

THE INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY IN THE EXISTENCE AND PROGRESS OF ALBANIA

Gjergj Sinani¹

¹*Faculty of Social Sciences - Department of Philosophy, University of Tirana, Albania*

Abstract

Considering the history of Albania in the process of building the rule of law and democracy from the independence to the Second World War we can see the influence of United States in two levels. In the political level we can consider the influence of American policy for the preservation and the existence of Albania before the complexity of Balkan situation and the European diplomacy in the Balkan area. In the second level, we can consider the influence of American democracy in the intellectual discussion among the Albanian intellectuals during the years before the Second World War. It is a crucial period when the relation of Albania and Western civilization took a great importance after a certain consolidation of Albanian State. They consider the Western civilization as intellectual and moral community and not simply as political community. Considering the lack of information of such discussion has not been known because of the communist dictatorship considered as dangerous for the “new man”, I will emphasize the influence of the American democracy, through the work of Tocqueville regarding the American Revolution, that we find in the intellectual discussion before the Second World War.

By this way we can understand the present and what are the main problems that Albanian democracy is facing during this period after the collapse of communism, because the democracy is not simply a question of method but, first of all, a question of culture.

Keywords: *Albania, Second World War, American Revolution, culture*

Introduction

To understand the influence of American Revolution and democracy we should first look into the main principles that generate such a revolution and their influence in Europe. Of course this is a very difficult task to achieve in a few lines, but the impact of American democracy in the Balkans, especially in Albania during the period after the declaration of independence through today, cannot be understood without the influence of the American Revolution in Europe. In the variety of studies on this topic, as leaning towards a genealogical analysis, I will mention a philosopher, Nicolas de Condorcet, perhaps the first one to predict the impact of this event, such as the American Revolution, in Europe.

The US provided the first example of how to build the happiness of a nation, because the nation as an abstract being cannot be happy or unhappy. Therefore, speaking about the happiness of a nation collectively, we can have in consideration only two things: a kind of average revenue, seen as the result of the happiness and misfortune of individuals; or the general resources of happiness, that is to say the tranquility and well-being that the land, laws, industry, relations with foreign nations can offer to the generality of citizens. It is enough to have some idea of justice to feel that

we must stick to the last meaning. The reason and the justice must be the basis of institutions and politics. In short, the first principle is the Human Rights.

According to Condorcet, the Human Rights are primarily the safety of the person, a security which contains the assurance of not being disturbed by any violence, either domestically in his family or in the employment of his faculties, which must retain the independence and free exercise of the power for any one that is not contrary to the rights of another; second, the security and free enjoyment of his property; third, as in the state of society, there are certain actions which must be subject to common rules; as it is necessary to establish penalties for the attacks inflicted by an individual on the rights of others, either by violence or by fraud, man has the right to be subject for all these purposes only to general laws, extending to the universality of citizens, whose interpretation cannot be arbitrary, the execution of which is entrusted to impartial hands; fourth, the right to contribute either immediately or by representatives to the making of such laws and to all acts done in the name of society is a necessary consequence of the natural and primitive equality of man, we must regard an equal enjoyment of this right for every man who uses his reason, as the term of which we must seek to approach. As long as it has not been achieved, it cannot be said that citizens enjoy the latter right in all its scope.

As to public happiness, we should take into consideration the principle of legality, i.e. equality among the members of a nation should be maintained or re-established without interfering with the rights to property, and without infringing upon the legitimate exercise of liberty, including those involved in trade and commerce. From the very same principles it is established that the happiness of people cannot be found in the unhappiness or the weakness of the neighbors, on the contrary should completely develop and thrive along with the prosperity of other nations. As such it would promote the example of good laws and eradicate the abuses and people and nations would share and exchange new industry technologies and their related advantages. In short, what arises from the spread of knowledge, and which is similar to the common happiness and pleasure to provide more equality, is the effect that progress produces for each nation.

Condorcet considers the influence of the American Revolution on the European thinking and legislation. Quoting a phrase by Voltaire, saying the human race had lost its titles, Montesquieu found and restored them, Condorcet added that it was not enough these titles are written in the books of the philosophers and in the heart of the virtuous men, but it is necessary that the ignorant or weak man reads them in the example of a great people. "America," he said, "has set an example for us." The act of declaration of its independence is a demonstration of those sublime rights, so sacred and for so long forgotten. In no nation have they been so well known, nor kept in such perfect integrity."¹ To him, the Americans are the only people and America is the only nation where we would find neither the maxims of Machiavellianism as political principles, nor the sincere or artificial opinion of the impossibility of perfecting the social order, to reconcile public prosperity with justice. The spectacle of a great populace, where the human rights are respected,

¹ Nicolas de Caritat, Marquis de CONDORCET, *De l'influence de la Révolution d'Amérique sur l'Europe 1786*. Firmin Didot, Frères, Paris, 1887, Site web : clasiques.uqac.ca, p. 10.

is useful to all others, despite the difference of climate, manners, and constitutions. It shows the influence which the enjoyment of these rights has over common prosperity, by showing that man, who "has never feared insults for his person, acquires a better and sweeter soul; than the one whose property is always assured," finds probity easier; than the citizen, who depends only on the laws, is more patriotic and courageous. At the same time, it emphasizes the lack of fanaticism in America, as a good example. "Formerly fanaticism dared to expose itself and to ask, on God's behalf, for the blood of men; reason forced it to hide itself; it has taken the mask of politics, and it is for the sake of peace, that it demands that we let to him the means of disturbing it. But America has proved that a country may be happy, though there are not persecutors or hypocrites in its midst, and politicians who would have had difficulty in believing it on the authority of the sages, will believe it, without doubt, on that of this example".² Words that need a deep reflection to consider our situation when religion is used for political purposes.

Condorcet thought that the American Revolution must make war rarer in Europe. He is lucid in saying that the Americans are almost absolutely the master of tipping the balance in America's seas in favor of the power they will favor. They have more facility than the European nations to conquer and save them. He is aware that American example and values would be a liberating force in the colonies of European countries. But he said that the Americans will still serve to maintain peace in Europe by the influence of their example. It is true that in Europe the philosophers like Voltaire, had shown the absurdity of war and opposed injustice, but they did not succeed in softening martial fury. "But," Condorcet wrote, "in America, these same pacific opinions are those of great and brave people who have been able to defend their homes and break their irons. Every idea of war undertaken by ambition, by the desire of conquest, is blighted by the calm judgment of a human and peaceful nation. The language of humanity and justice cannot be the object of amusement, neither of the aggressive courtiers of a king, nor of the ambitious leader of a republic. The man who defends the country is the first of all without the military state weighing with pride upon the citizens; and what can be compared to this example the warlike prejudices of Europe?"³. In fact it would be the Americans that would determine the peace in Europe during the last two World Wars.

Given these general considerations we can say that American influence in the Albanian reality will be felt in two ways; in political and conceptual terms. In political terms it is very well shown in the protection of the Albanian issue in the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. At first, the idea of Wilson that the Americans will not operate in the politics of international relations on the basis of secret treaties, as it was based the international policy in Europe that led to the outbreak of World War I, was crucial for the survival of the Albanian nation, as Albania was known to be used as a spoil in the secret treaties market by the major European powers with the Albanian neighbors. The historian Margaret Macmillan has shown ample evidences showing how the European powers'

² Nicolas de Caritat, Marquis de CONDORCET, *De l'influence de la Révolution d'Amérique sur l'Europe* 1786, p. 14.

³ Nicolas de Caritat, Marquis de CONDORCET, *De l'influence de la Révolution d'Amérique sur l'Europe* 1786, p. 21.

plans to implement their secret treaties failed in front of the determination of President Wilson and the American delegation. I would like to illustrate with a few quotes from the book of Margaret Macmillan to highlight the conceptual gap between the Americans and Europeans for the world after World War I and the Americans attitude based on principles toward the objectives of Albania's neighboring countries.

Visions gap is shown by the Nicolson Harold statement, who accompanied Wilson, which is cited by Macmillan. "We shall leave for Paris not only to carry out the elimination of the war but also, and above all, to found a new order in Europe. We had to prepare not only peace, but eternal peace. On our heads there was the halo of a divine mission. We had to be vigilant, stern, virtuous and ascetic. Because we are determined to accomplish a great, lasting and noble work."⁴ We can feel in these words the project of Abbot St. Pierre for the eternal peace in Europe. The Abbot Saint-Pierre had dared to believe that men would one day be reasonable enough for nations to consent to renounce the barbarous right of war, and to submit their discussions and claims, interests or grievances to the judgment of peaceful arbiters. No doubt this idea is not chimerical. It is so clearly proved that war can never be a good for the majority of the individuals of a nation. And why should not men who are granted so long to give themselves up to absurd and fatal errors, agree one day to adopt simple and salutary truths?

To further demonstrate the contradiction with European policy, I would like to mention how it concluded on the Albanian question by describing the intentions of the neighboring countries. "The Greek claims on Albania - the first to be examined – raised a more general question: would this small country, of such a recent creation (1913), ever survive? It was still occupied, the Greeks claimed the southern part, and Italians had other demands. Should self-determination be applied? Albania, which had such powerful enemies and a few friends, had no industry, no trade, no railway, and perhaps three or four hundred kilometers of paved roads."⁵ One of the most powerful friends in Versailles in 1919 was the US delegation that by adamant in the refusal to recognize the secret treaties between European countries laid the groundwork for a new international policy.

Albanians enjoyed the same support American support during World War II. U.S. was perhaps one of the first and the only to condemn the Italian invasion. In 8 April 1939, the U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull made the following declaration before the press: "The forcible and violent invasion of Albania is unquestionably and additional threat to the world peace. It would be shortsighted not take notice of this further development. Any threat to peace seriously concerns all nations and violates the will of all peoples in the world that their governments shall lead them, not toward war, but along path of peace. It is scarcely necessary to add that the inevitable effect of the incident, taken with other similar incidents, is further to destroy confidence and to undermine economic stability in every country around the world, thus affecting our own welfare."⁶ The former U.S. Ambassador to Albania during the Italian occupation, Hugh Grant provides detailed

⁴ Margaret MacMillan, *Les Artisans de la paix*, JC Lattés, Paris, 2008, p. 160-161.

⁵ Margaret MacMillan, *Les Artisans de la paix*, p. 575-576.

⁶ Hugh G. Grant, *I Saw It All, Italy's Invasion of Albania in 1939*, AIIS, Tirana, p. 113.

information on this tragic event and he described the pro-American sentiment and the appreciation of the Albanian people toward United States, remembering the support of America after the World War I. I would like to bring the whole description of what happened in Albania one day before the occupation. "Shortly before 8 o'clock on Thursday evening the Albanian demonstrators left the Tirana square and marched to several Legations including the American Legation. Approximately 2000 of these young men and boys carrying huge Albanian flags entered the Legation compound at 8 o'clock and paraded through the grounds, shouting in the Albanian language: "Long-live Albania! Long-live our freedom! Long live the United States and President Roosevelt!" I stood with several members of my staff on the steps of the Chancery and greeted the demonstrators with the Albanian salute. The crowd continued a mob although there was no disorder. The scene recalled to my mind a student demonstration in a typical American University on the eve of a big football game. At the same time one felt that here was a symbol of a national patriotism, which however crude, was sincere."⁷ At the same time the American Legation has offered asylum to the Queen but she preferred to go with her husband.

Another evidence of the Albanian sentiments toward United States we find in the information of the Ambassador Grant when U.S. was forced to close the Embassy. "It has been indicated to me, wrote Grant, that a number of Albanians patriots feel deep in their hearts that the closing of the American Legation is another symbolism of the end of their country's independence since America was a champion of Albania's independence at the Paris Peace Conference and through its government-owned Legation in Tirana provided concrete evidence of its interest in the independence and the welfare of the country and its people."⁸ He felt heart-stricken when one of the high Muslim officials broke down and wept bitterly as he clasped my hand in farewell. "I am of the opinion, wrote Grant, that this demonstration was motivated by his deep feeling that in telling me good-bye he, an Albanian patriot who has cherished the independence of his country until the Italian occupation, saw in my departure a concrete indication of the tragic fate of his beloved country."⁹ In a certain way he was right. A totalitarian communist regime took over Albania after the World War II.

At the second level, we can consider the influence of American democracy in the intellectual discussion among the Albanian intellectuals during the years prior to the Second World War. It is a crucial period when the relation of Albania and Western civilization took a great importance after a certain consolidation of Albanian State. Albanians consider the Western civilization as intellectual and moral community and not simply as political community. They sought mental rebirth of life to enter Albania in the realm of civilized nations. But what does it mean to create a mental life? Let's hear the answer from Branko Merxhani, a journalist of this period. "And mental life means to Albania, not performances of typographic creation, neither creation of amusement centers, without principle, but efforts, courage for scientific research, seriousness, permanency,

⁷ Hugh G. Grant, *I Saw It All, Italy's Invasion of Albania in 1939*; p. 40 – 41.

⁸ Hugh G. Grant, *I Saw It All, Italy's Invasion of Albania in 1939*, p. 135.

⁹ Hugh G. Grant, *I Saw It All, Italy's Invasion of Albania in 1939*, p.135.

analyzes and to explain the historical and sociological delays of national life. Only on such work can be based the thought and the system of reforms. And only after a faithful implementation of this work, we will be able to enter one day the county of civilized peoples.”¹⁰ Philosophically, our mental life means to understand the existence of our being, which means that we look into ourselves, "inside of our social self", as would be expressed by Merxhani. The essence of the intellectual discussion can be summarized with the formula; now that Albania is realized, let's create the Albanians. The task of making the Albanians sought a scientific research system, in order to increase understanding of the roots of our social backwardness and the deeper reasons for our being in general. This study, according to representatives of neo-Albanism, will be the way of salvation for our national ambitions. This process goes through abandonment of romanticism, which served the political independence and formation of national consciousness.

The resurrection of intellectual life of people needs to create the citizen. This is the main concern of the Albanian thinkers in this period, when posed to the question of building the rule of law. In order for this country to be democratic, it is necessary to create the citizens. In a democratic society it is posed the question, in principle, that every relationship with the power is rooted from those who agree to obey to such authority. It is not democratic that people become the place of sovereignty, because the people are an abstraction. This is a fundamental principle of a democratic society.

After Albania was officially recognized by the League of Nations, Albanians faced this problem: “Will the Albanian society be developed as the Asiatic system? Or will they pursue the occidental culture of Europe?”¹¹ They were aware that political independence shall automatically mean the intellectual and material progress. This will become the existential dilemma of the Albanian reflection of that period. The problem of forming a new European mentality constituted a guarantee for the progress of Albania and a new mentality cannot be formed with decrees and laws. This, says Father Gjergj Fishta (1871 - 1940), is what the Young Turks wanted to do, but couldn't succeed. So the question wasn't if there would be a religious or atheist government in Albania, but the issue was to know “behind what culture it is necessary to develop the Albanians thinking; why, because without economy there is no State, so without culture there is no development. But an Albania that cannot advance, ore that cannot embark on the road to development, it is not in our needs.”¹²

The philosophical position is clear; human energy source doesn't depend, as materialists think, primarily on all by the food received, the amount of calories into the body. Even heredity doesn't play an important role. The main factors, especially in today's life, are not just physiological, or simply biological. The first factors are ideas. For this reason, for the Neo-Albanism, it is possible to create a national life only with ideal values. A new type of civilization in Albanian reality cannot come only as a result of human action, but requires the cooperation of people thought. It is

¹⁰ B. Merxhani, op. cited, p. 20.

¹¹ At Gjergj Fishta, PROZA, Botime françeskane, Shkodër, 2006, p. 41.

¹² At Gjergj Fishta, PROZA, Botime françeskane, Shkodër, 2006, p. 9.

necessary the cooperation between people of action (political actors) and people of thought (intellectuals) to create a national life.

The debate over which civilization Albania belongs, to the Occidental or to the Oriental one, sought to address the Albanian problem during the '30s. Certainly the European civilization was the ideal course for them to pursue, considering it primarily as an intellectual and moral community, and also by appreciating the biggest achievement of the European civilization, which is the triumph of personal freedom. It should be noted that as European consciousness was formed through a paradigm Europe / Asia or we / they, with Europe having freedom in its core and Asia resorting to despotism, we find same paradigm in the Albanian, arguing why Albania, rightfully, belongs to the Western civilization. This was done for two reasons; First, the development consciousness, creation of conscientious and self-confident citizen, capable and suitable for a democratic social organization, which is based on freedom and, secondly, to create an illuminated patriotic consciousness. At the same time, they highlight that "the occidental civilization must not be taken partially, but as whole and without any fragmentation."¹³ "The collective sentiment of the Europeanism was to be born inside us."¹⁴ It is evident that even at that time they wanted Albanians to embrace European values, because Europe, in the first place, was a community of values. Albania's European affiliation was not only geographical, but also had to be spiritual.

Moreover, the integration with Europe should constitute the ideal of Albanian youth and this in the first place was to be a war "between a creative thinking and a destructive thinking, a war between a perspective of light and a perspective of darkness, the war between the Albanian Occidentalism and the Albanian Orientalism,"¹⁵ wrote Krist Maloki, an intellectual who later became professor of literature in Vienna (1900 – 1973). Given that the ideals of the Albanian oriental was the "chair and the chunk," the consequences in the creation of this character are fatal. The criticism of oriental mentality, which is also associated with the impact of Byzantinism, is done in function of human moral exaltation of Albanian people, similar to the exaltation of the Western human moral, which height is measured with "the degree of selflessness and self-sacrifice around a sublime idea that has nothing to do with the chair and the chunk..."¹⁶ Creating a high social idea is the duty of the mental and intellectual rebirth of the Albanian people, especially the youth, which brings us closer to Europe.

Rightly Branko Merxhani wrote: "Occident man's morality is linked directly with his systematic thinking. From this connection between Morality and Thought arise the positive values of time and work."¹⁷ They know the difference between Europe of values and politics. They wanted that the Western values could be the basis of our social and political life and they had also the courage

¹³ B. Merxhani, op. cited, p. 149.

¹⁴ Op. cited, p. 155.

¹⁵ Krist Maloki, *Oriental apo Oksidental*, Plejad, 2003, f. 109.

¹⁶ Krist Maloki, *Oriental apo Oksidental*, Plejad, 2003, p. 112.

¹⁷ Op. cited, p. 238.

to criticize Europe's political pragmatism.¹⁸ The focus remains Europe as spiritual value and understood in this way, they hoped that this would affect the Albanians to separate from the spirit of selfish materialism, because this latter characteristic is devastating for a nation, in particular for Albania, a country with a short history of political independence. "Without a moral power - Mid'hat Frashëri wrote in 1924 - without a righteous cause we should all pursue, individuals and peoples die and perish."¹⁹

Moreover they see Western world, and strictly Europe, as an appeal for reflective mental activity and not as a factor of mental apathy. Success and superiority of Europe lies in the philosophy, in her intellectual life. Despite the diversity of principles and doctrines, the European quality is a systematic thought. The systematic thought means obtaining a continued mental proficiency within the human being. A systematic thought has consequently a systematic and systemic life; it means a life in order, clean, profound, one that does not waste time, or power and talent. As a result, the individual becomes a useful element not only for his own self but also for the society, and those around him. Therefore, the morality of the Western man is directly related to its systematic thinking. From this relationship between morality and thought arises positive value of time and labor. The long description of European values serves as a set of virtues and qualities that should separate the young Albanian generation from the old one, in order to show differences between Oriental thought and life and the Occidental thought, to prepare a citizen that demand a free, democratic society. Albanians need a systematic and not sporadic work. In order for Albanians to enter on the path of the Western civilization, they have to do as part of their conscience the European values. This requires a sense of collectiveness, a program, a destination and well-organized, things that Albanian society lacked, because of the individualist and selfish spirit that characterized them. To alter this condition the people's brain must be set in work and their spirit must be enlightened. In these process publications, magazines and press are very important. But what journals are needed? Popular magazines or magazines are needed? For the neo-Albanism there are needed magazines that give ideas and have meanings. Such, in the judgment of representatives of neo-Albanism were "Hylli i dritës" and the magazine "Leka" which were published in Shkodra by the Catholic clergy. Despite the critical attitude of the laic thinking towards the religious dogmatism of these magazines, they accepted with grace the valuable services of these journals to the scientific research and youth enlightenment. In fact both these newspapers have devoted special attention to confronting the Albanian reality with the European

¹⁸ As an illustration, let's look at a speech of Gjergj Fishta in the peace conference in Paris where he criticizes European political pragmatism, to the detriment of European principles themselves: "Why was not persuaded the French to give up Alsace-Loren? Why would not dared you, Italian MPs with rural relinquishes Italian contained under Austria? Why have you come up against Turkey in favor of Greek in the Berlin Congress? Just trust in the principle of nationality! Well, I think, that, for by being honest men, we need to say the same for others in Paris, Rome, Athens, Warsaw ... Unless If I have forgotten, as I have heard from my professors, Grotius had said that it has become as a norm to transform the God of people. But instead Jean-Jacques Rousseau will cry: "Well, change the gods, but at least ask these human cattle called people!". (Fjalime, Fishta, Harapi, Koliqi, UEGEN, Tiranë, 2009, p. 41-42.

¹⁹ Plagët tona, Dija, 2000, p. 101.

civilization in order to support and reinforce the Albanians' Western trend, but also to stigmatize the deficiencies that keeps Albanians away from Western civilization.

Of course, for them the core of European civilization is Christianity and from this came the criticism for the European atheism starting from criticism of Voltaire. Fishta, Harapi the most eminent representatives of Catholic church, etc., in order to argue the substance of Christianity on Western culture they referred to many philosophers, thinkers and European statesmen who referred to the role of Christianity and especially to the Catholic Church in the political progress and cultural development of Europe such as Rousseau, Pascal, Hippolyte Taine, Montesquieu, Byron, Bismarck etc. In other words, both directions, the laic and religious, are united in one point when it comes to question on Albania's social and political development: or Albanians are going to take "completely the occidental culture, as it is, and completely remove the Asiatic system, or to maintain this system and to completely remove the occidental one, as it is."²⁰

Furthermore, referring to Rousseau, Fishta stresses the idea of Rousseau, in the works "Emily", according to him, the forgetfulness of religion leads to forgetfulness of human tasks. On this strong premise is developed intellectual criticism of negative phenomena unfolding in the political system in Albania and the Albanian intellectual and social life. Criticism is quite harsh, especially to that activity, which under the guise of an Occidentalism, is hiding a simple and regressive Asian mentality. How Albanian State is presented in the confrontation with the European experience? To all thinkers of this period, the new Albanian State presents many deficiencies in relation to the European model. This is why criticism of Albanian officials is bitterer and more negative, especially on their way of byzantine and Asian thinking. The worst vice is the obedience to authority.

The insistence of these thinkers to building the rule of law had two goals. The first goal was internal to argue that Albania would advance and become part of Europe by involving all the material and spiritual forces to organize in a democratic society based on the principle that the dignity of the human person stands above all. The second goals had to do with criticism of the idea, widespread mainly from neighboring countries that the Albanians are characterized by tribal and were not able to rise to a higher state of organization.

With interest, it is to evoke Tocqueville work "De la Démocratie en Amérique" by one of the greatest poets, the Franciscan Gjergj Fishta. Inspired by this work, and the American experience, he connects the role of religion with morality and democracy. As Tocqueville, he thinks that democracy and progress of the State need to have some virtues and these virtues can be developed through faith, since Tocqueville wrote: "It is religion which leads to the Enlightenment; It is the observance of the divine laws man who leads to freedom". (It is French in the original).

²⁰ At Gjergj Fishta, *vepër e cituar*, f. 42.

Criticizing the vices that spread atheism he concludes with the words of Tocqueville: “Beside each religion is a public opinion, which by affinity is attached to it”²¹. Even he connects religion with patriotism, urging Albanians to create a community based on value, because, as Tocqueville wrote, “There is nothing in the world but patriotism or religion, which can make walk for a long time towards the same goal the universality of the citizens”²². Given the problems that faced Albanian society, which although very backward, facing with the demands of modernity and from this confrontation, especially with the spread of communist and atheist ideas, was naturally concern for maintaining the cohesion of the Albanian society based on the values. It is understandably why the analysis of Tocqueville’s ideas on the impact of religion on American democracy seemed to the Albanian thinkers of that age as a solution to the Albanian problem. “It must never be forgotten that religion brought Anglo-American society into existence. In the United States, religion is therefore mingled with the habits of the nation and the feeling of patriotism, whence it derives a peculiar force. To this reason another of no less power may be added: in America religion has, as it were, laid down its own limits. Religious institutions have remained wholly distinct from political institutions, so that former laws have been easily changed while former belief has remained unshaken”²³.

Of course, Fishta and others could not imagine what would be the consequences in the soul of a people, the destruction of the religion. We that experienced this time we can appreciate the genius of a conclusion from the work of Tocqueville. “When the religion of a people, wrote him, is destroyed, doubt gets hold of the higher powers of the intellect and half paralyzes all others. Every man accustoms himself to having only confused and changing notions on the subjects most interesting to his fellow creatures; and, in despair of ever solving by himself the hard problems respecting the destiny of man, he ignobly submits to think no more about them”²⁴.

Tocqueville once envisioned two paths for the future of humanity; liberal democracy or democratic despotism. Moreover, according to him, wanted to curb democracy is like fighting against God and other nations have no choice but to adapt the social situation that imposes providence, namely the unstoppable march towards the freedom. Albanian thinkers also raised this dilemma and tried to give answers and asked the answers to the European philosophical thought and European scientific methods of studying social phenomena.

So, the Albanians have two alternatives; or to walk in accordance with the providential purpose or they will fall into a new barbarism, that would be the barbarism of reason. And in fact the communist totalitarian night it happened. Now we face the same problems as those raised by the thinkers of years ‘30s. Tocqueville once again and experience of the American Revolution can be very helpful to us in two directions; building the rule of law and the moralization of the democracy.

²¹ At Gjergj Fishta, *vepër e cituar*, p. 108

²² At Gjergj Fishta, *vepër e cituar*, p. 234.

²³ Tocqueville, *De la Démocratie en Amérique*, GF Flammarion, Paris, 1981, T.II, p. 12.

²⁴ Tocqueville, *De la Démocratie en Amérique*, T.II, p. 30-31.

In conclusion, let me to bring two advices of Tocqueville for the European politicians of his time, but that matter greatly to our Politicians. “A constitution republican in its head and ultra-monarchical in all its other parts has always appeared to me a short-lived monster. The vices of rulers and the ineptitude of the people would speedily bring about its ruin; and the nation, weary of its representatives and of itself, would create institutions or soon return to stretch itself at the feet of a single master”²⁵.

Finally, the second advice of Tocqueville: “The political world is metamorphosed; new remedies must henceforth be sought for new disorders. To lay down extensive but distinct and settle limits to the action of the government; to confer certain rights on private persons, and to secure to them the undisputed enjoyment of these rights; to enable individual man to maintain whatever independence, strength, and original power he still possesses; to raise him by the side of society at large, and uphold him in that position; these appear to me the main objects of legislators in the ages upon which we are now entering”²⁶.

²⁵ Tocqueville, *De la Démocratie en Amérique*, T.II, p. 388.

²⁶ Tocqueville, *De la Démocratie en Amérique*, T. II, p. 396.