**Name of politician:** Donald Trump

**Title of Speech:** Economic Speech

**Date of Speech:** August 8, 2016

**Category:** Electoral Speech

**Grader:** Cristóbal Sandoval

**Date of grading:** September 22, 2016

**Final Grade (delete unused grades):**

1 A speech in this category includes strong, clearly populist elements but either does not use them consistently or tempers them by including non-populist elements. Thus, the discourse may have a romanticized notion of the people and the idea of a unified popular will (indeed, it must in order to be considered populist), but it avoids bellicose language or references to cosmic proportions or any particular enemy.

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|  | **Score here (0, 1,2)** | **Populist** | **Pluralist** |
| Manichaean vision | 0,8 | 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.  *“She is the candidate of the past. Ours is the campaign of the future.”*  *“As part of this reform, we will eliminate the Carried Interest Deduction and other special interest loopholes that have been so good for Wall Street investors, and people like me, but unfair to American workers.”*  *“Our opposition, on the other hand, has long ago run out of ideas. All Hillary Clinton has to offer is more of the same: more taxes, more regulations, more bureaucrats, more restrictions on American energy and American production.”*  *“Americanism, not globalism, will be our new credo.”*  *“We need to stop believing in politicians, and start believing in America.”*  *“They want you to think small. I am asking you to think big.”* | 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. | 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. |
| Populist notion of the people | 0,5 | 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.  *“My campaign is about reaching out to everyone as Americans, and returning to a government that puts the American people first.”*  *“Because my only interest is the American people, I have previously laid out a detailed 7-point plan for trade reform, available on my website.”*  *“It will be American hands that rebuild this country, and it will be American energy – mined from American sources — that powers this country.”* | 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. |
| Evil elite | 1,5 | The evil is embodied in a minority—more specifically, an elite—whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also 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 next betrayal will be the Trans-Pacific Partnership. Hillary Clinton’s closest friend, Terry McAuliffe, confirmed what I have said on this from the beginning: if sent to the Oval Office, Hillary Clinton will enact the TPP. Guaranteed. Her donors will make sure of it.”*  *“Hillary Clinton will never withdraw from the TPP. She is bought, controlled and paid-for by her donors and special interests.”*  *“Our party has chosen to make new history by selecting a nominee from outside the rigged and corrupt system.”* | 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. | 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.”  *“I am proposing an across-the-board income tax reduction, especially for middle-income Americans. This will lead to millions of new good-paying jobs.*  *The rich will pay their fair share, but no one will pay so much that it destroys jobs, or undermines our ability to compete.”*  *“A Trump Administration will end this war on the American worker, and unleash an energy revolution that will bring vast new wealth to our country.”* |
|  |  | 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. | 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. |

**Overall Comments (just a few sentences):**

El discurso presenta los elementos necesarios para ser considerado como populista. En primer lugar, se reconoce de manera clara la apelación al pueblo americano como una entidad virtuosa. Segundo, se reconoce de manera clara la identificación de una elite representada por los políticos tradicionales, los intereses especiales y en especial la figura de Hillary Clinton y el presidente Obama. De esta forma, el discurso muestra elementos maniqueos dividiendo la sociedad en dos grupos antagónicos y en donde el pueblo americano va a prevalecer. En tercer lugar, se reconoce cierta noción de voluntad general como fuente de legitimidad política para generar los cambios que se necesitan y poner a América primero. Por sobre una noción de cambio radical, Trump se concentra en temas específicos como política internacional, baja de impuestos, producción de empleo y política energética. A partir de los elementos anteriores es posible clasificar el discurso con una **nota de 1,4.**