FROM COMMUNISM TO DEMOCRACY: THE FOUR LANGUAGES OF SALI BERISHA

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ABSTRACT

This article aims at finding and analyzing of what for the purpose of this study will be called "language" of a text. Following the analysis, in the reviewed text below, were noted four languages: the first is what we will call the "old language"(speech used by the communist elites in Albania in the years 1945-1991), which is similar, to a certain point, with what is known widely as *newspeak* (Orwell, 1947), or what another author calls "the totalitarian Albanian" (Vehbiu, 2007); 2—the 'new language' (speech with "western" terms, or words that up to that point were not used in public speeches in Albania (such as pluralism, democracy, human rights, private property, etc); 3—technical or 'scientific language' (words that relate to the speakers' profession, in this case medicine); and last, the ideological/political language (terms that can be left wing or right wing). The text analyzed here is an article of September 1990—a time when the communist regime was still in power in Albania (it would be brought down two years later)—of Sali Berisha, at that time cardiologist and later the first President of post-communist Albania. The aim of this article is the drafting of a dictionary and afterwards, through a quantitative analysis, to provide a kind of measurement of the four types of languages, to understand which one weights more on Dr. Berisha's discourse.

INTRODUCTION

This article (Berisha, 1990) is also the political debate of the man that in a year and a half would become the first President of post-communist Albania. It's a long article, published in one of periodicals of that time (Bashkimi, 1990).

First, we will research words and expressions of the *new language*, meaning concepts that are new or phrases that are unknown for that time's audience. (For the later you should keep in mind the time and social context of an Albania going through timorous, but unavoidable, changes after 45 years of Stalinist communism.)

Second, we will look for the traces of the *old language*, what George Orwell calls *newspeak,* a discourse that even though it's not totalitarian is socialist, or communist, in its own definition.

Third, we will look for signs of *technical language* that relates to the author's profession, medicine, what is called scientific discourse.

Fourth, and last, we will move on to the point that leads to the traces of *ideological rhetoric.* Here we will try to identify in the author's speech signs of left or right wing leaning.
The text will not be complete, but from it we will extract terms that match one of the four languages that we are looking to identity here. These terms will each form a mini-dictionary and their comparing with allow for a quantitative analysis, from which we will find out which one dominates and how the rest rank.

The search for speech traces in the reviewed text here will be done through the rhetoric, keeping in mind the fact that language is a kind of ideological fingerprint which-if we only know how to interpret it-gives its author way, even as he or she attempts to dissemble. Therefore we need to see into rhetoric rather than beyond it (Toye, 2013). Another argument to be considered is that the meaning of any word or set of words cannot be derived solely by the analysis of text: circumstances, known as context, in which it was delivered are also crucial. This is called 'symbolic ritual dimension of politics' (Finlayson, 2016). Speaking of circumstances (social, political, cultural) or context we have to consider especially the Albanian profile of it the so called *different phases of development and processing of political and social lexicon of Albanian language* (Samara, 2008).

Methodology: a quantitative analysis to find the quality of text's author

The methodology used for the purposes of this article is the quantitative approach, interlaced, toward the end, with the qualitative one. Numerically speaking, the words or terms used by Sali Berisha will be divided into four different groups, to better understand which one of these languages weights more in the political communication of the Albanian intellectual of the early 90s. After this balance is reached (or its absence is noted), we will do a short comparison through the methodology of qualitative approach.

The text written by Sali Berisha has in total 2838 words, 166 of which are noted and classified as terms that fall under one of the four language categories specified for the purposes of this article. Some of them are not unique words, are not a separate unit, but part of a sentence; these will be noted as (1) one unit for the calculation of scientific measurement or comparison. At the same time, repetitions, using one term more than once, will be counted as part of the dictionary. This because not only does repetition speaks for speaker's convictions, but also of the fact that through the term itself and its repeating, he, the speaker, wanted to reach a rhetoric or political goal.

New language

In the article of 2838 words, the words, or terms, classified as new language are 66. They are mainly terms that in other conditions would not classify as nothing more than words of political jargon of a normal democracy, but here we have to keep in mind the contexts: an Albania still under the communist regime. Such words are democratization, integration, European developments, pluralism of though, etc. Apart from them, you will come across words that are more than a jargon and introduce new concepts to political communication, becoming a forerunner to the new era that is expected to arrive in Albania's general political and social discourse. The Albanian Diaspora, we the intellectuals, democracy without democrats, etc, can be noted as such words

Dictionary of New Language

1	democratization
2	time's historical imperative
3	relations and association of our people with the other nations---of the people, not of the party, which at the time's communist discourse was the only one that established relations.
4	integration—the opposite of what the Albanian society was at that time: closed, paranoid and nonintegrated

5	European developments---what is happening in Europe in involves Albanian too; Albanians as part of Europe
6	democratic process in our country are simultaneously a precious help for the fight of our brothers in Kosovo---recognizes democracy of having a unifying value even for the national Albanian cause
7	(their) civic approach---a new approach that makes the polis as the center, in contrast with the communist approach of fields, plants and construction yards.
8	Albanian Diaspora---those Albanians that had migrated, which were define by communist terms of reactionaries and anti-Albanian
9	democratization
10	the Albanian cause—talks about and recognizes the existence of an Albanian cause, referring to the Albanians outside the borders of Albania
11	of nation's moral and spiritual unity
12	stable national result
13	*we,* the intellectuals
14	nation
15	the change of people and reality in a proportional ratio
16	democratization
17	anti-democratic elements
18	the generation that fought the fight
19	pluralism of thought
20	*monism*
21	democracy without democrats
22	uniform of thought
23	the eternally pluralist character of human thought
24	Monist
25	dogmatic
26	other's thought
27	democratic processes
28	democracy as people's power it's founded on the people and it springs from its soul
29	democratization
30	a real social agony
31	political blindness
32	sociological and psychological studies
33	political sociological
34	auto-censuring
35	micro-referendum
36	secret voting
37	open voting
38	meetings, letters and other forms
39	are manipulated
40	our meetings
41	imposing presidiums
42	heterogenic
43	thoughts in those (meetings) to be expressed freely
44	the high culture of communication
45	freedom of thought and expression
46	individuals

47	pluralism
48	equal in front of the law
49	never did it silence or disconcert the mind of the Albanian
50	in none of these law articles expression of opinion is not considered a social crime
51	human dignity
52	pluralism
53	making politically equilibrated decisions
54	the drafting of a fair strategy and tactic for the national movement
55	big national assemblies
56	pluralist even in the political level
57	pluralist
58	pluralism
59	democracy
60	humanism
61	the human as a supreme being
62	humanism
63	his rights
64	our people, even if they lacked any legislative structure of democracy, they never lacked its spirit
65	human right
66	democratization

Old language

The words collected in this section are mainly of the communist idiom of that time. Their source is official documents, nomenclature's jargon as well as cultural elite's speech, which for 45 years influenced through what was known as the soc-realist literature or art. 50 words belong to this idiom, 16 words less than the new language identified above.

Dictionary of old language

1	mark important steps in deepening
2	uninterrupted and irreversible development
3	decisive for our future
4	our society's development and pace on the path of all-around progress
5	strengthen even more
6	always bigger
7	Greater Serbia invaders
8	exemplary
9	vital
10	great duties
11	new spaces
12	open before us
13	mobilize forces
14	Devote it to the fight for implementation, deepening and incessant perfectionism
15	bible
16	lord
17	uninterrupted demarcation line

18	new stances
19	exploiting
20	strengthening
21	a strong base
22	anachronism
23	consequent
24	his noble mission
25	of his brilliant forefathers
26	lord
27	Marx' thesis that "history doesn't do anything, people do everything"
28	masses and things
29	overwhelming majority of workers
30	decisive process
31	conservative forces
32	elements
33	high rank staff
34	privileges
35	intolerants
36	rigorously
37	harvesting of ideas
38	actual stage
39	"sharp" pencil of *apparatchiks*
40	profoundly democratic
41	Albanians in centuries
42	(they) burned it (the Albanian), killed it and devastate it through its history of great endeavors, battles and endurances
43	automatically the question comes up
44	ghoulish fate
45	invaders and their collaborators
46	the weapon with which he survived the prolonged dark periods that history did not spare
47	strong support
48	high grade
49	inseparable binomial
50	precious treasure

Scientific language

Scientific identification in Sali Berisha's discourse, the education and profession of whom when this article was published as medicine, aims for an interrelation of this idiom in regard to politics.

Dictionary of scientific language

1	truth
2	search
3	discovery
4	exposing
5	truth

6	affirmation
7	reaffirmation
8	verification
9	double check
10	of the truths
11	half-truths
12	artifacts
13	untruths
14	positivism
15	methods
16	techniques
17	experiments
18	(of) truth
19	social-psychological studies based on thoughts and opinions' quantitative and qualitative analyzing techniques
20	samples
21	rigorously scientific criteria
22	in-depth analysis
23	social and psychological mechanisms
24	scientific analysis

Ideological/political language

The words, interpretation of which can configure a linguistic or communicative table that here we will label as ideological/political, are the fewest and, at the same time, the most illustrative. In order to avoid that the scientific devalues the context, here we have to pay more attention to this language. Political terms used by Berisha more than an ideology are anthropological endeavors. Here he refers to *Kanuni,* a code of law of the Albanian mountains, *odes së burrave*, covenant, Lord, etc. So, he goes back to the tradition, and this political idiom of Berisha can be labeled as such, return to tradition.

Dictionary of ideological/political language

1	Chamber of men (*oda e burrave*[1])
2	the old law
3	the true safe keeper and omnipotent couldn't be a man
4	belong to all and was protected by all
5	**Kanuni, one of the oldest, final and highest judicial systems**
6	proclaimed the house of Albanian as home of the guest and God
7	nation
8	local assemblies of covenant
9	tradition
10	moral force
11	brotherhood and national unity
12	its national philosophy and culture
13	cradle

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[1] In old traditional Albanian homes, *oda e burrave,* is an elaborately decorated guestroom, usually located on the third floor of the of the house, is reserved only for men. Here the men of the house would welcome and meet male guests.

14	property
15	civic

CONCLUSIONS

Rhetoric is the use of symbolism and language to ensure that a message is encoded in the way desired by the communicator. Rhetorical communication is intentionally persuasive, central to propaganda, and used to encourage a change in audience's behavior (Lilleker, 2006). What we know for sure is that rhetoric is used as a tool of communication for all things political since the Greek city-states. Aristotle viewed rhetoric as a way to bend the will of the people.

Qualitative conclusions that are reached at the end of quantitative analysis of Sali Berisha's article relate are related, in the most part, to the so-called "success of rhetoric", and according to Lilleker (2003) this is due to the complex understanding of audience, social norms, values and fears. When we speak about audience, in the case of the article analyzed here and its author, we should keep in mind three types of audiences. First is the political class in power, which belongs to an authoritarian/dictatorial communist state. How will this audience read the "languages" of article's writer? Here, also, we can talk about fear from the audience, and not for recognition of audience's fears.

The second audience is the public, which, depending on the case, can be called people or public opinion. What would they find in the article of an intellectual like Dr. Berisha? Hope for the future? Resistance? Conformism? Rebellion? This audience overlaps and the "success" that Lilleker refers to is debatable. The third audience is what can be called intelligentsia, the class of intellectuals, the elite of thought. Their judgment would be of another kind and they would consider rhetorical "success" other parameters of the article.

Because of this, even author's speech's languages are several: he, consciously or not, has asked for the rhetoric layers to merge into one, unifying this way the audiences too. The old language is a dedication for the class in power; the new language is to ask for intelligentsia's partnership; the ideological language is the attempt to build for himself a political profile; and last, scientific language comes into the article as a professional rudiment, which still plays a role by giving authority to the rhetoric.

Following Aristotle's reasoning, according to which the available tools of persuasion are based on three types of evidence: logos, ethos and pathos, it's correct to say that Berisha has used all three to achieve article's rhetoric "success".

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