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FACULTAD DE FILOSOFÍA Y HUMANIDADES
ESCUELA DE POSTGRADO

TESIS PARA OPTAR AL GRADO DE MAGÍSTER EN LINGÜÍSTICA MENCIÓN LENGUA INGLESA

METAPHORICAL EVALUATION: A STUDY OF EVALUATION AS EXPRESSED BY
CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS IN THE POLITICAL SPEECHES OF TWO NORTH
AMERICAN PRESIDENTS

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SANTIAGO, CHILE
2012

Acknowledgements

I would like to profoundly thank Professor Carlos Zenteno, whose ceaseless academic support, helpful insight and knowledge, and great patience and disposition with someone who is just giving his first steps into the academic field, helped in a great extent to the development of this study. Without his guidance and contributions, the present research would have never seen the light.

Agradecimientos

Quisiera agradecer enormemente a aquellos que de una u otra manera ayudaron a que este informe de tesis haya sido posible: quienes dieron una que otra mano, aportaron sugerencias, hicieron largas lecturas, criticaron o me llevaron una taza de café mientras trabajaba.

Quisiera también dedicar este trabajo a los miles de anónimos estudiantes Chilenos que luchan día a día por una educación de calidad y libre de lucro.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The analysis of political discourse falls into the field of discourse analysis and focuses on the discourse of political debates, speeches and hearings (among others) as the object of study. Following Lakoff (2009), political discourse has to do with the exchange of reasoned views and with the courses of action to be taken to solve different problems of the society.

The aim of this research is to make a preliminary study, on a quantitative and qualitative bases, of some of the relations holding between political discourse and cognition by means of the application of Lakoff and Johnson (1980)'s theory of conceptual metaphors and the way in which, together with the use and expression of conceptual metaphors, two politicians, namely two North American presidents, express their evaluation of current situations.

Politics involves, largely, the practice moral values. As Lakoff (2002) states, every political leader presents his or her policies on the ground that they are 'right' or 'wrong', that is to say, on the basis of their morality. However, basic conservative and progressive systems of thought begin from different perspectives on what morality is concerned with, and these views are sometimes so divergent that they are virtually contrary to each other.

According to Lakoff (2002), contemporary American politics is about world views. The Republicans, who stand as the conservative party, view the world in ways which contrast with those of the Democrats, who seem to take a liberal standpoint. It is often hard for one group to get a grip on what the other's view of given world issues is.

A more profound understanding of how the human mind and brain each works and interacts has further developed over the past three decades. As Lakoff (2009) states, most of us have very little idea of what scientists have discovered about how our mind and brains work – especially the vast reaches below the level of consciousness. However, it is unconscious thought that rules our everyday lives– and our politics.

Following van Dijk (2002), the relations holding between politics and cognitive science have to do with the cognitive unconscious level: the system of concepts that structure our

mind but which we are not aware of directly. Much of what we interpret from political discourse does not lie in the linguistic expressions being used by, say, those persons giving political speeches, but, instead in the unconscious sense and interpretation that are activated and configured in our minds by such expressions.

The study of political concepts and political discourse falls under the domain of cognitive science. Still, until now research into the subject has been relatively sparse. According to van Dijk (2002), independently of one another, both interdisciplinary fields have recently received increasing attention, but somewhat unfortunately, the connections between the two have largely been ignored. However, in the last decade, different studies on the subject have been presented which aim at compensating for such deficiency: Lakoff (2002, 2004, 2009), van Dijk (2002, 2006), A' Beckett (2009), Scheithauer (2007), Hart (2005), mainly.

According to van Dijk (2002) and Lakoff (2009), the domain of political discourse and cognition has not received enough attention so far. Taking this observation into account, the main motivation of the present research is to attempt to determine discursal interconnections holding between the operation of conceptual metaphors by means of the examination of the paradigmatic sets of linguistic expressions which formalise them at text level, and the expressions of evaluative meanings according to the proposals by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the former, and Martin and White (2005), the latter. As explained previously, the specific data to be examined, as being representative of political discourse, will be selected from a set of public political speeches made by two North American presidents.

As first proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the theory of conceptual metaphors accounts for the 'metaphorical' conceptualisation of many of our everyday life experiences and how we communicate them linguistically. In this respect, Norrick (2001) makes the strong claim that metaphors operate only at the level of discourse. For example, a sentence like *The smoke was dancing over the chimney* leads to an interpretation of the verb *dance* in real world contexts, but it does not necessarily lead to figurative interpretation, since it could literally describe a cartoon scene in which smoke has been given an anthropomorphic form and indeed dances to background music. The incongruity of this sentence, as conveyed by

the subject *smoke* and the predicate *was dancing*, will, presumably, receive due interpretation only in its discourse context. In this sense, conceptual metaphors are permeated by communicative context and also affect the way in which individuals express personal perception and cognition of the events that they communicate to their interlocutors.

On the other hand, Martin and White (2005)'s appraisal theory accounts for the vast array of subjective meanings, evaluative ones inclusively, which are expressed by language users in everyday communication. This descriptive model provides a systematic account of the attitudinal and evaluative meanings which are expressed in a large number of communicative settings. Thus, politicians largely use them in order to express their argumentative or ideological positions.

In short, the realisation of evaluative meanings in political discourse does not only involve the use of 'literal meaning' expressions but also 'metaphorical meaning' expressions. On the other hand, the metaphorical expressions being employed in political discourse, or in other discourse types, and whether or not they additionally convey evaluative meanings, are inherently related to conceptual metaphors, these being viewed as cognitive constructs. In a broad sense, this theoretical and empirically-based view makes manifest the cognitive claim that language and thought are inextricably interrelated (Evans and Green (2006)). In practical terms, it allows for the validity of the descriptive link that can be established between the 'conceptual metaphor' cognitive model and 'appraisal theory.'

The present research is motivated by the view that political discourse involves both metaphorical cognitive processes and evaluative meanings being conveyed in conjunction in order to express ideological positions.

The formal arrangement of this study has been organised in ten sections. Section 1 constitutes the present introduction. Section 2 presents the research questions that this study aims at providing descriptive answers to. In section 3, the general and specific objectives of the research are stated. Section 4 contains the theoretical framework which constitutes the essential foundation for the descriptive tasks to be implemented: conceptual metaphor theory, appraisal theory, and some basic characteristics of political discourse. Section 5

introduces the general political background of the politicians whose political speeches are under study, namely, the North American presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama. This section also presents some of the main aspects that characterise their respective political parties, as well as a brief overview of the most important affairs that they have dealt with in their respective offices.

As for the descriptive part of the study, section 6 presents the research methodological procedures, namely, the main characteristics of the corpus, the corpus selection criteria, and the data analysis procedures. Section 7 displays a full descriptive sample of the analysis of both the conceptual metaphors and appraisal items found in the political speeches being examined. In section 8, the results obtained are displayed in tables and charts and then discussed. Section 9 presents the relevant conclusions drawn from the research. Section 10 contains the references made throughout the present report of the study. Finally, the final part, Appendices 1 and 2, contains the full quantitative tables and linguistic corpus.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- 2.1. What are the conceptual metaphors that occur more frequently in political discourse?
- 2.2. Do these conceptual metaphors include expressions of appraisal? If so, what are the linguistic constructions involved in the formalisation of such conceptual metaphors?
- 2.3. Are there any significant cognitive differences between the expression of conceptual metaphors and appraisal items by politicians of opposing political wings?

3. OBJECTIVES

3.1. General objectives

- 3.1.1. To give a descriptive account of the conceptual metaphors which are in operation together with the formal expression of evaluative meanings in political speeches made by politicians of opposing political wings.
- 3.1.2. To determine the linguistic differences in opposing politicians' public speeches when they express their ideological positions by means of evaluative expressions in conjunction with their resorting to conceptual metaphors.

3.2. Specific objectives

- 3.2.1. To identify, categorise and quantify the conceptual metaphors which are in operation and realised by different linguistic constructions in antagonist presidential political speeches.
- 3.2.2. To make a quantitative comparison of the conceptual metaphors being in operation in the political speeches of two opposing North American presidents.
- 3.2.3. To classify and quantify the evaluative meanings which are expressed in conjunction with the conceptual metaphors in operation in antagonist presidential political speeches.
- 3.2.4. To make a quantitative comparison of the evaluative meanings expressed together with the conceptual metaphors in operation in the political speeches of two opposing North American presidents.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1. Political discourse

According to van Dijk (2002), the study of political discourse is relevant in theory and practice only when discourse structures can be related to certain properties of political structures and processes. In this sense, following the author, a relevant theory of political discourse needs to explicitly connect the individual uniqueness and variation of political discourse and interaction with the socially shared political representations of political groups and institutions.

As individuals, politicians giving a speech express not only their personal political beliefs in a personal style and in a given social context but also speak as members of a political party and as representatives of an institution holding the attitudes and ideologies of the whole group. As van Dijk (2002) states, by doing so, they enact a system of parliamentary democracy, reproducing the discourse order of democracy and democratic ideologies, presupposing a historically variable common ground of cultural knowledge, norms and values shared by all the other groups of the same culture.

4.1.1. The study of political cognition

Following van Dijk (2002), discourse and politics can be interrelated, essentially, in two ways: a) at a socio-political level of description, in which political processes and structures are constituted by situated events, interactions and discourses of political actors in political contexts; and b) at a socio-cognitive level of description, where shared political representations are related to individual representations of these discourses, interactions and contexts.

The study of political cognition focuses on various aspects of political information processing. According to van Dijk (2002), it deals with the acquisition, uses and structures of mental representations of political situations, events, actors and groups. Typical topics of political cognition research are the organisation of political beliefs, the perception of political candidates, political judgement, decision-making, stereotypes, prejudices and other socio-political attitudes, political group identity, public opinion, impression formation, and many other referents that deal with memory representations and the mental processes involved in political understanding and interaction.

Van Dijk (2002) states that the notion of 'mental model' is the necessary interface between socially shared political cognitions, on the one hand, and personal beliefs, on the other. According to this author, in discourse production, it is assumed that speakers or writers generally start their linguistic communication from their personal mental model of a social event or situation. This mental model organises the subjective beliefs of the speaker about such a situation. Once such a personal model of an event or situation has been construed, speakers can linguistically express fragments of such models in discourse, using different detailed linguistic and discursive strategies. Speakers usually only express the information that is relevant in the ongoing communicative context. It is also argued by van Dijk (2002) that the process of discourse production operates in a similar manner in discourse interpretation. That is, we interpret what a politician says, firstly, through a process of decoding and understanding words and sentences, and then by construing our own models of his message. Similarly, following Lakoff (2009), in political speech, certain recurrent patterns of thought emerge based on one's assumptions about what the right thing to do is; several of such assumptions being unconscious but, ultimately, help one make sense of what is actually said.

According to Lakoff (2009), discourses do not signal the social context itself but, instead, indirectly make reference to the subjective mental models of the context as construed by the speech participants. This allows personal differences between the context models of different participants, as well as different personal opinions about the current communicative situation. Context-based cognitive models also explain the communicative conflicts between speech participants because they have and use incompatible models of the ongoing communicative situation.

As stated by van Dijk (2002) Whereas mental models of events may be seen as the basis of the content, or meaning, of discourse, context-based models typically control not only what is being said, but, especially, how it is said what it is said. The structures of context models generally define the appropriate conditions of speech acts and interaction sequences. They control what relevant information of event models is included in the semantic representation of a text.

4.1.2. Moral categories in politics

Lakoff (2002) argues that people are not aware of their models and most of the time they neglect their worldviews. Therefore, it is the role of cognitive science and of the ones studying political worldviews to establish adequacy conditions for the analysis of political discourse. In this sense, and regarding Republicans and Democrats in American politics, this author suggests the existence of two models, these being derived from systems of moral concepts relative to such issues as immigration, taxation, military spending, war, economy, crime, social causes, environment, multiculturalism, art, education, religion, abortion, etc.

According to Lakoff (2002), a moral system defines how the world is viewed and how hundred of events are comprehended by means of cognitive categorisation. As he states, “each moral system creates a number of fixed major categories for moral action. Those major categories allow us to classify actions instantly into those that are moral and those that are not, with little or no reflection.” (Lakoff, 2002:162). Within these moral systems, American opposing political wings are defined in two ways: a) the ‘conservatives’ (represented in actual practice by the Republican Party), as the figure of a strict father and b)

the ‘liberals’ (namely, the Democrats), as representing a nurturant father. These two moral systems are characterised by Lakoff (2002) as follows:

- a) The strict father conservative system:
 - a. Promoting strict father morality, in general.
 - b. Promoting self-discipline, responsibility and self-reliance.
 - c. Upholding the morality of reward and punishment by means of i) preventing interference with the pursuit of self-interest by self-disciplined, self-reliant people, ii) promoting punishment as a means of upholding authority and iii) ensuring punishment for lack of self-discipline.
 - d. Protecting moral people for external evil.
 - e. Upholding the moral order.
- b) The nurturant father liberal system:
 - a. Demonstrating empathetic behaviour and promoting fairness.
 - b. Helping those who cannot help themselves.
 - c. Protecting those who cannot protect themselves.
 - d. Promoting fulfilment in life.
 - e. Nurturing and strengthening oneself in order to do the above.

These models define the first moral question as one that unconsciously and automatically asks of any action. If it is in one of the models, it is moral; if it is in the opposite model, it is not moral.

Lakoff (2002) exemplifies this idea with reference to college loans in the United States. In the United States, the federal government implements a programme to provide low-interest loans to college students, with no need of paying the loans while they are in college. During this time period, the loans are free from interests. The liberals’ reasons for this program are that college education is expensive; therefore, many poor-to-middle class families cannot afford it. In this sense, both the college students involved and the government draw financial benefits from it: the student gets a college degree, which would not have been possible without the loan programme; and the government gets more money since a person with

college education can obtain better jobs and higher salaries. Therefore, that person, because of the higher salaries, eventually pays higher taxes.

The program above, from a liberal moral perspective, is highly moral since:

- a) It helps who cannot help themselves.
- b) It promotes life fulfilment because of both education and good jobs.
- c) It strengthens the nation because of more money from taxes and a better educated citizenry.
- d) It has empathetic behaviour by making access to college more fairly distributed.

On the other hand, from a conservative moral perspective, the loan programme is not moral because of the following reasons:

- a) Since the students depend on the loans, the program supports dependence on the government rather than self-reliance.
- b) Not everyone has access to the loans; therefore, the programme introduces competitive unfairness by interfering with the free market in loans and with a fair pursuit of self-interest.
- c) Since the programme takes money earned by one group and gives it to another group, it is unfair and penalises the pursuit of self-interest by using the money that a person has earned to give it to another that has not.

4.2. Conceptual metaphors

According to Evans and Green (2006), metaphors constitute the main manifestation of the cognitive claim that language and thought are inextricably intertwined. Metaphors can be defined as a cognitive device that involves conceptualising one domain of experience in terms of another. They involve not only ways of talking about real world phenomena but also ways of thinking about them.

Based on Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Ortony (1993) establishes the principles which relate literal sentence meaning to metaphorical utterance meaning. He suggests that knowledge that people have, to express and interpret metaphorical utterances, goes beyond their

knowledge of the literal meaning of words in sentences. That is, he argues for a conceptual - or cognitive- basis for the explanation of metaphor in language. This idea is one of the seminal proposals of Lakoff and Johnson (1980). According to these authors, what makes metaphors conceptual is the idea that the motivation for their construction resides at the level of ‘conceptual domains’ since we both speak and think in metaphorical terms: “Linguistic expressions that are metaphorical in nature are simply reflections of an underlying conceptual association” (Evans and Green 2006:295). As a fundamental aspect of their metaphor model, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) suggest the fundamental notion of *conceptual metaphor* (CM)¹ claiming that this cognitive construct is grounded in the nature of our every day interaction with the world. In this sense, CM’s have a human experiential foundation. Metaphors are as pervasive in everyday life language as in thought and action. According to Evans (2009), a conceptual metaphor theory provides an account of knowledge representation.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) illustrate, as part of their original proposal, their views of metaphors and CM’s by making a distinction between the concept ARGUMENT and the CM ARGUMENT IS WAR. This metaphor is reflected in our everyday language by a variety of expressions such as:

- (1) *Your claims are indefensible*
- (2) *He attacked every weak point in my argument.*
- (3) *If you use that strategy, I’ll wipe you out.*

(Lakoff and Johnson, 1980)

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), most of the actions that we perform when arguing are structured from the concept war, as we view the person we are arguing with as an opponent, we attack his position and we defend our own, gain and lose ground, we plan and use strategies, etc. The argument structure reveals that the battle is not physical but verbal. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) note that “The ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor is one that we live by in this culture; it structures the actions we perform in arguing” (Lakoff 1980:4).

¹ Henceforth, conceptual metaphors will be referred as CM’s

Thus, we understand and talk about ARGUMENT in terms of WAR. As stated by the authors, the metaphor is not merely in the words that we use but on the concept itself.

4.2.1. Key aspects of conceptual metaphor theory

Some of the main aspects of conceptual metaphor theory are named below based on the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1993) and Kövecses (2010).

4.2.1.1. The unidirectionality of metaphor: CM's are unidirectional since they are structured from a 'source domain' to a 'goal domain' but not vice versa.

4.2.1.2. Motivation for goal and source domains

The conceptualisation of CM's from one domain of experience in terms of another, allows us to identify two elements: a) a source domain and b) a goal domain. In the sentence: *He's a really cold person*, the source domain involves the physical sense of touch and the goal domain involves the abstract concept of intimacy. Lee argues that: "source domains tend to be relatively concrete areas of experience and goal domains to be more abstract" (Lee (2001:6)).

In respect to what world represents and what conceptual domains typically function as source domains and what function as goal domains, Kövecses (2010) states that most common source domains for metaphorical mappings include domains relating to HUMAN BODY, ANIMALS, PLANTS, FOOD and FORCES. The most common goal domains include conceptual categories like EMOTION, MORALITY, THOUGHT, HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS and TIME.

4.2.1.3. Metaphorical entailments

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), CM's also have to provide additional and detailed knowledge due to the fact that some aspects of the source domain that are not explicitly stated in the mappings can be inferred. Thus, entailments or rich inferences are carried by metaphorical mappings

4.2.1.4. Metaphor systems

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) suggest that because of the CM's interaction with each other, there exist somewhat complex metaphor systems which gather schematic metaphorical mappings structuring a number of specific metaphors such as LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Lakoff (1993) provides an example of a metaphor system which he calls the 'event structure metaphor', which consists of "a series of metaphors that interact in the interpretation of utterances" (Evans and Green 2006:299).

4.2.1.5. Metaphors and image schemas

The theory of conceptual metaphor developed the idea that certain concepts are image-schematic in nature. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), image schemas may assume the function source domain for metaphorical mapping. Evans and Green (2006) define image schemas as knowledge structures that emerge from pre-conceptual embodied experience. As they state, these structures are meaningful at the conceptual level because they derive from the level of bodily experience, which is directly meaningful.

4.2.1.6. Invariance

With the purpose of giving an account for some existent restrictions in terms of which source domains can serve particular goal domains, and also constraints on metaphorical entailments that apply to particular goal domains, Lakoff (1993) suggests the Invariance principle referring to the image-schemas which characterise the source domain onto the goal domains. According to the author, metaphorical mappings maintain the image schema structure of the source domain consistently with the inherent structure of the goal domain. This principle assures that image schematic organisation is invariant across metaphoric mappings.

4.2.2. The systematicity of metaphorical concepts

Metaphorical concepts have the quality of being systematic in the sense that they influence both the shape of our actions and the manner in which we refer to them. Following the CM

ARGUMENT IS WAR, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) propose that, our conceptualisation of arguments in terms of war has a systematic influence on the shape that arguments take and the way in which we talk about what we argue. The authors give the example that in the CM ARGUMENT IS WAR, the expressions from the semantic field of war that we use when referring to arguing, e.g., *attack*, *win*, *ground* etc., form a systematic way of talking about the battling aspects of arguing.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) state that this systematicity that allows us to understand one aspect of the concept in terms of another hides other aspects of the concept. In this sense, by focusing on one aspect, metaphorical concepts will prevent us from focusing on other aspects that are inconsistent with that metaphor. For example, in the middle of an argument, we focus on the battling aspects of arguments, but we may not pay attention to the cooperative aspects of arguing. As the authors explain, someone arguing with you can be regarded as giving you their time, a valuable commodity, in an effort of mutual understanding. But when focusing on the battling aspects, we often lose sight of the cooperativeness involved in social interaction.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) also make the claim that concepts may partially structure metaphors, since they can be extended in some ways but not in others. For example, let us take the metaphor TIME IS MONEY: if you spend your time doing something, you cannot get your time back, because time is not really money and there are no time banks.

Furthermore, they state that the metaphorical structuring involved here is always partial, not total, since “if it were total, once concept would actually be the other, not merely be understood in terms of it” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:13).

4.2.3. Orientational metaphors

Following Lakoff and Johnson (1980), orientational metaphors involve the organisation of a whole system of concepts with respect to one another. Most of them deal with spatial orientation: up-down, in-out, etc. For instance, in the CM HAPPY IS UP, the concept [HAPPY] is oriented upwards, leading to English expressions like *I'm feeling up today*.

Since orientational metaphors are based on our physical and cultural experience, they are not arbitrary. Following the aforementioned authors, even though, for example the opposition up-down is physical in nature, the orientational metaphors based on them may vary from culture to culture, e.g. HAPPY IS UP/SAD IS DOWN: *I'm feeling up. That boosted my spirit. I'm feeling down. I fell into a depression. I'm depressed. My spirits sank.* The physical basis for these metaphors is that a low posture typically goes along with sadness and depression, and an erect posture with a positive emotional state.

4.2.4. Metaphor and cultural coherence

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) state that “the most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in the culture” (Lakoff 1980:22) A clear example of this are the [UP/DOWN] spatialisation metaphors, in which statements such as MORE IS BETTER, BIGGER IS BETTER, and THE FUTURE WILL BE BETTER are coherent with CM's like MORE IS UP, GOOD IS UP, and THE FUTURE IS UP, while their opposites LESS IS BETTER, SMALLER IS BETTER, and THE FUTURE WILL BE WORSE are not at all coherent with the previous metaphors. This demonstrates that, at some level, our society-based values form a coherent system together with our common CM's. However, not all cultural values are coherent with a metaphorical system, but those that do exist are deeply interrelated and are consistent with our cognitive system.

According to the authors, these values exist only, in general terms, within our culture and because of the inequality of things in culture itself there are often conflicts among them. Consequently, there are also conflicts among metaphors which can be resolved by finding what metaphors take priority inside the given subculture that uses them. For example, MORE IS UP is in conflict with GOOD IS UP in the statement *Inflation is high*. In this case, assuming that inflation is bad, MORE IS UP has a preferential status.

Some social groups are characterised by their values which conflict with those of the mainstream culture. Lakoff (1980) presents the example of monastic orders, such as the Trappists, who consider material possessions as obstacles for serving God. In their culture,

LESS IS GOOD and SMALL IS GOOD are perfectly coherent with their own CM's, as long as we refer to material possessions, but they share the mainstream value VIRTUE IS UP. In this case, MORE IS GOOD is coherent to them, since it applies to virtue. In relation to what is important to them, their value systems will be coherent with the major orientational metaphors of the mainstream culture.

4.2.5. Ontological metaphors

CM's regarding substances and objects are called by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) ontological metaphors. They "allow us to pick out parts of our experience and treat them as discrete entities or substances of a uniform kind" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:25). We reason about these experiences, by categorising, grouping, and quantifying them, allowing us to deal rationally with our experiences. In many cases, the orientational metaphors are not at first interpreted as being metaphorical, mainly because they serve a limited range of purposes, as in example 4.

(4) INFLATION IS AN ENTITY

Inflation is lowering our standard of living.

We need to combat inflation

(Lakoff and Johnson, 1980)

Ontological metaphors are so pervasive in our lives that they are often seen as natural. For example, metaphors such as MIND IS A MACHINE or MIND IS A BREAKABLE OBJECT are not thought of as being metaphorical since they are an integral part of the model of the mind that we have in our culture. Ontological metaphors are also used to understand actions, activities and states by conceptualising them as objects, substances and containers, respectively, though activities can also be seen as containers for the other activities that compose them.

4.3. Appraisal Theory

Following Dauly (2010), Appraisal theory is a linguistics theory about emotions, ethics, and aesthetics. It is, in general terms, about the systems in a certain language that help to

determine how speakers of that language express themselves in relation to their interlocutor or audience and the topic(s) of their talks itself. In the author's words:

One of the linguistic insights that underlie Appraisal Theory is that, when people talk, they keep negotiating their relation with others. This process of talking is quite a complex one and includes: people calculating the knowledge of their interlocutor/audience, processing the proper wordings that match their calculation of their audience's knowledge, adjusting the proper gesture and facial expression, etc.

(Daulay, 2010)

One of the most important things when we talk is the consideration we take of our relation with the people we talk to. According to Daulay (2010), in almost every utterance that we produce, there exists a consideration of our relation with our interlocutor. On the other hand, our interlocutor also does the same. This means that we are in a process of negotiation of our stance with our interlocutor. Appraisal Theory makes explicit the elements that we use in this negotiating stance process, classifies them, and exposes how they function in actual situations; all for the purpose of describing the system of appraisal in a language. As Beckett (2009) states, the contribution of appraisal theory to the study of evaluation can hardly be overestimated, since it provides the only systematic, detailed and elaborate framework of evaluative language.

Some of the questions that Martin and White (2005) list and which an understanding of the linguistic resources that Appraisal enables us to investigate refer to: The linguistic basis of differences in a writer/speaker's style by which they may present themselves as, for example, more or less deferential, dominating, authoritative, inexpert, cautious, conciliatory, engaged, emotional, impersonal, and so on, how the different uses of evaluative language by speakers/writers act to construct different authorial voices and textual personas, how different genres and text types may conventionally employ different evaluative and otherwise rhetorical strategies, what the underlying, often covert value systems which shape and are disseminated by a speaker/writer's utterances are, what the different assumptions which speakers/writers make about the value and belief systems of their respective intended

audiences are, how different modes of story-telling can be characterised by their different uses of the resources of evaluation, and what the communicative strategies by which some discourses construct supposedly objective or impersonal modes of textuality are.

According to Martin and White (2005), the term *Appraisal* is used as a cover-all term that comprehends all evaluative uses of language, including those by which speakers/writers adopt particular value positions or stances and by which they negotiate these stances with either actual or potential respondents.

Following Eggins and Slade (1997), Appraisal refers to the attitudinal colouring of talk along a range of dimensions including: certainty, emotional response, social evaluation and intensity. Appraisal is primarily realised lexically, but it can also be realised by clauses.

Five main categories of Appraisal can be found (Martin and White, 2005): Appreciation, Affect, Judgement, Amplification and Engagement. Following Eggins and Slade (1997), the first four categories are defined and subdivided as follows.

4.3.1. Appreciation

Appreciation is related to how speakers evaluate a text or a process. This resource can be assessed by the question *what do/did you think of that?*

Appreciation may be registered in one of the following three ways:

- a) Reaction: It answers the question *how good/bad did you find it?*
- b) Composition: Having to do with the evaluation of texture of the text or process
- c) Valuation: Having to do with the evaluation of the message being put across.

4.3.2. Affect

It can also be analysed the attitudes that indicate evaluations on emotional states; answering to the question *How did you feel about it?* Its subtypes are:

- a) Happiness/Unhappiness: Encoding of feelings related to anger, sadness, happiness or love.

- b) In/Security: Choice of lexis encoding feelings related to anxiety or confidence.
- c) Dis/satisfaction: Choice of lexis which encodes feelings to do with interests or exasperation.

4.3.3. Judgement

Following Martin and White (2005), this Appraisal category refers to the expression of evaluations about the ethics, morality, or social values of people's behaviour, which capture the speaker's evaluation of the verbal, mental or physical behaviour of others; in this sense, Judgement represents resources for evaluating someone's behaviour as either conforming or transgressing the speaker's social norms. These appraisals would answer the question *how would you judge that behaviour?*

However, according to the authors, the analysis of Judgement must distinguish between what can be termed inscribed (or explicit) judgement and *tokens* of Judgement (implicit). In the inscribed/explicit category, the evaluation is explicitly presented by means of a lexical item carrying the Judgement value. It is possible, as Martin and White (2005) argue on the Appraisal webpage², that Judgement values are evoked rather than inscribed, via *tokens* of Judgement. These *tokens* have the capacity in the culture to evoke judgemental responses (depending upon the reader's social/cultural/ideological position).

The following are the types of Judgement identified by Eggins and Slade (1997):

- a) Social Sanction: It is concerned with moral regulations or if someone's behaviour is seen as ethical or truthful.
- b) Social Esteem: It has to do with the way in which people's behaviour lives up to or fails to live up to social expectations and socially desirable standards.

4.3.4. Amplification

² <http://grammatics.com/Appraisal/AppraisalGuide/Framed/Stage2-Attitude-Judgement-02.htm>

These are mainly lexical general resources for grading which speakers can use to grade their attitudes towards people, things or events, normally presented in pairs. The main subcategories are: a) Enrichment, b) Augmenting and c) Mitigation.

4.3.5. Engagement

As presented by Lee (2006), this fifth category includes resources that provide the means by which speakers/writers adjust and negotiate the arguability of their propositions and proposals. It understands inter-subjective positioning in social rather than individualistic terms and in that it attends to the way all utterances are centrally concerned with the negotiation of interactional and informational meanings. These resources include meaning which can be grouped together in:

- a) Disclaim: includes Denial and Counter-Expectation. Under Disclaim are tagged those resources by which some prior utterance or some alternative position is invoked so as to be rejected, replaced or dismissed. For Counter-Expectation are understood those formulations which represent the current proposition as replacing and supplanting a proposition which would have been expected in its place.
- b) Proclaim: Expectation and Pronouncement: This term includes formulations which can be interpreted as heading off contradiction or challenge from potential dialogic respondents. They are meanings which increase the interpersonal cost of any such contradiction by giving additional support or motivation to the current proposition/proposal. Through Expectation, the speaker/writer represents the current proposition/proposal within the current speech community as according with what is generally known or expected. Pronouncement items are formulations by which speakers/writers interpolate themselves directly into the text as the explicitly responsible source of the utterance.
- c) Probabilise: includes Evidence, Likelihood and Hearsay. Probabilise includes all resources by which the current proposition/proposal is represented as just one of a range of ones. It includes: Evidential formulations such as *it seems*, *apparently*, *the evidence suggests*. Forms which represent the proposition/proposal as more or less likely

(including modals of probability and related forms such as *I think/ I suppose*, as well as certain ‘rhetorical’ uses of questions), Hearsay/quotatives such as *I hear* and *It’s said*.

4.4. A theoretical and descriptive link between Conceptual Metaphors and Appraisal Theory

As already stated in the Introduction and in this section, the present discourse-based research study has been primarily grounded in two descriptive models which, in our view, can actually be put into correspondence, the ultimate goal expected being that they may be viewed as being, at least to some extent, interrelated by taking into account the status of the central descriptive categories that are relevant to the present study.

The first cognitively-oriented model, conceptual metaphors, makes two fundamental claims: a) that conceptual metaphors constitute one of the main manifestations and arguments of the cognitive stance that language and thought are deeply interrelated (Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Evans and Green (2006)); and b) that conceptual metaphors are systematic operative cognitive constructs insofar as they deeply influence the configuration of our (mental) actions and the manner in which we refer to them linguistically (Lakoff and Johnson (1980)).

The second model, of a socio-pragmatic nature, evaluative discourse theory, aims at analysing the evaluative meanings and uses expressed in English. The descriptive evaluative categories of the model include those whereby native users of English use, at text-level, a broad set of lexical expressions (and syntactic patterns (Hunston and Thomas (2000)) in the expression of their personal subjective meanings, as well as their socio-cultural values and ideological standpoints (Martin and White (2005)). These authors also claim that their evaluative discourse model can also account for the manners in which language users can negotiate their own psychological or ideological stances with either their actual or potential interactants.

In a personal view, despite the strong descriptive power of Martin and White (2005)'s Appraisal theory, the descriptive categories of the model does not seem to, at least not sufficiently, account for the use of metaphorical linguistic constructions that are often

employed, in many spoken and written discourse types, in the expression of evaluative meanings. In this respect, the set of evaluative meanings that are expressed in the configuration of political discourse (as the present data analysis can demonstrate) include not only a set of 'literal meaning' forms but also a (substantial) number of metaphorical expressions. Also, on the basis of Lakoff and Johnson (1980)'s standpoint that linguistic metaphorical expressions cannot be dissociated from their corresponding conceptual metaphors, as cognitive constructs, it therefore seems to be valid to attempt to establish a preliminary –and necessary– empirically-based descriptive link between the theory of conceptual metaphors and some of the main evaluative categories of the appraisal discourse model.

5. HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SUBJECTS UNDER STUDY

The following section describes, in broad terms, the main personal and historical antecedents and circumstances underlying the moral values, political ideas and worldviews held by the subjects under study and the mode in which they each construct the ideological discourse reflecting their individual political stance.

5.1. George W. Bush

George Walker Bush was first governor of Texas from 1995 to 2000 and then president of the United States from 2001 to 2009.

After graduating from Yale University in 1968 and Harvard Business School in 1975, Bush worked in the oil business. In 2000, in a close presidential election as the Republican Party, he defeated the Democrat Party candidate, Al Gore and became U.S. president³.

On September 11th, 2001, the United States suffered the terrorist attacks known as the '9/11 attacks'. Bush announced a military campaign, known as 'the war on terror', in response to these attacks, which resulted in the war in Afghanistan (launched in 2001) and the war in

³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_W._Bush

Iraq (launched in 2003)⁴. As extracted from the web archives of the White House⁵, besides working on national security issues, Bush promoted policies on the economy, health care, education, and social security reform. He signed into law broad tax cuts, the Patriot act, the No child left behind act, the Partial-birth abortion ban act, and Medicare prescription drug benefits for seniors. He also worked on immigration, social security, electronic surveillance, and enhanced interrogation techniques. His administration also withdrew the U.S. from the Kyoto protocol on global warming⁶.

In 2004, George W. Bush ran for re-election against Democratic senator John Kerry, where Bush's idea that the invasion of Iraq had made the world more secure against terrorism made him win for a second term. After he was re-elected, President Bush started receiving increasing criticism. In December 2007, the United States entered its longest economic recession since World-war II, which motivated Bush's administration to decree several economic programs intended to preserve the country's financial system. Even though George W. Bush was popular in the United States for much of his first term, his popularity declined during his second office.⁷

5.2.The Republican Party

The Republican Party is one of the two major contemporary political parties in the United States, along with the Democratic Party. It was founded by anti-slavery expansion activists in 1854 and it is often called the GOP (Grand Old Party). The party's ideas reflect, in general terms, American conservatism in the political field of the United States, which means a support of classical liberal principles against the modern liberalism of the Democratic Party⁸.

Some of the main proposals established in the official webpage of the Republican Party⁹ include:

⁴ http://articles.cnn.com/2001-09-20/us/gen.bush.transcript_1_joint-session-national-anthem-citizens?_s=PM:US

⁵ <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/>

⁶ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/music/artists/06564917-bdd2-4fb6-bcdc-be9e0c04f7ac>

⁷ Information retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_W._Bush

⁸ Information extracted from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republican_Party_\(United_States\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republican_Party_(United_States))

⁹ <http://www.gop.com/our-party/>

- a) Great importance to business regulations that promote equal confidence among consumers, entrepreneurs and businesses, opposing interventionist policies that put the federal government in control of industry.
- b) A big importance to the role of free markets and individual achievement as the primary factors behind economic prosperity, favouring laissez-faire¹⁰ economics, fiscal conservatism, and the promotion of personal responsibility over interventionist and welfare policies.
- c) The unfairness of graduated taxes for those who create jobs and increase wealth, private spending being more important and efficient than government spending
- d) The right for workers not to participate in unions.
- e) A strong federalism with limitations placed upon federal power and an important role for the States.
- f) A majority of the GOP's national and state candidates are pro-life and oppose elective abortion on religious or moral grounds.
- g) The support for a personal or employer-based system of insurance, opposing a government-as-a-single-payer system since it would constitute socialised medicine¹¹.
- h) The definition of marriage as exclusively between one man and one woman, also opposing same-sex union.
- i) As for illegal immigration, it is stated by Peter Wallsten in a column written for the Washington Post¹², that there is a division among Republicans on how to confront it. In general terms, pro-growth Republicans support more immigration, and traditional or populist conservatives oppose it.

5.3.Barack Obama

Barack Hussein Obama II was Senator for Illinois from 2005 to 2008 and is the current president of the United States.

¹⁰ French term used in economy to refer to an economic environment where transactions between private parties work with only enough government regulations sufficient to protect property rights. (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Laissez-faire>)

¹¹ http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2012/06/25/120625fa_fact_klein

¹² http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/new-super-pac-hopes-to-give-cover-to-pro-immigration-republicans/2012/11/16/c3070b74-300b-11e2-a30e-5ca76eec857_story.html

The official White House website¹³ states that, after graduating from Columbia University and Harvard law school, Obama worked as a civil rights attorney in Chicago and taught constitutional law at the university of Chicago law school from 1992 to 2004. In 2008 he won the presidential election, turning into the first Afro American president in the U.S. In 2009 Obama obtained the Nobel peace prize laureate.

Some of the legislations that Obama signed were an economic stimulus (known as the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act) in 2009 and the “Tax Relief, Unemployment Insurance Reauthorization, and Job Creation Act”, in 2010. As stated on the website Ravingtigers.com¹⁴, he openly supported the legalisation of same-sex marriage, ended the war in Iraq, increased troop levels in Afghanistan, signed a new arms control treaty with Russia, ordered U.S. involvement in the 2011 Libya military intervention, and ordered a military operation that ended with the death of Osama bin Laden¹⁵.

5.4. The Democratic party

The Democratic Party is the other major political party in the United States. According to the official party’s website¹⁶, they support a socially liberal and progressive platform.

It evolved from anti-federalist factions that opposed some fiscal policies in the early 1790’s, which opposed a national bank and wealthy people interests. Since the late 1800, the Democratic Party has shown an idea of favouring liberal positions. The party has history of favouring farmers, labourers, labour unions, and religious and ethnic minorities; it has also opposed unregulated business and finance, and favoured progressive income taxes while supporting welfare programs for the poor¹⁷.

According to information extracted from Wikipedia¹⁸ and the official Democratic Party’s webpage¹⁹, some of the issues that the party’s agenda includes are:

¹³ <http://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/president-obama/>

¹⁴ <http://www.ravingtigers.com/category/gay-marriage/>

¹⁵ Information retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barack_Obama

¹⁶ <http://www.democrats.org/>

¹⁷ Information retrieved from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Party_\(United_States\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Party_(United_States))

¹⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modern_liberalism_in_the_United_States

¹⁹ <http://www.democrats.org/>

- a) Predominance on social freedoms, affirmative action, balanced budget, and a free enterprise system controlled by government intervention, giving to government a role in decreasing poverty and social injustice, and a system of progressive taxation.
- b) According to the website of the United States department of states²⁰, the Democratic Party has also opposed the cutting of social services, such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, among other welfare programs since, according to their beliefs, social services are essential to provide freedom derived from economic opportunity²¹.
- c) A strong sense of environmentalism giving emphasis to alternative energy generation as the basis for an improved economy, greater national security, and general environmental benefits, global warming being their biggest concern²².
- a) Equality of opportunity for all Americans no matter their sex age, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender identity, religion, creed, or national origin.
- b) Regarding same-sex marriage, the party has been divided on such issue. However, according to a survey carried out by ABC news and The Washington post in 2009²³, support for it has been increasing and most of this support comes from the Democrats. A clear example of this is President Obama public support for same-sex marriage.

5.5.The war on terror

Originated by the al-Qaeda attacks against the United States on September 11th, 2001, the 'War on Terror' is an international military campaign led by the United States and the United Kingdom with the support of other NATO as well as non-NATO countries against al-Qaeda and other militant organisations.

The concept 'War on Terror' was first used by US President George W. Bush to refer to a struggle which encompasses military, political, legal and ideological components against

²⁰ <http://www.state.gov/index.htm>

²¹ [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Party_\(United_States\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Party_(United_States))

²² As a matter of fact, former Vice President Al Gore received the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to expand conscience on how harmful man-produced greenhouse gases are and how they are the responsible for global warming and climate change.

²³ <http://abcnews.go.com/images/PollingUnit/1089a6HotButtonIssues.pdf>

organizations labelled as terrorist and regimes supporting them and, therefore, seen as a threat to the U.S. and its allies²⁴.

5.6. The 2007 – 2012 global financial crisis

As retrieved from information on the web pages Wikipedia²⁵ and the National bureau of economic research²⁶, this crisis is considered by many economists to be the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Some of the results of it were the collapse of large financial institutions, loans from governments to banks, deterioration of stock markets around the world, unemployment, failure of key businesses, and a decrease in economic activity leading to a global recession.

A report published in 2011 by the United States Senate²⁷ states that some of the causes that have been suggested for the financial crisis are high risk, complex financial products, undisclosed conflicts of interest, and the failure of regulators, credit rating agencies, and the market itself to stop the excesses of Wall Street.

6. METHODOLOGY

6.1. Linguistic corpus and data sources

The data for this research study was taken from six public political speeches given by the latest two presidents of the United States (three speeches each), namely, George W. Bush and Barack Obama. The reason for choosing these two political leaders is that they represent the two main opposite sides of North American politics (the Republican and the Democratic parties). This opposition might reflect different opinions about morality, ethics, politics, in general, and about certain state of affairs during their respective offices. The speeches selected for each president were the Inaugural Address, and two of their State of the Union speeches. Concerning the two State of the Union speeches, they were selected randomly and correspond to speeches addressed in their first period as presidents of the United States (taking into account that George W. Bush governed for two consecutive periods and Barack

²⁴ Information retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_on_Terror

²⁵ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Financial_crisis_of_2007%E2%80%932008

²⁶ <http://www.nber.org/>

²⁷ http://www.hsgac.senate.gov//imo/media/doc/Financial_Crisis/FinancialCrisisReport.pdf?attempt=2

Obama is still in his first period of office). Therefore, the State of the Union speeches analysed correspond, in the case of Bush, to his first (2002) and third (2004) speeches and, in the case of Obama, also to his first (2011) and third (2012) speeches.

The Inaugural Address is the speech given for the inauguration of the President of the United States and takes place during the beginning of a new term of a president of the United States, which is held on 20th January²⁸.

The State of the Union is an annual address given by the President of the United States to the Congress in which he presents both a report on the nation's condition and an outline to the presidential agenda stating the national priorities²⁹.

6.2. Data analysis procedures

The data analysis was carried out according to the steps that are described as follows:

6.2.1. The speeches selected from each president were downloaded from the official web pages in order to avoid formal changes from the original texts. The speeches were line numbered separately.

6.2.2. The predications conveying underlying CM's were identified and marked in bold.

6.2.3. The entire set of the previously identified predications conveying underlying CM's in each of the political speeches were listed in separate tables. In each table, the CM's underlying each of the predications were identified and classified, and formatted in capital letters in between square brackets.

6.2.4. The previously classified CM's were quantified for each of the subjects under study. It is worth noticing that, given the large amount of CM's found in the speeches under analysis, only 5 of the most frequently occurring ones in each of the subject's speeches were taken into account. Therefore, they form the linguistic data used for the analysis.

6.2.5. In the same table used in 6.2.3, the Appraisal Items (AI's, henceforth) operating in conjunction with the CM's underlying the linguistic expressions were identified and

²⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_presidential_inauguration

²⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State_of_the_Union_address

classified following Martin and White (2005)'s descriptive model. Due to the present research's selective scope, the Appraisal categories of Appreciation and Amplifications were excluded from the analysis.

Appreciation was omitted since, according to Martin and White (2005), they represent aesthetic evaluation of physical objects or material circumstances/states of affairs –for example, *a beautiful sunset*, *an ugly scar*. Such assessments do not reference human behaviour, at least not directly. They do not involve assessments of right and wrong, or correct and incorrect. Therefore, as the present research focuses on the moral and ethical evaluation of politics and the current state of affairs, appreciation items are no relevant.

Also according to Martin and White (2005), Amplification has to do with lexical resources. Due to the fact that the present research deals with CM's, lexical items are of no use since they are on the surface of the discourse and are not part of underlying conceptualisations.

The appraisal items identified and classified were signalled under the following conventions:

AF: Affect

AFHU: Affect Un/Happiness

AFIS: Affect In/Iecurity

AFDS: Affect Dis/Satisfaction

J: Judgement

JE: Explicit Judgement

JESS: Explicit Judgement Social Sanction

JESE: Explicit Judgement Social Esteem

JI: Implicit Judgement

JISS: Implicit Judgement Social Sanction

JISE: Implicit Judgement Social Esteem

E: Engagement

ED: Engagement Disclaim

EDD: Engagement Disclaim Denial

EDC: Engagement Disclaim Counter Expectation

EPR: Engagement Proclaim

EPRE: Engagement Proclaim Expectation

EPRP: Engagement Proclaim Pronouncement

EPB: Engagement Probabilise

EPBE: Engagement Probabilise Evidence

EPBL: Engagement Probabilise Likelihood

EPBH: Engagement Probabilise Hearsay

6.2.6. The previously identified and classified AI's were quantified in different tables for each of the subjects under study's data of CM's.

6.2.7. The results drawn from the quantitative analysis were arranged in tables and presented in numerical charts.

6.2.8. On the basis of the qualitative findings and quantitative results emerging from the data analysis, the general and specific conclusions of the study were drawn.

7. DATA ANALYSIS

Because of formal constraints, only the inaugural address of George W. Bush is displayed in this section as an example of the analyses. In this speech, the predications conveying the underlying metaphors were marked in bold³⁰. After the analysis of each speech, a table including the CM's identified in the predications listed in bold. The AI's which are part of the metaphorical expressions are also displayed³¹.

7.1. George W. Bush's inaugural address

*President Clinton, distinguished guests and my fellow citizens, **the peaceful transfer of authority** is rare in history, yet common in our country. **With a simple oath, we affirm old traditions and make new beginnings.***

³⁰ All the analysed speeches can be seen in the appendix section of this research.

³¹ The tables for each of the speeches under analysis can be found in the section 7 of this research.

As I begin, I thank President Clinton for his service to our nation.

And I thank Vice President Gore for a contest conducted with spirit and ended with grace.

I am honored and humbled to stand here, where so many of America's leaders have come before me, and so many will follow.

We have a place, all of us, in a long story--a story we continue, but whose end we will not see. It is the story of a new world that became a friend and liberator of the old, a story of a slave-holding society that became a servant of freedom, the story of a power that went into the world to protect but not possess, to defend but not to conquer.

*It is the American story--a story of flawed and fallible people, **united across the generations by grand and enduring ideals.***

The grandest of these ideals is an unfolding American promise that everyone belongs, that everyone deserves a chance, that no insignificant person was ever born.

*Americans are called to enact this promise in our lives and in our laws. And **though our nation has sometimes halted, and sometimes delayed, we must follow no other course.***

*Through much of the last century, **America's faith in freedom and democracy was a rock in a raging sea. Now it is a seed upon the wind, taking root in many nations.***

*Our democratic faith is more than the creed of our country, it is the inborn hope of our humanity, **an ideal we carry but do not own, a trust we bear and pass along. And even after nearly 225 years, we have a long way yet to travel.***

*While many of our citizens prosper, others doubt the promise, even the justice, of our own country. **The ambitions of some Americans are limited by failing schools and hidden prejudice and the circumstances of their birth. And sometimes our differences run so deep, it seems we share a continent, but not a country.***

*We do not accept this, and we will not allow it. Our unity, our union, is the serious work of leaders and citizens in every generation. And this is my solemn pledge: **I will work to build a single nation of justice and opportunity.***

I know this is in our reach because we are guided by a power larger than ourselves who creates us equal in His image.

And we are confident in principles that unite and lead us onward.

*America has never been united by blood or birth or soil. **We are bound by ideals that move us beyond our backgrounds, lift us above our interests and teach us what it means to be citizens.** Every child must be taught these principles. Every citizen must uphold them. And every immigrant, by embracing these ideals, makes our country more, not less, American.*

Today, we affirm a new commitment to live out our nation's promise through civility, courage, compassion and character.

America, at its best, matches a commitment to principle with a concern for civility. A civil society demands from each of us good will and respect, fair dealing and forgiveness.

Some seem to believe that our politics can afford to be petty because, in a time of peace, the stakes of our debates appear small.

But the stakes for America are never small. If our country does not lead the cause of freedom, it will not be led. If we do not turn the hearts of children toward knowledge and character, we will lose their gifts and undermine their idealism. If we permit our economy to drift and decline, the vulnerable will suffer most.

We must live up to the calling we share. Civility is not a tactic or a sentiment. It is the determined choice of trust over cynicism, of community over chaos. And this commitment, if we keep it, is a way to shared accomplishment.

America, at its best, is also courageous.

*Our national courage has been clear in times of depression and war, when defending common dangers defined our common good. Now we must choose if the example of our fathers and mothers will inspire us or condemn us. **We must show courage in a time of blessing by confronting problems instead of passing them on to future generations.***

Together, we will reclaim America's schools, before ignorance and apathy claim more young lives.

*We will reform Social Security and Medicare, sparing our children from struggles we have the power to prevent. **And we will reduce taxes, to recover the momentum of our economy and reward the effort and enterprise of working Americans.***

We will build our defenses beyond challenge, lest weakness invite challenge.

We will confront weapons of mass destruction, so that a new century is spared new horrors.

*The enemies of liberty and our country should make no mistake: **America remains engaged in the world by history and by choice, shaping a balance of power that favors freedom.***

***We will defend our allies and our interests.** We will show purpose without arrogance. We will meet aggression and bad faith with resolve and strength. And to all nations, we will speak for the values that gave our nation birth.*

*America, at its best, is compassionate. In the quiet of American conscience, **we know that deep, persistent poverty is unworthy of our nation's promise.***

And whatever our views of its cause, we can agree that children at risk are not at fault. Abandonment and abuse are not acts of God, they are failures of love.

And the proliferation of prisons, however necessary, is no substitute for hope and order in our souls.

Where there is suffering, there is duty. Americans in need are not strangers; they are citizens, not problems, but priorities. And all of us are diminished when any are hopeless.

Government has great responsibilities for public safety and public health, for civil rights and common schools. Yet compassion is the work of a nation, not just a government.

And some needs and hurts are so deep they will only respond to a mentor's touch or a pastor's prayer. Church and charity, synagogue and mosque lend our communities their humanity, and they will have an honored place in our plans and in our laws.

Many in our country do not know the pain of poverty, but we can listen to those who do.

And I can pledge our nation to a goal: When we see that wounded traveler on the road to Jericho, we will not pass to the other side.

America, at its best, is a place where personal responsibility is valued and expected.

*Encouraging responsibility is not a search for scapegoats; it is a call to conscience. And though it requires sacrifice, it brings a deeper fulfillment. We find the fullness of life not only in options, but in commitments. And we find that **children and community are the commitments that set us free.***

*Our public interest depends on private character, on civic duty and family bonds and basic fairness, on uncounted, unhonored **acts of decency which give direction to our freedom.***

Sometimes in life we are called to do great things. But as a saint of our times has said, every day we are called to do small things with great love. The most important tasks of a democracy are done by everyone.

I will live and lead by these principles: to advance my convictions with civility, to pursue the public interest with courage, to speak for greater justice and compassion, to call for responsibility and try to live it as well.

In all these ways, I will bring the values of our history to the care of our times.

What you do is as important as anything government does. I ask you to seek a common good beyond your comfort; to defend needed reforms against easy attacks; to serve your nation, beginning with your neighbor. I ask you to be citizens: citizens, not spectators;

citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens, building communities of service and a nation of character.

*Americans are generous and strong and decent, not because we believe in ourselves, but because **we hold beliefs beyond ourselves**. When this spirit of citizenship is missing, no government program can replace it. **When this spirit is present, no wrong can stand against it.***

After the Declaration of Independence was signed, Virginia statesman John Page wrote to Thomas Jefferson: ‘we know the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong. Do you not think an angel rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm?’

*Much time has passed since Jefferson arrived for his inauguration. **The years and changes accumulate**. But the themes of this day he would know: our nation's grand story of courage and its simple dream of dignity.*

***We are not this story's author, who fills time and eternity with his purpose**. Yet his purpose is achieved in our duty, and our duty is fulfilled in service to one another.*

Never tiring, never yielding, never finishing, we renew that purpose today, to make our country more just and generous, to affirm the dignity of our lives and every life.

***This work continues. This story goes on**. And an angel still rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm.*

God bless you all, and God bless America.

8.2. The table below displays the total number of CM's found in the whole of the corpus examined.

Subject	CM's
George W. Bush	316
Barack Obama	469

Table 3. Total number of CM's found in the corpus

Table 3 displays the total number of CM's found in the speeches of each of the subjects under study. Even though the number of CM's found in Barack Obama's speeches largely surpasses the number of CM's found in George W. Bush's speeches in 48%, this is not considered relevant since the number of lines analysed in the speeches of the former outweighs the number of those analysed in the speeches of the latter also by 48%.

8.3. The following table displays the predominant CM's in George W. Bush's speeches.

CM	Instances of occurrence
[POLITICS IS A JOURNEY]	23
[GOOD IS UP]	18
[ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY]	14
[BAD IS DOWN]	9
[POLITICS IS WAR]	9

Table 4. CM's in George W. Bush's speeches

Concerning the CM's found in George W. Bush's speeches, Table 4 displays for 73 CM's, which correspond to 23.1% of the total number of CM's found in George W. Bush's speeches. This 23.1% will be used as 100% for the ensuing analysis as displayed in Chart 1 below.

8.4. In the chart below, the distribution can be seen of the most frequent CM's in George W. Bush's speeches.

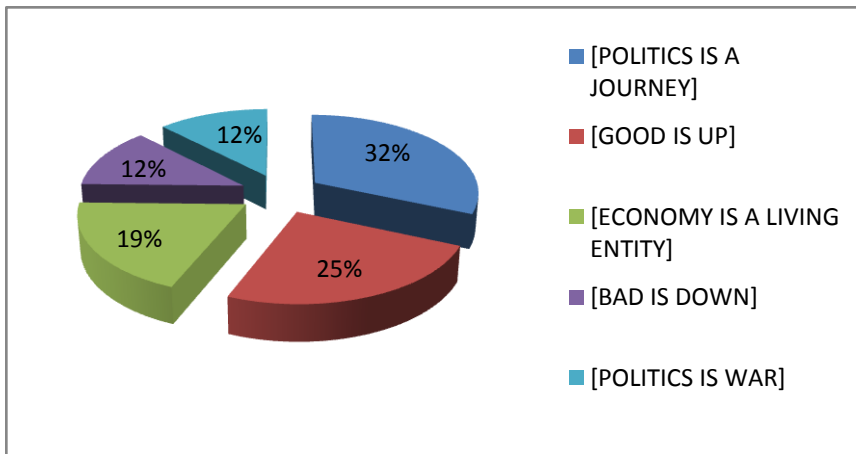


Chart 1. CM's in George W. Bush's speeches

Chart 1 illustrates that [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY] is the most recurrent CM in George Bush's speeches, its frequency of occurrence being 32%. In a very close position, [GOOD IS UP] presents a frequency of occurrence of 25%. The next three CM's in decreasing order are [ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY], [BAD IS DOWN], and [POLITICS IS WAR], with 19%, 12% and 12%, respectively.

8.5. The table below shows the predominant CM's in Barack Obama's speeches.

CM	Instances of occurrence
[POLITICS IS A JOURNEY]	44
[GOOD IS LIGHT]	25
[GOOD IS UP]	22
[BAD IS DOWN]	19
[ECONOMY IS A SPORT]	19

Table 5. CM's in Barack Obama's speeches

As Table 5 displays, 129 CM's constitute Barack Obama's CM's data to be included in the analysis. They correspond to 27.5% of the total number of CM's found in the corpus.

8.6. In the following chart, the distribution can be seen of the most frequent CM's in Barack Obama's speeches.

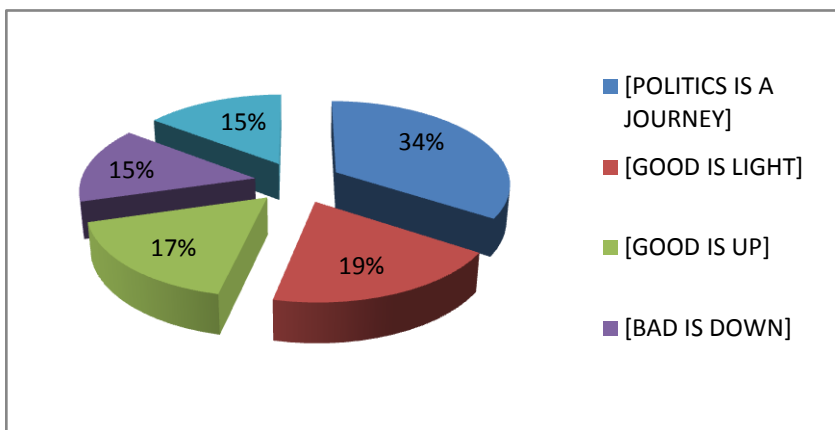


Chart 2. CM's in Barack Obama's speeches

Chart 2 displays that [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY] is the CM with the highest frequency of occurrence, 34%, followed by [GOOD IS LIGHT], [GOOD IS UP], [BAD IS DOWN] and [ECONOMY IS A SPORT], with 19%, 17%, 15% and 15%, respectively.

It seems necessary to highlight that there are two CM's that do not appear as part of George W. Bush's data, but which do appear as part of Barack Obama's data, which are [ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY] and [POLITICS IS WAR]. On the other hand, there are two CM's that are present in Barack Obama's data which are not present in George W. Bush's data. They are [GOOD IS LIGHT] and [ECONOMY IS A SPORT].

8.7. The table below shows the number and percentage of the AI's that operate in conjunction with the CM's underlying linguistic constructions in George W. Bush and Barack Obama's speeches.

Subject	Number of joint expression of CM's and AI's	Joint expression of CM's and AI's
George W. Bush	305	96.5%
Barack Obama	343	94.2%

Table 6. Joint expression of MC's and AI's

In table 6, we can see, in percentage terms, that nearly all the predications that realise an underlying CM also comprise Appraisal meanings in them. In George W. Bush's speeches,

this percentage is 96.5% and, in Barack Obama's speeches, it is 94.2%. In the present research, this difference of 2.3% will be not regarded as being significant.

8.8. The table below displays how the AI's operating in conjunction with the CM's in George W. Bush's data are distributed.

CM	JES S	JES E	JIS S	JIS E	ED D	ED C	EPR E	EPR P	EPB E	EPB L	EPB H
[POLITICS IS A JOURNEY]	4	0	9	4	1	0	0	8	3	0	0
[GOOD IS UP]	0	1	4	12	0	1	0	3	1	0	0
[ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY]	0	0	3	11	0	0	0	4	2	0	0
[BAD IS DOWN]	5	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
[POLITICS IS WAR]	3	0	3	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

Table 7. Appraisal items operating in conjunction with George W. Bush's CM's.

8.9. The chart below shows the distribution of the 92 AI's operating in conjunction with CM's found in George W. Bush's data.

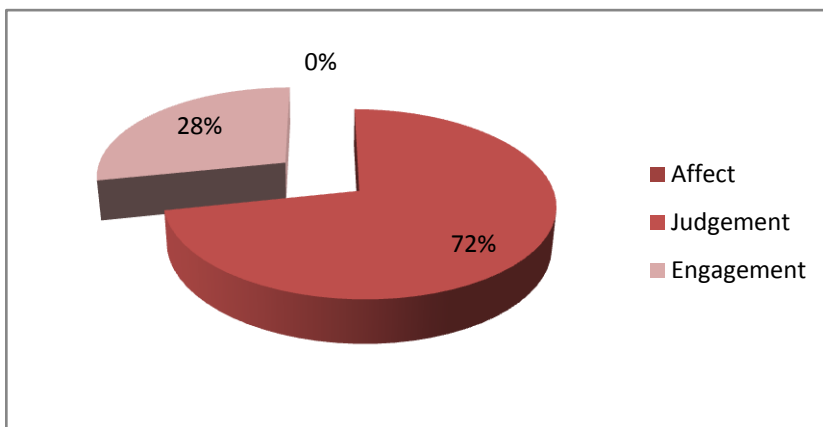


Chart 3. AI's in George W. Bush's CM's

Chart 3 shows that the highest frequency of occurrence of AI's in the predications with underlying CM's in George W. Bush's speeches corresponds to Judgement, with a frequency of occurrence of 72%. The Engagement category presents a frequency of occurrence of 28%, while no formal expressions of Affect are found in the data under analysis.

8.10. In the chart below, the distribution can be seen of the AI's of Judgement which operate in conjunction with CM's in George W. Bush's data.

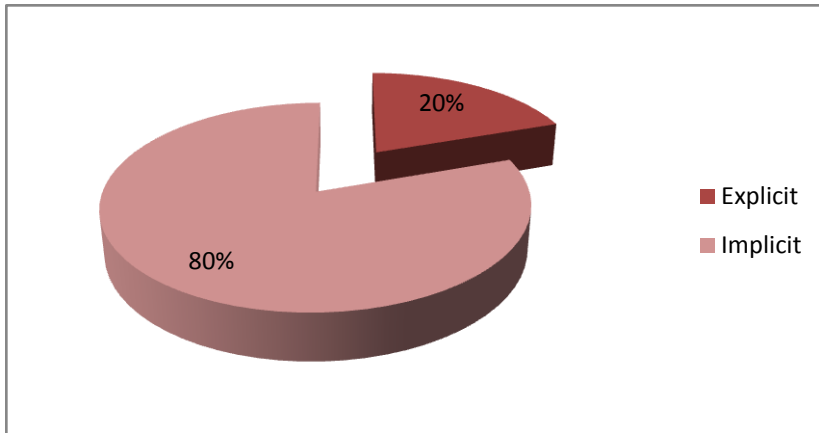


Chart 4. AI's of Judgement in George W. Bush's CM's

With regard to the implicitness and explicitness of Judgement items in George Bush's data of CM's, Chart 4 illustrates the finding that Implicit items are the most recurrent ones, with a frequency of occurrence of 80%. Explicit items, on the other hand, correspond to 20% of the total.

8.11. The AI's of Social Sanction and Social Esteem working in conjunction with CM's in George W. Bush's data are displayed in the chart below.

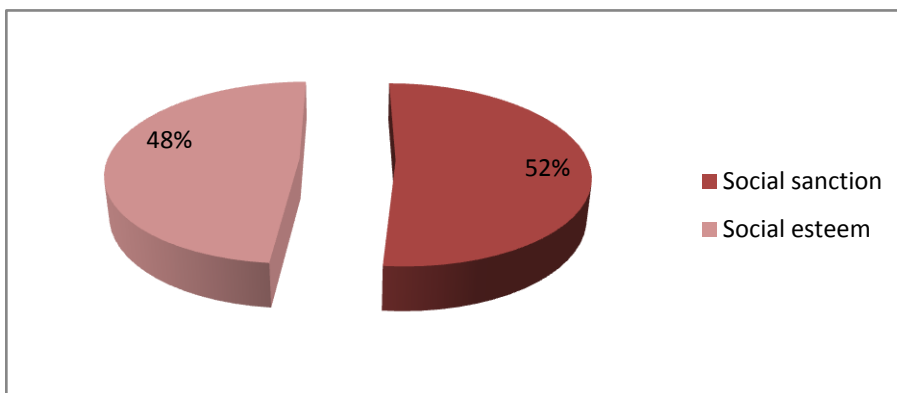


Chart 5. AI's of Social Sanction and Social Esteem in George W. Bush's CM's

It can be seen in chart 5 that the frequency of occurrence of Judgement items of Social Sanction and Social Esteem in George W. Bush's data of CM's is very similar, with 52% the former and 48% the latter.

8.12. Chart 6 shows the AI's of Engagement operating in conjunction with CM's in George W. Bush's data.

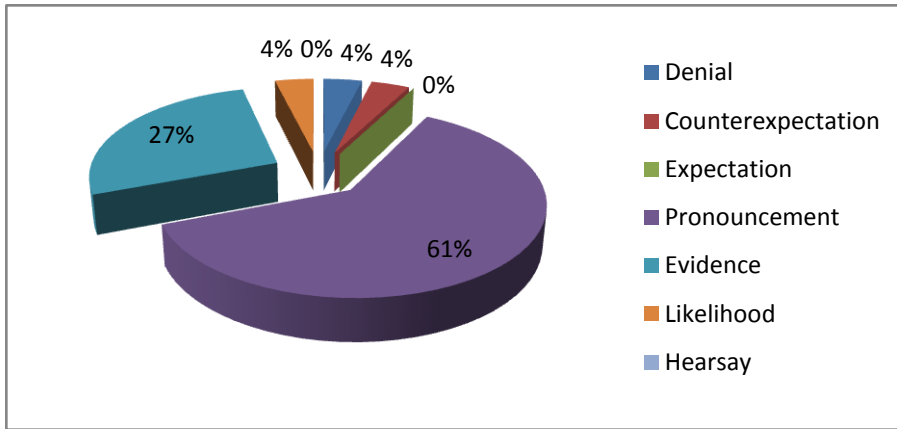


Chart 6. AI's of Engagement in George W. Bush's CM's

Chart 6 displays the distribution of Engagement items in George W. Bush's data of CM's. This chart shows that Pronouncement is the Engagement item with the highest percentage of occurrence, with 61%, being followed by Evidence, with a frequency of occurrence of 27%. The total percentage of the rest of the AI's altogether corresponds to 12%. Expectation and Hearsay items do not show occurrence in the data.

8.13. The table below displays how the AI's operating in conjunction with the CM's in Barack Obama's data are distributed.

CM	JES S	JES E	JIS S	JIS E	ED D	ED C	EPR E	EPR P	EPB E	EPB L	EPB H
[POLITICS IS A JOURNEY]	3	1	7	18	4	2	2	14	3	3	0
[GOOD IS LIGHT]	2	0	7	8	0	0	0	9	1	0	0
[GOOD IS UP]	0	0	6	10	2	1	2	5	0	1	0
[BAD IS DOWN]	0	0	5	7	0	2	1	4	3	1	0
[ECONOMY IS A SPORT]	1	0	10	7	1	1	0	7	1	1	0

Table 8. AI's in Barack Obama's CM'S

Table 8 shows how the 163 AI's are distributed in the data of CM's found in Barack Obama's speeches.

8.14. The chart below shows the distribution of the 29 AI's operating in conjunction with CM's found in Barack Obama's data.

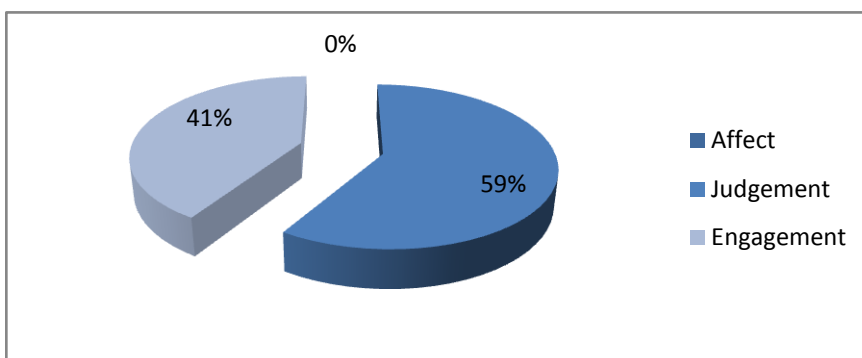


Chart 7. AI's in Barack Obama's CM'S

In Chart 7, we can see that the highest frequency of occurrence of AI's in the predications with underlying CM's in Barack Obama's speeches corresponds to Judgement, with 59% of occurrence. Engagement, in turn, presents 41% and Affect presents no occurrences in the data.

8.15. In the chart below, the distribution can be seen of the AI's of Judgement which operate in conjunction with CM's in Barack Obama's data.

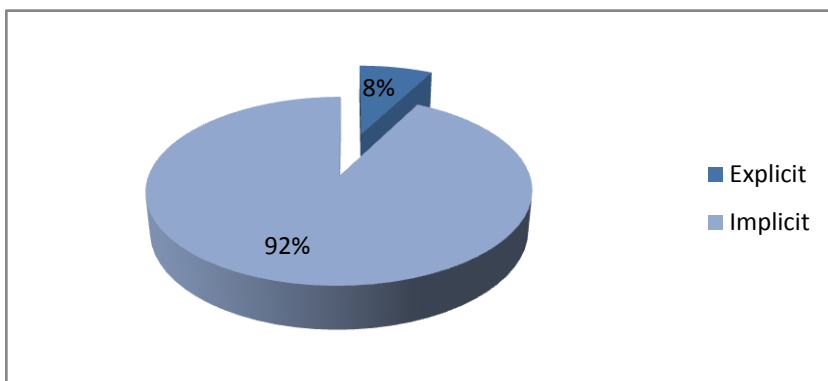


Chart 8. AI's of Judgement in Barack Obama's CM's

With regard to the implicitness and explicitness of Judgement items in Barack Obama's data of CM's, Chart 8 is an illustration of how Implicit items are the most recurrent ones, with a

frequency of occurrence of 92%. Explicit items, on the other hand, correspond to 8% of the total.

8.16. The AI's of Social Sanction and Social Esteem working in conjunction with CM's in Barack Obama's data are displayed in the following chart.

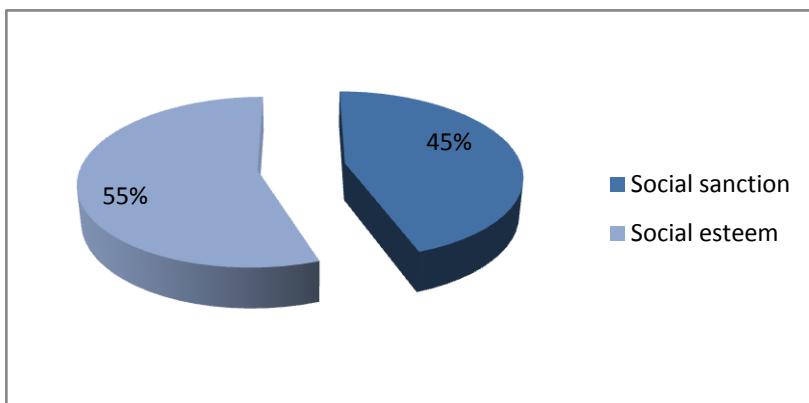


Chart 9. AI's of Social Sanction and Social Esteem in Barack Obama's CM's

Chart 9 shows that the frequency of occurrence of Judgement items of Social Sanction and Social Esteem in Barack Obama's data of CM's are 45% the former and 55% the latter.

8.17. The chart below shows the AI's of Engagement operating in conjunction with CM's in Barack Obama's data.

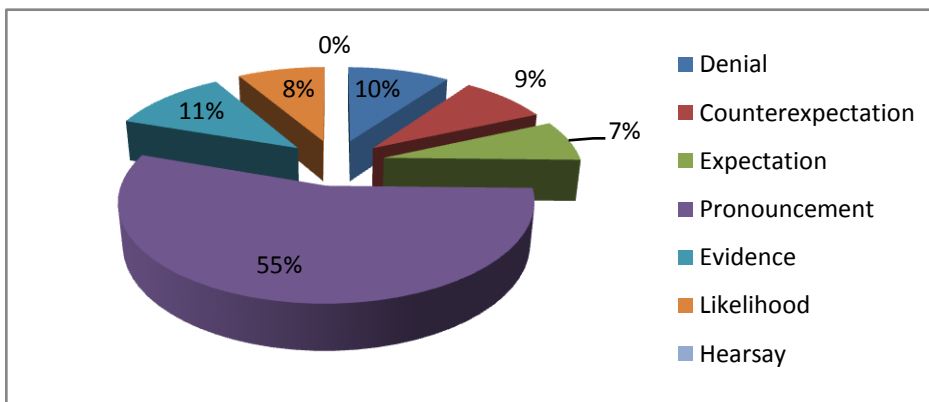


Chart 10. AI's of Engagement in Barack Obama's CM's

Chart 10 displays the distribution of Engagement items in Barack Obama's data of CM's. Pronouncement is the Engagement item with the highest percentage of occurrence, with 55%, being followed by Evidence, with 11% of occurrence. Then, in decreasing order,

Denial, Counter Expectation, Likelihood and Expectation appear, with 10%, 9%, 8% and 7%, respectively. Hearsay items are not present in the data.

Regarding the AI's present in the CM's data of both subjects under study, the following charts are graphical representations of the findings.

8.18. The following chart shows the distribution of the AI's operating in conjunction with the CM [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY].

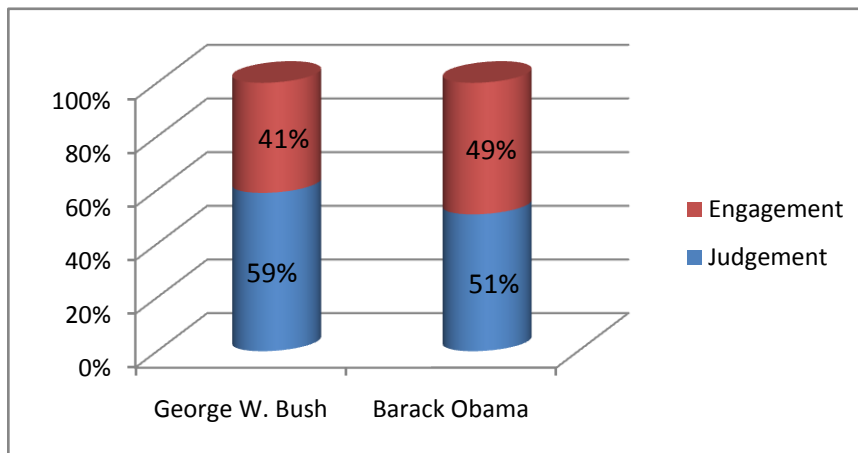


Chart 11. AI's in [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY]

Chart 11 illustrates how the AI's found in the CM [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY] are distributed in both George W. Bush and Barack Obama³². In George W. Bush, the AI's of Judgement present a frequency of occurrence of 59%, and Engagement items present a frequency of occurrence of 41%. In Barack Obama, on the other hand, items of Judgement and Engagement present almost no difference in their frequency of occurrence, with 51% the former and 49% the latter.

8.19. The chart that follows shows the distribution of the AI's of Social Sanction and Social Esteem operating in conjunction with the CM [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY].

³² Since Affect presents no instances of occurrence in both subjects' speeches, the charts of appraisal items presented here include only Judgement and Engagement.

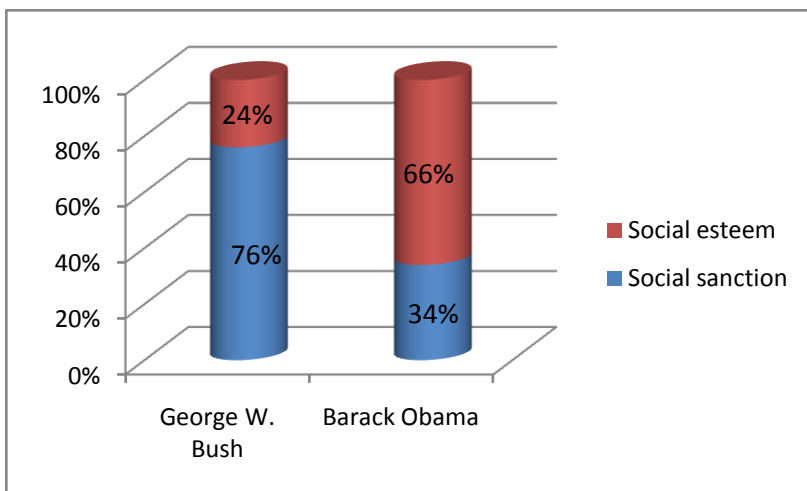
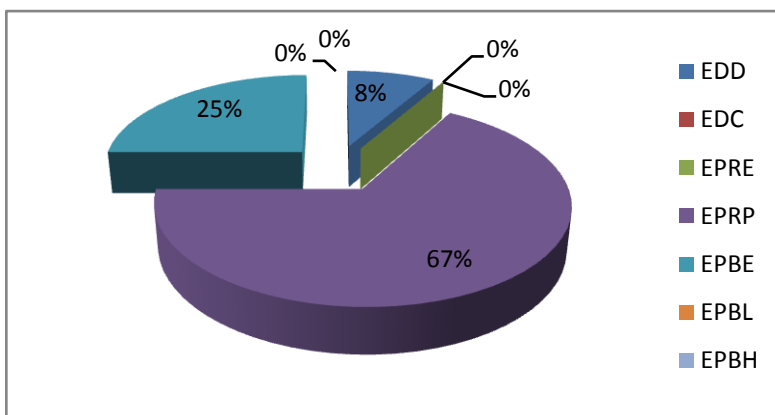


Chart 12. Judgement items of Social Sanction and Social Esteem in [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY]

With respect to Judgement items in the CM [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY], Chart 12 displays the percentage of these items regarding if they are items of Social Sanction or Social Esteem³³. It can be seen in the Chart above that, in George W. Bush, Social Sanction items surpass in great extent Social Esteem ones, with frequencies of occurrence of 76% the former and 24% the latter. On the other hand, in Barack Obama, Social Esteem items are the most recurrent ones, with a frequency of occurrence of 66%, leaving Social Sanction items in a second place, with a frequency of occurrence of 34%.

8.20. The chart below shows the AI's of Engagement operating in conjunction with the CM [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY] in George W. Bush's speeches.



³³ For the purposes of the present research, at this stage Judgement items will be separated only in Social Sanction and Social Esteem. The fact of these items being explicit or implicit will not be considered.

Chart 13. AI's of Engagement in the CM [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY] in George W. Bush

Chart 13 is an illustration of how Engagement items occur in George W. Bush's CM [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY]. This chart displays that Pronouncement is, by far, the most recurrent item of Engagement, with a frequency of occurrence of 67%. It is followed by Evidence and Denial, with frequencies of occurrence of 25% 8%, respectively. None of the other Engagement items are present in this CM.

8.21. The following chart shows the AI's of Engagement operating in conjunction with the CM [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY] in George Barack Obama's speeches.

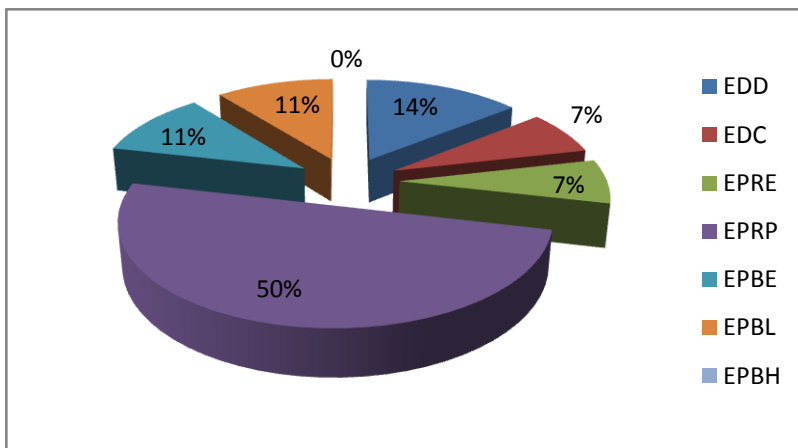


Chart 14. AI's of Engagement in the CM [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY] in Barack Obama

Barack Obama's CM [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY], in turn, presents the AI's of Engagement distributed as displayed in Chart 14. It shows that the only Engagement item that is not present is Hearsay. The most recurrent Engagement item is Pronouncement, with a frequency of occurrence of 50% out of all the Engagement items present in the CM. It is followed by Denial, with a frequency of occurrence of 14%. The following items, in decreasing order, are Likelihood and Evidence, both with a frequency of occurrence of 11%. Then, Counter Expectation and Expectation, both with a frequency of occurrence of 7%.

8.22. Chart 15 shows the distribution of the AI's operating in conjunction with the CM [GOOD IS UP]

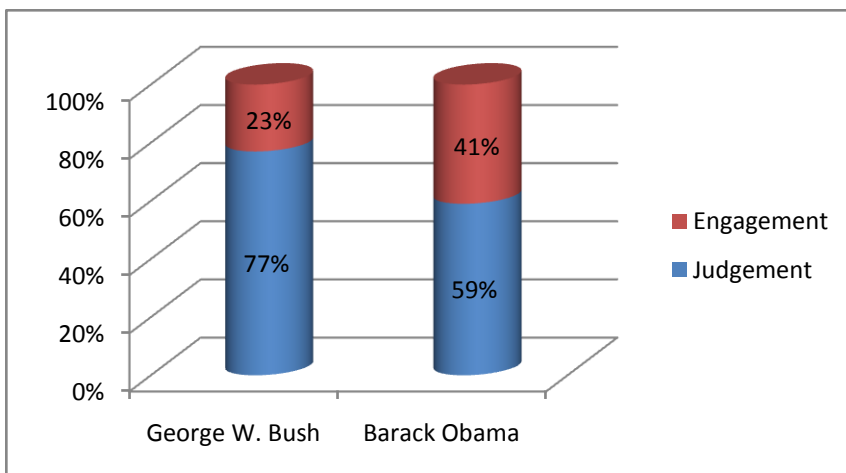


Chart 15. AI's in the CM [GOOD IS UP]

In order of appearance, the CM [GOOD IS UP] is the second one in George W. Bush's speeches and the third one in Barack Obama's speeches. Chart 15 shows that, in both subjects' speeches, Judgement items present a higher frequency of occurrence than Engagement items. However, in George W. Bush, this difference is greater than in Obama's. Judgement items in George W. Bush present a frequency of occurrence of 77% and Engagement items a frequency of occurrence of 23%. In Barack Obama's data, Judgement items present a frequency of occurrence of 59% and Engagement items a frequency of occurrence of 41%.

8.23. In the chart below, the distribution can be seen of the AI's of Judgement operating in conjunction with the CM [GOOD IS UP]

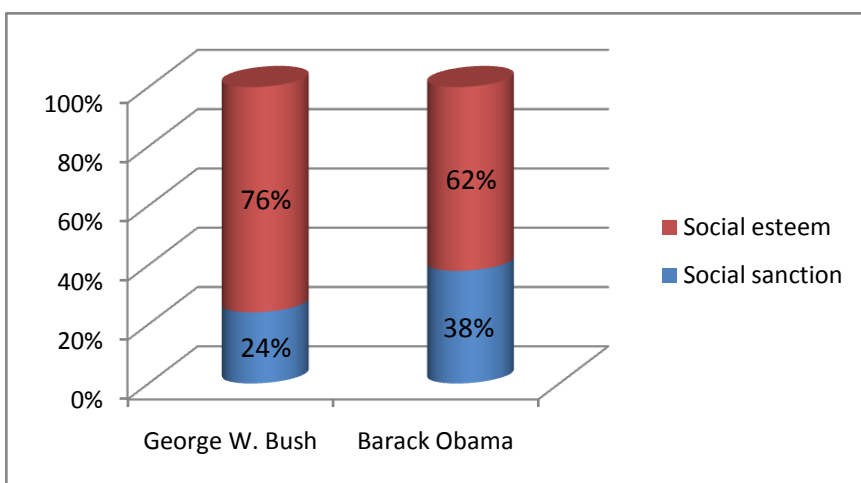


Chart 16. Judgement items of Social Sanction and Social Esteem in the CM [GOOD IS UP]

With respect to the Judgement items in the CM [GOOD IS UP], Chart 16 displays the percentage of these items regarding if they are items of Social Sanction or Social Esteem. In both subjects' speeches, the items of Social Esteem surpass the items of Social Sanction. In George W. Bush, the former present a frequency of occurrence of 76%, and 24% the latter. In Barack Obama, in turn, Social Esteem items present a frequency of occurrence of 62% versus 38% of occurrence of Social Sanction items.

8.24. The following chart shows the AI's of Engagement operating in conjunction with the CM [GOOD IS UP] in George W. Bush's speeches.

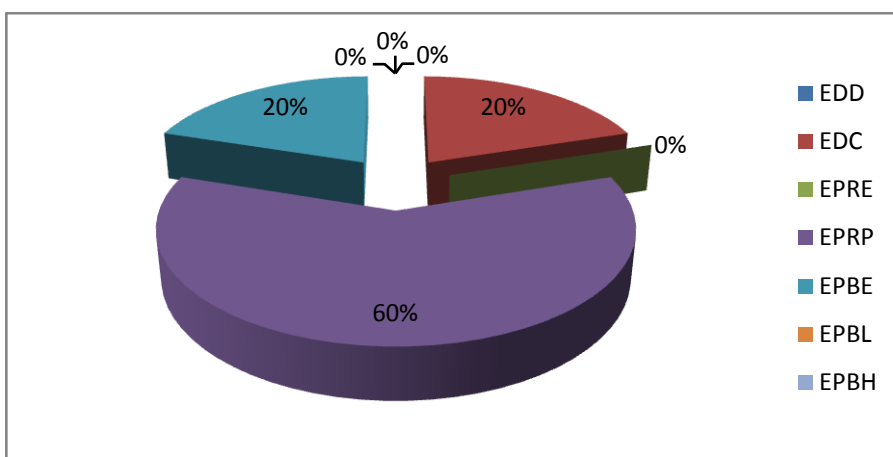


Chart 17. AI's of Engagement in the CM [GOOD IS UP] in George W. Bush

Chart 17 is an illustration of how Engagement items are distributed in George W. Bush's CM [GOOD IS UP]. Only three Engagement elements are present, being them Pronouncement (with a frequency of occurrence of 60% out of the total items of Engagement in the CM), Counter Expectation and evidence (with a frequency of occurrence of 20% each).

8.25. The following chart shows the AI's of Engagement operating in conjunction with the CM [GOOD IS UP] in Barack Obama's speeches.

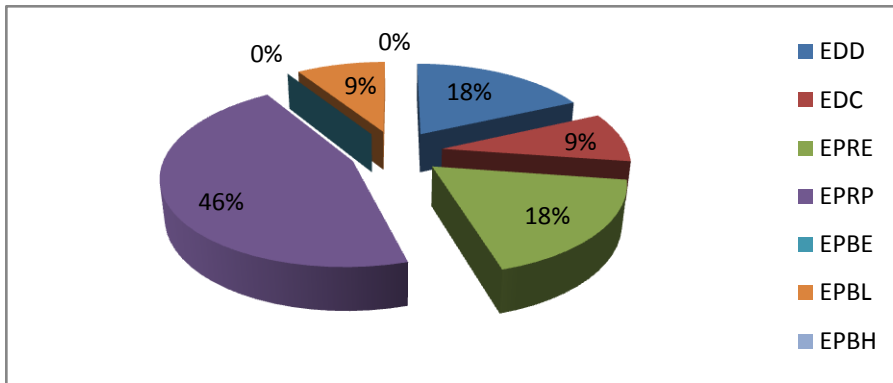


Chart 18. AI's of Engagement in the CM [GOOD IS UP] in Barack Obama

In Barack Obama's CM [GOOD IS UP] the Engagement items are distributed as shown in Chart 18. Pronouncement is the most recurrent item, with a frequency of occurrence of 46%. In this same chart we can see that Denial and Expectation come together in second place with a frequency of occurrence of 18%, each. Following them, Counter Expectation and Likelihood items are present, the both of them with a frequency of occurrence of 9%. In this CM, neither Evidence nor Hearsay items are present at all.

8.26. The chart below shows the distribution of the AI's operating in conjunction with the CM [BAD IS DOWN].

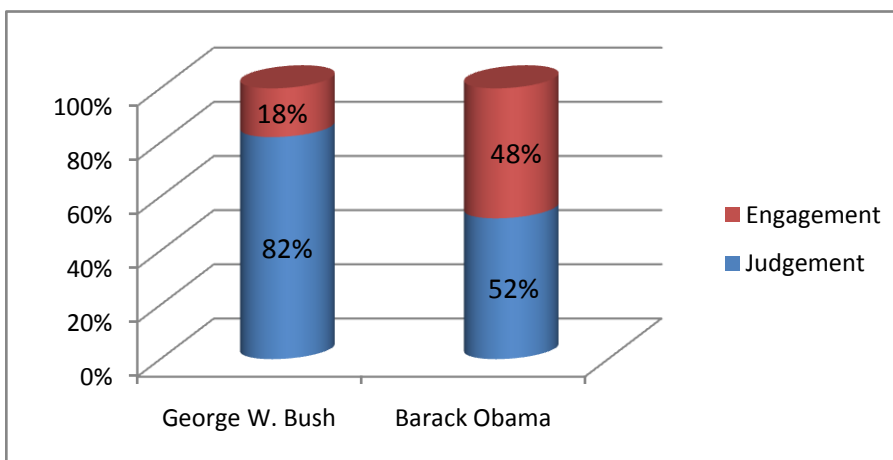


Chart 19. AI's in the CM [BAD IS DOWN]

In George W. Bush's speeches, as well as in Barack Obama's, the CM [BAD IS DOWN] is the fourth most frequently occurring CM. Chart 19 illustrates the general distribution of AI's in the mentioned CM. Out of all the AI's operating in conjunction with the CM [BAD IS DOWN], Judgement items are, in George W. Bush's speeches, the most recurrent ones, with a frequency of occurrence of 82%, followed by items of Engagement, with a frequency of occurrence of 18%. In Barack Obama's case, Judgement items are also the most recurrent ones, but their frequency of occurrence (52%) is closer to the frequency of occurrence of Engagement items (48%) than in George Bush's.

8.27. In the following chart, the distribution can be seen of the AI's of Judgement operating in conjunction with the CM [BAD IS DOWN].

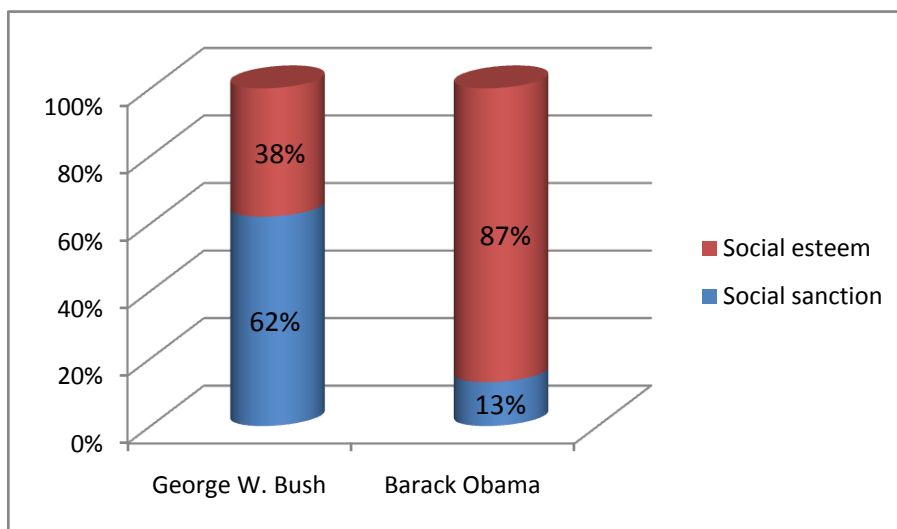


Chart 20. Judgement items of Social Sanction and Social Esteem in the CM [BAD IS DOWN]

Chart 20 displays the distribution of Judgement items in the CM [BAD IS DOWN] in the two subjects under study's speeches, regarding their condition of being either items of Social Esteem or of Social Sanction. Whilst in George W. Bush's CM [BAD IS DOWN] the highest frequency of occurrence of these items corresponds to Social Sanction (62% versus 38% of Engagement items), in Barack Obama's case the highest frequency of occurrence of Judgement items corresponds to Social Esteem (87% versus 13% of Engagement items).

8.28. The chart below shows the AI's of Engagement operating in conjunction with the CM [BAD IS DOWN] in George W. Bush's speeches.

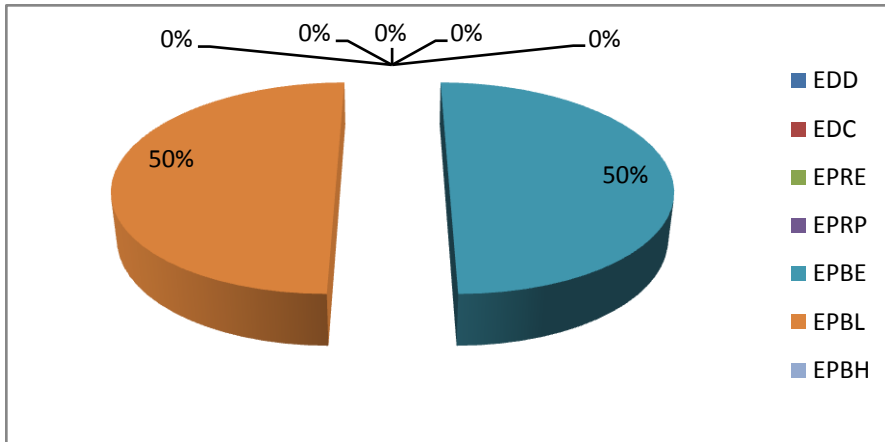


Chart 21. AI's of Engagement in the CM [BAD IS DOWN] in George W. Bush

Chart 21 displays that, in George W. Bush's CM [BAD IS DOWN], only two Engagement items are present, being them Likelihood and Evidence, with 1 instance of occurrence each, corresponding to a frequency of occurrence of 50%. In Barack Obama's case, 11 Engagement items are present, and they are distributed as chart 22 shows.

8.29. The chart below shows the AI's of Engagement operating in conjunction with the CM [BAD IS DOWN] in Barack Obama's speeches.

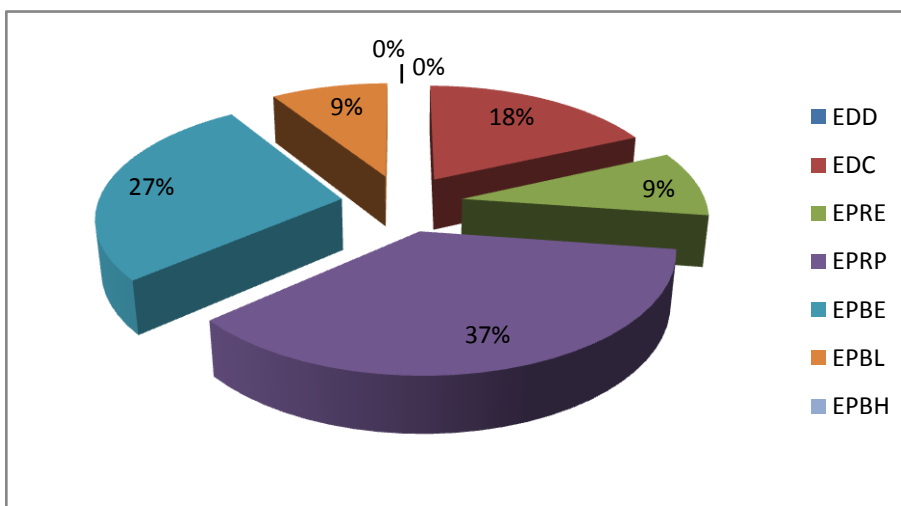


Chart 22. AI's of Engagement in the CM [BAD IS DOWN] in Barack Obama

Chart 22 illustrates that the most recurrent Engagement item in Barack Obama's CM [BAD IS DOWN] is Pronouncement, with 4 instances of occurrence, corresponding to 37% of the total. This item of Engagement is followed, in decreasing order, by Evidence, with a frequency of occurrence of 27%, Counter Expectation, with a frequency of occurrence of 18%, and Likelihood and Expectation, with a frequency of occurrence of 9% each. Denial and Hearsay items are not present in this CM in Barack Obama's speeches.

8.30. The following chart illustrates the distribution of the AI's operating in conjunction with the CM [ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY] in George W. Bush's speeches.

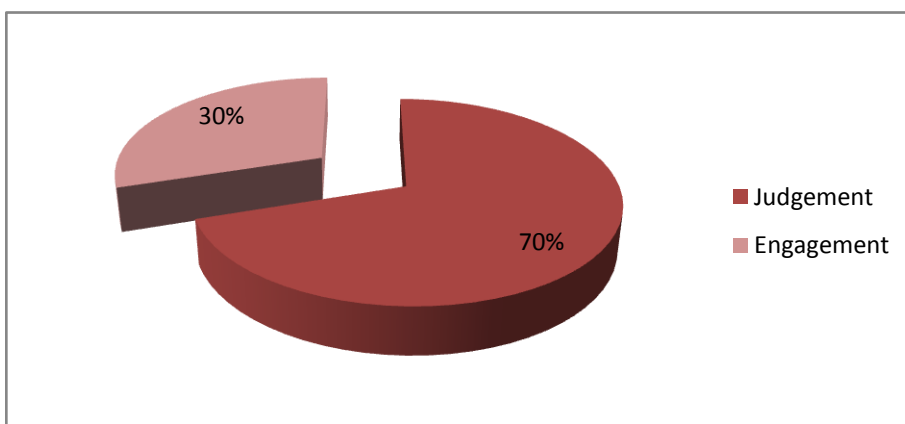


Chart 23. AI's in the CM [ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY] in George W. Bush

The CM [ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY] is present only in George W. Bush's data of CM's and it is the third most frequently occurring one. Chart 23 shows that the AI's operating in conjunction with this CM are distributed as follows: Judgement items present a frequency of occurrence of 70%, and Engagement items present a frequency of occurrence of 30%.

8.31. In the chart that follows, the distribution can be seen of the AI's of Judgement operating in conjunction with the CM [ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY] in George W. Bush's speeches.

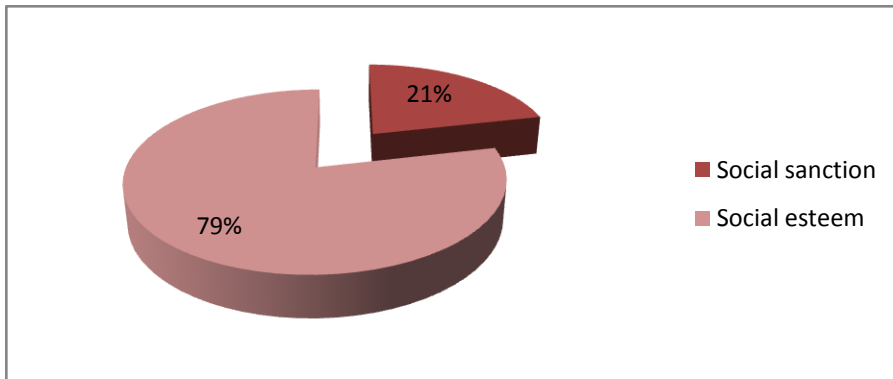


Chart 24. Judgement items of Social Sanction and Social Esteem in the CM [ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY] in George W. Bush

Chart 24 shows that 79% of the items of Judgement in George W. Bush's CM [ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY] are items of Social Esteem items. Items of Social Sanction, on the other hand, present a frequency of occurrence of 21% in the mentioned CM.

8.32. The chart below shows the AI's of Engagement operating in conjunction with the CM [ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY] in George W. Bush's speeches.

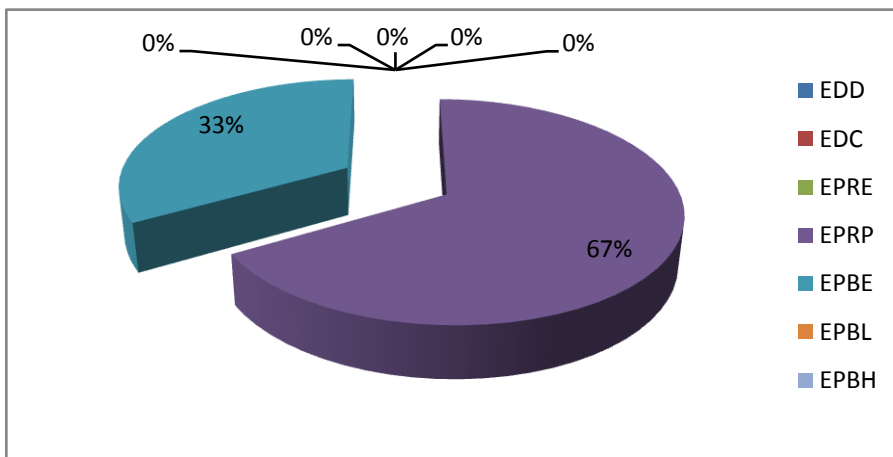


Chart 25. AI's of Engagement in the CM [ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY] in George W. Bush

Only 6 instances of occurrence of Engagement items are found in the CM [ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY] in George W. Bush's speeches. Chart 25 shows that, out of these 6 instances of occurrence, 67% of them are items of Pronouncement. The other two items are items of Evidence, and they present a frequency of occurrence of 33% in this CM. All the other Engagement items are not present.

8.33. The chart below displays the distribution of the AI's operating in conjunction with the CM [POLITICS IS WAR] in George W. Bush's speeches.

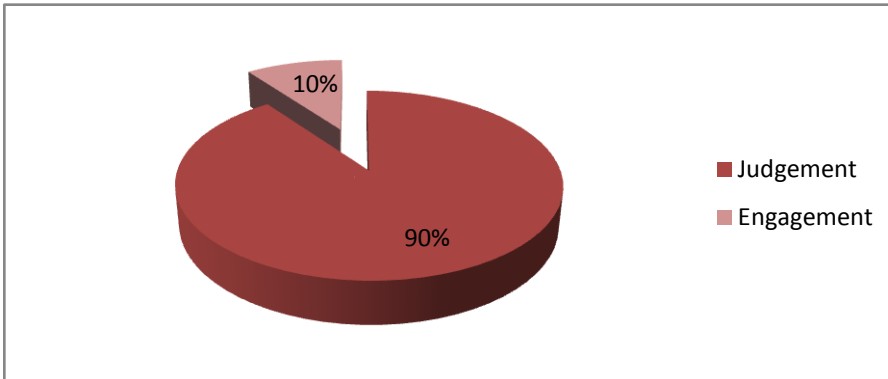


Chart 26. AI's in the CM [POLITICS IS WAR] in George W. Bush

Chart 26 is an illustration of how AI's are distributed in George W. Bush's [POLITICS IS WAR] CM (which is the fifth CM in the subject's CM's data and is not present in Barack Obama's data). Out of 10 instances of AI's found in the CM, the highest frequency of occurrence of AI's corresponds to items of Judgement, with a frequency of occurrence of 90%. Engagement items, in turn, have a percentage of occurrences of 10% in the CM.

8.34. In the chart below, the distribution can be seen of the AI's of Judgement operating in conjunction with the CM [POLITICS IS WAR] in George W. Bush's speeches.

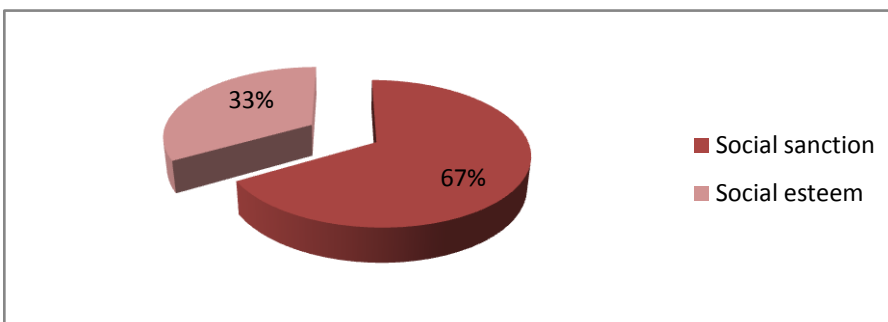


Chart 27. Social sanction and social esteem judgement items in George W. Bush's [POLITICS IS WAR]

Chart 27 shows that 67% of the items of Judgement present in George W. Bush's CM [POLITICS IS WAR] are items of Social Sanction. Social Esteem items present a frequency of occurrence of 33%.

8.35. The chart below illustrates the AI's of Engagement operating in conjunction with the CM [POLITICS IS WAR] in George W. Bush's speeches.

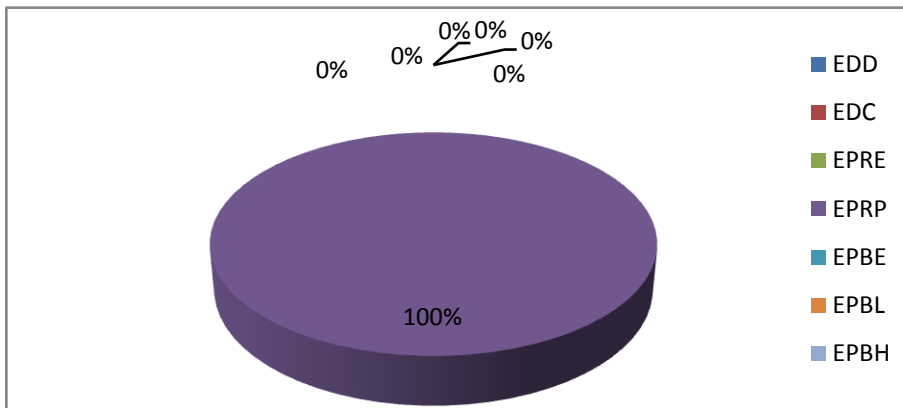


Chart 28. Engagement items in the CM [POLITICS IS WAR] in George W. Bush

Regarding AI's of Engagement in George W. Bush's CM [POLITICS IS WAR], Chart 28 shows that the only instance found in the data corresponds to Pronouncement. Therefore, its frequency of occurrence in this CM is of 100%.

8.36. The chart below shows the distribution of the AI's operating in conjunction with the CM [GOOD IS LIGHT] in Barack Obama's speeches.

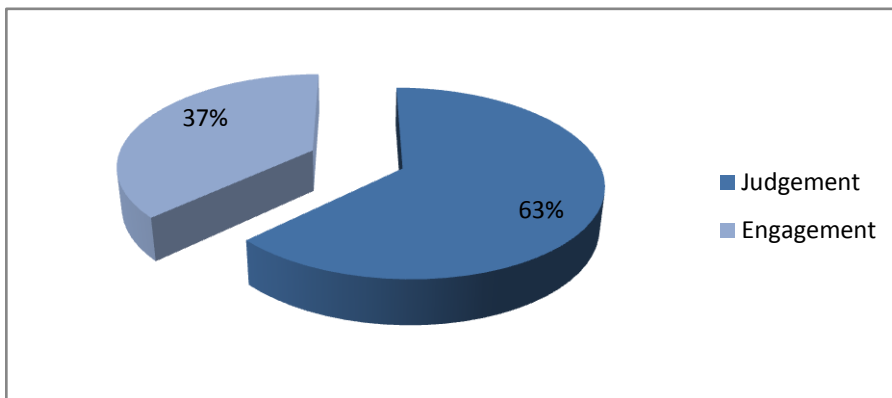


Chart 29. AI's in the CM [GOOD IS LIGHT] in Barack Obama

The CM [GOOD IS LIGHT] is the second most recurrent one in Barack Obama's speeches. Chart 29 shows that, in this CM, out of 27 instances of AI's found, 63% of them correspond to items of Judgement and 37% of them correspond to items of Engagement items.

8.37. In the chart below, the distribution can be seen of the AI's of Judgement operating in conjunction with the CM [GOOD IS LIGHT] in Barack Obama's speeches.

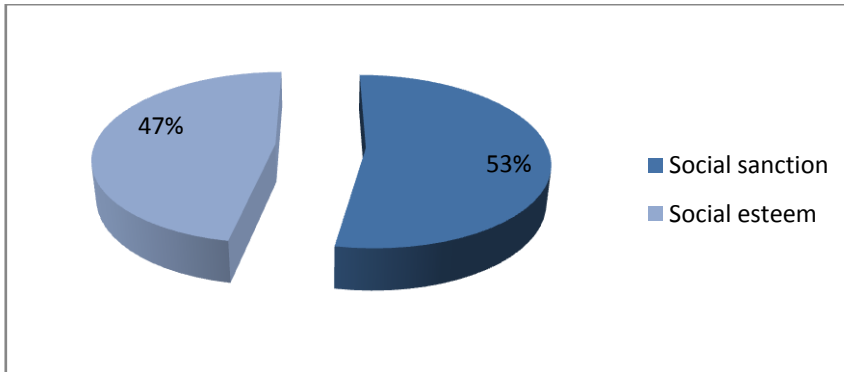


Chart 30. Judgement items of Social Sanction and Social Esteem in the CM [GOOD IS LIGHT] in Barack Obama

Chart 30 illustrates that, in Barack Obama's CM [GOOD IS LIGHT], out of 17 judgement items found, 53% of them correspond to items of Social Sanction and 47% to items of Social Esteem.

8.38. The chart below shows the AI's of Engagement operating in conjunction with the CM [GOOD IS LIGHT] in Barack Obama's speeches.

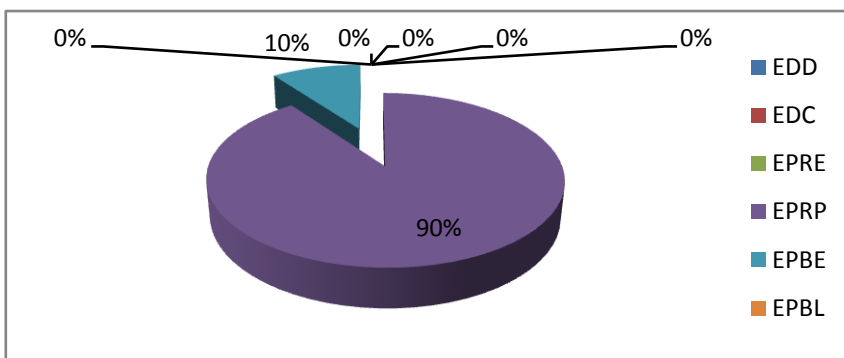


Chart 31. AI's of Engagement in the CM [GOOD IS LIGHT] in Barack Obama

Chart 31 is an illustration of how the AI's of Engagement are distributed in Barack Obama's CM [GOOD IS LIGHT]. The already mentioned chart shows that only Pronouncement and Evidence items are present, with a frequency of occurrence of 90% the former and 10% the latter.

8.39. The chart below shows the distribution of the AI's operating in conjunction with the CM [ECONOMY IS A SPORT] in Barack Obama's speeches.

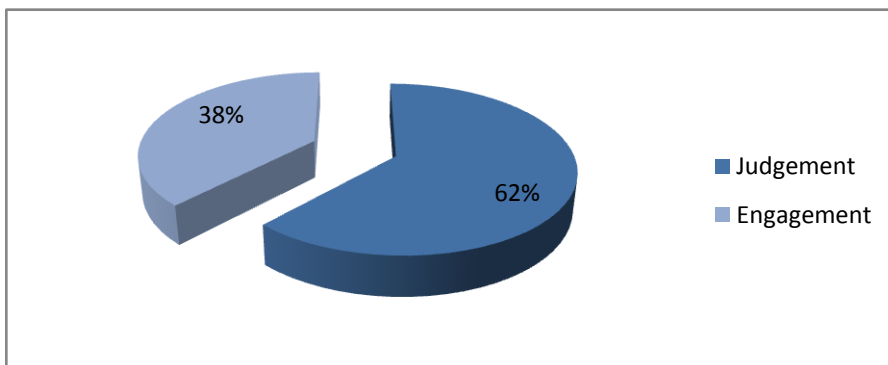


Chart 31. AI's in the CM [ECONOMY IS A SPORT] in Barack Obama

Chart 32 displays how AI's occur in Barack Obama's CM [ECONOMY IS A SPORT]. Out of 29 appraisal items present in this CM, 18 of them are items of Judgement, corresponding to a frequency of occurrence of 62%. Engagement items present 11 instances, corresponding to a frequency of occurrence of 38% out of the total AI's found in the CM.

8.40. In the chart below, the distribution can be seen of the AI's of Judgement operating in conjunction with the CM [ECONOMY IS A SPORT] in Barack Obama's speeches.

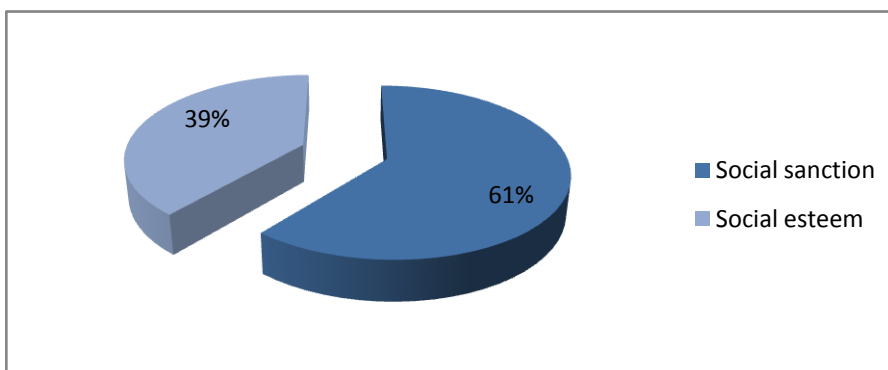


Chart 33. Judgement items of Social Sanction and Social Esteem in the CM [ECONOMY IS A SPORT] in Barack Obama

With regard to the items of Judgement present in Barack Obama's CM [ECONOMY IS A SPORT], Chart 33 illustrates that 61% of these items correspond to Social Sanction and 39% of them correspond to items of Social Esteem.

8.41. The chart below shows the AI's of Engagement operating in conjunction with the CM [ECONOMY IS A SPORT] in Barack Obama's speeches.

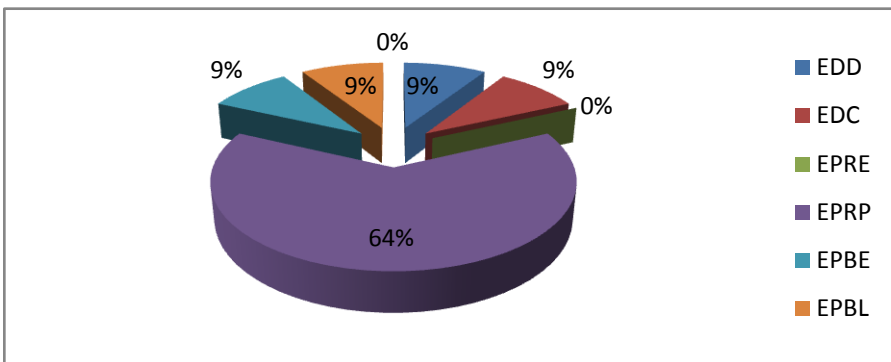


Chart 34. Items of Engagement in the CM [ECONOMY IS A SPORT] in Barack Obama

Chart 34 is an illustration of the distribution of the items of Engagement found in Barack Obama's CM [ECONOMY IS A SPORT]. The most frequently occurring ones are items of Pronouncement, with a frequency of occurrence of 64%. Other four Engagement items are present in this CM, namely, Evidence, Likelihood, Denial, and Counter Expectation, with a frequency of occurrence of 9% each. In this CM there are no instances of items of Expectation and Hearsay.

9. CONCLUSIONS

9.1. General Conclusions

The findings made in the present study allow the following conclusions to be drawn:

Regarding appraisal items, it is worth highlighting that in almost all the predications which also involve the expression of underlying CM's there is, at least one appraisal item present in 96,5% of the predications in George W. Bush's speeches and 94,2% in Obama's. This finding makes it evident the fact that there is a joint operation between the use of CM's and the use of AI's in this type of political discourse. Along the same lines, this finding correlates with van Dijk (2002)'s claim that the organisation of attitudes and ideologies depends on characteristic cognitive schemas about one's own and those of other groups and their relationships.

Regarding the operation of the AI's in the data, the first conclusion that can be drawn is that in both presidential speeches, Judgement items are the most recurrent ones. This goes to show that there is a preference of both subjects for evaluating both morality and social standards to negotiating the arguability of their proposals.

Since metaphors are culturally coherent cognitive constructs, the idea of evaluating how culture accounts for certain types of expected behaviour seems more likely than arguing about the cultural patterns already established by the society one is part of. However, in Bush's speeches, the difference of the frequency of occurrence between Judgement and Engagement items is greater than in Obama's. This finding reflects two ideas: a) the notion of the conservatives' promotion of personal responsibility, not getting involved nor trying to convince, but also letting others be and judging them afterwards, and b) a more nurturant father (Lakoff (2009)), whose role is helping the ones who need help, being there for them; in other words, making a commitment to remedy such situations.

A second conclusion that can be drawn from the findings regarding AI's is that, when dealing with Judgement items, most of them (a frequency of occurrence of 80% in Bush's speeches, 92% in Obama's) correspond to the implicit Judgement types. This reinforces the idea of a close relationship holding between CM's and AI's. Most of the Judgement instances are not present in the surface structure of the predications but in the underlying meaning which is intrinsic to the CM's, which are not linguistic realisations but cognitive constructions. Also concerning Judgement items, the results demonstrate that the predominant category in George W. Bush's data, it is Social Sanction while in Barack Obama's data, it is Social Esteem. This leads to the conclusion that whereas the Republican party (Bush being their leading representative) adheres more clearly to the morality and the ethics of society and politics, the Democratic party (represented by Obama) adheres to the capacity to fulfil the expected social and political standards. In this sense, Bush's CM's are about how people behave in society and Obama's are about how society works for people, again advocating for the notion of the strict and the nurturant fathers. This correlates with Lakoff (1980)'s statement that the most fundamental values in a culture are coherent with the metaphorical constructs of the most fundamental concepts in the same culture.

Regarding Engagement items, in both subjects' speeches the prevailing item is the expression of Pronouncement. However, in George Bush's data, Evidence also demonstrates a significant number of realisations. This may be due to the (commonly held) belief that he is a conservative and moralist, which may cause his discourse to rely more on a direct interpolation of Evidence items within the corresponding linguistic text(s) as the explicitly responsible source of the utterance because his identification with the Conservative party may tend more towards a persuasive discourse rather than one of the argumentative type.

Similarly, the fact that Probabilise Evidence reveals a high percentage of frequency of occurrence is consistent with the previous proposal in that the resource of probabilising in discourse may often be employed by speakers to establish a distance from facts (via the inclusion of modals of probability and related forms such as *I think/ I suppose*) and thus, again, favour persuasion over argumentation.

This same mentioned need of politicians to establish a distance from facts is reflected in that Affect items are not at all present in the predications with underlying CM's in both George W. Bush and Barack Obama's speeches.

Regarding the CM's found in the corpus, firstly, in both George W. Bush and Barack Obama's speeches the most recurrent CM is [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY] and it has, in both subjects, a similar percentage of appearance in the CM's data: 32% the former and 34% the latter. The fact that this CM is the most recurrent one is not random. This will be explained in what follows.

The conceptualization of 'politics as a journey' involves the inherent bodily experience of journeys, that is to say, it involves the idea of a long-term event. A journey includes a starting and an ending point, it includes possible complications on the way, moving fast or slow depending on the conditions of the road and, most importantly, it includes a place at which one expects to arrive safely.

It is commonly said that often people do not trust politicians, so the latter need to show themselves as being capable of being in charge of leading the country from point A to point B, from one place to another, because no country expects a status quo. Also, both presidents

dealt with important threats during their offices. Thus, Bush dealt with the terrorist attacks against the United States and the subsequent war against terrorism, while Obama had to deal with the global economic crisis. All these are the obstacles that ‘appear on the road’. Politics is seen as a journey since it is the president of the country the one in charge of safely taking the country from a point of origin (where the previous administration left the country) to a point of arrival (a better situation), and it takes time to get there.

The notion underlying the conceptualisation of ‘politics is a journey’ seems to be coherent with Lakoff’s (2002) conceptual construct of ‘the family’, both presidents acting as a father (a strict father and a nurturant father, Bush and Obama, respectively). In this sense, the picture comes to the mind of a father telling his children, for example, “Be patient, let me drive. We will get there”.

In respect of the appraisal items in the CM [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY], the findings reveal that whereas in George W. Bush’s speeches the Judgement items surpass the Engagement items by 18%, in Barack Obama’s speeches the Judgement items surpass the Engagement items only by 2%. This result demonstrates that, in Bush’s view, what seems more important is the view of how society acts and behaves, together with the evaluation of this behaviour as to whether it fulfils or not the social values and expectations than making a commitment to such behaviour. On the other hand, concerning Barack Obama’s speeches, the difference between the number of instances of Judgement and Engagement is comparatively lesser (a frequency of occurrence of 51% the former and 49% the latter), thus revealing that there is a minor tendency to ‘let society be’ by itself and a greater concern for being part of it, thus providing policies to overcome problems that people cannot solve by themselves.

Secondly, concerning the CM’s found in the corpus, the CM [GOOD IS UP] is also present in both subjects’ speeches. However, in George W. Bush’s speeches, [GOOD IS UP] is the second most recurrent CM, with a frequency of occurrence of 25% in the total of the data, while in Barack Obama’s it is the third one, with a frequency of occurrence of 17% in the total data. From this result, what can be inferred is the following: One of the most important aspects of orientational metaphors is that they are culturally dependent. In this sense, both

subjects under study aim at recovering from the difficult situations that they face, that American people have to endure.

Besides, over the last decade and since American troops invaded Afghanistan and Iraq, American international politics have not enjoyed a good reputation all over the world, even its allies expressing their opposition to it. This is a problem which American international politics has to overcome. As Lakoff (1980) states, spatialisation metaphors, in which statements such as MORE IS BETTER, BIGGER IS BETTER, and THE FUTURE WILL BE BETTER are coherent with CM's like MORE IS UP, GOOD IS UP, and THE FUTURE IS UP. Improving the nation's reputation, however, has been being slowly fulfilled since Barack Obama took office and announced a progressive withdrawal of the troops in Iraq. The fact of the CM [GOOD IS UP] as occurring more frequently in George W. Bush's speeches than in Barack Obama's (with a frequency of occurrence of 25% in the former's and 19% in the latter's) reveals George W. Bush's need of reinforcing the notion of American pride, patriotism and the benefits of the war.

When referring to AI's in the CM [GOOD IS UP], the results show that items of Judgement occur more frequently than items of Engagement. In Bush's case the difference between the frequency of occurrence of Judgement and engagement items is greater than in Obama's. However, in Obama's CM [GOOD IS UP], the frequency of occurrence of Judgement items is greater than in [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY]. This can reveal the fact that orientational metaphors are culturally coherent. In this sense, it is more plausible for the subjects to judge how society behaves and acts than to argue their proposals about the matter under discussion.

Interestingly, when referring to items of Judgement, the CM [GOOD IS UP] shows a predominant frequency of occurrence of Social Esteem over Social Sanction items in both subjects' data. This finding reveals that this CM reflects the idea of overcoming difficult situations. There is the notion in both subjects' speeches of dealing with how society can manage to achieve that overcome. Therefore, it is not values what is being assessed but capacity (following Martin and White (2005)).

Oriental metaphors usually come in pairs, thus the CM [BAD IS DOWN] is also present in both subjects' data with a similar frequency of occurrence (12% in Bush's data and 15% in Obama's). However, it presents fewer instances than its counterpart [GOOD IS UP] due to a preference of both George W. Bush and Barack Obama to highlight 'good' over 'bad' things.

In the CM [BAD IS DOWN], items of Judgement are the most recurrent ones, showing again that the orientational metaphors' condition of being culturally coherent makes them more plausible to judge how society behaves and acts than trying to argue proposals about the matter under discussion. However, a smaller difference between the frequency of occurrence of judgement and engagement items in Obama could mean that, in his speeches, and differently from Bush's, there is not only an evaluation of the situations but also an attempt to argue for the validity of his proposals which try to revert the condition of being 'bad'. One can also see this idea in the distribution of Judgement items in the CM [BAD IS DOWN]. George W. Bush's data presents a greater frequency of occurrence of items of Social Sanction (62%), which can be understood as a correspondence with the metaphorical systems of the strict father who supports the action of the self, a strict father that judges but does not intervene. In Obama's data, on the other hand, 87% of the Engagement items corresponds to Social Esteem; leading to the conclusion that nurturant-father democrats, more than being concerned about the morality and values in the situations conceptualised as 'bad', try to establish how society can work in order to overcome such 'bad' situations.

Despite appearing in different positions in the data, CM's referring to economy have a similar frequency of occurrence in both subjects: 19% in Bush's data and 15% in Obama's. However, when conceptualising the goal domain ECONOMY, they project to different source domains. For George W. Bush, the CM referring to economy is [ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY]. The idea of a living entity is, primarily, the self. Living entities have a biological system: they are born, eat, reproduce and die. From this, conceptualising economy as a living entity is coherent with Lakoff (2009)'s idea of self development. For Barack Obama, on the other hand, economy is conceptualised as a sport. The CM [ECONOMY IS A SPORT] lies on the notion of sports as having to do with fair play, team work and helping each other. This is also correspondent with how Lakoff (2009) systematises liberal politics:

as a nurturant father who promotes fairness, the help and protection of those who cannot help or protect themselves and nurturance of oneself in order to do the previous.

Another conclusion that can be drawn from the CM's found in the corpus is that in Barack Obama's data of CM's the second most recurring one is [GOOD IS LIGHT], with a frequency of occurrence of 29%. This CM is not present in George W. Bush's data. The physical experience of light has to do with clarity. Clarity implies safety over the dangers of darkness and cleanliness over dirtiness. This correlates with some of the main beliefs of the Democratic Party, which are equal opportunity for all Americans, coverage for the ones in need and that the government should protect the environment and a concern for environmentalism. It is important noticing that the notion of coverage is also present in Lakoff's (2009) idea of empathetic behaviour, promotion of fairness and protection of those who cannot protect themselves.

As well as the CM [GOOD IS LIGHT] is present in Obama's data of CM's but not in Bush's, the latter's data shows the presence of [POLITICS IS WAR], which is not present in the former's. With a frequency of occurrence of 12%, this CM is the fifth most recurrent one in George W. Bush's speeches. It is tempting saying that the presence of this CM in the subject's data is due to the war against terrorism, which began under Bush's administration. Nevertheless, the reason seems to go further as it is correspondent with Lakoff's (2009) metaphorical system of conservatives. According to this author, conservatives advocate the morality of reward and punishment by promoting punishment as a means of upholding authority. In this sense, authority and power are notions that are present in the bodily experience of war. Also, another of the key aspects of the conservatives' metaphorical system has to do with protecting moral people for external evil, namely Al-Qaeda.

As a final conclusion, one may propose the existence of a metaphorical evaluative discourse modelled by the participants. This discourse may be originated in discourses such as the ones presented in this study. This can be explained by the fact that discourses do not signal the context itself but, instead, they make reference to the subjective mental models of the context as constructed by speech participants, in this case, the two Presidents under study.

9.2.Limitations of the study

Some of the limitations of this study are as follows:

a) The corpus length: because the data analysis comprised only three political speeches per subject and, even though they were selected on the basis that they should be regarded as being representative of both presidents, the linguistic corpus providing the relevant data may still be seen as constituting a somewhat small corpus.

In this same respect, even though the results are presented in percentages, they may represent small numbers that might be seen as not relevant. Further studies based on a larger corpus might either validate or modify the results drawn in the present study.

b) The status of the corpus: The events constituting the referential topics at the time of the public reading of the speeches selected and analysed is not the common to the two subjects under study. This situation may have impinged on the actual validity of the results. It may be argued that the CM's and AI's which are in operation may have been by the current events constituting the referential discourse topics and may not be a reflection of the cognitive schemas of each subject's party.

c) The status of the subjects under study: Although both Barack Obama and George W. Bush represent a political group, the uniqueness of each person cannot be left aside. This uniqueness might influence the results because of a possible improvisation at the moment of the speech which would differ from the original written one.

9.3.Further research

Some further studies could support or else broaden the insights provided by the present research:

a) An interesting study would be one taking into consideration the goal and source domains of the CM's that may appear in the corpus.

b) Also considering source domains, another interesting study would be one that takes into account the classification of the metaphorical entailments of the CM's that may appear in the

corpus. For example, such source domains as WAR, ENEMY, WEAPON or FIGHT could be arranged together. These entailments could lead to interesting results by referring to whole semantic fields and not only to the CM's.

c) Studying the use of CM's and appraisal items in the political speeches of previous presidents might give further insight in what has to do with the recurrence of the previously mentioned elements according to political parties in different political and global contexts.

d) Carrying a contrastive analysis that considers the CM's and appraisal items used to refer to different specific issues would be of interest, since it would narrow down the goal domains under study.

e) Although the two subjects under study are representatives of two opposing sides of American politics, these two sides are both mainstream parties. In this sense, it would be interesting for a further study the analysis of the CM's and AI's of American political groups (such as the Communist Revolutionary party or the Boston tea party, among others) that are in conflict with these two predominant parties.

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APPENDICES

George W. Bush
Inaugural Address
Washington, DC
January 20, 2001

1 President Clinton, distinguished guests and my fellow citizens, **the peaceful transfer of**
2 **authority** is rare in history, yet common in our country. **With a simple oath, we affirm**
3 **old traditions and make new beginnings.**

4 As I begin, I thank President Clinton for his service to our nation.

5 And I thank Vice President Gore for **a contest conducted with spirit and ended with**
6 **grace.**

7 **I am honored and humbled to stand here, where so many of America's leaders have**
8 **come before me, and so many will follow.**

9 **We have a place, all of us, in a long story--a story we continue, but whose end we will**
10 **not see.** It is the story of a new world that became a friend and liberator of the old, a story of
11 a slave-holding society that became a servant of freedom, the story of a power that went
12 into the world to protect but not possess, to defend but not to conquer.

13 It is the American story--a story of flawed and fallible people, **united across the**
14 **generations by grand and enduring ideals.**

15 The grandest of these ideals is an unfolding American promise that everyone belongs, that
16 everyone deserves a chance, that no insignificant person was ever born.

17 **Americans are called to enact this promise in our lives and in our laws. And though**
18 **our nation has sometimes halted, and sometimes delayed, we must follow no other**
19 **course.**

20 Through much of the last century, **America's faith in freedom and democracy was a**
21 **rock in a raging sea. Now it is a seed upon the wind, taking root in many nations.**

22 Our democratic faith is more than the creed of our country, it is the inborn hope of our
23 humanity, **an ideal we carry but do not own, a trust we bear and pass along.** And even
24 **after nearly 225 years, we have a long way yet to travel.**

25 While many of our citizens prosper, others doubt the promise, even the justice, of our own
26 country. **The ambitions of some Americans are limited by failing schools and hidden**
27 **prejudice and the circumstances of their birth.** And **sometimes our differences run so**
28 **deep, it seems we share a continent, but not a country.**

29 We do not accept this, and we will not allow it. Our unity, our union, is the serious work of
30 leaders and citizens in every generation. And this is my solemn pledge: **I will work to**
31 **build a single nation of justice and opportunity.**

32 **I know this is in our reach** because **we are guided by a power larger than ourselves**
33 **who creates us equal in His image.**

34 **And we are confident in principles that unite and lead us onward.**

35 America has never been united by blood or birth or soil. **We are bound by ideals that**
36 **move us beyond our backgrounds, lift us above our interests and teach us what it**
37 **means to be citizens.** Every child must be taught these principles. Every citizen must
38 uphold them. And every immigrant, by embracing these ideals, makes our country more,
39 not less, American.

40 Today, we affirm a new commitment to live out our nation's promise through civility,
41 courage, compassion and character.

42 America, at its best, matches a commitment to principle with a concern for civility. A civil
43 society demands from each of us good will and respect, fair dealing and forgiveness.

44 **Some seem to believe that our politics can afford to be petty because, in a time of**
45 **peace, the stakes of our debates appear small.**

46 **But the stakes for America are never small.** If our country does not lead the cause of
47 freedom, it will not be led. **If we do not turn the hearts of children toward knowledge**
48 **and character, we will lose their gifts and undermine their idealism. If we permit our**
49 **economy to drift and decline, the vulnerable will suffer most.**

50 We must live up to the calling we share. Civility is not a tactic or a sentiment. It is the
51 determined choice of trust over cynicism, of community over chaos. And this commitment,
52 if we keep it, is a way to shared accomplishment.

53 America, at its best, is also courageous.

54 **Our national courage has been clear in times of depression and war,** when defending
55 common dangers defined our common good. Now we must choose if the example of our
56 fathers and mothers will inspire us or condemn us. **We must show courage in a time of**
57 **bleeding by confronting problems instead of passing them on to future generations.**

58 Together, we will reclaim America's schools, before ignorance and apathy claim more
59 young lives.

60 We will reform Social Security and Medicare, sparing our children from struggles we have
61 the power to prevent. **And we will reduce taxes, to recover the momentum of our**
62 **economy and reward the effort and enterprise of working Americans.**

63 **We will build our defenses beyond challenge, lest weakness invite challenge.**

64 We will confront weapons of mass destruction, so that a new century is spared new horrors.

65 The enemies of liberty and our country should make no mistake: **America remains**
 66 **engaged in the world by history and by choice, shaping a balance of power that favors**
 67 **freedom. We will defend our allies and our interests.** We will show purpose without
 68 arrogance. We will meet aggression and bad faith with resolve and strength. And to all
 69 nations, we will speak for the values that gave our nation birth.

70 America, at its best, is compassionate. In the quiet of American conscience, **we know that**
 71 **deep, persistent poverty is unworthy of our nation's promise.**

72 And whatever our views of its cause, we can agree that children at risk are not at fault.
 73 Abandonment and abuse are not acts of God, they are failures of love.

74 **And the proliferation of prisons, however necessary, is no substitute for hope and**
 75 **order in our souls.**

76 Where there is suffering, there is duty. Americans in need are not strangers; they are
 77 citizens, not problems, but priorities. And all of us are diminished when any are hopeless.

78 Government has great responsibilities for public safety and public health, for civil rights
 79 and common schools. Yet compassion is the work of a nation, not just a government.

80 **And some needs and hurts are so deep they will only respond to a mentor's touch or a**
 81 **pastor's prayer.** Church and charity, synagogue and mosque lend our communities their
 82 humanity, and **they will have an honored place in our plans and in our laws.**

83 **Many in our country do not know the pain of poverty,** but we can listen to those who
 84 do.

85 **And I can pledge our nation to a goal:** When we see that wounded traveler on the road to
 86 Jericho, we will not pass to the other side.

87 America, at its best, is a place where personal responsibility is valued and expected.

88 Encouraging responsibility is not a search for scapegoats, it is a call to conscience. And
 89 **though it requires sacrifice, it brings a deeper fulfillment.** We find the fullness of life
 90 not only in options, but in commitments. And we find that **children and community are**
 91 **the commitments that set us free.**

92 Our public interest depends on private character, on civic duty and family bonds and basic
 93 fairness, on uncounted, unhonored **acts of decency which give direction to our freedom.**

94 Sometimes in life we are called to do great things. But as a saint of our times has said,
95 every day we are called to do small things with great love. The most important tasks of a
96 democracy are done by everyone.

97 **I will live and lead by these principles: to advance my convictions with civility, to**
98 **pursue the public interest with courage,** to speak for greater justice and compassion, to
99 call for responsibility and try to live it as well.

100 In all these ways, **I will bring the values of our history to the care of our times.**

101 What you do is as important as anything government does. **I ask you to seek a common**
102 **good beyond your comfort; to defend needed reforms against easy attacks;** to serve
103 your nation, beginning with your neighbor. **I ask you to be citizens: citizens, not**
104 **spectators;** citizens, not subjects; **responsible citizens, building communities of service**
105 **and a nation of character.**

106 Americans are generous and strong and decent, not because we believe in ourselves, but
107 because **we hold beliefs beyond ourselves.** When this spirit of citizenship is missing, no
108 government program can replace it. **When this spirit is present, no wrong can stand**
109 **against it.**

110 After the Declaration of Independence was signed, Virginia statesman John Page wrote to
111 Thomas Jefferson: "We know the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong. Do
112 you not think an angel rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm?"

113 Much time has passed since Jefferson arrived for his inauguration. **The years and changes**
114 **accumulate.** But the themes of this day he would know: our nation's grand story of courage
115 and its simple dream of dignity.

116 **We are not this story's author, who fills time and eternity with his purpose.** Yet his
117 purpose is achieved in our duty, and our duty is fulfilled in service to one another.

118 Never tiring, never yielding, never finishing, we renew that purpose today, to make our
119 country more just and generous, to affirm the dignity of our lives and every life.

120 **This work continues. This story goes on.** And an angel still rides in the whirlwind and
121 directs this storm.

122 God bless you all, and God bless America.

George W. Bush
State of the Union
Washington, DC
January 29, 2002

1 Thank you very much. Mr. Speaker, Vice President Cheney, members of Congress,
2 distinguished guests, fellow citizens: As we gather tonight, our nation is at war, our
3 economy is in recession, and the civilized world faces unprecedented dangers. Yet the state
4 of our Union has never been stronger. (Applause.)

5 We last met in an hour of shock and suffering. In four short months, our nation has
6 comforted the victims, begun to rebuild New York and the Pentagon, rallied a great
7 coalition, captured, arrested, and rid the world of thousands of terrorists, destroyed
8 Afghanistan's terrorist training camps, saved a people from starvation, and freed a country
9 from brutal oppression. (Applause.)

10 The American flag flies again over our embassy in Kabul. Terrorists who once occupied
11 Afghanistan now occupy cells at Guantanamo Bay. (Applause.) And terrorist leaders who
12 urged followers to sacrifice their lives are running for their own. (Applause.)

13 America and Afghanistan are now allies against terror. **We'll be partners in rebuilding**
14 **that country.** And this evening we welcome the distinguished interim leader of a liberated
15 Afghanistan: Chairman Hamid Karzai. (Applause.)

16 The last time we met in this chamber, the mothers and daughters of Afghanistan were
17 captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school. Today women are
18 free, and are part of Afghanistan's new government. And we welcome the new Minister of
19 Women's Affairs, Doctor Sima Samar. (Applause.)

20 Our progress is a tribute to the spirit of the Afghan people, to the resolve of our coalition,
21 and to the might of the United States military. (Applause.) When I called our troops into
22 action, I did so with complete confidence in their courage and skill. And tonight, thanks to
23 them, **we are winning the war on terror.** (Applause.) The man and women of our Armed
24 Forces have delivered a message now clear to every enemy of the United States: Even
25 7,000 miles away, across oceans and continents, on mountaintops and in caves -- **you will**
26 **not escape the justice of this nation.** (Applause.)

27 For many Americans, **these four months have brought sorrow, and pain that will never**
28 **completely go away.** Every day a retired firefighter returns to Ground Zero, to feel closer
29 to his two sons who died there. At a memorial in New York, a little boy left his football
30 with a note for his lost father: Dear Daddy, please take this to heaven. I don't want to play
31 football until I can play with you again some day.

32 Last month, at the grave of her husband, Michael, a CIA officer and Marine who died in
33 Mazur-e-Sharif, Shannon Spann said these words of farewell: "Semper Fi, my love."
34 Shannon is with us tonight. (Applause.)

35 Shannon, I assure you and all who have lost a loved one that our cause is just, and our
36 country will never forget the debt we owe **Michael and all who gave their lives for**
37 **freedom.**

38 Our cause is just, and it continues. Our discoveries in Afghanistan confirmed our worst
39 fears, and showed us the true scope of the task ahead. **We have seen the depth of our**
40 **enemies' hatred in videos**, where they laugh about the loss of innocent life. **And the**
41 **depth of their hatred is equaled by the madness of the destruction they design.** We
42 have found diagrams of American nuclear power plants and public water facilities, detailed
43 instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities, and
44 thorough descriptions of landmarks in America and throughout the world.

45 What we have found in Afghanistan confirms that, far from ending there, **our war against**
46 **terror is only beginning.** Most of the 19 men who hijacked planes on September the 11th
47 were trained in Afghanistan's camps, and so were tens of thousands of others. Thousands of
48 dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of murder, often supported by outlaw regimes,
49 are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs, set to go off without
50 warning.

51 Thanks to the work of our law enforcement officials and coalition partners, hundreds of
52 terrorists have been arrested. Yet, tens of thousands of trained terrorists are still at large.
53 These enemies view the entire world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever
54 they are. (Applause.) So long as training camps operate, so long as nations harbor terrorists,
55 freedom is at risk. And America and our allies must not, and will not, allow it. (Applause.)

56 Our nation will continue to be steadfast and patient and persistent in the pursuit of two great
57 objectives. First, we will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and **bring**
58 **terrorists to justice.** And, second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek
59 chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world.
60 (Applause.)

61 **Our military has put the terror training camps of Afghanistan out of business**, yet
62 camps still exist in at least a dozen countries. **A terrorist underworld** -- including groups
63 like Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, Jaish-i-Mohammed -- operates in remote jungles and
64 deserts, and hides in the centers of large cities.

65 While the most visible military action is in Afghanistan, America is acting elsewhere. We
66 now have troops in the Philippines, helping to train that country's armed forces to go after
67 terrorist cells that have executed an American, and still hold hostages. Our soldiers,
68 working with the Bosnian government, seized terrorists who were plotting to bomb our
69 embassy. Our Navy is patrolling the coast of Africa to block the shipment of weapons and
70 the establishment of terrorist camps in Somalia.

71 My hope is that all nations will heed our call, and **eliminate the terrorist parasites who**
72 **threaten their countries and our own.** Many nations are acting forcefully. **Pakistan is**
73 **now cracking down on terror**, and I admire the strong leadership of President Musharraf.
74 (Applause.)

75 **But some governments will be timid in the face of terror.** And make no mistake about it:
76 If they do not act, America will. (Applause.)

77 **Our second goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America**
78 **our friends and allies with weapons of mass destruction.** Some of these regimes have
79 been pretty quiet since September the 11th. But we know their true nature. North Korea is a
80 regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens.

81 **Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror,** while an unelected few
82 repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom.

83 Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime
84 has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas, and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This
85 is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens --
86 leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. This is a regime that agreed
87 to international inspections -- then kicked out the inspectors. This is a regime that has
88 something to hide from the civilized world.

89 States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the
90 peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, **these regimes pose a grave**
91 **and growing danger.** They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means
92 to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States.
93 In any of these cases, **the price of indifference would be catastrophic.**

94 **We will work closely with our coalition to deny terrorists and their state sponsors** the
95 materials, technology, and expertise to make and deliver weapons of mass destruction. We
96 will develop and deploy effective missile defenses to protect America and our allies from
97 sudden attack. (Applause.) And all nations should know: America will do what is necessary
98 to ensure our nation's security.

99 We'll be deliberate, **yet time is not on our side.** I will not wait on events, while dangers
100 gather. **I will not stand by, as peril draws closer and closer.** The United States of
101 America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's
102 most destructive weapons. (Applause.)

103 **Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun. This campaign may not be**
104 **finished on our watch** -- yet it must be and it will be waged on our watch.

105 **We can't stop short. If we stop now -- leaving terror camps intact and terror states**
106 **unchecked** -- our sense of security would be false and temporary. History has called
107 America and our allies to action, and it is both our responsibility and our privilege to fight
108 freedom's fight. (Applause.)

109 **Our first priority must always be the security of our nation, and that will be reflected**
110 **in the budget I send to Congress.** My budget supports three great goals for America: We
111 will win this war; we'll protect our homeland; and **we will revive our economy.**

112 September the 11th brought out the best in America, and the best in this Congress. And I
113 join the American people in applauding your unity and resolve. (Applause.) Now
114 **Americans deserve to have this same spirit directed toward addressing problems here**
115 **at home.** I'm a proud member of my party -- yet as we act to win the war, protect our
116 people, and create jobs in America, we must act, first and foremost, not as Republicans, not
117 as Democrats, but as Americans. (Applause.)

118 It costs a lot to fight this war. We have spent more than a billion dollars a month -- over
119 \$30 million a day -- and we must be prepared for future operations. Afghanistan proved that
120 expensive precision weapons defeat the enemy and spare innocent lives, and we need more
121 of them. We need to replace aging aircraft and make our military more agile, to put our
122 troops anywhere in the world quickly and safely. Our men and women in uniform deserve
123 the best weapons, the best equipment, the best training -- and **they also deserve another**
124 **pay raise.**(Applause.)

125 **My budget includes the largest increase in defense spending in two decades -- because**
126 **while the price of freedom and security is high, it is never too high.** Whatever it costs to
127 defend our country, we will pay. (Applause.)

128 The next priority of my budget is to do everything possible **to protect our citizens and**
129 **strengthen our nation against the ongoing threat of another attack.** Time and distance
130 from the events of September the 11th will not make us safer **unless we act on its**
131 **lessons.**America is no longer protected by vast oceans. We are protected from attack only
132 by vigorous action abroad, **and increased vigilance at home.**

133 My budget nearly doubles funding for a sustained strategy of homeland security, focused
134 on four key areas: bioterrorism, emergency response, airport and border security, and
135 improved intelligence. **We will develop vaccines to fight anthrax and other deadly**
136 **diseases.**We'll increase funding to help states and communities train and equip our heroic
137 police and firefighters.(Applause.) We will improve intelligence collection and sharing,
138 expand patrols at our borders, **strengthen the security of air travel,** and use technology to
139 track the arrivals and departures of visitors to the United States. (Applause.)

140 Homeland security will make America not only stronger, but, in many ways, better.
141 Knowledge gained from bioterrorism research will improve public health. Stronger police
142 and fire departments will mean safer neighborhoods. Stricter border enforcement will help
143 combat illegal drugs. (Applause.) And as government works to better secure our homeland,
144 America will continue to depend on the eyes and ears of alert citizens.

145 A few days before Christmas, an airline flight attendant spotted a passenger lighting a
146 match. The crew and passengers quickly subdued the man, who had been trained by al
147 Qaeda and was armed with explosives. The people on that plane were alert and, as a result,
148 likely saved nearly 200 lives. And tonight we welcome and thank flight attendants
149 HermisMoutardier and Christina Jones. (Applause.)

150 Once we have funded our national security and our homeland security, the final great
151 priority of my budget is economic security for the American people. (Applause.) To

152 achieve these great national objectives -- to win the war, protect the homeland, **and**
 153 **revitalize our economy -- our budget will run a deficit that will be small and short-**
 154 **term**, so long as Congress restrains spending and acts in a fiscally responsible
 155 manner.(Applause.)**We have clear priorities** and we must act at home with the same
 156 purpose and resolve we have shown overseas: We'll prevail in the war, and **we will defeat**
 157 **this recession.**(Applause.)

158 Americans who have lost their jobs need our help and I support extending unemployment
 159 benefits and direct assistance for health care coverage. (Applause.) Yet, American workers
 160 want more than unemployment checks -- they want a steady paycheck. (Applause.) When
 161 America works, America prospers, so my economic security plan can be summed up in one
 162 word: jobs. (Applause.)

163 **Good jobs begin with good schools, and here we've made a fine start.**(Applause.)
 164 Republicans and Democrats worked together to achieve historic education reform so that
 165 **no child is left behind.** I was proud to work with members of both parties: Chairman John
 166 Boehner and Congressman George Miller. (Applause.) Senator Judd Gregg. (Applause.)
 167 And I was so proud of our work, I even had nice things to say about my friend, Ted
 168 Kennedy. (Laughter and applause.) I know the folks at the Crawford coffee shop couldn't
 169 believe I'd say such a thing -- (laughter) -- but **our work on this bill shows what is**
 170 **possible if we set aside posturing and focus on results.**(Applause.)

171 There is more to do. We need to prepare our children to read and succeed in school with
 172 improved Head Start and early childhood development programs. (Applause.)**We must**
 173 **upgrade our teacher colleges** and teacher training and **launch a major recruiting drive**
 174 **with a great goal for America:** a quality teacher in every classroom.(Applause.)

175 Good jobs also depend on reliable and affordable energy. This Congress must act to
 176 encourage conservation, promote technology, build infrastructure, and it must act to
 177 **increase energy production at home** so America is less dependent on foreign oil.
 178 (Applause.)

179 Good jobs depend on expanded trade. Selling into new markets creates new jobs, so I ask
 180 Congress to finally approve trade promotion authority. (Applause.) On these two key
 181 issues, trade and energy, the House of Representatives has acted to create jobs, and I urge
 182 the Senate to pass this legislation.(Applause.)

183 Good jobs depend on sound tax policy. (Applause.)**Last year, some in this hall thought**
 184 **my tax relief plan was too small;** some thought it was too big. (Applause.) But when the
 185 checks arrived in the mail, most Americans thought tax relief was just about right.
 186 (Applause.)**Congress listened to the people and responded by reducing tax rates,**
 187 doubling the child credit, and ending the death tax.**For the sake of long-term growth** and
 188 to help Americans plan for the future, let's make these tax cuts permanent. (Applause.)

189 **The way out of this recession, the way to create jobs, is to grow the economy by**
 190 **encouraging investment in factories and equipment, and by speeding up tax relief** so

191 people have more money to spend. For the sake of American workers, let's pass a stimulus
192 package. (Applause.)

193 Good jobs must be the aim of welfare reform. As we reauthorize these important reforms,
194 **we must always remember the goal is to reduce dependency on government** and offer
195 every American the dignity of a job. (Applause.)

196 **Americans know economic security can vanish in an instant without health security.** I
197 ask Congress to join me this year to enact a patients' bill of rights -- (applause) -- to give
198 uninsured workers credits to help buy health coverage -- (applause) -- **to approve an**
199 **historic increase in the spending for veterans' health** -- (applause) -- and to give seniors
200 a sound and modern Medicare system that includes coverage for prescription
201 drugs.(Applause.)

202 **A good job should lead to security in retirement.** I ask Congress to enact new safeguards
203 for 401K and pension plans. (Applause.) Employees who have worked hard and saved all
204 their lives should not have to risk losing everything if their company fails. (Applause.)
205 Through stricter accounting standards and tougher disclosure requirements, **corporate**
206 America must be made more accountable to employees and shareholders and held to the
207 highest standards of conduct.(Applause.)

208 Retirement security also depends upon keeping the commitments of Social Security, and
209 we will. We must make Social Security financially stable and allow personal retirement
210 accounts for younger workers who choose them. (Applause.)

211 Members, you and **I will work together in the months ahead on other issues:** productive
212 farm policy -- (applause) -- **a cleaner environment** -- (applause) -- broader home
213 ownership, especially among minorities -- (applause) -- and ways to encourage the good
214 work of charities and faith-based groups. (Applause.)I ask you to join me on these
215 important domestic issues in the same spirit of cooperation we've applied to our war against
216 terrorism. (Applause.)

217 During these last few months, I've been humbled and privileged **to see the true character**
218 **of this country in a time of testing. Our enemies believed America was weak and**
219 **materialistic, that we would splinter in fear and selfishness.** They were as wrong as they
220 are evil. (Applause.)

221 The American people have responded magnificently, with courage and compassion,
222 strength and resolve. As I have met the heroes, hugged the families, and looked into the
223 tired faces of rescuers, I have stood in awe of the American people.

224 And I hope you will join me -- I hope you will join me in expressing thanks to one
225 American for the strength and calm and comfort she brings to our nation in crisis, our First
226 Lady, Laura Bush. (Applause.)

227 None of us would ever wish the evil that was done on September the 11th. Yet after
 228 America was attacked, it was as if our entire country looked into a mirror and saw our
 229 better selves. We were reminded that we are citizens, with obligations to each other, to our
 230 country, and to history. We began to think less of the goods we can accumulate, and more
 231 about the good we can do.

232 For too long our culture has said, "If it feels good, do it." Now America is embracing a new
 233 ethic and a new creed: "Let's roll." (Applause.) In the sacrifice of soldiers, the fierce
 234 brotherhood of firefighters, and the bravery and generosity of ordinary citizens, we have
 235 glimpsed what a new culture of responsibility could look like. We want to be a nation that
 236 serves goals larger than self. We've been offered a unique opportunity, and we must not let
 237 this moment pass.(Applause.)

238 My call tonight is for every American to commit at least two years -- 4,000 hours over the
 239 rest of your lifetime -- to the service of your neighbors and your nation. (Applause.) Many
 240 are already serving, and I thank you. **If you aren't sure how to help, I've got a good place
 241 to start.** To sustain and extend the best that has emerged in America, I invite you to join the
 242 new USA Freedom Corps. The Freedom Corps will focus on three areas of need:
 243 responding in case of crisis at home; rebuilding our communities; and extending American
 244 compassion throughout the world.

245 One purpose of the USA Freedom Corps will be homeland security. America needs retired
 246 doctors and nurses who can be mobilized in major emergencies; volunteers to help police
 247 and fire departments; transportation and utility workers well-trained in spotting danger.

248 Our country also needs citizens working to rebuild our communities. We need mentors to
 249 love children, especially children whose parents are in prison. And we need more talented
 250 teachers in troubled schools. USA Freedom Corps will expand and improve the good
 251 efforts of AmeriCorps and Senior Corps to recruit more than 200,000 new volunteers.

252 And America needs citizens to extend the compassion of our country to every part of the
 253 world. So we will renew the promise of the Peace Corps, double its volunteers over the next
 254 five years -- (applause) -- and ask it to join a new effort to encourage development and
 255 education and opportunity in the Islamic world. (Applause.)

256 This time of adversity offers a unique moment of opportunity -- **a moment we must seize
 257 to change our culture.** Through the gathering momentum of millions of acts of service and
 258 decency and kindness, I know we can overcome evil with greater good. (Applause.)**And we
 259 have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world toward the values
 260 that will bring lasting peace.**

261 All fathers and mothers, in all societies, want their children to be educated, and live free
 262 from poverty and violence. No people on Earth yearn to be oppressed, or aspire to
 263 servitude, or eagerly await the midnight knock of the secret police.

264 If anyone doubts this, let them look to Afghanistan, where **the Islamic "street" greeted
 265 the fall of tyranny with song and celebration.** Let the skeptics look to Islam's own rich
 266 history, with its centuries of learning, and tolerance and progress. **America will lead by**

267 **defending liberty and justice** because they are right and true and unchanging for all
268 people everywhere. (Applause.)

269 **No nation owns these aspirations**, and no nation is exempt from them. We have no
270 intention of imposing our culture. But America will always stand firm for the non-
271 negotiable demands of human dignity: the rule of law; limits on the power of the state;
272 respect for women; private property; free speech; equal justice; and religious tolerance.
273 (Applause.)

274 America will take the side of brave men and women who advocate these values around the
275 world, including the Islamic world, because **we have a greater objective than eliminating**
276 **threats and containing resentment. We seek a just and peaceful world beyond the war**
277 **on terror.**

278 In this moment of opportunity, **a common danger is erasing old rivalries**. America is
279 working with Russia and China and India, in ways we have never before, to achieve peace
280 and prosperity. In every region, free markets and free trade and free societies are proving
281 their power to lift lives. Together with friends and allies from Europe to Asia, and Africa to
282 Latin America, we will demonstrate that the forces of terror cannot stop the momentum of
283 freedom. (Applause.)

284 The last time I spoke here, **I expressed the hope that life would return to normal**. In
285 some ways, it has. In others, it never will. **Those of us who have lived through these**
286 **challenging times have been changed by them**. We've come to know truths that we will
287 never question: **evil is real, and it must be opposed**. (Applause.) Beyond all differences of
288 race or creed, we are one country, mourning together and facing danger together. **Deep in**
289 **the American character, there is honor, and it is stronger than cynicism**. And many
290 have discovered again that even in tragedy -- especially in tragedy -- God is near.
291 (Applause.)

292 In a single instant, we realized that this will be a decisive decade in the history of liberty,
293 that we've been called to a unique role in human events. Rarely has the world faced a
294 choice more clear or consequential.

295 Our enemies send other people's children on missions of suicide and murder. They embrace
296 tyranny and death as a cause and a creed. We stand for a different choice, made long ago,
297 on the day of our founding. We affirm it again today. We choose freedom and the dignity
298 of every life. (Applause.)

299 Steadfast in our purpose, we now press on. **We have known freedom's price**. We have
300 shown freedom's power. And in this great conflict, my fellow Americans, we will see
301 freedom's victory.

302 Thank you all. May God bless. (Applause.)

George W. Bush
State of the Union Address
Washington, DC
January 20, 2004

1 Mr. Speaker, Vice President Cheney, members of Congress, distinguished guests, and
2 fellow citizens: America this evening is a nation called to great responsibilities. And **we are**
3 **rising to meet them.**

4 As we gather tonight, hundreds of thousands of American servicemen and women are
5 deployed across the world in the war on terror. **By bringing hope to the oppressed, and**
6 **delivering justice to the violent,** they are making America more secure. (Applause.)

7 **Each day, law enforcement personnel and intelligence officers are tracking terrorist**
8 **threats;** analysts are examining airline passenger lists; the men and women of our new
9 Homeland Security Department are patrolling our coasts and borders. And their vigilance is
10 protecting America. (Applause.)

11 Americans are proving once again to be the hardest working people in the world. **The**
12 **American economy is growing stronger. The tax relief you passed is working.**
13 (Applause.)

14 Tonight, **members of Congress can take pride** in the great works of compassion and
15 reform that skeptics had thought impossible. **You're raising the standards for our public**
16 **schools, and you are giving our senior citizens prescription drug coverage** under
17 Medicare. (Applause.)

18 **We have faced serious challenges together, and now we face a choice: We can go**
19 **forward with confidence and resolve, or we can turn back to the dangerous illusion**
20 **that terrorists are not plotting** and outlaw regimes are no threat to us. **We can press on**
21 **with economic growth,** and reforms in education and Medicare, **or we can turn back to**
22 **old policies and old divisions.**

23 **We've not come all this way -- through tragedy, and trial and war -- only to falter and**
24 **leave our work unfinished.** **Americans are rising to the tasks of history,** and they expect
25 the same from us. In their efforts, their enterprise, and their character, the American people
26 are showing that the state of our union is confident and strong. (Applause.)

27 Our greatest responsibility is the active defense of the American people. Twenty-eight
28 months have passed since September 11th, 2001 -- over two years without an attack on
29 American soil. **And it is tempting to believe that the danger is behind us.** That hope is
30 understandable, comforting -- and false. The killing has continued in Bali, Jakarta,
31 Casablanca, Riyadh, Mombasa, Jerusalem, Istanbul, and Baghdad. The terrorists continue
32 to plot against America and the civilized world. **And by our will and courage, this danger**
33 **will be defeated.** (Applause.)

34 Inside the United States, where the war began, we must continue to give our homeland
35 security and law enforcement personnel every tool they need to defend us. And one of those
36 essential tools is the Patriot Act, which allows federal law enforcement to better share
37 information, **to track terrorists, to disrupt their cells, and to seize their assets.** For
38 years, we have used similar provisions to catch embezzlers and drug traffickers. **If these**
39 **methods are good for hunting criminals, they are even more important for hunting**
40 **terrorists.** (Applause.)

41 Key provisions of the Patriot Act are set to expire next year. (Applause.) The terrorist threat
42 will not expire on that schedule. (Applause.) **Our law enforcement needs this vital**
43 **legislation** to protect our citizens. You need to renew the Patriot Act. (Applause.)

44 America is on the offensive against the terrorists who started this war. Last March, Khalid
45 Shaikh Mohammed, a mastermind of September the 11th, awoke to find himself in the
46 custody of U.S. and Pakistani authorities. Last August the 11th brought the capture of **the**
47 **terrorist Hambali, who was a key player in the attack in Indonesia that killed over 200**
48 **people. We're tracking al Qaeda around the world,** and nearly two-thirds of their known
49 leaders have now been captured or killed. Thousands of very skilled and determined
50 military personnel are on the manhunt, going after the remaining killers who hide in cities
51 and caves, and **one by one, we will bring these terrorists to justice.** (Applause.)

52 As part of the offensive against terror, we are also confronting the regimes that harbor and
53 support terrorists, and could supply them with nuclear, chemical or biological weapons.
54 The United States and our allies are determined: **We refuse to live in the shadow of this**
55 **ultimate danger.** (Applause.)

56 The first to see our determination were the Taliban, who made Afghanistan the primary
57 training base of al Qaeda killers. As of this month, that country has a new constitution,
58 guaranteeing free elections and full participation by women. Businesses are opening, health
59 care centers are being established, and the boys and girls of Afghanistan are back in school.
60 With the help from the new Afghan army, our coalition is leading aggressive raids against
61 the surviving members of the Taliban and al Qaeda. **The men and women of Afghanistan**
62 **are building a nation** that is free and proud and fighting terror -- and America is honored
63 to be their friend. (Applause.)

64 Since we last met in this chamber, combat forces of the United States, Great Britain,
65 Australia, Poland and other countries enforced the demands of the United Nations, ended
66 the rule of Saddam Hussein, and the people of Iraq are free. (Applause.)

67 **Having broken the Baathist regime,** we face a remnant of violent Saddam
68 supporters. **Men who ran away from our troops in battle are now dispersed and attack**
69 **from the shadows.** These killers, joined by foreign terrorists, are a serious, continuing
70 danger. Yet we're making progress against them. The once all-powerful ruler of Iraq was
71 found in a hole, and now sits in a prison cell. (Applause.) Of the top 55 officials of the
72 former regime, we have captured or killed 45. Our forces are on the offensive, leading over
73 1,600 patrols a day and conducting an average of 180 raids a week. We are dealing with

74 these thugs in Iraq, just as surely as we dealt with Saddam Hussein's evil regime.
75 (Applause.)

76 **The work of building a new Iraq is hard**, and it is right. And America has always been
77 willing to do what it takes for what is right. Last January, Iraq's only law was the whim of
78 one brutal man. Today our coalition is working with the Iraqi Governing Council to draft a
79 basic law, with a bill of rights. We're working with Iraqis and the United Nations to prepare
80 for a transition to full Iraqi sovereignty by the end of June.

81 As democracy takes hold in Iraq, **the enemies of freedom will do all in their power to**
82 **spread violence and fear. They are trying to shake the will of our country and our**
83 **friends**, but the United States of America will never be intimidated by thugs and assassins.
84 (Applause.) The killers will fail, and **the Iraqi people will live in freedom.** (Applause.)

85 Month by month, Iraqis are assuming more responsibility for their own security and their
86 own future. And tonight we are honored to welcome one of Iraq's most respected leaders:
87 the current President of the Iraqi Governing Council, Adnan Pachachi.

88 Sir, America stands with you and the Iraqi people as **you build a free and peaceful nation.**
89 (Applause.)

90 Because of American leadership and resolve, the world is changing for the better. Last
91 month, the leader of Libya voluntarily pledged to disclose and dismantle all of his regime's
92 weapons of mass destruction programs, including a uranium enrichment project for nuclear
93 weapons. Colonel Qadhafi correctly judged that his country would be better off and far
94 more secure without weapons of mass murder. (Applause.)

95 Nine months of intense negotiations involving the United States and Great Britain
96 succeeded with Libya, while 12 years of diplomacy with Iraq did not. **And one reason is**
97 **clear**: For diplomacy to be effective, words must be credible, and no one can now doubt the
98 word of America. (Applause.)

99 Different threats require different strategies. Along with nations in the region, we're
100 insisting that North Korea eliminate its nuclear program. America and the international
101 community are demanding that Iran meet its commitments and not develop nuclear
102 weapons. America is committed to keeping the world's most dangerous weapons out of the
103 hands of the most dangerous regimes. (Applause.)

104 When I came to this rostrum on September the 20th, 2001, **I brought the police shield of a**
105 **fallen officer**, my reminder of **lives that ended**, and a task that does not end. I gave to you
106 and to all Americans my complete commitment to securing our country and defeating our
107 enemies. And this pledge, given by one, has been kept by many.

108 You in the Congress have provided the resources for our defense, and cast the difficult
109 votes of war and peace. Our closest allies have been unwavering. America's intelligence
110 personnel and diplomats have been skilled and tireless. And the men and women of the

111 American military -- **they have taken the hardest duty. We've seen their skill and their**
112 **courage** in armored charges and midnight raids, and lonely hours on faithful watch. We
113 have seen the joy when they return, and felt the sorrow when one is lost. I've had the honor
114 of meeting our servicemen and women at many posts, from the deck of a carrier in the
115 Pacific to a mess hall in Baghdad.

116 Many of our troops are listening tonight. And I want you and your families to know:
117 America is proud of you. And my administration, and this Congress, will give you the
118 resources you need to fight and win the war on terror. (Applause.)

119 I know that some people question if America is really in a war at all. They view terrorism
120 more as a crime, a problem to be solved mainly with law enforcement and indictments.
121 After the World Trade Center was first attacked in 1993, some of the guilty were indicted
122 and tried and convicted, and sent to prison. **But the matter was not settled.** The terrorists
123 were still training and plotting in other nations, and drawing up more ambitious plans. After
124 the chaos and carnage of September the 11th, it is not enough to serve our enemies with
125 legal papers. The terrorists and their supporters declared war on the United States, and **war**
126 **is what they got.** (Applause.)

127 Some in this chamber, and in our country, did not support the liberation of Iraq. **Objections**
128 **to war often come from principled motives.** But let us be candid **about the**
129 **consequences of leaving Saddam Hussein in power.** We're seeking all the facts. Already,
130 the Kay Report identified dozens of weapons of mass destruction-related program activities
131 and significant amounts of equipment that Iraq concealed from the United Nations. Had we
132 failed to act, the dictator's weapons of mass destruction programs would continue to this
133 day. Had we failed to act, **Security Council resolutions on Iraq would have been**
134 **revealed as empty threats,** weakening the United Nations and encouraging defiance by
135 dictators around the world. Iraq's torture chambers would still be filled with victims,
136 terrified and innocent. The killing fields of Iraq -- where hundreds of thousands of men and
137 women and children vanished into the sands -- would still be known only to the killers. For
138 all who love freedom and peace, the world without Saddam Hussein's regime is a better and
139 safer place. (Applause.)

140 Some critics have said our duties in Iraq must be internationalized. **This particular**
141 **criticism is hard to explain** to our partners in Britain, Australia, Japan, South Korea, the
142 Philippines, Thailand, Italy, Spain, Poland, Denmark, Hungary, Bulgaria, Ukraine,
143 Romania, the Netherlands -- (applause) -- Norway, El Salvador, and the 17 other countries
144 that have committed troops to Iraq. (Applause.) As we debate at home, **we must never**
145 **ignore the vital contributions of our international partners,** or dismiss their sacrifices.

146 **From the beginning, America has sought international support for our operations in**
147 **Afghanistan and Iraq,** and we have gained much support. **There is a difference,**
148 **however, between leading a coalition of many nations, and submitting to the**
149 **objections of a few.** America will never seek a permission slip to defend the security of our
150 country. (Applause.)

151 We also hear doubts that democracy is a realistic goal for the greater Middle East, where
152 freedom is rare. Yet it is mistaken, and condescending, to assume that whole cultures and
153 great religions are incompatible with liberty and self-government. **I believe that God has**
154 **planted in every human heart the desire to live in freedom. And even when that desire**
155 **is crushed by tyranny for decades, it will rise again.**(Applause.)

156 As long as the Middle East remains a place of tyranny and despair and anger, **it will**
157 **continue to produce men and movements that threaten the safety of America and our**
158 **friends. So America is pursuing a forward strategy of freedom in the greater Middle**
159 **East.** We will challenge the enemies of reform, confront the allies of terror, and **expect a**
160 **higher standard from our friend. To cut through the barriers of hateful propaganda,**
161 the Voice of America and other broadcast services are expanding their programming in
162 Arabic and Persian -- and soon, a new television service will begin providing reliable news
163 and information across the region. I will send you a proposal to double the budget of the
164 National Endowment for Democracy, and to focus its new work on the development of free
165 elections, and free markets, free press, and free labor unions in the Middle East. And above
166 all, we will finish the historic work of democracy in Afghanistan and Iraq, **so those nations**
167 **can light the way for others,** and help transform a troubled part of the world. (Applause.)

168 America is a nation with a mission, and **that mission comes from our most basic beliefs.**
169 We have no desire to dominate, no ambitions of empire. Our aim is a democratic peace -- a
170 **peace founded upon the dignity and rights of every man and woman.** America acts in
171 this cause with friends and allies at our side, yet we understand our special calling: This
172 great republic will lead the cause of freedom. (Applause.)

173 In the last three years, **adversity has also revealed the fundamental strengths of the**
174 **American economy. We have come through recession, and terrorist attack, and**
175 **corporate scandals, and the uncertainties of war. And because you acted to stimulate**
176 **our economy with tax relief, this economy is strong, and growing stronger.** (Applause.)

177 You have doubled the child tax credit from \$500 to \$1,000, reduced the marriage penalty,
178 begun to phase out the death tax, reduced taxes on capital gains and stock dividends, **cut**
179 **taxes on small businesses, and you have lowered taxes for every American who pays**
180 **income taxes.**

181 **Americans took those dollars and put them to work, driving this economy forward.**
182 **The pace of economic growth in the third quarter of 2003 was the fastest in nearly 20**
183 **years; new home construction, the highest in almost 20 years; home ownership rates,**
184 **the highest ever. Manufacturing activity is increasing. Inflation is low. Interest rates**
185 **are low. Exports are growing. Productivity is high, and jobs are on the rise.**
186 (Applause.)

187 These numbers confirm that the American people are using their money far better than
188 government would have -- and you were right to return it. (Applause.)

189 **America's growing economy is also a changing economy.** As technology transforms the
190 way almost every job is done, America becomes more productive, and workers need new

191 skills. **Much of our job growth will be found in high-skilled fields like health care and**
192 **biotechnology.** So we must respond by helping more Americans gain the skills to find
193 good jobs in our new economy.

194 All skills begin with the basics of reading and math, which are supposed to be learned in
195 the early grades of our schools. Yet for too long, for too many children, those skills were
196 never mastered. By passing the No Child Left Behind Act, you have made the expectation
197 of literacy the law of our country. We're providing more funding for our schools -- a 36-
198 percent increase since 2001. **We're requiring higher standards.** We are regularly testing
199 every child on the fundamentals. **We are reporting results to parents, and making sure**
200 **they have better options when schools are not performing. We are making progress**
201 **toward excellence for every child in America.** (Applause.)

202 **But the status quo always has defenders. Some want to undermine the No Child Left**
203 **Behind Act by weakening standards and accountability.** Yet the results we require are
204 really a matter of common sense: We expect third graders to read and do math at the third
205 grade level -- and that's not asking too much. **Testing is the only way to identify and help**
206 **students who are falling behind. This nation will not go back to the days of simply**
207 **shuffling children along from grade to grade without them learning the basics.** I refuse
208 to give up on any child -- and **the No Child Left Behind Act is opening the door of**
209 **opportunity to all of America's children.** (Applause.)

210 At the same time, we must ensure that older students and adults can gain the skills they
211 need to find work now. Many of the fastest growing occupations require strong math and
212 science preparation, and training beyond the high school level. So tonight, I propose a
213 series of measures called Jobs for the 21st Century. **This program will provide extra help**
214 **to middle and high school students who fall behind in reading and math,** expand
215 advanced placement programs in low-income schools, invite math and science
216 professionals from the private sector to teach part-time in our high schools. I propose larger
217 Pell grants for students who prepare for college with demanding courses in high school.
218 (Applause.) **I propose increasing our support for America's fine community colleges,**
219 so they can -- (applause.) I do so, so they can train workers for industries that are creating
220 the most new jobs. By all these actions, **we'll help more and more Americans to join in**
221 **the growing prosperity of our country.** Job training is important, and so is job creation.

222 **We must continue to pursue an aggressive, pro-growth economic agenda.** (Applause.)
223 **Congress has some unfinished business on the issue of taxes.** The tax reductions you
224 passed are set to expire. Unless you act -- (applause) -- unless you act -- **unless you act, the**
225 **unfair tax on marriage will go back up.** Unless you act, millions of families will be
226 charged \$300 more in federal taxes for every child. Unless you act, small businesses will
227 pay higher taxes. **Unless you act, the death tax will eventually come back to life. Unless**
228 **you act, Americans face a tax increase.** What Congress has given, the Congress should
229 not take away. **For the sake of job growth,** the tax cuts you passed should be permanent.
230 (Applause.)

231 **Our agenda for jobs and growth must help small business owners and employees with**
232 **relief from needless federal regulation, and protect them from junk and frivolous**
233 **lawsuits.** (Applause.)

234 **Consumers and businesses need reliable supplies of energy to make our economy run -**
235 **- so I urge you to pass legislation to modernize our electricity system, promote**
236 **conservation, and make America less dependent on foreign sources of energy.** (Applause.)

237 My administration is promoting free and fair trade to open up new markets for America's
238 entrepreneurs and manufacturers and farmers -- to create jobs for American workers.
239 **Younger workers should have the opportunity to build a nest egg by saving part of**
240 **their Social Security taxes** in a personal retirement account. (Applause.) We should make
241 the Social Security system a source of ownership for the American people. (Applause.) And
242 we should limit the burden of government on this economy by acting as good stewards of
243 taxpayers' dollars. (Applause.)

244 In two weeks, I will send you a budget that funds the war, protects the homeland, and meets
245 important domestic needs, **while limiting the growth in discretionary spending to less**
246 **than 4 percent.** (Applause.) This will require that Congress focus on priorities, cut
247 wasteful spending, and be wise with the people's money. By doing so, we can cut the deficit
248 in half over the next five years. (Applause.)

249 Tonight, I also ask you to reform our immigration laws so they reflect our values and
250 benefit our economy. I propose a new temporary worker program to match willing foreign
251 workers with willing employers when no Americans can be found to fill the job. This
252 reform will be good for our economy because **employers will find needed workers in an**
253 **honest and orderly system.** A temporary worker program will help protect our homeland,
254 allowing Border Patrol and law enforcement to focus on true threats to our national
255 security.

256 **I oppose amnesty, because it would encourage further illegal immigration, and**
257 **unfairly reward those who break our laws. My temporary worker program will**
258 **preserve the citizenship path for those who respect the law, while bringing millions of**
259 **hardworking men and women out from the shadows of American life.** (Applause.)

260 Our nation's health care system, like our economy, is also in a time of change. Amazing
261 medical technologies are improving and saving lives. **This dramatic progress has**
262 **brought its own challenge, in the rising costs of medical care and health insurance.**
263 Members of Congress, **we must work together to help control those costs** and extend the
264 benefits of modern medicine throughout our country. (Applause.)

265 **Meeting these goals requires bipartisan effort, and two months ago, you showed the**
266 **way. By strengthening Medicare and adding a prescription drug benefit, you kept a**
267 **basic commitment to our seniors:** You are giving them the modern medicine they
268 deserve. (Applause.)

269 Starting this year, **under the law you passed**, seniors can choose to receive a drug discount
270 card, saving them 10 to 25 percent off the retail price of most prescription drugs -- and
271 millions of low-income seniors can get an additional \$600 to buy medicine. Beginning next
272 year, seniors **will have new coverage for preventive screenings against diabetes and**
273 **heart disease**, and seniors just entering Medicare can receive wellness exams.

274 In January of 2006, **seniors can get prescription drug coverage under Medicare**. For a
275 monthly premium of about \$35, **most seniors who do not have that coverage today can**
276 **expect to see their drug bills cut roughly in half**. **Under this reform**, senior citizens will
277 be able to keep their Medicare just as it is, or **they can choose a Medicare plan that fits**
278 **them best** -- just as you, as members of Congress, can choose an insurance plan that meets
279 your needs. And starting this year, millions of Americans will be able to save money tax-
280 free for their medical expenses in a health savings account. (Applause.)

281 I signed this measure proudly, and any attempt to limit the choices of our seniors, or **to**
282 **take away their prescription drug coverage under Medicare, will meet my veto**.
283 (Applause.)

284 On the critical issue of health care, **our goal is to ensure that Americans can choose and**
285 **afford private health care coverage that best fits their individual needs**. To make
286 insurance more affordable, **Congress must act to address rapidly rising health care**
287 **costs. Small businesses should be able to band together** and negotiate for lower
288 insurance rates, so they can cover more workers with health insurance. I urge you to pass
289 association health plans. (Applause.) I ask you to give lower-income Americans a
290 refundable tax credit that would allow millions to buy their own basic health insurance.
291 (Applause.)

292 By computerizing health records, we can avoid dangerous medical mistakes, reduce costs,
293 and improve care. To protect the doctor-patient relationship, and keep good doctors doing
294 good work, we must eliminate wasteful and frivolous medical lawsuits. (Applause.) And
295 tonight I propose that individuals who buy catastrophic health care coverage, as part of our
296 new health savings accounts, be allowed to deduct 100 percent of the premiums from their
297 taxes. (Applause.)

298 **A government-run health care system is the wrong prescription**. (Applause.) **By**
299 **keeping costs under control, expanding access, and helping more Americans afford**
300 **coverage**, we will preserve the system of private medicine that makes America's health
301 care the best in the world. (Applause.)

302 **We are living in a time of great change** -- in our world, in our economy, in science and
303 medicine. Yet some things endure -- courage and compassion, reverence and integrity,
304 respect for differences of faith and race. The values we try to live by never change. And
305 they are instilled in us by fundamental institutions, such as families and schools and
306 religious congregations. **These institutions, these unseen pillars of civilization, must**
307 **remain strong in America, and we will defend them**. We must stand with our families to
308 help them raise healthy, responsible children. When it comes to helping children make right
309 choices, there is work for all of us to do.

310 **One of the worst decisions our children can make is to gamble their lives and futures**
 311 **on drugs. Our government is helping parents confront this problem with aggressive**
 312 **education, treatment, and law enforcement.** Drug use in high school has declined by 11
 313 percent over the last two years. Four hundred thousand fewer young people are using illegal
 314 drugs than in the year 2001. (Applause.) In my budget, **I proposed new funding to**
 315 **continue our aggressive, community-based strategy to reduce demand for illegal**
 316 **drugs.** Drug testing in our schools has proven to be an effective part of this effort. So
 317 tonight I proposed an additional \$23 million for schools that want to use drug testing as a
 318 tool to save children's lives. The aim here is not to punish children, but to send them this
 319 message: We love you, and we don't want to lose you. (Applause.)

320 To help children make right choices, they need good examples. **Athletics play such an**
 321 **important role in our society,** but, unfortunately, some in professional sports are not
 322 setting much of an example. The use of performance-enhancing drugs like steroids in
 323 baseball, football, and other sports is dangerous, and it sends the wrong message -- **that**
 324 **there are shortcuts to accomplishment,** and **that performance is more important than**
 325 **character.** So tonight I call on team owners, union representatives, coaches, and players to
 326 take the lead, to send the right signal, to get tough, and to get rid of steroids now.
 327 (Applause.)

328 To encourage right choices, **we must be willing to confront the dangers young people**
 329 **face** -- even when they're difficult to talk about. Each year, about 3 million teenagers
 330 contract sexually-transmitted diseases that can harm them, or kill them, or prevent them
 331 from ever becoming parents. In my budget, **I propose a grassroots campaign** to help
 332 inform families about these medical risks. We will double federal funding for abstinence
 333 programs, so schools can teach this fact of life: Abstinence for young people is the only
 334 certain way to avoid sexually-transmitted diseases. (Applause.)
 335 Decisions children now make can affect their health and character for the rest of their lives.
 336 All of us -- parents and schools and government -- must work together to counter the
 337 negative influence of the culture, and to send the right messages to our children.

338 **A strong America must also value the institution of marriage.** I believe we should
 339 respect individuals as we take a principled stand for one of the most fundamental, enduring
 340 institutions of our civilization. Congress has already taken a stand on this issue by passing
 341 the Defense of Marriage Act, signed in 1996 by President Clinton. **That statute protects**
 342 **marriage under federal law as a union of a man and a woman,** and declares that one
 343 state may not redefine marriage for other states.

344 Activist judges, however, have begun redefining marriage by court order, without regard
 345 for the will of the people and their elected representatives. On an issue of such great
 346 consequence, the people's voice must be heard. If judges insist on forcing their arbitrary
 347 will upon the people, the only alternative left to the people would be the constitutional
 348 process. **Our nation must defend the sanctity of marriage.** (Applause.)

349 The outcome of this debate is important -- and so is the way we conduct it. The same moral
 350 tradition that defines marriage also teaches that each individual has dignity and value in
 351 God's sight. (Applause.)

352 **It's also important to strengthen our communities by unleashing the compassion of**
353 **America's religious institutions.** Religious charities of every creed are doing some of the
354 most vital work in our country -- mentoring children, feeding the hungry, taking the hand of
355 the lonely. Yet government has often denied social service grants and contracts to these
356 groups, just because they have a cross or a Star of David or a crescent on the wall. By
357 executive order, I have opened billions of dollars in grant money to competition that
358 includes faith-based charities. Tonight I ask you to codify this into law, so people of faith
359 can know that the law will never discriminate against them again. (Applause.)

360 In the past, we've worked together to bring mentors to children of prisoners, and provide
361 treatment for the addicted, and help for the homeless. Tonight I ask you to consider another
362 group of Americans in need of help. **This year, some 600,000 inmates will be released**
363 **from prison back into society.** We know from long experience that if they can't find work,
364 or a home, or help, they are much more likely to commit crime and return to prison. So
365 tonight, I propose a four-year, \$300 million prisoner re-entry initiative to expand job
366 training and placement services, to provide transitional housing, and to help newly released
367 prisoners get mentoring, including from faith-based groups. (Applause.) America is the
368 land of second chance, and **when the gates of the prison open, the path ahead should**
369 **lead to a better life.** (Applause.)

370 For all Americans, the last three years have brought tests we did not ask for, and
371 achievements shared by all. By our actions, we have shown what kind of nation we are. **In**
372 **grief, we have found the grace to go on.** In challenge, we rediscovered the courage and
373 daring of a free people. In victory, we have shown the noble aims and good heart of
374 America. **And having come this far, we sense that we live in a time set apart.**
375 I've been witness to the character of the people of America, who have shown calm in times
376 of danger, compassion for one another, and toughness for the long haul. **All of us have**
377 **been partners in a great enterprise. And even some of the youngest understand that**
378 **we are living in historic times.** Last month a girl in Lincoln, Rhode Island, sent me a
379 letter. It began, "Dear George W. Bush. If there's anything you know, I, Ashley Pearson,
380 age 10, can do to help anyone, please send me a letter and tell me what I can do to save our
381 country." She added this P.S.: "If you can send a letter to the troops, please put, 'Ashley
382 Pearson believes in you.'" (Applause.)

383 Tonight, Ashley, your message to our troops has just been conveyed. And, yes, you have
384 some duties yourself. Study hard in school, listen to your mom or dad, help someone in
385 need, and when you and your friends see a man or woman in uniform, say, "thank you."
386 (Applause.) And, Ashley, while you do your part, all of us here in this great chamber will
387 do our best to keep you and the rest of America safe and free. (Applause.)
388 **My fellow citizens, we now move forward,** with confidence and faith. Our nation is strong
389 and steadfast. The cause we serve is right, because it is the cause of all mankind. **The**
390 **momentum of freedom in our world is unmistakable -- and it is not carried forward**
391 **by our power alone. We can trust in that greater power who guides the unfolding of**
392 **the years.** And in all that is to come, we can know that His purposes are just and true.
393 May God continue to bless America.(Applause.)

Barack Obama
Inaugural Address
Washington, DC
January 20, 2009

1 **I stand here today humbled by the task before us**, grateful for the trust you have
2 bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors. I thank President Bush for his
3 service to our nation, as well as **the generosity and cooperation he has shown**
4 **throughout this transition.**

5
6 **Forty-four Americans have now taken the presidential oath.** The words have been
7 spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. Yet, every so
8 often the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms. At these moments,
9 **America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office,**
10 but because We the People have remained faithful to the ideals of our forbearers, and true
11 to our founding documents.

12
13 So it has been. So it must be with this generation of Americans.

14
15 That **we are in the midst of crisis** is now well understood. Our nation is at war, against a
16 far-reaching network of violence and hatred. **Our economy is badly weakened**, a
17 consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective
18 failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age. Homes have been lost;
19 jobs shed; businesses shuttered. Our health care is too costly; our schools fail too many;
20 and **each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our**
21 **adversaries and threaten our planet.**

22
23 These are the indicators of crisis, subject to data and statistics. **Less measurable but no**
24 **less profound is a sapping of confidence across our land - a nagging fear that**
25 **America's decline is inevitable, and that the next generation must lower its sights.**

26
27 Today I say to you that **the challenges we face are real.** They are serious and they are
28 many. They will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But know this, America - they
29 will be met.

30
31 On this day, we gather because we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over
32 conflict and discord.

33
34 On this day, we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the
35 **recriminations and worn out dogmas, that for far too long have strangled our politics.**

36
37 We remain a young nation, but in the words of Scripture, **the time has come to set aside**
38 **childish things.** The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit; to choose our better
39 history; **to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea, passed on from generation**
40 **to generation:** the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and **all deserve a**

41 **chance to pursue their full measure of happiness.**

42

43 In reaffirming the greatness of our nation, we understand that greatness is never a given. It
44 must be earned. **Our journey has never been one of short-cuts or settling for less. It has**
45 **not been the path for the faint-hearted** - for those who prefer leisure over work, or seek
46 only the pleasures of riches and fame. Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the
47 makers of things - some celebrated but more often **men and women obscure in their**
48 **labor, who have carried us up the long, rugged path towards prosperity and freedom.**

49

50 For us, they packed up their few worldly possessions and traveled across oceans in search
51 of a new life.

52

53 For us, they toiled in sweatshops and settled the West; endured the lash of the whip and
54 plowed the hard earth.

55

56 For us, they fought and died, in places like Concord and Gettysburg; Normandy and
57 KheSahn.

58

59 Time and again these men and women struggled and sacrificed and worked till their hands
60 were raw so that we might live a better life. **They saw America as bigger than the sum of**
61 **our individual ambitions;** greater than all the differences of birth or wealth or faction.

62

63 **This is the journey we continue today.** We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation
64 on Earth. **Our workers are no less productive than when this crisis began.** Our minds
65 are no less inventive, our goods and services no less needed than they were last week or last
66 month or last year. Our capacity remains undiminished. But our time of standing pat, of
67 protecting narrow interests and putting off unpleasant decisions - that time has surely
68 passed. Starting today, **we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again**
69 **the work of remaking America.**

70

71 For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. The state of the economy calls for
72 action, bold and swift, and we will act - **not only to create new jobs, but to lay a new**
73 **foundation for growth. We will build the roads and bridges, the electric grids and**
74 **digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together.** We will restore science to its
75 rightful place, and wield technology's wonders to raise health care's quality and lower its
76 cost. **We will harness the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our**
77 **factories.** And we will transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the
78 demands of a new age. All this we can do. And all this we will do.

79

80 Now, there are some who question the scale of our ambitions - who suggest that our system
81 cannot tolerate too many big plans. Their memories are short. For they have forgotten what
82 this country has already done; what free men and women can achieve when imagination is
83 joined to common purpose, and necessity to courage.

84

85 What the cynics fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them - **that the**
86 **stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long no longer apply.** **The**
87 **question we ask today is not whether our government is too big or too small, but**

88 **whether it works** - whether it helps families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can
89 afford, a retirement that is dignified. **Where the answer is yes, we intend to move**
90 **forward. Where the answer is no, programs will end.** And those of us who manage the
91 public's dollars will be held to account - to spend wisely, reform bad habits, and **do our**
92 **business in the light of day** - because **only then can we restore the vital trust between a**
93 **people and their government.**

94 **Nor is the question before us whether the market is a force for good or ill. Its power to**
95 **generate wealth and expand freedom is unmatched,** but this crisis has reminded us that
96 without a watchful eye, **the market can spin out of control** - and that a nation cannot
97 prosper long when it favors only the prosperous. The success of our economy has always
98 depended not just on the size of our Gross Domestic Product, but on the reach of our
99 prosperity; on the ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart - not out of charity,
100 but **because it is the surest route to our common good.**

101
102 As for our common defense, we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals.
103 Our Founding Fathers, faced with perils we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to
104 assure the rule of law and the rights of man, a charter expanded by the blood of generations.
105 **Those ideals still light the world,** and we will not give them up for expedience's sake. And
106 so to all other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals
107 to the small village where my father was born: know that America is a friend of each nation
108 and every man, woman, and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity, and **we are**
109 **ready to lead once more.**

110
111 Recall that earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles
112 and tanks, but with the sturdy alliances and enduring convictions. They understood that our
113 power alone cannot protect us, nor does it entitle us to do as we please. Instead, they knew
114 that **our power grows through its prudent use; our security emanates from the justness**
115 **of our cause,** the force of our example, the tempering qualities of humility and restraint.

116
117 We are the keepers of this legacy. **Guided by these principles once more, we can meet**
118 **those new threats that demand even greater effort** - even greater cooperation and
119 understanding between nations. We will begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people, and
120 **forge a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan.** With old friends and former foes, we'll work
121 tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat, and **roll back the specter of a warming planet.** We
122 will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense, and for those who
123 seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you
124 now that **our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken;** you cannot outlast us, and we will
125 defeat you.

126
127 For we know that our patchwork heritage is a strength, not a weakness. We are a nation of
128 Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus - and non-believers. **We are shaped by every**
129 **language and culture,** drawn from every end of this Earth; and because **we have tasted**
130 **the bitter swill of civil war and segregation, and emerged from that dark chapter**
131 **stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall**
132 **someday pass;** that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve; **that as the world grows smaller,**
133 our common humanity shall reveal itself; and that **America must play its role in ushering**
134 **in a new era of peace.**

135
 136 To the Muslim world, **we seek a new way forward**, based on mutual interest and mutual
 137 respect. To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict, or **blame their**
 138 **society's ills on the West** - know that your people will judge you on what you can build,
 139 not what you destroy. **To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit** and
 140 the silencing of dissent, know that **you are on the wrong side of history**; but that we will
 141 extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist.

142
 143 To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms
 144 flourish and let clean waters flow; to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds. And to
 145 those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say **we can no longer afford**
 146 **indifference to the suffering outside our borders**; nor can we consume the world's
 147 resources without regard to effect. For the world has changed, and we must change with it.

148
 149 **As we consider the road that unfolds before us**, we remember with humble gratitude
 150 those brave Americans who, at this very hour, patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains.
 151 They have something to tell us, just as **the fallen heroes who lie in Arlington whisper**
 152 **through the ages**. We honor them not only because they are guardians of our liberty, but
 153 because they embody the spirit of service; a willingness to find meaning in something
 154 greater than themselves. And yet, at this moment - a moment that will define a generation -
 155 **it is precisely this spirit that must inhabit us all.**

156
 157 For as much as government can do and must do, **it is ultimately the faith and**
 158 **determination of the American people upon which this nation relies**. It is the kindness
 159 to take in a stranger when the levees break, **the selflessness of workers who would rather**
 160 **cut their hours than see a friend lose their job which sees us through our darkest**
 161 **hours**. It is the firefighter's courage to storm a stairway filled with smoke, but also a
 162 parent's willingness to nurture a child, that finally decides our fate.

163
 164 Our challenges may be new. The instruments with which we meet them may be new. But
 165 **those values upon which our success depends - honesty and hard work, courage and**
 166 **fair play**, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism - these things are old. These things
 167 are true. **They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history**. What is
 168 demanded then is a return to these truths. What is required of us now is a new era of
 169 responsibility - a recognition, on the part of every American, that we have duties to
 170 ourselves, our nation, and the world, **duties that we do not grudgingly accept but rather**
 171 **seize gladly**, firm in the knowledge that there is nothing so satisfying to the spirit, so
 172 defining of our character, than giving our all to a difficult task.

173
 174 **This is the price and the promise of citizenship.**

175
 176 This is the source of our confidence - **the knowledge that God calls on us to shape an**
 177 **uncertain destiny.**

178
 179 This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed - why **men and women and children of**
 180 **every race and every faith can join in celebration across this magnificent mall**, and
 181 why a man whose father less than sixty years ago might not have been served at a local

182 restaurant can now stand before you **to take a most sacred oath.**

183

184 **So let us mark this day** with remembrance, of **who we are and how far we have**
185 **traveled.** In the year of America's birth, in the coldest of months, a small band of patriots
186 huddled by dying campfires on the shores of an icy river. The capital was abandoned. The
187 enemy was advancing. The snow was stained with blood. At a moment when the outcome
188 of our revolution was most in doubt, the father of our nation ordered these words be read to
189 the people:

190 "Let it be told to the future world...that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and
191 virtue could survive...that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came
192 forth to meet [it]."

193

194 America. In the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us
195 remember these timeless words. With hope and virtue, **let us brave once more the icy**
196 **currents, and endure what storms may come.** Let it be said by our children's children
197 that **when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back**
198 **nor did we falter;** and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, **we carried**
199 **forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.**

200

201 Thank you. God bless you and God bless the United States of America.

Barack Obama
State of the Union Address
Washington, DC
January 20, 2010

1 Madam Speaker, Vice President Biden, members of Congress, distinguished guests, and
2 fellow Americans:

3 Our Constitution declares that from time to time, the President shall give to Congress
4 information about the state of our union. For 220 years, our leaders have fulfilled this duty.
5 They've done so during periods of prosperity and tranquility. **And they've done so in the**
6 **midst of war and depression**; at moments of great strife and great struggle.

7 It's tempting to look back on these moments and assume that our progress was inevitable —
8 that America was always destined to succeed. But when the Union was turned back at Bull
9 Run, and the Allies first landed at Omaha Beach, victory was very much in doubt. **When**
10 **the market crashed on Black Tuesday**, and civil rights marchers were beaten on Bloody
11 Sunday, the future was anything but certain. **These were the times that tested the**
12 **courage of our convictions, and the strength of our union**. And despite all our divisions
13 and disagreements, our hesitations and our fears, **America prevailed because we chose to**
14 **move forward as one nation**, as one people.

15 **Again, we are tested**. And again, we must answer history's call.

16 One year ago, **I took office amid two wars, an economy rocked by a severe recession, a**
17 **financial system on the verge of collapse, and a government deeply in debt**. **Experts**
18 **from across the political spectrum warned that if we did not act, we might face a**
19 **second depression**. So we acted — immediately and aggressively. And one year later, **the**
20 **worst of the storm has passed**.

21 But the devastation remains. One in 10 Americans still cannot find work. Many businesses
22 have shuttered. **Home values have declined**. **Small towns and rural communities have**
23 **been hit especially hard**. And for those who'd already known poverty, **life has become**
24 **that much harder**.

25 This recession has also compounded the burdens that America's families have been dealing
26 with for decades — the burden of working harder and longer for less; of being unable to
27 save enough to retire or help kids with college.

28 So I know the anxieties that are out there right now. They're not new. **These struggles are**
29 **the reason I ran for President**. These struggles are what I've witnessed for years in places
30 like Elkhart, Indiana; Galesburg, Illinois. I hear about them in the letters that I read each
31 night. The toughest to read are those written by children — asking why they have to move
32 from their home, asking when their mom or dad will be able to go back to work.

33 For these Americans and so many others, **change has not come fast enough**. Some are
34 frustrated; some are angry. They don't understand why it seems like bad behavior on Wall
35 Street is rewarded, but hard work on Main Street isn't; or why Washington has been unable
36 or unwilling to solve any of our problems. They're tired of the partisanship and the
37 shouting and the pettiness. **They know we can't afford it**. Not now.

38 So **we face big and difficult challenges**. And what the American people hope — what
39 they deserve — is for all of us, Democrats and Republicans, to **work through our**
40 **differences; to overcome the numbing weight of our politics**. For while the people who
41 sent us here have different backgrounds, different stories, different beliefs, **the anxieties**
42 **they face are the same**. The aspirations they hold are shared: a job that pays the bills; **a**
43 **chance to get ahead**; most of all, the ability to give their children a better life.

44 You know what else they share? They share a stubborn resilience in the face of adversity.
45 After one of the most difficult years in our history, they remain busy building cars and
46 teaching kids, starting businesses and going back to school. They're coaching Little League
47 and helping their neighbors. One woman wrote to me and said, "We are strained but
48 hopeful, struggling but encouraged."

49 It's because of this spirit — this great decency and great strength — that I have never been
50 more hopeful about America's future than I am tonight. (Applause.) Despite our hardships,
51 our union is strong. **We do not give up. We do not quit. We do not allow fear or**
52 **division to break our spirit**. In this new decade, it's time the American people get a
53 government that matches their decency; that embodies their strength. (Applause.)
54 And tonight, tonight **I'd like to talk about how together we can deliver on that**
55 **promise**.
56 It begins with our economy.

57 Our most urgent task upon taking office was to shore up the same banks that helped cause
58 this crisis. It was not easy to do. And if there's one thing that has unified Democrats and
59 Republicans, and everybody in between, it's that we all hated the bank bailout. I hated it --
60 (applause.) I hated it. You hated it. It was about as popular as a root canal. (Laughter.)

61 **But when I ran for President, I promised I wouldn't just do what was popular** — I
62 would do what was necessary. And **if we had allowed the meltdown of the financial**
63 **system**, unemployment might be double what it is today. More businesses would certainly
64 have closed. More homes would have surely been lost.

65 So I supported the last administration's efforts to create the financial rescue program. And
66 **when we took that program over, we made it more transparent** and more accountable.
67 And as a result, **the markets are now stabilized, and we've recovered most of the money**
68 we spent on the banks. (Applause.) Most but not all.

69 **To recover the rest**, I've proposed a fee on the biggest banks. (Applause.) Now, I know
70 Wall Street isn't keen on this idea. But if these firms can afford to hand out big bonuses

71 again, **they can afford a modest fee to pay back the taxpayers who rescued them in**
72 **their time of need.** (Applause.)

73 Now, **as we stabilized the financial system, we also took steps to get our economy**
74 **growing again**, save as many jobs as possible, and help Americans who had become
75 unemployed.

76 That's why we extended or increased unemployment benefits for more than 18 million
77 Americans; made health insurance 65 percent cheaper for families who get their coverage
78 through COBRA; and passed 25 different tax cuts.

79 Now, let me repeat: **We cut taxes. We cut taxes for 95 percent of working families.**
80 (Applause.) **We cut taxes for small businesses. We cut taxes for first-time**
81 **homebuyers. We cut taxes for parents trying to care for their children. We cut taxes**
82 **for 8 million Americans paying for college.** (Applause.)

83 I thought I'd get some applause on that one. (Laughter and applause.)

84 As a result, millions of Americans had more to spend on gas and food and other necessities,
85 all of which helped businesses keep more workers. **And we haven't raised income taxes**
86 **by a single dime on a single person.** Not a single dime. (Applause.)

87 **Because of the steps we took**, there are about two million Americans working right now
88 who would otherwise be unemployed. (Applause.) Two hundred thousand work in
89 construction and clean energy; 300,000 are teachers and other education workers. Tens of
90 thousands are cops, firefighters, correctional officers, first responders. (Applause.) And
91 **we're on track to add another one and a half million jobs to this total by the end of the**
92 **year.**

93 The plan that has made all of this possible, **from the tax cuts to the jobs**, is the Recovery
94 Act. (Applause.) That's right — the Recovery Act, also known as the stimulus bill.
95 (Applause.) Economists on the left and the right say this bill has helped save jobs and avert
96 disaster. But you don't have to take their word for it. Talk to the small business in Phoenix
97 that will triple its workforce because of the Recovery Act. Talk to the window
98 manufacturer in Philadelphia who said he used to be skeptical about the Recovery Act, until
99 he had to add two more work shifts just because of the business it created. Talk to the
100 single teacher raising two kids who was told by her principal in the last week of school that
101 because of the Recovery Act, she wouldn't be laid off after all.

102 There are stories like this all across America. And after two years of recession, **the**
103 **economy is growing again.** Retirement funds have started to gain back some of their
104 value. Businesses are beginning to invest again, and slowly some are starting to hire
105 again.

106 But I realize that for every success story, there are other stories, of men and women who
107 wake up with the anguish of not knowing where their next paycheck will come from; who

108 send out resumes week after week and hear nothing in response. That is why jobs must be
109 our number-one focus in 2010, and that's why I'm calling for a new jobs bill tonight.
110 (Applause.)

111 Now, **the true engine of job creation in this country will always be America's**
112 **businesses.** (Applause.) But government can create the conditions necessary for
113 businesses to expand and hire more workers.

114 We should start where most new jobs do -- in small businesses, companies that begin when
115 -- (applause) -- companies that begin when an entrepreneur -- when an entrepreneur takes a
116 chance on a dream, or a worker decides it's time she became her own boss. Through sheer
117 grit and determination, **these companies have weathered the recession and they're ready**
118 **to grow.** But when you talk to small businessowners in places like Allentown,
119 Pennsylvania, or Elyria, Ohio, you find out that even though banks on Wall Street are
120 lending again, they're mostly lending to bigger companies. Financing remains difficult for
121 small businessowners across the country, even those that are making a profit.

122 So tonight, I'm proposing that we take \$30 billion of the money Wall Street banks have
123 repaid and use it **to help community banks give small businesses the credit they need to**
124 **stay afloat.**(Applause.) I'm also proposing a new small business tax credit
125 — one that will go to over one million small businesses who hire new workers or raise
126 wages. (Applause.) While we're at it, let's also eliminate all capital gains taxes on small
127 business investment, and provide a tax incentive for all large businesses and all small
128 businesses to invest in new plants and equipment. (Applause.)
129 Next, we can put Americans to work today building the infrastructure of tomorrow.
130 (Applause.) From the first railroads to the Interstate Highway System, our nation has
131 always been built to compete. There's no reason Europe or China should have the fastest
132 trains, or the new factories that manufacture clean energy products.

133 Tomorrow, I'll visit Tampa, Florida, where workers will soon break ground on a new high-
134 speed railroad funded by the Recovery Act. (Applause.) There are projects like that all
135 across this country that will create jobs and help move our nation's goods, services, and
136 information. (Applause.)

137 We should put more Americans to work building clean energy facilities -- (applause) -- and
138 give rebates to Americans who make their homes more energy-efficient, **which supports**
139 **clean energy jobs.** (Applause.) And to encourage these and other businesses to stay
140 within our borders, **it is time to finally slash the tax breaks for companies that ship our**
141 **jobs overseas,** and give those tax breaks to companies that create jobs right here in the
142 United States of America. (Applause.)

143 Now, the House has passed a jobs bill that includes some of these steps. (Applause.) As
144 the first order of business this year, I urge the Senate to do the same, and I know they will.
145 (Applause.) They will. (Applause.) **People are out of work. They're hurting.** They
146 need our help. And I want a jobs bill on my desk without delay. (Applause.)

147 But the truth is, these steps won't make up for the seven million jobs that we've lost over
148 the last two years. **The only way to move to full employment is to lay a new foundation**
149 **for long-term economic growth, and finally address the problems that America's**
150 **families have confronted for years.**

151 We can't afford another so-called economic "expansion" like the one from the last decade –
152 - what some call the "lost decade" — **where jobs grew more slowly than during any**
153 **prior expansion**; where the income of the average American household declined while the
154 cost of health care and tuition reached record highs; **where prosperity was built on a**
155 **housing bubble and financial speculation.**

156 From the day I took office, I've been told that addressing our larger challenges is too
157 ambitious; such an effort would be too contentious. I've been told that our political system
158 is too gridlocked, and that we should just put things on hold for a while.

159 For those who make these claims, I have one simple question: How long should we wait?
160 How long should America put its future on hold? (Applause.)

161 You see, **Washington has been telling us to wait for decades, even as the problems**
162 **have grown worse.** Meanwhile, China is not waiting to revamp its economy. Germany is
163 not waiting. India is not waiting. These nations -- they're not standing still. **These nations**
164 **aren't playing for second place.** They're putting more emphasis on math and science.
165 They're rebuilding their infrastructure. **They're making serious investments in clean**
166 **energy** because they want those jobs. Well, **I do not accept second place for the United**
167 **States of America.** (Applause.)

168 As hard as it may be, as uncomfortable and contentious as the debates may become, **it's**
169 **time to get serious about fixing the problems that are hampering our growth.**

170 Now, one place to start is serious financial reform. Look, I am not interested in punishing
171 banks. **I'm interested in protecting our economy. A strong, healthy financial market**
172 **makes it possible for businesses to access credit and create new jobs. It channels the**
173 **savings of families into investments that raise incomes.** But **that can only happen if we**
174 **guard against the same recklessness that nearly brought down our entire economy.**

175 We need to make sure consumers and middle-class families have the information they need
176 to make financial decisions. (Applause.) **We can't allow financial institutions, including**
177 **those that take your deposits, to take risks that threaten the whole economy.**

178 Now, the House has already passed financial reform with many of these changes.
179 (Applause.) And **the lobbyists are trying to kill it.** But **we cannot let them win this**
180 **fight.** (Applause.) And if the bill that ends up on my desk does not meet the test of real
181 reform, I will send it back until we get it right. We've got to get it right. (Applause.)

182 Next, we need to encourage American innovation. Last year, we made the largest
183 investment in basic research funding in history — (applause) -- an investment that could

184 lead to the world's cheapest solar cells or treatment that kills cancer cells but leaves healthy
185 ones untouched. And no area is more ripe for such innovation than energy. **You can see**
186 **the results of last year's investments in clean energy** — in the North Carolina company
187 that will create 1,200 jobs nationwide helping to make advanced batteries; or in the
188 California business that will put a thousand people to work making solar panels.

189 **But to create more of these clean energy jobs**, we need more production, more efficiency,
190 more incentives. And that means building a new generation of safe, clean nuclear power
191 plants in this country. (Applause.) It means making tough decisions about opening new
192 offshore areas for oil and gas development. (Applause.) **It means continued investment**
193 **in advanced biofuels and clean coal technologies.** (Applause.) And, yes, it means
194 **passing a comprehensive energy and climate bill with incentives that will finally make**
195 **clean energy** the profitable kind of energy in America. (Applause.)

196 I am grateful to the House for passing such a bill last year. (Applause.) **And this year I'm**
197 **eager to help advance the bipartisan effort in the Senate.** (Applause.)

198 I know there have been questions about whether we can afford such changes in a tough
199 economy. I know that there are those who disagree with the overwhelming scientific
200 evidence on climate change. But here's the thing -- even if you doubt the evidence,
201 **providing incentives for energy-efficiency and clean energy are the right thing to do**
202 for our future — because **the nation that leads the clean energy economy will be the**
203 **nation that leads the global economy.** And America must be that nation. (Applause.)

204 Third, we need to export more of our goods. (Applause.) Because the more products we
205 make and sell to other countries, the more jobs we support right here in America.
206 (Applause.) **So tonight, we set a new goal: We will double our exports over the next**
207 **five years, an increase that will support two million jobs in America.** (Applause.) **To**
208 **help meet this goal**, we're launching a **National Export Initiative that will help farmers**
209 **and small businesses increase their exports**, and reform export controls consistent with
210 national security. (Applause.)

211 **We have to seek new markets aggressively**, just as our competitors are. **If America sits**
212 **on the sidelines while other nations sign trade deals, we will lose the chance to create**
213 **jobs** on our shores. (Applause.) **But realizing those benefits also means enforcing those**
214 **agreements so our trading partners play by the rules.** (Applause.) And that's why **we'll**
215 **continue to shape a Doha trade agreement that opens global markets**, and why **we will**
216 **strengthen our trade relations** in Asia and with key partners like South Korea and
217 Panama and Colombia. (Applause.)

218 Fourth, we need to invest in the skills and education of our people. (Applause.)

219 Now, this year, **we've broken through the stalemate between left and right** by launching
220 a national competition to improve our schools. And the idea here is simple: Instead of
221 rewarding failure, **we only reward success.** Instead of funding the status quo, **we only**
222 **invest in reform -- reform that raises student achievement;** inspires students to excel in

223 math and science; **and turns around failing schools that steal the future of too many**
224 **young Americans**, from rural communities to the inner city. In the 21st century, the best
225 anti-poverty program around is a world-class education. (Applause.) And in this country,
226 the success of our children cannot depend more on where they live than on their potential.

227 When we renew the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, we will work with Congress
228 to expand these reforms to all 50 states. Still, in this economy, a high school diploma no
229 longer guarantees a good job. That's why **I urge the Senate to follow the House and pass**
230 **a bill that will revitalize our community colleges, which are a career pathway to the**
231 **children of so many working families.** (Applause.)

232 To make college more affordable, this bill will finally end the unwarranted taxpayer
233 subsidies that go to banks for student loans. (Applause.) Instead, let's take that money and
234 give families a \$10,000 tax credit for four years of college and increase Pell Grants.
235 (Applause.) And let's tell another one million students that when they graduate, they will
236 be required to pay only 10 percent of their income on student loans, and **all of their debt**
237 **will be forgiven after 20 years — and forgiven after 10 years if they choose a career in**
238 **public service**, because **in the United States of America, no one should go broke**
239 **because they chose to go to college.** (Applause.)

240 And by the way, **it's time for colleges and universities to get serious about cutting their**
241 **own costs** — (applause) -- because they, too, have a responsibility to help solve this
242 problem.

243 Now, **the price of college tuition is just one of the burdens facing the middle class.**
244 That's why last year I asked Vice President Biden to chair a task force on middle-class
245 families. That's why we're nearly doubling the child care tax credit, and making it easier to
246 save for retirement by giving access to every worker a retirement account and expanding
247 the tax credit for those who start a nest egg. **That's why we're working to lift the value**
248 **of a family's single largest investment — their home.** **The steps we took last year to**
249 **shore up the housing market have allowed millions of Americans to take out new loans and**
250 **save an average of \$1,500 on mortgage payments.**

251 This year, **we will step up refinancing so that homeowners can move into more**
252 **affordable mortgages.** (Applause.) And it is precisely to relieve the burden on middle-
253 class families that we still need health insurance reform. (Applause.) Yes, we do.
254 (Applause.)

255 Now, **let's clear a few things up.** (Laughter.) **I didn't choose to tackle this issue** to get
256 some legislative victory under my belt. And by now it should be fairly obvious that I didn't
257 take on health care because it was good politics. (Laughter.) I took on health care because
258 of the stories I've heard from **Americans with preexisting conditions whose lives depend**
259 **on getting coverage; patients who've been denied coverage; families — even those with**
260 **insurance — who are just one illness away from financial ruin.**

261 After nearly a century of trying -- Democratic administrations, Republican administrations -
262 - **we are closer than ever to bringing more security to the lives of so many Americans.**
263 **The approach we've taken would protect every American from the worst practices of**
264 **the insurance industry. It would give small businesses and uninsured Americans a**
265 **chance to choose an affordable health care plan in a competitive market. It would**
266 **require every insurance plan to cover preventive care.**

267 And by the way, I want to acknowledge our First Lady, Michelle Obama, who this year is
268 **creating a national movement to tackle the epidemic of childhood obesity and make**
269 **kids healthier.** (Applause.) Thank you. She gets embarrassed. (Laughter.)

270 Our approach would preserve the right of Americans who have insurance to keep their
271 doctor and their plan. It would reduce costs and premiums for millions of families and
272 businesses. And according to the Congressional Budget Office -- the independent
273 organization that both parties have cited as the official scorekeeper for Congress -- **our**
274 **approach would bring down the deficit by as much as \$1 trillion over the next two**
275 **decades.** (Applause.)

276 Still, this is a complex issue, and the longer it was debated, the more skeptical people
277 became. **I take my share of the blame for not explaining it more clearly to the**
278 **American people.** And I know that with all the lobbying and horse-trading, the process
279 left most Americans wondering, "What's in it for me?"

280 **But I also know this problem is not going away.** By the time I'm finished speaking
281 tonight, more Americans will have lost their health insurance. Millions will lose it this
282 year. **Our deficit will grow. Premiums will go up.** Patients will be denied the care they
283 need. **Small business owners will continue to drop coverage altogether. I will not walk**
284 **away from these Americans, and neither should the people in this chamber.**
285 (Applause.)

286 So, **as temperatures cool, I want everyone to take another look at the plan we've**
287 **proposed.** There's a reason why many doctors, nurses, and health care experts who know
288 our system best consider this approach a vast improvement over the status quo. **But if**
289 **anyone from either party has a better approach that will bring down premiums, bring**
290 **down the deficit, cover the uninsured, strengthen Medicare for seniors, and stop**
291 **insurance company abuses, let me know.** (Applause.) Let me know. Let me know.
292 (Applause.) I'm eager to see it.

293 Here's what I ask Congress, though: **Don't walk away from reform.** Not now. Not when
294 we are so close. **Let us find a way to come together and finish the job** for the American
295 people. (Applause.) Let's get it done. Let's get it done. (Applause.)

296 Now, **even as health care reform would reduce our deficit, it's not enough to dig us out**
297 **of a massive fiscal hole in which we find ourselves.** It's a challenge that makes all others
298 that much harder to solve, and one that's been subject to a lot of political posturing. So let
299 me start the discussion of government spending by setting the record straight.

300 At the beginning of the last decade, the year 2000, America had a budget surplus of over
301 \$200 billion. (Applause.) By the time I took office, we had a one-year deficit of over \$1
302 trillion and projected deficits of \$8 trillion over the next decade. Most of this was the result
303 of not paying for two wars, two tax cuts, and an expensive prescription drug program. **On**
304 **top of that, the effects of the recession put a \$3 trillion hole in our budget.** All this was
305 before I walked in the door. (Laughter and applause.)

306 Now -- just stating the facts. Now, if we had taken office in ordinary times, **I would have**
307 **liked nothing more than to start bringing down the deficit.** But we took office amid a
308 crisis. And **our efforts to prevent a second depression have added another \$1 trillion**
309 **to our national debt.** That, too, is a fact.

310 I'm absolutely convinced that was the right thing to do. But families across the country are
311 tightening their belts and making tough decisions. The federal government should do the
312 same. (Applause.) So tonight, **I'm proposing specific steps to pay for the trillion**
313 **dollars that it took to rescue the economy last year.**

314 Starting in 2011, **we are prepared to freeze government spending for three years.**
315 (Applause.) Spending related to our national security, Medicare, Medicaid, and Social
316 Security will not be affected. But all other discretionary government programs will. Like
317 any cash-strapped family, we will work within a budget to invest in what we need and
318 sacrifice what we don't. And if I have to enforce this discipline by veto, I will.
319 (Applause.)

320 **We will continue to go through the budget, line by line, page by page, to eliminate**
321 **programs that we can't afford and don't work.** We've already identified \$20 billion in
322 savings for next year. To help working families, **we'll extend our middle-class tax cuts.**
323 But at a time of record deficits, **we will not continue tax cuts for oil companies,** for
324 investment fund managers, and for those making over \$250,000 a year. We just can't
325 afford it. (Applause.)

326 Now, even after paying for what we spent on my watch, **we'll still face the massive deficit**
327 **we had when I took office.** More importantly, the cost of Medicare, Medicaid, and Social
328 Security will continue to skyrocket. That's why I've called for a bipartisan fiscal
329 commission, modeled on a proposal by Republican Judd Gregg and Democrat Kent
330 Conrad. (Applause.) This can't be one of those Washington gimmicks that lets us pretend
331 we solved a problem. The commission will have to provide a specific set of solutions by a
332 certain deadline.

333 Now, yesterday, **the Senate blocked a bill that would have created this commission.** So
334 **I'll issue an executive order that will allow us to go forward, because I refuse to pass**
335 **this problem on to another generation of Americans.** (Applause.) And when the vote
336 comes tomorrow, the Senate should restore the pay-as-you-go law that was a big reason for
337 why we had record surpluses in the 1990s. (Applause.)
338 Now, I know that some in my own party will argue that **we can't address the deficit or**
339 **freeze government spending when so many are still hurting.** And I agree -- which is

340 **why this freeze won't take effect until next year -- (laughter) -- when the economy is**
 341 **stronger. That's how budgeting works.** (Laughter and applause.) But understand --
 342 understand **if we don't take meaningful steps to rein in our debt, it could damage our**
 343 **markets, increase the cost of borrowing, and jeopardize our recovery -- all of which**
 344 **would have an even worse effect on our job growth and family incomes.**

345 From some on the right, I expect we'll hear a different argument -- that if we just make
 346 fewer investments in our people, **extend tax cuts including those for the wealthier**
 347 **Americans, eliminate more regulations, maintain the status quo on health care, our**
 348 **deficits will go away.** The problem is that's what we did for eight years. (Applause.)
 349 **That's what helped us into this crisis.** It's what helped lead to these deficits. We can't do
 350 it again.

351 **Rather than fight the same tired battles that have dominated Washington for decades,**
 352 **it's time to try something new. Let's invest in our people without leaving them a**
 353 **mountain of debt.** Let's meet our responsibility to the citizens who sent us here. Let's try
 354 common sense. (Laughter.) A novel concept.

355 To do that, we have to recognize that **we face more than a deficit of dollars right now.**
 356 **We face a deficit of trust -- deep and corrosive doubts about how Washington works**
 357 **that have been growing for years.** To close that credibility gap we have to take action on
 358 both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue -- to end the outsized influence of lobbyists; to do our
 359 work openly; to give our people the government they deserve. (Applause.)

360 That's what I came to Washington to do. That's why -- for the first time in history -- my
 361 administration posts on our White House visitors online. That's why we've excluded
 362 lobbyists from policymaking jobs, or seats on federal boards and commissions.

363 **But we can't stop there.** It's time to require lobbyists to disclose each contact they make
 364 on behalf of a client with my administration or with Congress. It's time to put strict limits
 365 on the contributions that lobbyists give to candidates for federal office.

366 With all due deference to separation of powers, **last week the Supreme Court reversed a**
 367 **century of law that I believe will open the floodgates for special interests --** including
 368 foreign corporations -- to spend without limit in our elections. (Applause.) I don't think
 369 American elections should be bankrolled by America's most powerful interests, or worse,
 370 by foreign entities. (Applause.) They should be decided by the American people. And I'd
 371 urge Democrats and Republicans to pass a bill that helps to correct some of these problems.

372 **I'm also calling on Congress to continue down the path of earmark reform.**
 373 Applause.) Democrats and Republicans. (Applause.) Democrats and Republicans.
 374 **You've trimmed some of this spending,** you've embraced some meaningful change. But
 375 restoring the public trust demands more. For example, some members of Congress post
 376 some earmark requests online. (Applause.) Tonight, I'm calling on Congress to publish all
 377 earmark requests on a single Web site before there's a vote, so that the American people can
 378 see how their money is being spent. (Applause.)

379 Of course, none of these reforms will even happen if we don't also reform how we work
380 with one another. Now, I'm not naïve. I never thought that the mere fact of my election
381 would usher in peace and harmony -- (laughter) -- and some post-partisan era. **I knew that**
382 **both parties have fed divisions that are deeply entrenched.** And on some issues, **there**
383 **are simply philosophical differences that will always cause us to part ways. These**
384 **disagreements, about the role of government in our lives,** about our national priorities
385 and our national security, they've been taking place for over 200 years. They're the very
386 essence of our democracy.

387 But what frustrates the American people is a Washington where every day is Election Day.
388 **We can't wage a perpetual campaign where the only goal is to see who can get the**
389 **most embarrassing headlines about the other side — a belief that if you lose, I win.**
390 **Neither party should delay or obstruct every single bill just because they can.** The
391 confirmation of -- (applause) -- I'm speaking to both parties now. **The confirmation of**
392 **well-qualified public servants shouldn't be held hostage to the pet projects or grudges**
393 **of a few individual senators.** (Applause.)

394 **Washington may think that saying anything about the other side, no matter how false,**
395 **no matter how malicious, is just part of the game.** But it's precisely such politics that
396 has stopped either party from helping the American people. **Worse yet, it's sowing**
397 **further division among our citizens,** further distrust in our government.

398 So, no, **I will not give up on trying to change the tone of our politics.** I know it's an
399 election year. And after last week, it's clear that campaign fever has come even earlier than
400 usual. But we still need to govern.

401 To Democrats, I would remind you that we still have the largest majority in decades, and
402 **the people expect us to solve problems, not run for the hills.** (Applause.) And if the
403 Republican leadership is going to insist that 60 votes in the Senate are required to do any
404 business at all in this town -- a supermajority -- then the responsibility to govern is now
405 yours as well. (Applause.) Just saying no to everything may be good short-term politics,
406 but it's not leadership. We were sent here to serve our citizens, not our ambitions.
407 (Applause.) So let's show the American people that we can do it together. (Applause.)

408 This week, I'll be addressing a meeting of the House Republicans. I'd like to begin monthly
409 meetings with both Democratic and Republican leadership. I know you can't wait.
410 (Laughter.)

411 **Throughout our history,** no issue has united this country more than our security. Sadly,
412 some of the unity we felt after 9/11 has dissipated. We can argue all we want about who's
413 to blame for this, but I'm not interested in re-litigating the past. I know that all of us love
414 this country. All of us are committed to its defense. So let's put aside the schoolyard taunts
415 about who's tough. Let's reject the false choice between protecting our people and
416 upholding our values. **Let's leave behind the fear and division, and do what it takes to**
417 **defend our nation and forge a more hopeful future** -- for America and for the world.
418 (Applause.)

419 That's the work we began last year. Since the day I took office, we've renewed our focus
420 on the terrorists who threaten our nation. We've made substantial investments in our
421 homeland security and disrupted plots that threatened to take American lives. We are
422 filling unacceptable gaps revealed by the failed Christmas attack, with better airline
423 security and swifter action on our intelligence. We've prohibited torture and strengthened
424 partnerships from the Pacific to South Asia to the Arabian Peninsula. And in the last year,
425 hundreds of al Qaeda's fighters and affiliates, including many senior leaders, have been
426 captured or killed -- far more than in 2008.

427 And in Afghanistan, **we're increasing our troops and training Afghan security forces so**
428 **they can begin to take the lead in July of 2011**, and our troops can begin to come home.
429 (Applause.) We will reward good governance, work to reduce corruption, and support the
430 rights of all Afghans -- men and women alike. (Applause.) **We're joined by allies and**
431 **partners who have increased their own commitments**, and who will come together
432 tomorrow in London to reaffirm our common purpose. **There will be difficult days**
433 **ahead.** But I am absolutely confident we will succeed.

434 As we take the fight to al Qaeda, we are responsibly leaving Iraq to its people. As a
435 candidate, I promised that I would end this war, and that is what I am doing as President.
436 We will have all of our combat troops out of Iraq by the end of this August. (Applause.)
437 We will support the Iraqi government -- we will support the Iraqi government as they hold
438 elections, and we will continue to partner with the Iraqi people to promote regional peace
439 and prosperity. But make no mistake: This war is ending, and all of our troops are coming
440 home. (Applause.)

441 Tonight, all of our men and women in uniform -- in Iraq, in Afghanistan, and around the
442 world -- they have to know that we -- that they have our respect, our gratitude, our full
443 support. And just as they must have the resources they need in war, we all have a
444 responsibility to support them when they come home. (Applause.) **That's why we made**
445 **the largest increase in investments for veterans in decades** -- last year. (Applause.)
446 That's why we're building a 21st century VA. And that's why **Michelle has joined with**
447 **Jill Biden to forge a national commitment to support military families.** (Applause.)

448 Now, even as we prosecute two wars, we're also confronting perhaps the greatest danger to
449 the American people -- the threat of nuclear weapons. I've embraced the vision of John F.
450 Kennedy and Ronald Reagan through a strategy that reverses the spread of these weapons
451 and seeks a world without them. To reduce our stockpiles and launchers, while ensuring
452 our deterrent, the United States and Russia are completing negotiations on the farthest-
453 reaching arms control treaty in nearly two decades. (Applause.) And at April's Nuclear
454 Security Summit, **we will bring 44 nations together here in Washington, D.C. behind a**
455 **clear goal:** securing all vulnerable nuclear materials around the world in four years, so that
456 they never fall into the hands of terrorists. (Applause.)

457 Now, these diplomatic efforts have also strengthened our hand in dealing with those nations
458 that insist on violating international agreements in pursuit of nuclear weapons. That's why
459 **North Korea now faces increased isolation**, and stronger sanctions -- sanctions that are

460 being vigorously enforced. That's why the international community is more united, and the
461 Islamic Republic of Iran is more isolated. And as Iran's leaders continue to ignore their
462 obligations, there should be no doubt: **They, too, will face growing consequences.** That
463 is a promise. (Applause.)

464 That's the leadership that we are providing -- **engagement that advances the common**
465 **security and prosperity of all people. We're working through the G20 to sustain a**
466 **lasting global recovery.** We're working with Muslim communities around the world to
467 promote science and education and innovation. **We have gone from a bystander to a**
468 **leader in the fight against climate change.** We're helping developing countries to feed
469 themselves, and continuing the fight against HIV/AIDS. And we are launching a new
470 initiative that will give us the capacity to respond faster and more effectively to
471 bioterrorism or an infectious disease -- **a plan that will counter threats at home and**
472 **strengthen public health abroad.**

473 As we have for over 60 years, America takes these actions because our destiny is connected
474 to those beyond our shores. But we also do it because it is right. That's why, as we meet
475 here tonight, over 10,000 Americans are working with many nations to help the people of
476 Haiti recover and rebuild. (Applause.) That's why we stand with the girl who yearns to go
477 to school in Afghanistan; why we support the human rights of the women marching
478 through the streets of Iran; why we advocate for the young man denied a job by corruption
479 in Guinea. **For America must always stand on the side of freedom and human dignity.**
480 (Applause.) Always. (Applause.)

481 Abroad, **America's greatest source of strength has always been our ideals.** The same is
482 true at home. We find unity in our incredible diversity, drawing on the promise enshrined
483 in our Constitution: the notion that we're all created equal; that no matter who you are or
484 what you look like, if you abide by the law you should be protected by it; if you adhere to
485 our common values you should be treated no different than anyone else.

486 We must continually renew this promise. My administration has a Civil Rights Division
487 that is once again prosecuting civil rights violations and employment discrimination.
488 (Applause.) **We finally strengthened our laws to protect against crimes driven by**
489 **hate.** (Applause.) This year, I will work with Congress and our military to finally repeal
490 the law that denies gay Americans the right to serve the country they love because of who
491 they are. (Applause.) It's the right thing to do. (Applause.)

492 We're going to crack down on violations of equal pay laws -- so that women get equal pay
493 for an equal day's work. (Applause.) **And we should continue the work of fixing our**
494 **broken immigration system -- to secure our borders and enforce our laws, and ensure**
495 **that everyone who plays by the rules can contribute to our economy and enrich our**
496 **nation.** (Applause.)

497 In the end, it's our ideals, our values that built America -- **values that allowed us to forge**
498 **a nation made up of immigrants from every corner of the globe; values that drive our**
499 **citizens still.** Every day, Americans meet their responsibilities to their families and their

500 employers. Time and again, they lend a hand to their neighbors and give back to their
501 country. They take pride in their labor, and are generous in spirit. These aren't Republican
502 values or Democratic values that they're living by; business values or labor values. They're
503 American values.

504 Unfortunately, too many of our citizens have lost faith that our biggest institutions — our
505 corporations, our media, and, yes, our government — still reflect these same values. **Each**
506 **of these institutions are full of honorable men and women** doing important work that
507 helps our country prosper. But each time a CEO rewards himself for failure, or a banker
508 puts the rest of us at risk for his own selfish gain, **people's doubts grow. Each time**
509 **lobbyists game the system or politicians tear each other down instead of lifting this**
510 **country up, we lose faith.** The more that TV pundits reduce serious debates to silly
511 arguments, big issues into sound bites, our citizens turn away.

512 No wonder there's so much cynicism out there. No wonder there's so much
513 disappointment.

514 I campaigned on the promise of change — change we can believe in, the slogan went. And
515 right now, I know there are many **Americans who aren't sure if they still believe we can**
516 **change — or that I can deliver it.**

517 But remember this — I never suggested that change would be easy, or that I could do it
518 alone. Democracy in a nation of 300 million people can be noisy and messy and
519 complicated. And when you try to do big things and make big changes, it stirs passions and
520 controversy. That's just how it is.

521 **Those of us in public office can respond to this reality by playing it safe** and avoid
522 telling hard truths and pointing fingers. **We can do what's necessary to keep our poll**
523 **numbers high**, and get through the next election instead of doing what's best for the next
524 generation.

525 But I also know this: If people had made that decision 50 years ago, or 100 years ago, or
526 200 years ago, we wouldn't be here tonight. The only reason we are here is because
527 generations of Americans were unafraid to do what was hard; to do what was needed even
528 when success was uncertain; **to do what it took to keep the dream of this nation alive for**
529 **their children and their grandchildren.**

530 Our administration has had some political setbacks this year, and some of them were
531 deserved. **But I wake up every day knowing that they are nothing compared to the**
532 **setbacks that families all across this country have faced this year. And what keeps me**
533 **going — what keeps me fighting** — is that despite all these setbacks, **that spirit of**
534 **determination and optimism, that fundamental decency that has always been at the**
535 **core of the American people, that lives on.**

536 **It lives on in the struggling small business owner who wrote to me of his company,**
537 "None of us," he said, "...are willing to consider, even slightly, that we might fail."

538 **It lives on in the woman who said that even though she and her neighbors have felt the**
539 **pain of recession, "We are strong. We are resilient. We are American."**

540 **It lives on in the 8-year-old boy in Louisiana,** who just sent me his allowance and asked
541 if I would give it to the people of Haiti.

542 **And it lives on in all the Americans who've dropped everything to go someplace**
543 **they've never been and pull people they've never known from the rubble,** prompting
544 chants of "U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!" when another life was saved.

545 The spirit that has sustained this nation for more than two centuries lives on in you, its
546 people. We have finished a difficult year. **We have come through a difficult decade.**
547 **But a new year has come. A new decade stretches before us. We don't quit. I don't**
548 **quit.** (Applause.) **Let's seize this moment -- to start anew, to carry the dream forward,**
549 **and to strengthen our union once more.** (Applause.)

550 Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

Barack Obama
State of the Union Address
Washington, DC
January 24, 2012

1 Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of Congress, distinguished guests, and fellow
2 Americans:

3 Last month, I went to Andrews Air Force Base and welcomed home some of our last troops
4 to serve in Iraq. Together, we offered a final, proud **salute to the colors under which**
5 **more than a million of our fellow citizens fought -- and several thousand gave their**
6 **lives.**

7 We gather tonight knowing that this generation of heroes has made the United States safer
8 and more respected around the world. (Applause.) For the first time in nine years, there
9 are no Americans fighting in Iraq. (Applause.) For the first time in two decades, Osama
10 bin Laden is not a threat to this country. (Applause.) Most of al Qaeda's top lieutenants
11 have been defeated. **The Taliban's momentum has been broken**, and some troops in
12 Afghanistan have begun to come home.

13 These achievements are a testament to the courage, selflessness and teamwork of
14 America's Armed Forces. **At a time when too many of our institutions have let us**
15 **down, they exceed all expectations. They're not consumed with personal ambition.**
16 They don't obsess over their differences. They focus on the mission at hand. They work
17 together.

18 **Imagine what we could accomplish if we followed their example.** (Applause.) **Think**
19 **about the America within our reach: A country that leads the world in educating its**
20 **people.** An America that attracts a new generation of high-tech manufacturing and high-
21 paying jobs. **A future where we're in control of our own energy, and our security and**
22 **prosperity** aren't so tied to unstable parts of the world. **An economy built to last**, where
23 hard work pays off, and responsibility is rewarded.

24 We can do this. I know we can, because we've done it before. At the end of World War II,
25 when another generation of heroes returned home from combat, **they built the strongest**
26 **economy and middle class the world has ever known.** (Applause.) My grandfather, a
27 veteran of Patton's Army, got the chance to go to college on the GI Bill. My grandmother,
28 who worked on a bomber assembly line, was part of a workforce that turned out the best
29 products on Earth.

30
31 **The two of them shared the optimism of a nation that had triumphed over a**
32 **depression and fascism.** They understood they were part of something larger; that they
33 were contributing to a story of success that every American had a chance to share -- the
34 basic American promise that if you worked hard, you could do well enough to raise a
35 family, own a home, send your kids to college, and put a little away for retirement.

36 **The defining issue of our time is how to keep that promise alive.** No challenge is more
37 urgent. No debate is more important. We can either settle for a country where a shrinking
38 number of people do really well while a growing number of Americans barely get by, or **we**
39 **can restore an economy where everyone gets a fair shot, and everyone does their fair**
40 **share, and everyone plays by the same set of rules.** (Applause.) What's at stake aren't
41 Democratic values or Republican values, but American values. And we have to reclaim
42 them.

43 **Let's remember how we got here.** Long before the recession, jobs and manufacturing
44 began leaving our shores. Technology made businesses more efficient, but also made some
45 jobs obsolete. **Folks at the top saw their incomes rise like never before, but most**
46 **hardworking Americans struggled with costs that were growing, paychecks that**
47 **weren't, and personal debt that kept piling up.**

48 **In 2008, the house of cards collapsed.** We learned that mortgages had been sold to people
49 who couldn't afford or understand them. **Banks had made huge bets and bonuses with**
50 **other people's money. Regulators had looked the other way, or didn't have the**
51 **authority to stop the bad behavior.**

52 It was wrong. It was irresponsible. **And it plunged our economy into a crisis that put**
53 **millions out of work,** saddled us with more debt, and left innocent, hardworking
54 Americans holding the bag. In the six months before I took office, we lost nearly 4 million
55 jobs. And we lost another 4 million before our policies were in full effect.

56 Those are the facts. But so are these: In the last 22 months, businesses have created more
57 than 3 million jobs. (Applause.)

58 Last year, they created the most jobs since 2005. American manufacturers are hiring again,
59 creating jobs for the first time since the late 1990s. **Together, we've agreed to cut the**
60 **deficit by more than \$2 trillion. And we've put in place new rules to hold Wall Street**
61 **accountable,** so a crisis like this never happens again. (Applause.)

62 **The state of our Union is getting stronger. And we've come too far to turn back now.**
63 **As long as I'm President, I will work with anyone in this chamber to build on this**
64 **momentum. But I intend to fight obstruction with action, and I will oppose any effort**
65 **to return to the very same policies that brought on this economic crisis in the first**
66 **place.** (Applause.)

67 **No, we will not go back to an economy weakened by outsourcing, bad debt, and phony**
68 **financial profits.** Tonight, **I want to speak about how we move forward, and lay out a**
69 **blueprint for an economy that's built to last — an economy built on American**
70 **manufacturing,** American energy, skills for American workers, and a renewal of American
71 values.

72 Now, this blueprint begins with American manufacturing.

73 **On the day I took office, our auto industry was on the verge of collapse. Some even**
74 **said we should let it die.** With a million jobs at stake, I refused to let that happen. In
75 exchange for help, we demanded responsibility. We got workers and automakers to settle
76 their differences. We got the industry to retool and restructure. **Today, General Motors is**
77 **back on top as the world's number-one automaker.** (Applause.) **Chrysler has grown**
78 **faster in the U.S. than any major car company.** Ford is investing billions in U.S. plants
79 and factories. And together, the entire industry added nearly 160,000 jobs.

80 **We bet on American workers. We bet on American ingenuity. And tonight, the**
81 **American auto industry is back.** (Applause.)

82 What's happening in Detroit can happen in other industries. It can happen in Cleveland and
83 Pittsburgh and Raleigh. **We can't bring every job back that's left our shore.** But right
84 now, it's getting more expensive to do business in places like China. Meanwhile, America
85 is more productive. A few weeks ago, **the CEO of Master Lock told me that it now**
86 **makes business sense for him to bring jobs back home.** (Applause.) **Today, for the**
87 **first time in 15 years, Master Lock's unionized plant in Milwaukee is running at full**
88 **capacity.** (Applause.)

89 **So we have a huge opportunity, at this moment, to bring manufacturing back. But we**
90 **have to seize it.** Tonight, my message to business leaders is simple: **Ask yourselves what**
91 **you can do to bring jobs back to your country,** and your country will do everything we
92 can to help you succeed. (Applause.)

93 We should start with our tax code. **Right now, companies get tax breaks for moving**
94 **jobs and profits overseas.** Meanwhile, companies that choose to stay in America get hit
95 with one of the highest tax rates in the world. It makes no sense, and everyone knows it.
96 So let's change it.

97 First, if you're a business that wants to outsource jobs, you shouldn't get a tax deduction
98 for doing it. (Applause.) **That money should be used to cover moving expenses for**
99 **companies like Master Lock that decide to bring jobs home.** (Applause.)

100 Second, **no American company should be able to avoid paying its fair share of taxes by**
101 **moving jobs and profits overseas.** (Applause.) From now on, every multinational
102 company should have to pay a basic minimum tax. **And every penny should go towards**
103 **lowering taxes for companies that choose to stay here and hire here in America.**
104 (Applause.)

105 Third, **if you're an American manufacturer, you should get a bigger tax cut.** If you're
106 a high-tech manufacturer, we should double the tax deduction you get for making your
107 products here. **And if you want to relocate in a community that was hit hard when a**
108 **factory left town,** you should get help financing a new plant, equipment, or training for
109 new workers. (Applause.)

110 So my message is simple. **It is time to stop rewarding businesses that ship jobs**
111 **overseas, and start rewarding companies that create jobs right here in America.** Send
112 me these tax reforms, and I will sign them right away. (Applause.)

113 We're also making it easier for American businesses to sell products all over the world.
114 Two years ago, I set a goal of doubling U.S. exports over five years. **With the bipartisan**
115 **trade agreements we signed into law, we're on track to meet that goal ahead of**
116 **schedule.** (Applause.) And soon, there will be millions of new customers for American
117 goods in Panama, Colombia, and South Korea. Soon, there will be new cars on the streets
118 of Seoul imported from Detroit, and Toledo, and Chicago. (Applause.)

119 **I will go anywhere in the world to open new markets for American products. And I**
120 **will not stand by when our competitors don't play by the rules. We've brought trade**
121 **cases against China at nearly twice the rate as the last administration** — and it's made
122 a difference. (Applause.) Over a thousand Americans are working today because we
123 stopped a surge in Chinese tires. But we need to do more. **It's not right when another**
124 **country lets our movies, music, and software be pirated. It's not fair when foreign**
125 **manufacturers have a leg up on ours only because they're heavily subsidized.**

126 Tonight, I'm announcing the creation of a Trade Enforcement Unit that will be charged
127 with investigating unfair trading practices in countries like China. (Applause.) There will
128 be more inspections to prevent counterfeit or unsafe goods from crossing our borders. **And**
129 **this Congress should make sure that no foreign company has an advantage over**
130 **American manufacturing** when it comes to accessing financing or new markets like
131 Russia. **Our workers are the most productive on Earth, and if the playing field is**
132 **level, I promise you — America will always win.** (Applause.)

133 I also hear from many business leaders who want to hire in the United States but can't find
134 workers with the right skills. **Growing industries in science and technology have twice**
135 **as many openings as we have workers who can do the job.** Think about that — openings
136 at a time when millions of Americans are looking for work. It's inexcusable. And we
137 know how to fix it.

138 Jackie Bray is a single mom from North Carolina who was laid off from her job as a
139 mechanic. Then Siemens opened a gas turbine factory in Charlotte, and formed a
140 partnership with Central Piedmont Community College. The company helped the college
141 design courses in laser and robotics training. It paid Jackie's tuition, then hired her to help
142 operate their plant.

143 I want every American looking for work to have the same opportunity as Jackie did. **Join**
144 **me in a national commitment to train 2 million Americans with skills that will lead**
145 **directly to a job.** (Applause.) My administration has already lined up more companies
146 that want to help. Model **partnerships between businesses like Siemens and community**
147 **colleges in places like Charlotte, and Orlando, and Louisville are up and running.**
148 Now you need to give more community colleges the resources they need to become

149 community career centers — places that teach people skills that businesses are looking for
150 right now, from data management to high-tech manufacturing.

151 **And I want to cut through the maze of confusing training programs**, so that from now
152 on, people like Jackie have one program, one website, and one place to go for all the
153 information and help that they need. It is time to turn our unemployment system into a
154 reemployment system that puts people to work. (Applause.)

155
156 **These reforms will help people get jobs that are open today.** But to prepare for the jobs
157 of tomorrow, our commitment to skills and education has to start earlier.
158 For less than 1 percent of what our nation spends on education each year, **we've convinced**
159 **nearly every state in the country to raise their standards for teaching and learning --**
160 **the first time that's happened in a generation.**

161 But challenges remain. And we know how to solve them.

162 At a time when other countries are doubling down on education, tight budgets have forced
163 states to lay off thousands of teachers. **We know a good teacher can increase the lifetime**
164 **income of a classroom by over \$250,000. A great teacher can offer an escape from**
165 **poverty to the child who dreams beyond his circumstance.** Every person in this
166 chamber can point to a teacher who changed the trajectory of their lives. Most teachers
167 work tirelessly, with modest pay, sometimes digging into their own pocket for school
168 supplies -- just to make a difference.

169 Teachers matter. So instead of bashing them, or defending the status quo, let's offer
170 schools a deal. Give them the resources to keep good teachers on the job, and reward the
171 best ones. (Applause.) And in return, grant schools flexibility: to teach with creativity and
172 passion; to stop teaching to the test; and to replace teachers who just aren't helping kids
173 learn. **That's a bargain worth making.** (Applause.)

174 **We also know that when students don't walk away from their education, more of**
175 **them walk the stage to get their diploma. When students are not allowed to drop out,**
176 **they do better.** So tonight, I am proposing that every state -- every state -- requires that all
177 students stay in high school until they graduate or turn 18. (Applause.)

178 When kids do graduate, the most daunting challenge can be the cost of college. At a time
179 when Americans owe more in tuition debt than credit card debt, **this Congress needs to**
180 **stop the interest rates on student loans from doubling in July.** (Applause.)

181 Extend the tuition tax credit we started that saves millions of middle-class families
182 thousands of dollars, and **give more young people the chance to earn their way through**
183 **college** by doubling the number of work-study jobs in the next five years. (Applause.)

184 **Of course, it's not enough for us to increase student aid. We can't just keep**
185 **subsidizing skyrocketing tuition; we'll run out of money. States also need to do their**

186 **part, by making higher education a higher priority in their budgets. And colleges and**
187 **universities have to do their part by working to keep costs down.**

188 Recently, I spoke with a group of college presidents who've done just that. Some schools
189 redesign courses to help students finish more quickly. Some use better technology. The
190 point is, it's possible. **So let me put colleges and universities on notice: If you can't**
191 **stop tuition from going up, the funding you get from taxpayers will go down.**
192 (Applause.) Higher education can't be a luxury -- it is an economic imperative that every
193 family in America should be able to afford.

194 Let's also remember that hundreds of thousands of talented, hardworking students in this
195 country face another challenge: the fact that they aren't yet American citizens. Many were
196 brought here as small children, are American through and through, yet they live every day
197 with the threat of deportation. Others came more recently, to study business and science
198 and engineering, but as soon as they get their degree, we send them home to invent new
199 products and create new jobs somewhere else.

200 That doesn't make sense.

201 I believe as strongly as ever that we should take on illegal immigration. That's why my
202 administration has put more boots on the border than ever before. That's why there are
203 fewer illegal crossings than when I took office. **The opponents of action are out of**
204 **excuses.** We should be working on comprehensive immigration reform right now.
205 (Applause.)

206 But if election-year politics keeps Congress from acting on a comprehensive plan, let's at
207 least agree to stop expelling responsible young people who want to staff our labs, start new
208 businesses, defend this country. **Send me a law that gives them the chance to earn their**
209 **citizenship.** I will sign it right away. (Applause.)

210 **You see, an economy built to last is one where we encourage the talent and ingenuity**
211 **of every person in this country.** That means women should earn equal pay for equal
212 work. (Applause.) It means we should support everyone who's willing to work, and every
213 risk-taker and entrepreneur who aspires to become the next Steve Jobs.

214 After all, innovation is what America has always been about. Most new jobs are created in
215 start-ups and small businesses. So let's pass an agenda that helps them succeed. **Tear**
216 **down regulations that prevent aspiring entrepreneurs from getting the financing to**
217 **grow.** (Applause.) **Expand tax relief to small businesses that are raising wages and**
218 **creating good jobs.** Both parties agree on these ideas. So put them in a bill, and get it on
219 my desk this year. (Applause.)

220 Innovation also demands basic research. Today, the discoveries taking place in our
221 federally financed labs and universities could lead to new treatments that kill cancer cells
222 but leave healthy ones untouched. New lightweight vests for cops and soldiers that can
223 stop any bullet. Don't gut these investments in our budget. **Don't let other countries win**

224 **the race for the future.** Support the same kind of research and innovation that led to the
225 computer chip and the Internet; to new American jobs and new American industries.

226 And nowhere is the promise of innovation greater than in American-made energy. Over the
227 last three years, we've opened millions of new acres for oil and gas exploration, and
228 tonight, I'm directing my administration to open more than 75 percent of our potential
229 offshore oil and gas resources. (Applause.) **Right now -- right now -- American oil**
230 **production is the highest that it's been in eight years.** That's right -- eight years. Not
231 only that -- last year, we relied less on foreign oil than in any of the past 16 years.
232 (Applause.)

233 But with only 2 percent of the world's oil reserves, oil isn't enough. This country needs an
234 all-out, all-of-the-above strategy that develops every available source of American energy.
235 (Applause.) **A strategy that's cleaner, cheaper, and full of new jobs.**

236 We have a supply of natural gas that can last America nearly 100 years. (Applause.) And
237 my administration will take every possible action to safely develop this energy. Experts
238 believe this will support more than 600,000 jobs by the end of the decade. And I'm
239 requiring all companies that drill for gas on public lands to disclose the chemicals they use.
240 (Applause.) Because America will develop this resource without putting the health and
241 safety of our citizens at risk.

242 **The development of natural gas will create jobs and power trucks and factories that**
243 **are cleaner and cheaper,** proving that we don't have to choose between our environment
244 and our economy. (Applause.) **And by the way, it was public research dollars, over the**
245 **course of 30 years, that helped develop the technologies** to extract all this natural gas out
246 of shale rock -- **reminding us that government support is critical in helping businesses**
247 **get new energy ideas off the ground.** (Applause.)

248 **Now, what's true for natural gas is just as true for clean energy.** In three years, our
249 partnership with the private sector has already positioned America to be the world's leading
250 manufacturer of high-tech batteries. Because of federal investments, renewable energy use
251 has nearly doubled, and thousands of Americans have jobs because of it.

252 When Bryan Ritterby was laid off from his job making furniture, he said he worried that at
253 55, no one would give him a second chance. But he found work at Energetx, a wind
254 turbine manufacturer in Michigan. Before the recession, the factory only made luxury
255 yachts. Today, it's hiring workers like Bryan, who said, "I'm proud to be working in the
256 industry of the future."

257 **Our experience with shale gas, our experience with natural gas, shows us that the**
258 **payoffs on these public investments don't always come right away.** Some technologies
259 don't pan out; some companies fail. **But I will not walk away from the promise of clean**
260 **energy. I will not walk away from workers like Bryan.** (Applause.) I will not cede the
261 wind or solar or battery industry to China or Germany because we refuse to make the same
262 commitment here.

263 We've subsidized oil companies for a century. That's long enough. (Applause.) It's time
264 to end the taxpayer giveaways to an industry that rarely has been more profitable, **and**
265 **double-down on a clean energy industry that never has been more promising. Pass**
266 **clean energy tax credits.** Create these jobs. (Applause.)

267 We can also spur energy innovation with new incentives. **The differences in this**
268 **chamber may be too deep right now to pass a comprehensive plan to fight climate**
269 **change. But there's no reason why Congress shouldn't at least set a clean energy**
270 **standard that creates a market for innovation.** So far, you haven't acted. Well, tonight,
271 I will. **I'm directing my administration to allow the development of clean energy** on
272 enough public land to power 3 million homes. And I'm proud to announce that the
273 Department of Defense, working with us, **the world's largest consumer of energy, will**
274 **make one of the largest commitments to clean energy in history** — with the Navy
275 purchasing enough capacity to power a quarter of a million homes a year. (Applause.)

276 Of course, the easiest way to save money is to waste less energy. So here's a proposal:
277 Help manufacturers eliminate energy waste in their factories and give businesses incentives
278 to upgrade their buildings. **Their energy bills will be \$100 billion lower over the next**
279 **decade,** and America will have less pollution, more manufacturing, more jobs for
280 construction workers who need them. Send me a bill that creates these jobs. (Applause.)

281 Building this new energy future should be just one part of a broader agenda to repair
282 America's infrastructure. So much of America needs to be rebuilt. We've got crumbling
283 roads and bridges; a power grid that wastes too much energy; an incomplete high-speed
284 broadband network that prevents a small business owner in rural America from selling her
285 products all over the world.

286 **During the Great Depression,** America built the Hoover Dam and the Golden Gate
287 Bridge. After World War II, we connected our states with a system of highways.
288 Democratic and Republican administrations invested in great projects that benefited
289 everybody, from the workers who built them to the businesses that still use them today.

290 In the next few weeks, **I will sign an executive order clearing away the red tape that**
291 **slows down too many construction projects.** But you need to fund these projects. Take
292 the money we're no longer spending at war, use half of it to pay down our debt, and **use the**
293 **rest to do some nation-building right here at home.** (Applause.)

294 There's never been a better time to build, especially since **the construction industry was**
295 **one of the hardest hit when the housing bubble burst. Of course, construction**
296 **workers weren't the only ones who were hurt.** So were millions of innocent Americans
297 who've seen their home values decline. And while government can't fix the problem on its
298 own, **responsible homeowners shouldn't have to sit and wait for the housing market to**
299 **hit bottom to get some relief.**

300 And that's why I'm sending this Congress a plan that gives every responsible homeowner
301 the chance to save about \$3,000 a year on their mortgage, by refinancing at historically low

302 rates. (Applause.) No more red tape. No more runaround from the banks. A small fee on
303 the largest financial institutions will ensure that **it won't add to the deficit and will give**
304 **those banks that were rescued by taxpayers a chance to repay a deficit of trust.**
305 (Applause.)

306 **Let's never forget: Millions of Americans who work hard and play by the rules every**
307 **day deserve a government and a financial system that do the same. It's time to apply**
308 **the same rules from top to bottom.** No bailouts, no handouts, and no copouts. **An**
309 **America built to last insists on responsibility from everybody.**

310 We've all paid the price for lenders who sold mortgages to people who couldn't afford
311 them, and buyers who knew they couldn't afford them. That's why we need smart
312 regulations to prevent irresponsible behavior. (Applause.) **Rules to prevent financial**
313 **fraud or toxic dumping or faulty medical devices -- these don't destroy the free**
314 **market. They make the free market work better.**

315 There's no question that some regulations are outdated, unnecessary, or too costly. In fact,
316 I've approved fewer regulations in the first three years of my presidency than my
317 Republican predecessor did in his. (Applause.) I've ordered every federal agency to
318 eliminate rules that don't make sense. We've already announced over 500 reforms, and just
319 a fraction of them will save business and citizens more than \$10 billion over the next five
320 years. We got rid of one rule from 40 years ago that could have forced some dairy farmers
321 to spend \$10,000 a year proving that they could contain a spill -- because milk was
322 somehow classified as an oil. With a rule like that, I guess it was worth crying over spilled
323 milk. (Laughter and applause.)

324 Now, I'm confident a farmer can contain a milk spill without a federal agency looking over
325 his shoulder. (Applause.) Absolutely. **But I will not back down from making sure an**
326 **oil company can contain the kind of oil spill we saw in the Gulf two years**
327 **ago.** (Applause.) **I will not back down from protecting our kids from mercury**
328 **poisoning, or making sure that our food is safe and our water is clean. I will not go**
329 **back to the days when health insurance companies had unchecked power to cancel**
330 **your policy, deny your coverage, or charge women differently than men.** (Applause.)

331 **And I will not go back to the days when Wall Street was allowed to play by its own set**
332 **of rules.** The new rules we passed restore what should be any financial system's core
333 purpose: Getting funding to entrepreneurs with the best ideas, and getting loans to
334 responsible families who want to buy a home, or start a business, or send their kids to
335 college.

336 **So if you are a big bank or financial institution, you're no longer allowed to make**
337 **risky bets with your customers' deposits.** You're required to write out a "living will"
338 that details exactly how you'll pay the bills if you fail -- because the rest of us are not
339 bailing you out ever again. (Applause.) And if you're a mortgage lender or a payday
340 lender or a credit card company, the days of signing people up for products they can't
341 afford with confusing forms and deceptive practices -- those days are over. Today,

342 American consumers finally have a watchdog in Richard Cordray with one job: To look
343 out for them. (Applause.)

344 We'll also establish a Financial Crimes Unit of highly trained investigators to crack down
345 on large-scale fraud and protect people's investments. Some financial firms violate major
346 anti-fraud laws because there's no real penalty for being a repeat offender. That's bad for
347 consumers, and it's bad for the vast majority of bankers and financial service professionals
348 who do the right thing. So pass legislation that makes the penalties for fraud count.

349 And tonight, I'm asking my Attorney General to create a special unit of federal prosecutors
350 and leading state attorney general to **expand our investigations into the abusive lending
351 and packaging of risky mortgages that led to the housing crisis.** (Applause.) **This new
352 unit will hold accountable those who broke the law,** speed assistance to homeowners,
353 and **help turn the page on an era of recklessness that hurt so many Americans.**

354 **Now, a return to the American values of fair play and shared responsibility will help
355 protect our people and our economy. But it should also guide us as we look to pay
356 down our debt and invest in our future.**

357 **Right now, our most immediate priority is stopping a tax hike on 160 million working
358 Americans while the recovery is still fragile.** (Applause.) People cannot afford losing
359 \$40 out of each paycheck this year. There are plenty of ways to get this done. So let's
360 agree right here, right now: No side issues. No drama. Pass the payroll tax cut without
361 delay. Let's get it done. (Applause.)

362 When it comes to the deficit, we've already agreed to more than \$2 trillion in cuts and
363 savings. But we need to do more, and that means making choices. **Right now, we're
364 poised to spend nearly \$1 trillion more on what was supposed to be a temporary tax
365 break for the wealthiest 2 percent of Americans. Right now, because of loopholes and
366 shelters in the tax code, a quarter of all millionaires pay lower tax rates than millions
367 of middle-class households.** Right now, Warren Buffett pays a lower tax rate than his
368 secretary.

369 Do we want to keep these tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans? Or do we want to keep
370 our investments in everything else -- like education and medical research; a strong military
371 and care for our veterans? Because if we're serious about paying down our debt, we can't
372 do both.

373 The American people know what the right choice is. So do I. As I told the Speaker this
374 summer, I'm prepared to make more reforms that rein in the long-term costs of Medicare
375 and Medicaid, and **strengthen Social Security,** so long as those programs remain a
376 guarantee of security for seniors.

377 But in return, we need to change our tax code so that people like me, and an awful lot of
378 members of Congress, pay our fair share of taxes. (Applause.)

379 **Tax reform should follow the Buffett Rule.** If you make more than \$1 million a year,
380 you should not pay less than 30 percent in taxes. And my Republican friend Tom Coburn
381 is right: Washington should stop subsidizing millionaires. In fact, if you're earning a
382 million dollars a year, you shouldn't get special tax subsidies or deductions. On the other
383 hand, **if you make under \$250,000 a year, like 98 percent of American families, your**
384 **taxes shouldn't go up.** (Applause.) **You're the ones struggling with rising costs and**
385 **stagnant wages. You're the ones who need relief.**

386 Now, you can call this class warfare all you want. But asking a billionaire to pay at least as
387 much as his secretary in taxes? Most Americans would call that common sense.

388 We don't begrudge financial success in this country. We admire it. When Americans talk
389 about folks like me paying my fair share of taxes, it's not because they envy the rich. It's
390 because they understand that **when I get a tax break I don't need and the country can't**
391 **afford, it either adds to the deficit, or somebody else has to make up the difference --**
392 **like a senior on a fixed income, or a student trying to get through school,** or a family
393 trying to make ends meet. That's not right. Americans know that's not right. They know
394 that this generation's success is only possible because past generations felt a responsibility
395 to each other, and to the future of their country, and they know our way of life will only
396 endure if we feel that same sense of shared responsibility. **That's how we'll reduce our**
397 **deficit. That's an America built to last.** (Applause.)

398 Now, I recognize that people watching tonight have differing views about taxes and debt,
399 energy and health care. But no matter what party they belong to, I bet most Americans are
400 thinking the same thing right about now: **Nothing will get done in Washington this year,**
401 **or next year, or maybe even the year after that, because Washington is broken.**

402 Can you blame them for feeling a little cynical?

403 **The greatest blow to our confidence in our economy last year didn't come from events**
404 **beyond our control.** It came from a debate in Washington over whether the United States
405 would pay its bills or not. Who benefited from that fiasco?

406 **I've talked tonight about the deficit of trust between Main Street and Wall Street.** But
407 the divide between this city and the rest of the country is at least as bad -- and it seems to
408 get worse every year.

409 **Some of this has to do with the corrosive influence of money in politics. So together,**
410 **let's take some steps to fix that.** Send me a bill that bans insider trading by members of
411 Congress; I will sign it tomorrow. (Applause.) Let's limit any elected official from owning
412 stocks in industries they impact. Let's make sure people who bundle campaign
413 contributions for Congress can't lobby Congress, and vice versa -- an idea that has
414 bipartisan support, at least outside of Washington.

415 **Some of what's broken has to do with the way Congress does its business these days.**
416 A simple majority is no longer enough to get anything -- even routine business -- passed

417 through the Senate. (Applause.) **Neither party has been blameless in these tactics.** Now
418 both parties should put an end to it. (Applause.) For starters, I ask the Senate to pass a
419 simple rule that all judicial and public service nominations receive a simple up or down
420 vote within 90 days. (Applause.)

421 The executive branch also needs to change. Too often, it's inefficient, outdated and
422 remote. (Applause.) That's why I've asked this Congress to grant me the authority to
423 consolidate the federal bureaucracy, so that our government is leaner, quicker, and more
424 responsive to the needs of the American people. (Applause.)

425 **Finally, none of this can happen unless we also lower the temperature in this town.**
426 **We need to end the notion that the two parties must be locked in a perpetual**
427 **campaign of mutual destruction;** that politics is about clinging to rigid ideologies instead
428 of building consensus around common-sense ideas.

429 I'm a Democrat. But I believe what Republican Abraham Lincoln believed: That
430 government should do for people only what they cannot do better by themselves, and no
431 more. (Applause.) **That's why my education reform offers more competition, and**
432 **more control for schools and states. That's why we're getting rid of regulations that**
433 **don't work.** That's why our health care law relies on a reformed private market, not a
434 government program.

435 On the other hand, even my Republican friends who complain the most about government
436 spending have supported federally financed roads, and clean energy projects, and federal
437 offices for the folks back home.

438 The point is, we should all want a smarter, more effective government. And while we may
439 not be able to bridge our biggest philosophical differences this year, we can make real
440 progress. **With or without this Congress, I will keep taking actions that help the**
441 **economy grow.** But I can do a whole lot more with your help. Because when we act
442 together, there's nothing the United States of America can't achieve. (Applause.) That's
443 the lesson we've learned from our actions abroad over the last few years.

444 Ending the Iraq war has allowed us to strike decisive blows against our enemies. From
445 Pakistan to Yemen, the al Qaeda operatives who remain are scrambling, knowing that they
446 can't escape the reach of the United States of America. (Applause.)

447 **From this position of strength, we've begun to wind down the war in Afghanistan.**
448 Ten thousand of our troops have come home. Twenty-three thousand more will leave by
449 the end of this summer. This transition to Afghan lead will continue, and we will build an
450 enduring partnership with Afghanistan, so that it is never again a source of attacks against
451 America. (Applause.)

452 **As the tide of war recedes, a wave of change has washed across the Middle East and**
453 **North Africa, from Tunis to Cairo; from Sana'a to Tripoli.** A year ago, Qaddafi was
454 one of the world's longest-serving dictators — a murderer with American blood on his

455 hands. Today, he is gone. **And in Syria, I have no doubt that the Assad regime will**
456 **soon discover that the forces of change cannot be reversed**, and that human dignity
457 cannot be denied. (Applause.)

458 How this incredible transformation will end remains uncertain. But we have a huge stake
459 in the outcome. And while it's ultimately up to the people of the region to decide their fate,
460 we will advocate for those values that have served our own country so well. **We will stand**
461 **against violence and intimidation.** We will stand for the rights and dignity of all human
462 beings -- men and women; Christians, Muslims and Jews. **We will support policies that**
463 **lead to strong and stable democracies and open markets**, because tyranny is no match
464 for liberty.

465 And we will safeguard America's own security against those who threaten our citizens, our
466 friends, and our interests. Look at Iran. Through the power of our diplomacy, a world that
467 was once divided about how to deal with Iran's nuclear program now stands as one. The
468 regime is more isolated than ever before; its leaders are faced with crippling sanctions, and
469 as long as they shirk their responsibilities, this pressure will not relent.

470 Let there be no doubt: America is determined to prevent Iran from getting a nuclear
471 weapon, and I will take no options off the table to achieve that goal. (Applause.)

472 But a peaceful resolution of this issue is still possible, and far better, **and if Iran changes**
473 **course and meets its obligations, it can rejoin the community of nations.**

474 The renewal of American leadership can be felt across the globe. Our oldest alliances in
475 Europe and Asia are stronger than ever. Our ties to the Americas are deeper. Our ironclad
476 commitment -- and I mean ironclad -- to Israel's security has meant the closest military
477 cooperation between our two countries in history. (Applause.)

478 **We've made it clear that America is a Pacific power, and a new beginning in Burma**
479 **has lit a new hope. From the coalitions we've built to secure nuclear materials, to the**
480 **missions we've led against hunger and disease;** from the blows we've dealt to our
481 enemies, to the enduring power of our moral example, America is back.

482 **Anyone who tells you otherwise, anyone who tells you that America is in decline or**
483 **that our influence has waned, doesn't know what they're talking about.** (Applause.)

484 That's not the message we get from leaders around the world who are eager to work with
485 us. That's not how people feel from Tokyo to Berlin, from Cape Town to Rio, where
486 **opinions of America are higher than they've been in years.** Yes, the world is changing.
487 **No, we can't control every event.** But America remains the one indispensable nation in
488 world affairs -- and as long as I'm President, I intend to keep it that way. (Applause.)

489 That's why, working with our military leaders, I've proposed a new defense strategy that
490 ensures we maintain the finest military in the world, while saving nearly half a trillion
491 dollars in our budget. **To stay one step ahead of our adversaries, I've already sent this**

492 **Congress legislation that will secure our country from the growing dangers of cyber-**
493 **threats.** (Applause.)

494 Above all, our freedom endures because of the men and women in uniform who defend it.
495 (Applause.) As they come home, we must serve them as well as they've served us. **That**
496 **includes giving them the care and the benefits they have earned** — which is why we've
497 increased annual VA spending every year I've been President. (Applause.) **And it means**
498 **enlisting our veterans in the work of rebuilding our nation.**

499 With the bipartisan support of this Congress, we're providing new tax credits to companies
500 that hire vets. Michelle and Jill Biden have worked with American businesses to secure a
501 pledge of 135,000 jobs for veterans and their families. And tonight, I'm proposing a
502 Veterans Jobs Corps that will help our communities hire veterans as cops and firefighters,
503 so that America is as strong as those who defend her. (Applause.)

504 **Which brings me back to where I began.** Those of us who've been sent here to serve can
505 learn a thing or two from the service of our troops. When you put on that uniform, it
506 doesn't matter if you're black or white; Asian, Latino, Native American; conservative,
507 liberal; rich, poor; gay, straight. **When you're marching into battle, you look out for the**
508 **person next to you, or the mission fails. When you're in the thick of the fight, you rise**
509 **or fall as one unit, serving one nation, leaving no one behind.**

510 One of my proudest possessions is the flag that the SEAL Team took with them on the
511 mission to get bin Laden. On it are each of their names. Some may be Democrats. Some
512 may be Republicans. But that doesn't matter. Just like it didn't matter that day in the
513 Situation Room, when I sat next to Bob Gates -- a man who was George Bush's defense
514 secretary -- **and Hillary Clinton -- a woman who ran against me for president.**

515 All that mattered that day was the mission. No one thought about politics. No one thought
516 about themselves. One of the young men involved in the raid later told me that he didn't
517 deserve credit for the mission. It only succeeded, he said, because every single member of
518 that unit did their job -- the pilot who landed the helicopter that spun out of control; the
519 translator who kept others from entering the compound; the troops who separated the
520 women and children from the fight; the SEALs who charged up the stairs. More than that,
521 the mission only succeeded because every member of that unit trusted each other -- because
522 you can't charge up those stairs, into darkness and danger, unless you know that there's
523 somebody behind you, watching your back.

524 So it is with America. Each time I look at that flag, I'm reminded that our destiny is
525 stitched together like those 50 stars and those 13 stripes. **No one built this country on**
526 **their own. This nation is great because we built it together.** This nation is great
527 because we worked as a team. This nation is great because we get each other's backs. And
528 if we hold fast to that truth, in this moment of trial, there is no challenge too great; no
529 mission too hard. **As long as we are joined in common purpose, as long as we maintain**
530 **our common resolve, our journey moves forward, and our future is hopeful, and the**
531 **state of our Union will always be strong.**

532 Thank you, God bless you, and God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

George W. Bush's Inaugural address

Line	Predication	Conceptual Metaphor	Appraisal item												
			A			J			E						
			A	A	A					E		E			
			F	F	F	J	J	E		P		P			
U	S	S	E	I	D		R		B						
			S	E	S	E	D	C	E	P	E	L	H		
1	the peaceful transfer of authority	[AUTHORITY IS AN OBJECT]				1									
2	With a simple oath, we affirm old traditions and make new beginnings.	[POLITICS IS A JOURNEY]					1								
6	a contest conducted with spirit and ended with grace.	[ELECTIONS ARE A JOURNEY]				1									
7	I am honored and humbled to stand here, where so many of America's leaders have come before me, and so many will follow.	[POLITICS IS A JOURNEY] [POWER IS A PLACE]					1				1				
9	We have a place, all of us, in a long story--a story we continue, but whose end we will not see	[HISTORY IS A PLACE] [HISTORY IS A JOURNEY]									1				
13	united across the generations by grand and enduring ideals.	[IDEALS ARE TIES]					1								
17	Americans are called to enact this promise in our lives and in our laws	[SOCIETY IS A PLAY]				1									
17	though our nation has sometimes halted, and sometimes delayed, we must follow no other course.	[POLITICS IS A JOURNEY]						1			1				
20	America's faith in freedom and democracy was a rock in a raging sea.	[POLITICS ARE NATURAL EVENTS]					1								

George W. Bush's first State of the Union

Line	Predication	Conceptual metaphor	Appraisal item											
			A			J			E					
			A	A	A	J	J	J	E	E	E	E	E	E
			F	F	F	E	I	D	P	R	B	P	P	P
U	S	S	S	S	S	D	D	R	R	B	B	B		
			S	E	S	E	D	C	E	P	E	L	H	
13	We'll be partners in rebuilding that country	[NATIONS ARE BUILDINGS]						1				1		
23	we are winning the war on terror	[TERROR IS AN ENEMY]				1								
25	you will not escape the justice of this nation	[JUSTICE IS AN ENEMY]						1						
27	these four months have brought sorrow, and pain that will never completely go away	[SORROW IS AN OBJECT] [PAIN IS AN OBJECT]				1								
36	Michael and all who gave their lives for freedom.	[LIFE IS AN OBJECT] [FREEDOM IS A PRECIOUS OBJECT]						1						
39	We have seen the depth of our enemies' hatred in videos	[BAD IS DOWN]				1						1		
40	And the depth of their hatred is equaled by the madness of the destruction they design	[BAD IS DOWN]				1								
45	our war against terror is only beginning	[TERROR IS AN ENEMY]										1		
57	bring terrorists to justice	[JUSTICE IS A						1						

		PLACE]																		
61	Our military has put the terror training camps of Afghanistan out of business	[WAR IS A BUSSINESS]							1					1						
62	A terrorist underworld	[BAD IS DOWN]					1													
71	eliminate the terrorist parasites who threaten their countries and our own	[WAR IS A LIVING ENTITY]							1										1	
72	Pakistan is now cracking down on terror	[NATIONS ARE OBJECTS]					1													
75	But some governments will be timid in the face of terror	[TERROR IS AN ENEMY]							1											
77	Our second goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America	[TERROR IS AN ENEMY]							1					1						
81	Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror	[WAR IS A CHASE]					1													
90	these regimes pose a grave and growing danger	[DANGER IS A LIVING ENTITY]					1													
93	the price of indifference would be catastrophic	[INDIFFERENCE IS A VALUABLE OBJECT]					1													
94	We will work closely with our coalition to deny terrorists and their state sponsors	[WAR IS A BUSSINESS]											1						1	
99	yet time is not on our side	[WAR IS A ROAD]											1							
100	I will not stand by, as peril draws closer and closer	[WAR IS A JOURNEY]							1										1	
103	Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun.	[TERROR IS AN ENEMY]											1						1	
103	This campaign may not be finished on our watch	[WAR IS A JOURNEY]											1							
105	We can't stop short.	[WAR IS A JOURNEY]							1											
105	If we stop now -- leaving terror camps intact and terror states unchecked	[WAR IS A JOURNEY]							1											1
109	Our first priority must always be the security of our nation, and that will be reflected in the budget I send to Congress	[GOOD IS LIGHT]					1													
111	we will revive our economy	[ECONOMY IS A											1						1	

George W. Bush's third State of the Union

Line	Predication	Conceptual Metaphor	Appraisal item												
			A			J			E						
			A	A	A					E		E		E	
			F	F	F	J	J	E		P		P		P	
U	S	S	E	I	D		R		B		B				
			S	E	S	E	D	C	E	P	E	L	H		
2	we are rising to meet them	[GOOD IS UP]				1									
5	By bringing hope to the oppressed, and delivering justice to the violent	[HOPE IS AN OBJECT] [JUSTICE IS AN OBJECT]				1									
7	Each day, law enforcement personnel and intelligence officers are tracking terrorist threats	[WAR IS A CHASE]						1							
11	The American economy is growing stronger	[ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY]						1							
12	The tax relief you passed is working	[TAXES ARE DISEASES]						1							
14	members of Congress can take pride	[PRIDE IS AN OBJECT]						1							
15	You're raising the standards for our public schools	[GOOD IS UP]						1							
16	you are giving our senior citizens prescription drug coverage	[HEALTH IS A SHELTER]						1							
18	We have faced serious challenges together	[CHALLENGES ARE ENEMIES]						1							
18	and now we face a choice	[CHOICES ARE ENEMIES]									1				
18	We can go forward with confidence and resolve, or we can turn back to the dangerous illusion that	[POLITICS IS A JOURNEY]									1				

	economy																	
174	We have come through recession, and terrorist attack, and corporate scandals, and the uncertainties of war.	[PROBLEMS ARE PLACES]								1							1	
176	And because you acted to stimulate our economy with tax relief, this economy is strong, and growing stronger.	[ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY] [TAXES ARE A DISEASE]								1								
178	cut taxes on small businesses	[TAXES ARE DISEASES] [ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY]								1								
179	you have lowered taxes for every American who pays income taxes.	[GOOD IS DOWN]								1								
181	Americans took those dollars and put them to work, driving this economy forward.	[ECONOMY IS A VEHICLE] [ECONOMY IS A JOURNEY]								1								
182	The pace of economic growth in the third quarter of 2003 was the fastest in nearly 20 years	[ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY]								1								
183	new home construction, the highest in almost 20 years	[GOOD IS UP]								1								
183	home ownership rates, the highest ever	[GOOD IS UP]								1								
184	Manufacturing activity is increasing	[GOOD IS UP]								1								
184	Inflation is low	[GOOD IS DOWN]								1								
184	Interest rates are low	[GOOD IS DOWN]								1								
185	Exports are growing	[EXPORTS ARE LIVING ENTITIES]								1								
185	Productivity is high, and jobs are on the rise	[GOOD IS UP]								1								
189	America's growing economy is also a changing economy	[ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY]								1								
192	Much of our job growth will be found in high-skilled fields like health	[EMPLOYMENT IS A LIVING ENTITY]								1							1	

	care and biotechnology																		
198	We're requiring higher standards	[GOOD IS UP]							1						1				
199	We are reporting results to parents, and making sure they have better options when schools are not performing	[EDUCATION IS A PLAY]						1								1			
200	We are making progress toward excellence for every child in America	[EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY]							1						1				
202	But the status quo always has defenders	[STATUS QUO IS A PRECIOUS OBJECT] [POLITICS IS WAR]												1					
202	Some want to undermine the No Child Left Behind Act by weakening standards and accountability	[POLITICS IS WAR] [EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY]						1											
205	Testing is the only way to identify and help students who are falling behind	[EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY]													1				
206	This nation will not go back to the days of simply shuffling children along from grade to grade without them learning the basics	[EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY]													1				
208	the No Child Left Behind Act is opening the door of opportunity to all of America's children	[EDUCATION IS A CONTAINER] [EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY]													1				
213	This program will provide extra help to middle and high school students who fall behind in reading and math	[EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY]													1				
218	I propose increasing our support for America's fine community colleges	[GOOD IS UP]													1				1
220	we'll help more and more Americans to join in the growing prosperity of our country	[PROSPERITY IS A LIVING ENTITY]													1				1

	Medicare plan that fits them best	CLOTHING]																	
281	to take away their prescription drug coverage under Medicare, will meet my veto	[HEALTH IS A SHELTER]						1							1				
284	our goal is to ensure that Americans can choose and afford private health care coverage that best fits their individual needs	[HEALTH IS CLOTHING[[HEALTH IS A SHELTER]						1							1				
286	Congress must act to address rapidly rising health care costs	[BAD IS UP]						1											
287	Small businesses should be able to band together	[ECONOMY IS WAR]						1											
298	A government-run health care system is the wrong prescription	[SOCIALISM IS A DISEASE]						1	1										
299	By keeping costs under control, expanding access, and helping more Americans afford coverage	[BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL IS DOWN] [HEALTH IS A SHELTER]						1											
302	We are living in a time of great change	[TIME IS A PLACE]																	
306	These institutions, these unseen pillars of civilization, must remain strong in America, and we will defend them	[CIVILIZATION IS A BUILDING] [INSTITUTIONS ARE LIVING ENTITIES] [POLITICS IS WAR]						1							1				
310	One of the worst decisions our children can make is to gamble their lives and futures on drugs	[LIFE IS A GAMBLING GAME]																	
311	Our government is helping parents confront this problem with aggressive education, treatment, and law enforcement	[DRUG ADDICTION IS AN ENEMY]						1											
314	I proposed new funding to continue our aggressive, community-based strategy	[DRUG ADDICTION IS AN ENEMY]						1							1				

	to reduce demand for illegal drugs																		
320	Athletics play such an important role in our society	[SOCIETY IS A PLAY]				1													
323	that there are shortcuts to accomplishment	[ACCOMPLISHMENT IS A MACHINE]				1													
324	that performance is more important than character	[SOCIETY IS A PLAY]				1													
328	we must be willing to confront the dangers young people face	[DANGERS ARE ENEMIES]					1						1						
331	I propose a grassroots campaign	[POLITICS IS A PLANT]												1					
338	A strong America must also value the institution of marriage	[NATIONS ARE LIVING ENTITIES]					1												
341	That statute protects marriage under federal law as a union of a man and a woman	[MARRIAGE IS A PRECIOUS OBJECT]				1									1				
348	Our nation must defend the sanctity of marriage	[MARRIAGE IS A PRECIOUS OBJECT]				1								1					
352	It's also important to strengthen our communities by unleashing the compassion of America's religious institutions	[SOCIETY IS A LIVING ENTITY] [RELIGION IS A BEAST]				1													
362	This year, some 600,000 inmates will be released from prison back into society	[SOCIETY IS A CONTAINER]							1										
368	when the gates of the prison open, the path ahead should lead to a better life	[LIFE IS A JOURNEY]				1													
371	In grief, we have found the grace to go on	[POLITICS IS A JOURNEY]							1						1				
374	And having come this far, we sense that we live in a time set apart	[POLITICS IS A JOURNEY]							1										
376	All of us have been partners in a great	[DEMOCRACY IS BUSSINESS]							1						1				

Barack Obama's first State of the Union

Line	Predication	Conceptual Metaphor	Appraisal item												
			A			J			E						
			A	A	A							E	E	E	E
F	F	F	J	J	J	E	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	
U	S	S	S	S	S	D	D	D	C	E	P	E	L	H	
8	we have fought fiercely for our beliefs	[POLITICS IS A WAR]							1					1	
11	there's a reason the tragedy in Tucson gave us pause	[POLITICS IS A JOURNEY]										1			
21	What comes of this moment is up to us	[TIME IS A PLACE]						1							
22	What comes of this moment will be determined not by whether we can sit together tonight	[TIME IS A PLACE]						1							
28	We will move forward together, or not at all	[POLITICS IS A JOURNEY]						1					1		
28	for the challenges we face are bigger than party, and bigger than politics.	[CHALLENGE S ARE ENEMIES]							1			1			
31	At stake is whether new jobs and industries take root in this country	[ECONOMY IS A PLANT]							1						
32	It's whether we sustain the leadership that has made America not just a place on a map, but the light to the world	[GOOD IS LIGHT]							1						
35	Two years after the worst recession most of us have ever known, the stock market has come roaring back	[STOCK MARKET IS A BEAST]							1						
36	Corporate profits are up	[GOOD IS UP]							1						
36	The economy is growing again	[ECONOMY IS A LIVING ENTITY]							1						
38	But we have never measured progress by these yardsticks	[PROGRESS IS AN OBJECT]								1					

	America's community colleges																		
209	she wants to inspire her children to pursue their dreams, too	[EDUCATION IS A CHASE]					1												
211	If we take these steps -- if we raise expectations for every child	[GOOD IS UP] [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY]								1									1
213	we will reach the goal that I set two years ago	[EDUCATION IS A SPORT] [POLITICS IS A SPORT]								1									1
213	America will once again have the highest proportion of college graduates in the world	[GOOD IS UP] [MORE IS UP]								1									1
221	But as soon as they obtain advanced degrees, we send them back home to compete against us. It makes no sense.	[ECONOMY IS A SPORT]								1			1						
225	enforce our laws and address the millions of undocumented workers who are now living in the shadows	[BAD IS DARK]								1									
230	The third step in winning the future is rebuilding America	[POLITICS IS A JOURNEY] [FUTURE IS A REWARD] [NATIONS ARE BUILDINGS]											1						
238	The jobs created by these projects didn't just come from laying down track or pavement	[POLITICS IS A JOURNEY]											1	1					
240	They came from businesses that opened near a town's new train station or the new off-ramp	[BUSSINESSE S ARE PLACES]											1						
248	Within 25 years	[TIME IS A CONTAINER]																	
252	Within the next five years, we'll make it possible for businesses to deploy the next generation of high-speed wireless coverage to 98 percent of all Americans	[TIME IS A CONTAINER] [TECHNOLOGY IS A SHELTER]											1						1
254	this isn't about faster Internet or fewer dropped calls	[BAD IS DOWN]																	1
261	But to help our companies compete, we also have to knock down barriers that stand in the	[ECONOMY IS A SPORT] [ECONOMY IS											1						1

	now race across borders, so can new threats and new challenges	A SPORT]																	
402	And America's moral example must always shine for all who yearn for freedom and justice and dignity	[GOOD IS LIGHT]				1													
406	Look to Iraq, where nearly 100,000 of our brave men and women have left with their heads held high	[GOOD IS UP]							1										
407	violence is down	[GOOD IS DOWN]							1										
408	This year, our civilians will forge a lasting partnership with the Iraqi people, while we finish the job of bringing our troops out of Iraq	[RELATIONS ARE BUILDINGS]								1									
410	The Iraq war is coming to an end	[WAR IS A JOURNEY]								1									
419	Our purpose is clear	[GOOD IS LIGHT]																	
422	Thanks to our heroic troops and civilians, fewer Afghans are under the control of the insurgency	[BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL IS DOWN]				1				1									
423	There will be tough fighting ahead	[POLITICS IS A WAR] [POLITICS IS A JOURNEY]								1									
424	But we are strengthening the capacity of the Afghan people and building an enduring partnership with them	[RELATIONS ARE BUILDINGS] [CAPACITIES ARE LIVING ENTITIES]									1				1				
428	In Pakistan, al Qaeda's leadership is under more pressure than at any point since 2001	[BAD IS DOWN]									1								
438	the Iranian government now faces tougher sanctions, tighter sanctions than ever before	[SANCTIONS ARE ENEMIES] [SANCTIONS ARE OBJECTS]									1								
440	insist that North Korea keeps its	[NUCLEAR									1								

