

Name of politician: Sali Berisha

Title of Speech: Commemorative speech for the hundred anniversary of the independence of Albania

Date of Speech: 17, January, 2012

Category: most popular

Grader: Sokol Lleshi

Date of grading: 24.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	Pluralist
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.	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.
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. <i>“Ne mblidhemi sot në këtë seancë, ditën që prijësi I përjetshëm I shqiptarëve, Skenderbeu, mbylli sytë, por mblidhemi në një akt nderimi të madh ndaj atij, që rron dhe do të rroje përjetë, në</i>	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

zemrën, mendjen, por mbi të gjitha në kurajën, guximin, aspiratën e shqiptarëve për liri dhe dinjitet”.

“We are convened here today, the day in which the eternal leader of the Albanians, Skanderbeg passed away. We are convened here to commemorate him that will remain forever in the hearts, minds, of the Albanians, especially for representing the courage, and the aim of the Albanians for freedom and dignity”.

“Për të gjithë ata, që nga '870 deri në 2001, bënë gjithcka për dinjitetin tonë. Ne jemi mbledhur këtu, në këtë seancë, si përfaqësues të të gjitha trevave shqiptare, për të nderuar fillimin e 100 vjetorit të Pavarësisë, kryengjarjes së një shekulli për shqiptarët dhe këtë ia detyrojmë në rradhë të parë faktit se ne, në çdo rrethanë, në çdo kohë, në çdo furtune qëndruam sëbashku”.

“We are convened here to honor all those who from 1870 until 2001 sacrificed everything for our dignity. All the representatives of the Albanian territories/trevave (representatives mean: Members of Parliament of Kosova, of Albania, of FYROM, of Republic of Montenegro; treva is a peculiar Albanian term that does not have a nationalist undertone, it probably is closer to a bucolic romantic meaning of territory inhabited by the Albanians) are gathered here to celebrate the hundred years of anniversary of the Independence. It is due to our endurance and perseverance of remaining closely together, regardless of any adverse circumstance that we celebrate now the independence day together.”

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

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.

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.

“...dhe këtë ia detyrojmë në rradhë të parë faktit se ne, në çdo rrethanë, në çdo kohë, në çdo furtunë qëndruam sëbashku. Thellë në shpirtin, në zemrën, në aspiratën e shqiptarëve qëndron parimi 'Një komb një qëndrim', asgjë s'mund ta ndalë dhe copëtojë shpirtin e një kombi, trupin po, por shpirti është një I pandarë shpirti I një kombi është liria e tij, liria e tij është një e pandarë , ndaj lavdi Zotit, ne vijmë sot të lirë në këtë sallë sepse qëndruam sëbashku”.

“...it is due to the fact that we faced together and endured any adverse circumstance at any time. Deep in the heart and the aspiration of the Albanians there is a motto which says 'One nation, one attitude/stance'; there is nothing that can prevent or divide a nation's spirit. The body may be divided but the soul is one and indivisible. Freedom is the soul of a nation, and freedom is one and indivisible, so thanks to God, we are gathered here as free people because we remained together (i.e. as an indivisible soul, not as a territory or state)”

...gjatë një shekulli I faktuar vetes sonë , miqve tanë, mbarë botës, se për shqiptarët, si komb I qytetëruar, liria nuk ka cmim, se ata janë të gatshëm të paguajnë çdo cmim që lipset, për të qenë të lirë dhe të denjë në shtëpitë e tyre”

“...During a century, we proved to ourselves and to our friends, and to all the world, that for the Albanians as a civilized nation, freedom has no price. Albanians are ready to pay any price that is needed, in order to be free and live with dignity in their homes (homes/shtëpite metaphorical term that tries to avoid the use of the term territory)

“Rregjimi diktatorial kontrollonte gjithçka dhe dukej se ne do të perfundonim si 'Kuba e Adriatikut'. Po jo, studentët u ngritën, punonjësit e Tiranës u ngritën dhe në një betejë epike gjunjëzuan një regjim, që shtypi në mënyrën më të egër, vendin e tij dhe kombin e tij dhe u shpall si parim çështja kombëtare, ylli polar I politikës shqiptare”.

“Everything was under the control of the dictatorial regime, and it seemed that Albania would remain the 'Cuba of the Adriatic Sea'. Yet this did not happen, because the students rose up against the regime, the workers of Tirane rose up against the regime too in an epic battle kneeling down the regime. This regime oppressed in the most brutal way its country and its nation. After regime change, the national question/issue was proclaimed the leading issue of the Albanian politics”

<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><i>“...se në tryezat e kohës ishte fshirja nga harta e Europës e shqiptarëve, e shtetit të mundshëm të tyre dhe të Pavarur.”</i></p> <p><i>“...at that time on the table was put the claim/aim to sweep Albanians away from the European map, and not to make possible the establishment of the Albanian Independent state”</i></p> <p><i>“Traktatet e tjera do të firmoseshin do të nënshkruheshin mbi Shqipërinë , me një qëllim të vetëm që ajo të mos ekzistonte. Por prapë shqiptarët, këta armëmbajtes I qëndruan sakrificave të tyre për liri”</i></p> <p><i>“New treaties (the implicit reference here is to the main treaties signed after the first World War , after the Balkan wars, and also treaties signed in the late 19th century) were to be signed on Albania, with the only aim not to allow that she exist. However, the Albanians continued their sacrificed for freedom”.</i></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</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</p>

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.	law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.
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Overall Comments (just a few sentences):

This is a commemorative speech given by the Prime Minister of Albania in front of the Members of Parliament of the Albanian state, Members of Parliament of Kosova, and Members of Parliament of the FYROM, and Republic of Montenegro (the members of Parliament of FYROM and Montenegro represent the Albanian minority in these respective countries). The speech is given in the Parliament of the Republic of Kosova on the day of the death of Skanderbeg, Albanian national hero. This speech, does not talk about narrow issues, and it is clearly a commemorative and historic speech. At the center of the speech is the endurance and continuity of the Albanians in the different areas of the territories that they inhabited throughout history. There are many references to important historical figures that contributed to the independence of Albania. The Prime Minister uses a metaphorical and hyperbolic rhetoric. There exist in the speech some populist undertones, when the Prime Minister mentions that the Albanian soul is and remains indivisible, although the body (territory) was divided. However, there is no mentioning of a small evil minority that is responsible for this wrongdoing. As in the other speeches the Prime Minister uses the passive voice, by avoiding to blame any concrete group or state, or minority behind the 'calamities' that the Albanians have experienced. He says in the speech that inimical treaties were signed against the Albania's interest, without claiming that a conspiracy was created against Albania or without point out direct responsibility of a small group of people. There is a certain reification of history but this is not linked to a Manichean or moral stance that pits the good majority vs. the bad minority. Of course, it is obvious in the speech that Albanians represent a good majority, but the bad minority is not mentioned in the speech. On the other hand there is no clear reference to the will of the people, albeit the vague and ambiguous terms used such as the soul of the nation, and the body of the nation.

For the above mentioned reasons I would give this speech a 0.