

Name of politician: Sali Berisha

Title of Speech: Albania's Application for EU Membership Candidacy

Date of Speech: 26. April. 2009

Category: most-popular

Grader: Sokol Lleshi

Date of grading: 26.April. 2013

Final Grade : 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.

“Ne paraqesim kërkesën pasi kemi vendosur një bashkëpunim të gjerë edhe në fushën ushtarake me Bashkimin Europian. Njësitë tona ushtarake ishin në Çad, janë në Bosnje dhe janë të gatshme të marrin pjesë në të gjitha misionet e paqes që Bashkimi Europian parashikon dhe do të parashikojë në të ardhmen.”

“To this day we have reached a broad and solid military cooperation with the EU. This is one of the reasons that justifies our intention to apply for EU membership now. We sent troops in Chad, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and we will send troops in all the peace operations that EU plans in the future”.

“Dua të falënderoj ata që e ndryshuan Shqipërinë në fushën e mjedisit, bujqësisë, në fushën e turizmit ku, nga 300 mijë vizitorë, vitin e kaluar

	<p><i>ky vend ka pranuar 2.7 milionë vizitorë.”</i></p> <p><i>“I would like to congratulate all those that changed and transformed Albania in the field of environment, agriculture and tourism. Compared to last year when 300, 000 tourists arrived, this year 2.7 tourists have visited Albania”.</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>“Historia është e tillë; për të hapur negociatat dhe për të firmosur marrëveshjen e Stabilizim – Asociimit u deshën 7 vite, më gjatë se asnjë vend tjetër.”</i></p> <p><i>“The story goes like this: in order to start the negotiations with the EU and to sign the Stabilization-Association Agreement, Albania needed 7 years. It took longer than any other country”.</i></p> <p><i>“Ndërsa, nga 12 shtatori 2006 deri në janar 2009, reformat e kësaj periudhe u certifikuan nga të gjitha vendet anëtare, me vlerësimet më pozitive.”</i></p> <p><i>“Whereas from 12 of September 2006 until January 2009, the reforms that we undertook were considered successful and appropriate”.</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 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</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>

majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.	
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.	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.
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>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>“Pra, në rast se 4 vjet më parë ne u zotuat para shqiptarëve se “alfa” dhe “omega” e programit tonë do të jenë reformat, kënaqësia e madhe është se ato nuk ishin reforma në letër, por reforma me rezultate konkrete, reforma të cilat i mundësuan Shqipërisë që, në 4 prill 2009, të anëtarësohet në NATO,...”</i></p> <p><i>“We promised 4 years ago that implementing reforms would remain the most crucial aspect of our platform. It is a great pleasure to notice that those reforms provided real results, which made possible to Albania to become a NATO member”.</i></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>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> <p><i>“Dua të falënderoj opozitën për reformat që ka votuar në parlament dhe dua ta siguroj atë se ky</i></p>

	<p><i>akt nuk është elektorale, se ky akt është në zbatim të rezolutës që kemi votuar bashkërisht në parlament dhe se ky akt është interesi më i mirë i të gjithë shqiptarëve, pavarësisht nga bindjet e tyre politike. Ky akt është themelor në programin politik të të gjitha forcave politike serioze të vendit.”</i></p> <p><i>“I would like to thank the opposition for backing the reforms in the parliament, and I want to assure the opposition that presenting the application of Albania for EU membership now is not an electoral maneuver. It is a result of a parliamentary resolution that was voted unanimously in Parliament. It is to the general benefit of Albanians regardless of their political convictions what we are presenting here right now. The aim of integrating Albania to the EU remains quite an important part of the political program of serious political parties of our country.”</i></p>
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Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

This speech is given in front of the cabinet ministers and other main representative of state institutions and agencies. This speech talks about the reasons why in April 2009 it was high time for Albanian state to present to the EU its application for EU membership bid. In this speech, the Prime Minister treats the opposition courteously and emphasizes a broader social consensus regarding EU membership bid in Albanian society. The integrative process to the EU is seen as a result of continuous reforms, not as a result of any systemic change. The Prime Minister is not proposing any systemic change. There is no division in the speech between a good majority and a bad/evil minority. On the other hand, there is no historical or cosmic dimension in this speech.

I give this speech a 0.