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**A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF STRATEGIES
PURSUED BY THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA TO
ELIMINATE ITS ENEMIES IN THE EARLY YEARS OF
COMMUNISM IN ALBANIA**

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the paper is to explore the discourse strategies of the Party of Labor of Albania to eliminate its enemies in the early years of establishing communism in the country. The contention is that PLA and its leaders made possible the elimination of thousands of people by normalizing the process. The enemies of the party were declared enemies of the people and as such, they had to disappear in one way or another, so that the integrity of the body politics could be preserved. The class enemy was considered a parasite that should be eliminated in the name of social prophylaxis. By using discourse analyses the paper will investigate the discursive strategies followed by the communist party and its leader when addressing the class enemy. Speeches of Enver Hoxha in Party Congresses, Plenums, and gatherings with people will be analyzed. Only by normalizing the process of elimination of everyone who was depicted as an enemy, did the communist party make possible the elimination of thousands of people. Normalization is understood as the standardization of the procedure so that everyone knew in advance what would happen if someone had to be declared an enemy of the people. The paper will analyze the vocabulary used to portray the class enemy and his/her destiny in specific cases. The study has analyzed the speeches given to justify the elimination of Patër Anton Harapi, Lef Nosi, Maliq Bej Bushat, dom Lazër Shantoja, dom Ndre Zadeja, and the sabotage

group of the Maliqi swamp. The analysis covers the period immediately after the end of the IIWW when communists seized the power.

Keywords: communism, people enemy, sacrifice, the past, the future

INTRODUCTION

The number of missing persons during communism is estimated to be around 6,000 (ICPM, 2021, pp.4), even though different documents indicate that the number might go as high as 8,000 (Commissioner for Human Rights, 2016). The Albanian Rehabilitation Centre for Trauma and Torture claims that 4,000 people are still not identified. The missing people are believed to be political prisoners and are executed or died because of harsh conditions in labor camps and torture as well. Little efforts have been made by the government to identify the missing persons. It is believed that mass graves are more like to be located near the work camps and prisons where political prisoners were held.

Attempts to find the missing persons and provide compensation for the victims of the communist regime and their families has started in 1991. During the period July 1991 and November 1997, the government of Albania adopted the Law on Compensation of the Formerly Politically Persecuted Persons (15 July 1991, amended on 12 December 2007), the Law on Innocence, Amnesty and Rehabilitation of Former Politically Persecuted Persons (30 September 1991), the Law on the Status of Formerly Sentenced and Prosecuted by the Communist Regime (July 1993 and amended in December 1993), provisions in the Criminal Code of the Republic of Albania in 1995 (amended in 2015), Resolution on Condemning the Crimes of Communism in Albania (2006) The year 2010 marks the first effort for doing this when a task force was established. However, little was done until the International Commission on Missing Persons started its work in Albania in 2018. The first efforts were put on identifying the remains of the mass graves in Dajti Mountain (at the outskirts of the capital Tirana) and in Ballsh (Southern Albania).

The ICMP has worked so far with the government, civil society, and international organizations to address the problem of missing persons during communism in Albania. The Council of Ministers of the Republic of Albania and ICMP signed the Cooperation Agreement between the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Albania and the International Commission on Missing Persons in order to join efforts and push forward the process of finding the missing persons during communism that is during 29 November 1944 and 2 July 1991.

The physical elimination of the people started at the very beginning of the communist regime. The communists were brutally harsh to everyone who was thought of as a potential enemy and sought to eliminate him/her. In totalitarian logic, this is the logic of paving the path to power.

With the collapse of the Communist regime and after the first pluralist elections in March 1991, the People's Assembly of Albania pardoned and freed all political prisoners. It also pardoned all those who were imprisoned for political accusations and those who had trespassed the border to live abroad. The law provided for compensations that were to be distributed in line with the typology of the punishment.

One of the tasks of the law was to enable the mechanisms for finding the missing persons. It is estimated that around 100 bodies of missing people were found over the years. In 1993, near Tirana the bodies of 22 people were found. Those people were shot on 26 February 1951 somewhere on the Erzeni riverbank after being accused of trying to bomb the Soviet embassy (Institute for the Studies of the Communist Crimes and Consequences, 2017). According to the Institute, the victims were intellectuals, including Sabiha Kasimati – the first female Albanian scientist. Their families were sent to internment and concentration camps in Tepelena and Vlora. Another mass grave was discovered near Dajti Mountain in 2010. The Albanian Institute of Forensic Medicine found 13 bodies (Hosken & Kasapi, 2017), but was unable to identify them due to a lack of expertise and equipment.

These events made known to the public opinion the 'story' of the missing people, or better to say of the missing bodies, who were killed during communism and were buried in massive graves and in unknown graves.

This paper will analyze the communist regime in his very first years and look at the strategies used to eliminate the enemies. The article analyses speeches held by the leader of the communist party, Enver Hoxha, against Patër Anton Harapi, Lef Nosi, Maliq Bej Bushat, dom Lazër Shantoja, dom Ndre Zadeja, Sami Qeribashi, Qenan Dibra and the so-called "sabotage group of the Maliqi swamp".

METHODOLOGY

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is conducted to analyze the speeches of Enver Hoxha when referring to the enemies of the people – now missing people.

Discourse analysis is an important method to understand what happened at the time of massive purges and physical elimination of people. It helps to understand what strategies were used by the communists in power to eliminate what they considered as enemies and threat to their power. Discourse, written or spoken is not innocent; it is not a non-problematic reflection of an existing reality. On the contrary it produces a social reality, in which actions take place (Gee, 2008:9). Discourse is a social activity which construct meaning through language used in specific situations and contexts (Lemke, 2005:5). There is a strong relation between those who produce discourse and their intentions.

CDA investigates how power is abused and, as result, domination and inequality are produced and reproduced (Van Dijk, 2005: 352). According to Fairclough, discourse is a result as well as produces power relations: those who possess discourse construct the reality and have the control and contribution of the subordinates (Fairclough, 1989:46). Scholars of discourse analysis contend that CDA addresses social problems, power relations are discursive, and discourse produces ideology (Fairclough, 1989:46). When conducted CDA, scholars investigate the discursive content, the social relations of the people involved in this discourse, and the positions and role that the people involved in the discourse have and play (Fairclough, 1989:46).

Fairclough contends that in order to be ideal, discourse should be mutual; it should be two-way communication. However, it is important to emphasize that in the discourse of Hoxha in the first days of his being in power¹, the actors involved in the discourse participate in a passive way. They are not allowed to speak, or at least their words do not come to the audience. The communication is one-way: from Hoxha to the people, thus allowing him to position the subjects of his narratives (written or spoken) whenever he wanted and depict them in a way that he could obtain the maximum benefit.

In order to understand the role that Hoxha's discourse played in the elimination of his enemies, clearing up the path for the consolidation of his power, we will investigate the speeches he has held with regard to their punishment and elimination. Speeches held with regard to Patër Anton Harapi, Lef Nosi, Maliq Bej Bushat, dom Lazër Shantoja, dom Ndre Zadeja, and the group sabotage of the Maliqi swamp will be analyzed. Based on the criteria established by Teun Van Dijk (2008) we will see lexical choices: what words are used to describe them, the frequency of their use, and what adjectives, adverbs, and allusions are used

¹ That would continue throughout his life, however in this study we are focused only in the first years

when describing them. In addition, we will analyze the actors involved in the ‘story’ and how these actors relate to each other.

Before proceeding with Hoxha’s speech discourse analysis, we will summarize the features of discourse during communism. One of its features is the production/creation/invention of the enemies who were necessary to frighten the people. The enemies were culprits for hindering the development of the country and the wellbeing of the people. The enemies envisaged to be discovered and eliminated were the kulaks,² the clergy, the bourgeoisie, the imperialist world, the landlords, and everyone whom the policy of the government decided to be. Strategies used to portray the enemy were based on:

- abusing of emotions (portraying negatively the enemy in a story where the narrator and the audience are one group, and the enemy does not belong in this group);
- construction of a future that is hypothetically threatened by the enemy;
- logic – the decision to discover and eliminate the enemy is done after a long process of consultations and evaluations with experts;
- ‘voices of expertise and
- ‘altruism’ – everything that is said and done is in the public interest.

While analyzing the texts produced by Hoxha (written and spoken) we have investigated which strategies are used to attack the enemies of the regime.

PATTERNS ON DISCOURSE ANALYSIS WHEN ATTACKING THE “ENEMIES”

The PLA has been consistent when attacking the enemy of the class. The strategies were similar whenever there was the necessity to eliminate threatening figures from the opposition who were not in line with the ideology of the party and not supporters of Enver Hoxha. The official line of the party is to be found in the speeches of the first secretary, who never wasted the opportunity to discredit his opponents in meetings with people all over the country, in newspapers’ articles, in plenums, and in party congresses. Even though the events analyzed in this paper are different, one can easily observe the same patterns.

PORTRAYING THE ENEMY AS A TRAITOR OF THE COUNTRY

When referring to Patër Anton Harapi, Lef Nosi and Maliq Bej Bushati, who was executed in 1946, they were depicted as traitors of the country. In an article published in

² Kulak – peasant who owns a certain surface of land, generally larger than the poor peasants – almost wealthy peasants. Kulaks were considered enemies of the communist regime.

“Bashkimi (Unity)” newspaper, on 03 January 1946, Enver Hoxha comments: “Very soon, three of the dirtiest faces who have committed treason against the Albanian people, one of the highest in the Albanian history...will be condemned in court” (1969: 225-228). The three of them are depicted as ‘first grade criminals,’ collaborators till the last minute of the Italian fascists and German Nazis, bloodthirsty who have lied to the Albanian people. Furthermore, they were accused of being successors of those institutions which have acted against the national interests. The article is vague regarding the identity of these institutions. The most important thing is that they were abroad and underneath the ‘friendly mask’ they wore, evil intentions resided: they were working against the interests of the country and attempting to put it ‘under slavery.’ Even though the foreign institutions are not mentioned, a series of articles, speeches and protest letters to the UN and open letters directed to western countries, indicate that the three of them were collaborators of the USA and the UK, against USSR.

In addition to the treason with the foreign enemy countries, the three of them were also accused of disruption, division, and conflicts among people themselves. Words such as “responsible for the destruction of the country,” “collaborators of German Nazis,” and “suffering of the people” are repeated continuously and sometimes even within the same sentence, as a strategy to link permanently these figures with these deteriorating concepts.

With regard to Patër Anton Harapi, Hoxha adds:

Patër Anton Harapi, eminent representative of the traitor’s part of the catholic clergy; is not responsible only as a person for betraying the country, but at the same time, he is responsible as a member of that part of the catholic clergy which has betrayed the country. Behind the mask of his religion, he has deceived the people, he has lied to the devoted members of the church, and pushed people against each other, in a war against the holy cause of the people, which at the same time was the cause of those faithful deceived people of the catholic church of Albania, victims of Patër Anton Harapi and his collaborators who belonged to the same profession (Hoxha, 1946).

In the same article, words such as ugly, anti-national, against the people, and against the country are used with reference to Patër Harapi, adding that he and everyone else like him will be ‘punished without hesitation and that ‘in the new Albania are allowed to live only those who love the people and the country and who work and are ready to die for them’ (Hoxha, 1946). When referring to the enemies of the people, the wording is the same. Repetition is the strategy: repetition within the article and in succeeding articles, so that no one had any doubt

about the identity of the enemy: “Agents of OVRA³ and Gestapo, Patër Anton Harapi, dom Lazër Shantoja, dom Ndre Zadeja and other like them are typical clergyman who have sold the country” (Hoxha, 1946).

In the article of Bashkimi, attached to the name of Lef Nosi are words such as cruel Regency government, dirty decisions against the Albanian people, high profile member of the National Front; and when referring to Maliq bej Bushati words such as Quisling⁴, responsible for numerous crimes, the enemy of the people whom they have despised, and wounded are used. At the end of the paragraph again, Hoxha does not forget to repeat, without hesitation: ‘it has come the day when they will pay for what they have done to the people.

The repetition of the fate of the condemned is a permanent feature: the article finishes with the words:

In our country, the criminals of the war will pay for what they have done to the people. They will not leave in luxury hotels. For Patër Anton Harapi and Maliq Bushat, it has come the day to pay the price for what they have done. With regard to Lef Nosi... he cannot escape the justice of the people, but he will pay for his numerous crimes, committed consciously.

The same is observed when referring to Sulçe beg Bushati, dom Lazër Shantoja, Prenk Cali, and dom Ndre Zadeja. They are accused of being traitors; they have received well-deserved punishment by the people and everyone who follows in their steps will have the same fate (Hoxha, 1945).

DISCREDITING THE ENEMY BY APPEALING TO THE SUFFERINGS OF THE PEOPLE

Another strategy adopted by the communist regime, as manifested in the speeches of Enver Hoxha, was to attach the leader (*himself*) to the poor and suffering people and accuse the opponents of the regime as actors of the sufferings of the people. Thus, when referring to Patër Anton Harapi, Lef Nosi, and Maliq bej Bushati, insinuations of them being successors of

³ Organizzazione per la Vigilanza e la Repressione dell'Antifascismo (Organization for Vigilance and Repression of Anti-Fascism) the secret police of Musolini.

⁴ Quisling were those who cooperated with the Nazis. Widely used in post-war Europe, especially in the Communist Bloc. Named after Vidkun Quisling who was a Norwegian military officer, politician and Nazi collaborator who nominally headed the government of Norway during the country's occupation by Nazi Germany during World War II.

the feudal lords are made. According to Hoxha, they considered the people as destined to suffer in poverty and sufferings and were the real culprits for such suffering.

The ‘criminals’ of the country are condemned not only because their condemnation is considered just and right, but also because their condemnation is linked with the prosperity of the country and the wealthy future of the new generations. Promising a joyful future was then added to contrast with the dark past and the suffering people have experienced (Hoxha, 1945)

Frightening the people about the potential loss of the people’s government was in line with the communists’ strategy to appeal to the sufferings of the people: “The purpose of these elements was to overthrow the power of the people and to bring to power the old oppressive anti-people regimes” (Hoxha, 1946, pp. 177) or “the interests of these elements and of the strata they represent have always been and are against the interests of the people” (pp.179).

Frightening people went hand in hand with “pampering” their egos. Thus, Hoxha would add “These people, consider, and they are right, that when the People is in power, this is like death to them...[and that they] accustomed to living at the expense of the poor people by abusing the efforts and sweat of the hard-working people, could not agree with this [communist] regime that brought the people into power, and gave it the levers of leadership and made him patron of his wealth and work” (pp.179). When referring to the condemnation of the enemies of the people like Patër Anton Harapi, Dom Lazër Shantoja, and dom Ndre Zadeja, Hoxha appeals to the virtues of the Albanian people, virtues such as a fighting people who fought for many years against the biggest army, a vigilant people and a people who love its government because this with this government the people is finally in power after so many centuries of slavery and serfdom and after immense sufferings and sacrifices (pp.180).

The same pattern is observed when speaking about the group of ‘traitors’ and ‘saboteurs’ of the Maliqi swamp in 1947. In the speech held in front of the workers and peasants of Maliq on 12 October 1947, Hoxha said:

Today we are celebrating the finalization of the first part of work in Maliq, one of the greatest enterprises of our government. All the Albanian people praise this enterprise as one of the greatest victories of our work to construct a new life, a better and joyous life for the working masses. ...But we built it, because our government is the government of the people, and it wants that our people have more food.... We did it because [we] have ...a willing and self-sacrificing people (Hoxha, 1947, pp.246).

The speech is filled with words such as “our government is the government of the people”, “willing of the people”, “beautiful life for the people”, “democratic society for the people”, “new society”, and “people’s power”, “heroic people”, “war against the fascist’s invaders and traitors of the country”, “improvement of people’s lives”, “exploitation of the people by the capitalist’s class”, “nationalization of factories and mines” and the like. Contrasting the new bright present of the people with the miserable past is a line of thought that is persistent throughout the speech. However, all this is the prelude to the main point: the execution of the group of engineers who were assigned the task of swamp drying:

...in this important enterprise for the recovery of the economy we have faced challenges, acts of sabotage committed by technicians, enemies of the people, sold to the foreigners for a fistful of dollars and sterling, who ...have attempted to hinder our efforts to construct the country, aiming to destroy our efforts so that we cannot strengthen our economy but remain economically dependent and beg Anglo-American imperialists, losing in this way our economic and political independence, creating thus a free space for their predatory purposes. They have tried to sabotage our work aiming to discredit the government of the people (Hoxha, 1947, pp.246-247)

Moving from glorification of the people to its enemies’ condemnation and then again to praises to the people is a repetitive strategy. Glorification goes hand in hand with reminders of how poor the people have been and how wonderful their life will be in the new system. Shifting from one discursive repertoire to the other, Hoxha keeps reinforcing that the party and the people are one and that the enemies are not part of the people.

SPEAKING IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE

The third pattern pursued by Hoxha was to speak in the name of the people. Thus, when referring to the punishment against Harapi, Nosi, and Bushati, Hoxha comments:

The People’s power has strong roots because it is established by the people themselves while they were fighting against the Italian fascists and German Nazis and against all those people, circles, and institutions who become tools of treason, and whom the people will unmask to reveal they’re true nature. The dynamism that pushes forward our people to move forward for the construction of a happy life will expose all those who with or without masks are trying to hamper the efforts of the Albanian people to

construct a new life. Our people will show their place to the pro-fascist wastes which pose a risk to our nation (Hoxha, 3 January 2946).

The same pattern is observed even when referring to Sulçe beg Bushati, dom Lazër Shantoja, Prenk Cali and dom Ndre Zadeja. Hoxha speaks in the name of the people: “The justice of the People has triumphed in every corner of Albania. It is in power, it is just, human and pitiless against the war criminals and traitors of the country’ (Hoxha, 16 April 1945).

When referring to the Special Court against the Criminals of the War and Enemies of the People, established on 15 December 1944, which between 1 March 1945-13 April 1945 condemned 60 people, Hoxha considers it “The Great Special Court” and ‘an embodiment of the highest justice’. Here, again he speaks in the name of the people:

The people saw there, for a month and a half, the maneuvers played behind his back, on his shoulders full of wounds; saw his tragedy, saw how the traitors of this countries had organized terror, stealing, infamous acts; the people saw the treason was organized and how many times they have sold Albania (Hoxha, 16 April 1945).

The alleged criminals were accused of wanting to destroy the well-being of the poor and suffering people; they were accused of wanting to organize armed criminal bands that would destroy the roads, would cut the electricity in order to inspire discontent among the people which would result in the uprising of the population.

Speaking in the name of the people would be a permanent pattern of Hoxha speeches, when and wherever he had the occasion to speak as well as in the articles he would publish in the daily newspapers. He positioned himself within the party and above it, within the people and sometimes outside it, like a spectator who carefully watches a spectacle and then reports on it. “The people courts have judged the people’s enemy” (Hoxha, 7 October 1946). Hoxha took the liberty to define and redefine the people every time he could, and it suited him. By defining the people, he was able to define who the categories to be left outside were: without forgetting to put first the label “criminals” he would add that the landlords, the ‘bajractars’, the clergyman, the rich merchant, adventurous and sold intellectuals with 100 flags, officers of the Zog⁵ army, all the dirt and waste of fascism and internal reaction. They hated all government’s actions done in the name of the people, such as the agrarian reform which gave the agricultural

⁵ King of Albania during 1928-7 April 1939. King Zog left the country few days before the invasion of Albania by the Italian Fascists.

land to the poor peasants, and the payment of taxes; they hated the public sector and the improvement of the people's lives; they hated the integration of the youth in the new political system and the integration of women as well, they hated; they hated the organization of the working class in trade unions and syndicates and the big leap of education and culture (Hoxha, 7 October 1946). This discourse attributed to the new government successes that were impossible to obtain in such a short time and put all the blame on those whom the Hoxha system has decided to eliminate.

PERMANENT REVOLUTION – EVERY EXECUTION SHOULD NOT BE THE FINAL ONE – IT SERVES TO OPEN THE PATH FOR FURTHER PURGES IN THE COUNTRY

The condemnation of Patër Anton Harapi, Lef Nosi, and Maliq bej Bushati is certain: in the article, Hoxha clearly claims that they will pay for what they have done to the country. The First Secretary of the Party is above the court. He gave a clear message of what was expected to happen – which indeed happened – and while making sure what was going to be their fate, Hoxha gave a clear message that they were not the last (Hoxha, 3 January 1946).

The huge process of treason cannot finish in one day, because the traitors of the people, supported by the internal and foreign reaction, have worked a lot and the traces they have left are still visible. Their remains (waists) are trying to profit from the generosity of the people and of the people's government, in order to get stronger, win the lost positions, and to re-establish the anti-people regimes. In other times and places this might have happened but not in the new democratic Albania, because now these reactionary cliques are destined to get crushed without mercy and eradicated for the good of the people and of the democracy.

The message had a twofold purpose: on one hand, it made clear that the party was above the court, that it was the only body to have the legitimacy of decision-making and on the other hand, it served to frighten the people, in case they had any doubt on creating alliances outside the communist regime.

The permanent revolution requires vigilance to crush any attempt to attack and/or overthrow the regime. Thus, Hoxha comments:

For a long time, the bodies of defense were vigilant to monitor the fascist and pro-fascist activity of some institutions and individuals who, connected with each other, have attempted to organize subversive acts against ...the government of the people and its leaders. These fascist wastes, supported by foreign organizations, by the enemies of the people and of the

parliamentary democracy of our country...thought that would fulfill their treason plans and would escape the vigilant observation of the people's justice. However, their activity was always under the vigilant monitoring and control of the government. The originators of these activities are known, and the leaders of these traitor organizations and terrorist acts are in the hands of Justice (Hoxha, 26 January 1946).

The permanent revolution is often prophylaxis. It is done in the name of the people and likewise in the health sector, in order to keep the body healthy, the 'taking care' efforts should be permanent. When referring to Sami Qeribashi and Qenan Dibra he uses the words 'waste of Reaction' (Hoxha, 26 January 1946), and as such as part of the prophylaxis, they had to be eliminated so that the health of the political body remained untouched.

DISCREDITING THE 'ENEMIES' BY ASSOCIATING THEM WITH FOREIGN FORCES OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY

Foreign countries, especially in Europe were very often depicted as the enemies of the country. All fatalities in the country have originated abroad. This is a narrative that is widely used during communism and as the archives show, it has been present in the communist discourse since the first days of its establishment. By associating Patër Harapi, Nosi, and Bushati with foreign reactionary actors outside the country, the communist regime represented by Hoxha attempted to discredit them, so that no support from the people could be obtained:

There are some people and reactionary circles outside the country who try to justify these fascists' waste; there are people and newspapers outside the country, who under the mask of democracy require mercy for these tools of Mussolini and Hitler. These circles and people are the same who provide support to the Albanian criminals, at the same who provide full freedom to them to write in the Italian fascist newspapers articles against Albania, against the democratic power, against the eligible revendication of the Albanian people against Italy (Hoxha, 26 January 1946).

The foreigners are often associated with the word 'reactionary,' so that it is clear to the people and everybody else that they rather stay away from the 'outsiders' as they are always reactionary and thus would incriminate themselves.

UK and USA always referred to as Anglo – American forces are especially attacked in the discourses of Hoxha. Discrediting Anglo-American forces was imperative in a time when both USA and UK have not recognized Hoxha's government as legitimate. By doing so, Hoxha and his entourage aimed at sabotaging the support that their opponents had in people. Thus,

when referring to the revolt of Koplik in January 1945, Hoxha comments that the domestic reaction, especially the catholic clergy, in cooperation with the Vatican and Anglo-American forces, attempted to withdraw the democratic government of Albania and organize the invasion of Albania by the Anglo-American forces. By doing so, Hoxha saw to be always on the ‘right side,’ on the side of the people, while those who cooperated with the foreigners were those who would harm the country and its people. The same rhetoric is used for the uprising of Postriba in 1946. Hoxha links the catholic clergy with the foreign agencies who were trying to overthrow the people’s power. The clergy is accused of abusing religion and making use of the seminars to create a fascist organization, which was organizing activities against the peoples’ power. Further later, Hoxha adds that these people have never fought against the fascists and Nazis and that their past was dark.

What can easily catch the reader’s eye is that the documents to prove the treason are in the hands of the party or Hoxha, but not in the hands of the court. Since the very beginning of the communist dictatorship establishment, Hoxha made known that all state organs were under the control of the party.⁶

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, by using critical discourse analysis we have analyzed the strategies used by the communist leader Enver Hoxha to justify the elimination of the ‘enemies’ in the first years of his power consolidation. The subject of analysis has been speeches held by Hoxha in party plenums, in meetings with people, and in letters sent to journals. Subject to this analysis were materials that clearly specify the names of the enemies who were declared missing after the collapse of the communist system.

Even though scholars distinguish five linguistic strategies to eliminate the enemy, in the analyzed texts we identified the first two: the portrayal of the enemy in a negative way in a story where the narrator and the group (people) are one un-divided, and the construction of a future that is hypothetically threatened by the enemy. We did not find cases of the ‘logic’ when the enemy is discovered and condemned after a careful examination, nor voices of expertise or even sacrificing of the people for the greater good. In the first years of the establishment of communism in Albania, there was no place for ‘careful’ examination, ‘voices of expertise,’ because the communist system was in rush and the expert were the target of elimination. Very

⁶ Hoxha frequently used the phrase: “the fact that we have in our hands”, confusing thus who were the organs that possessed the facts.

often, Hoxha referred to facts already known, which became crystal clear in the *ad hoc* courts built with the aim to eliminate the enemies of the communist regime.

In terms of patterns observed for the elimination of the people, they can be grouped as follows: Portraying the enemy as the traitor of the country; Discrediting the Enemy by Appealing to the Sufferings of the People; Speaking in the Name of the People; Asserting Permanent Revolution; Discrediting the 'enemies' by associating them with foreign forces outside the country.

Even though totalitarianism has been widely under investigation, in Albania there is still a lot of space for research and investigation. The construction of a theoretical model and analysis of empirical evidence will help to shed light in a past, that is still unknown to many.

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