

Name of politician: Sali Berisha

Title of Speech: Speech at the U.N. 's General Assembly Plenary Session

Date of Speech: 28, September, 2007

Category:

Grader: Sokol Lleshi

Date of grading: 18.April. 2013

Final Grade (delete unused grades): 0

0 A speech in this category uses few if any populist elements. Note that even if a manifesto expresses a Manichaeian worldview, it is not considered populist if it lacks some notion of a popular will.

Populist

It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.

Pluralist

The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on narrow, particular issues. The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.

“Ne kemi vendosur bashkëpunimin me vende mike dhe organizatat ndërkombëtare në luftën kundër terrorizmit. Në këtë kontekst, njësitë tona paqeruajtëse kanë shërbyer në Bosnje, Gjeorgji, Afganistan dhe Irak.”

Gjithashtu, Shqipëria ka qenë mbështetëse e rëndësishme e përpjekjeve ndërkombëtare për parandalimin e përhapjes së armëve të shkatërrimit në masë dhe përdorimit të paligjshëm të armëve të lehta dhe të vogla, të cilat përbëjnë një kërcënim për paqen, sigurinë dhe stabilitetin në botë. Në këtë kontekst, ne jemi angazhuar për eliminimin e arsenalit tonë të armëve kimike...”

“Shqipëria është bërë tashmë pjesë e iniciativës së ndërmarrë 'Një OKB', duke iu bashkangjitur në mënyrë vullnetare Programit për 'Një OKB', si një nga vendet pilote. Ne aktualisht po bashkëpunojmë me Agjencitë e Kombeve të Bashkuara për të testuar konceptin 'Një OKB' dhe

	për të zhvilluar programe e metoda të reja partneriteti në fushat e zhvillimit, ndihmës humanitare dhe mjedisit”.
<p>The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing cosmic proportions to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to national and religious leaders that are generally revered.</p> <p>“Për më shumë se pesë shekuj, nga fundi I shekullit të XIII-të deri në fillim të shekullit të XIX-të, Kosova ka qenë pjesë e Perandorisë Otomane, e banuar nga shqiptarë etnike, me rrenjët, dhe vendbanimet e tyre atje.</p> <p>“Vetëm në fillim të shekullit të kaluar, në një nga padrejtësitë më të mëdha historike, territori I Kosovës u nda nga territoret shqiptare...”</p> <p>“Kosova është gjithashtu një rast unik në vuajtjen e saj.”</p>	<p>The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.</p>
<p>Although Manichaean, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p>	<p>Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p> <p>“Unë besoj se zgjidhja e statusit të Kosovës, në përputhje të plotë me vullnetin e qytetarëve të saj për pavarësi, është kushti themelor për paqe dhe stabilitet të qendrueshëm jo vetëm në Kosovë, por në të gjithë rajonin.</p> <p>“Për shkak të mungesës së realizmit dhe fantazmës së Serbisë së Madhe, Beogradi nuk pranoi planin e Presidentit Ahtisaari, I cili përcakton dhe garanton standardet më të larta europiane për minoritetin serb në Kosovë,</p>

	standarde të cilat janë më të avancuara se ato që gëzojnë shqiptarët në jug të Serbisë.”
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p> <p>“Jo shumë kohë më parë Ballkani ka qenë një skenë cnjerëzore e luftërave brutale, e spastrimeve etnike, bazuar në konceptin e një vendi më të madh të ushqyer nga nacionalizmi ekstrem dhe racizmi I një kombi, I cili është përfshirë nga ideja e hegjemonisë së tij”.</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p> <p>“Jo shumë kohë më parë Ballkani ka qenë një skenë cnjerëzore e luftërave brutale, e spastrimeve etnike, bazuar në konceptin e një vendi më të madh të ushqyer nga nacionalizmi ekstrem dhe racizmi I një kombi, I cili është përfshirë nga ideja e hegjemonisë së tij”.</p>
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>

Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

This is a speech given during the first mandate as Prime Minister at the Plenary Session of the U.N. General Assembly. There different issues that are mentioned during the speech. Some of the issues are

quite precise, and are related to different projects managed by the U.N. , peace keeping missions, and other initiatives that pertain to armed forces, such as the destruction of chemical weapons, or missions that relate to humanitarian aid. As a representative of the Albanian state, and government, the Prime Minister Berisha devotes almost half of his speech to the situation in Kosovo in 2007. There is no clear and explicit Manichean dimension of the speech and no cosmic features. However, there are some atemporal references to history. In the speech, the Prime Minister talks about the territory of Kosovo as being for centuries a territory where the Albanian ethnic group had its roots. The reference is made to Kosovo as an animated subject not to the Albanian people or ethnicity per se. In the speech it is stated that Kosovo has experienced a unique historical injustice and unique suffering. I am not sure to what extent this part of the speech could be seen as pluralist or redemptive. On the other hand, the Prime Minister rejects what he calls a hegemonic idea, or extreme nationalism, which he blames for the brutal wars, and ethnic cleansing in the Balkans. Furthermore, the Prime Minister claims that what is important is the respect of minorities in Kosovo, and the respect for the will of the citizens of Kosovo. There is no explicit reference to the will of the people. It is to be noted that the majority of the citizens of Kosovo are of Albanian origin, yet the term citizen is inclusive. There is no clear distinction between the people and an evil minority. Nonetheless, the blame for the wrong experienced in the Balkans is assigned to the ghost of Greater Serbia (not clear what a ghost might mean?) and to the racism of a nation that considers itself legitimate to exercise its hegemonic ideas.

Finally, I would tend to grade this speech as 0, yet it is much closer to a 0.5 than a 0.