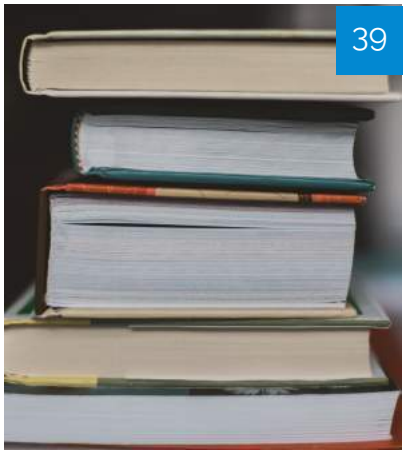

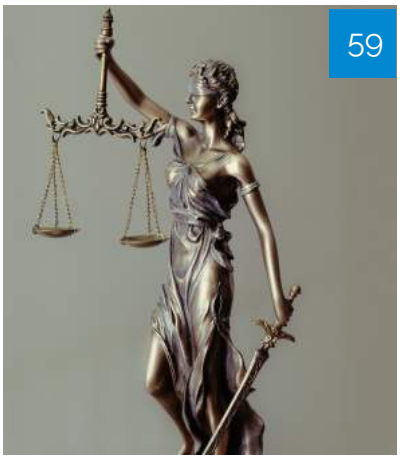

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Do the Holy Scriptures and the Constitutions of Modern Secular States Have Equal Value and Significance?

Sergey S. Oganesyan & Tarim A. Khaadi

ABSTRACT

The authors argue that the Constitutions of modern secular states have the same value and significance for organizing the life of individuals, ethnic groups and peoples as the Holy Scriptures of monotheism had in the religious epochs. The article contains a comparative analysis of the functions of Constitutions and the Holy Scriptures in secular and religious states.

In the history of mankind three main stages of its mental development can be identified: paganism, monotheism and scientific perception of the world. Each of them has its own perception of the world, its values and norms and rules of behavior. The first two stages are religious and the last one is post-religious. All these stages of civilizational development are clearly set forth in the Holy Scriptures such as the Torah, the New Testament and the Koran.

Keywords: constitutions, mental civilizations, oly scriptures , secular states, theocratic states.

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Do the Holy Scriptures and the Constitutions of Modern Secular States Have Equal Value and Significance?

Sergey S. Oganesyan[α] & Tarim A. Khaadi[σ]

ABSTRACT

The authors argue that the Constitutions of modern secular states have the same value and significance for organizing the life of individuals, ethnic groups and peoples as the Holy Scriptures of monotheism had in the religious epochs. The article contains a comparative analysis of the functions of Constitutions and the Holy Scriptures in secular and religious states.

In the history of mankind three main stages of its mental development can be identified: paganism, monotheism and scientific perception of the world. Each of them has its own perception of the world, its values and norms and rules of behavior. The first two stages are religious and the last one is post-religious. All these stages of civilizational development are clearly set forth in the Holy Scriptures such as the Torah, the New Testament and the Koran.

The attitude to the Constitution as the founding document governing the organization of the life of all the citizens irrespective of their ethnic background and distinctness, spiritual preferences and religious views not only in polyethnic and multi-confessional but also in monoethnic countries should be no less respectful than the attitude toward the Holy Scriptures in the canon law states.

Keywords: constitutions, mental civilizations, oly scriptures, secular states, theocratic states.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The processes taking place in the contemporary world may appear to have nothing fundamentally new, but in reality they are harbingers of global changes in people's mentality, perception of the world and the way they order their life.

On the one hand, various social groups and peoples seeking to preserve their identity and their culture clash in bloody religious and ethnic conflicts; and on the other hand we see powerful integration processes across the world. On the one hand we see the traditional re-division of spheres of influence between world and regional powers and on the other hand countries form unions with single currencies, social safety nets and norms of behavior. On the one hand the struggle for markets transcends state boundaries and is waged by powerful international financial, industrial and trade associations; and on the other hand we see an unstoppable push of nations toward self-determination and ethnic groups upholding their political and socio-economic independence. On the one hand states seek to preserve their traditional norms and rules of behavior; and on the other hand international law is becoming ever more important. On the one hand there is a growing attachment to traditional values, the native language and history of one's people; and on the other hand we see growing uniformity and standardization of every aspect of life of the Earth people irrespective of their ethnic and social status, etc.

All this tends to obscure the dramatic changes taking place in people's mentality. For example, people's attitudes to the institutions of marriage and family, moral values which have prevailed over thousands of years; their inner world and the environment, and such fundamental concepts as

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"good and evil,""loved one, brother and enemy,""justice " "sin" and so on.

II. PROBLEM STATEMENT

Without going into a review and analysis of existing opinions and positions we shall present our own view on the global processes taking place in human mentality as the religious perception of the world presented in the Holy Scriptures and the Holy Legends of paganism is giving way to the post-religious worldview focused on man's intellectual activity, his ability to cognize the world scientifically and organize his life according to the canons of the scientific worldview as reflected in the Constitutions of modern secular states. For it is the Constitutions that today perform the functions which until recently were performed, in religious mental civilizations, by the Holy Scriptures of monotheism (the Torah, the New Testament and the Koran) as well as the Holy Legends of paganism.

So, would it be right to say that for modern secular states Constitutions have the same meaning as the Holy Scriptures which only two or three centuries ago were the fundamental documents not only in organizing the spiritual and worldview-related, but also legal, political, socio-economic and other spheres of life?

Put in this way, the question may seem blasphemous to some and meaningless to others because the Scriptures have been "vouchsafed" by God (the Most High, the World Reason, etc.) for all time and therefore have intransient value whereas Constitutions are merely the products of human intellectual activity.

For others again the time of the Holy Scriptures is gone forever just as the eras of religious civilizations with their world perception, morality, norms and rules of behavior and their values.

For yet others the Holy Scriptures are important, necessary and valuable for all people and for all time. They concentrate and reflect not only the history of the spiritual (more broadly, mental) development of mankind, but also open up a perspective and strategic path of the development not only of humans, but of all "living" things on our planet, and of the very planet Earth and confer meaning on the existence of every individual and all people. Meanwhile Constitutions reflect the norms and rules of being of a country's citizens at a concrete post-religious stretch of time and do not 'forecast" the future. Therefore they are in constant flux depending on the specific time and conditions of citizens in this or that country.

We believe that all the above views do not only have the right to exist in the collective consciousness of contemporary humanity but have an imprint of the period of transition from one civilizational mentality to a different one. In particular, a transition of religious mental civilizations to the scientific perception and understanding of the world.

III. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

One of the key aspects of this study is comparative analysis of the functions of the Holy Scriptures over the millennia and the functions Constitutions perform in contemporary secular states as well as the far-from-accidental transition from the worldview and legal systems set forth in the Holy Scriptures to the Constitutions of modern secular states.

IV. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The aim of this work is to demonstrate not only the functional continuity between Constitutions and the Holy Scriptures of monotheism, but also the fact that people's transition to independent norm-setting, formation of their worldview as embodied in the Constitutions of modern states is envisaged by the Holy Scriptures of monotheism, specifically the Torah, the New Testament and the Koran, which Koran considers to be the true messages to humankind from the One God.

V. RESEARCH METHODS

The authors use logical methods traditional for this kind of studies: comparative analysis of the functions of monotheistic Holy Scriptures (the Torah, the New Testament and the Koran) in religious states and the functions of the Constitutions of modern states, as well as the methods of induction, deduction and generalization of the results obtained.

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VI. FINDINGS

In our earlier published studies we have sought to demonstrate that humanity over the course of its history has gone through three main stages of mental existence which we call mental civilizations. [Oganesyan, 2013]. Each of them has its specific perception of the world, its values, legal systems and social behavior norms which in their totality predetermine social, economic and, accordingly, legal relations within social entities and with the external world. These are the mental stages of paganism (idol-worshiping, polytheism), monotheism and finally scientific perception of the world. They can also be called mental epochs in the history of humankind's civilized development. [Oganesyan, 2013].

Thus, after millennia of paganism the overwhelming majority of ethnic groups and peoples, if they did not leave the historical arena, naturally passed on to a new civilizational mentality of monotheism and then, after the epochs of Renaissance and Enlightenment, also naturally, departed from the monotheistic perception of the world and started to generate their own views on the way the world is ordered and on man's place in it and to create legislative systems which are the fruits of their independent intellectual endeavor. [Oganesyan, 2011; Oganesyan, 2013, Oganesyan, 2020]

It is common knowledge that in the religious epochs of paganism and monotheism the perception of the world and the norms and rules of human behavior were handed down to them "by external forces." During the religious epochs people were sure that they had nothing to do with their creation. The norms and rules of behavior had to be accepted in the shape they received them and people's task was to strictly abide by them if they wanted to avoid negative consequences for themselves.

In the pagan mental civilization the perception of the world and the norms and rules of behavior were "bequeathed" by the dead ancestors who were thought to be the guardian gods of their living descendants.

In monotheism the world perception, norms and rules of behavior were transmitted (handed down) through the prophets by the One God, the Creator of people and of the Universe.

It was only in the epochs of Renaissance, Enlightenment and Reformation of the church in Europe and then in all the other countries and on all the continents that humankind began give up the worldview and the legal systems set forth in the Holy Legends of paganism and the Holy Scriptures of monotheism. Humankind started entering the epoch when its own intellectual activity, i.e. scientific cognition of the world and the worldview and activity based on it began to determine its existence and development [Oganesyan, 2020]

Not surprisingly, the transition from one stage of development to another was enormously difficult because it involved not only a change of worldview and way of life, but a drastic change in people's thinking, renunciation of established traditions and the building up of a new set of values. All this was bound to generate conflicts between the adherents of the old and new worldviews, leading to bloody violent confrontations within societies and between ethnic groups and peoples that were at different stages of their mental civilizational development.

It is only in the current post-religious time that man's own intellectual capacity (reason) became the main and key instrument (means) of cognizing the surrounding world and oneself, the shaping of one's own set of values with its notions of life and death, good and evil, justice and other moral categories which differ markedly from the corresponding notions of religious mental civilizations.

It has to be stressed that the inevitable process of succession of mental civilizations, far from contradicting what the Torah, the New Testament and the Koran say about the essence of man and the main direction of humankind's development, is clearly set forth in them (Oganesyan, 2020; The Bible, 1992; The Koran, 2011; The Torah, 1993).

Suffice it to recall the words of the Torah to the effect that God created man in His image and likeness and that He "blew the breath of life into his nostrils,"i.e. imparted His mental essence to man (Bereishit 2 Bereishit ,7) [The Torah, 1993]. We may also recall Christ saying to people "You are gods" (John.10:32-37) [The Bible, 1992]. The Koran says that man is the bearer of the Holy Spirit of the Most High and that God "taught

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Adam the names of all things" thus "elevating" man over much that He has created (Suras 2:31-36; 34:6-9) [The Koran, 2011]

It is not be irrelevant to recall that the New Testament and the Koran expressly say that humanity's earthly existence will culminate in its transition to another (extra-terrestrial, heavenly) world where people will, depending on their deeds, either acquire eternal life becoming like the Creator or will be in eternal Hell. All this will happen because of the special mental nature of man which sets him apart from all the other living things on our planet because man is uniquely capable of telling "good" from "evil" and "virtue" from "sin."

Moreover, one can trace from the events described in the Bible and the Koran how and under what circumstances the law-making initiative was delegated by the One God to people themselves [The Bible, 1992].

Thus, for example, before the Prophet Samuel the sons of Israel were guided exclusively by the commandments, laws and precepts handed down to them through Moses by the almighty God of Israel. It was not until Samuel told God that the people wanted to have a king above them who would rule over them because the sons of Israel were ruled directly by God through His prophets, that the Most High told Samuel to independently work out the laws to be followed by the king in ruling the people and pointed out to the prophet the man who should be the king. Samuel obediently carried out the will of the Most High, worked out the "laws of kingdom" and blessed the man who became the first king of Israel. He was Saul of the tribe of Benjamin (1Kings. 8:5, 20) [The Bible, 1992]

Thus, for the first time not only law-making initiative but, particularly important, the functions of law-making were delegated from God to man himself [Oganesyan, 2011] Without dwelling on the issue which has been addressed in the author's earlier works let us just note that it was not by chance that over time as humanity grew mentally and socio-economically it began, initially in some peoples and then, after the Enlightenment epoch, in many other peoples everywhere to abandon the legal systems ordained in the Holy Scriptures in favor of its own laws developing the legal framework for their life through various law-making bodies beginning from parliaments and ending with popular assemblies and councils.

However, let us not forget that over millennia the Holy Scriptures of monotheism and before them the Holy Legends of paganism were the basis for organizing the life of all the ethnic groups and peoples which did not switch to making laws themselves overnight. For example, the Koran still performs the functions of the Constitution in Saudi Arabia and Libya [Constitutions, 2020)

Today, transition from monotheism to the scientific perception of the world is manifest in practically all ethnic entities and peoples in all the spheres of life, including even such "theocratic" states as Iran and the Vatican [Oganesyan, 2013]

It follows from the above-said that the Holy Scriptures of monotheism (the Torah, the New Testament and the Koran) are important not only for people in religious mental epochs, but also for our contemporaries and have intransient value for the future generations.

Moreover, the modern level of science and technology may shed new light on what the Scriptures say about the origin of the human race and the strategic direction of humankind's development.

That is why, in our opinion, the Holy Scriptures today are in a sense rivals of the Constitutions of secular states, a competition in which they may supplant each other. This is highlighted in the modern world by the procedure of inauguration of heads of state. Under the inauguration procedure adopted in most countries of the world community, the person assuming power takes an oath with one hand on the Bible, or the Koran or on the Constitution and sometimes with one hand on the Bible and the other on the Constitution.

Thus, in Indonesia the president elected by Parliament says a brief oath on the Koran and is blessed by a Muslim priest [President, 2020]. In the USA the president elect puts his hand, usually, on the family Bible, and says the oath: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United

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States. May God help me" (emphasis added – S.O.) [Inauguration of US President, 2020] Note that the US President asks God to help him to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States".

In Russia the head of state prefers to be sworn in on the Constitution.

In Armenia the head of state pledges loyalty to the country and the people simultaneously on the Constitution and the Gospel [Inauguration of the President of Armenia, 2020]

Let us compare the functions performed by the Constitutions of secular states today and those performed as recently as two or three hundred years ago in religious states by the Holy Scriptures and then delimit their spheres of functioning in the modern world. Let us list what we believe to be the more important of these functions.

First, the key function the Constitution and the Holy Scriptures have in common is the regulatory one because they set forth the norms and rules (legal systems) determining people's relationships among themselves and their relations with their own and other societies (ethnic groups, peoples, gens and tribes) as well as with the power structures of their own and other states.

The second common function of Constitutions and the Holy Scriptures and Legends is to determine the worldview and attitude of man and society to the way the world is ordered, including cognitive (epistemological), political (in the broad sense of the word) geopolitical, socio-economic and intellectual-ideological aspects.

Third, the two have common axiological functions in that they offer clear-cut criteria of such concepts as "good and evil," "virtue and sin," the individual and society," their "sinfulness, lawlessness," law abidance and legal awareness, including the functions of shaping the values and morality as well as criteria of social norms. Thus, Constitutions, the Holy Scriptures and Legends perform their "educational" and "enlightenment" functions.

Fourth, the functions which are essential for ethnic and state self-identification of the individual. Because over the millennia faith has been inseparably bound up with ethnicity the Holy Scriptures which underlie faith enabled the individual to self-identify with the relevant social group or state. Similarly, the Constitution ensures a person's identification with an ethnic entity and people through the institution of civic affiliation of every concrete individual.

Fifth, one has to mention the common functions of ensuring the continuity in the political and socio-economic spheres of society's life. Both the Constitutions and the Holy Scriptures play the role of stabilizer of existing social, class, gender, family and other relations.

Without enumerating all the common and similar functions of Constitutions and Holy Scriptures, let us note the fundamental differences between the two. First, they have different "terms." While, for example, the Torah was handed down "in perpetuity,"which was understandable and justified for the mental level of the addressee who demanded not only concrete prescriptions for every situation, but effectiveness for an unlimited period of time. Indeed, why change established traditions and customs to norms and rules which will be canceled after some time? Meanwhile the Constitution, as a rule, is adopted for a short term and envisages the introduction of amendments in accordance with the bidding of the time. For example, since the Russian Revolution of 1917 the citizens of the USSR have lived under five different Constitutions.

Second, in the modern world the Holy Scriptures perform culturological functions providing insights into the worldview, legal consciousness, moral and other values of ethnic groups and peoples and the whole humankind ever since historical records began. It has to be said for fairness sake that the emergence of the New Testament and then the Koran prove that the Holy Scriptures of monotheism, over time and considering the changed conditions, encouraged those who worshipped one God or had matured for adopting monotheism to adopt new norms and rules of behavior and organization corresponding to the realities of modern times. Think of Christ's words about Saturday, a commandment that is fundamental for Judaists. Christ effectively "upends" the Torah commandment on the need to strictly observe Saturday forever: "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath."

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So the Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath." (Mark.2:27,28) [The Bible, 1992]

The Koran is even more forthright on the inevitability of changes in commandments, laws and precepts revealed by the One God. Thus, Muhammad was to spread the message that the Most High envisaged his scripture (his commandments) and that "Allah effaces whatever He wills (outdated commandments of the past) and retains whatever He wills (in His wisdom, the precepts which should be strictly observed) "For with Him is the Mother of the Book". (Sura 13:38,39) [The Koran, 2011]

On the other hand, precisely because the Holy Scriptures had been revealed by the Most High Himself they were not to be tampered with, and their parts, phrases and words could not be shifted around. Because they have been revealed in the verbal and composition form by God Himself Who, as religious people believe, has omniscience and wisdom and foresight incomprehensible to the human reason.

What was allowed was interpretation of certain commandments, laws and precepts by "wise men." Vivid examples of interpretations under the pressure of new times and living conditions are the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds, Agadu, Zogar, patristic writings, Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad, etc.

On the other hand, Constitutions which were adopted in the epoch of scientific world perception, with their ideas of humanism and a sense of man's boundless cognitive and creative powers, absence of "the ultimate truth," perpetual search for better forms and methods of organizing people's lives fully reflect the new times in that they constantly react to pressing problems and try to solve them quickly by adopting amendments, additions and other legal acts.

Religious people for their part should understand that, first, at a certain point God has delegated law-making and norm-setting initiative to people themselves; second, that there is continuity between the Holy Scriptures of monotheism (the Torah, the New Testament and the Koran) and the Constitutions of secular states, above all at the level of fundamental values that have to do with the worldview. Suffice it to recall Christ's commandment which is seen in the modern world as the golden rule of morality: "So in everything, do to others what you would have them do to you, for this sums up the Law and the Prophets" (Matthew 7:12) [The Bible, 1992].

Needless to say, some functions of the Holy Scriptures which they performed over millennia are not performed by Constitutions today. Such functions, for example, as meeting what is thought to be the human need for mystic practices aimed at calming down people's souls through sacraments and the like. Constitutions do not perform the "compensatory" and "consolatory" function manifested, for example, in the fact that the very reading of the Holy Scriptures consoles religious people relieving their mental anguish and physical suffering. Religious people feel that they prompt them ways out of seemingly dead-end situations and mental torment.

However, many modern people prefer to turn for solutions to their inner (mental) problems not to the Holy Scriptures, priests or teachers of spiritual practices, but to neuropathologists, psychologists, psychiatrists and psychoanalysts. Indeed there is a distinct trend of convergence of the activities of clerics and psychologists. [Pavlova, 2020]

VII. CONCLUSION

To sum up. In secular states Constitutions are no less valuable and important for optimum organization of citizens' life than the Holy Scriptures were for religious mental civilizations. For polyethnic and multiconfessional states and for monoethnic states alike the Constitution is the fundamental document for organizing the life of all the country's citizens irrespective of their ethnicity and identity as well as their spiritual preferences and religious beliefs.

Awareness of the fact that in secular states the norms of the Constitution and not the Holy Scriptures are to be strictly observed not only by the country's citizens, but by all the persons on its territory regardless of their religious views must become the bedrock principle for each and every one. Awareness of the role and significance of the Constitution for modern secular states is particularly important for migrants who, being still at the religious mental stage, gravitate toward canon law set forth in the Holy Scriptures of monotheism (the Torah, the New Testament and

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the Koran). Thus, for the citizens of every secular state the study of the Constitution is just as necessary and obligatory as the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures was in the states of religious mental civilizations.

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The Global Economic Implications, Risks, and Opportunities Associated with China's 14th Five-Year Plan (2021-2025)

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ABSTRACT

China's 14th Five Year Plan (2021-2025) will achieve growth in two areas. First, there will be growth by means of domestic consumption and a resilient supply chain that will attempt to eliminate risk of disruption by relying primarily on domestic inputs. Second, China intends to expand exports of manufactured and high-tech goods and services in order to be a permanent element of global supply chains. Areas of investment focus will be in innovation, high technology, green energy and technology, and progress to zero emissions by 2060. They will build on the innovation and environmental conservation (green goals) that were set and achieved in the 13th Five-Year Plan (CPC, 2015). New concepts that are central to the plan include the concept of "dual circulation" (internal and external economic activity), focused areas of innovation (energy, agriculture, food production, high technology). The social aspect of the 14th Five-Year Plan emphasizes civility, renewed emphasis on core values and mental health that involve sports and healthy activities. There are many global implications of the 14th Five-Year Plan, which include the possibility of short-term growth through strictly domestic production, but long-term challenges resulting from a de facto import substitution strategy that precipitates a global economic activity contraction as the important China market for globally-produced goods and services shrinks. Many of the objectives identified in the plan represent opportunities for international cooperation and joint ventures, although the plan does not specify the incentives, or the scope or size of ideal projects.

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Susan Smith Nash

OVERVIEW

China's 14th Five Year Plan (2021-2025) will achieve growth in two areas. First, there will be growth by means of domestic consumption and a resilient supply chain that will attempt to eliminate risk of disruption by relying primarily on domestic inputs. Second, China intends to expand exports of manufactured and high-tech goods and services in order to be a permanent element of global supply chains. Areas of investment focus will be in innovation, high technology, green energy and technology, and progress to zero emissions by 2060. They will build on the innovation and environmental conservation (green goals) that were set and achieved in the 13th Five-Year Plan (CPC, 2015). New concepts that are central to the plan include the concept of "dual circulation" (internal and external economic activity), focused areas of innovation (energy, agriculture, food production, high technology). The social aspect of the 14th Five-Year Plan emphasizes civility, renewed emphasis on core values and mental health that involve sports and healthy activities. There are many global implications of the 14th Five-Year Plan, which include the possibility of short-term growth through strictly domestic production, but long-term challenges resulting from a de facto import substitution strategy that precipitates a global economic activity contraction as the important China market for globally-produced goods and services shrinks. Many of the objectives identified in the plan represent opportunities for international cooperation and joint ventures, although the plan does not specify the incentives, or the scope or size of ideal projects.

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I. INTRODUCTION

China has released the key targets in its most recent five-year plan, and it is clear that they respond to the impact of the global pandemic, and also a tendency toward protectionism and isolationism in some nations. The 14th Five-Year Plan period (2021-2025) consists of guidance and targets, and describes how and where the central government will be providing support to individuals and organizations. The plan, developed after extensive exploration of options, as well as feasibility studies and simulations. In addition to providing financial incentives, the central government provides the legal framework to facilitate the achievement of the targets in the five-year plan. One major objective is to avoid the "Middle Income Trap" which suggests that countries can arrive at a middle income level quite quickly due to low labor costs and exports, but then stagnate when they achieve middle income. China desires to avoid that trap by means of high quality growth which may mean a slower rate of growth of GDP, but a sustainable distribution of opportunities (Cheng, 2020).

China's Five-Year Plans are issued every five years and they articulate the government's priorities in terms of the economy and social initiatives. They are developed by the ruling Communist Party under the leadership of Xi Jinping.

II. KEY GOALS AND DIRECTIONS

Here is a summary of the key areas of goal-setting, which involve looking for all opportunities for growth potential.

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- Strengthen the domestic market through internal consumption of "Made in China" goods and a secure supply chain to avoid interruptions and to assure quality.
- Increase innovation capacity.
- Upgrade the industrial supply chain.
- Achieve a more balanced development between urban and rural areas, and "more solid foundation for agriculture" (XinhuaNet, 2020).
- Strengthen the market economy and a higher-level open economy.
- Create a more polite society: "China's social etiquette and civility shall be further enhanced, while the core socialist values shall be embraced by the people," (XinhuaNet, 2020).
- Increase the number of cultural and intellectual activities to be advanced to strengthen the influence of Chinese culture.
- Support green transformation and green technologies.
- Develop higher-quality employment and personal income growth.
- Practice risk management in public emergencies, natural disasters, and national security.

III. PRIMARY ECONOMIC MECHANISMS

The primary mechanisms that will help China achieve its goals include the following:

"Dual Circulation" strengthening: "Dual circulation" refers to the internal domestic market economic activities ("internal circulation") and also the external export economic activities ("external circulation"). Growth will be targeted by increasing the quality of domestic goods in order to expand consumption of domestically-produced goods and services, which includes a domestic supply chain. At the same time, the goal is to expand exports, particularly in high-tech products.

Investment in technology and innovation: China's goal is to become a leader in innovation in core technologies and high technology. Examples would be biotechnology, semiconductors, new energy vehicles, and more (CGTN, 2020). One initiative specifically mentioned by leader Xi was quantum computing and the development of supercomputers (Stern & Xie, 2020).

Green growth development: China will continue to seek a low-carbon and sustainable growth model, and in doing so, continue to improve air quality and reduce emissions. The technology used to do so could conceivably be exported to help other countries achieve the low-carbon targets as well.

Market-driven growth: Instead of a centrally planned and administered plan, the drivers of growth are envisioned as organically market-driven, and so will arise from true market needs. The private sector is considered vital to this function since approximately 84 percent of Chinese companies are privately owned, and a corresponding 80 percent of Chinese jobs come from the private sector (CGTN, 2020).

Made in China 2025: The goal is to dominate high-tech and key manufacturing areas, particularly in terms of domestic consumption, and in the manufacturing of products. For example, this could mean import substitution within the domestic supply chain.

China Standards 2035: The goal is to establish the prevailing global specifications on leading technology, so that the specifications align with China standards. Whether or not this means cooperation with outside standards boards is not specified.

Reducing external vulnerabilities: An important feature is the desire to reduce external vulnerabilities and achieve self-sufficiency. Key vulnerabilities have been seen in the areas of energy, technology, and food (Blanchette and Polk, 2020), and thus the emphasis on developing self-contained supply chains and to sell domestically rather than relying on exports.

IV. IMPLICATIONS

There are a number of short-term and long-term economic implications that can be hypothesized after a thoughtful examination of the goals, the economic context, and likely causal chains put

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into motion by the policy guidelines of the 14th Five-Year Plan.

Continued Domestic Investment in Energy: One key element of the plan emphasizes self-sufficiency in terms of energy. Currently, China imports a great deal of petroleum and natural gas. With the initiative toward using more electric cars, China can reduce its dependency on foreign oil. In contrast with other countries, which are looking to eliminate oil and gas exploration and production, China plans to invest more in drilling and exploration, but to do so in a way that does not pollute or result in methane emissions. Essentially, China plans to pursue all forms of energy to achieve its goals, while investing heavily in the energy transition, and zero emissions by 2060.

Innovation and New Technologies: There will be significant investment in new technology and innovation of all kinds, particularly those that will help stimulate growth in the economy through domestic consumption and increased exports. Thus, the first targets of import substitution are likely to be semiconductors (such as Intel), graphics processing units (such as Nvidea), smartphones (Apple), and other electronic devices. Many of China's states are already transitioning from a manufacturing economy, with factories producing consumer goods, to one that is more focused on computing and "smart" systems.

Support of Green Technology and Clean Energy: In China's 13th Five-Year Plan, environmental and ecological guidelines formed a significant part of the plan (Beijing Review, 2016), and which meant that targets were set for improving air and water quality, meaning significant investment in cleaner energy sources, namely natural gas and solar-generated electricity, and cleaner combustion of coal. The 14th Five-Year Plan takes this initiative even further, and articulates guidelines for reducing carbon and striving to achieve net zero by 2060. Examples include CNOOC's continuing investment in an offshore wind farm, and Petrochina's investment in green energy (Zhou, Yep & Jaipurlyar, 2020).

Supply Chains to be Resilient and Self-Contained: Currently, many of the goods manufactured for domestic consumption and export, require imported goods. Many of these are commodities, such as agricultural products and raw materials. The 14th Five Year Plan suggests that supply chains should consist of Made In China goods, which means that there will be a great deal of focus on developing locally produced alternatives. One can count on an expansion of 3D printing capability in order to create locally-produced substitutes, and also a potential streamlining of types and varieties of products, to ones where the supply chains are completely self-contained and the products easily sourced. Part of this strategy will require more petrochemicals to be produced in China, particularly precursors for high-performance polyethylene, polystyrene, and polycarbonates. This may mean an increased demand in technology and high-performance chemicals to help achieve those goals (Zhou, Yep, Jaipurlyar, 2020).

Food Security: China currently imports a great deal of its food supply, including its protein (pork, for example), and grains (soybeans, rice, etc.). China's 13th Five-Year Plan involved investing in agricultural technology to improve efficiencies in agriculture. That trend will continue with the 14th Five Year Plan, with potentially more investment in the development of disease and pest-resistant varieties of crops. In 2019, China lost millions of pigs to an outbreak of Africa Swine Fever (Polansek, 2020). Occurrences of avian flu, such as the H5N1 strain, have continued to ravage poultry farms even at the same time as the first coronavirus outbreak (Cachero, 2020). As a result, it is very probable that there will be an increase in investment in veterinarian products such as immunizations and medicines, as well as new types of cages, disinfectants, and sanitary cleaning, washing, disinfecting units.

Belt and Road Initiative: A general redirection of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) projects will probably be necessary. Infrastructure projects and the loans that were collateralized through primary products and commodities domestic output may not be attractive. The countries were viewed as markets for Chinese exports in the early

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stages of the BRI, but the medium-term consequences were to destroy local production capabilities as the Chinese imports replaced the more expensive domestically produced consumer products. The result was that many of the debtor countries, while appreciative of the infrastructure (roads, ports, etc.), are experiencing growth contractions that have dramatically impacted tourism, travel, and other parts of their economies. In fact, Africa is experiencing its first recession in 25 years, and growth in 2020 is expected to be at a negative rate (average -3.3) (The World Bank in Africa, 2020). Consequently, the BRI lender entities may be forced to reschedule debt payments and loans. However, the BRI projects that have to do with information technology will continue to be attractive, and will receive renewed emphasis.

V. RISKS AND OPPORTUNITIES

A typical "go-to" strategy in the face of flagging competitiveness and economic stagnation is to move toward protectionism and isolationism. Unfortunately, it is not a viable long-term strategy because it inevitably sets up a defensive reaction with former trading partners who also impose barriers (tariffs, import restrictions, etc.), and seek to protect their domestic supply chains through import substitution (rather than simply avoiding sole source situations). China's 14th Five-Year Plan seems to be a response not only to a COVID-19-diminished demand for their exports, but also a "tit for tat" quid pro quo response to protectionism.

A campaign to improve the quality of domestically produced products and also to not export the best and leave the worst for the folks at home is a good way to improve the prestige and cachet of domestic brands. The only trap with that is the fact that there may be a demand for low-price point products, even if they do fall apart quickly and do not provide any of the "totemic" power (as per Thorstein Veblen's notions of conspicuous consumption) of luxury goods.

In the short run, if imported goods are not available for purchase, then there will be a dramatic increase in consumption of domestic products. However, China is an important market for many of the world's producers, and to suddenly lose that market would mean a significant reduction of income for them. In a worst-case scenario, the loss of the China market for exported goods, ranging from food and primary product inputs (commodities) to high-prestige foreign branded manufactured goods and components (semiconductors, for example), could bankrupt companies already teetering on the brink of collapse due to COVID-19 market restrictions (reduced capacity and lockdowns) and loss of consumption.

If there is a long-term loss of the China market, then companies will look to their own economies for markets. China's "dual circulation" model in this case would show a short-term growth in the "internal circulation" part of the model, but a decline, and possibly a deep plunge in the "external circulation" sector as depression-ravaged economies cannot afford to purchase China's exports, and, further, they may construct a "wall of tariffs" to protect their own markets. No amount of "quantitative easing" and fiscal policy will overcome the lack of demand.

A companion strategy might be to identify the individuals with the highest marginal propensity to consume and to offer credits and incentives for them to increase their consumption. One problem of fiscally-directed monetary policy (providing payments to individuals and companies) during times of crisis and uncertainty is that they do not want to spend. Instead, they continue to save, thus taking money out of circulation.

China is truly a driver of the global recovery. It is, conversely, a potential driver of collapse. Going on a spending and importing spree could boost the businesses in other countries, and thus, in the long run, increase capacity. Another potential help would be to invest in external businesses, and provide employment in other countries. For countries wrestling with COVID-19, provide guidance to enable businesses to stay open while protecting the health and safety of the citizens.

Mental health is important to global recovery, and sharing some of the ideas in the 14th Five-Year

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Plan could be of dramatic benefit. It could also include discussions with international panels on how to restore emotional and mental health to the citizens in COVID-19 ravaged nations, focusing on families that have been separated due to restrictions, and more.

With respect to investment and opportunities for collaboration and cooperation, in the short run, companies and individuals that provide inputs (physical or digital), technologies (equipment and products), smart biochemical, that provide scaffolding for Chinese development of internal capacity will find opportunities. The opportunities may be more limited than before since Chinese entities will likely purchase capacity-building products and services rather than the finished goods themselves.

In terms of the energy transition, partnerships to design facilities and to train knowledge-workers (engineers, data scientists, chemists, geoscientists) could be available. The 14th Five Year Plan speaks of expanded opportunities for international funds to invest in Chinese companies or projects, although the long-term goals of the Five-Year Plan seem relatively hostile to long-term foreign investment in China, at least in the summary documents that were initially released. In order to encourage investment in joint projects, it may be necessary to demonstrate a good-faith cooperation at least over the span of the 14th Five-Year Plan, with joint ownership structures and intellectual property assurances, namely that high-technology digital joint projects be cloud-based, and on neutral servers.

To fully evaluate the implications of the 14th Five-Year Plan, it would be a good idea to develop scenarios and simulations that reflect varying degrees of import substitution on the part of China and the subsequent impact on the foreign businesses, and then on their governments. The scenarios could also take into consideration the ability of other high-growth economies such as India and their ability to develop their middle classes by means of creative partnerships with the world's companies. What is the overall impact of taking China out of the marketplace? How quickly will global companies collapse? What will happen if it is impossible for China to follow the strategy of increasing exports and developing sole-source supplier relationships in international supply chains?

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This article examines the growth and the impact of the community radio in Africa across the political, social and economic fronts. The paper focuses on the sub Saharan Africa with special attention to the East, South and West Africa regions. In East Africa for instance, the paper argues that the emergence and growth of the community radio stations has entrenched within the communities many programmes for poverty alleviation and numerous peace initiatives especially for the pastoralists communities. The researcher also realized that during the COVID-19 pandemic, the community radio stations have come in handy to facilitate home based learning for both primary and secondary school students. In West Africa, especially in Ghana, the researcher discovered that these stations have enabled the farmers to embrace modern methods of farming and marketing strategies. In Southern Africa countries such as Namibia and South Africa, they have been key in advancing political and economic liberation and giving a voice to the marginalized communities especially the slum dwellers. Various primary sources of data were used including interviews with radio managers, listeners and journalists. Secondary data was taken from earlier researchers and organizations such as UNESCO, Communications Authorities of various countries and Balancing Act of 2008.

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Keywords: community radio, communication, programmes, development, vernacular languages.

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I. INTRODUCTION

As we have indicated in chapter one, the era of digital migration caused liberalization of the airwaves resulting to unprecedented growth of telecommunication avenues. A part from the emergence of the vernacular televisions of late, the emergence of FM radio stations has been more visible. Their accessibility has been boosted by the emergence of the cell phone technology which has enabled radio applications to be integrated as part of their software. This impact can be seen by the prolific nature and diversity of the radio channels witnessed in Africa in the last twenty years. As a result of this proliferation, there has been diversity in ownership, content formulation and regulation. For instance, there are community radio stations whose specialization targets the farmers, the youth, the church members, university students and business communities. Apart from the community radio stations, there are other categories of radio services in the Africa. Concerning this exponential growth Mayers (2008) notes that radio is the dominant media with the widest geographical reach compared with TV, newspapers and other ICTs.

The African Charter on broadcasting recognizes and advocates for three tiers of radio broadcast: public service, commercial/private and community radio. Fraser and Estrada quoted in Pate and Abubakar (2013: 3) defines these three categories as:=

> Public service broadcasting is usually offered by statutory entity
> body or a state owned corporation with broadcasting policies
> and programming controlled by a legally constituted authority. Community

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broadcasting is that non-profit service that is owned and managed by
a particular community, usually through a trust, foundation or association.
Its aim is to serve and benefit that community, relying on the resources of the community.

According to this definition we observe certain features that set the community radio apart from the other categories; First, they are communally owned for the interest of the community members who are its founders, thus power and control is asserted by the many as opposed to the few who normally call the shots in the commercial radios. Secondly, they are need based initiatives rooted in the understanding of the specific social or economic problems of the community. Thirdly, they invariably rely on the use of indigenous languages, that of the founding community. The same community also plays a big role in content generation.

Besides the above features, the UNESCO adds several other features that define the community radio:

(a) A community radio makes its audience the main protagonist, by involving them in all their aspect of management and programme production.
(b) Its news must be geared towards supporting change and development of the community.
(c) Where entertainment is offered, it is done as a collective cultural expression rather than featuring refined popular artists.
(d) They also run on the principle of public access and participation where all the community members have a right to reliable, accurate and reliable information.
(e) It must also be editorially independent from national and local authorities.
(f) Funding can be of diverse sources such as donations, grants, membership fees, sponsorships and advertisements.

At this point it is important to note that the term 'community' in communication parlance can carry diverse meanings as it is usually defined within spatial and social context. Pate and Abubakar (ibid) says that in spatial perspectives, a community radio is defined as a particular geographical territory or a particular political or cultural entity. While the social context is defined in terms of shared interests, values, tastes and demographic factors. Therefore since a community is bound by common interests and values, physical proximity of its neighbors may not be such a significant factor. This is especially so due to the advent of modern communication systems that have made the world a global village. We now examine how the community radio has facilitated rural development in various African regions below.

II. GROWTH OF RADIO IN SUB SAHARA AFRICA

Sub Saharan Africa has recorded massive growth in various categories of radio communication especially the community ones. Their potential to impact change in social economic aspects has been noticed across the globe especially in the third world countries. Da Costa)(2012) notes that the impact of the community radio in Africa has been uneven since some countries have been slow in embracing them while in others, legal and governance frameworks have been enacted to facilitate their growth. Yet in a few other Africa countries, such frameworks have either been inconsistent, non-existent or openly hostile. Fraser et al (2002) for instance says that Asian broadcasting legislation generally lags behind that of Africa and Latin America. However, since independence, many Sub-Saharan African countries have recorded growth in the number of radio ownership, the number of radio stations and the government support. The following table indicates how this growth has been:

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Country by grading	Population	Radios owned	% of pop. Owning radios
1. Nigeria	135031164	27, 006,233	20
2. DRC	65,751,512	24,985,575	38
3. SUDAN	39,379,358	18,153,884	46
4. SOUTH AFRICA	43,997, 828	10,911,461	21
5. TANZANIA	39,379,358	16,462,609	41
6. KENYA	36,913,721	8,057,191	21
7. UGANDA	30,262,610	4,932,805	16
8. GHANA	22,931,299	4,586,260	19
9. ZIMBAMBWE	12,311,143	4,035,000	32
10. MOZAMBIQUE	20, 905,585	3,135,838	14
11. IVORY COST	18,013,409	2,629,958	14
12. TOGO	5,675,356	2,326,896	41
13. CAMERROON	18,060,383	2,311,729	12
14. BENIN	8,078,314	2,164,988	26
15. ZAMBIA	11,477,477	1,698,662	15

Source; various balancing Act projections, 2008

As can be seen above, by the year 2008, some African countries had many citizens owning radios proportional to their population growth rates. This is particularly impactful bearing in mind that one radio set can serve families of ten or more people. Still there are some countries lagging behind in Radio accessibility for example Eritrea is listed at the bottom of the ranking list by various Balancing Acts reports with very few radio outlets (only one state broadcaster), Equatorial Guinea has two stations, Swaziland has five together with Botswana. Myers (2008) explains that these countries have relatively small populations and government policies which do not favour media freedom.

In a different study of Sub-Saharan Africa by BBC World Service Trust, quoted by Ngugi and Kinyua (2014) points out that local commercial radio stations grew by an average of 360% between the years 2000 and 2006. The community radio stations grew by a striking 1,386% in the same period. For instance, in Tanzania, there were only 8 community radio stations in the year 2000 but by the year 2006, they were 32, while in DRC in the same period, the number grew from 10 to 150, Mali has over 300 community radio stations while South Africa has over 200. The following sub-sections gives us a glimpse of how other African regions have been fairing in establishment of community radio stations.

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III. DEFINITION OF COMMUNITY RADIO

Myers defines a community radio as a small scale decentralized, broadcasting initiative that has some elements of community ownership or membership that is easily accessed by local people who also participate in their programming. Key principles of community radio that feature in this definition are access, ownership and parti-cipation. Thus the community radio differs from the mainstream media in the sense that the local community plays a significant role in identifying the needs and then sets the objectives to be achieved by their radio station.

Ojomo (2015 : 137) observes that African charter on broadcasting recognizes three tiers or radio communication in African Countries; public service, commercial/ private service and community broadcasting service. Pate and Abubakar defines public broadcasting service as that which is conducted by a statutory entity, usually but not necessarily state-supported or state owned corporation with broadcasting policies and programming controlled by a legally constituted authority. According to them community broadcasting is a non-profit service that owned and managed by a community, usually through a trust, foundation or association.

A community in broadcasting jargon is viewed relative to a geographical territory of occupancy or according to cultural perspective. Thus, a community socially defined, could be the one with similar interests, common history, common language and lifestyles (Alumuku, 2006). While geographically, a community is that which is found in a similar locality. From the social-cultural view, then it follows that a community is not necessarily a local entity but can as well be a global one, connected by shared values. Ojomo (ibid) notes that the community radio is thus an extension of the lives and aspirations of the community. Community radio is therefore, by definition, content, orientation and philosophy grassroots based and people centred.

IV. COMMUNITY RADIO AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN EAST AFRICA

Da Costa (2012) in a case study cites the East African Community Media Project (EACMP) as a success case of how the rural communities can be involved in development. Through this project three community radio stations were set up in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania to facilitate sensitization on how to control desertification. The project co-opted Kibaale-Kagadi Community radio (KKCR) in Uganda, Orkonerei Radio Services in Terrat, in Tanzania and Radio Mang'elete in Nthongoni, Kenya all with funding from SIDA (Swedish International Development Agency). The community radios strengthened various prorammes for poverty alleviation leading to improved livelihoods and social welfare. The project faced sustainability problems due to withdrawal of the external lender coupled with embezzlement of funds.

Besides this collaborative effort to start community radios in East Africa, there has been community based organizations and other action groups that have set up community radios in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. In East Africa, especially Kenya FM radio stations have been embraced as a powerful tool for enhancing social economical and political growth due to their affordability and accessibility. They are available in all manner of sizes such as pocket sizes, in mobile phone applications, medium size for nuclear family, and extra large ones for entertainment joints. The radio is the most common equipment of Communication in East Africa compared to the proliferation of other communication gadgets such as mobile phones, TVs and Computers. The following graph shows this:

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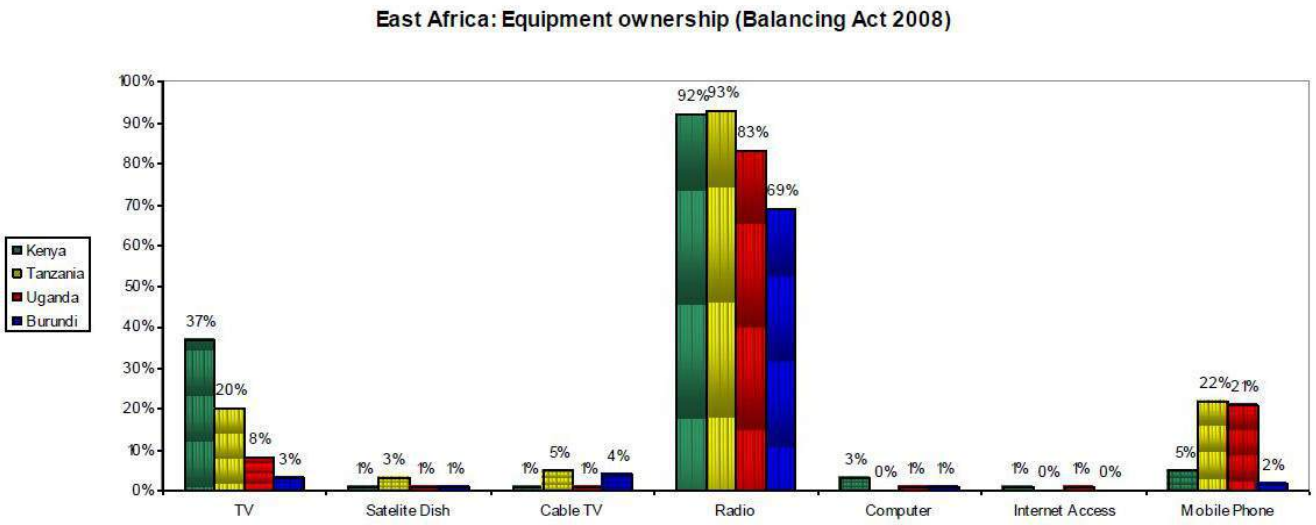

4.1 The Kenyan Case

According data from communications authority of Kenya (2011) there are 96 FM Radio stations in Kenya Broadcasting either in English or Kiswahili or by use of Vehicular languages.

Of these vernacular stations comprise 76% of all radio stations with almost every tribe boasting of one or more vernacular station. Majority of these stations are owned by royal media services (RMS) which host Citizen TV with both national and international coverage. The same report notes that RMS controls 11 stations, Kenya broadcasting Corporation (KBC) runs Five vernacular stations while media max company is the third one with three vernacular stations. More vernacular stations are waiting to be licensed according to communications authority of Kenya (CAK).

Community radio as a subgroup of FM radio stations has been more visible in influencing growth and development in the rural areas than the privately owned radio stations. Githethwa (2010) notes that community radio in Kenya begun in 1982 with the establishment of first ever community radio station in Africa set up in Homabay, on the shores of Lake Victoria through a joint initiative of UNESCO and the Kenyan Government. Alumuku (2006: 133) points out that in a way this station served as an experimentation model for decentralization of broadcasting. Besides, it also showed how communities could use low and less costly technology to improve their livelihoods. However, political problems led to the collapse of the project after barely two years of existence. Since then, community radio stations have been on the rise and by 2011, CAK indicates that there were nine community radio stations in Kenya. Other such community establishments are Koch FM, Ghetto FM, Pamoja Radio and Mugambo FM. Ghetto FM was began by Slums Information and Resource Centre (SIDAREC) which is a youth development project that targets the slum dwellers in Kenya. It educates the public on such matters as effects of drug abuse, domestic violence, HIV Aids pandemic, how to maintain social order and on basic human rights violations.

Koch FM was founded in 2006 by the youth from Korogocho slums in the outskirts of Nairobi as a forum for effective participation in social, economic and political discourses. Bosibori (2011) notes that the station's editorial focuses on human rights, governance issues, gender related matters, religion, environment, sports and children's welfare. The station's website indicates that the project was inspired by the Radio Favela in Brazil that has won UN honours for fighting drug trade in Brazil's third largest city. Bosibori notes that so as to boost its efforts in uplifting the lives of the slum dwellers, the station has partnerships with international Organizations such as Norwegian Church Aid, Open Society International and Kenya Human Rights Commission.

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Pamoja FM is another radio station that targets the slum dwellers in Kenya. It was bagan in 2007 by the youths of Kibera slum to empower themselves and other community members through education, information and entertainment. The radio also offers training opportunities for the youths especially through internships for those studying Journalism.Mugambo FM, located in Tigania West sub county is an example of how politics and leadership can run down a community project. Having been started by a local parliamentarian to serve his constituents, the project was discarded by the next Member of Parliament after elections. Due to this, it has since shut down due to financing problems and political interference in the management.

In a recent development, Isiolo County in Kenya, a community radio (Radio Shahidi, 91.7 FM) has rolled out a mass sensitization drive on community members on how to stop domestic violence, how to foster coherence and peace among various ethnic groups that reside in the county. The radio station in partnership with Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO), Isiolo County Government and the Kenya Conference of Catholic Bishops (KCCB) is offering lessons to primary and secondary school students. This has been intensified even more during the Corona pandemic which has caused schools to close across the globe. Through this initiative, children from marginalized groups such as the orphans access to home based education. On health, the radio station in collaboration with Caritas and Action Aid, conducted a three-month Covid-19 campaign. This is done through a daily interactive programmes and giving of prizes to listeners who provide correct answers on how to keep save during the pandemic. The station also keeps the community members abreast with news on Covid-19 developments besides helping to clear the misconceptions about the origin, transmission and treatment of the disease.

Other community radio stations in Kenya include, Mang'elete community radio in Kibwezi district, Radio Maendeleo in Bondo district, Maseno University Radio in Maseno, Daystar University Radio in Athi River, ST. Paul University in Limuru, Baraton University Radio in Eldoret, Masinde Muliro University Radio in Kakamega, Kenyatta University Radio along Thika Road from Nairobi and Kenya Institute of Mass Communication Radio in Nairobi.

Thus, with this flexibility and accessibility the radio has a big impact on developmental discourses. Socially, the radio is a source of entertainment, a stimulus for exploitation of talents through oral narratives, songs, efficient information delivery on such matters as disaster mitigation on such areas as flooding, fire outbreaks and weather changes. According to communications authority of Kenya (CAK), other topics covered by the stations include education, gender issues, preservation of law and order, religious teachings, sports and family matters as shown below.

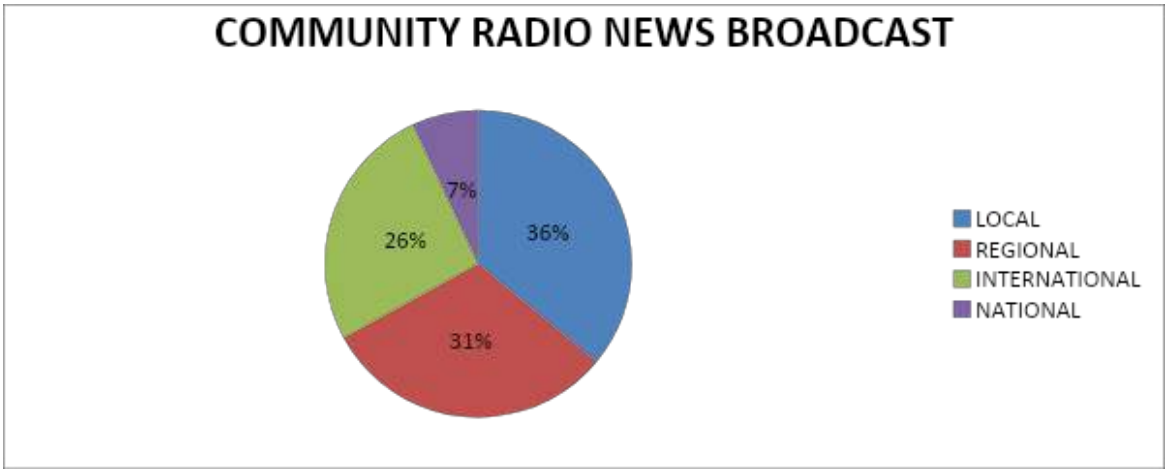

Figure 2

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On the economic front, the radio comes in handy in facilitating access to agricultural information such as the best time for planting and harvesting, livestock breeds suitable for specific areas and marketing strategies. Thus, use of vernacular language by the FM radio stations plays a similar role with the agricultural extension officers employed by the government.

According to research done by Mithamo et al (2015) in Kenya regarding the role of private vernacular radio in facilitating access to agricultural information, it was found out that small scale farmers relied on the messages spread by vernacular radio stations because they were more convincing especially to the illiterate farmers. Most farmers accessed information to do with decease control, feeds and feeding, parasite control, marketing strategies, farm inputs, soil conservation, crop varieties, availability of credit facilities, green house farming among other categories of information. However, most farmers needed information to do with field management such as types of fertilizers, fertilizer application methods, weed and pest control.

According to a survey by Geopoll (Feb 2019) which collects daily data on TV and Radio listenership in Kenya found out that vernacular radio stations command the second highest positive rating by listeners aged 35 years and above. This is critical because this is the group that is active in production activities such as farming and trading. According to CAK report concerning the scope of news coverage by vernacular stations it was found out that 36% of all news items were local and regional, 31% were national, 7% was African news while 26% was international news. This underlies the effectiveness of using vernacular stations to influence rural development in Africa.

Politically, the vernacular radio has been used effectively to conduct campaigns at the county level, mobilization of the masses s for public participation in political discussions. Besides, they have been used to sensitize members of the public on political developments such as the review of boundaries and referenda.

In other East African countries such Uganda and Tanzania community radios have been effectively used to achieve rural development. Uganda for instance, has over 200 radio stations mostly privately owned. This increase has resulted from the 2015 digital migration which led to emergence of community radio and other privately owned stations. Over 69% of these broadcasts in different vernacular languages. The community radio stations have played a key role in promoting health, education, sports and community dialogue. One of the most persisting dialogues in which the community radios played a role, was the recent influx of refugees from DRC and South Sudan. For example, the DFID financed community radio station named Mega FM, has been at the forefront in women empowerment programmes in Northern Uganda since 2002. This station broadcasts in local languages with news and occasional government and NGOs programmes in English.

Similarly, in Tanzania local Vernacular radio stations have been influential on many fields. In agriculture for instance, these establishments have actively informed the farmers on the quality of seeds, animal breeds among others. Social cultural matters have been highlighted too. According to Tanzania's communications regulatory authority there are 123 broadcasters of which 29 are community based for example, Chuchu FM based in Zanzibar, broadcasts in Pemba and Dar es Salaam as active programmes targeting women empowerment and youth. In rural Zanzibar fishermen look up to community radios to guide them on the weather changes for effective fishing.

A study by Internews in 2017 concerning community radio stations concluded that these stations are key in facilitating access to information on health, sanitation, women and youth empowerment. the report further notes the use of indigenous languages makes them most reliable in communicating development messages more so, the journalist are derived from the same communities and the recipients of the contents have mutual linguistic intelligibility. As a result journalists from this station can use the standard Swahili or can use a variety of Swahili dialects to

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drive their messages home. Contentwise, the radio stations lay more stress on entertainment and information. Information is passed through news briefings often twice or thrice per day lasting between ten to twenty minutes, talk -shows featuring topics such sports, culture, religion, politics and other matters depending with the locality and objectives of the stations.

It is prudent to note that since most of community radios are founded by NGOs, quite often, the objectives of the NGOs takes centre stage. For example, if the objective of the NGOs in question is to promote gender inequality, then the content is organized in such a manner that it focuses on topics to do with education for the girl-child, early marriages and women rights. Thus prominence is given to issues that touch on the ideals of the founders and financiers. Other international agencies such as UNESCO and FAO have control over some of the stations through financing and directing for example UNESCO has been funding around 35 such stations, Farm Radio International has been funding 11 stations and Farmer voice controlling 7. Apart from absolute ownership NGO also sponsor production and broadcast of some specific programmes with clear orientation to achieve a particular goals.

In February – April 2017 Internews assessed the state of community Radios in Tanzania and found out that in Arusha there are 5 community radio stations , Dar es Salaam has 2, Lindi has 5, Mtwara has 2 and Zanzibar has 5 such stations all influencing rural development in Tanzania. Though this is a commendable level of success, there are daunting challenges facing both community radio stations and other vernacular based Radio stations. The research by internews in 2017 found the following as the main barriers to effective utilization of the radio to achieve meaningful development;

i. Poor remuneration and training of journalist leading to huge labour turnover in the stations. In many countries where journalists are not paid decently there is often poor reporting with biases. Poor reporting might also emanate from poor training and ill-prepared editorial policies. Poor training also manifest itself through the quality of debates and discussions conducted in these stations.
ii. Inadequate financing results to installation of poor quality equipment, shortage of personnel and low quality content. In some stations some personnel double up as managers, editors and reporters. This leads to poor production of news items and transmission to the viewers. This scenario is especially common in community radio stations than in private commercial stations where funding gaps is plugged through advertisement.
iii. Political interference and ownership – in cases where a radio station is owned by a politician there is a tendency for manipulation to achieve certain ends. Upholding political neutrality might be hard especially during campaign times. Some are used to influence the voters to the direction of the owner thereby disadvantaging other candidates. Political debates may also be distorted in favour of a particular political party. Internews found out that in Tanzania a certain radio station is owned by a parliamentarian who is also a key leader of the opposition under financier of the opposition party, CHADEMA. The same report also quotes a political confrontation between a journalist who had allegedly supported the government position on the gas saga that had infuriated other citizens. The journalist's home and other properties were set ablaze by the protestors.
iv. Lack of gender inclusivity in the management and the running of community radio stations was cited as a major shortcoming of some stations in Tanzania. For example, it was reported that in some stations the number of female journalists was so minimal that it could only account for a paltry 30-40% of the entire staff. Female news editors are uncommon while female radio owners and editors are rare. This situation hampers the integration of gender based topics in the programming.
v. There is usually competition from the mainstream media especially those with a regional and national televisions coverage.
vi. Inadequate mastery of the local vernacular languages by the journalists. This interferes with the preparation of the programmes by

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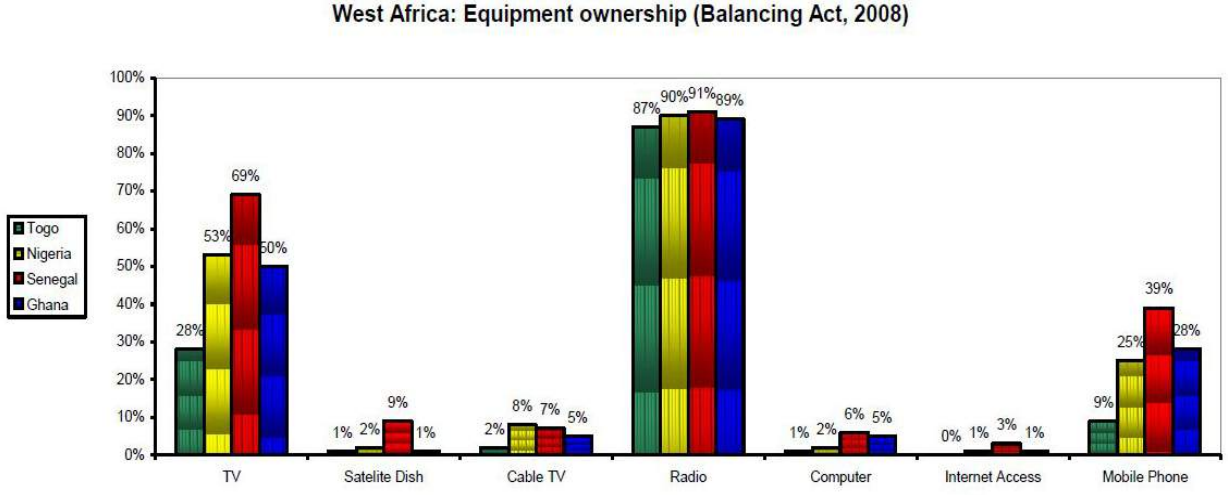
distorting messages through translation. A study by Sawe et al (2015) found out that there are many reasons affecting growth and use of indigenous languages. These includes shortage of technical lexicon to handle emerging communication needs. With the integration of mobile phone based features of communication such as the Short Text Messages (SMS) and social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter in broadcasting, there is often the need to translate and interpret new ideas into indigenous languages. Absence of the right term to match new ideas emanating from the new communication technologies hinders the use of vernacular to effectively communicate development ideas. Secondly, in Africa there are some indigenous languages whose orthography has not been developed thus posing a challenge to the broadcasters in producing written materials or accessing such materials for use in the community media house.

Due to such bottlenecks, the minority communities often find it hard to start their own community radio station on which it can articulate its issues. In such cases then, they continue to be marginalized and disenfranchised in their own lands. The Ogiek community living in the rift valley province of Kenya for instance fill excluded by the use of dominant Kalenjin languages by the local FM stations. It is against this background that the Ogiek community set up Sogoot FM to communicate with the members of the community who are found in small pockets in the counties of Nakuru, Narok, Baringo, Bomet and Kericho. Mr Lelei, one of the project directors praised the initiative, "Now members of the Ogiek community will have an opportunity to get the latest news in a language they best understand". Thirdly, since development for the entire community needs a collaborative effort by all the stakeholders, the indigenous languages frequently fails to bridge the gap between the illiterate and the literate members of the society. It tends to put the professionals and the non-professionals apart.

IV. COMMUNITY RADIO STATIONS AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN WEST AFRICA

This section will seek to highlight how the community radio has been utilized to better the lives of the people in other regions of Africa, in terms of enhancing information access, participation, a tool for education, self-assertion, a tool for enhancing democracy and decentralization for development. As the graph below shows in Wes Africa the radio remains the most common means of accessing and disseminating mass information across various states such as Togo, Nigeria, Mali, Senegal, Ghana and others.



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Community radio has been embraced by many states in West Africa as a tool for accelerating development through collaborations with NGOs, CBOs and UN agencies such as FAO and UNESCO. Indeed as Coldevia, (2000) notes, FAO started such experimentations in the 1960s, when it established centrally funded rural radio stations that used indigenous languages. Therefore the use of the vernacular languages in broadcasting has been found to be effective in enhancing access to information and mobilization of people for development. A research by Rivera et al (2003) found that farmers prefer to listen to vernacular radio than those that broadcast in foreign languages. This habit was reported to have impacted on their livestock rearing, animal health and local resource utilization.

In West Africa, some countries have utilized the community radio to advance the growth of the local communities especially the marginalized ones. In Ghana for instance, community radio has been used to teach the rural farmers on how to maintain soil conservation. Chapman et al (2003) says that the use of community radio to broadcast development oriented programmes began in 1980s with the establishment of Upper Region Radio (U.R.R) which had the responsibility to broadcast to the people of the upper Eastern and Western regions of Northern Ghana. In 1997 a second FM was set up, Radio Savanna, Tamale (RST) which broadcasts in vernacular languages, Dagbani and Gonja. The task of these stations was to use participatory approach to broadcast development messages and non-formal education programmes, especially agricultural messages.

The research by Chapman et al (ibid) shows that the community radio was very instrumental in changing the altitude of the farmer in participating in water and soil conservation efforts. In this research, the radio was used to package the message through drama, music direct address by the presenter. The target group was taught how to reduce soil erosion using contour ploughing and planting trees. Drama was used to provide entertainment so as to capture the listeners attention while at the same time teaching on how to use alternatives to chemical fertilizers such as animal and plant manure, agroforestry. After a survey on the impact and success of the programme, 75% replied affirmatively. It was reported that the radio had enabled the farmers to discard old habits such as bush burning while agroforestry and organic manure application seemed to have improved.

Nigeria, though regarded as the economic powerhouse in West Africa, seems to have lagged behind in embracing community radio. This is partly due to Nigeria's troubled political past that has constrained freedom of expression up to 1999 when the country returned to democratic rule. This transition led to liberalization of airwaves in 2003. This liberalisaton of communication was meant to give people more access to information in furtherance to increased participation in governance. The delay in adoption of the rural radio for development is aptly captured by Akingbulu (2007), who asserts that by 2007, Nigeria was the only country in West Africa that had no single community radio. He compares Nigeria with less developed countries of the same region such as Mali which had 88 community radio stations, Ghana with 15, Senegal 14 and Burkina Faso 33 in the year 2006.

Although Pate and Abubakar (2013:7) says that radio coverage is high with over 80% of Nigerians having access to radios, majority of these are located in the urban centres, thus targeting the elites. The sector, they assay is dominated mainly by government and private entrepreneurs. They are found in metropolitan areas of Lagos, Abuja, Kano, Kaduna, Enugu among other areas. However, they also note that some stations have some special features focusing on community led initiatives such as the BCA radio in Abia state. However, these efforts are hardly enough to stimulate rural development because such special programmes are produced without any input from the concerned communities. This scenario represents lack of bottom-up communication model. Thus there is a need to enlarge the available broadcasting space especially by repealing the legal frameworks that hampers the growth of community radio stations. This will help fast track rural development and reduce marginalization.

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Concerning the potential of the community radio to address local concerns, Garba (2011) says that if embraced, community radio in Nigeria would help foster national cohesion by reducing tension by way of preaching peaceful co-existence. He says this is because community leaders' is more authentic than the distant voice of the government officials. He notes that comparatively, other nations had succeeded in the use of the community radios to achieve remarkable changes in the lives of their people. For example USA has over 200, Australia 116,India 103, Canada 95, Hungary 60, United Kingdom 200, Mali 100, South Africa 28 and Namibia 26. We feel therefore that Nigeria with the pluralism and diversity offered by her huge population, diverse religious affiliations, diverse linguistic variations and over 250 ethnic groups comprising of over 450 dialects would benefit immensely by tapping the opportunity offered by the community radios to accelerate the growth of the rural economies through creation of employment. However, this may not be achievable in the near future unless there are clear holistic steps taken by the government and other stakeholders in addressing the challenges that bedevil the sector. Such challenges are:

a. Bureaucratic bottlenecks such as lack of a national mass communication policy have hindered establishment of community radios. However, some steps have been taken through the Nigeria Broadcasting Code (NBC) of 2012 now provides frameworks for community broadcasting.
b. Abubakar et al (2013) also notes that the fear of competition by the private and commercial radio stations, who consider the community radios as business rivals, is hindering the growth of such stations. Due to this, the private radio stations lobby the government against implementing community radio stations.
c. There are huge costs associated with setting up community radios especially where there is no government subsidy. Huge cost implications arises from the purchase of the equipment, procurement of appropriate technology, hiring of human resources and installation of electricity. Fees and other charges for licenses are exorbitant and thus cannot be afforded by some local communities considering that 60.9% of Nigerians live below poverty line according to data from National Bureau of Statistics. Unlike private radio stations who recoup back their money from advertisements, the community radio stations rely chiefly on donations from external sources. Abubakar et al (2013) noted that the following remedial measures need to be out in place to facilitate the growth of the community radio stations in the country:

i. The government to step up infrastructural and operational support which may involve extending electricity to the remote areas and funding especially on maintaining the equipment
ii. Proper legislation and implementation of existing regulation which can allow community radio to thrive. Such legislation may focus on reducing political interference from the executive, licensing fees and other requirements.
iii. The government needs to foster inclusivity by putting the interests of the communities at the fulcrum of its fiscal planning. This may assist in bridging the gap between the rich and the marginalized groups.
iv. Encouraging partnerships with Community Based Organisations, Non-governmental Organisations and international development agencies such as FAO. They cite the collaboration by the Ford Foundation that has funded a three years project to construct 12 community radio stations as the best example of how linkages with external sources can be used to promote sustainability of community projects.

In Mali community radio has been used to promote levels of transparency and accountability in public resource management by helping to combat corruption (Myers, 2006). This approach has helped to improve good governance. According to Myers, Mali has a strong community radio presence in West Africa and has continued to witness more growth since the collapse of one party rule in 1991. She says that there are more

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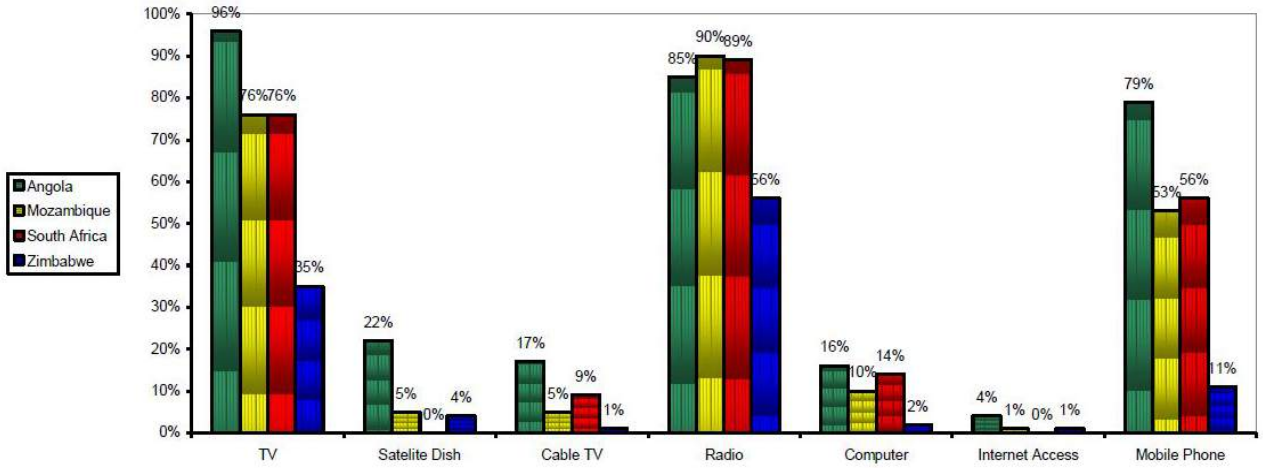
than 110 private radio stations, 86 of them being community radio stations based in the rural areas.

V COMMUNITY RADIO STATIONS AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Radio is the most accessible item of mass communication in Southern Africa too, as we have seen also with the East and West African countries. This is both in ownership of individual gadgets and establishment of radio stations. The figure below shows how the growth of radio in South Africa, has kept pace with the population growth. From this totality in growth, the community radio has been more influential in the development of the minority and marginalized groups:

Southern Africa: Equipment Ownership (Balancing Act 2008)
Note: the figures for Angola are for Luanda only.



Community radio has grown exponentially in the countries of Southern Africa over the last two decades. In South Africa they are found in the remote areas although many are concentrated in the densely populated areas with Gauteng province, South Africa's economic hub, hosting majority of them, around 52 community radio stations. It is followed by Kwazulu-Natal, Western Cape, Limpompo and Eastern Cape with each ranging between 30-36 community radio stations. Groups of communities that own such establishments include campuses, religious communities and various ethnic groups (Konrad, 2018). Because of the heterogeneous nature of the South African society, a wide range of languages are used for broadcasting in these stations including a multiplicity of ethnic dialects, foreign languages such as German, Arabic and Urdu. Konrad also notes that they have created employment to about 6000-7000 youths in addition to offering an opportunity to the youths to learn new skills and growth their talents. He says that community radios began in 1994 when the country's broadcasting authority began granting authority to diverse social cultural groups such as women cooperative organisations, youth and religious groups. One such case is Alex Community radio that offers listeners a chance to report issues such as lack of water, electricity and shortage of medicine from their areas of residence. These issues are then forwarded to the concerned authorities.

A recent study by the Broadcasting Research Council (BRC) in 2018, shows that 91% of South Africans listen every week (around 35.8 million

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listeners) for 3 hours and 43 minutes to various radio broadcasts. Another study by Da Costa (ibid) found out that by 2007, South Africa had 191 radio stations of which 152 are classified as community radio stations, while the rest, being distributed as public or private radio stations. This indicates how influential the community radio can be if well tapped especially by the rural communities to accelerate development. Konrad (2018) observes that some community radio stations have played a key role in the liberation struggle. He cites Bush Radio, the first community radio in the country, as being a catalyst for political change by promoting anti-Apartheid discourse. It aired revolutionary poetry, promoted local music and even broadcasted banned speeches thereby advancing the liberation agenda. Jozi FM is another community radio serving the Soweto communities where people of diverse cultures interact by sharing information to enhance access and participation in governance.

Other countries in Southern Africa where community radio has taken root include Zambia, Namibia and Botswana. In Zambia for instance, a community radio has partnered with USAID to help the local communities adopt safer health practices. For instance, it has been able to influence traditional birth attendants into embracing ways of curbing infections. UNESCO has also been involved in setting up a number of community radio stations across various countries of Southern Africa. Such stations include Radio Dzimwe in Malawi, Radio Katatura in Namibia and Zambia's Mazabuka community radio station (Banda, 2003).

IV. CONCLUSION

It is observable across Africa and elsewhere that community radio can be harnessed to stimulate the growth of the rural economies. To achieve this, we have seen that tapping the use of the indigenous languages is paramount as tools of mobilization of the people to participate in community projects. Access to information specially delivered in the people's mother tongue has too been found effective in enhancing democracy and governance. This is because they are able to understand ideas better thereby enabling them to make informed choices when voting or when choosing priority areas of development.

The use of indigenous languages in broadcast has enabled governments world over to communicate development messages even to the remotest sections of the countries and more so to the illiterate sections of the population. This is because of the oral nature of the radio that does not require any skill in decoding the transmitted message. However, this orality too has some disadvantage since it is not possible to demonstrate a skill being broadcast. Even in Mali and Ghana where community radio has been used to play the role of the agricultural extension officer, sometimes farmers are left to imagine how to implement a particular procedure. Production of the local content may also not be as costly as creating content for national utility. In cases where electricity power is not accessible, solar panels and generators have been used to ensure the sustainability of projects. This is more achievable where the radius of transmission that does not require very sophisticated equipment. However, the overall costs remain high in some rural areas leaving such communities at the mercy of seeking external funding. Relying on advertising is not efficient due to the low population densities in the rural areas where most of community radio stations are located. This though may not be the case for urban base community radio stations. Other challenges include geographical features such as hills and mountains which sometimes blocks the FM signals from the transmitters. This in turn interferes with the quality of the reception and sometimes overlap of frequencies.

The future of the community radio in Africa looks bright especially due to the integration of emerging ICTs in broadcast. This integration has already started taking shape with many radio stations streaming their broadcasts through YouTube, Facebook ant Twitter. This has further helped to connect the community radio stations with the youth and those citizens living in the diaspora. Mayers (2008:7) Observes that community radio stations too have been able to

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boost patriotism, communal cohesion and integration.

On the flip side, there is a tendency to misuse the community radio stations by the local politicians to achieve certain interests such as attempting to use them for campaigns, spreading propaganda, using them to spread tribal and clan animosities and thus divide rather than unite the people. Our next chapter will focus on this aspect with a view to showing how the vernacular radio stations have been abused to cause strife in certain countries in Africa.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

To make the use of the community radio stations more viable in influencing growth of the rural areas, several steps need to be taken by various stakeholders such as the government, the community and the financiers. First, the governments should simplify the licensing bureaucracies and also reduce the license fees. This could be by charging the community radio stations lesser amounts than the private and commercial one, reducing tax on the purchase of equipment and possibly subsidize the construction of the stations.

The community members and financiers need to create linkages with other organisations so as to increase their economic sustainability and come up with creative ways of making the projects more viable. This may be done by establishing cooperative partnerships with women groups, youth groups, local football clubs and small scale and medium enterprises (SMEs). This will go along way in improving their financial status.

More research need to be done before starting community radio stations so that they are founded on strong philosophical and ideological backgrounds. Therefore the objectives of the founders must be firmly embedded on the ideals that will guide the sustainability of the project.

There is a need to put down policies on managerial guidelines so as to assist in directing the activities of the project. Such policies might guide on training and hiring of the staff, leadership and evaluation of the performance. Lastly there is a need to intensify regulation on two fronts; ownership and content creation and dissemination. This is because media is a powerful tool that often influences people's behaviour by affecting their thinking and consequently shaping the public opinion. Therefore regulating ownership will eradicate abuse of the media by the owners who might want to use them to advance self-interest. On the other hand, control of the content will weed out transmission of indecent matter that may create harm to certain sections of the listeners. Unrestricted content might cause disharmony by dividing people on the basis of age, religion, gender, nationalities, ethnicity and even social status.

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Higher Education Journal – Instrument for Publication of Scientific Articles on Higher Education for Teachers and Students of the Cepies and Umsa

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Cepies Major University of San Andrés

ABSTRACT

The Higher Education Journal has gradually become a valuable instrument that promotes and enables to publish articles and enriches academic and scientific discussions inside and outside the Major University of San Andrés. In September 2016, it came out for the first time; at present, it has a total of 9 volumes that are published regularly between September and March. In September 2019, our journal has been indexed to Scielo Bolivia (collection of electronic scientific journals in Bolivia) and Latindex (regional online information system for scientific journals in Latin America, the Caribbean, Spain and Portugal). It meant another opportunity to place the publication of our article writers in the international context, who are currently striving to improve the quality for the consideration of avid readers.

The purpose of the Higher Education Journal is to promote the discussion and theoretical-methodological development of education in its different dimensions, from the publication of research advances at a national and international level, prioritizing the promotion of national production.

Keywords: higher education, scientific articles, peer reviewers, dissemination channel for scientific publications, research and development.

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Higher Education Journal – Instrument for Publication of Scientific Articles on Higher Education for Teachers and Students of the Cepies and Umsa

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The purpose of the Higher Education Journal is to promote the discussion and theoretical-methodological development of education in its different dimensions, from the publication of research advances at a national and international level, prioritizing the promotion of national production.

According to the metrics for the evaluation of the articles seen, commented and referenced, day by day our journal is positioned to be a reference of the scientific contribution that the authors make to the knowledge and development of higher education in Bolivia. Our universe is becoming broader. Currently, authors from Peru, Brazil and Argentina request us to consider their articles in our journal.

The quality guarantee is given because the articles pass through various internal and external peer filters until they can be published in a number of the journal.

The objective of this publication is to reflectively analyze the journal as one of the opportunities that the academics of the CEPIES and the UMSA have with an indexed journal as this dissemination channel is the Higher Education Journal and to evaluate if at present (3 consecutive years of publication) it has managed to fulfill this opportunity.

The specific objectives of this article are the following:

- *To analyze the journal reflectively, being this instrument an opportunity to publish the research of the academics of the CEPIES and the UMSA.*
- *To evaluate the preference of the article writers on the research lines proposed in the journal.*
- *Analyze those who write scientific articles within the community of researchers of the CEPIES-UMSA.*
- *To evaluate the behaviour of the internal, external and international peer reviewers who contribute to the evaluation of the journal articles.*

Keywords: higher education, scientific articles, peer reviewers, dissemination channel for

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scientific publications, research and development.

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Topic Area: Publication of scientific articles - higher education.

I. INTRODUCTION

The scientific research and the publication of partial or total results in a scientific article are two closely related academic activities. Moreover, a scientific research is really concluded when it is made public, only then the result of such research contributes and becomes part of a new knowledge. That is why a Scientific Journal is definitely necessary and important.

Likewise, a university institution, such as the Major University of San Andrés, whose academic, scientific, technological, and socio-cultural level is recognized and whose prestige is well known, is generally characterized by periodically producing scientific journals and by promoting a culture of dissemination of the knowledge produced by its researchers, teachers, and university students.

The aim of the Higher Education Journal is to disseminate the intellectual production of teachers and research students of the Major University of San Andrés - UMSA in general, and of teachers and students of the Psychopedagogical and Research Center on Higher Education - CEPIES, in particular, as can be seen in the declared mission and vision:

> "The mission of the Higher Education Journal is to publish and disseminate periodically, with quality levels and under the supervision of a national and international referee, the research works developed by academics and research teachers on the huge field of Higher Education ". (HIGHER EDUCATION JOURNAL 2020)
>
> "The vision of the Higher Education Journal is to become an indexed journal itself, a national and international reference on the field of Higher Education, consolidated with a national and international team, and supported by academic peers and with an international benchmark". (HIGHER EDUCATION JOURNAL 2020)

The paragraphs that describe both the vision and the mission of the Higher Education Journal constitute the apex of our organizational structure, they provide the inspiration, orientation and direction of the article writers, the internal editors, the external peers and all the support personnel that contribute with their effort and dedication so that each one of our intellectual productions is published and put into consideration of our readers and critics.

The achievement of the sustainability of the Journal lies in the fact that there is a rigid schedule from the call to the publication in physical and online format.

It should be noted that we have more and more articles in line and others that are being reviewed and corrected by the article writers in order to maintain the current quality standards that are constantly evaluated to raise the expectations where the achievement of results expresses the objective sought institutionally and personally.

II. THE PROBLEM

The search for the quality of production of the Higher Education Journal is one of the paths and, in this sense, it is important to train the article writers and at the same time professionalize the editors.

The problems that can be identified in the journal are mainly related to the improvement of the quality of the human resources linked to the production of quality scientific articles. Although these are largely collected from the research of doctoral and postdoctoral students of the

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CEPIES and teachers and researchers of the UMSA, we frequently encounter weaknesses, which are corrected in the courses taught at the CEPIES and which allow the articles to be of increasingly better quality.

For this reason, and in search of the intellectual production of the academics of the university, the following question arises that can be resolved throughout this document:

To what extent is the Higher Education Journal an instrument that channels the research of the CEPIES and UMSA teacher and student researchers who are interested in contributing to institution and science?

2.1 Strengths

- Indexing with threshold Scielo Bolivia and Latindex
- High-quality of internal and external peers for a high demand and exhaustive review
- More than three years in the continuous production of the Higher Education Journal
- An out-of-school PhD and ~~a~~ post-doctorate programs with similar educational characteristics, which feed the journal with quality scientific contributions
- Being in the academic environment of both writers and readers who permanently contribute with their scientific contributions
- An important demand for article writers interested in publishing their scientific research
- The PhD and postdoctoral programs guarantee the economic sustainability of the journal
- Clear lines of research regarding the vision and mission of the journal

2.2 Weaknesses

- In practice, it is evident that the article writers still have to work on the research methodology.
- Article writers neglect issues such as quotation and respect to the authors, as well as APA standards for bibliographic reference.
- Lack of practice in scientific writing reflected in the scarce national publication of research advances due to the fact that in the country and in the environment there was an inadequate and incipient disposition of means of socialization
- Insufficient budget for investigation processes. Researchers do not receive resources.
- Free research is not encouraged, studies are restricted to certain lines of research, which should be permanently reviewed.
- Lack of mechanisms to increase and integrate scientific knowledge oriented to national and international development.

2.3 Opportunities

- New PhD and postdoctoral programs are expected to expand the universe of publications and the variety of academic offerings as generators of scientific knowledge.

III. MATERIALS AND METHODS

For the present research, we have applied a type of quantitative and correlational research, which has allowed us to relate variables using a mathematical counting. It is not expected that the research will have synchronized or related variables, however it allows us to reach preliminary conclusions without these being absolute patterns or trends.

From this perspective, the document has evaluated the number of articles and has elaborated a matrix of results. There, the quantity can be evidenced and will show the trend concerning the lines developed in higher education, quantified according to the following major lines of research:

- Educational Policy
- Educational Management
- Pedagogy
- Didactics
- Educational Technologies
- Social Aspects and Education

The quantitative measurement method will allow to measure the type of line most preferred by the

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readers, as well as the areas where the investigations have been developed.

It is counting and selection of the type of articles presented by various article writers that allow us to collect data in order to measure the relevance of the different lines of research worked on during these three years plus.

The double entry matrix on the results by type of research will show the relevance and orientation of the researchers, and the topics that are within the motivation and concern that, in part, expresses the social reality where we operate and that the CEPIES captures from the publication of the scientific articles produced in the journal.

However, the data that have been obtained should not be generalized, they only serve to guide us on the trend in the topics approached in the research.

IV. RESULTS AND REFLECTIONS

As we can see, Table 1 shows that out of a total of 46 articles produced until March 2020, 37% of the articles have been oriented to approach Educational Technologies. Another second level of motivation of the article writers has been the contribution in Pedagogy with 21%.

Less important are the articles dedicated to the Educational Policy, Didactics and Social Aspects related to the university education and to other educational environments. They do not exceed 15 % each in preference.

Table 1: Lines of research developed by the article writers from Vol. I of the Higher Education Journal to the present Vol. I to VII No 2 (2016 to 2020)

Lines of Research	Focused on university topics	Other educational environments	Totals
Educational Policy	2	4	6
Educational Management	1		1
Pedagogy	7	3	10
Didactics	5	2	7
Educational Technologies	11	6	17
Social Aspects	4	1	5
Totals	30	16	46

Source: Own elaboration with data from the CEPIES - UMSA Library (MARCH, 2020)

Regarding the articles that have been written about the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés, the article writers have considered the UMSA as their object of study in 65% of the cases. The articles about other educational centers represent 35%. This shows that the Higher Education Journal is in a higher percentage at the service of the researchers of the UMSA.

With the results obtained we can affirm that the preference and tendency to write articles is about Educational Technologies. This is probably due to an opening in the educational area, understanding that educational technologies do not only refer to the use of the Internet and the computer. These processes of change prior to the pandemic and the quarantine have been the result of the teacher trainers' decision to take a leap in teaching and learning. Education was previously limited to the traditional or master classrooms and where students and teachers only had the blackboard and some support or communication tools: radio and television were a support in the traditional classroom that somehow made it dynamic and contributed to the process of "technological advancement."

The effective leap was given by the insertion of the Internet and the computer in the classroom. It gave the teacher a powerful tool to teach in a more active, participating and high-performance way. However, some teachers resisted this

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change. A step towards technologies meant the implementation of equipment to show slides, supported by the projector, an instrument that came to support the traditional classroom. Despite the use of these new technologies, the master classroom was still a slow step in education.

We definitely believe that the pandemic and the quarantine with its restrictions and social distancing has introduced radical changes in the traditional education, which was already spinning in the heads of the teacher researchers who showed their orientations before the phenomenon of the pandemic. Today we can verify it with the results obtained in the number of the articles in our journal, as can be seen in Table 1.

Supposing that these results are important, it is even more important to develop aspects oriented to innovate in education. That is why we should work more on the development of educational technologies, which today are showing their importance and new challenges.

Table 2: Enrolled in the Doctoral and Postdoctoral and other academic units – Higher Education Journal to the present Vol. I to VII No 2 (2016 to 2020)

Origin Of The Articles	Quantity	scientific Articles	Scientific Essays
Doctorate	16	16	
Post-Doctorate	11	8	3
Other Academic Units	4	4	
CEPIES- UMSA professors	15	13	2
Totales	46	41	5

Source: Own elaboration, with data from the Higher Education Journal (MARCH 2020)

Table 2 shows an interesting summary of those who produce scientific articles in the Higher Education Journal. It establishes two important findings: doctoral researchers represent 35% of the total and 24% represent the articles from post-doctoral studies. Then, we have that the journal has been written in its different volumes by doctoral and postdoctoral students, making a total of 59%. Another interesting data is that 33% of the articles are written by the CEPIES - UMSA professors, confirming the previous table that shows that the journal is at the service of the UMSA teachers.

Therefore, the quality publications in our environment are produced by researchers linked to teaching and postgraduate studies, either at doctoral or postdoctoral level, thus showing their vocation of service and responding to the purposes for which the CEPIES was created.

Table 3: Internal, external and international peer reviewers, support team - Higher Education Journal to the present Vol I to VII No 2 (2016 to 2020)

Reviewers And Support Team	Vol I	Vol Ii	Vol Iii	Vol Iv	Vol V	Vol Vi	Vol Vii	Vol Viii
Editorial Committee	3	3	3	3	3	7	4	4
Support personnel	1	3	1	2	3	4	5	6
National external peers					7	4	6	4
International peers					1	1	3	1
Totals	4	6	4	5	14	16	18	15

Source: Own elaboration, with data from the Higher Education Journal (MARCH 2020)

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Table 3 shows how the Higher Education Journal has achieved significant growth during these three years of life until the achievement of indexation to the threshold Scielo Bolivia and entry into Latindex

It is important to mention that the Editorial Committee team has always been small and has worked with an ad-honorem board of directors, despite showing high quality and high responsibility. The selection of peers to form the Editorial Committee is carried out annually and they are selected by the CEPIES Council. They consider reputable professionals with a history of responsibility, commitment and expertise in the evaluation of scientific articles, proof of this is having entered into the threshold Scielo. Likewise, the achievement of international support and national external peers is also worth highlighting since all of them do it with vocation, disinterest and also ad-honorem.

The journal has high quality and seeks to achieve major paths, such as an international position, so that the publications can be put on the international showcase and in the short term national and Latin American production are known in Europe and the United States.

V. CONCLUSIONS

It can be concluded that the scientific articles produced by the Higher Education Journal are more oriented towards the solution of the problems of the departments and schools of the Major University of San Andrés. The article writers are deeply concerned about the solution and the improvement of the academic quality, contributing in this way to the solution of the academic problems of the UMSA

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Likewise, it can be concluded that the Higher Education Journal is, based on the scientific articles published, an instrument that channels the research of teacher and student researchers of the CEPIES and UMSA, who are concerned about contributing to science in the different lines of research developed and proposed by the CEPIES; additionally, as a training instrument, it enhances the development of their research competences.

The Higher Education Journal is a channel for the dissemination of doctoral students, post-doctoral students and professors of the CEPIES and UMSA, who express through this medium their conclusions, concerns and inquiries about their academic activity. The process of transmitter-receiver is achieved in so far as scientific knowledge can be disseminated and can be reached by the university community or by a wider public. The results of the investigations must be made visible so that this "transmitter-receiver" process takes place, thus what is new or novel in the field of education can be made available to the public and the evidence shared can be brought to the public's attention and the evidence shared.

When developing this process of dissemination or "transmitter-receiver", the products of scientific research developed in a scientific article become part of society since they constitute essential forms and channels for responding to society and its demands, in this case in the field of higher education.

In this case, the dissemination process is given by the production of scientific articles in an indexed journal that has a large number of national and international readers, and it is where the contributions and growth in the field of research of the article writers and of the journal itself can be evidenced.

This form of evidence of our contributions is verified by the professionals or internal, external and international peers who are the ones who give at first hand the academic/scientific verdict on each of the papers presented.

It is expected that the Higher Education Journal, as part of the CEPIES and UMSA, can generate fruitful knowledge aimed at improving the quality. This community composed of researchers, editors, Editorial Committee, external and international referee, as well as the support personnel and support to the journal, are those that guarantee the continuity, and above all the quality of each of the journals that are put into the consideration of the readers.

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Another aspect that is important to consider is the issue of international rankings where we must obtain a position as a journal and also the articles that are exposed in the journal. The University must take steps to support and shore up intellectual productivity, since research production generates and develops scientific knowledge.

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Deconstructing Classical Aesthetic Canons: Postcolonial Dramatists Versus Aristotle

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ABSTRACT

Drawing inspiration from the dialectic theory of literature; a theory that emphasizes the relationship between content and form in literature, this paper concentrates on the dramatic style of Derek Walcott, Bate Besong, John Nkemngong Nkengasong and Tawfik Al-Hakim vis a vis the canonical dramatic aesthetics prescribed by Aristotle. From a Marxist and New Historicist view of textual analysis, it portrays the importance of aesthetics in revealing the playwright's ideological and aesthetic visions. The analyses in this paper conclude that though Western art forms and absurdist tendencies have in one way or the other influenced the aesthetic vision of postcolonial dramatists, their plays display a high level of individual creativity and dramatic experimentation as they adopt novel and non-conventional dramatic formulae to convey their messages. Thus, readers and critics prone to canonical (traditional) theatrical formulas will need extra efforts to be able to savour the different levels of meanings in the plays under study as portrayed by their aesthetics. The playwrights' dramatic style therefore create an alternative tradition which presents drama as formless, a social force and an ideological weapon.

Keywords: deconstruction, aesthetics, canons, postcolonial drama, experimentation.

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Drawing inspiration from the dialectic theory of literature; a theory that emphasizes the relationship between content and form in literature, this paper concentrates on the dramatic style of Derek Walcott, Bate Besong, John Nkemngong Nkengasong and Tawfik Al-Hakim vis a vis the canonical dramatic aesthetics prescribed by Aristotle. From a Marxist and New Historicist view of textual analysis, it portrays the importance of aesthetics in revealing the playwright's ideological and aesthetic visions. The analyses in this paper conclude that though Western art forms and absurdist tendencies have in one way or the other influenced the aesthetic vision of postcolonial dramatists, their plays display a high level of individual creativity and dramatic experimentation as they adopt novel and non-conventional dramatic formulae to convey their messages. Thus, readers and critics prone to canonical (traditional) theatrical formulas will need extra efforts to be able to savour the different levels of meanings in the plays under study as portrayed by their aesthetics. The playwrights' dramatic style therefore create an alternative tradition which presents drama as formless, a social force and an ideological weapon.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Derek Walcott, Bate Besong, John Nkemngong Nkengasong and Tawfik Al-Hakim are playwrights who strongly believe that a work of arts must communicate with a particular audience and in a particular way. These playwrights have been very concern with not only what they write about but the manner in which their ideologies are transmitted to the public. Though there is enough evidence to prove that the plays of the above playwrights have been influenced to some extent by absurdist writers like Samuel Beckett, Albert Camus, Harold Pinter, Eugene Ionesco, Jean Genet, Brendan Behan, Arthur Adamov and Fernando Arrabal amongst others, the playwrights nevertheless, are more pre-occupied with what they have to say than with how they say it. Reason why they is a sustained and indiscriminate use of experimental, novel and non-conventional dramatic techniques. To these playwrights therefore, deconstructing, confronting and nullifying classical dramatic prescriptions in their plays become part of the process of emancipating Postcolonial arts from Western influences.

"Deconstruction" is considered in this paper from the perspective of *The Bedford Glossary of Literary and Critical Terms* which defines it as:

> *A philosophical and critical movement, starting in the 1960s and especially applied to the study of literature, that questions all traditional assumptions about the ability of language to represent reality and emphasizes that a text has no stable reference or identification because words essentially only refer to other words and therefore a reader must approach a text by eliminating any metaphysical or ethnocentric assumptions through an active role of defining meaning, sometimes by a reliance on new word construction, etymology, puns, and other word play. (224).*

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Deconstruction therefore will simply mean the attempts made to break down or discontinue a particular rule, principle, tradition or formula. For a relatively long period of time, Aristotle's prescriptions defined and influenced the writing of tragedies as there were considered as the unique formulae to be used in the writing and interpretation of drama. These poetics became a measuring rod for any successful tragedy. Most postcolonial writers therefore considered such an imposition as an extension of the colonial process of domination. As such, and in an attempt to break away from the West, writers started inventing their own writing formulas with the objective of emancipating postcolonial literature from the chains imposed on it by the West. Derek Walcott, Bate Besong, John Nkemngong Nkengasong and Tawfik Al -Hakim are playwrights who strongly oppose the concepts of dramatic universality and canons as propagated by the West.

The word "aesthetics" etymologically comes from two Greek words: "aisthatikos" and aishamesthai" which means "perception" and "to feel" or "to perceive" respectively (qtd in Zumbushi, 2008, 81). In its simplest definition therefore, aesthetics will mean the perception, sense impression, and the ability to feel sensation for the good, the beautiful, and the sublime in art. Similarly, the *Encyclopedia of World Literature in the Twentieth Century* considers the aesthetics of literature to be intrinsically preoccupied with "Poetic essence and the extent to which that essence yields a vision of life which may be called beauty" (227). This definition shows that aesthetics in literature is related to beauty and the effects it has on the author's vision and ideas. It is in this light that Bernard Fonlon in *The Genuine Intellectuals* states that "literature, whether it be the lyric, the epic, the fable or tale-play is one expression of the beautiful. Beauty is not conferred on a work by chance; it is the result of conscious specific causes at work" (90).

A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory defines a *"canon" as "a* body of rules, principles, or standards accepted as axiomatic and universally binding in a field of study or art" (234). A literary canon will simply refer to those rules or principles that serve as a measuring rod or a yardstick for the conception and interpretation of literature. Most of Western literature was governed by canons and the Bible remains the most canonical texts in human history.

II. CLASSICAL DRAMA AND THE "GOSPEL" ACCORDING TO ARISTOTLE

Dorseh S.T in *Classical Literary Criticism: Aristotle, Horace and Longinus* attempts a perfect analysis of what is today generally termed as Aristotle's poetics. This section of this paper summarizes what the principal tenets of his poetics are. Dorseh opines that Aristotle's poetics seeks to address the different kinds of poetry, the structure of a good poem and the division of a poem into its component parts. He defines poetry as a 'medium of imitation' that seeks to represent or duplicate life through character, emotion, or action. Aristotle defines poetry very broadly, including epic poetry, tragedy, comedy, dithyrambic poetry, and even some kinds of music.

According to Dorseh, a tragedy in Aristotle's terms is defined as "an imitation of an action that is serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude," written in "language embellished," presented as action rather than as narrative, and which "through pity and fear effecting the proper purgation of these emotions." (24). Because tragedy is an imitation of action, and because the emotionally powerful reversal and recognition scenes are part of the plot, Aristotle assigns this the "first principle" of tragedy. After plot, in order of importance, Aristotle prioritizes the remaining elements of tragedy as follows: Character, Thought (the motivation and/or likelihood of an action), Diction, Song and Spectacle. Aristotle lays out six elements of tragedy: plot, character, diction, thought, spectacle, and song. Plot is 'the soul' of tragedy, because action is paramount to the significance of a drama and all other elements are subsidiary.

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In terms of plot, Aristotle posits that a plot must have a beginning, a middle, and an end. It must also be universal in significance, have a determinate structure, and maintain a unity of theme and purpose. Plot also must contain elements of astonishment, reversal (peripeteia), recognition and suffering. Reversal is an ironic twist or change by which the main action of the story comes full-circle. Recognition, meanwhile, is the change from ignorance to knowledge, usually involving people coming to understand one another's true identities. Suffering is a destructive or painful action, which is often the result of a reversal or recognition. All three elements coalesce to create "catharsis," which is the engenderment of fear and pity in the audience: pity for the tragic hero's plight and fear that his fate might befall us.

Furthermore, in terms of characterization as stipulated by Aristotle, a poet should aim for four things. First, the hero must be 'good,' and thus manifest moral purpose in his speech. Second, the hero must have propriety, or 'manly valor.' Thirdly, the hero must be 'true to life and finally, the hero must be consistent. The tragic hero must be an individual of high personality whose actions attract public attention. His downfall must come as a result of his own tragic flaw. Classical dramas had Dukes, Kings, Knights, Princes and Princesses, Emperors and Empresses amongst other high personalities as their main protagonists.

Moreover, as far as structure and time management are concern, Aristotle proposes that a good tragedy should live and die within twenty four hours. The action of the play should not exceed a day and the play should be structured in four parts; the introduction, rising action, climax and denouement with each playing a specific role in the plot development. The introduction will introduce the play and the conflict, the climax is the apex of the conflict while the denouement or conclusion is where tangled situations begin to untangle themselves therefore leading to the revelation of certain truths.

Morestill, Aristotle also lays out the elements of successful imitation. The poet must imitate either thing as they are, things as they are thought to be, or things as they ought to be. The poet must also imitate in action and language (preferably metaphors or contemporary words). Errors come when the poet imitates incorrectly - and thus destroys the essence of the poem - or when the poet accidentally makes an error (a factual error, for instance). Aristotle does not believe that factual errors sabotage the entire work; errors that limit or compromise the unity of a given work, however, are much more consequential.

Aristotle concludes by tackling the question of whether the epic or tragic form is 'higher.' Most critics of his time argued that tragedy was for an inferior audience that required the gesture of performers, while epic poetry was for a 'cultivated audience' which could filter a narrative form through their own imaginations. In reply, Aristotle notes that epic recitation can be marred by overdone gesticulation in the same way as a tragedy. Moreover, tragedy, like poetry, can produce its effect without action - its power is in the mere reading. Aristotle argues that tragedy is, in fact, superior to epic, because it has all the epic elements as well as spectacle and music to provide an indulgent pleasure for the audience. Tragedy then, despite the arguments of other critics, is the higher art for Aristotle.

III. POSTCOLONIAL DRAMATISTS AND THE EUPHORIA FOR NEW DRAMATIC FORMULAS

In recent times, Postcolonial dramatists have revealed an overt political commitment that has been described as revolutionary in their clear and growing tendency away from the conventional notions enshrined in the bulk of postcolonial writings by the West. Their revolutionary tendencies in terms of content, is noticeable in their opposition to imperialism, concern for the masses and their emphasis on socialism. Their socialist leanings and convictions separate them from the older generation of writers, who qualify them as “leftist”. Aesthetically, their revolutionary tendencies are revealed in their innovative styles of writings and their excessive experimentation

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with dramatic conventions. As revolutionary playwrights, Walcott, Besong, Nkengasong and Al-Hakim almost completely in their thematic pre-occupations, plot, characterization and structure violate the classical tenet of playwriting as they embark in a series of aesthetic experimentations. Their style qualifies them as playwrights who set out "to disorder our expectation of coherence" (Reuben, 1994, 7). Throughout their plays, though inspired at some points by Western dramatic tenets, there is a conscious attempt to confront, nullify and deconstruct classical tenets as the playwrights embark on a series of aesthetic experimentations.

Their aesthetic vision creates an alternative tradition, which presents literature as a social force and an ideological weapon. Commenting on the aesthetics of *Requiem for the Last Kaiser,* (Henceforth referred to as *Requiem*) George Nyamndi states that "The universe of *Requiem* is formless .The play knows neither neatness nor order. It does not adhere to the classical pattern of acts and scenes. Instead, it is a free mélange of fragments of scenes, initiations, flashbacks and movements" (36). Though made with reference to *Requiem,* the above comments can with little or no modification, apply to the plays by Walcott, Nkengasong and Al- Hakim. Even though the plays of these playwrights have a precise historical and geographical setting, the geographical settings are divided into multiple set scenes. Walcott's, Besong's, Nkengasong's and Al -Hakim's experimentation with aesthetics in the following plays: *Dream on Monkey Mountain (*Henceforth *Dream, The Sea at Dauphin (*Henceforth *The Sea), Pantomime, The Most Cruel Death of the Talkative Zombie(*Henceforth *Zombie), Requiem for the Last Kaizer (*Hencforth *Requiem) , Beasts of No Nations(*Henceforth *Beasts), The Banquet, Once Upon Four Lepers* (Henceforth *Lepers*), *Change Waka and His Man Sawa Boy (*Henceforth *Change Waka), Black Caps and Red Feathers (*Henceforth *Black Caps)* and *Fate of A Cockroach.* At the level of their plots, some of these plays do not have any chronological plot. One can hardly narrate the stories from the beginning to the end. The plays are written in tableaux and fragments with no cause and effect sequence as practiced by classical playwrights.

Bate Besong's *Zombie, Requiem, Beasts, Change Waka, The Banquet* and *Lepers* know no plot chronology. *Zombie*, the very first play published by Besong is the play in which Besong begins his career as an experimental playwright. It is principally a two man show with no plot chronology. There is no precise stated message and meaning is perceived only in terms of putting together the disjointed dialogues, speeches, songs and comments that run through the entire play. *Zombie* begins with a kind of prologue which, unlike the traditional prologues, is not expository at all. There is a heated debate between Badjidka and Toura and the prologue ends with a song entitled "The Lepers Anthem". From the beginning right up to the end of the play, there is no sustain conflict as events are perceived only through contemplative interrogations, declarations and statements. Besong himself warns any reader from expecting any traditional formulae when he sub-titles the play "a Fairy tale in three Parts with Revelry at a Requiem". A fairy tale has no precise narrative pattern and as such, *Zombie* should not be expected to have one.

Change Waka is another play in which Besong demonstrates his experimentation with plot. In the play like the others, there is a complete absence of any plot chronology or cause and effect sequence. The nature of the dialogue in *Change Waka* is very reminiscent of what obtains in Nkengasong's *Black Caps and Red Feathers,* Soyinka's *Madmen and Specialist, The Road* and *The Strong Breed*. Even when Besong divides his play into parts as noticed in *Change Waka,* there seem to be no logical relationship between the two parts as the play consists of a series of ranting which very much resemble those of a mad man. At some point, it is almost impossible for a reader to make any precise meaning out of such rantings in terms of cause and effect.

In almost the same mannerism, the plot of *Requiem* knows no plot chronology. The plot of *Requiem* for example opens with the portrait of Akhikikriki as a true dictator. A coffin opens and reveals his "cadaverous face" (1). The action

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moves to fragments of a scene where action is between Student and Women. From the first fragment, action moves to the second fragment where there is a heated debate between Antangana and Woman. Thereafter, there is a flashback before the fragment of the next movement and action suddenly moves to Akhikikrikii's marble palace which constitutes the first movement through the second to the end.

Furthermore, in *Beasts,* Besong resorts to a theatrical convention that is essentially different from the realistic stage familiar to many readers. He adopts unorthodox dramatic techniques that often baffled audiences and readers familiar only to realistic theatre. His dramatic experimentations and innovations become very complex. As *Requiem, Beasts* is written in tableaux. Ambanasom S. A, in Ed*ucation of the Deprived* summarizes Besong's aesthetic ideology in the following words:

> *Besong is a self-conscious writer determined to break with the past. A militant playwright with an obvious innovatory dramatic technique, he is continually experimenting and searching for new techniques of expression. In his theatre there is the general absence of those conventional sign posts that, from practice and tradition, we have come to consider the very hallmarks of traditional drama. His plays do not contain a well-told story, nor a well-conceived chronological plot, there are neither well-depicted characters nor fully developed themes. His plots are akin to Samuel Beckett's, underscoring the inanity of human existence. He provides us with an admixture of the realistic, the historical, the tragic, and the comic, all of this underlying a particular political ideology. He makes for difficult reading because of his abstruse style and rather adventurous use of dramatic techniques, but this is exactly what makes him compulsive as we strive to discover his "style de guerre." (95)*

Beasts begin with the parabosis with action concentrated on Narrator. Action later moves to a section entitled "Beasts of No Nation" and action here is focused on Aadingingin, Cripple, Blind Man, and the Chorus. There is a swift shift to another fragment entitled "Aadinginin and the Night-Soil Men. Focus here is on the Night-Soil-Men and their plights. There is once again, a swift change in scene and action to Aadingingin's marble palace where the play ends. It will be relatively easy to say that *Requiem* and *Beasts* each narrates the story of the insensibility, ineptitude, corrupt, dictatorial and treacherous nature of post-independent leadership, symbolized by Akhikikrikii and Aadingingin, but the stories are told with a series of digressions, allusions, flashbacks and multiple set scenes which distort any notion of plot unity and development. Also, as Ambanasom has suggested, the facts in these plays are not recounted in any chronological order, but rather emerge out of wide- ranging, and sometimes, disjointed dialogues, speeches, songs, and stage comments.

The plots of the plays mention above are not very different to what obtains in Nkengasong's *Black Caps and Red Feathers*. The play is a two act play with no chronological plot as it simply narrates the experiences of its two principal characters Creature and Lunatic. The play opens with Creature as a sole actor and his declarations are reminiscent of that of a madman. One perceives meaning from his lyrical poetic statements which in a typical absurdist manner, are not logically presented. To read and understand Nkengasong's play therefore, meaning can easily be perceived only through the numerous metaphors and symbolisms which run through the play. It is worth mentioning that Nkengasong's career as a poet and the poetic and condensed nature of his play are certainly an influenced of his poetic background. Commenting on the dramatic style of Nkengasong's *Black Caps and Red Feathers,* Ambanasom has this to say:

> *Since Nkengasong's work can be placed within the new dramatic conventions, one will discover in Black Caps that it is different from what one would normally expect from a traditional play. Therefore, to make sense of this play, the standards used in evaluating it*

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should not be criteria pertinent to traditional drama, but rather those belonging to theatre of the absurd, (ibid, 131)

The play therefore in terms of plot completely violates conventional and classical playwriting techniques as there is nothing resembling what one will call a plot because there is no sequence of events that link up to the story. Ambanasom's advice therefore is for any reader of the play is to consider the play within the armpit of theatre of the absurd.

Fate of the Cockroach is one play in which Tawfik Al -Hakim distinguishes himself as an experimental playwright. The play allegorical narrates two parallel stories: one consisting of a King and Queen Cockroach and the other, consisting of a human couple Samia and Adil who work up and began to have an argument on gender roles. In both stories though the topics of arguments are different, the female characters have the upper hand. The discourse in both stories alludes to the conflictive roles between the sexes which could be taken to symbolize the roles of women and men in the Egyptian society. In terms of plot, the story has no plot chronology and meaning can be perceives only by mentally putting the different shades of meanings together.

In almost the same vein as Besong, Nkengasong and Al Hkim, Walcott in *Dream, The Sea, Malcochon* and *Pantomime* violates the classical notions of cause and effect plot sequence. The plot in *Dream* is illogical and fragmented. It does not follow the law of causality and the Aristotelian rule about the beginning, the middle and an end. The story is an incoherent dream by Makak and all the other actions are perceived through this dream. Since the play is presented through a dream framework, its irrational and contradictory elements are accounted for. Walcott through this dreamlike plot exposes the passive nature of the masses who, for the most part are blacks. These people are looked upon as good for nothing and their actions considered as mad. The effort of these people to develop escapist tendencies whether mental or physical is the major cause of disorder in the St. Lucian world. Through the fragmented plot, Walcott expresses man's inability to create an ideal world to live in. Instead, man is pruned to wickedness and considered a sadist, who celebrates the pains of others.

Similarly, as in *Dream*, *The Sea at Dauphin* knows no plot chronology. The action in the play takes place within the span of one day with six characters excluding the Chorus of Dauphin Women. This makes for a certain condensation of effects by creating a singularly oppressive and closed atmosphere in which the dilemmas of the communities can be explored through the lives and actions of a few characters. The impression created is that of a few people trapped in a cycle of futility but engaged in a heroic struggle against the elements and centers of power to which the story of *The Sea* is presented. The manner in which the story of *The Sea* is presented demonstrates a complete absence of any logicality in the plot.

Malcochon and *Pantomime* are very similar in terms of plot and structure. These two plays are all one act plays with dialogues that run continuously from the beginning to the end. In both plays, there is intense concentration on a single action with a ruthless pruning of all extraneous material that does not enhance the plays movement. As Besong, Nkengasong and Al-Hakim, Walcott displays in all his plays, his poetic background noticeable in the condense manner in which he writes. It becomes difficult to deduce meaning in Walcott's plays in terms of cause and effect because of the absence of overt and chronological dialogue. His plays are mostly characterized by disjointed dialogue, narrative, mime and pantomime as noticed in *Pantomime*. The disorderly oppressive, exploitation and tyrannical nature of the societies portrayed in the plays of Walcott, Besong and Nkengasong and their poetic backgrounds partly justifies the fragmented and illogical nature of the plots of their stories. The plots thus become a true reflection of society and a revolutionary tendency.

Furthermore, in all the plays under study, there is the violation of the classical notion of structure. As we stated earlier, classical literature has it that

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a play should be structured in four stages. That is, the introduction, rising action, climax and denouement. The introduction or exposition introduces characters, sets plot in motion, and generates information about the play. Rising action or complication weaves the characters in a situation that leads to the climax. The climax is the apex of the conflict and it is at this point that the outcome of the conflict is determined. The denouement is the resolution of the conflict. It is at this stage that tangled situations begin to untangle themselves. This classical structural pattern is completely absent in all the plays under study .One can hardly say where the structures of *Dream*, *Malchochon, The Sea*, *O Babylon!* and *Pantomime* begin and end. In Besong's, Nkengasong's and Al -Hakim's plays as well, there are no precised structural patterns. Walcott, Besong, Nkengasong and Al-Hakim structure their plays in episodes, movements, parts, fragments and sequences. Even when the plays are structured in acts and scenes like the case of *Dream, Ti-Jean, Black Caps* and *Fate of the Cockroach,*the classical structural flow of events are violated

In *Dream* for example, the climax of the play comes at the end of the play when Makak beheads the White Woman. *Dream* is structurally divided into two parts. Part one consists of the prologue and three scenes all of which are focused on the various stages in the development of Makak's dream. Walcott establishes in this first part the West Indian nature of the play – what the note on production describes as a style that ''should be spare, essential as the details of a dream" (220). The play works through a Brechtian model that destroys 'the suspension of disbelief' or, in the words of the playwright, introduces political issues to the audience/reader 'with the same precision and the vitality that one has read of in the Kabuki' (220). The first major political proposition in the play comes from Jean Paul Sartre's prologue to Frantz Fanon's classic of neo-colonial politics. The precarious physical and spiritual state of the colonized being is the subject of Fanon's thesis and the prologue by Sartre establishes the process that leads to the subsequent dissociation of the self:

> *Thus in certain psychoses the hallucinated person, tired of always being insulted by his demon, one fine day starts hearing the voice of an angel who pays him compliments; but the jeers don't stop for all that; only, from then on, they alternate with congratulations. This is a defense, but it is also the end of the story. The self is dissociated, and the patient heads for madness. (211).*

The patient (Makak) in *Dream on Monkey Mountain* however, does not simply head for madness. The play, unlike Wole Soyinka's *Madmen and Specialists* or *The Interpreters* for example, is not swamped in madness but restricted to the edges of subversive un-naming. It is true however that culture, religion, politics, material/economic dispossessions and above all, history have combined to render Makak psychotic but the pursuit of a disorderly and useless science that would facilitate his descent into madness proper was merely broached, not embarked on as the story, especially if perceived in relation as its structures portray. In *Ti -Jean*, the climax of the play equally comes at the end when *Ti-Jean* outwits and defeats the Devil. In *Pantomime,* the climax of the conflict is seen at the stage where Jackson begins to improvise and in *Malcochon*, with the killing of Chantal.

In *Requiem, Beasts* and *The Banquet*, the climax comes at the end when the masses attack their dictators. In *Requiem* and *The Banquet,* tension heightens toward the end as Akhikikrikii and Mbozo'o and their followers are over thrown by a popular up-rising. While in *Beasts,* the storming of Aadingingin's marble palace at the end of the play by the Night-Soil-Men with pockets of shit constitutes the climax of the play. In *Black Caps and Red Feathers,* Nkengasong structures his play in two acts but the events in the story are completely unrelated. Act one has just Creature talking to himself and recounting his ordeals. In act two, there is a conversation between Creature and the voice of the invincible ghost of Traourou with Creature seemingly interrogating Traourou's ghost. The climax of the play comes at the end with Creature's swooning and this is followed by a sustained thunder blast.

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Al -Hakim's *Fate of the Cockroach* is structured in three acts with each having a subtitle and telling a different story. Act one tells the story of "The cockroach as King", act two, "the Cockroach's Struggle" and act three is titled "The Fate of the Cockroach". The three unrelated stories all geared towards satirizing the realities in the Egyptian society and it becomes impossible to place the play within the ambit of classical drama in terms of its structural pattern. The climax of the play seems to come at the end when Adil calls and on his wife Samia to bring a bucket and rag and wipe him out of existence

In all, the plays under study, with the exception of *Ti-Jean* and *O Babylon!,* there is a conscious attempt to deconstruct the classical doctrine of a plays structure as the playwrights embark in a series of structural innovations. Walcott structures his plays in either a single scene as in *The Sea*, *Malcochon* and *Pantomime*, or parts as in *Dream*. Besong on his part use movements, episodes, fragments and multiple set scenes. Nkengasong and Al- Hakim use acts. Even in cases where the plays are structurally divided into scenes and acts, the classical four structural patterns are violated.

Moreover, at the level of characterization, Walcott, Besong, Nkengasong and Al- Hakim adhere to the absurdist tradition by focusing their attention on characters which according to Aristotle, should not be found in plays. The main characters in these plays are not of the ruling class, the bourgeoisie. The main characters are common people who care for the well-being of their fellow men. They shun all the vices inherent in the lives of the bourgeoisie such as corruption, exploitation, tyranny and oppression amongst others. They are admired by the masses for their courage and have socialist visions. The main characters are people from the lower class whose problems symbolically become that of the masses.

Dream focuses on the life and activities of Makak, a charcoal burner whose problems become the plight of West Indians of African descent. *Ti-Jean* equally center's on the life of Gross-Jean, Mi-Jean and Ti-Jean who all symbolized the West Indian masses and their confrontation with the White Devil symbolized by Planter.

The drama in *The Sea* center's around six characters whose lives become a reflection of the dilemmas of the Afro-West Indian masses. Their lives are characterized by deprivation and hardship because the land is infertile, the sea unpredictable, and these problems are accentuated by the fishermen who set out against all odds and end up drowning one after the other. As in *Dream*, *Ti-Jean* and *The Sea,* the characters one encounters in *Malcochon*, *O Babylon!* and *Pantomime* are of the lower class. There are characters whose activities are a reflection of the complexities that characterizes Afro-West Indian existence. They are continuously pre-occupied with the search for a home, identity and roots. They are in classical dramatic terms, characters that should not find themselves at the centre of serious drama.

The drama in *Zombie* pivots around two main characters that are not the dignified, respectable characters of traditional drama. They are despicable lepers on crutches and the playwright refers to them as "ejected...leprous troglodytes, professional beggars" just as in Wole Soyinka's *Madmen and Specialist*. In *Black Caps,* the main characters are Creature and Lunatic describing the inhuman conditions they are subjected to by a dictatorial regime. In *Requiem* and *Beasts,* the stories x-ray the predicaments of the masses of Agidigidi, symbolized by Boy and Woman, and Ednouay, symbolized by the Night-Soil-Men, Blindman and Cripple respectively. In *Change Waka, The Banquet* and *Great Lepers* respectively, action is centred around ordinary people whose lives and experiences in the various fictive societies Besong projects are a true testimony of what oppression, dictatorship and exploitation can do to a people. The lives of the masses as exemplified in these plays have been transformed into a perpetual nightmare by a callous and inhuman leadership. Any attentive reader of Besong's drama is subtly alerted that in terms of characterization, these plays are not the normal, traditional plays. Although Besong uses in almost all his plays very ordinary characters who are engaged in menial jobs, some of them in

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terms of names and activities carry a lot of signification if placed within the political and historical context of post independent Cameroon.

Similarly, Nkengasong uses Creature and Lunatic as main characters and their utterances are reminiscent of that of madmen. Nevertheless, their plights become that of the oppressed masses in an oppressive and dictatorial regime. Al Hakim on his part uses Cockroaches and Ants to represent humanity and their problems become that of the Egyptian masses. Though allegory is considered a western influence, Al -Hakim contextualizes his use of allegory to explore and exploit the socio-political and economic realities that characterizes society.

Unlike classical drama which mostly centre's on the lives of respectable personalities like kings, Dukes, Barons, Knights, amongst others, postcolonial drama as exemplified above, concentrates on the lives and activities of ordinary men. The plays portray man as he is and not as he ought to be. Also, the plight of the major characters are not caused by their tragic flaw as is the case with classical drama, but are imposed on them by the colonial and post-colonial leadership. Walcott, Besong, Nkengasong and Al -Hakim present characters who are portrayed not as passive on lookers and victims of oppression, but as subjects of their own history, who are actively involved in the socio-political process for change.

Meaning and artistic vision in the plays under study are communicated through form. One cannot but mention here that the absence of a well-structured and organized plot, the use of folklore, songs, chorus, mime, allegory and Creole exposes Walcott's aesthetic ideology. Besong on his part uses mimes, movements, flashbacks, songs, proverbs, multiple set scenes, symbolism, voices, buffoonery, parody, shit imagery, ringing of the bell, and like Walcott, the absence of an organized plot and structure, and the concentration on ordinary characters constitute his aesthetic ideology. Nkengasong uses songs, mime, rhetorical questions, proverbs, voices, dream experience, compact imagery, neologism, surrealism to tell his story. Al- Hakim employs allegory, a play within a play, songs and the concentration on ordinary insects like cockroaches and ants to tell his story.

As portrayed in their plays, the representation in structural forms, inter-textual parody, and historiography as performance, multiple set scenes, distorted and unsettling images constitute the similarities and innovative modes of representing reality and experimenting with form in the plays of Walcott, Besong, Nkengasong and Al-Hakim. The playwrights' modes and techniques incorporate realism, historicism, Marxism, Modernism and Post-modernism. While Besong, Nkengasong and Al-Hakim to a greater extent remain extremist experimental playwrights with unquenchable appetites to break away from the classical dramatic canons, Walcott on his part has been accused by some critics for his constant mélange of classical and new dramatic conventions in some of his plays and it is as a result of this that his aesthetics have been described as being that of a mulatto. There is plenty of evidence in his plays to qualify him as a playwright who has been influenced enormously by classical dramatic tenets though such influences do not completely wipe away his West Indian identity.

IV. CONCLUSION

Walcott's, Besong's, Nkengasong's and Al Hakim's deviation from the Aristotelian tenets of playwriting is in themselves a genuine step by the dramatists to liberate postcolonial drama from the pangs of Western dogma. Their attempts therefore are to persuade readers to see postcolonial drama, as different from Western or classical drama. It is in this light that Chinweizu in *The West and The Rest of Us* concludes that "Those who do not see Africa and the West as two distinct societies with different histories, with different problems, values and sense of fulfillment --- encourage an assimilation of African arts to Western tradition". (qtd in *Mask* 15) Though made with reference to African drama, Chinweizu's comments very much apply to Caribbean literature for Walcott, even when he borrows from classical patterns, incorporates elements and feature that are uniquely West

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Indian as an attempt to liberate West Indian literature from Western tradition.

From Chinweizu's arguments, and from an aesthetic standpoint, to say therefore that the plays of Walcott, Besong, Nkengasong and Al -Hakim are formless is to encourage an assimilation of postcolonial arts to Western tradition. Thus, as Nyamndi has suggested, a play's "very formlessness is in itself form... it is usually that form for which we have no name" (37). One may certainly not have a definite name for these playwrights' formlessness. After all, as true Marxists that they are and as Eagleton has suggested, the aim of Marxism is to liberate literature and criticism from the magic spell of that liberal dogma which sees art as "organizing the chaos of reality, as imposing form on the formless, order on the amorphous" (96). Walcott, Besong , Nkengasong and Al -Hakim can therefore be seen as writers who at some point borrow from classical tenets, incorporate their local realities, and experiment with new dramatic forms to tell the story of their fractured postcolonial societies. Aesthetics therefore becomes a veritable instrument for the emancipation of postcolonial drama from Western canons

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Comment on the Arne Von Ambros's Assimilation Description in Warsh Transmission and Some Special Cases of Combinatorial Changes

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ABSTRACT

Annotation: The purpose of this article is to attempt to clarify the phonetic phenomenon described by Ivanov Austrian Arabist Ambros von Arne (1942-2007) in his article *Haplologie und Assimilation im. V. und VI. Verbstamm im Koran*. In this article, the author expresses his point of view in the case of assimilation in the forms of the verbs in V and VI, Present, 2nd and 3rd singular, 2nd plural and 3rd feminine in Warsh transmission. The author agrees with Von Arne in describing the change in the reading of Hafs, where the case of haplology occurs. At the same time, the opinion is expressed that in Warsh transmission event does not end in assimilation. After assimilation, elision of the vowel sound occurs.

Research Methods: The author's analysis, based on the method of comparative harmonization of phenomena in the sounds of the Arabic language in transmissions, especially in the transmission of Warsh, which is less familiar to a wide audience, has special scientific and practical significance. Comments are made on previously expressed considerations regarding the problem, and an attempt is made to overestimate the phonetic phenomena and make an appropriate assessment.

Keywords: complete regressive contact assimilation, haplology, complete regressive discontact assimilation, elision, gemination, reduplication, Qur'an, Asim, Nafi, Hafs transmission, Warsh transmission.

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Research Methods: The author's analysis, based on the method of comparative harmonization of phenomena in the sounds of the Arabic language in transmissions, especially in the transmission of Warsh, which is less familiar to a wide audience, has special scientific and practical significance. Comments are made on previously expressed considerations regarding the problem, and an attempt is made to overestimate the phonetic phenomena and make an appropriate assessment.

The scientific novelty: of the study lies in the analysis and classification of phonetic phenomena in transmissions not from the point of view of generalization principles developed by Muslim-Arab researchers, but from the point of view of their analysis and classification by including them in combinatorial variables.

The conclusion: is that the approach to phonetic phenomena in Hafs and Warsh transmissions may deviate from the general principles developed by Muslim-Arab researchers and distinguish them from the corresponding types of combinatorial changes. It is noted that:

1. In one transmission ([ta]) in the 3rd person feminine, in the present future tense form 2nd and 3rd person singular, 2nd plural verbs in the 5th and 6th chapters is used being subjected to a syllabus elision -haplology, in another transmission, one consonant with its discontent effect makes an open syllable consonant preceding it undergoes an assimilation, and the vowel between them undergoes an elision. It is not possible to agree with the conclusion that the event ends with the assimilation, because it is followed by an important phonetic phenomenon, such as vowel elision.
2. [z̲], [dˇ] və [t] which are read with a complete realization in the sound combinations [z̲t], [dˇḍ], [dˇz̲] and [tz̲] in AH, are affected by a complete regressive contact assimilation in NW: [tt], [ḍḍ], [z̲z̲] are on the contrary are read with a complete realization as [s_z̲]/[z̲z̲] and [bˇm]/[mˇmˇ] in NW, which are affected by a complete regressive contact assimilation in AH: [s_z̲] and [bˇm].

Keywords: complete regressive contact assimilation, haplology, complete regressive discontact assimilation, elision, gemination, reduplication, Qur'an, Asim, Nafi, Hafs transmission, Warsh transmission.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose that we set in the article is to detect differences related to assimilation, haplology and assimilation with elision, gemination and reduplication that are observed between the Hafs's transmission of Asim's reading (hereafter - AH) [8, 15, 118-119] and the Warsh's transmission of Nafi's reading (hereafter - NW) [8, 43, 63], to classify them according to their types, to learn about the different phases of each transmission and to observe its phonetic nature, familiarize themselves with previous research on the subject and verify their relevance to modern scientific requirements, to ensure that new scientific findings can be brought to the attention of the scientific community.

As it is known, the Qur'an being a divine book does not only acquire a religious character, but it is also a source of modern Arabic literary language, the most magnificent monument of the Arabic language in general. The Qur'an, which has been under the ban for many years in Azerbaijan, remains relevant as an unexplored source in this regard. Not only have the less known, but even the most widespread, transmissions of the Qur'an not been involved in comparative research. Therefore, the examples of assimilation, haplology, and assimilation with elision, examples of gemination and reduplication, observed in the two transmissions will help researchers working in this field to look at new perspectives on similar situations in modern Arabic. The material contributes to a more sensitive approach to the sounds of the Arabic language, a deeper understanding of the nature of phonetic events during the study/teaching, and the formation of a correct image, which is an important factor in the relevance of the subject. In this regard, the subject is distinguished by its novelty and the author's new conclusions by their specificity.

Specific transcription (Unicode compatible) symbols necessary for our study were added:
â – *fatḥah* in the position after *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *ṭā'*, *ẓā'*, *khā'*, *ghayn* or *qāf*

a – *fatḥah* in the position after hard (medium) *rā'* (ṛ), *'ayn*, hard (medium) *lām* (ḷ), *wāw* or double nasal *wāw* (w˜-w˜)

ä – *fatḥah* in the position after *hamzah*, *bā'*, *tā'*, *thā'*, *jīm*, *dāl*, *dhāl*, *rā'* (r), *zāy*, *sīn*, *shīn*, *fā'*, *kāf*, *lām* (l), *mīm*, *nūn*, *hā'*, *yā'* and before *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *ṭā'*, *ẓā'*, *khā'*, *ghayn*, *qāf*, *ḥā'*, *rā'* (ṛ), *'ayn*, *lām* (ḷ), *wāw* and double nasal *wāw* ə – *fatḥah* in the position after *hamzah*, *bā'*, *tā'*, *thā'*, *jīm*, *dāl*, *dhāl*, *rā'* (r), *zāy*, *sīn*, *shīn*, *fā'*, *kāf*, *lām* (l), *mīm*, *nūn*, *hā'*, *yā'* and before *hamzah*, *bā'*, *tā'*, *thā'*, *jīm*, *dāl*, *dhāl*, *rā'* (r), *zāy*, *sīn*, *shīn*, *fā'*, *kāf*, *lām* (l), *mīm*, *nūn*, *hā'*, *yā'*

e – *fatḥah* in the position before or after *hamzah*, *bā'*, *tā'*, *thā'*, *jīm*, *dāl*, *dhāl*, *rā'* (r), *zāy*, *sīn*, *shīn*, *fā'*, *kāf*, *lām* (l), *mīm*, *nūn*, *hā'*, *yā'*

â¯, ā, ǟ, ə¯; ī; ū – long vowel in the size of two short vowels

â¯â¯, āā, ǟǟ, ə¯ə¯; īī; ūū – long vowel in the size of four short vowels

â¯â¯â¯, āāā, ǟǟǟ, ə¯ə¯ə¯; īīī; ūūū – long vowel in the size of six short vowels

âu, au, äu; ây, ay, əy, ey – diphthongs in two short vowel sizes

âuū, auū, äuū; âyȳ, ayȳ, əyȳ, eyȳ – diphthongs in four short vowel sizes

âuūū, auūū, äuūū; âyȳȳ, ayȳȳ, əyȳȳ, eyȳȳ – diphthongs in six short vowel sizes

– stress mark (ǻ, á, ä´, ǝ́, é, í, ú, â¯´, ā´, ǟ´, ə¯´, é)

ǰ – *jīm* in the position before any consonant, except *jīm*

dˇ – *dāl* in the position before any consonant, except *dāl* or *tā'*

ṛ – hard (medium) *rā'*

qˇ – *qaf* in the position before any consonant, except *qāf* or *kāf*

ḷ – hard (medium) *lām*

m – *mīm* in the position before a vowel

m˜ – *mīm* in the position before any consonant, except *mīm* or *bā'*; *mim* if a pause is performed

m˜˜ – *mīm* in the position before *bā'*; nasal *nūn* or *tanwīn* transformed into nasal *mīm* in the position before *bā'*

m˜m˜ – double nasal *mīm*

m˜-m˜ – double nasal *mīm* in the position after *mīm* at the intersection of words; double nasal *mīm* in the position after *nūn* or *tanwīn* at the intersection of words.

n – *nūn* or *tanwīn* in the position before a vowel

ñ – *nūn* or *tanwīn* in the position before *hamzah*, *ḥā'*, *khā'*, *'ayn*, *ghayn* or *hā'*; *nūn* in case if a *pause*

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is performed; *nūn* in the position before *wāw* or *yā'* in *qiñwānuñ*, *ṣiñwānuñ*, *yə¯ sīīñ ẏal-quṛ'ə¯nil-ḥakīīm˜/*, *nūūūñ ẏal-qâləmi*, *duñyə¯*, *buñyə¯nuñ*; *nūn* if a *pause* is performed

□̃ – *nūn* or *tanwīn* in the position before *tā'*, *thā'*, *jīm*, *dāl*, *dhāl*, *zāy*, *sīn*, *shīn*, *fā'* or *kāf*

□̃ – *nūn* or *tanwīn* in the position before *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *ṭā'*, *ẓā'* or *qāf*

ññ – double nasal *nūn*

ñ-ñ – double nasal *nūn*

w˜-w˜ – double nasal *wāw* in the position after *nūn* or *tanwīn*

ỹ-ỹ – double nasal *yā' in the position after nūn* or *tanwīn*

| – pause (*waqf*)

| – pause (*sakt*)

The references from the Qur'an are given in the left-hand side, separated by two points, and in the right-hand side are the number of verses, for example, Surah al-Fatiha 4: 1: 4 or 79: 36: 79.

II. HAPLOLOGY AND COMPLETE REGRESSIVE CONTACT ASSIMILATION ACCORDING TO THE PLACE OF ORIGIN WITH VOWEL ELISION

In the Quran, the forms of the verbs in V and VI forms, Present, 2nd and 3rd singular, 2nd plural and 3rd feminine, that is in the forms beginning with [tata] ([tatä]), the second [ta] ([tä]) is subjected to syllabus elision – haplology. That is, for instance, the V form verbs تَتَصَدَّىٰ [tətäṣ́ddə¯], تَتَزَكَّىٰ [tətəzəkkə¯] – 2nd singular, masculine, تَتَصَدَّقُوا۟ [tətäṣ́ddäqū] – 2nd plural, masculine, تَتَشَقَّقُ [tətəşä´qqâqu] – 3rd singular, feminine is used as تَصَدَّىٰ [täṣ́ddə¯], تَزَكَّىٰ [təzəkkə¯], تَصَدَّقُوا۟ [täṣ́ddäqū], تَشَقَّقُ [təşä´qqâqu] in AH, or the verb تَتَذَكَّرُونَ [tətəẕəkkäṛū´nə] – 2nd person plural, masculine in AH is used as تَذَكَّرُونَ [təẕəkkäṛū´nə]; the VI form verbs تَتَظَـٰهَرَا [tətäẓ¯´häṛā] – 2nd dual, feminine, تَتَظَـٰهَرُونَ [tətäẓ¯häṛū´nə], تَتَسَآءَلُونَ [tətəsə¯ə¯'əlū´nə] – 2nd plural, masculine, تَتَزَوَّرُ [tətəzā´ẏaṛu] – 3rd singular, feminine are used as تَظَـٰهَرَا [täẓ¯´häṛā], تَظَـٰهَرُونَ [täẓ¯häṛū´nə], تَسَآءَلُونَ [təsə¯ə¯'əlū´nə], تَزَوَّرُ [təzā´ẏaṛu] in AH. The phenomenon تخفيف (simplicity) that occurs in AH which is mainly considered as "simplification" in the scientific literature is shown as the elision of «ta»: 274 ,10] فحذفت إحدى التاءين تخفيفا]. Although the modern Arabic researchers consider the phenomenon that happens in NW as assimilation, they do not classify it, they limit themselves with an explanation that "ease for pronunciation happens in order to reduce muscle tension" (تخفيفا في اللفظ، اقتصادا في الجهد العضلي 274 ,10]). In various readings an Austrian Arabist Ambros von Arne (1942-2007), who analyzed the mentioned phenomena in various readings quite in detail shows that haplology happens in AH, and assimilation in NW [1, 4-5]. If it is possible to totally agree that the phonetic phenomenon in AH that occurred due to haplology, then it is not possible to agree that only assimilation happens in NW.

In fact, haplology happens in AH verbs and one (the second) of the two [ta]-s following each other, undergoes elision: تَتَسَآءَلُونَ [tətəsə¯ə¯'əlū´nə] → تَسَآءَلُونَ [təsə¯ə¯'əlū´nə], تَتَزَكَّىٰ [tətəzəkkə¯] → تَزَكَّىٰ [təzəkkə¯], تَتَزَوَّرُ [tətəzā´ẏaṛu] → تَزَوَّرُ [təzā´ẏaṛu], تَتَصَدَّىٰ [tətäṣ́ddə¯] → تَصَدَّىٰ [täṣ́ddə¯], تَتَصَدَّقُوا۟ [tətäṣ́ddäqū] → تَصَدَّقُوا۟ [täṣ́ddäqū]; تَتَذَكَّرُونَ [tətəẕəkkäṛū´nə] → تَذَكَّرُونَ [təẕəkkäṛū´nə], تَتَظَـٰهَرَا [tətäẓ¯´häṛā] → تَظَـٰهَرَا [täẓ¯´häṛā], تَتَظَـٰهَرُونَ [tətäẓ¯häṛū´nə] → تَظَـٰهَرُونَ [täẓ¯häṛū´nə]; تَتَشَقَّقُ [tətəşä´qqâqu] → تَشَقَّقُ [təşä´qqâqu].

However in NW "an obstacle" is removed thanks to different phonetic phenomenon/a. Here one consonant with its discontact effect makes the preceding open syllable consonant undergo assimilation according to the place of origin, and the vowel between them undergoes elision. In all cases, one coronal consonant ([t]) being affected by other coronal consonants (coronal-dental: [s], [z], [ṣ]; coronal-interdental: [ẕ], [ẓ]; coronal palato-alveolar [ş]) undergoes assimilation, and the vowel between them undergoes elision: تَتَسَآءَلُونَ [tətəsə¯ə¯ə¯'əlū´nə] → تَسَسَآءَلُونَ [təsəsə¯ə¯ə¯'əlū´nə] → تَسَّآءَلُونَ [təssə¯ə¯ə¯'əlū´nə], تَتَزَكَّىٰ [tətəzəkkæ] → تَزَكَّىٰ [təzəzəkkæ] → تَزَكَّىٰ [təzzəkkæ], تَتَزَوَّرُ [tətəzā´ẏaṛu] → تَزَوَّرُ [təzəzā´ẏaṛu] → تَزَوَّرُ [təzzā´ẏaṛu], تَتَطَـٰهَىٰ [tətäṣ́ddæ] → تَصَطَـٰهَىٰ [täṣâṣ́ddæ] → تَطَـٰهَىٰ [täṣṣ́ddæ], تَتَصَدَّقُوا۟ [tətäṣ́ddäqū] → تَصَدَّقُوا۟ [täṣäṣ́ddäqū] → تَصَّدَّقُوا۟ [täṣṣ́ddäqū]; تَتَذَكَّرُونَ [tətəẕəkkäṛū´nə] → تَذَذَكَّرُونَ [təẕəẕəkkäṛū´nə] → تَذَّكَّرُونَ [təẕẕəkkäṛū´nə], تَتَظَـٰهَرَا [tətäẓ¯´häṛā] →

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تَظَـهَرَا [täẓäẓâ¯´härā] → تَظَّـهَرَا [täẓẓâ¯´härā], تَتَظَـهَرُونَ [tətäẓâ¯härū´nə] → تَظَّـهَرُونَ [täẓẓâ¯härū´nə]; تَتَشَقَّقُ [tətəşä´qqâqu] → تَشَّقَّقُ [təşşä´qqâqu].

III. COMPLETE REGRESSIVE CONTACT ASSIMILATION

The complete contact assimilation was studied by Medieval scholars by the name of *idgham* and commented on in detail [6, 165]. Contemporary linguists, of course, study the organization by differentiating it by giving it a broader classification. The phenomenon of complete regressive contact assimilation of the sounds [ẓt], [d˘ḍ], [d˘ẓ] and [tẓ] not accepted in modern Arabic literary language, not used in AH is observed in the NW as a manifestation of the dialect. The basis of our conclusion that the phenomenon of [ẓt]/[tt] complete regressive contact assimilation is a manifestation of the dialect [4, 172] is that it is only surrounded by أخذ root verbs and that when [ẓt] sound combination is used in the rest two cases فَنَبَّئْتُهَا [fənəbəẓtuhə¯] (20:96/94) and عُدْتُ [úẓtu] (40:27; 44:20/19) throughout the Qur'an the assimilation does not occur. As a phonetic phenomenon, the analysis of complete regressive contact assimilation of [d˘ḍ]/[ḍḍ], [d˘ẓ]/[ẓẓ] and [tẓ]/[ẓẓ] was carried out with precision by Ibrahim Anis [2, 191-196].

Thus, in NW [ẓt] → [tt], [d˘ḍ] → [ḍḍ], [d˘ẓ] with [tẓ] → [ẓẓ] are read with a complete regressive contact assimilation. In AH يُلْهِثْهُ ذَّلِكَ [yə¯ ləytəni-ttäxâẓtu], لَئِن تَّخَذْتَ [lə'ini-ttäxâẓtə] (لَتَّخَذْتَ [ləttäxâẓtə]), فَتَّخَذْتُم [fə-ttäxâẓtum˜] (ثُمَّ تَّخَذْتُمُ [s_úm˜m˜ə-ttäxâẓtumul-'íčlə], إِنَّمَا تَّخَذْتُم [s_úm˜m˜ə- ttäxâẓtumul-'íčlə], بِأَنَّكُمُ تَّخَذْتُمْ ['íññəmə-ttäxâẓtum˜], وَتَّخَذْتُمُوهُ [bi'əññəkumu-ttäxâẓtum˜], فَتَّخَذْتُمُوهُمْ [ẏa-ttäxâẓtumū´hu], أَتَّخَذْتُمْ [fə-ttäxâ ẓtumū´hum˜]), أَخَذْتُ ['əttäxâẓtum˜], أَخَذْتُ ['äxâẓtu] (أَخَذْتُهَا ['äxâẓtuhə¯], أَخَذْتُهُمْ ['äxâẓtuhum˜], فَأَخَذْتُهُمْ [fə'äxâẓtuhum˜]), أَخَذْتُمْ ['äxâẓtum˜], قَدْ ضَلَلْتُ [qâḍ˘ḍâlə́ltu] (قَدْ ضَلُّوا [qâḍ˘ḍâllū], فَقَدْ ضَلَّ [fä´qâḍ˘ḍâllə], لَقَدْ ضَلَّ [lä´qâḍ˘ḍâllə]), لَقَدْ ضَرَبْنَا [lä´qâḍ˘ḍâṛáb˘nə¯] (فَقَدْ ضَلَّ [fä´qâḍ˘ḍâllə] (2:108; 4:116, 136; 5:12; 33:36; 60:1) → فَقَدْ ضَلَّ [fä´qâḍ-ḍâllə] (2:107; 4:115, 135; 5:13; 33:36; 60:1), قَدْ ضَلُّوا [qâḍ˘ ḍâllū] (4:167; 5:77; 6:140; 7:149) → قَدْ ضَلُّوا [qâḍ-ḍâllū] (4:166; 5:79; 6:141; 7:149), لَقَدْ ضَرَبْنَا [lä´qâḍ˘ ḍâṛáb˘nə¯] (30:58; 39:27) → لَقَدْ ضَرَبْنَا [lä´qâḍ-ḍâṛáb˘nə¯] (30:57; 39:26), قَدْ ضَلَلْتُ [qâḍ˘ ḍâlə́ltu] (6:56) → قَدْ ضَلَلْتُ [qâḍ-ḍâlə́ltu] (6:57), لَقَدْ ضَلَّ [lä´qâḍ˘ ḍâllə] (37:71) → لَقَدْ ضَلَّ [lä´qâḍ-ḍâllə] (37:71).), فَقَدْ ظَلَمَ [fä´qâẓ-ẓâlə́mə] (فَقَدْ ظَلَمَكَ [lä´qâẓ-ẓâlə́məkə]) فَقَدْ ظَلَمَ [fä´qâḍ˘ ẓâlə́mə] (2:231; 65:1) → فَقَدْ ظَلَمَ [fä´qâẓ-ẓâḷamə] (2:229; 65:1), لَقَدْ ظَلَمَكَ [lä´qâḍ˘ ẓâlə́məkə] (38:24) → لَقَدْ ظَلَمَكَ [lä´qâẓ-ẓâḷáməkə] (38:23).); حُرِّمَتْ ظُهُورُهَا [ḥúrrimäẓ-ẓuhū´ṛuhə¯], كَانَتْ ظَالِمَةً حَمَلَتْ ظُهُورُهُمَا [ḥáməläẓ- ẓuhū´ṛuhumə¯], [kə¯´näẓ-ẓâ¯límətəñ] (حُرِّمَتْ ظُهُورُهَا [ḥúrrimət ẓuhū´ṛuhə¯] (6:138) → حُرِّمَتْ ظُهُورُهَا [ḥúrrimäẓ-ẓuhū´ṛuhə¯] (6:139), حَمَلَتْ ظُهُورُهُمَا [ḥámələt ẓuhū´ṛuhumə¯] (6:146) → حَمَلَتْ ظُهُورُهُمَا [ḥáməläẓ-ẓuhū´ṛuhumə¯] (6:147), كَانَتْ ظَالِمَةً [kə¯´nət ẓâ¯límətəñ] (21:11) → كَانَتْ ظَالِمَةً [kə¯´näẓ-ẓâ¯límətəñ] (21:11).) a complete regressive contact assimi- lation happens.

Throughout the Qur'an only in two places (7:176; 11:42) in AH complete regressive contact assimilation of [s_ẓ]/[ẓẓ] and [b˘m]/[m˜m˜] consonants is observed. However in NW the manifestation of the dialects of Hijaz people, who do not tend to assimilation, takes place [9, 131].

In the cases when the consonant [s_] is followed by the consonant [ẓ] and consonant [b˘] by the consonant [m] in AH a complete regressive contact assimilation : يَلْهَثْ ذَّلِكَ [yə́lhəs_ ẓə¯´likə]

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→ يَلْهَثْ ذَّلِكَ [yélhəz-zə¯´likə], رْكَبْ مَعَنَا [’íṛkəb˘ mä´‘anə¯] → رْكَبْ مَّعَنَا [’íṛkəm˜-m˜ä´‘anə¯]. But in NW they are pronounced with complete realization: يَلْهَثْ ذَلِكَ [yélhəs_ zə¯´likə], رْكَبْ مَعَنَا [’íṛkəb˘ mä´‘anə¯] (here [b˘] preserving its voice).

IV. GEMINATION WITH VOWEL ELISION AND SHORTENING OF THE GEMINATE

In general, both in Medieval sources and in the Modern studies both cases of assimilation and gemination are considered as one definition - *idgham* [2, 191-196; 6, 165]. The *idghamul-mutamasileyn* type of *idgham* covers gemination when *idghamul- mutajaniseyn*, *idghamul-mutagaribeyn*, *idghamul-mutabaideyn* cover different types of assimilation. For this reason, definition contradictions formed also have their effect on the way of approach. Therefore, different phenomena such as assimilation and gemination are studied by researchers under the umbrella of one phenomenon. Not having agreed to this approach, we preferred to analyze by separating the phenomena to both gemination and assimilation, and as well as classifying them to different species within the assimilation.

Throughout the Qur’an, we come across with the 3rd and 1st تُحَـجُّونَنِي [tuḥāāāccū´nənī] chapter verbs with the same 2nd and 3rd root consonant in the 2nd person plural, masculine gender **تَأمُرُونَنِى** [tə’muṛū´nənī] used with the 1st person adjoining pronoun in two places, those verbs being subjected to the same phonetic phenomenon in AH and NW and are read with its different manifestations. Despite the fact that there is a vowel between them in both AH and NW, two sounds of [n], one attracting the other, create gemination, and the vowel between them undergoes an elision. The created geminate is read with shortening in NW. That is تُحَـجُّونَنِي [tuḥāāāccū´nənī] → تُحَـجُّوَنِّي [tuḥāāāccūūūñnī] (6:80), تَأمُرُونَنِى [tə’muṛū´nənī] → تَأمُرُوَنِّىَ [tə’muṛū´ūūñnī] in AH (43:64). And in NW: تُحَـجُّونَنِي [tuḥāāāccū´nənī] → تُحَـجُّوَنِّي [tuḥāāāccūūūñnī] → تُحَـجُّونِي [tuḥāāāccū´nī] (6:81), تَأمُرُونَنِى [tə’muṛū´nəniyə] → تَأمُرُوَنِّىَ [tə’muṛū´ūūñniyə] → تَامُرُونِىَ [tə¯muṛū´niyə] (43:64). As a result of strengthening of the vowel ([ū´]) with an accent in NW, the observation of a weakening in the articulation of the final non-accent vowels ([nənī]), the phenomenon of elision (reduction) of one of the syllables ([na]) (تُحَـجُّونَنِي [tuḥāāāccū´nənī] → تُحَـجُّونِي [tuḥāāāccū´nī], **تَأمُرُونَنِى** [tə’muṛū´nəniyə] → **تَأمُرُونِىَ** [tə¯muṛū´niyə]) or simplification of pronunciation of the two phenomena observed in the transmission, in order to make the pronunciation more smooth, it could be also explained as the phenomenon of elision or a drop of the syllable (elision of the sound [a] towards the end in AH, and of the syllable [na] in NW. However acceptance of the attraction of the same sounds to each other as the principal reason of the phenomenon from our side, we come to conclusion that not reduction or sinkopa, but the following phenomena happen here, burada 1) gemination and elision it causes (vowel elision both in AH and NW), 2) the reduction of the geminate in order to meet the requirement of simplification of the pronunciation creating a difference between transmissions. The medieval Muslim scientists and contemporary researchers perform the same approach and accept the pronunciation of a double sound as a single as “elision” (حذف), and never mention vowel elision [10, 278-279]. There is no book (mushaf) difference (ىحـحوىـى ,ىـامروىـى).

A similar situation occurs also in the adverb لَدُنْ [läduñ]. In general, the indeclinable adverb لَدُنْ is found to be used in conjunction with the front postposition ãöäú [4, 237; 16, 158-159]. The expression which means “From my side” is subjected to the same phonetic phenomenon being used with adjoining pronoun in the first person singular form both in AH and NW, is read with its different manifestations. indeclinable adverb (لَدُنِّى [lədúññī]) used with an adjoining pronoun in the 1st person singular **لَدُنْ** [läduñ] in AH-də نِي [-nī] and in NW in order to meet the requirements of simplification of pronunciation a phenomenon of geminate reduction happens. That is, the mentioned expression is read as مِن لَدُنِّي [mil-lədúññī] (18:76) in AH, and as مِن لَدُنِي [mil-läđunī] (18:75) in NW. A common approach of medieval Muslim researchers to this

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phenomenon is observed, the pronunciation of a double sound as single is considered as an "elision"(228 ,7] (حذف]. Though it is possible to accept the above-mentioned phenomenon of difference as a use of indeclinable adverb (لَدُنّى [lədúññī]) with an adjoining pronoun لَدُنْ [lədun] in the 1st person singular form in AH äöí [-nī] and the use of a declinable adverb لَدُنٌ [lədunuñ] with an adjoining pronoun ـِي [-ī] in the 1st person singular form in NW, (لَدُنِي [lədunī]), as a conclusion we see that the occurred phenomenon is purely phonetic and the pronunciation is calculated to meet the requirement of simplification. There is no book (mushaf) difference (لدى).

V. GEMINATION AND REDUPLICATION

During the conjugation of the (mudaaf) verbs with the identical root consonants, different phonetic phenomena, such as gemination and reduplication, occur. For example, during the conjugation of the verb in the present future tense either a phenomenon of gemination (أَرُدُّ ['ärudu], تَرُدُّ [täruddu], تَرُدِّينَ [täruddīnə]), or reduplication (تَرْدُدْنَ [täṛdudnə], يَرْدُدْنَ [yäṛdudnə], أَرْدُدْ ['äṛdud] [11, 31-32]) takes place. The formation of some forms of *mudaaf* verbs is possible both by gemination and reduplication, e.g. .: أَرْدُدْ ['äṛdud] və ya أَرُدُّ ['äruddu], أَرُدَّ ['äruddə], أَرُدِّ ['äruddi]; تَرْدُدْ [täṛdud] or تَرُدُّ [täruddu], تَرُدَّ [täruddə], تَرُدِّ [täruddi]; يَرْدُدْ [yäṛdud] or يَرُدُّ [yäruddu], يَرُدَّ [yäruddə], يَرُدِّ [yäruddi]; أُرْدُدْ ['uṛdud] or رُدُّ [ruddu], رُدَّ [ruddə], رُدِّ [ruddi]; أُرْدُدِي ['uṛdudī] or رُدِّي [ruddī]; أُرْدُدُوا ['uṛdudū] or رُدُّوا [ruddū]; أُرْدُدَا ['uṛdudə¯] or رُدَّا [ruddə¯] [2, 106].

In conditional form (3rd person singular, masculine gender, in the definite form) يَرْتَدَّ [yäṛtəddə] (5:54) the verb in AH which has identical 2nd and 3rd root consonants formed through gemination, the same verb in NW is formed by reduplication: يَرْتَدِدْ [yäṛtədid˘] (5:56; here the last consonant is pronounced preserving its voice (*galgala*)). Al-Azhari considers the form adopted in the AH more smooth [10, 1, 334], Ar-Rajihi states that the above-mentioned form is based on the dialect of Tamim people [17, 141]. There is book (mushaf) difference (ىرىدد/ىرىد).

VI. CONCLUSION

Is that the approach to phonetic phenomena in transmissions may deviate from the general principles developed by Muslim-Arab researchers and distinguish them from the corresponding types of combinatorial changes. It is noted that:

1. In one transmission ([ta]) in the 3rd person feminine, in the present future tense form 2nd and 3rd person singular, 2nd plural verbs in the 5th and 6th chapters is used being subjected to a syllabus elision -haplology, in another transmission, one consonant with its discontent effect makes an open syllable consonant preceding it undergoes an assimilation, and the vowel between them undergoes an elision. It is not possible to agree with the conclusion that the event ends with the assimilation, because it is followed by an important phonetic phenomenon, such as vowel elision.
2. [z̧], [d˘] və [t] which are read with a complete realization in the sound combinations [z̧t], [d˘ḍ], [d˘z̧] and [tz̧] in AH, are affected by a complete regressive contact assimilation in NW: [tt], [ḍḍ], [z̧z̧] are on the contrary are read with a complete realization as [s_z̧]/[z̧z̧] and [b˘m]/[m˜m˜] in NW, which are affected by a complete regressive contact assimilation in AH: [s_z̧] and [b˘m].
3. The verbs تُحَجُّونَنِي [tuḥāāāccū´nənī] and تَامُرُونَنِى [tə'muṛū´nənī] are read with different manifestations of the same phonetic phenomenon in AH and NW. It acts as the main cause of the phenomenon where the same sounds are attracted to each other. In order to meet the requirement of facilitating pronunciation that creates a difference between gemination and elision that it causes (vowel elision in both AH and NW), and transmission, of the double sound results in the simplification (in NW; as well as in the adverb, لَدُنْ [lədun]). The explanation given by medieval Muslim scientists and contemporary researchers regarding "elision" (حذف) cannot be considered satisfactory, because the phenomenon of elision caused by gemination acts as an auxiliary case

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4. In conditional form (in the third-person-singular, in masculine gender, in the certain type) the verb رَدَّ [ṛaddə] was formed through gemination in AH يَرْتَدَّ [yäṛtəddə], and made by reduplication in NW يَرْتَدِدْ [yäṛtədid˘].

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The General and Unclear Character of the Defamation Law

Alesia Balliu

ABSTRACT

The right to freedom of expression takes on paramount importance in a democratic society, but it is not absolute because of the need to safeguard other human rights, such as reputation and honor. Possible slander is the result of public debate based on the freedom of expression. Many states have included defamation laws in their legislation, which are part of the Civil Code, the Criminal Code, or both. However, international experts call for decriminalize defamation to keep the freedom of expression of journalists and public right for information. In developing countries problems such as the real implementation of the offense legislation, the general and unclear nature of the laws, which creates the ground for the use and interpretation of defamation law in favor of the most powerful people. The legal anti-defamation package in Albania, which includes a series of amendments aims at reducing the violation of the dignity of people through online media reporting. It has caused a lot of controversy among professionals. They have considered it as a violation of online freedom of expression.

Keywords: freedom of expression, media, reputation, criminal and civil defamation laws, albania, anti-defamation package.

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The General and Unclear Character of the Defamation Law

Freedom of Expression, Media and Defamation Laws from a Comparative Point of View between European Countries and Albania

Alesia Balliu

ABSTRACT

The right to freedom of expression takes on paramount importance in a democratic society, but it is not absolute because of the need to safeguard other human rights, such as reputation and honor. Possible slander is the result of public debate based on the freedom of expression. Many states have included defamation laws in their legislation, which are part of the Civil Code, the Criminal Code, or both. However, international experts call for decriminalize defamation to keep the freedom of expression of journalists and public right for information. In developing countries problems such as the real implementation of the offense legislation, the general and unclear nature of the laws, which creates the ground for the use and interpretation of defamation law in favor of the most powerful people. The legal anti-defamation package in Albania, which includes a series of amendments aims at reducing the violation of the dignity of people through online media reporting. It has caused a lot of controversy among professionals. They have considered it as a violation of online freedom of expression.

In this context, this article aims to check and analyze the academic, legal and journalistic literature on freedom of expression, media and defamation laws in both European countries and Albania. In support of this goal, the article relies on the comparative and analytical method of international standards and current practice of European countries, focuses on the case study of Albania and its specifics on the recent legal changes of the anti-defamation package.

Keywords: freedom of expression, media, reputation, criminal and civil defamation laws, albania, anti-defamation package.

I. INTRODUCTION

The right to freedom of expression is one of the foundations of building a democratic society. Despite its importance, this right is not absolute. The limits are related with a violation of reputation and human rights. To ensure a balance between freedom of expression and safeguarding the reputation or honor of persons from unjustified harm, many states have included in their legislation defamation laws, which are part of the Civil Code, the Criminal Code, or both. Based on legal practice, many international experts have spoken out against criminal sanctions and called to decriminalize the defamation law. Threats of imprisonment often force journalists to use self-censorship, restricting not only their freedom of speech but also the public's right for information on matters of public interest. Applicant states of the European Union continue to use defamation and criminal insult laws, leading to insecurity in media freedom. Journalists are intimidated and self-censored by defamation and criminal offense laws because of extreme prison sentences or heavy fines. Drafting these laws to protect the honor and dignity of public officials, there is a possibility that the latter may use these privileges to protect themselves from criticism by depriving the public of the right to full information. However, any legal definition must comply with the European Convention on Human Rights.

In developing countries there are problems with the real implementation of breach legislation.

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Also, the general and unclear character of the laws creates the ground for the use and interpretation of defamation law in favor of the most powerful. The legal anti-defamation package in Albania includes a series of amendments with the aim to reduce the violation of the dignity of people through online media reporting. It has caused a lot of controversy among professionals in the field of media, who perceive a possible violation of online media freedom. These amendments shift the responsibility for adjudicating and enforcing high fines to administrative bodies. Despite the need to regulate media activity, the right to freedom of expression must prevail in any democratic society.

In this context, this article aims to check and analyze the academic, legal and journalistic literature on freedom of expression, media and defamation laws in both European countries and Albania. In support of this goal, the comparative and analytical methods of international standards and current practice of European countries, focusing on the case study of Albania and its specifics on the recent legal changes of the anti-defamation package.

II. FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

2.1 Freedom of expression and media in the countries of the European Union

The right to freedom of expression is one of the main conditions of social and personal progress. According to Article 10 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers[1]. This right protects both non-offensive information or ideas that are offensive, shocking or disturbing as a result of pluralistic principles, tolerance and open-mindedness in a democratic society[2]. The Convention also stipulates that the right to freedom of expression includes the obligations or responsibilities to submit to the formalities, conditions, restrictions or sanctions provided by law for the proper functioning of a democratic society[3]. This is due to the need to safeguard national security, territorial integrity or public safety, protect law and order and prevent crime, protect health and morals, protect the dignity or rights of others, to prevent the dissemination of confidential data or to guarantee the authority and impartiality of the judiciary[4]. Here we mention the need for licensing of audiovisual, television or cinematography broadcasting companies[5].

Media supports the process of exchanging cultural, social and political information. Also, their most valuable function is to raise accountability of public authorities by revealing the truth about various political, social, economic, cultural, environmental and public information issues in this regard. Freedom of expression takes on a special importance for journalists in the exercise of media activity. Through information, the media enable the public to take part in decision-making and promotion of the rule of law and democracy. In this context, the press has the duty to provide information and ideas on political issues and in any other field of public interest, but also the public has the right to receive this information[6]. However, the freedom of expression of journalists is not an absolute right. In exercising their role as political watchdogs for the collection and dissemination of information of public interest through television, newspapers, online media and other media[7], they are forced not to infringe on the reputation and rights of others[8]. They must adhere to the ethical standards

[1] BIRN Albania, 'Liria e Shprehjes dhe e Medias në Manuali i Drejtësisë', Reporter.al., (2017), Online in: https:// www .reporter.al/manualidrejtesise/download/LIRIA%20E%20S HPREHJES%20DHE%20E%20MEDIAS.pdf (Accessed on 25.09.2020).

[2] Handyside v. UK, request no. 5493/72, 7 December 1967.

[3] Council of Europe, 'European Convention on Human Rights' (n/a), Online in: https://www.echr.coe.int/documents/convention_eng.pdf (Accessed on 25.09.2020)

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ahmet Yildirim v. Turkey, request no. 3111/10, 18 December 2012.

[7] *Note:* Definition of the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) in BIRN Albania, Liria e Shprehjes dhe e Medias në Manuali i Drejtësisë (2017), Reporter.al., Online in: https://www.reporter.al/manualidrejtesise/download/LIRIA%20E%20SHPREHJES%20DHE%20E%20MEDIAS.pdf (Accessed on 25.09.2020).

[8] Cumpănă and Mazăre k. Romania, request no. 33348/96, 17 December 2004.

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of journalism to give correct and reliable information[9], applying the principle of good faith and obligation to support possible allegations on a sufficient factual basis[10]. The relationship between accusations and facts is fair. The increasing severity of the accusations implies the need for as complete and consistent facts as possible. Such as in the case where a journalist is going to file a criminal charge against a person he must own all the sufficient facts before transmitting this charge publicly. On the other hand, the prosecution should also have the right to respond to the accusations leveled against it.

In this context, the media should specify the difference between the opinion related to the subjective judgment of values, as well as the facts which are fair and provable[11]. The journalist is not required to verify the facts if he relies on credible circumstances or sources[12]. Verification of facts commented by journalists, when the latter rely on articles or statements of others is unreasonable[13] despite the fact that their professional activity includes the reporting of the latter or on the establishment and moderation of platforms for expressing attitudes and opinions to other persons. Journalists may be punished or held accountable for reporting statements made by others only in very rare cases and with strong reasons, as otherwise they could not effectively exercise their primary function as political observers. Of course, that they can not abuse their freedom of expression or commit legal offenses because of their profession, as they are the subject of criminal investigations like any other person.

1.2 Freedom of expression and media in Albania

Articles 22 and 23 of the Constitution of the Republic of Albania sanction the right to freedom of expression and information. Article 22 guarantees freedom of expression, freedom of the press, radio and television and prohibits prior censorship of the media[14]. The constitution also stipulates the possibility of legal authorization for the activity of radio and television stations.

Article 23 of the Constitution guarantees the right to information and all citizens, under the law to be able to receive information on the activity of state bodies and persons exercising state functions as well as to attend meetings of collectively elected bodies[15].

Media regulation in Albania is based on Articles 22 and 23 of the Constitution of the Republic of Albania as well as Law No. 97/2013 “On audiovisual media in the Republic of Albania”, Law no. 91/2019 “On some changes and additions to Law no. 97/2013 "On audiovisual media in the Republic of Albania", as amended, while there is no legal regulation for the print media. These laws bring to attention the right to information as well as the obligations in the field of personal data protection, resources and signaling. The law designates the Audio-Visual Media Authority as the regulator of audio broadcasting, audio-visual and support services[16]. Supervision on the codes, regulations and activity of this institution is performed by the Appeals Council. More specifically, it examines the degree of respect for dignity, moral, ethical norms in the media and fundamental human rights, such as information, public awareness, etc. by providers of audiovisual services, in cooperation with state institutions or agencies such as the Commissioner for Protection from Discrimination, the Commissioner for Personal Data Protection, etc.

Media self-regulation is a challenge in the Albanian context due to the implementation of the Code of Ethics; it is not a legal obligation for the journalist or media organization where he works, but remains at the discretion of the latter. Also, non-profit organizations dealing with media

[9] Radio Franca et al. v. France, request no. 53984/00, 30 March 2004.
[10] TønsbergsBlad AS and Haukom v. Norway, Complaint no. 510/04, 1 March 2007.
[11] Lingens v. Austrisë, complaint no. 9815/82, 8 korrik 1986.
[12] McVicar v. United Kingdom, request no. 46311/99, 7 May 2002.
[13] Thorgeir Thorgeirson v. Iceland, request no. 137778/88, 25 July 1992.
[14] OSCE, Constitution of the Republic of Albania (2020), Online in: https://www.osce.org/albania/41888 (Accessed on 25.09.2020).
[15] Ibid.
[16] BIRN Albania, ‘Liria e Shprehjes dhe e Medias në Manuali i Drejtësisë, Reporter.al., (2017) Online in: https://www.reporter.al/manualidrejtesise/download/LIRIA%20E%20SHPREHJES%20DHE%20E%20MEDIAS.pdf (Accessed on 25.09.2020).

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issues have played a not very consolidated role in this context.

Standardization and use of best practices related to ethics by media organizations is the object of action of the Albanian Media Council, which is a non-profit organization of journalists, active since 2015. On the right to information, it has been implemented in Albania since 1999 but has undergone radical legal changes in 2014. In this context, journalists as well as any other citizen have the right to access official documents and obtain information within certain deadlines. Also, penalties are provided for public officials who do not provide the public with the information required by the request for information submitted in physical form or online. However, law no. 119/2014 "On the Right to Information" makes a reclassification of secret documents, to which the public may or may not have access, and regulates the publication of partial information. Also, public institutions should publish online in the information about their activity to inform the public. In the framework of the above law, the coordinators for the right to information and the Commission for the Right to Information started their activity. Citizens, including journalists, who have not been provided with information upon request by public institutions or when the information has been partial have the right to appeal to the institution of the Commissioner for the Right to Information. The applicant, who may be a person, non-profit organization or company may request information in paper or electronic form as in the case when this information is compiled by the respective institution, as well as when it is compiled by other people or institutions. The facts have shown that the exercise of the right of access to information to public institutions has been widespread by journalists. However, they have met obstacles in obtaining information online on court cases, deadlines, etc. They also face some challenges in terms of reporting information by the courts, as the way information is collected by these institutions must be done legally and ethically. In these cases they must rely on the Law on Personal Data Protection, the Law on the Right to Information and the Code of Civil and Criminal Procedure[17]. Furthermore they should inform the interviewees about the media being interviewed, although this may be clear from the logos as well as how to use the content of the interview. In case the journalist is denied access to information, he/she must make such a fact public. It can also rely on anonymous sources or gossip when information is vital to the public by specifying it in detail.

A positive example in this regard is the court case between BIRN Albania[18] and the State Intelligence Service (SHISH), which proved successful in favor of the media organization. The latter demanded declassifying the documents of the former Security archive to obtain information on the number of persecuted persons in the communist period and to shed light on the infamous methods of persecution of Albanian citizens by the secret police of the communist regime[19]. At the end of the trial, the Administrative Court of Tirana forced the State Intelligence Service to declassify the above-mentioned information and make it available to BIRN Albania.

Law no. 8457, dated 11.02.1999 "On information classified as State Secret" regulates the publication of this type of information and punishes with fines and imprisonment of up to five years persons who can do such a thing, a case that has not happened in recent years. Also, in the framework of Law no. 9887, dated 10.03.2008 "On the Protection of Personal Data", as amended, the courts of first instance and those of appeal in Albania have anonymized the decisions published in the online database, although something like this has been challenged and considered by journalists as evading the accountability of the judiciary to the public[20].

[17] Ibid.

[18] *Note:* BIRN Albania is part of Balkan Investigative Reporting Network which is a network of non-governmental organizations promoting the right to expression, human rights and democratic values in Southern and Eastern Europe. For more see: BIRN, 'About BIRN' (2017), Online në https://birn.eu.com/about-birn/ (Accessed on 25.09.2020).

[19] BIRN Albania, 'Liria e Shprehjes dhe e Medias në Manuali i Drejtësisë', Reporter.al. (2017), Online in: https://www.reporter.al/manualidrejtesise/download/LIRIA%20E%20SHPREHJES%20DHE%20E%20MEDIAS.pdf (Accessed on 25.09.2020).

[20] Ibid.

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II. CRIMINAL AND CIVIL DEFAMATION

2.1 International standards for criminal and civil defamation law

Defamation is a damage to a person's reputation. It is categorized as a civil offense, criminal or both. Approaches to defamation laws on freedom of speech vary according to different legal traditions. In English-speaking countries, traditional defamation law places more importance on reputation protection than on freedom of speech, while US defamation law, which dates back to the 1960s, places more emphasis on protecting freedom of speech than traditional law. In continental European jurisdictions there are differences in the prevalence of criminal and civil defamation, the link between defamation and the right to privacy, and so on. Asian, African, and South American jurisdictions further restrict freedom of speech in accordance with the content of the respective law, its use by public officials, and its enforcement by the courts[21].

In this context, international legal experts first met in London from 29 February to 1 March 2000 and offered a set of principles on Freedom of Expression and Protection of Reputation[22]. Another expert meeting on Freedom of Expression and Defamation was held in London on 4 December 2015 to review principles according to international law and standards, state practices and its general principles of law recognized by the community of nations[23]. The aim was to balance the right to freedom of expression and the need to protect a person reputation. Both of these rights are guaranteed in the United Nations, regional human rights instruments, national constitutions and relevant laws worldwide[24].

2.1.1 Principle 1: Freedom of opinion, expression and information

Based on this principle, every person has the right to have their own opinions, to express themselves freely, to seek, receive and impart information and ideas using different channels. The only limitation in this regard is the protection of the reputation of others, which is also defined in international law. However, censorship or prior restrictions on publication are not permissible. Restrictions on the right to freely express or receive and impart information must meet certain conditions. First, they must be based on a clearly reasonable law. It should be accessible and clear and allow people to predict whether an action is legal. Second, there must be a legitimate interest in the reputation for which its protection is guaranteed and the effect of that protection must be clearly demonstrated. Third, there must be a belief that restrictions on freedom of expression and information along with protection of reputation must be necessary in a democratic society. Excluded are cases where there are less restrictive and accessible means by people by which legitimacy can be protected and when there is a proportionality between the benefits of protecting reputation and the risk posed by freedom of expression in certain circumstances.

2..1.2 Principle 2: The legitimate purpose of defamation laws

The purpose and effect of defamation laws should relate only to the protection of the reputation of people or entities and their right to sue against damage or downgrading in public.

Defamation laws cannot be justified when they hinder legitimate criticism of corrupt officials; when protecting the reputation of objects, such as flags, etc .; when defending the reputation of the state or nation; when the non-existent reputation of people or entities is protected or when feelings or a subjective understanding of honor are protected. Also, defamation laws can not be

[21] A. T. Kenyon, 'Liber, Slander and Defamation'. The International Encyclopedia of Journalism Studies, Wiley Online Library (2019), Online in: https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118841570.iejs0110 (Accessed on 25.09.2020).

[22] Article 19, 'International Workshop on Freedom of Expression and Defamation', London (2000), Online in: https://www.article19.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/defining-defamation.pdf (Accessed on 26.09.2020).

[23] Article 19, 'Defining Defamation: Principles on Freedom of Expression and Protection of Reputation' (2017), Online in:https://www.article19.org/data/files/medialibrary/38641/Defamation-Principles-(online)-.pdf(Accessed on 26.09.2020).

[24] Ibid.

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justified when they protect interests other than reputation such as maintaining public order, national security, friendly relations with foreign states or governments, which are subject to other specific laws. According to Principle 2, a statement may be considered defamatory when its publication seriously or substantially damaged its reputation based on an exact factual basis.

2.13 Principle 3: Defamation of public bodies

This principle addresses the defamation of public authorities in the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government. According to this principle, public authorities can not file a defamation lawsuit. This principle is based on the democratic importance of open criticism of public authorities, the limited public nature of the reputation enjoyed by these authorities, and the many ways where they are available to protect themselves from criticism. Even when they have filed defamation lawsuits in court, the aim has been to protect the entity from criticism and not personal interests or reputation.

2.14 Principle 4: Criminal Defamation

Based on principle 4, criminal defamation laws should be repealed and replaced when necessary with civil defamation laws[25]. Even if they are considered by states as the main tool for addressing unjustified attacks on reputation they must comply with specific conditions. First, no one should be punished for criminal defamation if the party who suffered the defamation has a reasonable suspicion and proves that the statements are false and that their falsity has been recognized by the party that committed the defamation with the intent to cause harm to the other party. In this context, public authorities, including the police and prosecutors, should not be involved in initiating or prosecuting defamation cases[26]. According to the fourth principle, they should be exempted from sanctions for violating defamation laws, imprisonment, probation, suspension of freedom of expression through the media, excessive fines and other severe criminal penalties[27].

On the one hand the criminalization of defamation or any other activity is related to the state interest to control it and, on the other hand the criminalization of defamatory statements is unnecessary to provide proper protection for the reputation, which is a private interest. The practices of some countries have shown that the most powerful have abused the criminal laws of defamation because their interest has been to limit criticism and public debate. Also, criminal defamation laws have been used illegally to safeguard the public interest. Meanwhile, there are other countries that have relied on criminal defamation laws as the only means of protection from reputation attacks. Therefore, the fourth principle is based on meeting the conditions mentioned above to minimize in practice the possibility of abusive restrictions on freedom of speech.

2.1.5 Principle 5: Ensure a fair trial in defamation cases

According to this principle, the right to challenge the validity of a restriction on freedom of expression in court belongs to every human being, as a subject of human and constitutional rights. Every state should guarantee effective access of persons to the judicial system on defamation suits including legal aid when necessary. The defendant should not be harmed in bringing a case to court and should be able to take evidence freely. The legal framework for defamation cases and the courts should provide effective rules and practices for defamation addressing procedures.

The law should also provide faster and less costly alternative mechanisms for resolving disputes in addition to court proceedings, so that they do not apply lower standards of freedom of expression.

2.1.6 Principle 6: Procedural protection against annoying court cases

This principle relates to the issue that laws should give defendants an effective remedy, such as specific legislation on strategic lawsuits against

[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.

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public participation or general procedural rules against potential abusive plaintiffs who do not bother to prove their reputation. their own, but try to prevent criticism of their actions.

2.17 Principle 7: Jurisdiction

Principle 7 deals with the jurisdiction of the courts in the case of defamation. This jurisdiction should be exercised according to law, only in the case when the actual damage that has been done has a substantial connection with the state. This happens when the plaintiff has a high reputation in the state, the damage is significant in this regard, the jurisdiction is the most appropriate in which the act of defamation can be done and there are no lower standards than the applicable principles on freedom of expression[28]. In this context, the purpose of principle 7 is to restrict plaintiffs from using their legal procedures in jurisdictions where they are more likely to win their cases.

2.1.8 Principle 8: Limitation and Reasonable Delivery

A defamation suit must be completed within one year from the date of publication. This rule can only be reviewed in exceptional circumstances. Defamation proceedings should limit the negative impact of delay on freedom of expression. At the same time they must provide an effective time limit within which defendants can carry out their defense. The plaintiff should be allowed to sue only once for a substantially identical statement when published by the same person, for the same audience, in a similar format and medium[29]. In the event that a defamation lawsuit targets the online media news archive, courts should use a less restrictive remedy (such as notes attached to defamation news) than deleting them.

2.1.9 Principle 9: Resource protection

In the event that a journalist or other person has obtained information from confidential sources and intends to disseminate it as a result of relevance to the public interest, he should have the right not to disclose the identity of these sources without suffering any particular harm to this direction. In the event of a defamation case, this right should not be revoked or restricted.

2.1.10 Principle 10: Proof of essential truth

According to this principle, the defendant is released from liability if the disputed statement of fact is substantially true. When defamatory statements involve matters of public interest, the plaintiff bears the burden of proving the veracity of each statement. In this case, issues of public interest are those issues related to the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government, public figures, public officials and policies in various fields such as environment, economy, justice, etc.

2.1.11 Principle 11: Public officials

The defamation law should not provide public officials with special protection for their status compared to other citizens starting with the processing of complaints, the standards for determining whether a defendant is responsible, and the penalties that may be imposed in this aspect. This is due to the fact that public officials should tolerate more criticism of their activity compared to ordinary citizens as they are directly involved in matters of public interest.

2.1.12 Principle 12: Reasonable publication and matters of public interest

This principle enables the protection of publications deemed reasonable in the public interest despite the factual statement being found to be false. A reasonable distribution taking into account the circumstances of a particular case should take into account the importance of freedom of expression in public affairs and the right of citizens to receive information in a timely manner. This principle benefits all persons who are engaged in collecting and disseminating information in the mass media. Since their job is to provide information to the public, they often cannot wait for every fact to be verified before publishing a news story. In this way, journalists or persons who have acted reasonably or in accordance with professional standards should be

[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.

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protected and those who have acted irrationally should be prosecuted. In the case of social media, where communicators are not always media professionals the standards need to change, as they do not have the same resources in terms of producing, verifying or publishing information. When assessing such cases the courts should take into account the specific characteristics and personal context of the author as well as the ability of his controversial statements to contribute to a debate of public interest[30].

2.1.13 Principle 13: Expression of opinion

The defamation law should not hold persons accountable for expressing their opinions because these value judgments cannot be proven to be true or false as they do not contain factual connotations nor can they be reasonably interpreted, as it may contain jokes, satire, hyperbole, etc. In this way, the courts can judge whether a statement is an opinion. Language and context can lead to the meaning of statements as opinions even though they may indicate facts.

2.1.14 Principle 14: Privileges

This principle applies to the privileges that certain statements have to be exempted from liability in the context of defamation law. The only condition is that they must not have been done maliciously but in the performance of a duty or legal, moral or social interest. This includes statements made during the proceedings of legislative bodies, local authorities, judiciary, bodies with official mandate to investigate human rights abuses, etc. This principle helps people to speak freely before the court about what they have said.

2.1.15 Principle 15: Innocent publication and the words of others

According to this principle, defamation law should not hold anyone responsible for accurately reporting the words of others, without being the author, editor or publisher and without being aware that it could contribute to the spread of defamation. Journalists must apply the principles of professional ethics and good practice when reporting the words of others.

Even persons who distribute news online are exempt from the liability law for defamation when they make no modification to the content. Furthermore, they should not be required to monitor or restrict the content of information in the absence of an order from the competent institutions for the specific case. The person is liable for only if he does not carry out this order.

2.1.16 Principle 16: Anonymity and Defamation

Since freedom of expression can also be exercised anonymously, especially in digital technologies, any restrictions on defamation must be in accordance with the law, protect a legitimate interest in reputation and be necessary in a democratic society. Courts may disclose the identity of a person online if a plaintiff's request for anonymity meets the notification requirements, details of defamatory statements, and the need to disclose the identity in the circumstances of a matter of public interest. According to this principle, the obligation to register personal data before accessing and using the Internet should be abolished as it is contrary to international human rights law.

2.1.17 Principle 17: The role of remedies

This principle concerns the role of remedies in defamation law. No remedy should be compulsorily applied to statements which according to the principles of restriction of freedom of expression expressed in Principle 1 are not considered defamatory. A remedy for defamatory statements should be aimed at correcting the damage to the plaintiff's reputation and not punishing those responsible for spreading the allegations[31]. It is preferable to use voluntary or self-regulatory systems to limit the damage to the plaintiff's reputation.

2.1.18 Principle 18: Non-pecuniary remedies

The use of non-pecuniary remedies by the courts should take precedence to remedy the damage to

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

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reputation caused by the defamatory statement. There are two categories, the right of correction, which has to do with the obligation of the media itself to correct the wrong material, as the wrong information has been pointed out, and the right of reply, which is given to the person who claims to rights have been violated by the media, to rectify this situation. The right of reply applies only when the right of redress is not sufficient to remedy the damage to the claimant's reputation. The right of reply should be available to the claimant only to respond to inaccurate facts and not to comment on the views of readers. The answer should take on similar importance to the article but cannot be kept in the media if it is out of proportion to the original article, if it is abusive or illegal as well as when presenting new issues or commenting on accurate facts[32].

2.1.19 Principle 19: Property Rewards

Property rewards are given as compensation when the damage caused by defamatory statements is not remedied with non-property rewards. They must be proportionate to the damage committed and must take into account the financial capacity of the defendant. Compensation for financial damage caused by defamatory statements is given when the loss is proven, while in relation to compensation for non-pecuniary damage there must be a fixed compensation ceiling, the exceeding of which can occur only in exceptional cases, when the plaintiff proves that the defendant was aware of the falsity of the statement and used the latter to cause harm to the plaintiff.

2.1.20 Principle 20: Interim Ordinances

According to this principle, interim injunctions should not be applied before publication in the context of a defamation action. These orders must be enforced by the court of order after the merits have been examined and the plaintiff has presented evidence that the statement was defamatory, causes irreparable harm and any possible defense was unfounded.

[32] Ibid.

2.1.21 Principle 21: Permanent Prohibitions

According to this principle, permanent prohibitions should be applied only by court order and in specific cases of defamatory statements and people responsible for their publication. They should serve the defendant to decide how to stop further publications.

2.1.22 Principle 22: Costs

This principle relates to costs incurred by both defendants and plaintiffs. In setting these costs the court must take into account the effect that its decision has on freedom of expression. The high costs of judicial protection may prevent the publication of information of public interest in the future.

III. CRIMINAL AND CIVIL DEFAMATION LAWS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

3.1 Defamation laws and freedom of expression in the European Union

The European Court of Human Rights has recognized freedom of expression as one of the foundations of a democratic society, as a basic condition for human progress and development[33]. It is closely related to the right to freedom of information, which includes the activity of the mass media. One of the most important tasks of journalists is to investigate and publish critical material about people, corporations, and governments. The public has the right to receive this information that affects their interests. Thus, freedom of expression enables not only journalists but anyone else to take part in free political debates which is the basic concept of a democratic society[34]. If the freedom of expression of a journalist is violated, the right of everyone else to receive information and ideas is violated[35].

[33] International Press Institute, 'Freedom of Expression, Media Law and Defamation' (2015), Online in: http://legaldb.freemedia.at/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/FoE-MediaLaw-Defamation_ENG.pdf (Accessed on 26.09.2020).
[34] Castells v. Spain, Judgment of 23 April 1992, Series A no. 236.
[35] Compulsory Membership in an Association Prescribed by Law for the Practice of Journalism, Advisory Opinion OC-5/85 of 13 Nov. 1985, Series A no. 5, 7 HRLJ 74 (1986), para 30.

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However, Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights restricts the freedom of expression provided by law to respect the rights and reputations of others and to protect national security, public order, public health and morals, territorial integrity or public safety, confidentiality of information, authority and impartiality of the judicial system[36]. The European Court of Human Rights mentions the fact that any restriction must adhere to the three-part test (be based on law, serve a described purpose, such as national security interests, etc., and be necessary in a democratic society), also mentioned as part of the first principle of the Standards of Freedom of Expression and Protection of Reputation.

In this context, freedom of expression forms the basis of penalties for defamation[37]. That is why defamation laws are important for journalism. Legal risks can force journalists not to publish material in the public interest.

Defamation law is a protection against unlawful attacks on a person's honor and reputation[38]. Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights mentions the legitimate ground for restricting freedom of expression because of the rights and reputation of others. In accordance with the content of the Standards of Freedom of Expression and Protection of Reputation, mentioned in the above section, the European Union has determined that only a person can sue to protect his right to reputation and not symbols, public offices, institutions, a group of people or a representative of a deceased person. In the case of European countries many defamation laws have been used practically and intentionally to address issues that are subject to other laws, such as to penalize criticism of public officials[39].

The legal treatment of defamation varies in the legislations of different countries in terms of the division between civil, criminal or both forms of defamation; persons who can sue or who have the burden of proof; remedies; procedures etc. Defamation is divided into "liber", when it appears in print and in "slander" when it appears in spoken language. In some legislations, the term "insult" appears, which refers to defamation of state offices, symbols, institutions, although it is not part of the international definition of reputation protection[40]. The term "criminal defamation" refers to the situation when defamation is a criminal offense under state criminal law. In this case, state prosecutors gather evidence for defamatory statements, which are tried in the criminal justice system and may be accompanied by imprisonment. The term "civil defamation" refers to a civil error that is determined by a private action before a civil court and is followed by an order for monetary compensation, the publication of a correction or pardon depending on the specific circumstances[41]. The purpose of the defamation law as a whole is to reconcile the protection of reputation and freedom of speech[42]. It is preferable that defamation criminal laws be repealed in favor of civil ones[43], as they represent a potential threat to freedom of expression. While international jurisprudence has provided for the abolition of the criminal offense of defamation of the state, the European Court of Human Rights has not completely ruled out defamation lawsuits by governments, but they can only be raised in

[36] International Press Institute, 'Freedom of Expression, Media Law and Defamation' (2015), Online in: http://legaldb.freemedia.at/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/FoE-MediaLaw-Defamation_ENG.pdf (Accessed on 26.09.2020).

[37] Article 19, 'International Workshop on Freedom of Expression and Defamation', London (2000), Online in: https://www.article19.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/defining-defamation.pdf (Accessed on 26.09.2020).

[38] OHCR, 'International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights' (n/a), Online in: https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx#:~:text=Article%2017,against%20such%20interference%20or%20attacks (Accessed on 27.09.2020).

[39] International Press Institute, 'Freedom of Expression, Media Law and Defamation' (2015), Online in: http://legaldb.freemedia.at/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/FoE-MediaLaw-Defamation_ENG.pdf (Accessed on 26.09. 2020).

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Article 19, 'International Workshop on Freedom of Expression and Defamation', London (2000), Online in: https://www.article19.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/defining-defamation.pdf (Accessed on 26.09.2020).

[43] International Press Institute, 'Freedom of Expression, Media Law and Defamation' (2015), Online in: http://legaldb.freemedia.at/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/FoE-MediaLaw-Defamation_ENG.pdf (Accessed on 26.09.2020).

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situations where public order is violated[44]. Also, this court has not completely ruled out the possibility of criminal defamation charges. However, they must be carried out under strictly defined conditions, such as meeting the criminal standard of evidence beyond a reasonable doubt; fulfilling the fact that the alleged defamatory statements are false and when the mental element of the crime is satisfied, i.e. the statements were issued even though they were known to be false[45]. Also, according to the European Court of Human Rights, imprisonment should not be part of sentences, nor should other suspensions of freedom of expression or the right to practice journalism. Furthermore, persons should not turn to criminal law when a more effective civil law alternative is available[46]. It is more acceptable for defamation to be a purely civil matter, as the state's involvement in prosecuting alleged defamers may give additional protection to officials and the government.

Even in the case of civil defamation, current practice highlights some issues. According to the European Court of Human Rights, a true statement cannot be legitimately restricted to protect a person's reputation. Protection can only be exercised against a well-deserved reputation. The term reputation should be well defined, as doubts arise as to whether a public figure enjoys more reputation than a non-public person. In this case, reputation can be associated with the term "dignity", which is equally guaranteed to all persons.

If we refer to the logical publication, the European Court of Human Rights does not justify a possible penalty in this case, as it is important the publication of materials in the public interest by the media that acts as a "public watchdog"[47]. The public interest, in this case, rests on restrictions on freedom of expression. Furthermore, unintentional mistakes by journalists should not be penalized to restrict the freedom of the media in gathering and disseminating information.

Another issue under discussion is the expression of opinions that can be defamatory. In this regard, the European Court of Human Rights has guaranteed that no one can be limited to expressing an opinion. In the case of journalists, their opinion means how they understood the fact and this differs from the very existence of the fact. Here we mention the case of a political activist who declared an epithet of dislike on the French president, who even though he was found guilty of insult. However, according to the European Court of Human Rights, his freedom of expression had been violated[48].

On the right to reputation, Article 12 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that no one should be subject to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home, correspondence, honor and reputation, guaranteeing his protection against such attacks[49]. The European Court of Human Rights considered that "honor and reputation" are a fundamental right that must be protected even when a particular person is criticized in the context of a public debate. Since reputation includes personal identity and psychological integrity it can be considered part of a person's private life [50].

As for the proper way to deal with defamation, European practice has shown cases where prison sentences for defamation are considered to be disproportionate to the impact they have had on freedom of expression. Big financial bills have aimed more at punishing the slanderer than correcting the mistake. Defamers have also chosen the jurisdiction that brings you the most benefits to filing their lawsuit.

However, the best way to deal with defamation cases is non-pecuniary damages aimed at correcting the error, such as publishing an apology or correcting the news. This type of compensation is less harmful than as monetary that should be considered only when other legal remedies are insufficient to repair the damage and when there is convincing evidence of its existence.

[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.

[48] Eon v. France, Application No. 26118/10, Judgment of 13 March 2013.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.

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In the case of criticism of public officials, defamation laws have provided greater protection, mainly in legislation that includes the notion of "insult", so criticism of an official is for his entire office. There are times when they are legitimized to use taxpayer contributions to fund a defamation lawsuit or harsh punishment for those who defame these public figures. However, the European Court of Human Rights, in line with international standards, held that restrictions on criticism of politicians should be broader than in the case of other people, as freedom of public debate is a fundamental democratic right[51]. Moreover, the tolerance of politicians towards journalists and the general public should be high, especially when they themselves make public statements that are subject to criticism[52]. According to the European Court of Human Rights, the government is an institution and not a person, so it has no right to reputation. For this reason, it must be open to public criticism. Promoting free public debate is an important feature of a democratic society[53] which relies on freedom of expression.

In this context, members of parliament have a privilege in terms of their reporting statements to parliament. They are not legally responsible for defamatory statements in parliament, just as a media professional who reports these statements is not liable. Also, officials and public figures are generally subject to a higher degree of criticism than others. The protection of their privacy is covered by Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights. In the case where a politician filed a lawsuit for violating the right to privacy in an Austrian newspaper, after the latter had posted a photo of him and an article in the context of critical allegations, the European Court of Human Rights ruled that the newspaper the rights of Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights were violated[54].

In another case, the court assessed the role of the media as a "public watchdog" stating that although the press should not exceed the limits of protecting the reputation of others, it should disseminate information and ideas on issues of public importance, since the public also has the right to receive them[55]. Moreover, she has appreciated when the press has acted in good faith[56]. Also, Article 10 is applicable not only to information and ideas that are favorably accepted or considered offensive but also to those that offend, shock or disturb the state or any sector of the population[57]. Moreover, the court rules in favor of the media when the latter publishes articles that are part of an ongoing public debate as part of a local, national and international concern, in which the views of a range of stakeholders are reported[58].

Another issue facing the European Court of Human Rights is religious defamation, as many European countries have passed laws banning defamation of religions. There is also the crime of libel blasphemy, in common law countries. However, there is a lack of a uniform European conception on this issue[59]. Thus, the doctrine of the "margin of appreciation" is applied, which allows states flexibility in applying the European Convention on Human Rights, especially in terms of public morality, where each country displays its cultural differences[60]. In a Slovenian case, a writer published an article criticizing the head of the Roman Catholic Church for demanding a ban on a movie and film poster for reasons of public morality and thus being sued for defamation of nation, race and faith, which the court ruled contrary to Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights. The article, according to her, did not unjustly interfere with the right of believers to practice their religion, nor did it

[51] Ibid.
[52] Oberschlick v. Austria, Judgment of 23 May 1991, Series A no. 204
[53] Feldek vs. Slovakia, Application No. 29032/95, Judgment of 12 July 2001.
[54] Krone Verlag GmbH & Co. KG vs. Austria, Application No. 35373/97, Judgment of 26 February 2002.
[55] Thorgeirson vs. Iceland, para 63.
[56] Bladet Tromso and Stensaas vs. Norway, Application no. 21980/93, Judgment of 20 May 1999.
[57] Ibid, para 62.
[58] Ibid, para 63.
[59] Giniewski vs. France, Application no. 64016/00, Judgment of 31 January 2006, para 44.
[60] International Press Institute, 'Freedom of Expression, Media Law and Defamation' (2015), Online in: http://legaldb.freemedia.at/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/FoE-MediaLaw-Defamation_ENG.pdf (Accessed on 26.09.2020).

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denigrate the content of their faith[61]. In another case, in Austria, the court did not find a violation of Article 10, the offense that a film did to the Roman Catholic Church, on the grounds that people should avoid expressions that are offensive to others, violate their rights and do not contribute in some form of public debate leading to human progress[62]. Thus, the court relied on the criminal defamation of libel blasphemy.

Other cases have included lawsuits in the expression of humor, satire and the opinions of others, which have been repealed by the European Court of Human Rights as invalid. Humor and satire cannot be taken seriously, nor can journalists be held responsible for publishing the statements of others.

In terms of the burden of proof in defamation law, there is a difference in European legislation compared to American law. Common law countries, such as the United Kingdom, Ireland, Malta and Cyprus, follow the approach of Roman law, according to which the burden of proof falls on the party who can prove the claim as the opposite presents difficulties. In the case of defamation proceedings, the responsibility for proving whether a statement is true falls on the defendant[63].

The cases of the European Court of Human Rights have shown progress in the protection of anonymous sources of information, which is one of the basic conditions for freedom of the press, as reflected in the professional laws and codes of conduct of some countries. This practice is important for the well-functioning of a democratic society. Anonymous sources of information can only be disclosed when justified by a substantive request in the public interest, when the information is not readily available in other ways and the provision of information is unlikely to endanger the journalist's health or well-being or limit others who receive information from the same sources in the future[64].

In terms of remedies and penalties, there is a risk that journalists may be imprisoned simply because they have exercised their freedom of expression and profession. According to the European Court of Human Rights, defamation of a person or journalist in the context of a matter of legitimate public interest does not justify his imprisonment.

With regard to monetary rewards to compensate for losses that cannot be accurately calculated such as the loss of reputation, the court must consider not only the latter but also the potential impact of large monetary prices on the defendant and on freedom of expression and media in society [65].

This practice was followed by the European Court of Human Rights in the McLibel case, where it ruled that the size of the damage price should take into account the resources available to the defendants [66].

In addition to the European Court of Human Rights, international human rights law also applies to the national courts of European countries. Almost all states are part of the European Convention on Human Rights, so any restriction on freedom of expression is based on Article 10 thereof. They are also part of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the implementation of which is monitored by the Human Rights Committee. However, there are variations in the application of the obligations of international law by the group of states: monistic and dualistic. In monist countries, international law is automatically part of the national legal framework, i.e. it is applied in domestic affairs, while in dualist countries the obligations arising from international treaties become national law after the approval of the legislature. In the case of the European Convention on Human Rights, the situation is different, as its protocol 11 has binding

[61] Klein vs. Slovakia, Application no. 72208/01, Judgment of 31 October 2006, paras 51-52.
[62] Otto-Preminger-Institut vs. Austria, Application No. 13470/87, Judgment of 20 September 1994, para 49.
[63] International Press Institute, Freedom of Expression, Media Law and Defamation (2015), Online in: http://legaldb.freemedia.at/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/FoE-MediaLaw-Defamation_ENG.pdf (Accessed on 26.09.2020).
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Steel and Morris vs. United Kingdom, para 96.

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jurisdiction over the parties to the convention, i.e. persons who can not provide a solution to the violation of their rights under the convention can go to the European Court of Human Rights. Although the judgments belong to the state to which they apply, other European countries have followed the interpretation offered by this court as more convincing and authoritarian.

3.2 Abuse of defamation laws in the European Union

Promoting the right to freedom of expression on the one hand and preserving the reputation of persons on the other hand is not something easily achievable in the practice of European countries. A report by the International Institute of Journalism in 2015[67] said that the law on defamation in the European Union is out of balance. According to the report, most European Union member states have criminal defamation provisions, with imprisonment being one of the possible punishments. In this context, prosecutions against journalists continue and they receive criminal sentences. Public officials or public figures enjoy greater protection in defamation law than other people. Most European countries have criminal laws punishing insults against objects, such as the state, symbols and state institutions. The report cites criminal defamation laws as defined in broad terms, which jeopardizes the inclusion of opinions in the context of democratic debate. Protections of journalists based on standards of truth and good faith are largely lacking in criminal and civil law or their effectiveness in their use is low. Also, the report cites that there are very high compensation prices aimed at keeping the press calm. The formal adaptation of international standards on defamation and their application to the legal practice of national courts and the European Court of Human Rights is still completely unconsolidated[68]. Very few European countries have repealed laws on defamation and criminal insult, despite the broad international consensus among legal experts and advocates of freedom of the press on the disproportionate restriction imposed by criminal penalties for defamation on freedom of expression[69].

The International Press Institute has published several cases of threats to press freedom in Europe, as follows:

In 2015, an Athens court sentenced an investigative journalist to 26 months in prison (suspended for three years) for uncovering an IMF list of tax evasion in Greece for the role played by a business tycoon in the Cypriot financial crisis of the years 2012-2013. In 2016, his sentence was overturned by the appellate court[70].

In 2010, two German investigative journalists were convicted of defamation after reporting their allegations of links between court officials and a juvenile brothel, a conviction that was overturned on appeal following a public appeal[71].

In the context of criminal defamation, some criminal cases have been raised in Turkey against journalists but also other citizens for criticizing President R. T. Erdogan.

Defamation laws are part of the problem. The rest is related to the abuse of civil defamation laws, in the case where non-pecuniary damages are not specified in the law. This fact enables the plaintiffs to claim very high monetary damages. When a Finnish media outlet reported that the Slovenian prime minister had demanded a bribe from a Finnish defense contractor, she was indicted along with the journalist who reported the story with 1.5m euros in damages. After much effort and high spending on lawsuits, the Slovenian prime minister lost and was sentenced to two years in prison for corruption. These are some of the negative examples brought by disproportionate defamation laws on freedom of expression and the press in Europe.

[67] International Press Institute, 'Out of balance. Defamation Law in the European Union: A Comparative Overview for Journalists, Civil Society and Policymakers' (2015), Online in:https://ipi.media/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/IPI-OutofBalance-Final-Jan2015.pdf (Accessed on 27.09.2020).
[68] Ibid.
[69] International Press Institute, 'Defamation Laws in Europe 2016-2017' (n/a). Online in: http://legaldb.freemedia.at/defamation-laws-in-europe/ (Accessed on 27.09.2020).
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.

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IV. CRIMINAL AND CIVIL DEFAMATION LAWS IN ALBANIA

4.1 Defamation laws and freedom of expression in Albania

The Constitution of Albania guarantees the freedom of expression, press, radio and television, as well as prohibits the prior censorship of the media. Also, Article 23 of the constitution guarantees the right to information. Everyone has the right, in accordance with the law, to receive information on the activity of state bodies, and persons exercising public functions[72]. The restriction of fundamental rights can occur only on the basis of law, in the public interest and for the protection of the rights of others in proportion to the situation it has dictated and not to exceed the restrictions provided for in the European Convention on Human Rights. In this context, the European convention is used as a minimum to guarantee the protection of fundamental rights, which means that Albanian courts can provide a higher level of protection but not restrict the exercise of rights more than what is provided in the convention[73]. As Albania has ratified the European Convention on Human Rights and its protocols, as part of international instruments it becomes part of the domestic legal system and prevails in conflict cases, over the common laws of the country, especially when the latter are inconsistent. The Constitutional Court is the body that makes the final and binding decision on the judicial review of statutes and norms that do not comply with the Constitution or an international agreement. In cases where the constitutional rights of a person are violated, he has limited access to the Constitutional Court, as this happens only in relation to the constitutional right to a fair trial and only with a referral of a judge in case of violation of the freedom of the person's expression. Although a very rare practice, after the exhaustion of domestic remedies, people can take the country to the European Court for violation of their rights under the European Convention on Human Rights[74].

Based on the European Commission's latest report on the European Union Enlargement Package[75], Albania has a moderate degree of respect for freedom of expression, as threats and intimidating language against journalists have increased, although these acts have been systematically condemned[76]. The code of ethics for journalists was updated in 2018, including adjustments for online media. However, implementing legislation related to freedom of expression is challenging according to the European Commission. The protection of journalists' labor and social rights needs to be strengthened[77] as practice has shown many cases of intimidation of journalists and threatening actions against them, including political discourse. A report by the Institute for Development, Research and Alternatives in 2019 entitled "Media Panorama in Albania" noted that more than a third of journalists face serious concerns of self-censorship due to pressure from government, political parties and media owners, in addition to verbal or physical assaults experienced by a third of reporters[78]. In the same year, serious attacks on journalists and the closure of critical television programs were reported[79]. During the state of emergency due to the devastating earthquake, the government blocked several internet portals, while the police arrested a 25-year-old girl for "spreading panic" on her Facebook page in posts related to the

[72] OSCE, 'Constitution of Republic of Albania', (2020), Online in: https://www.osce.org/albania/41888 (Accessed on 27.09.2020).

[73] Human Rights Watch. 'The cost of speech: Violations of Media Freedom in Albania, Human Rights Watch Reports, Vol.14, No.5. (D) (2002), Online in: https://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/albania/albania0602-04.htm#P508_92221 (Accessed on 27.09.2020).

[74] Ibid.

[75] European Commission. 'EU Enlargement Package 2019' (2019). Online in: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/freedom_of_expression_2019.pdf (Accessed on 28.09.2020).

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] IDRA. 'Media panorama in Albania 2019', (2019), fq. 8-19. Online in: https://www.idrainstitute.org/files/Panoram% C3%ABn%20e%20Medias%20n%C3%... (Accessed on27.09. 2020).

[79] BalkanInsight, 'Attack on Albania Crime Journalist's Home Condemned' (2018), Online in: https:// balkaninsight.com/ 2018/08/30/attack-against-albania-journalist-...(Accessed on 27.09.2020)BalkanInsight, 'Last TV Shows Critical of Albanian Govt are Cancelled (2019), Online in: https://balkaninsight.com/2019/08/29/last-tv-shows-critical- of-the-gove...(Accessed on 27.09.2020).

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consequences of the earthquake[80], who remained in prison for three days in a row.

Freedom of expression implies the possibility of statements that may harm the honor and reputation of others. In Albanian legislation, defamation is a civil and criminal offense. In the case of criminal defamation, the legal categorizations are related to simple insult, simple defamation, insult and defamation of public officials in relation to their public function and defamation against the President of the Republic[81].

According to Article 119, intentional inflating is punishable by a fine of 50,000 to 1 million ALL and when committed in public by a fine of 50,000 to 3,000,000 ALL. Article 199 provides as a criminal offense punishable by a fine or imprisonment of up to two years, the distribution of racist or xenophobic material or insult with racist or xenophobic motives through a computer system. Although not specifically defined in this article, public insult has been interpreted by Albanian courts as degrading, immoral images or actions or mocking words. Guilty for public insult can be the persons who commit the above acts in the presence of seven or eight persons, including the insult that is spread by the mass media[82].

Article 120 of the Criminal Code provides for acts of "libel" defamation. According to this article, intentional distribution of statements that affect the honor and dignity of a person with full awareness that they are false, is punishable by a fine of 50,000 to 1,500,000 ALL, while in the case where the act of defamation is public and damages some persons more than once is punished with a fine from 50,000 to 3,000,000 ALL. Pursuant to this article, a media outlet that has published a false or defamatory statement may not be held criminally liable if the publication was made in good faith or under conditions where the accuracy of the information was not checked under the circumstances.

Insult and defamation against public officials are defined in Chapter VIII of the Criminal Code, Articles 239 and 240, respectively. Even in this case, the charge of insult is based on the deliberate dissemination of false information. The provisions in question specifically protect persons who perform a state function or public service and become victims of defamation for reasons related to their state activity or public service. Defamation sentences against public officials in all circumstances are the same as those applicable to general defamation. However, sanctions related to insulting public officials are many times higher than those related to simple insults. In both cases, the crimes can be investigated and prosecuted only at the request of the alleged victim in contrast to the criminal procedure, which initiates the prosecution of crimes after notifying the public prosecutor's office[83]. In this context, the law guarantees procedural privileges to public officials compared to citizens, who can only take the actions set out in Articles 119 and 120. According to Articles 239 and 240, public officials must file a complaint with the police or a public prosecutor. who then takes over the investigation and prosecution of the case in court. Unlike public officials, a citizen, based on Articles 119 and 120, files a complaint in court bearing the burden of proof to prove the allegations or damage. A pre-trial investigation is not involved in this case. The prosecutor take parts in the trial of the cases and recommends the acquittal or acquittal of the defendant[84].

An insult to the judiciary is dealt with in a separate article of the Criminal Code. Under section 318, insulting a judge or member of a panel of judges, prosecutors, defense counsel or an arbitrator because of their activity in a case is

[80] BalkanInsight, 'Last TV Shows Critical of Albanian Govt are Cancelled (2019), Online in: https:// balkaninsight. com/2019/08/29/last-tv-shows-critical-of-the-gove...(Accessed on 27.09.2020).

[81] Human Rights Watch, 'The cost of speech: Violations of Media Freedom in Albania', Human Rights Watch Reports, Vol.14, No.5. (D) (2002), Online in: https://www. hrw.org/reports/2002/albania/albania0602-04.htm#P508_92221 (Accessed on 27.09.2020).

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Penal Code of Republic of Albania, Botim i Qendrës së Botimeve Zyrtare, (Tiranë, 2017), Online in: http:/ /www .pp.gov.al/web/kodi_penal_2017_1200.pdf (Accessed on 27.09.2020).

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punishable by a fine or imprisonment of up to three months.

In addition to criminal defamation, Albanian legislation also includes civil defamation. The Civil Code stipulates that if a person has suffered damage to his honor or personality, i.e. a non-pecuniary but moral damage, he enjoys the right to compensation. The responsibility for the misdemeanor lies with the defendant if he has caused an unlawful damage, ie has violated the rights and interests of another person protected by legal order or good practice and has acted guilty, ie has intentionally committed wrongful acts. As in the case law of European countries, the verification of the content of a qualified defamatory statement excludes the defendant from responsibility, as well as its commission in good faith, but this is not clearly stated in the legislation. The fact of the amount of moral damages, the standards of responsibility and the determination of the level of sentencing also remain undetermined[85].

Another shortcoming of the Civil Code lies in the reasonable provision of permissible defamation and the level of responsibility in this regard, which gives the court broad discretion in enforcing civil defamation laws. Meanwhile, Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights states that the restriction of freedom of expression must be prescribed by law and formulated with sufficient precision to enable the citizen to regulate conduct in accordance with the legislation.

Human rights experts and representatives of media organizations oppose laws that turn defamation into a criminal offense. Imprisonment has a shocking effect on media freedom and democratic debate in a society. In many countries, criminal defamation laws have been overused and misused by governments and high-ranking people to intimidate and punish the investigative media, which perform the function of "public watchdog". Experts have described the criminal sanctions for defamation as excessive, disproportionate and unnecessary. Less restrictive remedies for freedom of expression can be used as adequately as possible to protect the honor and good reputation of public figures. Non-criminal means of compensation, which can provide adequate protection for victims of defamation. Defamation criminal laws are less appropriate in democracies, where freedom of expression is strongly promoted for human progress. In this way, international experts have called for the repeal of criminal defamation laws in European countries, including Albania. Basically criminal defamation is not appropriate for free expression. If we refer to the laws on defamation in Albania, they create conditions for public officials to be able to use procedural privileges to benefit from the resources and authority of the public prosecutor to eliminate the criticism of the investigative media in matters of public interest. In this way they enjoy greater protection compared to other citizens. On the other hand, public prosecutors are far from protecting themselves from the inappropriate influences of powerful persons especially when investigating defamation cases. Protecting the reputation of public officials and state authority as an institution through the provisions of the Criminal Code runs counter to the principles of international law, according to which government institutions and public officials, because of their status, should be more open to public criticism than citizens, but above all they should be subject to public scrutiny to detect, make public and resolve possible abusive issues of public interest.

4.2 Anti-Defamation Package

Freedom of expression is especially important when developing online, as publishing and participating online are the only actions a journalist can take, unlike when he or she can express himself or herself “offline” in some ways. In this context, any restriction on online content severely restricts freedom of expression. Despite the need to protect the reputation of people, national security, etc., any broad restrictions on

[85] Human Rights Watch, ‘The cost of speech: Violations of Media Freedom in Albania’, Human Rights Watch Reports, Vol.14, No.5. (D) (2002), Online in: https://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/albania/albania0602-04.htm#P508_92221 (Accessed on 27.09.2020).

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the right to expression are unacceptable and should be strictly defined[86].

One way chosen by the Albanian government to reduce the violation of the dignity of people through online media reporting is the legislation proposed under the name of "anti-defamation package". This package of amendments related to the law on Audiovisual Media and the Law on Electronic Communications was announced in December 2018, passed for public consultation in 2019. After the adoption of the first amendments to the anti-defamation package in 2019, although by many international experts described as government censorship of online media[87]. The adoption of the second amendments to this package is expected in 2020. The international community raised concerns about the scope of the definition of electronic publishing, the extension of the domain registration obligation and the consequences of non-registration[88]. The general and vague character of the law that portals can be penalized for "insulting public morals" or publishing "fake news" was described by some international experts as shocking to media freedom[89].

The anti-defamation package contains legal provisions for the empowerment of an administrative body, such as the Audiovisual Media Authority, which will review within 48 hours complaints of people, businesses, institutions, when they claim that they have been defamed, violated dignity and privacy. from traditional and online media and will order the media to remove such reports, or severe fines will be applied to the latter. The Electronic and Postal Communications Authority obtains the right to write in the pop-ups of their websites or portals, which appear every time someone clicks on them, on the fact that the media or portal in question has defamed or violated the dignity of the person, business or institution. In case the media or portal does not react even after pop ups, then the Electronic and Postal Communications Authority) has the power to block the signal even through the operators providing Internet services (Internet Service Providers, ISP) to block the domain of certain websites by made public access to them throughout the territory of Albania impossible[90].

The draft submitted for consultation to the Venice Commission, according to the latter is not yet ready for adoption, as it is still unclear and this creates the possibility that the legislative power given to an organization like the Audiovisual Media Authority extends to people[91].

Proposals for change by the Venice Commission relate to some of the international standards for safeguarding freedom of expression and professionalism in the media. According to him, the scope of law enforcement should be narrowed, explicitly excluding and listing any non-professional online media, such as personal blogs or social network users. At this point, the Albanian authorities have agreed to clarify the provision as the purpose of the law is only online media and not people using the Internet or social networks[92].

[86] G. Hariharan, 'Understanding International Standards for Online Freedom of Expression' in Global Information Society Watch 2017, Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0) (2017), Online in: https:// www. giswatch.org/ en/freedom-expression/international-standards-and-regiona l-trends (Accessed on 28.09. 2020).

[87] Human Rights Watch, 'The cost of speech: Violations of Media Freedom in Albania', Human Rights Watch Reports, Vol.14, No.5. (D) (2002), Online in: https:// www.hrw.org/reports/2002/albania/albania0602-04.htm#P508_92221 (Accessed on 27.09.2020).

[88] European Commission, 'EU Enlargement Package 2019' (2019), Online in: https://ec.europa.eu/ neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/freedom_of_expression_2019. pdf (Accessed on 28.09.2020).

[89] A. Ruçi, 'Shqipëri: Paketa ligjore Anti-Shpifje sërisht në qendër të debatit' (2020), Online in: https://www.dw.com /sq/shqip%C3%ABri-paketa-ligjore-anti-shpifje-s%C3%ABri sh-n%C3%AB-qend%C3%ABr-t%C3%AB-debatit/a-5498564 4 (Accessed on 28.09.2020).

[90] A. Ruci, 'Gazetarët kundër paketës antishpifje të qeverisë', European Journalism Observatory (2020). https:// al.ejo-o nline.eu/kryesoret/gazetaret-kunder-paketes-antishpifje-te-q everise (Accessed on 28.09.2020).

[91] Mapo, 'Komisioni i Venecias "rrëzon" Ligjin Antishpifje, Rama: Do bëjmë ndryshime' (2020), Online in: https://gazetamapo.al/komisioni-i-venecias-rrezon-ligjin-an tishpifje-rama-do- bejme-ndryshime /(Accessedon 28.09. 2020)

[92] Mapo, 'Paketa Antishpifje, Balla e lexon ndryshe opinionine Venecias, Nuk rrëzon nismën' (2020). Online in: https:// gazetamapo.al/paketa-antishpifje-balla-e-lexon-ndryshe-opinionin-e-venecias-nuk-rrezon-nismen/(Accessed on 28.09 .2020).

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Also, according to the commission, the provision of de-anonymization of all Albanian online media sources should be reviewed, excluding in a taxable manner the identity of internet users other than the professional media provider. In this regard, the authorities have confirmed the amendment of the relevant provision by explicitly citing the exemption of the law from the obligation to anonymize Internet users other than media service providers[93]. Other recommendations related to the legal provision of the selection of human resources and the functioning of the Appeals Council to guarantee transparency and political impartiality, reviewing the selection of members of the two main bodies under the Anti-Defamation Package and reviewing complaints by adding safeguards procedural to ensure due process and proportionality of sanctions[94].

Despite the fact that the anti-defamation legal package was drafted with the support of experts from European Union countries, based mainly on the Croatian model, many analysts and journalists say that the regulatory mechanisms violate freedom of expression, due to the high possibility that the attributes of data to the Albanian Audiovisual Authority can turn it into a censorship agency based on the traditional one-sided political use of this institution[95]. In the draft law, the administrative measures taken by the Council of the Board of the Audiovisual Media Authority are executed without going to court, which is contrary to the fundamental rights of the person[96]. In this case, this institution takes over the competencies of a court, while the Electronic and Postal Communications Authority takes over the enforcement powers and this violates the freedom of expression of every citizen on social media or online platforms[97].

The package was also described as inciting the self-censorship of journalists. According to K.Voko, Director of the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN) for Albania, the package encourages self-censorship of journalists. If a journalist is under the threat of fines that are many times higher than his monthly salary, he will be inclined to the so-called "protocol news", which hardly provides sufficient and quality information to the public. In the event that fines, rightly or wrongly, are immediately executed by the Audiovisual Media Authority, journalists will have to anticipate the seizure of their bank accounts after any writing that could violate the "dignity and privacy" of an official or a business. The bill does not make any clear distinction between a media or a personal or collective blog and in these circumstances anyone is at risk. The legal package aims to create a fast and efficient mechanism to punish media critical of the government[98].

Anti-Defamation Law on Online Media, restricting journalists' access to information, banning journalists and activists and closing of critical shows with the government" are among the reasons why Albania has lost two places in the World Media Freedom Index published by Reporters Without Borders for 2019[99].

One possible solution in this regard, presented by journalists and supported by the Venice Commission is the self-regulatory operation and respect of the online media accountability system[100]. However, the authorities need to focus on strengthening law enforcement and avoiding corruption in this regard, as medical legislation and the legislation as a whole are increasingly adapting to European standards.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Freedom of expression, media and defamation are very important legal terms in a democratic

[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Vërtetmatës, Censura dhe autocensura "ulën" indeksin e lirisë së medias në Shqipëri (2020), Online in: https://vertetmates.mk/censura-dhe-autocensura-ulen-indeksin-e-lirise-se-medias-ne-shqiperi/(Accessed on 28.09. 2020).
[100] A. Ruçi, 'Shqipëri: Paketa ligjore Anti-Shpifje sërisht në qendër të debatit' (2020), Online in: https:/ /www.dw .com/sq/shqip%C3%ABri-paketa-ligjore-anti-shpifje-s%C3% ABrish-n%C3%AB-qend%C3%ABr-t%C3%AB-debatit/a-549 85644 (Accessed on 28.09.2020).

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society. Therefore, they must be clearly defined in the legislation, to prevent the possibility of misinterpretation in a civil or criminal trial. Due to the very nature of the right to freedom of expression, it is preferable for defamation to be decriminalized by European countries, including developing countries such as Albania, as freedom of expression promotes social progress. In addition to adapting defamation laws in line with international standards and good practice, their de facto implementation must be guaranteed, which would increase public confidence in their right to freedom of expression, as well as opportunities for journalists not to self-censor but to perform the function of "public watchdog" as effectively as possible.

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The Nature of Power

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ABSTRACT

Power is the strength that protects lives so that each human is able to constantly be created and transformed each other with human nature. The vitality of human is manifested through the labor creating the products. The relation between the laborers and the products is economic relation; the one between the laborers and the non-laborers is the political relation. Laborers play an intermediary role in the relation between the non-laborers and the products as the political economic relation. If the power of the laborers is privately - owned in the political economy, the power of the non-laborers is privately - owned in political economy. Religious organizations, the states, and companies are different in their ideals and organizing methods, but they all have the nature of the private individual regime in terms of political economy. The political and economic power gained by religions, states, and companies is manifested in the salaried jobs of clergy, bureaucrats and businessmen, but the monetary wealth of clergy, bureaucrats and businessmen are private individual in the political economy. Owning actual people by labor is politically privately - owned , so the private individual in the political economy will be eliminated inevitably.

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The Nature of Power

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ABSTRACT

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I. INTRODUCTION

Power is one of the important contents of the social life since it defines the tendency of the historical development and movement of each individual, organization, nation, and humanity. Without power, every individual is unlikely to live, organizations cannot exist, nations have no sovereignty, and the humanity fails to flourish. It is essential to clarify the development and corruption of power to find the driving force of political economic development and the tendency of human perfection. Nowadays, power is manifested in various fields, depending on specific conditions that each individual, organization, nation, and human has different powers; therefore, if the total strength is maximized, human's strength is invincible. This paper lays stress on researching to clarify the nature of power based on both dialectical and historical materialism.

II. POWER WITH HUMAN PERFECTION

The concrete thing as a product of nature is objectively transferred according to the law and the power of nature, which is called the natural possession of power. However, via the consciously and willfully actual activities, humans have created and mastered themselves that is called privately - owned property of power. In the process of living, those products that have been produced to meet social needs are not only created by humans themselves but also affected by the external factors; hence, they fully comply with general manufacturing rules. The method of producing products and the laws of the society's movement are similar, so the social results are

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eliminated when their causes are removed, and the society formation requires the production of necessary products.

The prevailing laws of social development appeared from the fact that people had produced material wealth, created needs and the successive generations. All these factors structure the dialectical unification of each other in the process of mobilization and development to create social strength that is called the social ownership of power. Human power determines their lives and perfection in the relation between the nature and the society; as a result, the power is the force for individuals to be created and exchanged for human nature. Humans make optimal use of natural force and social power to be created. Humans are a product of nature means that human strength is utilized to meet the society's needs. Humans are a creative subject; as a result, their power is creative labor. Without creation, humans have no power. Vitality, creative labor, and social use if possible are a basic human strength.

Even human weakness is able to become strength if it is fully obeyed the laws of nature and society through creative labor that transforms external into internal strength. The correspondent of outer and inner forces helps to sustain life. If humans are the subject making history, they reform the natural world and produce society; in other words, their practical power and capacity before the object with which it is produced are manifested. This capacity is human's internal force, strength acquired from humans themselves is the determination and consciousness; however, determination and consciousness are only revealed in certain conditions through practical activities, and human existence is its vitality in relation to the object.

The more enormous the natural world is, the smaller the humans are; in contrast, the stronger the humans, the weaker the natural world. The premise of humans' wealth, prosperity and strength is human vitality. People confront with the challenge of the inadequate environment, extreme circumstances to survive; thus, the strength of humanis shown as patience, endurance and self-repression. To be more specific, humans fight against everything by their limited force; they suffer pain tolerantly, scarify themselves without any ulterior motive, and accept risks to seek living opportunities. Thanks to their power, humans are likely to ignore the imaginary needs and desires to overcome all dangers and the hardness of life, namely willing to save people from fire or plunge into the water to save the drowned without considering their lives, scarifying themselves to get justice and fairness for others even though they may encounter the harsh retort. Without the power, people cannot create miracles and great works by sacrificing themselves, ignoring the momentary needs to unconsciously pursue alien things. The greater the humans' strength, the more significant the reform of nature and society. Besides, notwithstanding the aggressiveness of nature and pitfalls of the society, people still live well by their own strength.

If humans are unable to be created by themselves, they have nothing; yet, they cannot devote or they cannot live. The power created is the prerequisite for devoting or helping others. To be more specific, drinking water from nature means living depending on the nature, while following the traffic laws, living according to traditional cultures and morals means living depending on the society. Taking water for saving a thirsty person's life means taking nature to help others. Teaching traditions, morals and laws so that learners can live is to give society to the nature. If humans are not created with the nature of wealth or asset, there is nothing to give anyone or help others; in other words, using nature to help others has the as identical nature as theft. A real human who is not likely to devote anything does not live.

If people do not take anything from nature or society to live, humans cannot exist as actual humans. Thanks to the nature and society, people not only live but also constantly create themselves. Scooping water to drink, picking fruit to eat, traveling according to the traffic laws is a natural and social activity of humans. Scooping, taking, and traveling are humans' power that may not only be used for their life but also for helping other people, or transforming things to things. The power of humans has shown in various

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objects is capable to transform nature and society. People create internal and external power by producing products that are attractive to pleasure that not only strongly influences humans' creativity, but also becomes socialized needs. The more products the society needs, the more strength and economic strength the makers of products have.

The strength of humans is thanks to their own vitality and labor, and they fully enjoy their accomplishments and create themselves. Therefore, what individuals can do and devote becomes their strength. A person is able to help or unable to help another one depending on his or her strength. Humans are capable todo everything if they maximize their strength. Thanks to strength, people have used all their abilities on whatever they want. In case that a human help one person but not another person, it is advisable to consider humans' living activities as a rational, conscious, determined ones in the relation between means and purposes of life with mutual transformation.

If there is no ability to devote, there is no power accordingly; in other words, power does not exist and thereby there is no need for the people without power to help others in need. In that case, those people who are unable to give but just receive help from others are regarded as products used for the society's purposes like any other commodity. The power of humans can be manifested in an actual way via natural vitality, enjoying all achievements of social history for their free labor and creation fulfilling the society's needs. Strength is from both internal and external humans. The internal strength is the constant vitality and creation; meanwhile, external power is all products produced through labor. Only when humans are needs of each other does their strength exist.

Humans are weaker than other species in the natural world. For example, humans cannot run as fast as horses, not climb trees as well as monkeys, their body temperature changes are not as flexible as some other species, unable to fly like birds, unable to directly suffer the extreme weather like cattle. Nevertheless, thanks to their strength, people are likely to move faster than horses, pick fruits without climbing, alter the living habitat instead of changing body temperature, traveling in the sky without flying, intentionally create light, dark, hot, cold, dry, flood instead of depending on the extreme weather. That power is achieved when people have cooperation and organization in mutual exchange. Each person has a unique strength, so they can exploit each specific individual to make the synergy multiply. Humans mean everything when there labor can create themselves, reform thenature. Everything belongs to laborers because they have power to determine and master the society. Vitality is the greatest strength in sustaining life by labor to gain food, water, and shelter. Not until people develop their own strength in natural exploration and social transformation do they become strong.

The power manifested in the relation between laborers and their products is seen as economic power, but when it is intangible in the relation among people, it would be political power. The strength of humans is to change one thing using another thing, or alter one person through another person, so economic or political power ultimately has the same nature. Yet, depending on the specific conditions when the society has economic or political needs, its role is more clearly defined. While the relation between the laborers and the non-laborers is political and dependent, the relation between laborers and their products is economic and *privately - owned*; hence, when considering laborers as an equal value or intermediary in the exchange between the non-laborers and the products, the power of the laborer is the privately - owned political economy of power.

What the laborers give away is what the non-laborers receive. The laborers and non-laborers take the materials of production and the laborers as objects respectively. The lazy take the diligent as an object to possess products in a rude way including fraud, robbery, murder; meanwhile, the exceptional laborers take the common ones as the object to possess products in a sophisticated manner by cultural standards, traditions, ethics and laws. Nevertheless,

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exploiting the means of production will be different from exploiting laborers for a living. By exploiting the materials produced by labor for products serving the essential needs of life, the usage of laborers is equal to the production of robots for caring people by standards. Mutual reform among humans when they become needs of each other bring them back to the same nature, that is unconditional and volunteering care and help for the humankind's survive.

The common laborers not only produce products to equip themselves but also are robots to take care of and help others to live on. Care and help become the laborers' needs while the non-laborers become the object who need care and help. However, the non-laborers are exceptional products of laborers. If there are no exceptional products with social nature, there will not appear the care and help of socially responsible people. How hard laborers plant trees, raise animals and take care of their children, they also help non-laborers like that. Children are the product of parents and taken care of; similarly, the non-laborers are the product that should be cared for by laborers. While the non-laborers are illustrated weakness, defect, or illness, the laborers show their strong, complete and healthy expression. Patients are the product of doctors, students are the product of teachers, the relation between laity and the clergy, the people and the public has the same nature of mutual care and help. Mutual help of a community is in a selfless, free, voluntary basis when the cause and effect relation and inevitability of humans become products. Humans' mutual help and care is indispensable for their development and improvement, which has been paid off by the creation of themselves. If self-employment created humans' happiness and satisfaction, the practice of helping others could bring them such bliss as a reward. Without any other payoff, people are still satisfied by helping others since they can be created happily and become actual humans. The political economic strength of the laborers has become the political economic strength of the non-laborers making that strength become a force with social meaning in general. The power of the political economy of a particular society is constantly increasing when people are promoted, the population is larger, the need is constantly being created; as a result, people not only maintain their lives but also perfect themselves.

III. THE CORRUPTION OF POWER

The corruption of power that makes humans' strength become the strength of manufactured products is corrupted by the economic and political power. At first, the unexpectedly, uniquely, exceptionally economic and political relation was a prerequisite for all to live. The elderly, doctors, educators, clergy, and officials need food, drinks, living materials to exist, so the exchange among people is no longer self-centered, self-conscious, voluntary, but aiming of exchanging for food, drinks, essential living materials with self-interest, forced, inequality nature. Person-to-person relation is no longer purely exchanged for human perfection, but is a political economic relation, a right-of-life relation between people, a relation of help and reciprocity, hope and promise, borrow and pay according to standards. Nevertheless, hope and repayment are not always the same, so injustices and misfortunes arise. When this exchange relation becomes common, it becomes a relation of appropriating and being appropriated. The fact that lazy people possess wealth and property by stealing, robbing or murdering has been eliminated by the reality. People appropriate by subtly fulfilling each other's needs with standards-dealing tricks. Possessing wealth, property becomes economic power, possessing people becomes political power. Possessing managers means using their wealth and property by ordering them, that is, economic and political power no longer has a public meaning but a privately - owned meaning.

Wealth, property does not serve as a means for its owner to be created, so the erosion of feeling is inevitable. It is instrumental for the emergence of a spiritual need to meet the new demand. People having personality become objects of individuals having wealth, so they can benefit from those who have such wealth. For instance, the clergy live on people's religious needs, and officials live on people's state needs. If the ruler of religion or

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leaders of movements have no personality, those having assets will not follow them, the poor may not have such needs of their personality, and the middle class still lives on their own hands and brain. Rulers, leaders with political and economic power use their wealth by ordering their owners to redistribute their wealth through preaching with calls for almsgiving, fasting, thrifty, integrity, helping each other with kindness. Actual priests and leaders make people having possessions become respected and noble, and the poor just receive essential living materials. The political and economic power of the ruler and leaders is obtained when they become popular needs of the society. Owners and leaders are talents with indispensable personalities meeting the needs of society, so they possess the political economy as a means, and aim to use political economic power to take care of the weak, help the needy, and honor those with wealth by standards. Noble and lowly, frank and sneaky expressed by the standards, the talents of the lord, the leader are revealed in the sophisticated way of taking from one person to the other, that is redistribution of products leading to the satisfaction of the majority's demand, at the same time, promoting products in that historical condition. This demand is a socialized product becoming a specific historical culture, tradition, morality and law.

The heir of the priesthood or leaders will inherit that career manifested as a job for a living while society still has such need. If the fact that the clergy learn from the priesthood, the officials learn from the leaders become popular, the religious organizations and the states exist as a professional association of salaried laborers in the process of reassignment of communal labor leading to the emergence of the human health management and care profession, and the education sector appears to take all people as living subjects. The manufacturing materials are considered objects of laborers to produce products; management, healthcare and education sectors use people as objects to create religion, state, money, law, traditional norms of culture and ethics likewise. The clergy, the officials complying with the culture, tradition, morality, and law have become a living-earning profession like other forms of labor and production. The successor is capable of making the political economy more developed in accordance with the working capacity, the population and the needs of the society. People incapable of possessing political economy can be identified by their greed of power and money but are likely to rationalize by the standard of gratitude, namely depending on generosity to be regarded noble and affluent. The nature of a counterfeit talent and theft, robbery, murder is the same, but the expressions are different in either obvious or sophisticated. "The art of concealing laziness, falsehood is like a magic trick to live. If the producers of counterfeit goods survived, so did the deceitful people" (Nguyen Anh Quoc, Nguyen Minh Tri &Nguyen Mai Lam, 2020: 2718).

The clergy, officials work according to their capacity but enjoy according to the needs of society because without existence of the clergy, the religion and state become meaningless. If the clergy is not paid, they inevitably receive almsgiving or generosity of the religious followers, thus becoming corrupted. Officials who work according to their capacity but have not yet enjoyed according to the needs of the society inevitably have different ways to ensure their living, but often very sophisticated like distributing the public property to get rewarded or rationalize the appropriation of political and economic power by law. Subsequently, in common conditions, the righteous and the salaried officials are normally impoverished, while the dishonest and deceitful officials may get abundant without violating the law, that is as the saying "fish in troubled waters," the counterfeit officials appear.

However, it should not be ignored that the salary of officials is paid by the state. Citizens have the need for justice in the state, but it is indeed illustrated in the need of money. Money becomes the power of the state, so it is not only the needs of the officials but also the needs of the citizens. The state uses money to redistribute the political economy through legislation not only for citizens, but also for officials earning salaries. Yet, the redistribution of political economy is regulated by money and law, so the state gives no real value, it

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exists only in the fantasy of justice performed by coercion. The existence of justice is due to software programs installed for all those who blindly believe in the state; while the regulation, management and ownership of political economy are implemented by officials. The state, the money, the law are the same in nature; although it does not give people any real needs, it becomes all needs if it brings the political economic power.

When people use the state, money, or law for any of their purposes, it manifests good or bad, fair or unfair in terms of political economy.

State exists only for citizens who have a need for justice; money exists only for those in need of property; standards only exist for those who live by culture, morality and law; and humans are always live on their own force. Only when the state exists in the mindset of those who have a need for justice can it give officials a job to do, a profession to live. A fair world has been imagined by the religions; similarly, the states have existed to do the imaginary justice. If justice is done by the state, it is indeed a manifestation of the officials' jobs for their living. States and religions are of the same nature, both have supremacy when possessing socio-economic political power, but the way of states' organization manifested in the fact that bureaucrats making benefits from prohibitive standards, while the clergy survive thanks to binding standard implementation.

If the state no longer provides officials jobs and salary, it cannot exist as a privately - owned political economy. The power of the state is shown in the continuous increase in political and economic power, so officials have a better living condition. The political economic power of the state uses the power of money as a counterpart. In a society that it is more accessible to seek jobs or talented people, the incompetent and dishonest public servants will become more popular. If the majority of clergy are likely to earn a large sum of money, there will appear the deceitful clergy in the spiritual practice. Therefore, it is unnecessary to abolish the religions or the states, but just eliminate the religions and states which are so ideal that the clergy and officials can gain living materials without laboring. When every society has a division of functions and tasks with different professions, each individual does not forget his or her duties and responsibilities and has the same income, the clergy and deceitful officials do not exist. Religions, states have been actually redundant for the righteous people; moreover, the clergy and bureaucrats are affluent without laboring, the religions and the states are bound to perish. It is unacceptable for an organization existing to embrace, nurture, and support individuals who do not work but become unusually affluent.

If in the good economy, the counterfeit and low quality goods have been eliminated, in religious activities the deceitful clergy and dishonest officials have been abolished likewise. The abolition of deceitful clergy and officials is an indispensable phenomenon of protecting clergy and bureaucrats by laws in the process of economic and political development. "In the conditions of clergy, officials, educators become scarce, standards are valuable, the counterfeit clergy, officials, educators appear; however, when clergy, officials, educators appear popularly, workers are fully exploited and become impoverished" (Nguyen Anh Quoc, Nguyen Minh Tri, Nguyen Mai Lam & Dinh The Hoang, 2020: 28011). Abolishing the ideal religions and states with scientific knowledge is the duty of enterprises.

It can be seen that traditional, cultural and ethical standards are not the ultimate target of enterprises, but efficiency and productive labor shown in the law and money are considered criterion for political economic development. The state gets more prosperous thanks to law enforcement; producing and issuing money but enterprises having a demand for the large amount of money should be recognized by laws. The state has become a means for increasing amount of money is the purpose of entrepreneurs; however, it may be metaphysical if origin of the ever-growing amount of money is unknown. If people cannot promote all their talents and the deceit among people is not concealed, the ever-increasing amount of money imaginatively appears like magicians. If the clergy built an ideal kingdom in the mind of those who were about to

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die, officials established an ideal state in the mind of citizens, the entrepreneurs would likewise idealize wealth by placing demand for money in the mind of employees. Nevertheless, the ideal kingdom of the post-death world in the mind has made robotic humans, but the enterprises have employees make a living with scientific knowledge. Scientific knowledge becomes popular, the traditional culture, morality and law become redundant.

The exchange among people which is exceptional and unique is a necessity for all to live. When the exchange becomes popular, there appears the demand for fairness in humans' exchange, so it is measured by monetary standards. Monetary standards become power in accordance with the political economy. Monetary standards become beliefs in human behaviors, so the dishonest is always manifested in the form of money at the expense of standards. If the dishonesty was not covered by standards and money was not the parity, those dishonest would become the humor of life. Since in the exchanges, money is considered the parity, the dishonesty has favorable condition to develop. Exchange among people using monetary standard as the parity, so the injustice between the common and exceptional laborers is covered; consequently, the power of the righteous and the unethical are difficult to distinguish.

If no one believes in standards, no one can earn nobility and power by standards, money as parity. If traditional, cultural, ethical, and legal standards are considered as the parity in the exchange among people, money is regarded as such parity in the exchange of goods. Those who have a need of standards are expressed in terms of the price of money. Money, standards imagined are of the same nature; however, when money is appreciated, standards are lowered and vice versa, standards that are considered noble, money becomes ignoble. Talented people are inevitably scarce so they are worthwhile, and impersonators obscured by standards are manifested in the wealth in terms of money. Those who are longing for money tend to distort the cultural, traditional, ethical and legal standards. If money becomes the norm, the affluent locked up by that norm become stingier. Nevertheless, when norms become money, humans are represented by the price of money, and money becomes a means for the inevitable creation of the affluent.

Money is a product produced and released by the states to be a means of life, so money becomes a universal power to meet all needs. Money is the power manifestation of the righteous laborers, while the non-laborers have the art of making money become their own power. The power of the states is illustrated by the corresponding value of money; hence, if it is common that people possessing a large amount of money have corresponding political economic power, the corruption due to money is never ceased. In this case, labor is no longer freely created, and people blinded by money and social standards may ignore their most basic rights to live.

The purpose to possess the whole world is to possess one's own vitality, then occupy the people; however, possess the owner of economic and political power is most realistic. Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that human life is inner and outside the society, it cannot be metaphysically separate from the society. To live in a society, people must have the social strength that they are likely to create. If anyone cannot create the strength, they cannot live. Only when the society accepts can the weak live, but at the minimum level gained by natural strength. Because everyone has right to life, so no one wants to take the life of those who are weak and vulnerable to the social effects, except for those who lack human nature. If all is no longer the society's need, death is the social product. Human life is privately - owned in terms of the right to life, but when being able to live in the society, it is not determined by the individual's life but by the society. As a result, the right to life is not determined by the economic power but by political power. Therefore, the private indiviadual regime in terms of political economy is a means for the emergence of the privacy of right to life manifested in the fact that the existence of humans' right to life is entirely decided by the society. The humans' right to life depends on the political and economic strength of a particular society.

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Power is the right to life, is the strength of life that people need; however, since the right to life depends on the political and economic regime in each specific historical period, the power of a individuals is manifested by norms, money, scientific knowledge such as free people, slave owners, slaves, landlords, peasants, serfs, bourgeois and workers. The private indiviadual ownership regimes appeared in each specific historical period to rationalize human rights illustrated in different professional identities, so the life of religious organizations, states, and enterprises in particular periods recognizes the right to life by various professions enabling privacy in the right to life to emerge. The power of organizational forms is people's right to life exercised in the political and economic life. The organizations holding socio-economic power of the social nature are externally existing social products that govern the humans' right to life, but it is the life imperative that exists in each individual. All citizens with a socialized political and economic need become the product of society; thus, everyone becomes slaves to power, obey the vision of the organizations, and is even corrupted, lost their life as an alien entity with the right to life, lost their own strength, become a slave to strange things, that means being a slave to religions, states, enterprises, law, money, cultural norms, traditional ethics to be able to exist. A slave to alien things and a slave to their owners are equally miserable, it has inflicted slavery together so hard that humans have suffered and keep suffering in the coming time when modern and novel tools and weapons are kept producing.

IV. THE POWER OF LAW, MONEY, SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE BECOMES PRIVACY IN RIGHT TO LIFE

When conventional culture and morality becomes a single phenomenon; the socialized law and money were popular. Besides, when scientific knowledge becomes the need of life, religions become a particular phenomenon, the state is popularized, enterprises have favorable conditions to develop. All means and tools of an ideal state just aim to keep the monopoly in the production and issuance of money so that officials have a job to live on. The political and economic power of the state is in accordance with the power of value of the whole amount of money issued and used. Money is the universal power which is so powerful that it can meet all actual needs with sufficient amount of it. As much as the power of money is obtained by the law, the state has such political and economic power. The regulation, distribution and management of society by the state's laws in the production and distribution of money are manifested in the implementation of tax policies for citizens and lawful salary for officials. The power of the state is obtained by the power of money, the law, but illustrated itself in the privacy of political economy. If the salary of civil servants is not paid by money produced and issued by the state but is paid by the tax policy, the strength of the state depends on the employees and the enterprises. Money produced and issued by the state is nominal, while the real power depends on enterprises and employees.

If the state turns out to be outdated in monetary policy, causing money to be devalued, its abolition is inevitable. The changes in the the privacy of political economy regime at a specific stage leads to the state's change in the production and distribution of money. When the stages of transition are successful, the form of money will change as well, everyone will be equally rich in privacy of physical property but equally fair in the insufficiency of money. The power of the state is obtained by the political economic power, and the law is illustrated by money, so no ideal states become real, only real people living by laboring with scientific knowledge to meet social needs. States, money and laws serve as a means for officials to have political and economic power and create incentives for enterprises to thrive.

Making a profit by money is of minority and singular but of fair and equal, because its standards are measured by the particular amount of money. When a state is unable to collect taxes for paying officials the salary, the deregulation begins to take place. The political economic power of a new state appears with the division of functions and tasks taking job efficiency as a measure of prices, it ensures employment of officials and workers. That is the transition from

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private ownership to public ownership of means of production, forming a regime of privately - owned ownership of scientific knowledge. The new state allows enterprises possessing the right to life of all employees to be physically privately - owned in all the different countries of the world. Monks and officials are loyal to religion and regime; likewise, employees, laborers are loyal to the enterprise, and their betrayal is the same. The existence of rulers, leaders and employers are all meaningful, but the clergy manage religious people, officials have jobs thanks to citizens living in their territory, and employers earn money from the employees with physical freedom. While all the power of religions, states and enterprises takes the standards, money and scientific knowledge to match the political economic power, the clergy, bureaucrats and employers get their way if they have power. Yet, power never makes the external powerful but makes life become its own reality.

The American lifestyle or European culture may be unfavorable, but American and European countries still have power thanks to their monetary strength of USD and EURO. The states get out of the domination of religious ideology; similarly, enterprises escape from the encirclement and protection of the state ideology. If scientific knowledge becomes a substitute for money, it will be produced by enterprises. The states and enterprises create money and scientific knowledge respectively; hence, the power of the latter no longer depends on money but on discovered scientific knowledge. Religions, the states distribute political economy to the clergy, officials following the principle "from each according to their abilities, to each according to their needs," while enterprises distribute the business according to the principle "from each according to their abilities, to each according to their productivity". If the employees' productivity depends on the professional qualifications and scientific knowledge, scientific knowledge and expertise becomes the object of the entrepreneurs. Consequently, the existence of religions in the past becomes symbols of nations having states, likewise, the existence of the states in the past becomes a trademark for enterprises in the protection policy of those states. The political economic privately - owned ownership was manifested in the emergence of scientific knowledge and intellectual property regime. The creative, exceptional and free individuals tend to go beyond the conventional standards of right to life in the journey of making a living, changing their own status when possible. If each individual's change can meet his or her own needs and is compatible with the social trend by scientific knowledge, it is socialized and becomes the society's needs; as a result, political and economic power of the era appears accordingly.

Money becomes the power of the states, and likewise scientific knowledge becomes the power of enterprises. However, enterprises may become obsolete when scientific knowledge is popularized, and any employees can possess scientific knowledge and be physically free. Physical freedom is given to the employees by the law of the states, and the scientific knowledge is brought about by the money of the company to the employees correspondingly. When all laborers live by scientific knowledge, the inevitability of life will no longer be confused by imagined standards and money. Humans liberalize themselves from the bondage of standards, money to create their own vitality, so those who still have need of abundant money have to labor or depend on laborers. The production materials are the object of labor; similarly, nature becomes the object of science, and then the laborers become the object of science, so science about human has favorable conditions to develop when money is still the need of life. Enterprises may replace the function of religions, the states in creating people but not people of traditional nature. As a result, those who need abundant money are slaves of stored property, and those who live by scientific knowledge become the masters of their own vitality are successively created.

Political economic power has been changed in the possession of the right to life from being insatiable to satiable and vice versa; from violated and rude to sophisticated and subtle possessions that are the results of risky moves of politicians and merchants in the process of becoming eminent professionals. Rigidity in exercising

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political economic power is not success and gentility is not failure, it is indeed the real strength of power. The power of eminent experts is their vitality within themselves that matches the external power in a real way. Each individual living with different aspirations and responsibilities such as doctors, engineers, teachers, workers, farmers, prime ministers, presidents, and so forth has a variety of political and economic missions, positions, and roles for the movement not only of themselves but also for the destiny of social life. The political and economic life of each individual is associated with a specific job, equally strong and fair in the division of social labor. Consequently, specialists are delicate, and the laborers are honest.

The honest possession by sophistication is of talented specialists and the sophisticated possession by the honesty is of honest laborers. Sophistication without honesty turns out to be tricks and deception, but honesty without sophistication turns to be rudeness. Sophistication and honesty, tricks or rudeness can be seen anywhere, anytime, provided that humans well controlling themselves can achieve anything regardless of being specialists or laborers. Humanity no longer distinguishes good and bad, noble and ignoble through traditionally cultural, ethical, and legal norms, but considers the differences as inevitable phenomena according to the scientific knowledge of humans' world diversity. Hence, those who still discriminate against those differences become psychopaths, or being attacked by viruses that need treatment of specialists for the damaged soul or software caused by virus. Power is the life force that is enough to make a human being, so everything that is not human will be meaningless.

V. CONCLUSION

The humans' ultimate power is the life force of themselves, so it is instrumental to save it by fulfilling the responsibility of life's mission. Since humans are not only a product of nature and society, but also the subject of their own creation. Thus, humans' power is everything; that means humans are the center of wealth, property and total power. Humans' power is manifested by economic and political power, so it represents standards or money when it is reciprocal with standards or money. In the exchange among people, standards and money are regarded equity, so human right to life becomes a commodity. The lost vitality becomes alien, antagonistic and anti-human. Owning the whole world is still insufficient, it is only sufficient when humans can develop to the best of themselves. The powerful people who are not afraid of having defects are still weak because they fail to correct their defects. Anyone who has enough political and economic power is able to possess money and property; however, it is not as profound as possessing property's owners; in other words, possessing people rather than property. The fact that human beings are fully and actually possessed means people who are the needs of all are possessed by themselves. If money is an omnipotent power that meets all real needs, the omnipotent humans' power is to create themselves to become the need of all inevitability by scientific knowledge. Since political economic strength, standards, and money are just means for people to be created, so the strong can rely on themselves and the weak always use political economic power, standards, money to cover their weaknesses and lift them up. When the humans' inevitable weakness becomes popular, it is eliminated by new strains of virus.

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