The reflective philosophy of European integration

European identity and the transition of post-communist societies. The case of Albania. Aspects of Political Behavior.

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Abstract

Research so far in the field of political philosophy and moral philosophy and experience dealing with Albanian post communist transition period, leading to the potential of these theses to be argued.

European integration as an objective process size world as and globalization are two parallels, which are moving in time of crisis of philosophical though. The end of the Cold War, the decline of the Berlin Wall, in 10-year-old the last century, Islamic fundamentalism, especially after the events of 9 September 2001 in America, are the objective processes that have led the world toward a new order. Even in the second decade of the XXI century, this development is not only objective but also irresistible advance and the most faster. In this time are present many subjective phenomena, like multiculturalism and Christianity xenophobia. These are only some of the objective and subjective circumstances that determined a new philosophical though.

Aristotelian philosophy was transformed into a postmodernism and is serving as a strong basis for a new philosophy. Postmodernism more and more will emerge us as a modern Aristotle's. Aristotle's philosophical thought can communicate quite well with Kantian universalism and transcendence Kantian right path of truth and not even stop to existentialism or to analytic philosophy (2).

The process of European integration proves that philosophy is already exceeded critical and critical and philosophical thought that post have paved the way critical of a new thought, reflective.

We think that it opened the way towards a new philosophy: reflective philosophy. This philosophy will be the product of integration of all philosophical thought from antiquity: from ancient Greek philosophy, to medieval Aristotle or Thomism philosophy, to the modern philosophy down to us, the post modern philosophy.

The new philosophy is reflective will try to interpret the old truth, or historical truth not by a wide critical to the antagonist, but in a competitive value and competitive alternatives. In reflective philosophy appreciates and prevailed the product (outcome) and not only the process. So the truth according to this philosophy will be the integrated truth. Dialectic of philosophical idea in this philosophy, is not a critical dialectic as a

result of facing the negative dialectic to that positive. But it is a process that evaluated the validity of product development.

I. European integration of Albania is part organic and natural processes, beyond the objective of the Albanian and needs to be based on reflective philosophy. Unlike other European countries especially Eastern European ones, that philosophy in Albania, out of a waste. During the totalitarian regime of the second half of the twentieth century, but even further, Albania had a vacancy, almost absolute in a philosophical opinion. During the totalitarian regime in Albania, there was no philosophical truth, was crucified and is denying the true religion, true science is accepted as a true objective. This phenomenon had occurred in Eastern European countries in which, as well as in Albania, Marxist ideology.

Reflective philosophy is not a reactive mindset. During the last century people were accustomed to a philosophy which argued as true contradiction. In Albania and the former communist countries of Eastern Europe had consolidated this philosophy Marxism. Marxism had become a philosophy and an official ideology ruling. After the collapse of communism fell this philosophy. During the post communist transition was necessary for the comparison of positive alternatives to the progress and the struggle between the negative and positives received a new content. There was and is no longer a need to compare two antagonisms. The old died and is started a new natural progress. So the end of the old philosophy was the end of idealistic utopia and early materialist era. On the crisis of thought of the nineteenth century, Hegel began his philosophy with the idea. But for the same reason, namely, the emergence of the crisis of thought, Bergsoni found the discovery of the truth by means of intuition. But even more deepened the crisis of philosophical thought with Marx. The latter began the philosophical thought of matter, and while the idea touted as a force materials. None of these philosophy of nineteenth-century did not provide a complete solution to the crisis of thought. It is known Hegelian idea that rejects the reflective philosophy. Hegelian objection had underlying his speculative philosophy. According to Hegel the reflective philosophy can not encompass all the elements that includes speculative philosophy. However this Hegelian objection is not a very big risk on our path toward to the reflective philosophy. Even Hegel himself has made only "reflective attack" against the reflective philosophy. Because, according to Hegel also appears that "the distinction between reflective philosophy and reflective philosophy is distinction so dear to existentialists, the distinction between what is authentic and what is authentic between eigentlich and uneigentlich"(1)… Well, we can mentioned that the contempt for reflective philosophy is only side of Hegel's attitude. But the progress of philosophical though during the xx century argumentum that the reflective philosophy is passing the natural communication or natural relations between e.

The existentialism truth on being **"I am"** in our epoch is with the new quality and the new quantity dimension. **"I'm Greek" or "I am Albanian"** and **"I'm Italian"** now in the era of open society operate quite differently. Now the dimension is beyond the "I am". It is an entirely social dimension. Individual beings has become so much that social boundary between them is inexistent. In the era of integration are being diminished national borders and "I am Albanian" is heading in the direction of **"I am European"** and for more **"I am world citizen".** This new content is for each individual beings regardless of national identity, or any other kind of identity. In case of Albania, "I am an Albanian" is connected with "**I am a Balkan**".

Europe has been identified with the West. This current is not sufficient for parallel east west is a new parallel and changed qualitatively.

"Here we can return to Fukuyama's semi-ideological claim that the victory of 'liberalism' will end the human history of cultural and ideological conflicts. Fukuyama thought that it would be replaced by pragmatic calculations and technical problem solving within the paradigm of the 'universal homogenous liberal democratic state'. Kantian formal universality, utilized and reworked by liberals such as Rawls, reduces liberal democracy to Fukuyama's impoverished conception of the political. If rationality is only formal, and the only normative principle of modern liberal democracy is the autonomous individual with his/her 'universal' rights, then liberal modernity can indeed be seen as an ever expanding homogenous and uniform social condition dominated not by ideas"(3).

Reflective philosophy is the philosophy which reveals the philosophical truth in the **natural report between material and idea**. In this philosophy the materials measure and the ideal ratio is a natural measure. That mean the precisely of this measure forces us to go back on Aristotle golden. Reflective philosophy, will be the next **political philosophy and the moral philosophy.** This philosophy will make a reconsideration of law, political pluralism, as well as all the principles of rule of law.

Notes and references:

(1). Hegel: Faith and Knowledge. An English translate of G.W.F.Hegel's Glanben und Wissen prepared and edited by Walter carf and H.S. Harris state University of New York, 1977. ISBN 0-87395-338-X, Page xix

(2) Andrius Bielskis, University of Warwick,"What can the *Philosophes* of European integration learn from postmodern Aristotelians?"

(3) ibid

II. The idea of Albanians on Europe and European thought. Albanians have had their idea on Europe since their geneses, but they don not have not yet a European thought.

Albanians have been and have the idea of Europe since their genesis. Also the thinking of Albanians has produced and continues to reproduce European idea of size of each nation Western Europeans. The European ideas of Albanians have not been, nor are still, a genuine European thought. Ideas of Albanians took to the stage of a national ideology, therefore the level of a modern European system, at the time of the Albanian Renaissance (1830-1912). In the field of political philosophy, these ideas tended to be European governance system under the advanced western European models long the period 1912-1945. European ideas of Albanians overcame the stand-by-n of the years 1945-1990, and begin to reborn on the verge of xxi century, after the collapse of socialist system in this country. The transition period in the post-communist Albania means it is also the period of transformation of the European ideas of Albanians into modern European thought. It is the phase of transformation in the philosophical ideas of Albanians into a sort of European philosophy. This treatise is going to cover for two theses: The integration is at first an intellectual realization (thinking). So the European integration of Albania has gone though a process of implementation (done), to argue whether the "thinking" of Albanians is a European view. Secondly this thesis will serve not only me but also others, as one of the initial ideas to be settled and developed the Philosophy of Albanology. I acknowledge that this might lead to a meta- theory of this discipline.

III. European Identity of Albanians

What is known in Albania as an "Albanian identity", as a set of values and cultural properties does have much in common with what is perceived and acknowledged as "The European identity". Religion and identity in Albanians will be discussed further in this framework

In Albania are three religions with their respective their religious institutions: the Catholic religion, the Orthodox religion and Islam religion. The Islam belief is a faith for most of the Albanian people, at least since the xviii century. We can prove that this historical and current reality, hasn't been and aren't may be an argument that undermines the Western Europeans of the Albanian identity. European identity of Albanians is one of the factors accelerator integration into social, cultural and Christian environment European like is written in the Constitution of the European Union. The basis of our argument in this case will be the idea that religion or religious belief is not part of the Albanian identity. We start our reasoning from values. Integration is the process of walking towards the European values. And while, trust is a universal quality of human Being.

IV. *The Identity and the flexibility and adaptability of the Albanians*

The absence of political identity is one of the hypotheses in this research. This theoretical thesis is confirmed by reference to the Albanian political life of post communist transition time. Lack of political identity is visible to the Albanian individual. A part of the people do not want to have a political setting, especially when this setting is related to party affiliation. During these 20 years, in Albania, there has never been neither a truly right-wing nor a left-wing political power. The socialist party of Albania (SPA) has not been implemented and there is any serious governance program with the left profile. Although the Democratic Party of Albania (DPA), which has occupied the main spectrum of right political, never has anyone the right profile. This governance experience of Albania is not supported in the political philosophy named "across the left and the right". The Albanian phenomena is the pragmatism adoption. The political adaptation phenomenon was characteristic of the Albanian political after 90 years of the twentieth century. The Socialist Party of Albania (SPA), that was and is the largest political force. The Albanian representative of the left is adapted from former Labor Party or the Communist Party of Albania (CPA). Democratic Party of Albania (DPA), that was first established as the strength of opposition to the overthrow of communism was in its composition and leadership of a large number of communists, who were adapted into the anticommunist. So in post-communist time, the political life of Albania is facing two basic concepts: political identity and political adaptation. Put into effect in front of these two concepts is the indicator of severity of the Albanian political battle. From the anthropological, psychological and moral approach, the adaptation produces more severe clashes than the person with the identity.. The adoptee suffers from the lack of complex of identity. The level of presence of identity and the process of adaptation determines the extent of the political credibility. The level of political battle in certain moments, especially in the first decade of post communist, went up to the threshold of a civil war. This and other similar situations, have increased the need for military intervention factors and factors in European diplomatic solutions to internal issues of Albanian politics.

V. Albanian pantheism and Albanian paganism

One of theses of the dissertation is: **The philosophy of Albanology is a pantheist philosophy.** This philosophy is expressed in Albanian culture and Albanian thought. Albanian culture is a pantheist culture. This means that knowledge of the Albanians for the world is based on natural knowledge. Albanian beliefs, therefore, their religion are based on natural phenomena. Morals, customs and traditions of Albanians, as and the Albanians social education are in a direct connection with nature. The same relationship with nature has also Albanian art since its creation. So all Albanians spiritual creativity is based in nature. This creativity is more before than the early Christian religion. Islam is very late compared with the Albanians spiritual creativity.

The spiritual creation of the Albanians is not related to Judaism, or even the Holy Land.

Our conclusion is that the entire Albanian opinion is a genuine thought pantheistic. The essence of the religion of Albanians is pantheism.

VI. The Historical Delay of Albanian
Historical delay of Albanians is their relationship with space and time with the movement. Albanian beings since the beginning of her existence has established relationships with such objective categories, and resulted in delayed movement. Set the delay is the **historical product** of Albanian comparison with the product of other European nations. Albanian historic delay is not equal to the backlog. Albanians have a natural progress as well as all other European nations. Backwardness in the Albanian case relates only to historical time and is not connected with the objective time. So Albanian delay is a subjective phenomenon, while Albanian progress is movement permanent objective

VII. Integration means Europeanization
Europeanization and integration in the Albanian case is a single process. The unification of these two concepts is not a pragmatist syllogism. This unification is a process of development. Albania, unlike all East European former communist countries, during the second half of the twentieth century, the country was isolated from Western Europe. After the collapse of communism, after the collapse of the Berlin wall, for all other peoples of East Europe, their integration into "Jean Monnet Europe", was a communication or a competition between integration and globalization. While the Albanian case the integration is presented as an integration in confrontation with the globalization. For the Albanians, the age of defiant isolation for more half of century is a great distance from process of globalization. So Albanians were placed in front globalization as solitary beings, which had just emerged from a anti natural isolation. When we compare the perceptions of Integration between peoples of Albania and the others peoples in East Europe we can sea that this process in Albanians takes this form: The people of other European countries have a level of their walking towards globalization, while the Albanians have to realize two processes simultaneously, both their integration and globalization. And the only way to achieve this mission is possible through the Europeanization of Albania. This thesis will be covered and checked searching historical arguments in the Albanian reality and current developments in this country. Albanian Communism, at least, from 60 years of the twentieth century, had accepted the challenge for people "better to eat grass" than to receive economic aid from capitalist Western European. The highlight was the time (60 years), when the western capitalist countries and eastern countries were accepting the revisionist

challenge of globalization. Precisely at this time the Albanians were being isolated in an area of 28,000 square km and sacrificed themselves.

VIII. "The state of revolted right"

"The state of revolted right," and, "militant democracy," are two concepts according to me, that define the core of the Albanian state of post-communist transition period. The country emerged from the state rate of class hatred and attempt to go to the level of rule of law (in state law). Albanian State transition occurs as a right that operates between hatred and law, between hate and humanity, between oppression and governments in the name of law, between the lack of freedom and its abuse among human rights violation, between militant and merit, between political loyalty and legal independence, between violence and law enforcement, between law and politics, between morals and anti moral, between deceit and truth, between informality and formality. Analysis and argument of this thesis will be the focus of Albanian institutions in transition time. In the case of Albania democracy is not a institutional democracy. Democracy does not seem to be working. It is much more like a "hybrid" system.

In conclusion of this argument also appears a mirror forms of economic and social order, the Albanian state and the Albanian law, since its creation in 1912 until today:

No	Historical timeline	Stages of Albanian state	The law and customary law (the right)	The economic and social order of Albania
1	1912 - 1920	Declaration of Independence of Albania after five centuries of ottoman occupation. The birth of independent state of Albania. The first Constitution of Albania (1914) Constitutional principality under the hereditary sovereign and guaranteeing of the six major Western Powers (1914): (Austria, Italy, France, Great Britannia, USA, Germany)	Naïve regulations, and hybrids between customary law and legal rights. Anarchy and political chaos between the of customary Law (Canon of Leke Dukagjini)	There are the highlighted the feudal relations rule. Over 90% of the population lives in villages. The agriculture is backwardness. 95% of the population was illiterate.

2	1920 - 1939	The early times of Albanian state. Hybrid forms of governance as a product from connection the democracy with dictatorship governance as a Parliamentary monarchy of Albania (Lushnje Congress 1920) Republic of Albania (1925-1928) Kingdom of Albania (1928-1939)	The Right was between the hybrid model of western democracy and local customary law, with full feudal and oriental hue. Adaptation of some European legal codes: Code of Trade, Code of Family, The penal Code. The political pluralism was in the childhood level and full with political revenge.	Manufacturing, craft and goods market in medieval towns. Capitalism is fragile. The introduction of commercial producers and the Italian capital. A small class of workers, peasants and backward classes. Create the elite of intelligence which was educated in Europe. 90% of the population are illiterate. A trend for imitation of the western cultural life.
3	1939 - 1945	Italian and German occupation. The provisional government and the collaborationists government Abolition of the Constitution and personal Union with Italy and viceroy. "Upper Fascist Corporate Council" (1939-1943) German invasion and, "National Assembly" (1943-1944). Organization of the bases of power for the Communists by the model of the Bolsheviks	The Right is the model, where people struggling for the liberation of its own. Strengthening customary law and the "law of war" Terror in conditions of war. There are present the red terror and white terror (Nazism and Bolshevik model of state and law)	The Destruction of the economy by the occupation and the WW II. The Albania is Member of the Coalition Antifascist: (UK, U.S., USSR). The Creation of Communist Party. National liberation struggle and civil war items. The division into two political camps: the communists (the left party) and the nationalists and National Front (the right politic party), respectively support by the USSR and Anglo Americans

4	1945 - 1990	People's democracy that is derived from orthodox communism. Communist Dictatorship of proletariat and its **four functions**: oppressed ore overthrow by violence the bourgeois, construction the new order, education, and protection from enemy. The communist party is the only force that government. The state and the party is the same. The fist Secretary of Communist Party is the President of Republic of Albania. The high Lawmaking organ is Politic Bureau of Party. The member of parliament is a militant of party. This is the model of Albanian **totalitarianism.** This totalitarianism is an model of political mafia in Albania	The political right ore the communist party right is a single dominant ideology. The Constitution of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania(SPRA) (1945). Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Albania (SRA) (1976) destruction of the common law. The policy of Party is dominant over the right. The pluralism is penalty. The religious belief is penalty.	The disappearance of the private ownership of state assets and the creation of state production and co operative production. Up to 1961 there is the small private property, state property and co operative property. After this time has itself a type of property: common property: state property in the city and co operative property or property of group in the village. Disappear with violence the feudal class and bourgeoisie class and created the new classes workers working in state enterprise class and peasant co operative working in agricultural cooperatives. Intelligence layer has emerged from these two classes. Cultural Revolution-style Russian and China.

The slogan was; "to construct the socialism only our forces. It is sanctioned in the Constitution |
| 5 | 1990 - 2010 | Parliamentary Republic of Albania.

 The Provisions of the First Democratic Constitutional State (1991).

Constitution of parliamentary Republic of Albania (1998). | The beginning the rule of the law, in an post communist situation. Revival of customary law through the anarchist. Governance unfair where missing, check and balance,. Democracy is not an functional: It is time of "Right revolted". The crises of democracy. Some Elections with full political and administrative issues related to European standards. | Privatization of the state and the collective property. Privatized all of the agricultural land. Former property owners and property request and receive from the communist state. The State destroyed all enterprises. The creation a new capitalist class. The Informal economy flourished. New social and new economic phenomenon as unemployment, immigration, poverty, cleans the village. The abuse of freedom (like escaped from liberty). European integration becomes part of each individual life. |

IX. Philosophy of Albanian Totalitarianism. Orthodox Marxism in Albania. Albanian totalitarian democracy. The totalitarianism of Albania is the model of political mafia.

The people's democracy in Albania was derived from orthodox communism regime. Communist Party of Albania (Albanian Party of Labor) (APL) had not been a Marxist Leninist party and its leader Enver Hoxha, was neither a genuine Marxist militant, as a Marxist Leninist leader, as he had considered himself, the less an ideologist of Marxism. This thesis is related with Albanian anti communism. This hasn't been an anti communism in the level of west European. Having launched the political argument in this space we will extend it in the model the Albanian society, that was built during the communist rule. The Albanian communist model wasn't a model of Marxist communism. This model was the Stalinist model. All the arguments of this thesis are an integral part of the arguments for the period of transition and post communist Albanian integration process of Albania in Europe.

The model of governance during the communist regime of Albania is a model of totalitarianism political mafia. This label is my political and philosophical conclusions which is insert by the induction method, beginning from the political experience, economic model and moral Hoxha governance and Albania as the model of The Political Bureau of the Labor Party of Albania (PLA) in the 1945-1990, time frame. We have launched our argument for this conclusion from two premises, which are two sufficient real arguments. (1) Isolation of Albania, with All its dimensions was first requirement to honor a government mafia. Isolation was indispensable condition for the establishment of a political coup mafia type, of a social tribal group, (clannish group), where all are checked for every word and all are in solidarity for the penalty are by their chairman (capo). (2) Class struggle was a necessary condition to establish the pattern and mafia structures to make it effective in daily life.

This two premises and this two arguments are researching not only in field of philosophy of polity. This component in our researching are philosophical understanding. The isolation is a philosophical category because it connected with relation of being with space and with time. In political Philosophy this category is in communication with the geographical determination in the polity.

The Class struggle in the philosophical vision is a relation of social being with the human being, in the form of individual; it is the struggle for existence. This analyses should will go to the our communication the social Darwinism philosophy.

In my research argued three distinctive features of Albanian totalitarianism by compared it with three variant of the authoritarian state: integral statism or state socialism,

fascism, and reformism. (1) The Albanian totalitarianism is a feudal totalitarianism and absolutism antireform state. (2) This totalitarianism is a murderous state which was based over social class violent dislike or over the theory of class struggle. (3) The Albanian totalitarianism was a provincial state absolutely isolation from the others states. Albania during the socialism totalitarianism rule was a great prison for the people.

X. Polity and moral. The transition of society and the crises of moral. "The crisis of disbelieves"

One the focus of research is the space between politics and morality of Albanians at the time of post totalitarianism. You can call: "Albanian politics and morality of Albania during the time of transition,, Lack of divisional boundaries and the bridges of communication between the Albanian politics and the their moral, lack of morality and lack the moral principles and political principles has become a natural process, not only for politicians conduct but for most people. Moral categories and political categories are motivated by the primitive hedonism. Uncontrollable desire for profit has become a political principle and moral behavior. The absence of mass political behavior and moral or disability to find the golden Aristotelian average. A policy based on the vulgar sophism which are deformed by an original behavior of Albanians, so that the word is related to inflation. Lack of the Kantian categorical imperative and the application of moral oriental principles. The product of this time of transition has been the transformation of moral anti values in moral values. Time after time began to become moral value, the lie, the informality, and corruption. In the case of Albania during the transition all crises that have accompanied the progress, have been as primary moral crisis. Also the poverty which is associated with the economic crisis has the first cause the moral crisis. In 1997, Albanian society suffered a collapse due to a giant financial crisis (the pyramid financial crisis), which has primary cause the lies and some other moral anti values. Even political institutional crisis has been the main cause moral crisis. Argument of this thesis is based on the perception of the Albanian reality. In the field of the politics the crises of moral in Albania is connected with the disbeliefs. They are regarded with incredulity in every action between them. And I mean that all the crisis of Albanians are "the crisis if disbelief"

XI. The dialectic of transition of Albanians

Albanian transition is the dissolution of totalitarianism society, is a process of formation the new model of society by the standard of Western capitalist societies and the integration of society. The process runs in three phases. In the Albanian case these phases are: (1). The disintegration of the former totalitarian society and destruction the real socialist order (2). Making or building the new society and the free democratic order Albanian. (3). Performing (achieving results) to understand that Albania is part of Europe. Theoretical argument of this thesis is based on the idea

of Hegelian dialectic and Kantian criticism. The practical argument is social reality, economic and political reality Albanian post-communist period: after 90 years of the twentieth century and up to our days. Albanian practical experience demonstrating that the level of development today is the second level. So Albanian society and state at the time of today are in the process of making, ore in the construction phase.

Key Words

The reflective philosophy. This philosophy is the new philosophy of integration and globalization. It will be the product of integration of all philosophical thought from antiquity: from ancient Greek philosophy, to medieval Aristotle or Thomism philosophy, to the modern philosophy from Decartism to Spinoism and Kantianism from Hegel to Bergsonism and existentialism and down to us, the post modern philosophy.

"The State of revolted right": this concept is insert from the researching in reality of Albania during the time of transition. The most legal actions are inspirations by the negative emotions.

"European thought" is identical with the European philosophy. In case of Albania we have confessed that the Albanians have European ideas but not yet the European thought.

Adaption: make suitable or modify for new conditions. We have connected this concept with **identity of Albanians.** Adaption is a Albanian reality and a Albanian process

Integration and Europeanization: the two concepts in this research have the same understanding. This two concepts named all Albanians processes after collapse of communism system.

Hybrid Democracy: This is the model democracy during the transition time of Albania. It is a form between the tyranny and anarchy. This democracy is out of principle "Check and balance". In this case the institutions are out of democratic functions. And the other name is **"Non functional Democracy"** The hybrid democracy is an injustice government.

Totalitarianism or one- party form of government requiring complete subservience to the state. In case of Albania this term is connected with "The party is the State". This is the first our vision. And the second is: Researching in the social field and in the economic field we can concluded that, the order socialist of Albania during the 50 years (1945-1990) have been more the feudal order that a communist order.

Totalitarianism in Albania named **"the dictatorship of proletariat"**. This model of governance woos the **model of political mafia**

Anticommunism : We are referring the politic reality of Albania during 70 years of 20th century, when the dictator E Hoxha written dawn the book "Euro communism is anti communism".

Red terror and white terror: the two concepts are from Leninist literature. In the case of Albania we will use the concept "State terror". One of the four functions of dictatorship of proletariat of Albania, even the first of them, is overthrow the bourgeois class by the state violence. This is the "State terror"

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2. Francois d'Arcy "European Union Policies" Issues Albanian, Papirus, 2007. Original title: "Les politiques de l' Union European. 2003, Editions Montechrestien, COME

3. Edgar Morin "Penser l' Europe" or "Thinking Europe"
   The philosophy and Edgar Morin's work are very know and most influential in Europe, but in Albania isn't know. I am referred this philosopher because his approach is in harmony with a new culture of uncertainty as many modern European thinkers. By Morin in every research the method is the path. The history of ideas reflects ways of thinking are in turn and reflected in the disciplinary nature of academic research. The organization of knowledge of knowledge is isomorphic at the level of thought, the history of ideas and disciplines. The "simple thought" is characterized much of Western history, and the organization of knowledge in universities.

4. Hannah Arendt "The Human Condition"
   The philosophy of Arendt is inspiration from Heidegger, Aristotle, Augustine, I Kant, Nietzsche, Jaspers and others. By the Arndt's philosophy the nature of politics and political life is distinct from other domains of human activity. He undertake a phenomenological reconstruction of the nature of political existence and this entails in way of thinking and acting. In this work, Arendt, have studied the democracy and the political philosophy from origin since in Ancient Greek world to the our days. This book is fundamentally concerned with the problem of reasserting the politics as a valuable ream of human action, praxis, and the word of appearances.

5. Hannah Arendt "The origins of totalitarianism" It is the first work published in 1951. It is a response of events of her own time, the rise of Nazi Germany and the catastrophic fate of European Jewry at its hands, the rise of Soviet Stalinism

and its annihilation of millions of peasants as and free-thinking intellectuals, writes artists, scientists, and political activists.

6. Adriana Cavarero: "For more than one voice" Stanford University Press 2005
The philosophical affirmation of Cavarero is the organic link between the ontology of human being and the gynecological status of word. The word by phenomenological philosophy is a phenomena that isn't only a word in itself, but is a speaking. He have written that "when the register of speech is totalized, for instance, when it is identified with a system of language of which the voice would be mere function, it is indeed inevitable that the vocal emission not headed for speech is nothing but a remainder. However rather than a mere leftover, what is really at stake is originally excess. The rational character of speech, rooted as it is in singularity of each speaker, which makes itself manifest in the uniqueness o their voice, is the only thing that Shakespeare's scene must perforce take for granted as its ontological horizon.
This philosophy are influential by the philosophy of Hannah Arendt, because the political sphere of rationality is depended on the action, or Aristotle praxis, And by the A Cavarero, it is "the destined to speech".

7. A Cavarero: "Horrorism: naming contemporary violence" Columbia University Press 2088

8. J Butler "Giving an Account of oneself" from Diacritic, V. 31, No 4 (Winter, 2001), pp 22-40

9. Peter Temple "Identity Theory"

10. R.Papavanthi Vembulu "Understanding European Integration: History, culture, and politics of identity" first published 2003. This book is the official opinion of European Commission of integration of East countries Europeans. There are the definition of integration, the meaning of integration and institutional historiography, the culture and the community of European Union's cultural policy and dynamics of Europeanization, the imperialism of European integration. "Even the communism was identified as a by product of European history there was a kin tussle going on between the capitalist, free market, liberal democracy and the socialist authoritarian form of government. With the final collapse of the Soviet Union, the serious contender to the universal civilization. This has been interpret as "end of history" by Fukuyama. The European integration is being visualized as the one more forward movement of Europe towards its five century old agenda of integration the world as a single unit. Despite his grand effort in formulating a theoretical base and explaining European integration in tandem with it, there remains a nebulous area in his argument; whether he visualizes the move toward European unity as a symptom of a total change or break with the world system, (since Europe constructed the existing world system, any systematic change in Europe would invariable

create a change in world system) or mere a structural change within the world system. Some of this writings way indicate his inclination towards the second line of thought. That is why, he gives much importance to the question of the decline of the US hegemony and its accompanying effect upon international system. (page 30)

11. Jacques Maritain "Man and the State" Chicago: University of Chicago, 1952 ISBN 0-8132-0905-6 "The confusion between, or the systematic distinguished of Nation and political Society and State, has been a woe to modern history" page 2. "Now the Notion is a community not a society"

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18. I Berlin "Two concepts of Liberty" from "Four Essays on Liberty". I am referred to philosophy of I Berlin (1909-1997) because he is the modern philosopher in political philosophy and for the more he have compared the Albanian people with the Hebrew people. (MAPO newspaper December 23, 2010 page 11)

19. R Hare "Utilitarianism" and "Toleration and fanaticism" from Freedom and Reason

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21. R Nozick "Distributive Justice" from "Anarchy, State, and Utopia"

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Reviews and New papers

1. "European View" (is an academic Journal of Centre for European Studies, the official think-tank of European People Party). Vol. 9, Number 1. "Europe 2020 and beyond. Let's give Europe a vision" by Josè Manuel Barroso. "The current economic crisis have wrought havoc on Europe. However the crisis has also given the leaders of Europe on opportunity to reevaluate European society and the process of European integration. The time is at hand for Europe to create

a new strategic outlook for the future. The Europe 2020 strategy could provide the impetus to create a more prosperous Europe that helps citizens and makes them more dynamic in the new world order"….. By the Lisbon Strategy.. the European objectives are to be able to generate economic growth and create jobs. It is based on values of common action and aims to ensure that the result of EU policy is greater than the combined results of individual Member State policies. It respects the difference which exist between Member State and their regions and offers a blueprint for action relevant to the best performers as well as to those which lag behind. But it also draws the necessary lessons from the past. (www.springer.com/12290)

2. Foreign Affairs "The World Ahead" vol. 69, Number 6. "The New Diplomacy" by Hillary Clinton. "We can also leverage civilian power by connecting businesses, philanthropist, and citizens' group which partner governments to perform tasks that governments alone can not- Technology, in particular, provides new tools of engagement"
Vol. 89 Number 5. September/October 2010 "Interdependency Theory" by Simon Tay.

3. "American political Science review" vol. 104 nr 1 (February 2009)

4. "Development and society" vol. 36 nr. 1 June 2007. ISSN 1598-8074. In article "Social capital confidence" is underlined the confidence in political institutions. "the result of this study shows that confidence in government increase probability of inter-group relationship in term region", page 15. The article: "Paradox modernity and the quest for neo-communitarian alternative" (pg 102) is the idea of "multi modernity", which has become quite popular among sociologists and historians, among others, sensation us to be the role of traditions in the process of modernization (pg 103). Modernity has been deeply associated with the rise of national states. Nevertheless, the cultural integration was made possible by the expansion of citizenship and not through the imposition of feud, class or tribal identities. (Pg 104)

5. "Journal of Scientific Thought". (Knowledge), vol. ii nr 3-4, 2009. ISSN 1857-6125. The articles "Multiculturalism and education. An epistemic perspective" by Galip Veliu PhD in Department of Philosophy in State University of Tetovo (Macedonia) and "The nature of adaptively by Adam Mitchinson PhD, Teachers College Columbia University, (page 31-41) is underlined that, on the surface the idea of adaptivity (or being adaptive) is easy to grasp. In its broadest sense, it can be seen as the propensity to adapt to situational demands. Adaptivity is a complex concept and when viewed in terms of the present theory it can be hard distinguish it from simple situational induced change. Adaptive individuals see the utility in behavioral change, feel more comfortable doing so and are

more skilled in their utilization of the tactics required by the situation to move towards one personal goals

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10. "MAPO" The Albanian weakly political review. Fifth year edition. www.revistamapo.com (the Danish ambassador in Albania, Karsten Ankjaer Jensen have declared: " The Albanian politic class didn't arrived yet the necessary politic maturity for to be acceptable in European Union (EU) in function of which this value is the first" (MAPO nr 209, page 8)

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