

The Forbidden Drama and the Albanian World**Creative and Performing Arts**

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Abstract

In this study about the forbidden drama in Albania, we tried to analyze and generalize a particular aspect of the development of Albanian dramaturgy in the second half of the twentieth century, which still stands as an open debate to better determine the factors which imparted to it the mechanism of censure and anti-censorship and especially the totalitarian ideological pressure during the period of 50 years of socialist realism. The subject of this study has been a series of concepts and phenomena related to "aesthetic solidarity", which also means controlling of dramaturgy, staff and the director. In this respect, this study is also concentrated in dramatically dramatized production, the criticized drama, the punished and the forbidden drama. This study was focusing on many bibliographic, historical, thematic, motivational analyzes and also on the literary and critical views that appeared in the press of time and in special publications, the argument of the role of certain mechanisms in the theater and literary institutions in general, stopping and staging of the dramas that did not match the "criteria" that required the totalitarian system, etc. Overall, the paper also reflects largely the imposition and ideological practices of the method of socialist realism, primarily the engagement of institutions of ideology and culture, which pave the way for schematism and sample taking in the development of dramaturgy. A special place in the study is also the role of official criticism, which was in support of ideological demands manifested through thematism, attitude towards conflict, characters, messages or certain environments.

A work on a forbidden drama in search of a "doctoral" degree is important and difficult to fulfill, in all the necessary criteria and links, an exhausting approach. Drama, as an important creation in the lives of peoples since ancient antiquity, through all the difficult occurrences and filled with events, with people, with drama and tragedy, with human soul and pain, is perhaps the most important creation for enabling the reading to be realistic of the soul of a people, of the soul of a certain historical time, to hear the "voice" of pain and love.

No other kind of creation, no matter how art, aesthetics, workmanship or talent is used by the perpetrators, can not fulfill the communication and the relationship that usually creates a good drama, not just because of the play by the playwright but drama is put on stage and it embodies well in the physical, spiritual, emotional, mimicry of the actor's game, being in front of and near the spectator. In this case, the relationship of the drama, the story or the character of the drama is in front of the eyes, with a voice and figure with the spectator, who in some way lives with it, no matter how long ago that drama was written.

Regarding the development of drama which the history of literature has explained it through the relationship that literature has with historical times, with people and events, either by describing them or by predicting, the gender that has had the consistent consequences has been drama and playwrights. Ancient drama, mainly drama of antiquity, has shown to human society that the writers, especially the playwrights, give signals of their actuality and future.

Regardless of the relations that society had with ancient civilization, dramatic production, conflicts, relations with the state and the "emperor" were foretelling the world and humanity about

how would be their future relationships, who would be their biological opponent and many other issues.

The three known tragedy writers created so much confusion since their time, who explained their valorization through all systems and order with emperors, censors and dictators. The Emperor of the time, when in the theaters of the time of Aeschyl had such art and metaphor, he disliked something and precisely because of that it is said to have been rolled the fate of the great tragedy. After all, that leaves us to understand how important the drama mission remained. The drama was later released in Albanian literature, either by the dramatists who lived in the country or by those who lived abroad.

This late experience has had its realities in the Albanian cultural life and literature, but the history of Albanian drama is an important reality for the history of Albanian literature in general, but also for the issues and the way it has come and has done its journey into the Albanian reality and the very genre of drama.

As they are involved in debates, opinions and approaches to thoughts of all cultural and ideological aspects, studies, critics, early recycling ideas, but first in the new realities of the late 1990s, Albanian drama is an important reality in life of Albanians. And for a long time, in the literary opinion of studies of Albanian literature, the period of the '45s-90s will continue to be controversial, necessary to be studied, re-evaluated and to have the opportunity, in the near or distant future, to have a consolidated view on the issues of Albanian drama.

A research on the degree of "Doctor of Science in Literary Studies" for the Albanian drama is a good and important opportunity in the intellectual and study life of every scholar with courage and visible ambition to learn, study, and bring one's thoughts for such matters. This opportunity for me has been important and necessarily useful, not just for the issues that makes up such a work, but tracking, analyzing, searching through archives and consulting with people of the same study field, with contemporary and current dramatists, with an arsenal of works that have been saved for a long time, despite the fact that many of them have no trace, have brought to me an important argument, which will be the subject of study and the subject beyond this work.

The vertical view of Albanian dramatic production, especially from the years from the 1945s to the 1973, shows that Albania has had a great cadre of dramaturgists who, despite the lack of experience in this genre, they have been able to bring Albanian theater to a serious reality and cultured communication through this early age of human society. In this vertical view, the desire to bring to the attention of the Albanian society the historical events, even the ancient ones, that aligned with the Albanian reality, themes of time, which were realistic reflexes about how Albanians were building their society, their welfare, their recovery, who they were and how were the people of this country in the conditions of a country that day by day was dominated by totalitarianism in the conditions of a long isolation.

The Albanian drama of this period is varied despite the realization of the characters for reasons already known by criticism, it had excellent models of characters, of the main hero, of human thought towards an unexplored journey, thus as a drama in all the human history, will

comprise an important cut in order to realize communication across generations, with the times and at the new levels and different from what the Albanian society pursues. In all the observations, researches, critical thinking, written dramas, staged or not, dramas backed by the time of criticism and by the party politics, dramas that failed to see either the light of the publication or the realization of drama and theater scenes, be that even in the province, bring an authentic testimony to the sacrifice that this genre has made especially in the last two decades before emerging in the 1990s in Albania aiming to change the system.

Dramaturgy, scenes, people of drama, were watched and werewith all their eyes installed throughout the entire life of the country by totalitarianism and political imposition in the country. At the time when Albanian dramatists began to write considerable number of dramas regarding social, historical, topics about the current situation and other relating themes, because until the 1960s, all the premieres on the stage of the Albanian theater were from Russian and foreign authors. Only the drama 'Our land' and two or three others were staged. At this moment, restrictions, dictation and censorship appeared, which later, in few authors was turned to self-censorship. I have had the opportunity and the fate search for the important information regarding many dramas that did not catch the critical thought nor did they mark the history of the drama as written works, giving a concrete view to this study.

Drama is one of the most sensitive and necessary products that art creates with people, and from this close and tight relationship, therefore, the lovingkindness with it is important. For many reasons, we still do not know how great the damage that Albanian culture and literature has suffered from stopping and censorship in dramatic art. Apart from 1963 and later in 1972, the persistence to rule the drama in all its strings seemed to some kind of vertical ideological counseling, which was present, was in the highest structures of the drama institution, the spirit that made up its third criticism (as the drama has a professional critique and a public criticism), which was fierce, intolerant, but insisted on the political action of art and literature.

Solid principles of the method of socialist realism, such as the proletarian partying of literature, were the two heaviest stones that had been put on the neck and the dramaturgy, which was sinking itself from day to day to a vulgar and paradoxical esthetism. Through the press of the time, which was the tribune of this fierce debate and which supported exactly the complete control over the drama, I have noticed a kind of controversy, which in most cases has been based on ideological principles and little on critical concepts of the art of drama. The Rubrics that the newspaper of the League of Writers and Artists *Drita* during 1972, entitled as *The Controversy and the Dramatic Conflict* became a political weapon through which the ideology and the political party line was consulted in drama. On the pages of this newspaper there is an incredible vigilance, which you can understand through a horizontal debate, which, by its appearance looks professional in the field, but within it there is some kind of astonishing flair.

There is another debate in relation to the film with the hero's issues, with the collective representation in the plays of the times and the treatment of this hero from the film, due to an insistence on the obligatory relationship that dramatists and drama are generally required to 'responding to the party's political action, in which case dozens of dramas, sketches and other

types of Albanian scene were written. In the 1960s and 1970s, there is a severe limitation through the two most important elements that keep up the dramatic gender: through the orientation of topics, where in one case scholars have called *the drama of actuality* and in the other case “*realistic drama*” and what is related to the hero, who despite the qualities mentioned by every critic, was required to be a rigid, stereotypical hero on its foundation.

Colliding on such issues, a kind of duplicate - *forbidden drama*, because part of the written dramas at this time were not staged at all and a staged scene was faced with a strong critique and unprofessional, a critique that was comprised of unimaginable consequences (not a few dramatists or directors were fired, were denied from the right to write or were imprisoned as party enemies), the researcher's ability to continue with the research into a difficult terrain and sometimes readable, but behind the scenes there has always been unmanageable mechanism.

Concerning the basic concept of this difficult study, “*forbidden drama*”, I have had and continue to have a doubt because it does not fully meet the notion expressed through the term “*forbidden drama*”, as it continues to have an ambiguity with the term, what was banned and what should be understood as a forbidden drama, what was not staged, what was staged and removed from scenes or dramas that were not recognized or written for the cause of limitation and censorship.

I think that there should be a study approach to this issue, as both the university books, the schoolbooks, or the studies on the Albanian drama of this period have an incorrect use, or rather, clearer than what is considered to be a forbidden drama.

In a broad, conceptual, professional work that sees from outside and inside the drama of this period is that of drama scholar Mexhit Prençi, who entitled his emblematic book as “*Drama and a Forbidden Spectacle*” to create the opportunity in order to understand the drama that is not put on stage or is stopped, i.e., the part that links the drama with the spectator.

While one of the active, but critically criticized and prohibited dramatists, Naum Prifti, this time of Albanian drama has produced for the reader in a simple library model, in which there are many ideas and professional concepts, entitled “*The Theater at The Time of the crisis*”. Another professional edition, prepared carefully, with the memory, ideas, professionalism, the contemporarity of this era is also the one written by the writer, as well as the playwright, Teodor Laço, who speaks mainly about the drama of one of the heavily criticized dramatist, Fadil Pacram, entitled “*Black and White*”.

The three authors mentioned above are familiar voices in the interpretation and recognition of all the elements of the drama: the character, the relationship with the public, the time, the politics, the metaphor's construction, the communication and many other elements. In all three scenarios on Albania, it is noted that the Albanian reality has not come free and freed from orientation or limitations. The thematic tightening has left out extraordinary events out of the drama repertoire, which could make an honor to every theatrical scenery and mind of the playwright.

The glorification of accidental heroes, which happen accidentally in actions, railways, workshops did not constitute for any reason a dramatic model, a hero of Albanian drama, as it surpassed the drama template.

Defining the topics that Albanian dramas and scenes were supposed to play at this time as “*the drama of the actuality*”, “*the theme of the National Liberation War*”, then a kind of “*documentary drama*”, analysis, comments, criticism, proposals for each character with whom have been dealing an army of people for almost three decades directly, has been difficult to be included in a work of this kind.

We have been trying to concretely make the subject of discussion and confrontation with the time the most important concepts that have to do with the essential issues of drama in the classical sense of the terms such as thematic issues, issues of dramatic conflict, character issues, the environment in which they arise and contribute as certain characters, orientation, censorship, the importation of the character model or fabrication of it, secession or termination of tradition, imposition of the method of socialist realism and proletarian partisanship, issues which harm the literary genre, drama, because when these familiar classical concepts are overcome, drama loses its notion, and no longer its function. It can never be neither a political pamphlet, nor propaganda program, political campaign or murderer of its people whatsoever.

In the study and research of the drama, which throughout the work we mostly conveyed through a term “*forbidden drama*”, the work at all levels is perceived, although in the studies and criticism of the drama evaluation is evaluated through such a conception or not, as we do not have an acceptable and agreed term as to what we can call it as “*forbidden drama*”.

In the history of Albanian drama, especially after the 1960s and 1970s of the XXth century and later, dramaturgy was subjected to fierce ideological and institutional judgments, the drama was put on stage and then criticized, banned (such as “*Brown stains*” and others). Dramas that failed to be staged were numerous. In one way or another, they were forbidden dramas, until they saw the scene light or left the scene. As seen, the concept of “*forbidden drama*” has some serious obstacles to why it can be called and why it can not be called as such. The concept of forbiddenness is multifaceted, used as it may be understood by one or another. Concerning this concept, as it is said above, the researcher who has entitled his book on the forbidden spectacle (drama) and the stage art in general during this time is only Mexhit Prençi. The author knows the art of drama, spectacle and drama in itself in all its elements, even of the stage where the drama is embodied, as the drama and the scene complement each other, but it does not tell us anything concrete about this syntagm.

Given that there are great difficulties in reassessing the concrete and critical evaluation of the forbidden drama, through such a special approach, we have organized our study through such a relationship, holding an appreciative and critical attitude to the development of the drama from the beginning and finally through the concept of “*forbidden drama*”, otherwise our approach to the drama would be out of the scope. If the first chapter seems to deal with familiar issues, such as a brief glimpse into the history of the Albanian drama, avoiding the concept and likelihood of

"forbidding" during the time in which it was developed the Albanian drama, especially after the 1960s and 1970s, where on the one hand appeared the historical circumstances and on the other hand the political model that was chosen by the Labor Party, which had an extreme ideological approach through the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the study then could have started with such a bias.

While the whole history of the Albanian drama was accompanied by these conditionalities, by these impositions and with this burden that it largely and decisively accepted, the approaches to the issues that we thought were necessary and important in this study are seen through commentaries, arguments, and views of "*forbidden drama*". After all, most of the Albanian dramas that were written were liked by the people, were put on stage, but it came a moment when some dramas were stopped, those dramas that were written but were not put on stage, were criticized in simposiums and congresses and the ones that did not overcome and did not see the smallest opening of the light were wrongly evaluated, criticized with the same language, with the same tools and with the same ideology of politics. We think that the phrase "*forbidden drama*" in the vertical look of the work is not wrong or not even a hindrance to the study.

1.2 Brief Overview on Albanian Drama Development

Albanian studies on drama development have been scarce and late. Likewise, foreigners' studies, which, being cautious about cultural development issues, wherever they went, on issues of Albanian drama development, have been scarce, even inexistent. Very few reference sources can be found today in encyclopedias and books on the development of Albanian drama. Regarding this important problem, there have been very few initiatives that seem to start there from the period of our National Renaissance, where the interest in studying Albanian culture is the most obvious. Until the end of World War II which was marking a new historical, cultural and a new socio-cultural order, dramatic gender was an initiative of certain people who, besides having the necessary culture to offer, within the reach of the Albanians and the civic environment, mainly dramatic performances, with those dilettant troops, mostly by foreign authors, such as initiatives in cities such as Shkodra and Korça, had little efforts to write dramas or dramatic pieces which mostly had topics taken from the history of the country and rarely from the Albanian reality. However, this is important for the time, as writing drama is an important element of social reality and a certain attitude on social relationships between the strata of the society, its governments, or its formations, which we have classically found since ancient times.

Dramas are creations that produce and have a direct relationship with the public, so they have a tremendous importance in the cultural, social and political life of a country. Since antiquity, the consequences faced by the great tragedies, especially Eshklili, are a fundamental indicator of the effects that usually dramas create when it is put on stage. The drama tends to glorify and has its contemporary target, regardless of whether the topic is historical, or even earlier than that. In the history of dramatic developments and well-known playwrights, scholars of dramaturgy have discovered the strong linkages of the playwright with the reality and the environment in which he

lived, the links that have been reflected in dramatic creativity, regardless of the theme where the drama was taken.

Such reflections appeared in Albanian dramaturgy, where the most famous is the drama “Besa” written by Sami Frashëri. The context when it was written and the author's approaches are not difficult to think, understanding and recognizing the historical circumstances and events that the country faced at this time and all the creators and intellectuals that brought to light the Albanian National Renaissance. Researchers and biographers have found that engagements for writing dramas have started at least since the Albanian League of Prizren and on, regardless of the level, the opportunity to be exposed or staged, which indicates a need to have such a genre due to the sensibility, the collective relationships that drama sets and other issues.

The tendency to write drama dated at the so-called time when it was leaving the scenes of literary production in Albania, romanticism and the arrival of the first signs of realism and critical realism, from Çajupi, Stërmilli⁶⁷, Postoli and some other author. Despite the lack of institutions and the scene where dramas or some other kind of dramatic genre should be played⁶⁸, they showed in some ways the society's response to time developments. Drama and other genres, having direct contact with the public, have made a significant development before the liberation of the country, but which in itself constitute a kind of legacy necessary for the history of Albanian dramatic developments. Later, during World War II, however, in order to fill a significant part of direct communication, where the relationship of this genre was of course highly conditional, there were interesting developments since the country's liberation war involved a great participation of all stratas of the population, where there were not missing intellectuals of the time, students, writers, poets and non-professional actors. During this time, although the environments were fully missing, such as: scenes, books, especially written texts on the subject matter, there were found appropriate topics, mainly from foreign dramaturgy, which coincided with the Albanian political-historical developments to be used in partisan environments. Mostly at this time, the war environments were the stage scenes of the time, which in the literature is known as the “partisan theater”.⁶⁹ Although this development was weak, dilettante and without any kind of professionalism, it has a special importance in the history of Albanian drama, because this experience served to the first moment of post-liberation of the country, to establish the Albanian drama in the complete sense of the word. The dramatists, actors, directors who then took the lead in raising the Albanian dramaturgy had direct links to the time of the war. Much of them, mostly authors and authors of the Albanian drama, came from this time and had participated in the struggle for the liberation of the country.

If you carefully watch the developments of the drama and the Albanian film, you realize that there is a huge leap, it is even one of its best experiences, since the actors and dramatists, screenwriters and a great part of it knew it well and in details the struggle.

⁶⁷ Children's Drama of Haki Stërmilli.

⁶⁸ At this time there were tendencies, even genuine creations of other genres of drama, mainly comedies, which were set in small scenes and in the most popular cities of the time such as Korça and Shkodra.

⁶⁹ In the "Partisan Theater" small pieces were created, which were especially created by the creators who were on the mountain with the partisans, the type of sketch, which had a kind of time response, a sort of pamphlet of the day.

As soon as the Albanian drama was layed on the basics and professional criteria of its development, it had a strong and compelling policy orientation regarding the topic of war⁷⁰. This theme brought a good model of actors and drama experience, despite the politicization and perseverance of being charged and overwhelmed with ideological concepts. Regarding the "memories" for this time in Albania were written and performed wonderful drama which, to this day, have some kind of actuality, due to the capture of the subject with universal character and metaphor, such as the drama of Fatos Arapi⁷¹, but also some other dramatic contributions, which brought important events, characters and social realities to the Albanian drama. In the 1945s of the XXth century and later mark the longest and the most important time of the development of the Albanian drama, not only because the institutions were established in the country, but also the theaters were created, actors were educated and won their indispensable status as dramatists, directors, and also it was created the institution of drama, the structure of criticism was set up, the total planning of Albanian drama implementation began, and other issues, which in this subject of doctoral dissertation will be studied in depth and with a considerable reference.

From 1945 until today, the Albanian drama has had its developments, the ups and downs, the consequences in several directions, there have been the achievements and stagnations, the lost and the won battles. During this time, Albanian drama has managed to realize the necessary and direct communication with its spectator and telespectator for very important issues, fulfilling in few cases its mission. Through this difficult journey drama won its personalities, its authors, directors, has won battles with itself and its opponents, has managed to establish relationships with the world's best drama, with the universal themes that dictated world dramaturgy development, classical and modern playwrights, thanks to the struggle that it has developed with itself, the time, opponents inside and out.

Periudha 1945-1990 në literaturën studimore dhe universitare The period of 1945-1990 in the study and university literature⁷² is known as the dramaturgy of the period of socialist realism, therefore and in this paper, we have intended to use this label, due to and the most important dramaturgy developments in this 45-year period. The later period of dramatic developments is not the object of this study. The period of 1945-1990 is the most important because the development of drama in this period comprises the largest space of its vertical time, but also its most important reference, with which the thematic view can be taken, issues conflicts, filmmaking issues, timely adaptations or dictations of topics, dramatist assessments and perpetrators, achievements of this school in itself, and many other issues that we have been trying to be as close to the problems and issues that arise from this long debate as possible. We have a long debate since after the 90s in Albania about the written contributions, critical evaluation from critics⁷³ and memories of many of the contributors to drama and theater development.

⁷⁰ Regarding the theme of war, hero, conflict and other issues that draws a drama, there has been a constant care even after the 60s. The 1963 drama congress and the IVth Plenum insist on such a theme, despite the well-known political intention.

⁷¹ Fatos Arapi, *Drama of an Unnamed Partisan*.

⁷² Anila Mullahi, *Development of Albanian drama during the period of socialist realism*, doctoral thesis.

⁷³ About the theater at the time of socialist realism have written authors like Mexhit Prençi, *Drama and forbidden spectacle*; Teodor Laço, *Black and White*; Naum Prifti, *The theater in times of crisis*; Josif Papagjoni, *National Theater*, writings and critical thinking in the press of time and other contributions.

In the whole opinion of post-90's there is an argument for calling the “drama of socialist realism” not only for the timing when Albania was lined up in the socialist camp, but also because of the creative method which it imposed a totalitarian force that Albanian drama and theater in general developed on the method of socialist realism. Regarding this issue, scholars and people of aesthetic and critical thought have brought many facts about the consequences of the Albanian drama itself.

Despite the attitude and circumstances of the time after 1945, in the history of dramatic development one can not fail to mention the very little development of the drama in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which coincides with the initiatives and the emergence of the first plays in Jesuit and Franciscan centers⁷⁴, for the reason of the ties and relationships they historically had with the great Catholic centers of the West and especially with the Catholic centers of Italy. These themes affect social themes⁷⁵, mainly of human relations, but in any case and historical issues, which had a kind of timeliness. The well-known Jesuit and Franciscan centers also constitute the first stages of studies on Albanian culture and literature developments. Understandably, these centers had not only the cultural climate, but also the necessary environments, creative and intellectual environment to deal with this important genre, unlike other cities in Albania.

Regarding this development of Albanian drama during the period of the literature of socialist realism, the history of literature at all levels, even the university history did not bring clear data, except the attitude against this contribution and its scholars, who were both high time clerics. There is some sort of important debate, which is mainly developed horizontally, but not thoroughly, regarding the attitude and thought of which period as regards the way of the creative method, should be called some kind of dramatic development, if it can be called as such during the Second World War, which in the history of literature and the historical dictionary of the Albanian drama is known as the "Partisan Theater", which was prone to satire and humor. After 1944, with the liberation of the country from foreign invaders, Albanian drama was at a crossroad and in a new reality. For the most fundamental reasons, its development was related to the new relationships of society, social order, political order, and other comprehensive developments, because the country itself was in a whole new situation and on an unexplored path. In social environments where there was a lack of communication at the cultural level and the relationships that usually create the stage cultures, the state of the echo of the war continued to dominate, as almost every family had a member or a relative in the ranks of the national liberation army.

In these circumstances, the dilemma of continuing with the tradition or not, that little tradition that was or would not continue was linked to many factors, mostly with the political ones, which would be verified later. In these circumstances, Albania, being in the anti-fascist War Coalition, was placed side by side with the socialist camp, whereby would have created the fate of cultural development, the development of literature, drama, school, criticism, the theater school

⁷⁴Anila Mullahi, *Development of Albanian drama during the period of socialist realism, doctoral thesis*, p.171.

⁷⁵*Ibid*, p.171.

and actors, counseling as a country without tradition at such levels of development and many other issues.

Having inherited a small conflict since the war, the polarization of the society would affect not only the new approach, which would have Albanian drama, but also all its links, the subjects, the characters, the scenes, the director, the motivations, reports of hero character and leader and collective character etc. Despite all these factors and circumstances, the underlying and dominant condition was the choice of the country's political course and the Soviet cultural model⁷⁶, which will be embodied in all levels and components and of Albanian drama, in principle as imitation and secondly adapted to the conditions of Albanian society, but without avoiding it.

After the 1944 Albanian drama, as well as another piece of literary creativity was demanded the separation from tradition, being called the drama of the period of socialist realism. In these beginnings, though she had a very small tradition in all its meanings, its first personalities appeared, such as: Gjergj Fishta, Ndre Zadeja, Zef. M. Harapi, Kristo Floqi, Ethem Haxhiademi and any other personality. In the difficult conditions in which the Albanian drama was found, politics paid particular attention to literary production. The establishment of theaters, the promotion of actors and playwrights, the launching of the country's reconstructive situations and campaigns, the follow-up of the model of the countries of origin such as the Yugoslavs and the Russians, created the first premises of censorship even in the Albanian dramaturgy.

It is the moment when the well-known drama of the nationalist Renaissance ideologist, Sami Frashëri, entitled as "Besa", was stopped, which, even after being written early, constituted an all-time Albanian reality, but for the imperatives of the time it was censored⁷⁷. In these circumstances, the party-state's political reality and the political course were rapidly building the censorship structure and a kind of patheticism where drama and theater scenes were transformed into propaganda⁷⁸, along with other censorship links in publishing, criticism and propaganda policy.⁷⁹ For the Albanian culture in general, where the ratio of power with literary production was opened, generally it was built a gloomy mechanism. For the Albanian culture in general, where the report of the state's power with literary production was openly disclosed⁸⁰ in general a grim mechanism was built⁸¹, where besides the attack the creators made to each other, the press organs since the "The Voice of the People", "The Light", "The November" and any other, turned into propaganda tools, at the same time as censorship and for the Albanian drama, as a creation and as an execution on the stage in front of the spectator.

Under these conditions, circumstance and state-culture relations had to travel the Albanian drama, too, where it was preferred the Russian model, later on the Chinese, while the Albanian drama itself was disbanded and alienated from its authenticity in relation to the conditions, the environment, people, the tradition embodied in people's relationships with one another,

⁷⁶Naum Prifti, *The theater in times of crisis*, published by "Horizont", Tiranë, 2001, p. 34.

⁷⁷Anila Mullahi, *Development of Albanian drama during the period of socialist realism*, doctoral thesis, p.172..

⁷⁸Naum Prifti, *The theater in times of crisis*, published by "Horizont", Tiranë, 2001, p. 15.

⁷⁹Mexhit Prençi, *Drama and forbidden spectacle*, published by OMBRA GVG, kolana Kritika,2, Tiranë, 2010, p. 19.

⁸⁰Teodor Laço, *Black and White*, published by "Vatra", Tiranë, 2005, p.8.

⁸¹Shaban Sinani, *A folder for Kadare*, the publishing house OMSCA-1, Tiranë, 2005.

relationships with fundamental issues of family and society, etc. Thus, it was demanded openly the militant spirit, the proletarian partiality, social-communist morality, the Stanislavski system⁸², Zhdanov's practice⁸³ in Russia.

The drama was openly sought, in all its elements, in all its strands, that it should be the birthplace of the popular revolution, that it be developed in the conditions of capitalist-revisionist siege and to be closely related to party problems⁸⁴, removing it from the most important elements of dramatic gender, the dramaticity. Because of extreme politicization, all the world-famous drama was censored, and even such extremism was demanded that dramas be removed from authors, as the author's name in drama or theater work constituted a tendency of bourgeois individualism. Seeking pupuristic themes, which will be discussed in the following issues, conveying party politics to the detriment of the art of drama, imposing the heroes and their artificial and reinforced model, raising in art and in pedestal people without value, unusual heroes, who did not represent any significant and exciting value for the people, exalting to heroes accidents, the Albanian drama went to heavy schematicism. Within a relatively short period of time, since about 20 years there have not been any major story in the development of a country's drama, in the drama's "institution", since the act of its creation, its writing, its appearance in theater, its reading, its debating, and until it was fortunate to be admitted and placed on the scene, the institute of censorship was created, which was guided by ideology, by the party's individual.

Political party representatives, who were installed in cultural institutions and in 1963, were demanding the Albanian drama revolutionary content, putting into service the party⁸⁵, according to which the models were "*deportation*", "*Mother and daughter in the NÇL war.*", "*The Partisan*" (F. Gjata), "*Death to fascism - freedom to the people*" (A. Banushi), "*Fisherman's Family*" (S. Pitarka) and any other, "*as a theater with certain goals, a theater that would always rely on the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism*"⁸⁶, actually constituted the third criticism, besides the professional and popular ones, but most censorious, which condemned the work and the author.

A cycle of drama, which is considered as an immediate response to party's demands, that drama be put to the service of its politics, took the role of the pattern of how to write the dramas with the new hero, with the great problems of the day it had to put, and the way how dramatic conflicts should be raised and resolved in a dramatic work. Drama of the kind such as "*The furnace*" of Pulaha (in which it talks about hostility with China, "*Doctor Alex*", written by Ibrahim Uruçi, "*Events at the factory*" and other dramas of this nature, posed issues that damaged the Albanian drama on its foundations, as the collective trial strength opposes the individual⁸⁷. The creation of the collective hero eventually turned the drama into a propaganda tool rather than art, as it has its essence as a literary genre traditionally and at all times. With political developments at the end of the 1950's and early 60's, when major tensions, especially collapse with the Soviets,

⁸²Anila Mullahi, *Development of Albanian drama during the period of socialist realism*, PhD thesis, p.172.

⁸³One of the Russian ideologues, a former member of the party's Political office, who had hit openly the literary direction of the famous magazine "The Star", denouncing Marxist-Leninist criticism of all the literary production that did not serve to party's politics.

⁸⁴ Ismail Hoxha, *On some problems of our dramaturgy*, "The November", nr. 11, November 1963, p.96.

⁸⁵*Ibid*, p.96.

⁸⁶ Andrea Malo, *Some scene problems*, "The November", nr. 11, November 1963, p.127.

⁸⁷Anila Mullahi, *Development of Albanian drama during the period of socialist realism*, PhD thesis, p.172

emerged on the political scene of the country, the party demanded that the propaganda role be taken over and drama as a means of public and direct communication with the people. Under these conditions, on 23 and 24 September 1963 in Tirana was held the Plenum of Dramaturgy and Theater, which would not only talk about drama developments since 1944, would strongly seek to continue and deepen the political line of the party in drama, would require the actualization of political ideas in drama, would orientate the theme of drama development and other scenic art issues. Despite being called “Plenum of the Drama” and being organized by the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Steering Committee of Writers and Artists at all levels, orientations, analyzes and discussions, it was present the political line and the orientation of party people, from Fadil Paçrami, Fiqirete Shehu and Nexhmije Hoxha. The two main papers were held by two of the party's trusted people who, despite the service in cultural institutions and art schools, were people who conveyed the political line of the party, such as Ismail Hoxha⁸⁸ and Andrea Malo⁸⁹.

Both works are considered as the most important drama of the time, as the orienting materials for the drama and what would be on stage. Despite dramatic developments up to this time, which had a small output, the drama plenum aimed to dramatize the drama closer to the propaganda than the art's mission. The chief referent, Ismail Hoxha, who is thought to be the most important political representative of the time, has directed the playwrights and all the links through which a drama was played, the favorite themes on which one should write, the sparse socialist patriotism and the heroes of Albanian dramaturgy had to be depicted with a high sense of patriotism, a patriotic spirit, socialist humanism, a sense of self-sacrifice and a great ideal for building socialism.⁹⁰

In the press and all the tools of propaganda and criticism of art and drama, especially in the newspaper "The Light" which after the plenum has opened a certain section “*thoughts on dramaturgy*”, in a few cases and in the newspaper “The Voice of the People”, scholars and critics have even discovered and dictated the themes of written and staged dramas. In a study on the development of drama in the period of socialist realism, researcher Anila Mullahi thinks that the classification of the drama of socialist realism is such that for reasons of study methodology should be studied according to the concepts or orientations given in the two plenums of drama on one hand and researchers after the 90s on the other.

⁸⁸ The speech that Ismail Hoxha held in the Plenum of the drama was later published in the most well-known body of censorship in the magazine "The November", nr.11, Tiranë 1963, entitled *On Some Problems of our Dramaturgy*, pp. 95- 126, which deals mainly with the written drama, with the theoretical issues, the character, the themes and theoretical issues of it.

⁸⁹ The speech of Andrea Malos, published in the magazine “The November”, nr.11. 1963, entitled *Some problems in our scene*, pp.127-145, the papers in which the author deals mainly with the technical issues of the scene, the interpretation, the stage, the issues of the actor, the film.

⁹⁰ Ismail Hoxha, *ibid*, p.97.

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