

Transitology

A philosophical reflection on the post-communist society

Dr. Agim Leka PhD

University "Alexander Xhuvani", Elbasan, Albania

Adviser of the Minister of Education and Sport of the Republic of Albania

Abstract

The collapse of totalitarianisms, the integration and transition global are objective phenomena, which changed many political and social doctrines, which relate to democracy and civilization.

A review of relations between civilization and polity is most necessary.

At the same time this process was companied with the crisis philosophical thought, as with as the need for a deep reflection in this area. Transition is the moving integration of society from ideology to the reality culture (the values system) and the integration of three truths: philosophical, scientific and religious.

And the most effective vehicle is the cultural intercommunication. In global era the integration is a cultural intercommunications and the philosophy itself is an essential cultural. The dialectic of transition and integration in global time. The cultural shock and the vulgar hedonism. Paradox between interest and principles.

The paradox of modern Transitology is it between time and space, or, between past time and future time, has made that many today's society to be gripped by a severe conflict between the two sides: the old and new; the political right and the political left.

The moral paradox or the paradox of "two twin brothers".

Keywords: the post-communist transition; the modern cultural shock; paradoxes in Transitology

Introduction

The overall objective of this paper is to rebirth the discipline of Transitology. The word transition means the moving from an old state to a new state. Also transition is the time of passage of human society from one level to another, usually more advanced. Transition has no correspondence with the historical periodization, which is the term in the historical knowledge field. History is the investigation in the past tense.

Transition is a process of transition from the initial condition of a second, and so on. Its main periods are: the stabilized situation, the reform of the state, the crisis (putting in doubt the future), change or collapse, new condition, transformative reforms, the stabilization of the new state (product).

The philosophical understanding of transition of society is the progress movement of human being. This means that the transition and the human being have common dimensions of time and space. So they have the same story.

Analysis, results and methodology

The understanding of transitology

In the early nineteenth century the transition involves at least three models of government: democracy, autocracy and anocracy.¹

The transition of the twentieth century, is quite different from other transitions. This means that we do not have a reference of a classic model of transition. In our time the global economy produces in a year as far as producing for two years in the last century. It projected a future without the past comparable models of the economy. For the next 60 years it is projected to grow 5 times the economic activity (J.G.Speth,1992, p.870). The urban and non urban environment has changed and are a great problem for future of society..

My research method is mixed (blended). It is based on the following basic elements: the qualitative and quantitative indicators, analysis and description, surveying, observation, induction and deduction. The basis of this method is also the approach (comparison).

Transitology² is a new knowledge in the political philosophy of the twentieth century. That's why we are referred to the idea of Dakart Rustov in the 70s. His view was the product of philosophical understanding of the economic, social and events that happened in Western Europe. However it was a political transitology.

Transitology is theoretical discipline/metatheory, that have subject all dimensions and functions of human being in path of development, through its transitional movement. In the field of human society, this discipline lies in the space/time (hyper-space) including the values of thought.

This discipline is trying to give a solution to the crises of political thought by orienting the movement of society from authoritarianism to democracy. In this paper I am focused

¹ Anocracy is a key concept that describes a kind of quality unstable regime, without efficiency and democratic governance with mix and autocratic practices. This type of regime is typical for transitions that involve the historical period since 1800 to 2014.

² Steiner. R. (2004). Human values in Education. Holland 1924", *Anthroposophist Press*, p. 169.

on the transitology of the post communist time which begins with the fall of the Berlin wall (9 November 1989).

In political science the word “transition” means the period between the old regime and the new democratic regime by the Western European standards, where the rules of the game are not created yet, and the political actors are still fighting for their interests by through the new system’s procedures.

But in my research has a philosophical approach to this key basic concept. This approach is built on the theoretical basis and not only over the empirical basis. So often I called the search “philosophy of transition”

For this reason, my starting point is “the movement”³ as a philosophical category.

The starting of reasoning is the movement because, in the history of human life, the first is the movement. After the movement comes the thought. The mind moves and produces the thought. This relationship between the movement and the human mind is the argument to understudying the thought as an action.

The man before it is an identity that thinking is a moving. It is a moving towards the doing itself.

This objective laws argues that the human thought (subjective reality) is the product of the objective movement.

The concept of movement comes to from displacement. Of the two types of movement, (in straight and curved), the curved movement have “produced” the transitive movement.

The Being and the movement have a natural order in which the first is the movement, because the movement is in the core of the Being.

In the field of human society the moving is the first and then comes the human thought, because the human thought is the core of the human society.

This transitology followed the tradition of the classical transitology and it was because of this that it was able to predict the development of democracy after the fall of totalitarian regimes in the Latin American countries, middle east (the Arabic spring) of Eastern Europe including Albania, ex Yugoslavian republics including Kosovo and the processes in the ex Soviet Union. Time since the beginning of post-communist transition has been insufficient to correct the errors in Kant’s philosophical thought and his successors in the field of Transitology. (Mutineer J Adler “1985, 100).

³ Ruston. D.A. (1970). Transitions to Democracy: Towards a Dynamic Model. *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 2, No. 3(Apr., 1970), pp. 337-367.

Transitology on post communism transition

Post communist transition is an intercultural movement of ex totalitarian society toward the model of western democracy.

This is the movement of social beings and simultaneously is the being transformation according to the formula where integral being carries out the integration and it is identical with itself:

$$\Sigma^J \text{ Being} = \Sigma^J \text{ Body} + \Sigma^J \text{ Mind} + \Sigma^J \text{ Spirit}^4$$

The conclusion is that in the global age the integration is cultural inter communication⁵ and the philosophy itself is essentially culture which is discerned for a megacodimension (cultural codimension)

The latter is the unification of multi dimensions which are lined at least in three spaces: rational space, spiritual space and material space.

Until nowadays there are known over 160 cultural defining. In my paper, by unifying cultural and being I have defined: "the culture is human being itself"⁶.

It starts from the time when the man begins to live differently from the animals. The culture is multi dimensional space where it comes to be realistic and apparent the integration of being.

However, we can affirm that cultural transition and integration of ex totalitarian societies, is not the same with that of other societies which have not undergone the same shock and have no such paradoxes.

The communist collapse, is primary a cultural failure rather than an economical failure.

The disappointment of people after of at least a centenarian dream, was an unknown cultural shock. The system of ideological truths collapsed. The utopia has been a speculator system. The new destination is an unknown model of cultural values.

The monopoly of the official ideological truth collapsed and all three truths (religious truth, philosophical truth, scientific truth) return to identity of origin.

Cultural paradox in the transitional period is shown as an over estimation of economy. But the cultural shock could not be overcome with economical shock or with the therapy of shock, which was applied in some countries.

⁴ this notation reads: integral sum of human being/body/spirit

⁵ Ruston. D.A. (1970). Transitions to Democracy: Towards a Dynamic Model. Comparative Politics, Vol. 2, No. 3(Apr., 1970), pp. 337-367.

⁶ Fred E. Jand. (2005). Intercultural Communications. SAGE publication, Inc. Printed in the USA, 2005 "conceptions of "culture" are heuristics –tools for thinking", p. 3.

Therefore an approach among culturists, economists and lawyers is also a necessary condition of transitology though not enough.

We think that hybrid culture and hybrid identity are a natural alternative for integration in a global multicultural society.

Cultural shock that happened with the passing from isolation to freedom, was the cause of vulgar hedonism. This turned to be the bases of a materialist vulgar culture, which is often becoming dominant and dangerous in post totalitarian transitional societies.

In time, another process is happening on western European countries. The present crisis in these countries is not the cultural crisis. Well the saving of situation began from the development of the culture.

In the Albanian case this paradoxology begins with the paradox of the two twin brothers who in 1990 were at the age of 20, and one of them is just released from a 7-year political sentence.

After 20 year, one of them is one the 200 biggest capitalists and the other is a teacher of philosophy but unemployed, because this discipline is removed from the educational programmes.

He is also afraid to express its political identity because of the absence of freedom. Now, after 23 years of post communist transition, in a lot of countries which are ex totalitarian regimes it is raised a question: how is the economical difference and cultural education of the society done? Which are the new social and political classes? Which is the moral imperative of the political elites?

Whatever the response be, it cannot cover the crises of these transitional models which is always present.

The crisis of transition has in its centre the paradox between moral and law of justice. The moral right and jurisdictional right, clash during the transition and have often produced anti-values instead of values.

This means that in such societies, the moral vices are classified as moral values and because of this reason it is given to them the legal right in their functioning. The lack of implementing of the juridical law is considered as a right and a normal behavior of moral.

In all these cases the hybrid democracy or non-functional democracy is an incapable model to establish independent justice and social moral imperative.

Such transitional situation has produced the model of corrupted capitalism or “capitalism with friendship” as it is called by American economists. The economical bases of transitional societies invests nepotism in the selection of values instead of meritocracy.

Paradoxes of transition

Post-communist society naturally enters the road of paradoxes. The paradox between the time and space in the transitional society is the contradiction between the past and the future.

This contradiction in most of the cases is shown as a conflict which has sent to the obliteration of the heritage and/or loss of the vision for the future.

The totalitarian system underwent its historical collapse but it left a heritage which is present in the integration and modeling of a society of values.

Time in our era has the dimension of the past and the dimension of the future. The present has changed qualitatively. The present is presented one dimensional (codimension) and as a fusion of time and space. (Hyper surface of present).

My theoretical argument is the idea of Karl Popper which writes: “The future is always present, as a promise, a lure and a temptation”. While “the terrorist attacks on the United State of September 11, 2001 and their aftermath provide a vivid real-time example of historical branching. “9/11”, was a rip in time that defined a “before” and “after”, a cultural short-circuit that revealed deep tensions will not be resolved, with dire consequences for the world’s future”⁷.

The perception and subjective motive of paradox between time and space is the agitation to win the lost time.

Exactly in this motive is encouraged even the corruption of transitional societies and the tendency to get enriched quickly and without working as well as a lot of other juridical injustices, social and political injustices.

The dialectic of transition is the disassembly of totalitarian society.

It is the formation of a new society according to the model of western capitalist societies and its integration to the global process. The process passes into three stages:

- The disassembly of ex society and the totalitarian system.
- The making and the setting up of the society and the free democratic order according to western standards.

⁷ Paulraskin and Co. (2002). Great transition. The Promise and Lure of the Time Ahead. *Stockholm Environment Institute*. ISBN 0-9712418-1-3. P. 10.

- Reaching a result or “New born” which means that the society has entered the parallel of integration and globalization.

The theoretical argumentation of this theses is based in the Hegelian dialectic of the idea and the Kantian criticism. But the most adequate solution is found in the reflective philosophy.

The practical argumentation is the post communist reality. So, the society and state in the time of transition are in the process of making or in the stage of setting up. This process can be realized only through walking in the parallel of global integration.

The failure of the classical transitology in our era has come because it has started from the suppositions and not from the philosophical truths.

A wrong supposition is the one which all totalitarian regimes in the eastern European countries by including even the ex soviet union were considered as communist countries or as communist regimes. (Genov 1996, 39)

This ideological and empirical emphasis was not a reflective and critical rational estimation. By making this first step was proceeded with the short circuit between the practice of the regimes of these countries with the Marxist political theory and even with the philosophical corpus of Marx.

In the first view it appeared as if the philosophy of Marks was getting challenged. But in reality it was being looked for a solution of some problems of transition, exactly from Marks.

The problem was becoming more complicated when some Eastern regimes not only from Europe, had no theoretical relevance with Marxism.

I have been giving arguments that the Albanian case of 1944-1990 period was not an application in practice of the Marxist theory for the setting up of communism.

The Albanian system of that time was a model of the atheist idolatric and socialist totalitarianism. It has some similar points with Nazism and some similarities with Italian fascism.

It has more similarities with Stalinism than with the model of Leninism. Even though Lenin himself in Russia in the transitional time had raised the question “what is to be done?”. (V I Lenin 1901. Shto dellat?)

In the same period of time the transition of post communism in China has taken another new dimension and the western transitology is obliged to take as a challenging model, economical and social reality and political eastern reality. What I mean here is the model of developed countries of south-east Asia.

The collapse of recent totalitarisms of the xx century and transition, are global phenomena, which overcome the boundaries of empiric disciplines and can be studied from Transatology and can be guided from Reflective philosophy.

This process was so profound that not only changed but even turned over a lot of models and doctrines, which are related with western democracy and civilization.

Nowadays there is a necessity for a revision over the relationship of this civilization with the system of capitalist democracy, with the economical model and globalization. This task is a theoretical and cultural mission which needs to be done by the philosophy.

At the same time this process was also followed with the crises of the philosophical thought and also with the need of its solution through a reflection in this field, which will send us toward a modern reformation of the philosophical thought.

This is the reason why I think that reflective philosophy is one of the alternatives to get out of this crisis.

From the very beginning I have underlined my philosophical credo which is: "I am, therefore you are"

The objective premises for the above is the thought that reflective function is the most integral function of the human being.

This function is a human co-dimension (a dimension inside another dimension), which has another classical rational dimension, and the anthropological dimension as well as the dimension of the spiritual belief and religion.

This philosophy will be the product of integration to all the philosophical thought since the ancient times, ancient Greek philosophy, medieval Aristotels, modern philosophy up to post modern philosophy of nowadays.

The process of European integration verifies that critical philosophy is now overcome and that the critical philosophical thought and that of post critical have prepared the way to a new thought which is the reflective philosophical thought.

The beginning of my reasoning is "multiple meaning of innate ideas" of Decart⁸ and this premise leads us to the conclusion that humanity, has a critical modern thought today. But it still has no reflective modern awareness.

⁸ L. Samovar, R. Porter, E. Mc. Daniel. (2009). Intercultural communication. *Wadsworth, Cengage Learning*. P. 168. (A functional Chimerican would be someone who is proficient in both English and Chinese, competent in communicating between Chinese and Americans)

Conclusion

The empirical argument of this paper is the model of the Albanian economy during the post totalitarian transition. This is a flawed model, and not to the standards of classical capitalism. Albanian model pattern is corrupted. This model has violated the freedom and equality before the law and justice so.

I have labeled the Albanian model by the American term “capitalism with friendship”. However, our argument extends to legal injustice, social and economic situation in Albania capitalist property, to work in the capitalist profit and the free market of goods.

“Capitalism with friendship” that is taking place in Albania during post totalitarian transition (1991-2015) and “The State of the right to revolt” are two terms that uses looking to build a new knowledge in the field of transitology.

The Albanian paradoxes are:

The paradox of the lost time, which appears to lack of tanishmes; the space-time relationship (Jean Gibser (1909-1973).

The paradox of freedom: the abuse of freedom and movement between anarchy and authoritarianism of the state hybrid. Eastern nuances of democracy.

European legal integration paradox lies between the union bureaucracy administrative law (180,000 pages) and lawmakers in Albania. Legal awareness and law enforcement. Albanian product: the culture of noncompliance with the law.

Economic paradox in a country with human and natural wealth, the system of free market economy and a capitalist welfare level far Western European standard.

The paradox between private property and profit-work: Corruption.

Cultural paradox. Between culturalist approach, economists and lawyers. Biased attitudes. Albanian hybrid culture a natural alternative to integration in a European multicultural society.

Dialectic of the Albanian transition: Albanian transition is the disintegration of the Albanian totalitarian society, and the formation of a new society, based on the model of Western capitalist societies as well as its integration into the Euro-Atlantic integration process. The transition process is divided into three stages, which in Albanian case are:

- The dissolution of the former society and a totalitarian system.
- Making or building society and free democratic order in Albania.
- Performance (effectiveness) that understands that Albania is part of Europe.

Theoretical argument of this thesis is based on the Hegelian dialectic of the idea and Kantian criticism, but finds resolution in reflective philosophy. Albanian practical argument is the reality of the post-communist period.. So Albanian society and government at the present time are in the process of making, or, in the construction phase. This process can only be accomplished by moving in parallel the global integration.

Recommendations

I. The integration can be accelerated by evaluating as ontological transformation (material, mental, spiritual) based and illuminated by reflective and integrative philosophy according to a new culture of thought/ action.

European integration perceived and extends as objective movement towards the globalization model of man: human pattern of Chinese American.

Albanian Integration in Europe/Europeanization is the Albanian return to identity (origin) within the European historical natural family.

The culmination of this transformation marked by:

- the creating of public awareness of community integration (European human model)
- the construction of the capitalist economic model that creates opportunities of Albanian development,
- the reform of the education system including qualitative change in the philosophical school of thinking.
- the ensuring and guaranteeing the quality of life according to the European standard for each individual wherever he resides.

II. Required to install a new culture of emigration, which means that:

In the global era, the integration and the “return home” are too natural developments. Between the individual and the homeland//fatherland/motherland) are the ideal, spiritual and eternal link, which does not depend and is not determined by the material factors. This connection should be reactivated and work for the Albanians.

III. The integration strategy is implemented when the Albanian society to do:

- the free elections according to European standard (functional democracy);
- the reconstruction of the new system of political pluralism (political system);
- the citizen awareness for law enforcement (rule of law);
- the installation and the operation of policy making by the Euro-Atlantic standards (making law);

- the configuration and the implementation of European standards in relations between the enrichment of the individual, morality, religion and politics in the whole pyramid of society;

IV. The safest and the most ensure way of integration is the transitive movement of transformation of the Albanian society, which in reality translates into the high quality stable reforms by the European standards.

V. During the transition post-communist al the economic, social, educational, political, legal, moral an cultural models, must not to be the transitional models, but only the European models.

A short dictionary

Capitalism with friendship - this term is taken from Alan Greenspan, who was chairman of the Federal Reserve of the United States

Hybrid democracy - can be identified with the term nonfunctional democracy as model of governance during the post-communist transition. The word "hybrid" beginning to be used in the philosophy of the seventeenth century. It comes from the Latin "hybrida" and refers to a child who is born of a slave, married with a free one. This word originally had a biological content, which is related to species, breeds, species of plants and animals. In the seventeenth century it took a social content and addresses the modern human culture and traditions of different or mixed. Then this question will address the global phenomenon, "multiculturalism". In the Japanese language the word is "sushi" or "katana". Culture hybrid is considered by Robert Barthes as a "third language" spoken in "third place", which is where we live today in this era of "Global Village". This very modern sense had led me to this concept.

Post-communism - is a term that indicates the period after the collapse of communism and that consists of a set of theoretical views and ideas aimed at orienting the society from totalitarian to democratic standards identified with those of Western Europe and the USA. In this paper, the term has the same content with the terms post totalitarianism.

Revolted rule of law - This concept is derived from the Albanian reality during the transition. The whole terminology of assessment for this system was the terminology translated from Russian and Stalinist USSR experience. At the beginning of his rule the E. Hoxha condemned and killed the Albanian parliamentary political opposition, while among the 60 proclaimed atheism as a dominant ideology and condemned any idea of religious practice and belief. The cult of Hoxha became a "false god". The revolted rule of law is continuation of the model of government that is basing on the class hatred.

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