

"AMALGAMATION" WITHIN THE THEORY OF UKSHIN HOTI, IN TODAY'S GEOPOLITICAL CONTEXT AND THE POSITION OF THE ALBANIAN NATION

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Abstract

This research aims to highlight the concept of "Amalgamation" that the philosopher Ukshin Hoti treats in his work "Political philosophy of the Albanian national issue" as a principle of proletarian political thought led by Stalin, which aims at the internationalization, whose goal was to establish the principle of the "free will of self-determination of nations" so that they can create their own independent state, remains part of another state or establish federal relations. Certainly, "amalgamation" essentially meant the latter, which would reflect a political expansion of the then USSR. This is based on the creation of a multinational state.

In the identical form, and in the same political concept, we believe is the conflict which is taking place today between Russia and Ukraine, where the theory of "amalgamation" has been activated again, giving the right that through the referendum, some parts of Ukraine "expressed themselves freely their will" to create their own state or to become part of another state. In this research, through content analysis, the geopolitical negativities that this political theory brings and the war that is already visible between the East and the West in the context of this research between Europe and the Russian Federation will be analyzed.

In this context, through the analysis of the theories of the provenance of the West, or of the state as an international subject, coming to the function of democracy, we will clarify the political positioning of the Albanian nation. Was the Yugoslavian context for Albanians similar to the "amalgamation" of the east, and in this context what would be the vital interests of the nation?

Keywords: Amalgamation, Political philosophy, Russian-Ukrainian conflict, Russian Federation, proletarian political thought, East and West.

1. Introduction

According to Ukshin Hoti, the Albanian issue is not a street myth, not even a fantasy of the intellectual cabinet.

Ukshin Hoti's work is initially about a sense of spiritual shock. Even 23 years later, as from May 16, 1999, our state, society, nation does not have the proper responsibility to find out what happened to his life destiny. But even more shocking is the way our society has treated him when he was alive. Imprisoned for justifying the demand for the Republic of Kosovo in 1981, brutally shunned from politics after 1990, imprisoned again in 1994 by the Serbian occupation regime, misunderstood by our conservative environment, his intellectual courage, his political knowledge and his cultural level would become a serious obstacle to his status in society.

The personal experience of Ukshin Hoti is very interesting to explore his life and activity. He was born in Krushë in the county of Rahovec, completed his secondary education in Rahovec, he studied political science in Zagreb and Belgrade, and went on to attend his postgraduate studies in the USA: at the Universities of Chicago, Harvard and Washington. He was the Secretary for Foreign Relations of Kosovo and a member of the federal, republican and provincial forums dealing with foreign policy in the former SFRY (Yugoslavia).

From such a high level of the scientific and political environment, he was imprisoned because of his conviction and open defense of the demand for the Republic. While in prison he undefeately argues even before the investigators the justice of the request for the Republic. After leaving the prison, his second persecution begins, now of a social nature: he insists on his "adjustment". He is stigmatized in Rahovec, Therandë and Prizren and then throughout the whole Kosovo, even in the Albanian diaspora. He is accused of everything. His political experience and level are considered a hindrance by the political decision-making circles of the Peace Movement. This way of stigmatizing him is completely incomprehensible. The impression is created that he was shy of his political ethics, institutional experience and political and academic knowledge. At least that's what we can conclude from his writings. He explains this type of public lynching as a form of pressure on him, not to think differently from the establishment. We do not have enough information to analyze if his family disputes were political by nature. He was convinced of this. The most challenging sentence for any researcher of his work is his honest question: "Wasn't Gorbachev the one who held Andy hostage?" (Hoti, 1995, p. 101).

2. "Amalgamation" in function of the power of the state

Ukshin Hoti's theory on "Amalgamation" is very interesting and may be relevant even to this day. Driven by its actuality, we decided to study with a content analysis approach. The actuality can be seen in multinational states such as the Republic of North Macedonia, where through the theory of amalgamation, attempts are made to promote political freedom, freedom of choice, but on the other hand national differentiation remains primary.

2.1. Theory of "Amalgamation": Ukshin Hoti explains this theory with Stalin's approach, which can easily be found even today in the current war in Ukraine, respectively in Putin's political theory for the ruling of Ukraine.

We provide a basic explanation on the concept of amalgamation which began after the failure of the Stalinist theory of the creation of the Soviet nation and the strengthening of the Soviet state.

Since this didn't happen because the other (imperialist) powers were way more powerful.

Instead, the Russians began to strengthen the Soviet state, not having scruples neither towards the ideological idiocy of their own measures, nor towards any others. Put it differently, all the mentioned categories of people and nations, as Stalin explained, of which others did not give up, later had to be "amalgamated" among themselves. At the level of the multinational state: the principle of "amalgamation" of nations was applied (theoretically) by their free "will" and was an expression of the principle of self-determination, according to which any nation or people can also "voluntarily" "get separated" by creating its own independent state; to remain part of some other state or to establish federal relations, etc." (Stalin, 1975). By knowing the ideology and the nature of the system established by Stalin there was no doubt that he would have preferred the latter option (joining with the other state), as such would surely be reduced to the incorporation of that state within the Soviet state's borders. This also happened some time ago in Ukraine, through the referendum organized in 4 occupied regions, soldiers went door to door by asking citizens the question: "Would you join Russia?".

Surely, this is the amalgamation theory that our philosopher, Professor Ukshin Hoti, explained a long time ago, which tends to be carried out in multinational states as well. This action also shows the definition of the Russian political philosophy which is basically anarchic, authoritarian and autocratic (Zweerde, 2022)

Any nation that "by its own accord" decided to "amalgamate" with other people within the USSR, could never "unamalgamate" again, precisely because the victory of communism and the revolution was required in planetary insets; b) The multinational Soviet state had to be created and strengthened based on the principle of complete equality and equal rights of all the united Soviet Republics. But there were many kinds

and they were of different types. A number of federal units (Republics) in the spirit of the principle on the amalgamation of peoples, were also multinational, and in the multinationality of their composition there is also the secret of reaching the territorial conquest of the states.

In this sense, in Ukshin Hoti's approach to Albanian geopolitics, we can find a pro-European direction, because according to him, in essence, the USSR contributed to the unification of Germany, and also perhaps due to his deep knowledge of American theories, he deepens the philosophy of our permanent friendship with the USA.

3. Original concepts for politics

Ukshin Hoti's political philosophy is characterized by original concepts related to the idea of freedom, republic, (authentic) democracy, nation, unity of nation, equality, legitimacy, morality, rule, peace, war, etc. His opinion on politics is philosophical and scientific. He has been an avid reader of the classics of philosophy and contemporary international relations thinkers. In his theoretical thoughts there is a remarkable interweaving of traditional philosophical thought with the theoretical systems of the New Age and the views of contemporary theorists. From the footnotes of Ukshin Hoti's writings and books, we understand that he was a regular reader of the American magazine "Foreign Affairs" and of contemporary authors of international relations and political personalities of the time. He quoted George Kennan, George Orwell, Henry Kissinger, but also Mao Zedong, Truman, Richard Nixon, etc. Moikom Zeqo rightfully writes that Ukshin Hoti's book "is a mirror of morality for each of us, a monument of security and awareness" (Kiqmari, 2022)

Based on the disclamation of these classical philosophical concepts, Ukshin Hoti understands politics as a dimension of human action that has to do with "the regulation of social affairs (to investigate the relationship between the appearance and the being of things for the benefit of emancipation)" (Hoti, 1995, p. 9). Therefore, Malnes and Midgaard present politics as a creative activity, comparing it with the practical segment of the construction of the Constitution (Malnes & Midgaard, 2007, p. 7). He states that politics "is a subject that political science deals with" (Hoti, 1995, p. 9). So, according to these two formulations, the two basic dimensions of politics are included: politics as an activity and as a science. The reader can ascertain that Hoti is familiar with two dimensions of politics: politics and policy or issue (Hoti, 1995, p. 10). In the meantime, contemporary political science has added a third dimension which is "polity", which is related to the dimension of the political-institutional system. Although Hoti doesn't explain them further in details, we see it as appropriate to use this opportunity to continue the thought up, establishing that these three dimensions define, in fact, three basic issues of contemporary politics. The first dimension called politics (political process) deals with these areas of politics: political action, political process, interests, power, conflicts, compromises, etc. The second dimension called polity (political structure) is about political regulation, constitution, basic norms, institutions and other normative-constitutional rules. The third dimension called policy (political content) contains political goals, tasks, programs, plans and strategies (Böhret, Werner, & Kronenwett, 1988, p. 7)

As from this we can easily attain that politics is nothing but a science and how it should be applied, normally being familiar with the political definitions and political paths of a nation in the process.

3.1. Morality and truth: On the 20th anniversary of his disappearance without a trace, a simple question can be asked: Why was Ukshin Hoti involved in politics? Why didn't he mind his own business? Why wasn't his university chair not sufficient to him?

He gives us the answer to this question himself, comparing politics with the art. He writes: "As long as a beautiful work of art can please many people, a beautiful political work can save a nation or more, and vice versa, with a counterfeit work the buyer can be harmed, while with counterfeit politics peoples can be

harmed" (Hoti, 1995, p. 11). So, in this sentence we can find the source of the ethical motive of Ukshin Hoti's political action: saving a people through political action.

Ukshin Hoti doesn't separate morality from politics. Politics for him, both as a science and as a political activity, must take into account "the moral aspect of certain issues, either as moral norms stabilized over thousands of years of human history, or as codified norms of Public International Law" (Hoti 1995 : 12). So, he aims for a fair relationship between morality and politics. It seems that Hoti is in the same line with the American sociologist Amitai Etzioni, according to whom "morality is based on the complex interaction of three factors: individual conscience, the moral voice of the community and the state" (Etzioni, 1995, p. 48).

Hereby, by not going deep into the details of the political concepts of Ukshin Hoti, he treats politics as a science and understands it as a dimension of human action that has to do with "the regulation of social affairs (investigate the relationship between the appearance and being of things for the benefit of emancipation)".

However, we believe that Ukshin Hoti's views on foreign policy have remained quite untreated and unstudied among scientific circles, which are what we aim to promote in this research paper, and where it is focused.

3.2. Views on foreign policy: The world-renowned researcher of International Relations, Karl Deutsch, has defined foreign policy in this way: "Firstly, the foreign policy of any country is concerned with preserving and ensuring the independence of the country and, secondly, with pursuing and protecting the interests his economic".

According to Ukshin Hoti's views on foreign policy and international relations we find not only a sharp analytical mind, but also the typical representative of the realist school of international relations.

In line with the classics of scientific thought on international relations, Ukshin Hoti defines foreign policy "as a complex of methods for realizing the interests of the state and expressing the state's citizenship or the nation's sovereignty" (Hoti, 1995, p. 20). He notes that "the idea of interest is really at the core of politics and that it is not damaged by time and space" (Hoti, 1995, p. 25). Foreign policy relies on a certain amount of determinants "including the historical tradition of the state, geographical location, national interests and goals, and security needs" (Hoti, 1995, p. 20). He calls the active actors in foreign policy (states, nations) and the environment of their action as an integral part of what is called the foreign policy of states, "which always starts from the vital interest of the nation, and International political relations, where such vital interests are broken, realized or remain as such" (Hoti, 1995, p. 14).

According to Hoti, the theoretical goal in the analysis of foreign policy is "synthesizing experience, finding certain rules of behavior of international actors and highlighting the legalities that condition them" (Hoti, 1995, p. 18). Hoti calls the actors (states, nations) and the environment of their action as an integral part of what is called the foreign policy of states, "which always starts from the vital interest of the nation, and international political relations, where such vital interests are broken, are realized or remain as such" (Hoti, 1995, p. 14). The interest of the state, according to him, is realized "in objective reality through permissible, legal methods: in times of peace - through diplomacy, while in times of war - through war" (Hoti, 1995, p. 15). Supporting Hot's ideas that foreign policy follows the vital interests of the nation, Von Vorys in his book where he studies the US foreign policy of the 20th century, successively defines the three levels of national interest that determine foreign policy options: challenges to national existence, challenges to friends and allies, and challenges to international order (Vorys, 1990).

In the above mentioned formulations, we can identify the realistic political scientist, who, unlike fashionable pacifists, does not hesitate to operate with the notion of war, as something necessary at certain times for the protection of national interests. The Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) was a necessity to prove his concepts squarely.

4. Conclusions

- The theory of "amalgamation" in politics tends to promote and become a promoter of freedoms and political rights of choice and decision, but in fact it is an instrument for the "democratic" limitation of these freedoms as usually happens in multi-ethnic states with a legal-constitutional status not well defined.
- The political theory of "amalgamation" that Ukshin Hoti explains with the Stalinist approach, today can also be found in the efforts for a "political invasion" of Ukraine by the president of Russia, Vladimir Putin.
- From the analysis that Professor Ukshin Hoti makes on the theory of amalgamation, we can obtain a pro-European orientation that aims for the Albanian national geopolitics and the strengthening of the permanent friendship of the Albanian nation with the USA. Only in this way would the Albanians be able to neutralize the desirable effects of the Amalgamation theory in the countries where they live in multi-ethnicity, such as the Republic of North Macedonia.
- State foreign policy, according to Hoti, is the vital interest of the Albanian nation that achieves the objectives according to the permitted methods and that is always based on the vital interests of the nation.

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