

**Name of politician:** Sali Berisha

**Title of Speech:** Inaugural speech for a new factory

**Date of Speech:** 24, October, 2008

**Category:** ribbon-cutting

**Grader:** Sokol Lleshi

**Date of grading:** 21.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 Manichaean worldview, it is not considered populist if it lacks some notion of a popular will.

### Populist

It conveys a Manichaean 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.

*Sot, ne inaugurojmë fillimin e punimeve për një investim me vlerë 250 milion euro, ndër më të mëdhatë në historinë e vendit, nga kompania “Fassa”-Berberi”, për ndërtimin këtu, në malin e Rrenzit, në Lezhë, të një fabrike çimentoje, me kapacitet prej 3 mijë ton në ditë*

*Today we inaugurate the beginning of the construction of a cement factory, one of the biggest investments in the history of the country, with a value around 250 million euros. This factory will be constructed by “Fassa-Berberi” company on the Rrenzi mountain, here in Lezhe. The capacity of the factory is 3 thousand ton per day.*

*Në industrinë e çimentos në Fushë Krujë e Lezhë deri tani janë investuar mbi 500 milion euro, si dhe 800 milion të tjera janë në parapërgatitje.*

	<p><i>Up to now over 500 million euros have been invested in the cement industry in Fushe Kruje and Lezhe, and around 800 million euros are to be invested soon.</i></p>
<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>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><i>“Sot, ne inaugurojmë fillimin e punimeve për një investim me vlerë 250 milion euro, ndër më të mëdhatë në historinë e vendit, nga kompania “Fassa”-Berberi”, për ndërtimin këtu, në malin e Rrenzit, në Lezhë...”</i></p> <p><i>“Today we inaugurate the beginning of the construction of a cement factory, one of the biggest investments in the history of the country, with a value around 250 million euros. This factory will be constructed by “Fassa-Berberi” company on the Rrenzi mountain, here in Lezhe.”</i></p> <p><i>Ne kemi kodra gëlqerore nga Fushë Kruja deri në Urën e Mesit, që janë pasuri e jashtëzakonshme për industrinë e materialeve të ndërtimit.</i></p> <p><i>“We (Albania) are rich in lime extraction areas that include Fushe Kruje and up to the Mesi Bridge territory. These areas constitute a tremendous resource for the construction materials' industry.”</i></p> <p><i>“Nuk ka vend në Europë e botë që të ketë nevojë më shumë për investime të huaja, sesa Shqipëria.”</i></p> <p><i>“Albania is the only country in Europe that is so much in need of foreign investments.”</i></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</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</p>

<p>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>issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p> <p><i>“Unë i dëgjoj me vëmendje të madhe të gjithë investorët dhe i garantoj se zëri i tyre do të dëgjohet me seriozitet nga qeveria, por ju ftoj që bashkërisht t’u përmbahemi standardeve dhe të kërkojmë standardet më të mira.”</i></p> <p><i>“I am attentive to the requests and concerns of the investors and I pledge that the government will seriously consider their issues. On the other hand, I ask you (investors) to comply to and reach the best standards possible in your investments in Albania.”</i></p>
<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>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><i>“Ne do të bëjmë çdo përpjekje për të shkurtuar barrierat burokratike ndaj investorëve. Nuk janë shkresat e panumërta ato që japin siguri, por është serioziteti dhe zbatimi i ligjit, ajo çka përcakton sigurinë në çdo hap tonin.”</i></p> <p><i>“We will make every single effort to reduce red tape that investors might face. What provides stability and security is not the number of official or bureaucratic papers, but law-abiding and rigorous procedures.”</i></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>
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**Overall Comments (just a few sentences):**

This is a ribbon-cutting speech given during the first mandate of the Prime minister. There are no references at all to the will of the people, or to the common man. The speech identifies certain specific economic benefits that will be obtained because of this foreign investment. There is no division between an evil minority and a good majority. The spatial references are constrained within the territory of the city of Lezhe, and within the territory of Albania, which is according to the Prime minister abundant with resources. There is one reference made to Europe. Yet, this is to show that Albania is lagging behind compared to other European countries in terms of access and facility of investment. The audience in the speech includes the foreign investment firm, the local administration of the Lezhe city, and public administration servants.

The only slight populist aspect of the speech might be considered targeting red tape as a hindrance to investment. However, there is no evil minority responsible for this as I mentioned in the first paragraph. I consider this speech as not populist. I grade it with a 0 mark.