



# **Book of Proceedings**

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**Edited by:**

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Prof. Gianluca Senatore  
Prof. Marco Cilento**

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The 5<sup>th</sup> ICHSS is a global annual event with the mission of furthering the advancement and innovation in human and social sciences. The Conference serves as a means to connect and engage professors, researchers, consultants, innovators, managers, students, policy makers and others to offers an opportunity to meet and share ideas. It also inspire a new generation of global scientists and leaders in countries around the world.

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## **Publications**

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Imperative: 'The More the Better' as a Danger for Proper Development of Information Society</b> <i>Tadeusz Miczka</i>	13
<b>Proactive Coping and Professional Burnout in Special Education</b> <i>Senada Duli</i>	17
<b>Extent of a Social Base of a Political Regime as a Determinant of Its Authoritarian Nature</b> <i>Apanasenko T. E.</i>	23
<b>The Role of Antonyms in Theoretical Mechanics</b> <i>Gani Pllana, Sadete Pllana</i>	28
<b>The Environmentally Conscious Consumption in Morocco: Myth or Reality</b> <i>Dalal Tarfaoui, Salah Zkim</i>	33
<b>Micro Enterprises and New Trends Towards their Development</b> <i>Arben Baushi, Vjollca Hasani, Alba Dumi</i>	38
<b>The "Symbolic-identitarian" Policies: The Case of Naples, Italy</b> <i>Marco Cilento</i>	43
<b>Protection of Human Rights and the Role of the Albanian Rule of Law in their Respect and Implementation, Particularly in the Right to Fair Trial</b> <i>Ina Foto Barjamaj, Alba Robert Dumi</i>	52
<b>Interrupted Dialogue ("Friend"/"Foe" Conflict in New New Media)</b> <i>Bogdan Zeler</i>	59
<b>Overview of Some Basic Terms of Economy in Albanian Language in the Approach with English Language</b> <i>Sadete Pllana, Gani Pllana</i>	62
<b>Sociology of Labour and Human Resource Management: An Interdisciplinary Approach</b> <i>Nikova Donka, Aspridis George, Koffas Stefanos</i>	66
<b>The Factors that Influence in the Inhibition of Primitive Reflexes</b> <i>Sulltana Bilbilaj</i>	74
<b>Awareness about the Services of University Technology Transfer Offices</b> <i>Ayşe Gül, Yeliz Ekinci</i>	84
<b>Patients with Cancer: Social Representations in Nursing</b> <i>Abílio Oliveira, Filomena Correia, Maria do Céu Sá</i>	89
<b>School through the Eyes of Children... Are we just Bricks in The Wall?</b> <i>Abílio Oliveira, Líliliana Moura, Ricardo Dias</i>	97
<b>Tools for Online Collaboration: Do they contribute to Improve Teamwork?</b> <i>Inês Lopes, Abílio Oliveira, Carlos J. Costa</i>	105
<b>The Psychological Trauma on Boko Haram Victims in Nigeria: Conflict Resolution Perspective</b> <i>Isaac Terungwa Terwase, Asmat-Nizam Abdul-Talib, Knocks Tapiwa Zengeni, Joyce Mcivir Terwase</i>	113
<b>The International Human Resources Management Policies for the Development of the International Hotels' Organizational Learning Capability in Algeria</b> <i>Khadra Dahou, Ishaq Hacini</i>	120
<b>The Ecuadorian Physiotherapist in National Printed Media: A Pilot Study of the Image of a Health Practitioner</b> <i>Sergiy Voznesensky, Tetyana Zaviryukha, Pedro Pablo Figueroa-Andrade, Sofia Maribel Moya-Collantes</i>	132

<b>The Historical and Legal Development of Nonprofit Sector in Albania: Case Study - Red Cross Albania</b> <i>Alkida Hasaj, Ervis Krymbi</i>	138
<b>Application of Marketing Tools in Nonprofit Sector in Albania</b> <i>Xhiliola Agaraj Shehu</i>	145
<b>The Quality of Democracy in Europe: Its Impact on Economic, Political and Social Performance</b> <i>Kristobal Miguel Meléndez Aguilar</i>	151
<b>The Euroisation of Banks' Portfolio and the Credit Risk in Albania</b> <i>Anila Mançka, Eleni Vangjeli</i>	156
<b>What Kind of Leadership do we need at Schools for Effective Teachers?</b> <i>Stavroula Siatira</i>	163
<b>The Phenomenon of Internet Addiction in Adolescents: Case of Albania</b> <i>Desara Agaj, Alketa Marku</i>	170
<b>Advantages and Disadvantages of Learning Italian Language by Albanian Immigrants in Italy</b> <i>Edlira Troplini (Abdurahmani)</i>	174
<b>International Joint Projects as a tool for Raising Competitive Capacity of Russian Universities: Obstacles and Means for Overcoming. Insight on Regional Implementation Practice</b> <i>Anastasia V. Petukhova, Evgenia V. Kalinina, Alla A. Bylinskayaa</i>	182
<b>The Inverse Link between "Ideological-Absent" Albanian Voting Behavior</b> <i>Dorina Bërdufi</i>	186
<b>Social Media and Consumer Behavior – How Does it Works in Albania Reality?</b> <i>Elenica Pjero (Beqiraj), Donika Kërcini</i>	189
<b>Italy and the Economic Crisis: Political Change and Crisis of Legitimacy</b> <i>Marco Boschele</i>	195
<b>Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tirana: "Assessment of the Standards of Social Care for Victims of Trafficking in Albania"</b> <i>Suela Hana</i>	200
<b>Issues of Order in Grammar and Studies of the Albanian Language</b> <i>Aida Kurani</i>	205
<b>Natural and Human Resources that Support the Development of Curative Tourism in Albanian Territories</b> <i>Albana Zejnel Hoxha</i>	209
<b>Consumer Food Safety in Albania</b> <i>Belinda Halilaj</i>	216
<b>Fashion Conscious Consumers, Fast Fashion and the Impact of Social Media on Purchase Intention</b> <i>Elram Michaela, Steiner Lavie orna</i>	220
<b>Human Rights Protection in Albania</b> <i>Erjon Hitaj</i>	226
<b>Topic in Case of Penology Execution of Criminal Sanctions in the Republic of Albania</b> <i>Esmeralda Thomai</i>	235
<b>Water Management in the Private Domain: A Comparative Analysis of Urban Water Management Practice in Nigeria's Niger Delta</b> <i>Inubong E. Ansa, Imoh E. Ukpong</i>	242
<b>International Monetary Fund Lending Effectiveness: Case of Albania</b> <i>Güngör Turan, Klevis Qazimllari</i>	251
<b>The Attitudes of Students of Master in Education Regarding the Teaching Profession</b> <i>Leticja Papa Gusho</i>	258
<b>Language and Communication: A Matter of Intercultural Competence?</b> <i>Maria Rosaria Nava</i>	263
<b>An Overview of Factors Affecting Auditing Quality in Albania</b> <i>Marsel Sulanjaku, Ali Shingjergji</i>	269

<b>The Romanian- Russian Bilateral Register as a Symbolic Projection under the Folds of Immediate History</b> <i>Trandafir (Iancu) Miruna Mădălina</i>	274
<b>ICT Impact in Fighting Corruption in Albania: New Ways in Increasing Transparency</b> <i>Nikolin Hasani</i>	278
<b>Antonymy in the Legal Terminology: Diachronic Analysis</b> <i>Svjetlana Titini</i>	282
<b>Pluralism, Unity or Uniqueness in Labour Unions? A Historical Digression through the Political Discourses Around the Single Union Law</b> <i>Virgílio Amaral</i>	287
<b>Migration and the Impact of Its Remittances on Kosovo Economic Development</b> <i>Ylber Prekazi, Albana Pasjaqa, Alba Dumi</i>	293
<b>Different Forms of Execution of Criminal Decisions as a Key Element in Criminal Justice</b> <i>Nikolin Hasani</i>	296
<b>Irradiation Treatment of Animal Foods</b> <i>Marsida Klemo, Azem Hysa, Stela Sefa</i>	301
<b>Political Discourses Around the Single Union Law and Conceptions about the Organisation of the World of Labour: From Historical to Current Dilemmas</b> <i>Virgílio Amaral</i>	307
<b>Dalí's Mystic Elements and their Meaning</b> <i>Ticiana Dine</i>	314
<b>Menecmi Comedy of Plautus: A Discussion between Literature and History Connected to the City of Durrës</b> <i>Markeliana Anastasi</i>	317
<b>Islamic Economics: Contemporary Approach in the Arab World</b> <i>Lica Madalina</i>	323
<b>Christian Clerical Schools – Shelters of Education and Culture in Albanian Territories (From Begging to XV Century)</b> <i>Jani Sota</i>	330
<b>Concrete Steps of Albania Towards the Approximation of National Legislation with the Acquis Communautaire: Is it Considered that the Copenhagen Criteria in this Sector is Fulfilled?</b> <i>Gledina Mecka, Anton Bardhaj</i>	338
<b>Digital Device Fenometer F-1680 for Noise Measurement at Kosovo Mines</b> <i>Naim Baftiu, Artan Dermaku</i>	343
<b>ICT Application in the Insurance Industry: Its Impact in Customer Relationship Management</b> <i>Evelina Bazini, Filloreta Madani</i>	351
<b>Language Issues: Variation of Gender Discourse on University Campus</b> <i>Dorjana Klosi, Lulzim Hajnaj</i>	356
<b>Aspects of Cultural Utopia Displayed Through Anarchy in the Characters of Ulysses</b> <i>Dalila Karakaçi</i>	361
<b>Concept of Teacher Leaders and Creation of Friendly Climate in the Classroom: In Secondary Education (High School), in Albania</b> <i>Arjola Manreka</i>	366
<b>Procedural Aspect at Issues the Minor</b> <i>Antoneta Gjolena</i>	374
<b>The Impact of Students Intelligence Performance, According to Market Needs and Management of Resources</b> <i>Evis Çelo, Alba Robert Dumi</i>	379
<b>Implementation of E-Commerce Systems a new challenge for Standardisation Agencies of Balcan Countries as Kosovo, Albania and Bosnia Hercegovina</b> <i>Genci Sharko, Mirlinda Karcanaj, Anni Dasho</i>	386

<b>The Application and the Influence on Kosovo Tourism Progress</b> <i>Arjanit Avdiu</i>	391
<b>Question of the “Monastery of Saint-Naoum”, Referring to the Advisory Opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice</b> <i>Bledar Komina</i>	397
<b>Relation of Albanian Standard Language to Dialects, Sociolects, Idiolects: The Linguistic Situation at the University of Vlora</b> <i>Dorjana Klosi, Lulzim Hajnaj, Evis Celo</i>	402
<b>Industries English Language and Communication Need Analysis in Albania</b> <i>Elsa Zela</i>	406
<b>Intellectual Property and Acceptable Models in Technology Transfer in Albanian Economy</b> <i>Evelina Bazini</i>	412
<b>The Criteria and the Characterizing Reports in the Objectivist and Subjectivist Point of View</b> <i>Gentjana Dedja</i>	417
<b>Cultivation and Trafficking of Narcotics as Organized Crime in Albania: The Methods and Tools Used in Preventing this Crime: Why are these Crimes Still Matters of Great Concern?</b> <i>Anton Bardhaj, Gledina Mecka</i>	422
<b>The Constitutional Justice and Protection of the Human Rights (The Constitutional Court of Republic of Macedonia - Dilemmas and Prospects)</b> <i>Jelena Trajkovska-Hristovska</i>	427
<b>Developing EFL Vocabulary through Speaking and Listening Activities</b> <i>Lindita Kacani, Juliana Cyfeku</i>	433
<b>The Perspectives of Outsourcing of Internal Audit Functions in Albania</b> <i>Marsel Sulanjaku, Ardita Todri</i>	438
<b>Geopolitics of Albania in the Balkans after NATO Membership</b> <i>Mirela Metushaj</i>	443
<b>Inflation Targeting and Economic Growth: Case of Albania</b> <i>Güngör Turan, Ornela Rajta</i>	446
<b>The Role of the International Administration in the Process of the State-Building in Kosovo</b> <i>Valon Krasniqi, Ylber Aliu</i>	452
<b>Approaches Affecting Current Account in the Balance of Payments</b> <i>Teuta Ismaili-Muharremi</i>	460
<b>Description of the Verbal System of Albanian Language in the "Grammar of the Albanian Language" (1882) of Konstandin Kristoforidhi</b> <i>Manola Kaçi (Myrta)</i>	464
<b>Social Status and Public Spaces</b> <i>Gazmend Abrashi</i>	469
<b>The Important Role that Cultural Heritage Plays in a Life of a Nation and Its Sanction in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights</b> <i>Erjona Hasa</i>	473
<b>The Higher Education a Private or a Public Good?</b> <i>Elena Kocaqi (Levanti)</i>	475
<b>Preferential Trade Agreements</b> <i>Darjel Sina, Krisi Kllapi</i>	479
<b>The Analyze of the Risk Management and Control of Internal Audit</b> <i>Hava Mucollari, Zaim Korsi, Evis Çelo, Alba Dumi</i>	483
<b>Role of Multinational Companies (MNE) in the Transfer of Human Resource Management (HRM) Practices in Albania</b> <i>Alba Berberi (Mirashi), Ahmet Ceni</i>	488



---

<b>The Incidence of Different Candida Albicans Infections in Durres Area</b>	<b>493</b>
<i>Anisa Liti, Alba Dako, Margarita Hysko</i>	
<b>Post Traumatic Stress Disorder in Children Sexual Abuse</b>	<b>498</b>
<i>Eglantina Dervishi</i>	
<b>The Analysis and the Audit of Enterprises, A New Challenge in Front of Global Crisis Today</b>	<b>503</b>
<i>Zaim Korsi, Hava Mucollari, Emine Emurllai, Alba Dumit</i>	
<b>History of Illegal Immigration in the Western Balkans Associated with Socio-Economic and Political Developments in the Region</b>	<b>508</b>
<i>Eva Teqja</i>	
<b>The Orthography of the Cartoons' Proper Nouns</b>	<b>515</b>
<i>Helena Grillo (Mukli)</i>	
<b>The Role Analysis of State Law in Initiating the Bankruptcy Procedure</b>	<b>519</b>
<i>Ervin Bacaj, Ismail Zejnelli, Alba Dumit</i>	
<b>Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development in Mountainous Areas - Case of Kelmend</b>	<b>524</b>
<i>Nertila Dilaveri, Bresena Kopliku</i>	
<b>Grammatical Elements as Meta-Language Tools for Teaching the Italian Language</b>	<b>529</b>
<i>Floriana Pango, Aida Lamaj</i>	
<b>Pedagogical Challenges of ESP Teachers in Albania</b>	<b>532</b>
<i>Mirjeta Cenaj</i>	
<b>The Cooperation of Educational Partners in the Management of the "Cyberbullying" at Nonmetropolitan Albanian Adolescents</b>	<b>537</b>
<i>Marsela Shehu, Zenel Orhani</i>	
<b>E-Tailing in Kosovo: The Effect of Trust, Satisfaction and Service Quality in Achieving Consumer E-Loyalty</b>	<b>545</b>
<i>Fehmi Azemi, Fiqiri Baholli, Elton Guberaj</i>	
<b>Transfer Pricing System in Banks</b>	<b>552</b>
<i>Ergys Misha</i>	
<b>Local Governance in Albania: The New Administrative-Territorial Reform</b>	<b>558</b>
<i>Aurora Ndreu</i>	
<b>Effects of Physical Education into Improving the Quality of the Students' Achievements in the High Education Institutions</b>	<b>563</b>
<i>Ardian Shingjergji</i>	
<b>The Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment in Albania</b>	<b>567</b>
<i>Alma Zisi, Armela Anamali</i>	
<b>The Process of Re-integration and the Perspective of the Service Providers</b>	<b>571</b>
<i>Alisa Biçoku</i>	
<b>The Impact of Macro-Economic Factors on Non-Performing Loans in Albania</b>	<b>577</b>
<i>Anilda Bozdo, Ermela Kripa</i>	
<b>Why Albania is in a Continuous Struggle to Fulfill European Union Preconditions Toward Membership? (Focus on Lack of Property Rights)</b>	<b>591</b>
<i>Elona Krashi</i>	
<b>Human Rights Protection in Albania</b>	<b>597</b>
<i>Erjon Hita</i>	
<b>Factors that Affect Effective Planning Skills of the Teacher in the Classrooms</b>	<b>602</b>
<i>Leticja Papa-Gusho, Rozeta Biçaku-Çekrezi</i>	
<b>Public Employees' Motivation: A Case of the Municipality of Elbasan, Albania</b>	<b>607</b>
<i>Matilda Lopari, Vilma Pepa</i>	
<b>Problems and Challenges Facing Today's Construction Sector in Albania</b>	<b>614</b>
<i>Ariet Malaj, Ingrid Shuli</i>	
<b>Money Supply and Prices Relation in Albanian Economy</b>	<b>619</b>
<i>Güngör Turan, Jona Hoxhaj</i>	

---

<b>Albanian Apparel Industry and Its Characteristics of Development</b> <i>Armela Anamali, Alma Zisi, Bitila Shosha</i>	627
<b>Linguistic Transparency and Opacity in Compounding</b> <i>Esmeralda Sherko</i>	632
<b>Customer Relationship Management, Customer Satisfaction and Loyalty</b> <i>Aurela Ramaj, Raman Ismaili</i>	636
<b>Lef Nosi and the Albanian Issue during the Days of the Peace Conference (1919)</b> <i>Enkeleida (Agaçi) Nosi</i>	641
<b>Capital Transfer Outside Albania and the Absent Capital Market</b> <i>Elvin Meka</i>	646
<b>Game Theory, The Coordination Between Firms</b> <i>Brunela Trebicka, Elton Noti</i>	651
<b>Albanian-American Relations During The World War II</b> <i>Etleva Babameto</i>	655
<b>Historical Development of Juridical Relations with Foreign Authorities in the Criminal Process, a Necessity for the Efficient Fight Against Crime</b> <i>Ermira Tafani</i>	663
<b>Civil and Political Rights</b> <i>Pranvera Xhafaj</i>	669
<b>The Impact of Educated Women in the Upbringing of Children</b> <i>Brikena Dhuli, Kseanela Sotirofski</i>	675
<b>Independence of Administrative Courts</b> <i>Pranvera Xhafaj</i>	680
<b>Technical Efficiency and Super-Efficiency of Commercial Banks in Albania</b> <i>Alma Spaho, Thoma Mitre, Valentina Shehu</i>	686
<b>In the protection of life: the case of the fetus and abortion</b> <i>Aferdita Tepshi</i>	693
<b>Marketing Mix Competitiveness of Blue Tourism in Albania</b> <i>Shkëlqim Sinanaj</i>	702
<b>Traditional African Communication Skills Aesthetics: A Perspective.</b> <i>Anthony Olusegun Olaniru</i>	709
<b>The need for Administrative Territorial Reforming of Local Districts Case Study: Region Gjirokastër</b> <i>Arben Hysi, Marsela Tafa</i>	710
<b>The Roughness of the Political Language, as a Sign of the Lack of Political Communication Knowledge</b> <i>Luljeta Hasani</i>	719
<b>The Development of the Concept of Terrorism</b> <i>Fatos Hasani</i>	721
<b>The features of the political class after the 90'</b> <i>Luljeta Hasani</i>	726
<b>Terrorism on the Limits of the Legal Science</b> <i>Fatos Hasani</i>	729
<b>Performance of the political elite during the transition</b> <i>Luljeta Hasani</i>	735
<b>The Fight against Terrorism</b> <i>Fatos Hasani</i>	737

## Political Discourses Around the Single Union Law and Conceptions about the Organisation of the World of Labour: From Historical to Current Dilemmas

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### Abstract

The current research analyses political discourses around the controversy of the Single Union Law, which occurred in the post- April 25th revolutionary context, to understand how the contending parties built different conceptions about the arrangements of labour organisations. By reconstructing the meanings conveyed in the arguments, it is observed that each party invests some words – Unions, Freedom – with different meanings. Additionally, it is observed that each side tends to use certain rhetorical mechanisms as listed by Castro (2002), Amaral (2013) and Amaral & Pereira (2014). The conclusion provides a historical and ideological overview of the different main conceptions and dilemmas yielded in the discourse analysis provided, along with the dilemmas that labour unions are confronted with in the current times, namely considering the issue of job insecurity.

**Keywords:** Portugal, 25 April 1974 revolution, Single Union Law, political discourses, conceptions about labour organisation

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*To Ana Teresa, in Memoria*

### 1. Introduction

The present research covers underlying rhetorical mechanisms in the political discourses around the polemic in the passing of the law on the principle of Union Uniqueness in the revolutionary context after the 25th of April, 1974. This polemic was the first great public confrontation between the Socialist Party (PS, Partido Socialista) and its ally in the Provisional Government at the time, the Democratic Popular Party (PPD, Partido Popular Democrático) - which gave rise to the current Social-Democrat Party (PSD, Partido Social Democrata) - on the one hand, and the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP, Partido Comunista Português) and its ally in the labour and union scope, Intersindical, on the other hand.

According to findings from previous works around such polemic (Amaral, 2014; Brito & Rodrigues, 2013; Silva et al., 2011; Valente, 2001; Varela, 2014), the existence of different conceptions about the desirable forms of arrangement between the referred political formations and Intersindical was verified. These were later at the origin of the current Central Geral dos Trabalhadores Portugueses/ Intersindical Nacional (CGTP) – associated with PCP and which replaced Intersindical – and the União Geral dos Trabalhadores (UGT) – associated with PS and PSD-, the two Federal Cores in Portugal since the 1980s.

As it can be verified in the analysis of the works by Amaral (2013), Amaral and Pereira (2014), Castro (2002), Castro and Batel (2008), among others, different strategies and rhetorical mechanisms as well as mechanisms for the construction of discursive argumentation can convey and articulate with different conceptions (regarding the content of the discourses) about the topic of discursive polemics – in the case of the present work, the forms of unionism and labour organisation. Identical contents –for example, “Freedom”, as it can be seen in this work – can assume different meanings according to the discursive strategies, resulting in different conceptions of “Freedom”.

### 2. Objectives

Based on a previous historical analysis and identification of the main discursive contents around the polemic of the Law on Union Uniqueness (Amaral, 2014), the present research has the main objective of identifying the mechanisms and discursive structures articulated with the political rhetoric of the time. This is underpinned in the construction of social-political meanings around this polemic, namely by the Intersindical and the party formations that were in the origin of the two union confederations existing today: PS, PPD and PCP.

To this effect, an analysis of a *corpus* of news discourses produced by the leaders of the aforementioned organisations in Portuguese newspapers at a national scope was made, as well as the analysis of party communications and news from the PCP's official bodies (*Avante*), PPD's (*Povo Livre*), PS' (*Portugal Socialista*) and Intersindical (*Alavanca*).

A second objective, which results from the findings of this research, consists on the explanation of the programming and ideological perspectives, preconized at the time, regarding the forms of labour organisation by the parties intervening in the quarrel.

The aim of the conclusive considerations is to relate these ideological dichotomies that result from a dilemmatic analysis of the discourses, to the history of unionism and the respective theoretical and ideological currents, as well as highlighting the problems and new social dilemmas faced by current union organisations.

### 3. Theoretical and Methodological Considerations about the Analysis of the Rhetorical Discourse

Perelman (1997), the philosopher responsible for the New Rhetoric study movement, claims the bases of such approach by Aristotle. In *Organon*, Aristotle distinguishes between two types of reasoning: analytical reasoning, which aims to relate the truth of the premises with that of the conclusions; and dialectic reasoning, based on premises formed by generally accepted opinions that create other theories that may be controversial acceptable, with the aim to persuade.

The rhetorical discourse is associated with this dialectic reasoning. Therefore, for example, the domain of political, philosophical, literary and even legal argumentation, "is of the plausible, the likely, in the measure that . . . it escapes the certainties of calculation" (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 2006, p. 9).

In this work, we have adopted the perspectives on rhetorical discourse used in Social Psychology, both in Billig's *Rhetorical Psychology* (1991, 2012), Van Dijk's *Critical Analysis of the Discourse* (2006) and the analysis of argument construction mechanisms (Amaral, 2013; Amaral & Pereira, 2014; Castro, 2002; Potter, 1996).

The model of analysis proposed by Potter (1996) is also considered, resumed by Castro (2002) and in some aspects focused on by Van Dijk (2006), which enables the identification of rhetorical mechanisms that are inherent to persuasive discourse: the extremism of arguments aiming to predispose an audience to an action, or the inverse, minimisation; the description of arguments using factual data; argumentation by inoculation (intending to show the audience that there is no interest by the subject in the argument presented); the distancing mechanism (assuming neutrality and intending that nothing will be proven); the presentation of credentials in argumentation (using categories of subjects with a particular knowledge about the issue, to make the message believable).

### 4. Findings

*Article by Salgado Zenha (leader of the PS): "Unidade Sindical ou Medo à Liberdade?" ("Union Unity or Fear of Freedom?") – Diário de Notícias, 07/01/1975*

*Evoking "union" and "association" freedom, as per the Armed Forces Programme (MFA, the movement that deposed the fascist regime on the 25th of April, 1974, in Portugal), it accuses the Law of Union Uniqueness as being "unconstitutional".*

*The argument denotes aspects of fact description, but it is also construed in the form of a confession, about the stance taken regarding this Law:*

In the draft law on unions, a single union confederation is imposed. Now, and respecting the contrary opinion, I consider this disposition as unconstitutional. As it is known, the Armed Forces Movement Programme is currently a real constitutional charter. Additionally, freedom of association and union freedom (a particular aspect of freedom of association) are violated, if the uniqueness of the union confederation is imposed. Freedom implies freedom of choice and paths. Without it, there is no freedom. (Zenha, 1975, p.7)

*"O PPD contra os sindicatos únicos" ("PPD against single unions") – Povo livre, 08/10/1974*

Under the title "Single unions are the most certain path to the return to oppression", PPD expresses its concerns regarding the topic of "Union Freedom" in this communication about the Law on Union Uniqueness: "Regarding the recent stands taken about union unity, PPD could not but insist on the need for this to never sacrifice union freedom" ("O PPD contra os sindicatos únicos", 1974, p. 1).

Evoking this Freedom, the excerpt above seems to aim to warn the audience against the consequences of the Law on Union Uniqueness (inoculation mechanism). In fact, it is what the following excerpt states, written in the form of a

confession of a political stance taken: "Union unity . . . is not the result of the power of the law or of any limitations to the right of union freedom" ("O PPD contra os sindicatos únicos", 1974, p. 1).

In the following sentence, the problem with union organisation is again linked to the issue of "union freedom", mentioning the credentials of the International Labour Organisation (ILO): "Unitary unionism is only accurate in a regime of union freedom, according to the Convention no. 87 of the ILO" ("O PPD contra os sindicatos únicos", 1974, p. 1).

*"O Partido Socialista não se deixará satelizar" (The Socialist Party will not allow others to control it) – Portugal Socialista, 17/01/1975*

This special issue of *Portugal Socialista* reports the discourses delivered at a demonstration organised by the PS against the Law on Union Uniqueness on the 16th of January, 1975.

Our analysis will be focused on the discourse by Salgado Zenha, due to his relevance in the counter-arguments of the stands advocated by the PCP and Intersindical.

The following argument, construed as a confession, raises the issue of union freedom and the unity of workers which, as can be later seen, is what is intended in a "unity in freedom":

*I was – let me tell you – completely astonished by the audacity of that project. It was becoming evident that it was a betrayal of union freedom and a betrayal of the unity of workers as it is understood by true democrats and true socialists. (Zenha, 1975, p. 6).*

The following excerpt of Zenha's discourse, presented in the form of a confession and using the expression "restriction of the workers' class", is coupled with the workers' arguments on freedom: "This project surprised me not only because it imposes a single Union Confederation, but also because it imposes a single union and a whole set of provisions that are in fact restraining the working class" (Zenha, 1975, p. 6).

In fact, the aim is to have "unity in freedom", as expressed in the following discursive unit, construed as a confession: "since ever and from the beginning, in articles published in the press, in conferences with our comrades, in information events, we have sustained our principles of "unity in freedom" (Zenha, 1975, p. 6).

*Interview to Sá Carneiro (leader of the PPD) – "Social-democracia não mantém sistema capitalista" ("Social-democracy does not maintain a capitalist system") – A Capital, 21/01/1975*

Questioned about the PPD's sociological profile and stating that "the PPD is a party that covers all the layers of the working class" (Carneiro, 1975, p. 15), Sá Carneiro said, regarding the dispute around the political representation of the working class: "we do not intend to be the party of the workers because we understand that workers are nobody's monopoly and they should freely choose among parties, according to their respective programmes" (Carneiro, 1975, p. 15).

Then, he declares, to contest the Law on Union Uniqueness, using the rhetorical mechanism of confession and counterpoising the problem of "freedom" versus the imposition of unity by the law: "we advocate a kind of unitary unionism that expresses the result of the exercise of freedom and not a legal imposition" (Carneiro, 1975, p.15).

*"Unidade, a vontade dos trabalhadores" ("Unity, the workers' will") – Alavanca, 09/12/1974*

Citing a document produced at a plenary by Intersindical, on the 30th of November, 1974, another point of view is presented, also in the form of a confession. It associates the issue of "union unity" with the "consecration of uniqueness" by the law, aiming to have unionism "at the service of the working class".

*The unity of the Portuguese union movement is not just a tradition. It is a historical need. The consecration of uniqueness will be a desirable contribution towards the advocacy and reinforcement of union unity. In terms of the advocacy and reinforcement of democratic freedom, the only one that can serve the interests of the workers, this consecration of uniqueness will, jointly with the principles of independence, autonomy and democracy of organisations as well as the right to perform union actions in companies and the legal protection of leaders and union delegates, enable the construction of a powerful union movement at the service of the working class, the Portuguese people and the country. ("Unidade, a vontade dos trabalhadores", 1974, p. 1)*

Union pluralism is identified with "division", in an argument construed as a confession of Intersindical's stand:

*The course of time came to prove that workers could not only trust their will for unity. For the interests of some and*

*incomprehension of others, public stands started to arise with forces that are external to the workers, seeking to divide the union movement by introducing pluralism. ("Unidade, a vontade dos trabalhadores", 1974, p. 2)*

Freedom, understood as "freedom of classes" (against "abstract freedom" and "liberalism") and class unionism are explained in the following stand taken by Intersindical (confession mechanism): "Freedom is not an abstract concept. Freedom has a class content . . . we have to distinguish between freedom and liberalism." ("Unidade, a vontade dos trabalhadores", 1974, p.2)

*Note by the Political Commission of the PCP's Central Committee (13/01/75) (Press Release)*

Using the maximisation of the demonstration convened by Intersindical on the 14th of January, which "should be seen as an unequivocal statement by workers that union uniqueness is inscribed in the law", according to the PCP, predisposes the audience to take part:

*The demonstration taking place in Lisbon today should be seen as an unequivocal statement by workers that union uniqueness should become law and . . . the PCP exhorts all workers and people to actively take part in this important demonstration and to make it a grand and serene expression of the people's will. (PCP, 1975)*

*Carlos Carvalhas (leader of the PCP) – "Deve respeitar-se a vontade dos trabalhadores" ("The will of the workers should be respected") – Diário de Notícias, 13/01/1975*

Using the description of the wording of the Act, the audience is later warned against unionist pluralism, reported as a workers division in favour of the great capital, or partisan unionism:

*It is also intended that there should exist unions that are independent from employers' organisations and political parties and maybe this is where we are touching a sore point. The great capital is interested in dividing workers and certain political parties with little influence in the working class are also interest in unionist pluralism so that they can form their own partisan unions. (Carvalhas, 1975, p. 7)*

Using the credentials from the findings of the consultations with workers, but also with an argument that maximises its results ("smashing majority of workers", "thousands of workers", it justifies the Law on Union Uniqueness: "The smashing majority of workers and unions has publicly chosen union uniqueness in hundreds of meetings and polls with thousands of workers" (Carvalhas, 1975, p. 7).

*"A Lição de 14 de Janeiro" ("The lesson from January 14th"), Editorial – Avante, 16/01/1975*

Intersindical's demonstration on the 14th of January had its dimension rhetorically maximised and presented as "the most powerful and significant argument" ("A lição de 14 de Janeiro", 1975, p. 2) by the referred "popular movement": "The grand popular demonstrated organised by Intersindical . . . is the most powerful and significant argument against those who are not truly interested in reinforcing and revitalising the popular component of the new democratic process" ("A lição de 14 de Janeiro", 1975, p. 2).

*"Intersindical's great demonstration: Who is afraid of the People? ("A grande manifestação da Intersindical: Quem tem medo do Povo?") – Alavanca, 17/01/1975*

It reports on Intersindical's demonstration on the 14th of January, maximising the event. Again, it approaches the issue of freedom – the "authentic freedom" for which the workers were fighting – counterpoising it to the "formal" freedom and democracy: "Portuguese workers fighting for an authentic democracy and an authentic freedom, not for the formal freedom and democracy that economic power directly or indirectly gives to exploiters, i.e. the freedom to continue exploiting and taking over political power again." ("A grande manifestação da Intersindical: Quem tem medo do Povo?", 1975, p. 2).

*Speech by Carlos Carvalho (leader of Intersindical) – Alavanca, 17/01/1975*

In the form of a confession, it explains yet again Intersindical's understanding of "union freedom" associated with class unionism, as opposed to "union pluralism":

*We have all taken a stance, in a decisive and firm manner, about what we understand by union freedom, a principle we wish to be consecrated in Law. In our opinion – the workers – union freedom is an expression that opposes to union pluralism by nature. (Carvalho, 1975, p. 4)*

It identifies union pluralism as a “union divide” which will be of interest to “the great monopolist capital”: “We do not want a union divide because we know very well who is behind these manoeuvres. We know it is the employers . . . that are interested in weakening the union movement through its divide.” (Carvalho, 1975, p. 4).

Carlos Carvalho finishes his speech associating the Law on Union Uniqueness with a form of class unionism: “Only the law on union uniqueness will enable the consequence advocacy of the interests of the working class” (Carvalho, 1975, p. 4).

*“Política clara e transparente” (“A clear and transparent policy”) – Avante, 23/01/1975*

With an argument presented as a confession of a stance taken, “union pluralism” is refuted, referencing yet again the integration of unions in a class-based scope: “Union pluralism will lead to the creation of competing unions, each with an internal life subordinated to a partisan tendency (...) where the real class spirit would be camouflaged by a sect-like spirit that would enliven the union itself.” (“Política clara e transparente”, 1975, p. 2).

It is reasserted that the question is about “class independence” to refute yet again “union pluralism”:

*Union freedom can only be assured by uniqueness. The essential about union independence is class independence, the independence in the fight against exploitation in the defence of the interests of the workers. Union pluralism would represent the absolute control of unions by parties, groups of professional chieftains or the employers themselves. (“Política clara e transparente”, 1975, p. 2)*

## 5. Discussion and Concluding Remarks

### 5.1 Rhetorical mechanisms on Union Uniqueness

PS and PPD – They mainly use the rhetorical mechanism of argumentation by confession of a position taken invoking “union freedom” (inscribed in the MFA’s Programme) and the argument is used to show that, despite the confessed involvement, the issuer does not lose objectivity. The PPD also uses credentials to highlight its position regarding the freedom at stake with the Law on Union Uniqueness. Both PS and PPD also use the mechanism of inoculation to send out a warning regarding the wider issue of Freedom. The core dilemmatic issue in the discourses conveyed is that of Union Freedom against Union Uniqueness.

PCP and Intersindical – They mainly use the mechanism of maximisation of the results from the consultation with workers, whose “smashing majority” had approved the principle of Union Uniqueness, or even the maximisation of the demonstration that occurred on the 14th of January, convened by Intersindical. A stand is taken in favour of “class unionism” as opposed to “union pluralism” (identified as “divisionism”) and in favour of “class freedom” versus “abstract freedom” (“formal freedom”).

### 5.2 From history to the current times: from political and unionist perspectives to the new social and labour dilemmas

Union organisations were originally formed in the 19th century in capitalist countries, with the establishment of universal suffrage, to extend democracy from the political level to the social level (Lefranc, 1974) through the development of “historical alliances with political parties at a time when universal suffrage was still uncommon” (Costa, 2011, p. 5). This resulted in “distinctive political orientation, relations and divisions regarding unionism up to our time” (Costa, 2011, p. 15).

In a recent review of typological theories on unionism, Costa (2011) refers that “it would not be fair to talk about “pure” unionism models” (p. 35). He contrasts conflict theories with alternative theories to the traditional Marxist theories, set on a pluralist construct and connected with a negotiation unionism, as opposed to contestation unionism.

It was around the notions of conflict and pluralism, unionism and contestation, and negotiation unionism that the two types of federal union association gained form in Portugal – CGTP and UGT, respectively.

The divide at the level of unions remits to the “political and ideological cleavages from 1974-75” (Estanque, 2005, p. 131), embodied in different conceptions of the labour world and different views on unionism (a class-based and contestation unionism versus a negotiation and reform-based unionism). These currently face a context of a deep crisis, where an apparently hegemonic neo-liberalism conveys deep financial, economic, social and labour deregulations. This

results from the phenomenon of globalisation and hegemony in the neo-liberal forms of governance and control.

On the other hand, at the social level, there are phenomena like “the rising commodification of the social life” (Estanque, 2014), rising inequality or “the impoverishment of wide social layers – in the case of Portugal, boosted by the austerity measures – of professional categories that had aimed for a status close to the lifestyle of the middle-class” (Estanque, 2014, p. 3).

There is the hypothetical emergence of a new social category – “the precarious” – which covers “important sectors of the middle-class” (Estanque, 2014, p. 7) and which is difficult to integrate this category from a unionist point of view. Together with the outsourcing that characterises post-industrial societies, this implies the decline of the working class “that has fed the bases of unionism” (Estanque, 2005, p. 131). Both go hand-in-hand with the emergence of new forms of struggle embodied in inorganic movements that express the dissatisfaction of the new “precarious working class” (Estanque, 2014, p. 17). These are social phenomena that pose questions about the traditional forms of labour organisation and the unionist movement, whether this is based on contestation and class-orientation, or negotiation and action in a neo-corporate logic (Estanque, 2005; Sousa, 2009).

These are questions and dilemmas that are fairly different from the ones posed around the polemic on union uniqueness, namely the dilemmas of the time around union freedom/pluralism versus union uniqueness, class freedom versus formal freedom, specifically regarding the integration of the labour world and its organisation models.

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