

Name of politician: Sali Berisha

Title of Speech: Speech given for the inauguration of a new school at Mjull-Bathore

Date of Speech: September, 19, 2012

Category: Ribbon-cutting

Grader: Sokol Lleshi

Date of grading: 25.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.

“Kjo shkollë i shtohet zinxhirit të shkollave dhe kopshteve të ndërtuara gjatë këtyre viteve në mbarë komunën e Farkës. Janë ndërtuar në këto vite 6 shkolla dhe 6 kopshte të reja, janë ndërtuar në këto vite në komunën e Farkës 50 kilometra rrugë, 14 ujësjellësa dhe kanalizime, 5 qendra shëndetësore. Nga 2 mijë banorë që kishte komuna juaj, sot ajo numëron 22 mijë banorë...”

“This school is now part of the whole chain of schools and kindergartens built during these years in the area of Farka. In this area, 6 new schools and 6 new kindergartens have been built. On the other hand, 50 kilometers of roads have been constructed in Farka, including 5 health centers and 14 water suppliers. In the beginning this area had 2 thousand inhabitants, whereas right now it has 22 thousand inhabitants...”

“Në një hark kohor 2006- 2012, ne kemi ndërtuar dhe rindërtuar për djemtë dhe vajzat e këtij vendi, mbi 1300 shkolla në të katër anët e Shqipërisë. Ne

	<p><i>kemi ndërtuar dhe rindërtuar 71% të të gjitha shollave dhe jemi të vendosur që në të 2-3 vitet e para të mandatit të ardhshëm, ne të finalizojmë projektin e infrastrukturës më moderne, për arsimin shqiptar.”</i></p> <p><i>“During the period 2006-2012, we have built and reconstructed for the boys and girls of this country over 1300 schools all over Albania. We have built and reconstructed around 71 % of the schools and we are determined that in our next governing mandate to complete the infrastructural project for the Albanian education system”</i></p> <p><i>“Shqipëria ecën drejt zero analfabetizmit, i cili po merrte përmasa të frikshme vetëm pak vite më parë. Shqipëria është vendi në të cilin, 91% e të gjithë atyre që mbarojnë shkollën 9-vjeçare, vazhdojnë shkollën e mesme. Shqipëria është vendi në të cilin 71% e atyre që mbarojnë maturën, hyjnë në universitete.”</i></p> <p><i>“Albania is closely approaching the stage of having zero illiteracy, a phenomenon which was completely different a few years ago. In Albania, 91 % of those who finish the 9 levels of schooling get into high school. In Albania, 71 % of those who successfully complete high school go to university”</i></p> <p><i>“Sot në arsimin parauniversitar, funksionojnë 256 shkolla private, fëmijët që shkollohen në këto shkolla i kanë dyert e hapura për shkollat publike, por prindërit e tyre preferojnë ti shkollojnë ata, në shkolla private. Shqipëria sot, me iniciativën private mbulon 9 % të arsimit parauniversitar, kurse në arsimin universitar kontributi i sektorit privat është rreth 21 %, i këtij arsimi.”</i></p> <p><i>“Nowadays there exist 256 pre-college private schools. Children who are taught in these schools could also have attended public schools, but their parents prefer to send them to private schools. Nowadays, the private initiative covers 9 % of the pre-college education system. Whereas in the university/college education system the contribution of the private enterprises is around</i></p>
--	---

	21 %”
<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>Në një hark kohor 2006- 2012, ne kemi ndërtuar dhe rindërtuar për djemtë dhe vajzat e këtij vendi, mbi 1300 shkolla në të katër anët e Shqipërisë. Ne kemi ndërtuar dhe rindërtuar 71% të të gjitha shollave dhe jemi të vendosur që në të 2-3 vitet e para të mandatit të ardhshëm, ne të finalizojmë projektin e infrastrukturës më moderne, për arsimin shqiptar.”</i></p> <p><i>“During the period 2006-2012, we have built and reconstructed for the boys and girls of this country over 1300 schools all over Albania. We have built and reconstructed around 71 % of the schools and we are determined that in our next governing mandate to complete the infrastructural project for the Albanian education system ”</i></p> <p><i>Sot në arsimin parauniversitar, funksionojnë 256 shkolla private, fëmijët që shkollohen në këto shkolla i kanë dyert e hapura për shkollat publike, por prindërit e tyre preferojnë ti shkollojnë ata, në shkolla private. Shqipëria sot, me iniciativën private mbulon 9 % të arsimit parauniversitar, kurse në arsimin universitar kontributi i sektorit privat është rreth 21 %, i këtij arsimi.”</i></p> <p><i>“Nowadays there exist 256 pre-college private schools. Children who are taught in these schools could also have attended public schools, but their parents prefer to send them to private schools. Nowadays, the private initiative covers 9 % of the pre-college education system. Whereas in the university/college education system the contribution of the private enterprises is around 21 %”</i></p>

<p>Although Manichaeism, 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>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>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 ribbon-cutting speech given during the second mandate of the Prime Minister Berisha is focused only on a particular issue that relates to the educational system and the necessary infrastructure that the educational system needs. It is given in a small area in the suburbs of Tirana. It is clearly a pluralist speech, and there are no populist features in this speech. I give this speech a 0.