**Name of politician:** Donald Trump

**Title of Speech:** America First Means Veterans First

**Date of Speech:** July 11, 2016

**Category:** Electoral Speech

**Grader:** Cristóbal Sandoval

**Date of grading:** July 27, 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 | 1,5 | 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.  *“We made a promise to these heroes. You defend America, and America will defend you. But that promise has been broken by our politicians, like so many other promises our country has made – not only to its veterans, but to its citizens as a whole.”*  *“Perhaps it is easy for politicians to lose touch with reality when they are being paid millions of dollars to read speeches to Wall Street executives – instead of spending time with real people in real pain.”*  *“There are two Americas: the ruling class, and the groups it favors, and then everyone else.”*  *“The fact is, she helped create our rigged system. Hillary Clinton’s America is a country where the elite get one standard they so richly deserve. Of treatment and everybody else gets second-class treatment*.” | 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 | 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. | 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.  *“Clearly, Hillary Clinton thinks she is above the law. Come November, the American people will show her that she is not.”*  *“Her conduct was willful, intentional, and unlawful – and her repeated false statements about her conduct prove that she was fully aware of her guilt. This was not just extreme carelessness with classified material – which is still totally disqualifying. This is calculated, deliberate, premeditated misconduct –followed by a cover-up that included false statements and lies to Congress, the media and the American people.”*  *“The fact is, she helped create our rigged system. Hillary Clinton’s America is a country where the elite get one standard they so richly deserve.”* | 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.”  *“Fixing this corruption will be one of my highest priorities – and it will happen. It will be fixed.”*  *“Here is my 10 step plan to ensure quality, timely care for every Veteran in America:”* |
|  |  | 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 algunos de los elementos necesarios para ser considerado como populista. En primer lugar se reconoce la apelación al pueblo americano (las personas reales, los trabajadores), el cual es construido en oposición a la elite económica y política. Segundo, se reconoce de manera clara la identificación de una elite representada por los políticos, los ejecutivos de Wall Street y la clase dirigente los cuales están articulados con la figura de Hillary Clinton. Según Trump, Clinton ha defendido estos intereses y ha defendido la corrupción como medio para alcanzar sus fines. En tercer lugar, se no reconoce una noción de voluntad general como fuente de legitimidad política.

Finalmente, no se reconoce una noción de cambio radical, sino la identificación de temas específicos como el fin de la corrupción y políticas a favor de los veteranos de guerra. A partir de los elementos anteriores es posible clasificar el discurso con una **nota de 1,0.**