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**Corpus-Based Study of Agency in Selected Speeches by
Barak Obama**

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Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master in Sciences of Language**

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Dedication

To the soul of my father

To my mother

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Abstract

The language of politics is a sturdy field and a solid basis for critical discourse analysis studies. Thus, the current study is conducted to explore how Barak Obama manipulates agency throughout the use of some syntactic devices. The analysis of the corpora is based on the Hallidayan Systemic Functional Grammar mainly on the ideational and interpersonal meta-functions. Also, in this study, Critical Discourse Analysis is introduced with the aim to uncover the hidden ideologies and policies in Obama's speeches. Through smart linguistic choices, Obama represents his political, economic, and religious ideologies with some kind of implicit exhibition of power and dominance. In this study, a qualitative approach has been adopted for this research. In addition, a descriptive, analytic interpretive method is used. The findings reveal that Obama manipulates agency through the use of the following syntactic devices like passive voice, negation, which is widely adopted, nominalization, and perfect aspect sometimes. Throughout the analysis, it has been noticed that Obama tends to use action/dynamic verbs which connotes to his dynamism; therefore, one can sum up that he is an agentive actor trying to achieve what he claimed for "change".

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1. Introduction

Language pervades many areas of life and politics is not an exception. It could, therefore, be the vehicle of a certain ideology; which is implied within the mechanics of language. It is a means of expressing, exchanging, and transferring ideas, thoughts or experiences among people. Hence, it is a very intricate aspect because it needs considerable efforts to infer what the other side means. In fact, due to its complexity, politicians do their best to produce appropriate and ideologically influential verbal expressions. Indeed, the basic assumption is that language cannot be separated from politics. It is integrated within institutional fields of politics such as: parliamentary discourse, election campaigns, party programs, etc. Consequently, Every politician, when he/she starts preparing a discourse he/ she should focus on different dimensions; for instance, he/ she may use metaphors to make the abstract concrete, stylistic devices to persuade the audience, and/or a number of language structures to imbed a certain political agenda.

Therefore, politicians tend to use some linguistic structures and syntactic techniques to evoke various reactions from the part of their audiences. Consequently, Different ideologies result from using various ways of producing words. Hence, they employ syntactic transformations of sentences that they may label through passivation, nominalization, etc. in order to make agency invisible/covert and thereby obscure who did what to whom (Keith, p. 626).

This work is intended to examine how Barak Obama manipulates agency throughout the use of some syntactic devices. In order to do so, four speeches have been used. The analysis of these speeches based on Hallidayan Systemic Functional Grammar. Additionally, the practical section of this study is based on Boughuerra's work adopted from his book entitled "Le Dit et Le non- Dit. A Propos De L'Algerie ET DE L'Algerien. Chez ALBERT CAMUS

in order to observe how agency is suppressed or expressed through the use of number of syntactic devices which will be displayed in the practical section of this study.

2. Statement of the Problem

Power is cognizanced as an abstract idea that has a great impact on the way people think and act. The main objective of power is domination. Domination, on the other hand, refers to the power to exercise control over a targeted people/ country. Accordingly, the use of powerful means of language is humdrum in politics. That is, politicians have to be careful in picking up the most appropriate words to shape, influence, and persuade the public opinion. Yet, the devices used in the manipulation of agency in a political discourse as well as their stylistic function/purpose, which could be overt and/or covert, are not always the same in all political discourses.

Thus, the main research question that stems from all what has been already mentioned is as follows: How does Barak Obama's manipulation of agency in his number of speeches correlate with his political agenda?

This major research question, in turn, presupposes answering a number of subsidiary questions:

1. What are the techniques used by Barak Obama to manipulate agency?
2. Is agency clear/ unclear in Barak Obama's political speeches?
3. What kind of linguistic choices and language mechanics does Barak Obama select in order to accomplish his political ideologies/ tasks?
4. What type of processes are mostly used in Barak Obama's speeches?

3. Significance of the Study

The significance of the current research is to examine and investigate selected political speeches by Obama in order to find out the relationship between language, ideology and power and how power is used in order to persuade the audience to manipulate their ideologies. More than that, how agency is presented (overtly or covertly) in order to accomplish/gain a given political agenda.

4. Aim of the Study

The objective of any research is to discover answers/ solutions to questions via the application of the scientific procedures. Kothari states that: ‘the main aim of a research is to find out the truth which is hidden and which has not been discovered as yet’ (p. 2). Hence the present work concerns its self with the agency as semantico- syntactic feature of language and how this may reflect embedded ideologies and power relations that could be presented by the African American president Houssein Barak Obama’ political speeches.

5. Methodology

The methodology of the work is mixed approach (a mixture between qualitative, a quantitative approaches) because of its nature. Therefore, a descriptive- analytical- interpretive method is used in order to obtain data about the ideologies and power relations in selected speeches by Barak Obama. Furthermore, there is no control or manipulation of the variables. That is, there is no independent variables (IV) and dependent variable (DV) or no cause and effect.

5.1. Population and Sampling

Population in this research refers to the political speeches that were delivered by Barak Obama. These speeches will be analyzed at different levels. The sample of this study is composed of some selected speeches which were delivered by Barak Obama. These speeches are mainly the state of the union address 2014- 2015 and other speeches.

5.2. Data Analysis Procedure

The procedure of analyzing the collected data is as follows: first, the speeches are downloaded from the internet, second these data will be read extensively with a critical eye about how Barak Obama's manipulates agency. Third, these data will be analyzed according to the theories that will be discussed in the theoretical framework. After the collection of the data for this study, a referential identity method is employed in order to depict/ identify sentences in the various speeches to show how modal verbs are used. Additionally, a segmenting technique is adopted in this study. It is used in order to classify the data in some elements that is specified previously.

6. Limitation of the Study

The current work is limited in scope and time. In addition to that, it is limited to the study and analysis of selected political speeches by the president Barak Obama.

7. The structure of the Dissertation

In order to answer the afore-mentioned research questions, this present study has been planned so as to include mainly three chapters, with the aim to exhibit the development of the study from theoretical to practical sections or chapters. First, Chapter One presents the main theoretical framework about the topic that will be analyzed. Some concepts are presented throughout the chapter like Agency, what is meant by linguistic choices, political ideology and Systemic Functional Grammar. Second, Chapter Two discusses the research methodology that will be used. It deals with research approach and method that will be used. More than that, the research paradigm will include the approach and the method that will be employed in the analysis of the corpora. Finally, last chapter which is entitled **Data Analysis** discusses the results, analysis and the interpretation obtained from the analysis of the targeted corpora.

Introduction

Language is inseparable from human beings as it is used in whole walks of life. It has a vital role that facilitate for humans to communicate their ideas, ideologies, attitudes, and actions. Language is; therefore, an indispensable source for politics. That is to say, the role of language is clearly recognized. Having said that, all politicians use language in order to persuade and convince the public audience about their ideologies and plans. Thereupon, the present study is concerned with how Obama's manipulation of agency correlates with his political agenda. In order to do so, the study is based on Systemic functional grammar focusing mainly on the ideational and the interpersonal meta-functions of language. Moreover, systemic functional grammar is adopted in order to analyze clauses, namely participants and processes with the aim to identify where and where not agency is expressed. Additionally, it is used in order to study the main peels of clauses, more specifically, the participants and the processes with a reference to agency. This chapter deals with CDA in order to decipher Obama's ideology. It then presents Functional Stylistics with agency. Finally, this theoretical chapter ends with a brief literature review about previous studies that had been conducted about our current investigation.

1.1. A Short Profile of Barak Hussein Obama

Barak Hussein Obama is the first Afro- American man to become the 44th president, which is regarded as a breakthrough in the American history. He was born on August 4, 1961, in Hawaii and has lived in many different places like: Indonesia. His mother was from Kansas and his father from Kenya (Aschale, 2013). He had been upbringing in humble / ordinary circumstances. After that, He attended Columbia University in New York in order to study political science and international.

In 1996, Barak Obama won a seat in the Illinois state senate, his policy based, on a large scale, on preparing the bulk of the members of the society. Then, unsuccessfully with all these

efforts, Obama lost the race against Bobby Rush, the incumbent democrat, to get a seat in the house of representative. After that, once the way towards the U.S senate Illinois became free-for- all, Obama was successfully lucky to capture the democratic nomination having in that the lion' s share in the vote (Clarck, p. 7).

With the huge number of Republicans in the U.S senate (100 members), Democrats assumed that the senatorial contest in Illinois is in a critical situation to retake the senate in November 2006. Barak Obama's Oratory skills, polished language, and direct style has boosted his campaign and made good impression on the Democratic Party which, in turn, motivated John Kerry to clinch and declare the decision for the selection of Obama's as a keynote speaker (Clarck, p. 6).

In 2007, Obama with seven members of the democratic contenders started to organize their propaganda for the presidential election against the candidate Senator Hillary Clinton. Finally, On January 3' 2008, Barak Obama scored an upset victory over Clinton. (ibid, 7).

1.2.1. Achievements of Barack Obama

Reena Flores (2015) wrote In spite of the many difficulties that faced Mr. Obama, accomplishments showed how humble and hard worker he is. Throughout this work, we try to display some of his achievements like: economic, political and health care achievements <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/obamas>.

1.2.1.1. Economic Achievements

Avery strong economic strategies have been adopted and followed by President Obama to decrease the number of unemployment in the USA .In October, the unemployment rate fell to 05 per cent and remained so at that level ever since. Also, president Obama himself said that he have added 13.7 million new jobs over 69 months streak of job growth. Only strong economy can maintain such results. (ibid).

1.2.1.2. More Americans Getting Health Insurance Coverage

Despite the many changes that has resulted from the Affordable Care Act (ACA). The president's landmark health bill survived 2015. The support that has been offered to the legislative by Obama, the Supreme Court played an important role in ruling 6-3 decision that the federal government can give out subsidies to its entire consensus in all states, no matter what they have signed in exchange. Also, thanks to the Affordable Care Act, the rate of uninsured people fell below 10per cent for the first time in the American history. Mr. Obama said in his video."In all, 17,6 million people and climbing have gained coverage at that (APA) has taken effect." (ibid).

1.2.1.3. America's Global Leadership on the Climate Change

The agenda of the climate change was among the many crucial issues discussed by President Obama. (ibid).

1.2.1.4. U.S Cuba Relations

Although the tensions between Cuba and USA and as a sign of peacefulness, the USA Embassy in Cuba has been reopened in August .And it was the American flag that has fallen in the Cuban Sky after 54 years, a sign of peace between the two countries. The disagreements between both countries have been ended and a new age. Consequently, new policies and new diplomatic relations has been which facilitated to business grown more rapidly and more easily. (ibid).

1.2.1.5. Iran Nuclear War

In spite of the strong Republican objection against the deal that was made by Iran and the strongest powers including USA, the deal was voted for by the congress. It was a clever decision to stop Iran from manufacturing uranium weapons. It was, therefore, a smart diplomatic move. (ibid).

1.2.1.6. Standing Strong against Terrorism

Americans generally are still frightened from 11/09 attacks that were claimed by the terrorists. Thus, Americans could not forget and they developed a kind of phobia to terrorism. Despite the fact that it is a strong nation; it is not immune or invincible. Even the schooling in San Bernardino left the nation under a psychological shock and continuous future suspect strikes. (ibid).

To sum up, these are the main achievements that had been realized by the president Barak Obama. They are included in this research just to help us in the understanding of the analysis of the speeches (mainly the state of the union speeches) in order to have an idea about his domestic and foreign policy which could be helpful in the analysis of his speeches.

1.2. Systemic Functional Grammar

Language plays a vital role in society. This probably explains why people depend on it in their interactions. That is why it has a crucial role/ part in society through which people may communicate verbally. In addition to this, by using language, people interact through different mediums/ forms spoken or written. These forms are referred to as Text(s).

Therefore, a text is viewed by Halliday (1985) as a semantic unit. For him, “language is interpreted as a system of meanings, accompanied by forms through which the meanings can be realized and answer the questions, how are these meanings expressed?” (P. xiv as cited in Mahmood, Amber, Amer, & Faiz, 2014, p. 78). More than that, “text can be defined as the actual use of the language.” (Widdowson, 2010, p.4). Texts are, therefore, divided into Spoken and written. They, in their written/ spoken form, are simply a product of language in a particular society. For this reason, all linguistic phenomena are social. In other part, grammatical theory which is regarded as a part of the Systemic Functional Grammar was discussed by the famous Austrian Linguist M.A.K Halliday. Thanks to his deep studies and

analyses of the various linguistic theories, he attained the idea that language function has crucial roles in exploring the different mainly political discourses.

Systemic Functional Grammar (henceforth SFG) seeks how languages are generated. It stems from Jhon Rupert Firth's works (System- Structure Theory). This approach is also known as Neo- Firthian Linguistics (Willock, 1993 as cited in Gozager, 2011, p. 88). What is important to Firth at that time is meaning viewed as a function of a linguistic item. In order to understand how language works, therefore, we have to put it in use. i.e., it would be impossible to decipher the meaning of the language outside its social context. Later, Firth's student Halliday adopts and develops his teacher's view of language as a meaning-making system. Hence, he claims that systemic theory is a theory of meaning as choice, by which a language, or any other semiotic system is interpreted as a network (1994, p. F40).

Henceforth, Language is used to accomplish various functional purposes. Then, what is said depends on what is needed. In short, Systemic functional grammar has a basic function which is to analyze or study the meaning of the language. It is worth mentioning that the functions of the language are known as meta-functions .In continuity of what is said, Halliday proceeds more abstract, sophisticated and well- coded linguistic, i.e., grammatical description of language functions or meta-functions which have their significance in clauses. Hence, those meta-functions are expounded by Halliday and Matthiessen in that "ideational meaning deals with representing the world and experiences. Interpersonal meaning informs the interaction between participants. Then textual meaning explores the development of messages" (2004, pp. 58-59).

1.2.1The Ideational Function

Ideational meaning, sometimes referred to as experiential meaning, is aimed to reveal the way experience is represented, or described through linguistic (text). In ideational meaning,

the focus is on the participants, processes and circumstances. In order to identify the ideational meaning, Halliday claims that

Language has to interpret the whole of our experience, reducing the indefinitely varied phenomena of the world around us, and also of the world inside us, the processes of our own consciousness, to a manageable number of classes of phenomena: types of processes, events and actions, classes of objects, people and institutions and the like. (1978, p. 21 as cited in Mahmood, Amber, Amer, & Faiz, 2014).

Through the ideational function, people may embed their experiences of the worlds. Thereon, people convey messages, information by using a language. Thus, it gives the speaker/ writer an opportunity to know what is going on in the inner or the outer world. Accordingly, Halliday and Matthiessen claimed that “language provides a theory of human experience” (2004, p. 29). In other words, this function deals with the experiences, situations in which the speakers or the agents are involved. Martin and Rose point out that

Ideation focuses on the content of a discourse - what kinds of activities are undertaken, and how participants undertaking these activities are described and classified. These are ideational kinds of meaning that realize the field of a text. (2003, p. 17)

Furthermore, Ideational meta-function is concerned with the clause representation. That is, the analysis of the ideational meaning is carried out at the level of the clause, and this is usually realized by the transitivity system throughout the layout of participants, processes, and circumstances. For further explanation about the ideational meaning in a clause, the following

clause is an example; *she gives her mother a gift in Paris*. The word *give* is considered a type of process which is material. In this clause, there are two participants that are involved within the process. *She* is the actor who does the process. The one who gets the benefit from this action is *her mother*. *Her mother* is acted as a receiver. The goal from the action is *a gift* which is some kind of a thing. This clause has an adverbial group that is *in Paris*. It is considered a circumstantial element, a place where the activity happens. In sum, we have the representation of a process participant, and circumstance. The clause displays the ideational meaning which is realized through transitivity system.

1.2.1. 1. Process, Participant and circumstance

Halliday (1994), in his book entitled *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, claims that there are three main semantic concepts that aim at expounding the way in which the phenomena of real world is presented in a form of linguistic items. To achieve this purpose, processes, participants and circumstances are regarded as the component of the clause. They are actualized via the units of grammar: verbal groups for the process, nominal groups for the participants and finally, prepositional and / or adverbial groups for the circumstances (p. 109). For instance, the following clause works as an illustration: *They met in London*. We have a process “meet”, a participant “they” and a circumstantial element in a form of an adverbial group “in London”. To put it in a nutshell way, transitivity theory helps us to understand our experience by using processes with participants and occasionally circumstances revolving around these process as illustrated in the table and figure bellow.

Table.1. Typically Experiential functions of group and phrase Classes. (Halliday& Matthiessen 2004, p.177).

Type element	Typically realized by
❖ Process	❖ Verbal group
❖ Participant	❖ Nominal group
❖ Circumstance	❖ Adverbial group pr prepositional phrase

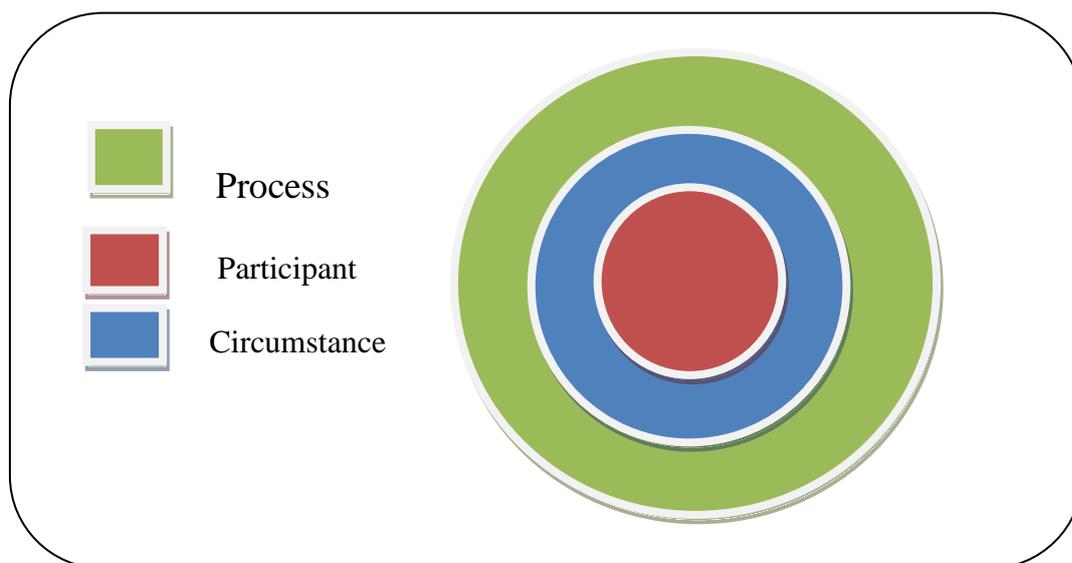


Figure.1. Central and peripheral elements in the experiential structure of the clause. (Halliday& Matthiessen, 2014, p. 222).

Before starting the discussion about the various types of processes, there is a dire need to shed the light on a brief overview of what is known as participants or the subjects. A participant is usually an element that is involved/ used in the process. Thus, it is regarded, from a grammatical perspective, as an element which is related/ linked to the verb without need to any preposition as an intermediary. Moreover, participants can be grouped into: beneficiary which has been viewed by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 293) “the one to whom or for whom the process is said to take place”. Additionally, Halliday refers to the actor as the “logical subject”, Goal is “the logical direct object”, and the Range would be, therefore, “logical cognate object” (1994, p. 144). To sum up, the table below presented the various types of participants that are involved in the different process. These participants are as follows.

Table.2. Types of participants (Bloor& Bloor, 2004, p. 131)

Process type	Participant
Material	Actor, beneficiary, scope and initiator (rare)
Mental	Senser and phenomenon
Relational	Carrier, attribute. Identifier , and identified
Verbal	Sayer, verbiage, target, receiver, and quoted/ reported
Existential	Exist
Behavioural	Behaver, and behaviour (rare)

1.2.1.1.1. Processes

Bloor, T & Bloor, M (1995, p.109) refer to the term process as a technical term that is employed in systemic functional grammar theory that tends to express mainly two different purposes: (i) to refer to what is going on in the whole clause, and (ii) to refer to that part of the proposition encoded in the verbal group. There are six types of processes. They are as follows: Mental, Material, Behavioural, Verbal, Existential, and Relational processes.

Table.3. Summary of the Various Processes (Halliday, 1985, p. 131. As cited in Bustam, p. 25).

Process type	Category meaning	Participant
Material:	➤ “Doing”	➤ Actor
➤ Action	➤ “Doing”	➤ Goal
➤ Type	➤ “Happening”	
Behavioral	➤ “Behaving”	➤ Behavior
Mental:	➤ “Sensing”	➤ Senser
➤ Perception	➤ “Seeing”	➤ Phenomenon
➤ Affection	➤ “Feeling”	
➤ Cognition	➤ “Thinking”	
Verbal	➤ “Saying”	➤ Sayer, Target
Relational	➤ “Being”	➤ Token, value
Attribution	➤ “Attributing”	➤ Carrier, attribute
Identification	➤ “Identifying”	➤ Identified, identifier
Existential	➤ “Existing”	➤ Existent

The table above summarizes briefly the various types of process and, meanings and the different participants that are involved in each. What, then, come after is a detailed description of each process with examples to clarify, exemplify and explain these process in a very detailed way.

1.2.1.1.1.1. Material processes: Processes of doing and happening

Material processes or as Bloor, T and Bloor, M noted in their book entitled the functional Analysis of English ‘Process material’ (1995, p. 110). It is a process that expresses the notion that some physical entity does something through, of course, using action verbs. Action verbs such as eat, play, give and so on and so forth. These kinds of processes are known by Halliday as action clauses in the sense that they tend to express facts. Something or someone goes through action. That is why it can be probed by asking the following what did x do? Therefore, two participants are involved in this process. The first participant is known as the actor (or Logical subject) which is the one that does the deed (Halliday and Matthiessen, p. 2004). The second participant refers to the goal of the action which is usually the person or the entity that is affected by the process (Mohamed, Amber, Ameer & Faiz, 2014, p. 80).

1.2.1.1.1.2. Mental Processes: Process of sensing

Mental processes are processes which usually refer to: thinking, feeling, sensing and desiring. They are known as processes of feeling, wanting, thinking, and seeing. That is why they require a description of a state of mind and psychological mind. This kind of process is usually realized via using verbs like: think, know, feel, smell, hear, see, want, like, hate, please, disgust, admire, enjoy, fear, and frighten (Bloor and Bloor, 1995, p. 116). Correspondingly, Halliday and Matthiessen point out that “mental clauses are concerned with our experience of the world of our consciousness” (2014, p. 245). Therefore, it is assumed that mental processes provide an insight to people’s consciousness and how they see the experience of reality. These can be achieved by asking the following: what do you think?

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What do you know? And how do you feel? Therefore, the participant roles in mental process are known as Senser and phenomenon. The first of these refers to what is known as Senser. “It is referred to as the subject that is feeling, thinking, or seeing and the phenomenon which is usually sensed, felt or thought.” (Bustam, 2011, p. 26). Halliday also writes

In mental process, there is always one participant who is human and therefore the one that senses, feels, and thinks or perceives. For example, in Mary liked the gift. In this example, there is a human who is being and endowed with consciousness. (1994, p. 114).

To sum up, mental processes are used in order to encode a mental reaction like perception, cognition, affection, thoughts and feelings. They are internalized.

Table.4. Example of Mental Process: Perception_She saw the teacher

She	Saw (to see)	The teacher
Senser/ subject	Process (mental process)	Phenomenon

Table. 5. Example of Mental Process: Affection or Reaction: Mark loves the ring

Mark	Loves	The ring
Senser/ subject	Process (mental process)	Phenomenon

Table. 6. Example of Mental Process: **Cognition:** I worked hard

I	Worked	Hard
Senser/ subject	Process (mental process)	Circumstance

1.2.1.1.1.3. Behavioural processes: Processes of Behaving

Broadly speaking, this type of process is regarded as an intermediate between the material and mental process. Hence, behavioural process is linked to physiological and/ or psychological behaviours like breathing, coughing, smiling, dreaming and staring (Halliday, 1994, p. 139). This kind of process is typically linked to humans. Most of the behavioural processes contain only just one participant which is usually referred to as behaviour who is typically conscious being. Halliday, therefore, notes that “the participant who is involved in this process is labeled as behavior” (ibid). Additionally, this process usually occurs with circumstantial elements like manner and cause (Eggins, 1994, p. 250- 251). Here is an example of Behavioural process.

She dreamt about her life

Table.7. Example of behavioural process

She	Dreamt	About her life
Behaviour / subject	Process (behavioural)	Circumstance

1.2.1.1.1.4. Verbal Processes

Broadly defined, verbal processes are those that are used for saying like: what did you say? I said it is nosy in here. They are realized via using verbs such: say, tell, talk, praise, boast, and finally describe. The participants involved in this process are as follows: sayer, target, receiver and verbiage. Sayer is the participant who does the verbal process. Receiver is the participants to whom the verbal process is directed. Then “verbiage is the statement of the verbal process such as statement, question, report, answer and story.” (Eggins, 1994, p. 252).

Furthermore, Halliday, in addition to the sayer participants, he gives further explanation to other participant function. He starts first by expounding the first type receiver. For instance, it is the one to whom the saying is directed. Like in: “did you repeat that to your father?” So the receiver could be the subject in a clause which is passive as in: I was not told the whole truth. Second, verbiage, this usually refers to the function that corresponds to what is said. This may mean: (i) the content of what is what is said; (ii) the name of saying. Third the target, by it, Halliday says that it is entity that is targeted by the process of saying (1994, p. 141).

1.2.1.1.1.5. Existential Processes: Processes of Existing

Halliday and Mattheissen claim that existential processes “represent that something exists or happens” (2004, p. 256). In the same way, Eggins says that “Existential processes represent experience by positing that “there was/is something”. This process, therefore, is a process of existence that aims at representing or signaling that something happened or took a place. According to Hancock (2005, p. 240 as cited in Alfiana, p. 57), existential process is a clause that presents an entity as existing without predicating anything additional about it. Furthermore, in order to be able to identify existential process, there is a dire need to have a look at the clause whether it contains the word “there” or not. There does not show location, instead, it plays the role of the subject. Henceforth, there is neither a participant nor a circumstance. However, it has just representational function in the transitivity of the clause which tends to indicate the property of existence, and therefore it is needed to act as a subject (Halliday & Mattheissen, 2004, p. 257). Finally, the existential process has only one participant which is, usually, known as the “existent”. The following sentences are as examples of the existential processes.

- (i) There is your car in the garage.
- (ii) All of us are in the class. (Adopted from Halliday, 1994, p. 143).

From the examples mentioned above, we can deduce that there are two distinct grammatical realization of the existential process. For instance, the first realization, in the sentence (i), is achieved through the use of the copular verb (TO BE) with an empty there acting as a subject; whereas the second realization, in the sentence (ii) is achieved by the use of the copular verb, the existent subject (all of us) and a circumstantial (in the class, adverbial group, prepositional phrase) (Bloor, T& Bloor, M, 1995, p. 125).

1.2.1.1.1.6. Relational Processes: Processes of Being and Having

Relational processes are usually those of having and being. Thus, this kind of processes tends to occur inside and outside the human being. In addition to this Bloor and Bloor expound that this process is usually realized via using the verb to be or some of the same class which are known as (copular verbs) (2004, p. 120). Throughout relational processes, Halliday (1994) denotes that there is an established relationship that exists between two parts to the being. In other words, something is being said to be “something else”. Hence, Halliday made a clear distinction between three types of English system (clauses) of relational processes which are presented as follows.

(i) Intensive: **x is a**: this relationship depicts sameness.

(ii) Possessive: **x has a**: this relationship depicts possession. One entity owns another.

(iii) Circumstantial: **x is at a**: this relationship depicts location. i.e., time& manner. (1994, p. 119).

Table.8. The principle type of Relational processes. (Halliday, 1994, p. 119)

Mode Type	Attributive	Identifying
(i) intensive	Sarah is wise	Tom is the leader or the leader is Tom.
(ii) circumstance	The fair is on Tuesday	Tomorrow is the 10 th or The 10 th is tomorrow
(iii) possessive	Peter has a piano	The piano is peter's or Peter's is the piano.

Relational process, therefore, has two various subtypes known are: Intensive attributive process and intensive identifying process.

1.2.1.1.1.6.1. Intensive Process: Identifying

Semantically speaking, an identifying clause is not about ascribing or classifying. However, it is about defining. So, the meaning of this clause is, identifying clause, is that 'x' serves to define the identity of 'y'. (Eggs, 1994, p. 241). In this mode, it is understood that identifying process is a process that is used for the sake of establishing or setting an identity. i.e., an entity is used to identify another. In case the process is identifying, the participants involved are known as token and Value. For instance, Eggs states that "token stands for what is being defined and value aims at identifying the identity of the token" (1994, p. 242). Moreover, identifying relational processes allow for the reversibility of the participants. For instance, we may say Alice is the clever one or the clever one is Alice (Halliday, 1994, p. 123). This mode is, thus, realized by the verb to be or with other synonymous intensive verbs like: play, function, imply, make, illustrate, exemplify, signify, realize, become, and remain. Here is an example of an intensive identifying process displayed as follows.

- She plays tennis

Table.9. Example of Intensive Identifying clauses. (Adapted from Halliday& Mattheissen, 2014, p. 227).

She	Plays	Tennis
Identifier/ subject	Intensive process	Identified
Token		Value
Nominal group	Verbal group	Nominal group

1.2.1.1..6.2. Intensive processes: Attributive.

Attributive relational processes are the processes which assign a quality. *a* is an attribute of *x*. Other words, in this mode an entity has some quality ascribed or attributed to it (Halliday, 1994:120). Additionally, Eggins claim that “an intensive relational process establishes relationship between two terms, where the relationship is expressed by the verb to be or synonym”. Therefore, in an attributive process, participants involved in are known as carrier and attribute; meaning that **A** is the attribute and **X** is the carrier. Halliday (1994, p. 120); Eggins(1994, p. 239) note that attribute is ascribed and assigned to a participant and the entity which it is ascribed is being labeled as the carrier and then the carrier is always realized by a noun or nominal group. In order to demonstrate what have been said above, the below examples are used.

Table.10. example of Intensifying Process: Attributed. (ibid).

Carrier	Process intensive	Attribute
Today’s weather	Is going to be	Warm and sunny
Your story	Sounds	Complete nonsense

To put it a nutshell, we have tackled the English clauses from a semantics point of view, aiming at showing the various processes and the participants types that are involved in each. Henceforth, we have come up with the idea that processes can be categorized as major types which re: mental, material, and relational. In addition to these types, there are other types which are: verbal, existential, and behavioural.

1.2.2. The Interpersonal Function

Briefly speaking, the interpersonal meta- function has a crucial role in keeping the relations among participants in their communication. Thus, as Halliday (1994) stated Language is used to exchange information (p.70). For instance, the interpersonal has been expounded by Gerot and Wingel as” interpersonal meanings are meanings which express speakers’ attitude and judgement. These are meanings for acting up on and with others” (1994, p. 03 as cited in Aini Dhiah 2011). In addition to what has been said, Lock adds

Interpersonal meaning has to do with the way in which we act up on one another through language- giving request information, getting people to do things and offering to do things ourselves and the way in which we express our judgement and attitudes about such things as likelihood, necessity, and desirability.
(ibid).

What is significant, however, is that language is a tool that is used in order to obtain what we want and need. For this reason, language is used to exchange information, giving commands, or proposing offering. All these communicative events are realized via using language considerable importance in setting up and maintaining the social relations with the aim of demonstrating the various roles played by the participants in the communicative events.

1.2.2.1. Mood and Modality

Interpersonal meanings are usually achieved by the system of mood and Modality. Bybee defines mood as “an indication of “what the speaker wants to do with the proposition” mood is, thus, a grammatical reflection of the speaker’s purpose in speaking” (1985, p. 22 as cited in Kroger, 2005, p. 163). Hence, Mood is used in order to depict what role the speakers choose in a given particular situation and what role s/ he may designate to the addressee so if s/he opts for the imperative mood, for example, s/ he supposes to give command. In doing so, as a result, the addressee is expected to accept orders. Meanwhile, Modality refers to the space ranged between yes and no for the sake of demonstrating the speaker’s judgments of either the probabilities or the obligations in what s/ he is going to say. To quote Kroger expounds that modality expresses (i) the speaker’s attitude toward the proposition being expressed and (ii) the actor’s relationship to the described situation(2005 ,p. 163). Furthermore, modality is an important system in social communication. Through it, people can express their attitude, give opinions, persuade and so on and so forth. As Baker & Ellece assert that modality refers to ways of expressing possibility (epistemic modality) or necessity (deontic modality) (2011, p. 71). Modality, therefore, can be expressed via using a set of verbs known as modal verbs including: should, would, will, could, can, may, must and shall. In addition to what have been mentioned, we may add some other category which is semi- modals. For instance, have to, need to, and want to, are increasingly used to express modality (ibid). The following example is taken from the corpus: we must give diplomacy a chance to succeed (Obama 2014 state of union speech). “Must” is used as commitment modal in order to show Obama’s determination over the success of American foreign policy.

By modality, we mean modal verbs that they are used to make agency less important. For instance, Kies in his paper: “The uses of Passivity: Suppressing Agency in Nineteen Eighty-Four”, used modals in order to avoid direct assertions made by transitive verbs. Modal verbs

are usually used by politicians purposefully. That is, they are used in order to shorten the distance with the audience. More than that, they are particularly used to help the audience to assimilate and understand the language used in speeches.

<https://papyr.com/hypertextbooks/comp2/1984final.htm>.

12.3. Textual function

Textual function is the third function of language that has been stated by Halliday. This meta-function spots light on the clause as a message. Henceforth, it refers to “the use of the language to organize the text itself.” (Bloor & Bloor, 2004, p. 11) and “deals with the clause as a message.” (Wilcock, 1993 as cited in Graud, 2014, p. 26). Hu Zhuanglin, (1988) writes about this meta- function

The textual function refers to the fact that language has mechanisms to make any stretch of spoken or written discourse into a coherent and unified text and make a living passage different from a random list of sentences. Although two sentences may have exactly the same ideational and interpersonal functions, they may be different in terms of textual coherence. (as cited in Wang, 2010).

In short, this meta- function enables the writer/ speaker to produce a well grained/ structured piece of language.

1.3. Agency

1.3.1. Agency in Language

In the representation of the social group, the term Agency appears to have a crucial role. Linguistically speaking, this term refers to how groups (Animate) or objects (inanimate) are presented in relation to each other. Thus, the terms agent and subject sound to be confused and in other cases they are the same (Baker& Ellice, 2011, p. 4). Moreover, Agency can be determined by thing's explicit relationship to a verb, while the subject is determined by the flow of information, word order, and the crucial role played in the sentence (ibid). Van Leeuwen(1992) asserted that "agency is a major and classic importance in critical discourse analysis by which social actors are presented as 'agents' and which as 'patients'."(p. 23). In lexicology, the term agent is a noun that indicates or represents an action. An agent is, from a grammatical perspective, as the "causer or initiator of events" (Kroger, 2005, p. 54). More than that, the concept agent refers to one of the semantic roles of nouns and pronouns in relation to the predicate (Wales, 2011, p. 12). In other words, "the instigator or the doer of the action (the subject who does the deed) may contrast with the instrument." (ibid). Furthermore, in Ronald Langacker's cognitive grammar (1987f.) "the clause is dynamically conceived of as an **action chain**, with an energetic 'force' transmitted from 'agent' to 'patient' (animate) or 'instrument.'" (As cited in Wales, 2011, p. 12).

All in all, agency is a kind of technique that is used in order to control which parties are presented as the doers and who are presented as the passives. In doing so, there are a variety of ways to accomplish this in discourse. For instance, the woman was attacked by the policeman. In this example, the agent (policeman) was entirely avoided mentioning. Even though he is the one who does the deeds, he is not given agency. Here, it s important to denote that agency is suppressed and this suppression is achieved by the use of the syntactic structure which is the passive voice. The aim behind choosing this structure is to as Fairclough assert

“to leave agency and hence responsibility vague.” (1992, p. 76). The agent is given a passive role. Passivation is, hence, a syntactic structure that is employed to undercut the agency. Accordingly, Van Leeuwen (2009, p. 280 as cited in Halmetoja, 2015) illustrated how agency can be manipulated in order to provide a different interpretation of a situation. By doing so, the speaker avoids responsibility or addressing a speech that has a various interpretation in order to realize a certain ideology.

For the sake of clarifying the term agency, the following examples are given by Van Leeuwen, they provide good illustration of how agency is expressed and how it is suppressed. That is, how agency is manipulated. For instance, Rhodesian police killed thirteen unarmed Africans and Thirteen demonstrators died when police opened fire. Thus, in the first sentence, the police are given agency; in other words, they are shown as the main responsible for the death of the demonstrators whereas, the second sentence, the deaths happened at the same time as the police opened fire. Here, the agency of the police is less prominent. Van Leeuwen calls this representing the police action as “circumstance”, rather than cause of death. A third example he gives is an example where all agency has been removed, as well as all involved parties, obscuring nearly everything: “A political clash has led to death and injury” (2009, p. 281 as cited in Halmetoja, 2015). In this example, no one is blamed because and therefore no agency is given and the situation is presented in a different perspective (ibid).

1. 3. 2. Agency and Power

Politicians usually are known by using language that triggers certain effects in the mind of people in order to make them conspicuous of the impact of language. For instance, there should be a power to dominate groups, make decisions and laws, or even control people and their attitudes and behaviours. Politicians cannot achieve their goals unless they have the power that allows them to do so. In order to maintain such power, they are deemed to have a

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good command on the way they present their ideologies and agendas. Agency, power, and ideology are closely connected. In the sense that agency, here, aims to present which groups are presented as agents, actors and then has the power to dominant and ideologies can be spread, and which groups are presented as patients and then have no power to affect or construct any ideology. Accordingly, Leech and Short point out that “semantic matters like agency and responsibility are indicated.”(2007, p. 152). This interrelationship in politics aims, at the end, to result in a will to change. In this work, there is trial to depict how agency is used in Obama’s political speeches, and how this may reflect hidden ideologies, power relations and then a will to change.

It is mainly through language that ideologies can be transmitted. The fact that we are living in a situation that is marked by change and instability through which all forms of power and domination are being under dramatic change. Thus, language is considered by politicians as a powerful weapon that is used by politicians to achieve their goals. On this, Birch claimed that “controlling words- language is therefore seen as a powerful way of controlling life.” (1989, p. 61). Fairclough also adds that “language is the primary medium of social control and power.” (1989, p. 6). In addition to that language is regarded to be the main factor that contributes to the domination of some people by others (ibid). It is; therefore, important to emphasize that there should be power to make decisions, to apply laws, or even to control people’s attitudes and behaviours. Thereupon, for the sake of reaching their intentions, they should have the power that permits them to accomplish it. Notably, language is not only used to reflect power relations, instead it also functions to spot the struggle. Accordingly, it has been stated that “social practices not only determine discourses (language), they are also determined by them.” (Fairclough 1898; as cited in Brognolli, 1991). Ultimately, reality can be changed simply by the discourses delivered. That is, language determines the way people think and act. For this reason, many political groups fight for imposing their ideologies via

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various language structures (discourses). Thus, the powerful tries to maintain superiority, and, on the other hand, the powerless try to achieve it. (ibid).

Correspondingly, ideology is closely connected to power because of the nature of ideological assumptions embedded in a particular convention and in turn, those depend on power relation which mainly underlies those conventions (Fairclough, 1995, p. 02). It is worthy to note that ideology should be spread without any force; it should be subtly transmitted to people in order to control their social, economic, political tendencies. By ideology, it is meant “the system of the ideas based on value judgements and attitudes which force society to further their interest and to stabilize their power.”(Fairclough, 1989, p. 59). Ideology could be regarded as a weapon, more precisely economic and political weapon, through which groups can deceive and control others. Together, language, ideology, and power are interwoven concepts. Hence, it is of great significance that the users of the language should be aware of this relationship. Politicians have to be aware of the impact of ideology in shaping or reforming the language (Ghaderinezhad, 2015). In addition to this, power relations, on the other hand, embedded in language are of crucial role. Consequently, these relations can be, to some extent, useful. For this purpose, the relationship between language and power is being described as an adequate relation.

To conclude, agency or free will is linked to the linguistic structures that are employed by politicians in order to obtain their goals. Agency thus, as it seems, may be posed in ways rather than in terms of the autonomous subject or the authorial subject (. Notably, agency is used to show how it is interlinked to politics. It is also used to present the actors as being agents or patients. To exemplify, Barak Obama during his presidential election in 2008 said the following: In America, everything is possible and common America (Komel& Sterk, 2014). In these two examples, America is giving agency. That is, America is presented by

Obama as the doer of the action; moreover, it is presented as a place for hope, it is presented as a hyper- powerful nation. It is a place where everything is available at a large scale (ibid).

1.3.2.1. The Suppression of Agency

Agency is used to manipulate language. Thus it can be expressed or suppressed via the use of some device known as syntactic devices or structures. These structures are employed, in politics for example, to manipulate the listeners or the readers to hide the agent (1). It could be also suppressed to avoid responsibility; this is done mostly by politicians in order to avoid responsibility or weakness. <https://papyr.com/hypertextbooks/comp2/1984final.htm>. On the whole, Daniel Kies in his paper the uses of passivity: suppressing of Agency n Nineteen Eighty-Four depicts fourteen syntactic structures that can used to undercut agency (ibid). In this work, we try just to explore some of these devices. They are as follows. First, passives are one of the most grammatical constructions used in order to undercut agency. Baker and Ellece point out that” the passive constructions are used obscure agency” (2011, p. 64). They also add this could be done intentionally in order to background who is to blame for a particular act. Passivation is thus used in which the doer of the action is omitted (Kroger, 2005, 84). Fairclough noted that “the use of passive without agent, which leaves unspecified who might do the decline.” (1992, p. 116).

Second, Nominalised verbs are verbs that they seek to undercut or suppress agency in the sense that occur without signalling/ mentioning the agent. (Kies, <https://papyr.com/hypertextbooks/comp2/1984final.htm>). By definition, nominalization refers to the conversion of processes into nominals. (Baker & Ellece, 2011, p. 75). They also said that, nominalizations are usually used to obscure or to serve to dehumanized certain groups. (ibid 76). It is ten worthy to note that “through nominalization agency is attributed to processes, obscuring real agent”. (Faircliugh, 1989, p. 123, as cite in Baker& Ellece, 2011, p. 05). Third, Intransitives are used to demonstrate that actions manifested and happened in the

text. Faiclough demonstrated that through using this example, the police were shooting” (1992, p. 180). Intransitive uses of verbs allow a writer to suggest that events arise or occur in the story beyond the control of characters by suppressing any explicit mention of human agents, as is usually required by the transitive uses of verbs. Fourth, patients as subjects: many verbs like get, see, feel, hear, and become are used in order to undercut agency. It is necessary to denote that grammatical subject, in which these verbs are used with is not the causer or initiator of the action described by the verbs; instead, these subjects are affected by the activity (Kies <https://papyr.com/hypertextbooks/comp2/1984final.htm>). Therefore, a patient is an “entity which is acted upon, affected, or created or of which a state or change of state is predicated” (Kroager, 2005, p, 54). Fifth, It has been noted by Kies, that Linking or copular verbs like “*seem*, be, *seem* and *appear* tend to express a hedge, a sense of doubt, to any assertion into which they are incorporated.” (<https://papyr.com/hypertextbooks/comp2/1984final.htm>). Henceforth, these verbs are being used to demonstrate a state of existence. In short, these verbs are used instead to undercut the assertion of the dynamic verbs by using a linking verb.

Finally, Modality Shifts, by modality we mean simply modal verbs, these modal verbs are used as ways of expressing (epistemic modality) or necessity (deontic modality.” (Baker& Ellece, 2011, p. 71). Notably, Modals are used to hedge the assertions made by transitive verbs. Thus, modals tend to suggest obligation, necessity, willingness, or attempts (etc.) to act, but they do not necessarily imply successfully completed action. (Kies, <https://papyr.com/hypertextbooks/comp2/1984final.htm>). To wrap this discussion, these are in brief some of the syntactic devices/ structures that are used in order to undercut or suppress agency.

1.4. Brief Overview about Critical Discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis has a significant role in decoding discourses in various areas such as: ideology, media language and most importantly political discourses. It is, therefore, a method that tends to shed light on power, manipulation and structural inequalities. Henceforth, Critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) is used in order to enact power, discrimination, or inequality and ideologies. “Originally CDA can be traced back to what is known critical linguistics of the 1970’s.” (Wodak & Chilton, 2005, p. Xiii). In the same vein, Wales (2011) opines that critical discourse analysis is used for the sake of examining the relationship between language and meanings, which influence thought and reflect ideological assumptions, in discourses such as newspaper headlines, regulations and advertising media as well as political speeches” (p. 210). It has become a well- known experts in social sciences. It has been abbreviated to ‘ CDA’ and has come to identify a school of scholarship led by famous people such as: Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Tuen Van Dijk, Paul Chilton, and others (Bloomaert, 2005, p.5).

Thereupon, Meyer and Wodak assert that “CDA is concerned with analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” (2001,p. 2). Similarly, Van Dijk defines CDA. For him,CDA seeks to study either written or spoken forms of language with the aim of revealing the main source of power, dominance, and inequality. Henceforth, it investigates/ expounds how these discursive sources are maintained and then reproduced in a given social, political and historical context. (Sheyholislami, 1). Thus, critical discourse analysis is a kind of perspective or method that seeks to analyze discourse/ texts to set up connections between discourse structure, social practice and social structure.

In addition to what has been said, critical discourse analysis is a crucial term in social sciences. For the critical discourse analyst, language is not a simple phenomenon to interpret,

rather it is very complex in nature as it is -to some extent- a language socially representative and 'socially shaped' with a keen emancipatory objective (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258 as cited in Sheyholislami, nd, p. 1). Hence, CDA aims at discovering opaque relations that exist between text and events in social and cultural practices that may appear exclusive, due to this, CDA sounds differently in the discourse studies (Sajjad, 2015). Additionally Van Leeuwen has a similar view of what CDA is. For him, CDA has an important role in keeping inequalities and other such social issues. More than that, he also states that while CDA primarily uses discourse analysis methods, it does not limit itself to any single method in particular, instead the existence of various models (2009, p. 277).

Furthermore, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) summarize the basic tenets of CDA. They are as follows:

- 1) CDA addresses social problems
- 2) Power relations are discursive
- 3) Discourse constitutes society and culture
- 4) Discourse does ideological work
- 5) Discourse is historical
- 6) The link between text and society is mediated
- 7) Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
- 8) Discourse is a form of social action. (pp. 271- 280. As cited in Halmetoja , 2015).

The first principle is that CDA addresses social problems. This means that CDA follows a critical approach to social problems in its attempt to make explicit power relationships which are frequently hidden. The second is the power relations which are discursive, that is, CDA explains how social relations of power are exercised and negotiated in and through discourse. The third is the discourse that constitutes society and culture I.e. how language is influenced by society, and how society is shaped by language. The fourth is that the Discourse

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does ideologically work. In other words, how ideologies are produced, how texts are interpreted and received.

The fifth principles refers to that discourses can only be understood with reference to their historical context .The sixth is the link mediated between text and society ,making connection between socio-cultural processes and structures. The seventh is that the critical discourse is interpretative and explanatory which are dynamic and open in the context. Finally, the eighth principal is that CDA is a form of social action as obstacles and power relationships.

More importantly, language is a tool that is used by, for example, politicians in order to exercise domination over people. That is why, there is a crucial need for the awareness about power relations embedded in various discourses like political discourses. Thus, the goal of CDA's investigation should be beyond the explanations and the interpretations of the relation that exist between language and power in order to discover how politicians, for example, transmit ideology via language.

To conclude, Critical Discourse Analysis is to decipher hidden meanings or messages, mainly here political meanings that are conveyed. Politicians' words are politicized simply because they carry the power that reflects their ideologies, more specifically political ideologies for the sake of shaping the people's opinion. Also, CDA aims at revealing what exactly is implied. We need to explore the political speeches at hand. This will be effective and adequate to study the use of modals, participants, and processes. For instance, Types of participants (subject, Actor, and patient) and processes (verbs, action or passive) which are used by Barak Obama to depict where agency is given and where it is stripped or undercut. In addition to that, what kinds of syntactic structure are used by Obama. Additionally, how Obama's speeches are angles in terms of ideology.

1.5. Stylistics: An Overview

Functional stylistics (FS) is a branch that aims to investigate functional styles. It derives from linguistics. Stylistics has a crucial importance for the language studies because it aims at describing rules and the language elements in order to create a guideline for the most appropriate way of pronouncing, and respecting the grammatical way of writing. (Baker& Ellece, 2011). Hence, Functional stylistics is mainly interested in the way meanings are built via adapting the lexico- grammatical choices in a text with a given context (Sotirova, 2016, p. 61).

Functional stylistics as a linguistic study's part had been widely used for the sake of literary works or analysis. It is worthy to note that despite of the importance studies conducted by stylistics, it did not succeed to provide a comprehensive associate between the various descriptive structures and interpretations. More than that, it failed to give the relationship between the three different dimensions which are pragmatics, social and historical context. Studies conducted by MAK Halliday 1970's, mainly SFL, contributed to establish the link between the form and the function, the text and the context. Functional stylistics, then, emerged to bridge these gaps. Additionally, functional stylistics developed and extended more to give answers to questions and provide interpretations of the context. Accordingly, Halliday's study of transitivity to William's Golding novel furnishes the blueprint of the modern stylistics through which it pursues to divulge patterns of meanings via the systematic analysis of linguistic elements (ibid). In short, Wales (2012) assert that "functional stylistics has remained popular" (cited in Sotirova, 2016, p.). In addition, Norgaard, Busse and Montoro (2010) write "functional stylistics has had an important in many corners of stylistics with both contextual and / or ideological concerns like feminist and critical stylistics." (p. 26).

Thereon, a large number of transitivity studies have been conducted to investigate narratives more specifically characterization. For instance, Halliday's work show through

transitivity choices depicts the worldviews of the various groups of the novel (ibid 62). To put it a nutshell way, Functional stylistics becomes to be crucial in the development of the field. It played an important role in improving the field of multi- mode stylistics.

1.6. Literature Review

This section aims to sketch a vignette of the extent literature review on SFL, CDA, and Agency aiming at situating the current investigation therein. According to some previous studies, such as Jair Joao Gonzag (2011) he takes into account in his study the concept of grammaticalisation is the basis for systematic grammar whereby meaning is constructed by means of networks of interrelated contrasts, which are better seen in terms of linguistic patterns in the unfolding of a message by means of classes, which are ‘the mainspring of grammatical energy’. Halliday 2004. On the other hand, in his analysis Gonzaza argues that ‘this study takes into account both branches of ideational meta-function: the experiential and the logical line of meaning in order to see in which way the grammar of the Brazilian Portuguese language can be used to construct meaning’ .

Also, Kamal Shayegh and Nesa Nabifar, in their analysis of the phenomenon of power exists in Barak Obama’s interviews on the base of Hallidayian Systematic Functional Grammar, they focus namely on analyzing seven interviews derived from different websites. According to them ‘how ideological loading and socio-political relations of power have been manifested in discourse for instance, Obama’s analysis from the ideological point of view focuses on many factors such ‘analyzing hesitation, persuasion, threat, religious, statement and illusive speech in each clause on the basis of Fairclough’s model’.

At the end of their paper, they concluded by the fact that Obama ‘ as a dominant character who manipulates more material process mostly uses ‘I’ and ‘We’ pronouns, more religious statements, more persuasion, and longer turns in his interviews’ .

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In addition, Tony Halmetoja in his paper: Pronouns, Agency, and References in US State of Union Speeches: A CDA – Inspired Study focuses on of a corpus of a total of eight speeches, four of which are from recent presidents Obama and G.W.Bush, and four from presidents of earlier periods, Kennedy and Nixon. His study finds certain patterns in how actors are presented in the material, such as the presentation of fictionalized accounts of individuals in newer speeches. Additionally, another work has been used. Its theoretical framework is based on the Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics. Thus, the main theoretical framework of this study lies on systemic functional linguistics, from which the concept of linguistic choices originates, and discourse analysis, in its particular application to news texts. Then, some of the results show that different linguistic choices have been made. Linguistic choices therefore are intrinsic to communication.

Furthermore, another investigation has been led by Miranti, 2014 in his study entitled: transitivity Analysis in the construction of Newspapers Ideology: A Comparative Study on the New York Times and Washington Times Editorials” the results show that high number of material processes is found. Additionally, a number of journals have been checked and then used in the theoretical framework. For instance, a study conducted by Farhat Sajjad under the title: A Critica Discourse Analysis of Barak Obama Hussien: Obama’s political Speeches on the Middle East and the Muslim world. This study seeks to highlight the emancipatory agendas of political actors who dialectically articulate their discourse for the specific purpose of grasping “pro-ideologies” of masses without giving much room to their real interests. This study consequently reveals that Obama is regarded by his policy to be a safeguard of the American interest. Additionally, its allies under the name of ‘peace’, ‘prosperity’, and ‘democracy’, economic support and change.

Finally, for methodological purposes, there was a dire need to use Tayeb Bouguerra’s work entitled “Le dit eT Le Non- Dit”: A Propos de L’Algerie et de L’Algerien. Chez Albert

Camus. The main objective of Bouguerra's work is to trace the analytical content ideology of some literary works of Albert Camus. Furthermore, he focuses mainly on the importance and the significance of ideology in the literary book and / or journalistic of the writer about Algeria and Algerians. More than that, this study consists of giving the "image" of the Algeria and the Algerian that exist in Camus' book. To summarize, Bauguerra's work answered the following questions

- For Camus, what is Algeria?
- What is the Algerian?
- What is the position of Camus about the Algerian Revolution? (Bougeurra, 1989, p. 28).

Conclusion

On the whole, this dissertation is intended to examine and study the speeches delivered by president of United States of America Barak Obama. Henceforth, the aim is to observe his uses of linguistic structures in order to manipulate agency and the techniques that are used. The analysis is conducted via analysing the ideologies revealed in the various speeches through using critical discourse analysis method. The previous discussions dealt with functional stylistics as a way of analysing the language that is used by politicians and their styles. What has been found is that FS relies on the Hallidayan Systemic Functional Grammar. More than that, this chapter dealt with what is meant by Critical Discourse Analysis as a method, or perspective that is employed with the aim to decipher, or uncover the policies that are presented. In the coming chapter which is regarded as a transitional phase to the practical section. This transitional phase will give data about the approach, method and techniques that will be used to analyse the speeches (mainly state of the union speeches: 2010- 2012- 2014- and 2015).

Introduction

Due to the nature of the current investigation, this research is a not quantitative study; therefore, a mixed approach is used to conduct it. Thus, this chapter is regarded as a transitional phase between the theoretical and the practical parts. It presents the research paradigm and approaches mainly the mixed approach and its suitable method which is the descriptive analytical-interpretive. It also explains the corpora that will be used in the investigation, the data collection and sampling. Finally, this chapter ends with the procedure of analyzing the collected data.

2.1. Research Paradigm and Approach

2.1.1. Research Design

Throughout this work, the mixed approach approach and its method is employed to study and analyse the data at hand. This approach is preferred rather than the quantitative approach simply because

- (i) there will be no variables to examine or control. In other words, there will be no independent variable IV and dependent variable DV.
- (ii) The study is consisted of a collection of speeches (corpora) which are presented in terms of words and this will mainly depend on how the analyses of the data will be.

In addition to that, this current investigation aims to have a transitivity analyses mainly the processes (verbs and the semantic categorization of verbs), and processes (subjects, patients, etc.) with reference to the participants and then with a reference to agency and its effect(s) in the construction of power and ideology in Braka Obama's Speeches (mainly state of the union speeches). Moreover, Interpersonal analyses (mainly analyses of modality) will be employed.

2.1.2. Research Approach and Method

Since this work aims to analyze speeches delivered by Obama to explore his ideology, power and his will to change, a descriptive method using a qualitative approach is opted to achieve the intended aims. According to Beverley Hancock et al (2009) “Qualitative research is concerned with developing explanations of social phenomena. That is to say, it aims to help us to understand the social world in which we live and why things are the way they are” (P.7).

Also, they claimed that

Qualitative research is particularly useful where the research question involves one of the situations below and people’s experiences and views are sought: exploration or identification of concepts or views, exploration of implementability, the real-life context and sensitive topics where flexibility is needed to avoid causing distress.” (ibid).

However, Natasha Mack et al (2005) claimed that qualitative research is a scientific inquiry. It is a systematic study that is incorporated to answer questions following scientific procedures that are determined before. It, therefore, should be feasible. (P.1). they also added that qualitative study is used to understand a given problem. It is effective in gathering data about a particular aspect like opinions, behaviours, and social context of particular populations. ”(ibid, p. 1).

Moreover, Chelli (2016) at the University of Biskra stated that the objectives of the qualitative research are to be aware of the social and human problems throughout various perspectives, and to construct a complicated picture toward the concerned process. Thus, this type of investigation could be in a form of explanatory or diagnostic through which it may involve a sample of participants. Furthermore, a descriptive method has been opted in this

study because of its descriptive feature. Isaac and Michael (1971) expound that a “descriptive method is used in order to explain the facts of a given situation systematically, factually, and accurately.” (46, as cited in Romadhoni, 2014).

2.1.3. Data collection and Sampling

In the process of gathering data, documentary examination, as a qualitative data collection, is the method opted because the data are in a form of articles (speeches) retrieved from the internet. Arikunto (2006) asserts that “in documentary method, the researcher gets the data from books, magazines, documents, etc.” (158, as cited in Romadhoni, 2014).

2.1.4. Population and Sampling

The population refers, in this context, “not only to people but also, and mainly, to text – the domains of the analysis. For example, is it to be newspapers, programmes, interview transcripts, textbooks, conversations, public domain documents examination, scripts, emails, online conversations and so on.” (Cohen, 2007, p. 477). Hence, the population of this study consist of the clauses that are written in the four various speeches.

According to Mariam-Webster dictionary defines sampling as “the act, process, or technique of selecting a representative part of a population for the purpose of determining parameters or characteristics of the whole population.” (Gentles, Charles, Ploeg & Mckibon, 2015). In this current study, the sample is intended to be mainly the clauses or sentences that will have an interpersonal analysis (mainly analyses of Modality) and the clauses that their process will be analysed.

2. 2. Material

The corpora for this current investigation is the Barak Obama’s political Speeches (state of the union speeches 2010- 2012- 2014- 2015) retrieved from the following downloadable website. The main reason behind the choice of the State of the Union speeches is that all presidents, as it is mandated by the Us constitution, from time to time shall give the Congress

information about the state of the union. In contrary to other specific speeches like Inaugural speech which is an indication to someone's new position especially the president In addition to this, the speeches are full of ideologies realized via discourses, hidden and obvious, presented by the president. In order to be able to identify power and consequently interpret it. Critical discourse analysis is employed to achieve this aim.

2.6 Data Analysis Procedures

After the collection of the data for this study, a referential identity method is employed in order to depict/ identify sentences in the various speeches to show how modal verbs are used and what meanings they convey behind using a particular structure of language. More than that, semantic analysis at the clause level will be carried out to identify the various types of processes (verbs) and participants (subjects). In other words, analyses mainly deal with the activation or passivizing of the actors, i.e. whether or not they are the agent or the patients, the doer or the passive (Van Leeuwen, 2009 ac cited in Halmetoja, 2015). Moreover, a segmenting technique proposed by Sudaryanto (1993) will be used in this investigation. This technique of analysis is achieved by segmenting or classifying the data into some elements that have been specified in advance (ibid, p. 31). Thus, the speeches will be divided into sentences or clauses and then each clause is divided into semantic traits to be studied. The steps opted for analyzing the data are:

- Reading all the speeches thoroughly.
- Dividing each speech into clauses
- Then, reducing the sequences of the corpus we are dealing with to minimum utterances.
- Studying the types of processes and participants that tend to build up the construction of power and idea and interpret it by using CDA method.

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- comparisons between the various speeches, how agency is manipulated, and what kind of syntactic structures are most used to give or strip agency.
- Interpreting the findings.
- Drawing conclusions

Table.1. Sample of Data Analysis of Sentences that Contain Action Verb in Barak Obama’s State of the Union Speeches

Argumentative, informative utterances	Semantic traits			
Sentences	Participant		Process	
	Agent	Patient	Dynamic	Stative
I know we can	*			*

It is important to note that the table above is adopted from Tayeb Bouguerra’s work entitle: *“Le Dit et Le Non- Dit. A propos De L’Agerie Et De L’Algerien: Chez Albert Camus”*. Bouguerra (1989) introduced this table in order to precise the principals occurrence of the subject “ Arab” or its substitute as in “ subject in function” and the principal semantic traits of L’ Arab- “Actant” and its main/ essential predicate.

Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to reveal the data analysis through studying modals and their types. The first step in doing so is to determine the modal, then its number of occurrences of each modal in each speech separately. After that, the second phase of the analysis is to carry out an ideational meaning analysis in which participants and processes will be the focus. For this reason, the clauses in the speeches were classified into utterances based on namely semantic traits and then a semantic analysis of its parts with a reference to agency and how is it suppressed. More than that, what techniques or syntactic structures are used to accomplish it?

Section one: Modality Analysis

3.1. Analysis of Sample speech: State of the Union speech 2010

3.1. 1. Modality Analysis

Table 11. Modality Analysis of State of the Union Speech 2010.

Sample speech	Total Number	Must		can		Will		Shall		Would		Wouldn't	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
01	86	3	3.4%	11	12.7%	40	46.5 %	0	0 %	20	23.2 %	3	3.84%

Sample speech	Total Number	Won't		Couldn't		Can't		Have to	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
01		00	00%	00	00%	7	8.13%	2	2.32%

The above table reveals that the American President Barak Obama uses 86 modal verbs in his state of the union speech 2010. The use of these modal verbs allows him to make less important the assertions made by the action/ dynamic verbs so that actions do not necessarily require completed actions. In addition to this, modal verbs are intentionally used by Obama in order to shorten the distance between him and the audience. More than that, these models are deployed for the sake of achieving specific communicative intents and purposes. Therefore, it can be noticed that the use of these models is neither a matter of coincidence nor of randomization. However, it is done purposefully.

It can be, therefore, interpreted from the above results that ‘Will’ is the most preponderantly used modal, occurring 40 times representing a percentage of 46.51%. It is simply used in order to provide information about what will happen in the coming future. It may denote his belief, confirmation, strong determination towards the future of the United States. Thus, the following example will illustrate this: “I will not give up on trying changing the tone of our politics”. This is adopted by Obama to show his firm determination towards change bearing in mind that this is the main slogan of Obama “yes we can.” He is then calling for the Americans to take an action to his goals. Other examples can be cited to show Obama’s tendency towards change, towards prosperity and promising the American people for better education, health care, and above all peace. In this example, he is giving agency to the Americans. For instance, “there are projects like that all across this country that will create jobs and help move our nation's goods, services, and information”. Obama, here, is actually giving agency to a non-human. Projects are portrayed as the real doers of the action and then having agency to change. “We will double our exports over the next five years, an increase that will support two million jobs in America. Now, even after paying for what we spent on my watch, we'll still face the massive deficit we had when I took office”. This example

denotes the president Obama's intention for a radical change and improvement at all levels. Like industrialization, agricultural products, and arms.

"Can" is opted by Obama 11 times throughout the speech representing a percentage of 12.79%. It is also used by the president in order to shorten the distance between him and the American people. It also allows him to downplay agency. For instance, "we can put Americans to work today building the infrastructure of tomorrow". Here, Obama's inclusive style with the use of "can" in order to denote that no agency is given to any one and the Americans are viewed as grammatical patients. In other words, agency in this example is suppressed via the use of the modal in order to leave the responsibility/ promise unspecified.

Moreover, "would" is adopted by the president 20 times representing a percentage of 23.21%. It indicates that Obama's willingness and intention. In addition, it is used by Obama in order to strip or make agency less important. The following example states that "More homes would have surely been lost." Agency is absent in the sense that we do not know who lost their homes and for what reasons. Additionally, the approach we've taken would protect every American from the worst practices of the insurance industry. In this example too, the 'we' is the main doer of the action so it is viewed as the agent, or the responsible for the act.

The following modals are pretty preponderant. For instance, "Must" occurs 3 times representing 3.4%. It is used to reveal Obama's strong compulsory procedure towards America, namely its interests and prosperity. Thus, Obama stated that "and again, we must answer history's call". Throughout this example, we can notice that Obama is assigned as a grammatical actor of the sentence and therefore he is considered as an agentive actor. "Have to" occurs 2 times. It, therefore, represents 2.32%. To demonstrate: "and if I have to enforce this discipline by veto, I will". Finally, "would not" has occurred 3 times representing 3.84%. Obama represents his ideas and opinions in an objective and convincing way which also

mitigates his power and shows his friendliness. Henceforth, from the above analysis, we can conclude that Obama makes a good use of modals in order to manage presenting the social groups and then to downplay agency where necessary. By using such structures, he successfully avoids responsibility.

3.2. Analysis of Sample speech: State of the Union speech (2012)

3.1. 2. Modality Analysis

Table. 12: Modality Analysis of Obama’s Sate of the Union Speech 2012.

Sample speech	Total Number	Must		can		Will		Shall		Would		Wouldn’t	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
02	70	0	00%	15	21.4	37	52.85	0	0%	4	5.71	00	00%
		0			2%		%	0			%		

Sample speech	Total Number	Won’t		Couldn’t		Can’t		Have to	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
02		00	00%	3	4.2%	07	10%	04	5.74%

The above table indicates that Obama used 70 of modal verbs in his speech to the congress. Thus, it can be noticed that Obama in this speech focuses on his administration’s achievement by indicating that Osama Bin Laden is no longer regarded as a threat to the American nation. He starts his speech by acknowledging the American achievements. Achievements like the success to end war in Iraq. The results, thus, show that “will” is the most used representing 12.42%. This simply would reveal Obama’s strong determination towards change. In this

speech “will” is used to denote certainty. For instance, Obama said that: “your country will do everything”. In this example, Obama seems to effectively giving agency to a non- human. He is anonymizes America and replacing it by the word ‘country’. The use of the word ‘country’ could have a positive impact on the people. Moreover, he is promising the American people that their country will back and support them. The use of these modals allows Obama to express his intention in a way that he seems agentless. In the sense, Obama does not seem to be the agent of the action. America, therefore, is depicted as the agent. In other words, it is depicted that it is the responsible for doing everything. Therefore, it is the main causer of change without involving human agency.

“Can” has been adopted by Obama 15 times representing 12.42%. “can”, from a semantic point of view is used in order to express the ability to do something. Here, in this speech, can is being used to show Obama’s ability to do something and it is used to shorten the distance between him and the audience. The following example may justify this: “we can do this. I know we can, because we’ve done it before. In addition, or we can restore an economy where everyone gets a fair shot, everyone does their fair share, and everyone plays by the same set of rules so here.” In these examples, Obama is motivating the Americans; he is also using “can” to show his successful managing to the presidency we can conclude that can with the inclusive style of Obama gives him the opportunity play the role of the doer of actions and therefore being agentive.

It is also opted to encourage them to believe in him, and in themselves, so here he is persuading them to be fully confident simply because they possess the power and the will to do and achieve anything despite of the difficulties and the factors. He continued by saying: “everything we can to help you succeed. Also, we can also spur energy innovation with new incentives.” Here, he is talking about innovations that may help them for a better change.

There are other modals that have been opted by Obama such (have to) occur 4 times representing 5.71%. Next, “Could”, here, have adopted by Obama 4 times representing 5.71%. Then, “Can’t” has occurred 07 times representing 10%. For a better clarifications about how modals can be used in order to make less important agency. The following example is used in order to demonstrate what have been said. “Government should do for people only what they cannot do better by themselves”. Here, Obama uses “should” to show the government’s obligation and commitments towards helping those who cannot help themselves. Finally, “we can’t bring back every job that’s left our shores. Herein, Obama shows his inability to bring backs jobs for those who lost their jobs”.

3.3. Analysis of Sample Speech: State of the Union speech (2014)

3.1. 3. Modality Analysis

Table. 13 Modality Analysis of Obama’s State of the Union Speech 2014

Sample speech	Total Number	Must		Can		Will		Shall		Would		Wouldn't	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
03	106	5	4.71%	28	26.41%	56	52.83%	0	00%	6	5.66%	2	1.8%

Sample speech	Total Number	Won't		Couldn't		Can't		To have	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
03		7	6.60%	2	1.8%	2	1.8%	00	00%

According to the descriptive statistics displayed in the above table, the most recurrent modal verb is “will”. “Will” has the highest frequency with an occurrence rate of 56 representing a percentage 52.83%. This could indicate Obama’s determination towards many

issues. First, he began his opening speech by citing some of the example about what people around the country did. Hence, Obama also used will to highlight his strong determination and confirmation towards various issues. For instance, he said: “I’ll act on my own to slash bureaucracy.” This example indicates that Obama seems to be the doer of the action in this sentence. And this could be interpreted as being the agent of this sentence Hence, he is promising American and therefore he is regarded as an agentive. Moreover, “America does not stand still, and neither will 2010”. “We’ll need Congress to protect more than 3 million jobs”. In these examples, it is clear that Obama does not seem to be the agent. In other words, he is not the doer of the action. Hence, it is pretty clear that the doer of the actions is a non-human. Consequently, America and the congress seem to be the doers and therefore the agent of the actions. In doing so, Obama is trying to urge the congress to protect and provide Americans with jobs.

“Can” is adopted by Obama 28 times throughout the whole speech representing a percentage 26.41%. The following examples are used to justify: “And we can still do more to invest. We can make progress together.” In these examples, agency is given to Obama with the Americans and again agency is positive. In these examples, “we” is the doer of the action. It therefore holds the whole majority of agency. The following modals were adopted by Obama differently for the sake of expressing different communicative aims and intentions. Thus, “can’t” occurs 2 times, “won’t” occurs 7 times, “couldn’t” occurs 2 times. “Would” occurs 6 times. The following example will illustrate the point: “America cannot surrender.” In this example, agency is giving to America. America is regarded as the main doer of the action, which is not allowed to surrender. “We won't agree on everything”; “we” here is playing the role of agent. Throughout this agency, Obama is revealing his inability to accomplish all tasks. However, he promised Americans to speed up the rate of growth. “The

shift to a cleaner energy economy won't happen overnight”t. Finally, we can see that Obama makes uses of modal verbs in order to give agency to groups positively or negatively according to the objective.

3.4. Analysis of Sample speech: State of the Union speech (2015)

3.1. 4. Modality Analysis

Table. 14 Modality Analysis of Obama’s State of the Union Speech 2015. (Modal verbs).

Sample speech 04	Total Number		Must		can		Will		Shall		Would		Wouldn't	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	59	1	1.6%	16	27.1 1%	31	52.60 %	0	00%	3	5.08%	0	00%	

Sample speech 04	Total Number		Won't		Couldn't		Can't		Have to	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
		1	1.6%	1	1.6%	5	8.4%	1	1.6	

This table reveals that Obama used 59 of modal verbs in his state of the union speech 2015. “Will” is opted by Obama 31 times representing 52.60%. It is clear that Obama in this speech starts by questioning in order to establish his economic strategies. It can be notice that Obama is giving agency to himself. He achieved that through the use of “we”. We can achieve that together. In this example, Obama is requesting the American people to take action and therefore become the agents and the doers so that they together realize their objective which mainly is change.

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“Cannot” has been adopted by Obama 5 times throughout the whole speech representing a percentage 8.4%. As it can be noted, “cannot” is used by Obama to express his inability. For example, “they can't report on it until a designated time.” Another example is “we can't slow down businesses or put our economy at risk with government shutdowns or fiscal showdowns.” “Would” turns up for 6 times representing a percentage of 5.66%. It is used to express intention and willingness. For instance, “Why would we let that happen? Additionally, we would crush jobs and explode deficits”. These examples allocated Obama as an agent “actor” who is willing to carry out a change.

The following modal verbs have been adopted by Obama differently. For example, “won't” has been adopted once representing a percentage 1.6%. “Must” occurs once representing 1.6%. “Have to” once representing a percentage 1.6%. “Couldn't” occurs once representing a percentage 1.6%. For instance, “these ideas won't make everybody rich, or relieve every hardship. We have to do more to help Americans upgrade their skills. In this example, Obama is referring to poor Americans and therefore leaving them without agency and in need for help from the government to develop their skills. Furthermore, through these examples, it has been noticed that Obama’s intentions are grounded by using various modals. These modals tend to differ in expressing agency.

Section Two: Semantic Analysis of Participants and Process with Relation to Agency

The tables below demonstrate an analysis of minimum of informative, argumentative utterances and their semantic traits. The focus of the analysis is put on choosing some representative utterances from the corpora used in the study. Therefore, a semantic analysis is based on the participants and the processes via determining whether these participants are agents or patients and processes in identifying the type of the process whether it is dynamic or stative.

3.5. Data Analysis of Sentences that Contain Action and Stative Verb in Barak Obama’s State of the Union Speech 2010

Table 15. Data Analysis of Sentences that Contain Action and Stative Verb in Barak Obama’s State of the Union Speeches 2010

Argumentative, informative utterances	Semantic traits			
Sentences	Participant		Process	
	Agent	Patient	Dynamic	Stative
- I know we can	*			*
- When the market crashed on Black Tuesday		*		*
- The future was anything but certain.		*		*
- These were the times that tested the courage of our convictions	*			*
- We chose to move forward as one Nation	*		*	
- We are tested. And again, we must answer history's call.		*		*
- I took office amid two wars	*		*	
- We might face a second depression.	*		*	
- So we acted, immediately and aggressively	*		*	
- One in 10 Americans still cannot find work.				
- Home values have declined.	*		*	
- So I know the anxieties that are out there right now.	*		*	

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- These struggles are what I've witnessed for years.	*		*	
- I hear about them in the letters that I read each night	*		*	
- So we face big and difficult challenges.	*			
- One woman wrote to me and said.				
- , life's become that much harder	*		*	
- Americans who had become unemployed	*			
- refuse to pass this problem on to another generation of Americans	*	*	*	
- children asking why they have to move from their	*			*
- They don't understand		*		*
- We do not give up.				
- We do not allow fear or division to break our spirit	*			*
- who said he used to be skeptical about the Recovery Act	*			*
- we felt after 9/11 has dissipated	*		*	

The semantic analysis of utterances of the above table reveals that the processes that are used by Obama can be divided into those that have agents and those who do not. According to the speech under investigation, some verbs appear to be without agent like 'be' and 'know'. These verbs aim at suppressing agency. In other words, these verbs cuts agency from the

grammatical subject. The following examples are used to illustrate what has been said.

Examples:

(1) I hear about them in the letters that I read.

(2) I know the anxieties that are out there right now.

In these two examples, Obama manipulated agency through the use of the stative verbs. It is important to note that stative verbs are quite frequently used.

More than that, the uses of stative verbs give the opportunity to cut off agency. The point of the use of the stative or linking verbs is that there is no action. The doer of the action is viewed as patients because they are not the initiators of the actions. The actors in the below examples (1) and (2) are passive like ‘them’ and ‘anxieties’. They do not have the will to cause any change in the situations. Other verbs which involve agency are deprived from their active meaning by being in the passive like in “We are tested. And again.” Here, the use of the passive form is done on purpose in order to hide the agent of the process. We can sum up that the use of this construction is to manipulate the agency and therefore avoid mentioning the real agent of the action.

From the Table 15, we can notice that Obama used another syntactic device in order to undercut the agency. This syntactic device is known as ‘negation’. Negation suppressed agency by showing the agent limited ability. For example, “we do not give up.” Another example is “we do not allow fear or division to break our spirit.” The use of negation in these last examples undercut agency to show the American resistance and the American power in handling the various problems. Perfect aspect does not appear many times in Obama’s state of the union speech 2010. But there are few examples of the perfect aspect. It is worth to note that perfect tense aims at undercutting any sense of action. Obama uses the perfect aspect in

order to emphasise and stress his power, his presence and will to carry out a change. Few examples follow to illustrate this:

- (1) We had taken office in ordinary times.
- (2) That have dominated Washington for decades.

3.6. Data Analysis of Sentences that Contain Action and Stative Verb in Barak Obama’s State of the Union Speech 2012

Table 16. Data Analysis of Sentences that Contain Action and Stative Verb in Barak Obama’s State of the Union Speche 2012

Argumentative, informative utterances	Semantic traits			
Sentences	Participant		Process	
	Agent	Patient	Stative	dynamic
- Usama bin Laden is not a threat to this country.		*	*	
- These achievements are a testament to the courage, selflessness, and teamwork of America's Armed Forces.		*	*	
- Imagine what we could accomplish if we followed their example.		*	*	
- a country that leads the world in educating its people	*			*

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- America that attracts a new generation of high-tech manufacturing and high-paying jobs	*		*	
- We can do this. I know we can	*			*
- The two of them shared the optimism of a nation that had triumphed over a depression and fascism.	*		*	
- if you worked hard, you could do well enough to raise a family	*			*
- if you worked hard, you could do well enough to raise a family	*			*
- The defining issue of our time is how to keep that promise alive.	*			
- Americans struggled with costs that were growing	*			*
- The state of our Union is getting stronger	*			*
- And we've come too far to turn back now	*			*
- I will work with anyone in this Chamber to build on this momentum	*			*
- we will not go back to an economy weakened by outsourcing	*			*

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- It was wrong	*			*
- that will be charged	*			*
- Ritterby was laid	*			*
- We feel that same sense of shared responsibility.		*		*
- people feel from Tokyo to Berlin		*	*	
- he didn't deserve credit for the	*			*

The semantic analysis of utterances of the obtained from the above table reveals that processes can be grouped into dynamic verbs (verbs in which it expresses actions and therefore they have an agency) and the second category is the stative verbs (these verbs are simply used to state or name a state of existence and consequently have no agency). Moreover, the analysis is mainly concerned with Obama's use of verbs in the state of the union speech 2012. Thus, these processes can be divided into those that have agents and those who do not. Thus, the speech shows that Obama uses some verbs that appear to be without agent like 'be' and 'know'. The following example is used to exemplify: Osama bin Laden is not a threat to this country.

Herein, Obama depicted Osama Bin Leden as a threat that is no longer exit to the Americans. Obama is depicted as agentless in the sense that he no longer causes any problem. Another example is "people feel from Tokyo to Berlin." 'People' in this sentence is regarded as a patient subject, in the sense that there is no action expressed. This grammatical subject receives the action due to the linking 'verb to feel'. This linking verb is the main causer that undercuts/ suppresses agency. It is noticed that Obama's manipulation to agency is, after all, to inform the American people that America is strong, powerful nation. It could defeat its

enemies easily and Ben Liden is an example. Obama is clearly depicting America with agency. More than that, Obama has used few examples of passive voice. For instance, “that will be charged.” The point of the use of the passive voice in this example is to obscure who is going to lead the investigation and thus to leave agency unspecified.

Throughout the speech, some negations as a syntactic device to suppress agency have been recorded. The following examples will demonstrate:

1. “We will not go back to an economy weakened by outsourcing.”
2. “He didn't deserve credit for the mission.”

In these examples, the real doer of the action (especially in example two) is excluded. The last device that has been depicted is the use of the perfect aspect by Obama. For instance, troops in Afghanistan have begun to come home and the second example is our institutions have let us down. This example illustrates Obama’s use of perfect tense as a syntactic structure to undercut agency.

3.7. Data Analysis of Sentences that Contain Action and Stative Verb in Barak Obama’s State of the Union Speech 2014

Table 17. Data Analysis of Sentences that Contain Action and Stative Verb in Barak Obama’s State of the Union Speeche 2014

Argumentative, informative utterances	Semantic traits			
Sentences	Participant		Process	
	Agent	patient	Stative	dynamic

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a teacher spent extra time with a student who needed it			*	*
. A man took the bus home from the graveyard shift				*
And here are the results of your efforts	*		*	
one place to invest, America is	*		*	
we are going to help or hinder this progress		*	*	
It's an important debate		*	*	
we are not doing right by the American people			*	
I'm committed to making Washington work better and rebuilding the trust of the people		*	*	
many Americans are working more than ever	*		*	

Too many still aren't working at all.	*	*		
Today in America, a teacher spent extra time with a student who needed it	*			*
A farmer prepared for the spring after the strongest 5-year stretch of farm exports in our history.	*			*
Tonight this Chamber speaks with one voice to the people we represent: It is you,	*			*

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our citizens, who make the state of our Union strong.				
I believe this can be a breakthrough year for America		*	*	
I believe most of you are too	*	*		
let's see where else we can make progress together. Let's make this a year of action.	*			*
The notion that if you work hard and take responsibility, you can get ahead in America.	*			*
we can take the money we	*			*
We also have the chance, right now	*		*	
Listen, China and Europe aren't standing	*	*		
China is no longer the world's number-one place to invest, America is.	*		*	
Nobody got everything they wanted	*		*	*
It won't happen right away, and we won't agree on everything.	*			
the United States is better positioned		*	*	
our success should depend not on accident of birth		*	*	

In this speech, the semantic analysis of utterances obtained from the above reveals that Obama tends to employ certain syntactic devices in order to undercut agency. These devices are used in order to present certain ideas and policies simply because language is the heart of politics. Thus, Obama's use of negation is clear in this speech. To quote the following examples will illustrate more:

- (1) China and Europe aren't standing.
- (2) China is no longer the world's number-one place to invest, America is.
- (3) Nobody got everything they wanted and It won't happen right away,
- (4) we won't agree on everything.

These examples, therefore, illustrate various topics that were included in the president's State of the Union speech. In example one, Obama is talking about the actual economic situation of the USA. In example (2), Obama is excluding China from being number one to invest, and therefore China is presented as agentless. In the third example, the doer of the action is not represented and therefore agency is not given to any group. This is done purposefully by Obama as a sort of motivation and encouragement to the American people to keep up and not to give up on their goal. He is also inviting them to take an action to contribute to change he is seeking for.

Another syntactic device that has been used by Obama is the use of linking verbs. As it has been noted before, these verbs are used to demonstrate a state of existence and therefore it undercuts/ suppresses an agent as a grammatical subject. The following examples from the corpora will illustrate more:

- (1) It's an important debate.
- (2) We are going to help or hinder this progress.
- (3) Here are the results of your efforts.

In these examples, Obama does not give agency to any group. And thus agency is left unspecified. In other words, the agent of the action in these examples is manipulated out of sight for the sake of hiding a given/ specific participant to be identified. To end up, the passive voice in this speech does not appear frequently used by Obama. But there is only one example which is stated as follows: the United States is better positioned. In this example, Obama is describing the American position that has been achieved.

3.8. Data Analysis of Sentences that Contain Action and Stative Verb in Barak Obama’s State of the Union Speech 2015

Table 18. Data Analysis of Sentences that Contain Action and Stative Verb in Barak Obama’s State of the Union Speech 2015

Argumentative, informative utterances	Semantic traits			
Sentences	Participant		Process	
	Agent	Patient	Stative	dynamic
our people are insured		*	*	
we turn the page.	*			*
America, for all that we have endured, for all the grit and hard work required to come back	*			*
we allow ourselves to be sorted into factions and turned against one another?	*		*	*
our economy is growing and creating jobs at the fastest pace since 1999		*	*	
We believed we could reverse the tide of		*	*	

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outsourcing and draw new jobs to our shores.				
we are as free from the grip of foreign oil as we've been in almost 30 years.		*	*	
We believed we could reduce our dependence on foreign oil and protect our planet.		*	*	
It doesn't get much better than that.	*			*
we had known," Rebekah wrote to me last spring	*	*	*	
America is number one in oil and gas.		*	*	
America is number one in wind power				
they've had to forego vacations and a new car so that they can pay off student loans and save for retirement.	*			*
we want everyone to contribute to our success.	*			*
America has put more people back to work	*			*
I know there's bipartisan support in this Chamber.	*		*	
we don't mind paying our fair share of taxes as long as everybody else does too	*			*
We believed we could prepare our kids for a more competitive world.		*	*	

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I believe in a smarter kind of American leadership.		*	*	
They've riddled it with giveaways that the super-rich don't need	*			*
Helping hard-working families make ends meet, giving them the tools they need for good	*			*
We lead best when we combine military power with strong diplomacy	*			*
we stand united with people around the world	*			*

The semantic analysis of utterances of the obtained from the above table reveals that Obama in his State of the Union speech 2015 tends to opt for more dynamic verbs than stative ones. It is much pretty that president Obama starts his speech by acknowledging the economic situation of America. Here, it is important to emphasize that Obama is taking agency. In other words, he is the agent, in the sense that he could successfully change the overall situation of the country.

All in all, there so many examples to cite from the corpus being under study. What matters us is how Obama’s use of some syntactic devices in order to undercut agency. Therefore, the most recurrent device, here, is the linking verb. For instance, He said: our economy is growing and creating jobs at the fastest pace since 1999. In this example, agency is suppressed and this is due to the use of the stative verb ‘be’. Here, there is no action recorded and consequently there is no doer. Additionally, the subject or participant is regarded to be a ‘patient’. Another example, Oba said: “America is number one in oil and gas. America is

number one in wind power”. In this example too, no agency is given. Here Obama is describing the general position of America as being number one in gas and wind power.

Another syntactic device that has been opted by Obama in order to undercut agency is the use of the nominalization. For instance, Helping hard-working families make ends meet, giving them the tools they need for good. Herein, nominalization is used to show Obama as an agent. Thereon, in this context Obama is regarded as the agent, over the other participants who are regarded as the patients. In this case, the patients are hard working families who has been helped and rescued. Some other devices have been recorded like negation. As Obama said: “It doesn't get much better than that.” In this example, a direct suppression of agency is used throughout the use of negation for the sake of highlighting the restricted role of the agent.

Conclusion

As we arrive to the end, the main objectives of this current study are twofold. First, a semantic examination of modal verbs has been carried out in Obama's State of the Union speeches of 2010, 2012, 2014, and 2015. These modal verbs are used as syntactic devices to undercut agency. In addition, the use of modal verbs is very useful persuasive techniques with an attempt to forcefully transmit certain ideologies and policies. Moreover, throughout this study, it has been noted that the use of these models is neither accidental nor haphazard. They are employed intelligently to express certain meanings. Thereupon, the findings of this study show that more than 10 modal verbs types have been used in the corpora. We have opted only for 9 types to be used in this study; this was based on the most used modal verbs in the speech. Thus, it is worthy to note that ‘will’ and ‘can’ are the most recurrent modals opted by Obama.

Second, semantic analysis of the participants and the processes reveal that the president Obama uses a wide range of material processes (dynamic verbs) in his speeches. This could be illustrated that these processes allow Obama to present his ideas, opinions, and various issues like women's rights, jobs, health, education, economy and above all international relations. This study also reveals that Obama takes in sometimes the role of the agent. In other words, he is the active participant in order to gain his objectives which are mainly change. He also, through language, sometimes tends to exclude some groups either by presenting them as agentless/ passive or by excluding them. Thus, Obama's uses some syntactic devices/ structures in order to allow him express or suppress agency to serve his agenda. The most recurrent devices that were adopted by Obama are linking verbs, passive voice (passivation), negation, and perfect tense in some cases.

In addition to these findings, we have noticed that Obama's speeches are characterized by the following: the use of simple words, short sentences. More than that, his language is an easy language and consequently understood by everyone. This style is used on purpose to shorten the distance between him and the audience. At the end, since this study is under the umbrella of the ideational meta-function, it is important to highlight that most of the clauses are material clauses to show what he and his administration has achieved locally and internationally. To end up the findings, we have preferred to reveal some of Obama's ideology that was sorted from the corpora.

In brief, his ideologies can be summarized as follows: As a moderate democratic president, he dealt with the Iranian document. Therefore, President Obama unlike Bush's speeches was a centrist towards the Iranian leaders. Therefore, Obama's peaceful speech indicates clearly his political ideology and confirms his promises for change.

Moreover, in his speech in front of the members of the congress, Obama argued that “I’m a Democrat, but I believe what Republican Abraham Lincoln believed. This discourse indicates that he tends to accept the ideas of the Republican Party as a kind of corporation, and inclusiveness. Finally, it is worth mentioning to state the liberal- economic ideologies that president Obama tends to support for opening new markets all over the world.

General Conclusion

It can be concluded that language is the heart of politics. For this reason, the current study is conducted to in order to analyse 04 speeches delivered by the American president Barack Obama. This study is based on Systemic Functional Grammar focusing on namely the ideational meta-function. More specifically, this analysis is carried out at the level of the clause, its participants and processes. In addition to that, an Interpersonal analysis has been conducted, focussing on modality and how the modal verbs are used to make agency less important. To sum up, the theoretical part of this study is built up on Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics.

Throughout this study, there has been an attempt to analyse a number of Obama's speech at three various levels. Ideational, interpersonal, and textual meta- functions. In this study, we have dealt only with participants and mainly process analysis and an interpersonal analysis to carry out modality analysis. Furthermore, throughout this study, CDA has been used as a perspective on how language is used for the sake of enacting power and ideology. Thus, some of the key ideologies have been summarized from the speech like liberalism (economic liberalism, inclusiveness).

Moreover, as it was shown in the research methodology chapter. The methodology that has been opted for this study is the mixed approach and this could be justified by the nature of the study. Thus, the adopted method is the descriptive method which is regarded as the most suitable for this approach. Additionally, a document examination (corpora) is used as a qualitative data collection tool. By corpora, we mean the speeches that are under investigation. Finally, in the data procedure analysis, we have opted for referential identity method and a segmenting technique in order to classify and then analyse the modal verbs used and the participants and processes types with a reference to agency.

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The findings of this study reveal that huge number of modal verbs has been adopted by Obama. Thus, for this current ad because of time constraints, we have opted only for 9 types to be used in this study; this was based on the most used modal verbs in the speech. Thus, it is visible that ‘will’ and ‘can’ are the most recurrent modals opted by Obama. More specifically, ‘will’ have recurred 40 times in the 2010 speech, in 2012 it has been recurred 37 times, in 2014, will have been recurred 56 times, and finally, in 2015, will have been recurred 31 times. Can, on the other hand, have been recurred 11 times in 2010 speech, 15 times in 2012, 28 in 2014, and finally, can have been recurred 16 times in 2015 state of the union speech. It can be concluded that Obama has used will more in his speeches as a modal that helps him to hedge agency.

In addition, the analysis of corpora reveals that Obama used a variety of syntactic devices/ structures in order to undercut agency. Negations have been similarly used to stative verbs. In contrast, few number nominalization and passive sentences were recorded in the corpora. These results could indicate that in the corpora showed Obama’s preferences towards selecting specific linguistic tools that result in concealing the agent, and therefore, he opted for more stative and negations in order to suppress agency. Finally, throughout the speeches (corpora), the most frequent syntactic device is ‘negation and the use of the stative verbs.’ This study also reveals that Obama takes in sometimes the role of the agent. In other words, he is the active/ dynamic participant in order represent his ideology and thereafter to gain his objectives. He also, through language, sometimes tends to exclude some groups either by presenting them as agentless/ passive or by excluding them.

The below suggestions and recommendations are addressed to the students and teachers of English in the Foreign Language Department, English Section at Biskra University. To be able to think better, they should have good mastery on how to analyze discourses

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(educational, political, economic, religious, and legal) throughout applying systemic functional grammar. Thus various studies can be conducted on the following:

- Further analyses can be performed at the level of textual meta-function of Donald Trump's Inaugural speech.
- Transitivity and Interpersonal analysis of Donald Trump speeches (like Inaugural speech)
- It would be better if teachers encourage and motivate students to carry out discourse analysis studies in the teaching- learning process in order to develop their critical thinking awareness.

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Appendix A

Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union

January 27, 2010

Madam Speaker, Vice President Biden, Members of Congress, distinguished guests, and fellow Americans: Our Constitution declares that from time to time, the President shall give to Congress information about the state of our Union. For 220 years, our leaders have fulfilled this duty. They've done so during periods of prosperity and tranquility, and they've done so in the midst of war and depression, at moments of great strife and great struggle.

It's tempting to look back on these moments and assume that our progress was inevitable, that America was always destined to succeed. But when the Union was turned back at Bull Run and the Allies first landed at Omaha Beach, victory was very much in doubt. When the market crashed on Black Tuesday and marchers were beaten on Bloody Sunday, the future was anything but certain. These were the times that tested the courage of our convictions and the strength of our Union. And despite all our divisions and disagreements, our hesitations and our fears, America prevailed because we chose to move forward as one Nation, as one people. Again, we are tested. And again, we must answer history's call.

One year ago, I took office amid two wars, an economy rocked by a severe recession, a financial system on the verge of collapse, and a Government deeply in debt. Experts from across the political spectrum warned that if we did not act, we might face a second depression. So we acted, immediately and aggressively. And 1 year later, the worst of the storm has passed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

It's because of this spirit, this great decency and great strength, that I have never been more hopeful about America's future than I am tonight. Despite our hardships, our Union is strong. We do not give up. We do not quit. We do not allow fear or division to break our spirit. In this new decade, it's time the American people get a Government that matches their decency, that embodies their strength. And tonight I'd like to talk about how together we can deliver on that promise.

It begins with our economy. Our most urgent task upon taking office was to shore up the same banks that helped cause this crisis. It was not easy to do. And if there's one thing that has unified Democrats and Republicans and everybody in between, it's that we all hated the bank bailout. I hated it. I hated it; you hated it. It was about as popular as a root canal. *[Laughter]*

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

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

To recover the rest, I've proposed a fee on the biggest banks. Now, I know Wall Street isn't keen on this idea. But if these firms can afford to hand out big bonuses again, they can afford a modest fee to pay back the taxpayers who rescued them in their time of need.

Now, as we stabilized the financial system, we also took steps to get our economy growing again, save as many jobs as possible, and help Americans who had become unemployed. That's why we extended or increased unemployment benefits for more than 18 million

Americans, made health insurance 65 percent cheaper for families who get their coverage through COBRA, and passed 25 different tax cuts.

Now, let me repeat: We cut taxes. We cut taxes for 95 percent of working families. We cut taxes for small businesses. We cut taxes for first-time home buyers. We cut taxes for parents trying to care for their children. We cut taxes for 8 million Americans paying for college.

[*Applause*] I thought I'd get some applause on that one. [*Laughter*]

As a result, millions of Americans had more to spend on gas and food and other necessities, all of which helped businesses keep more workers. And we haven't raised income taxes by a single dime on a single person--not a single dime.

Now, because of the steps we took, there are about 2 million Americans working right now who would otherwise be unemployed. Two hundred thousand work in construction and clean energy. Three hundred thousand are teachers and other education workers. Tens of thousands are cops, firefighters, correctional officers, first-responders. And we're on track to add another 1 1/2 million jobs to this total by the end of the year.

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

There are stories like this all across America. And after 2 years of recession, the economy is growing again. Retirement funds have started to gain back some of their value. Businesses are beginning to invest again, and slowly some are starting to hire again.

But I realize that for every success story, there are other stories, of men and women who wake up with the anguish of not knowing where their next paycheck will come from, who send out resumes week after week and hear nothing in response. That is why jobs must be our number-one focus in 2010, and that's why I'm calling for a new jobs bill tonight.

Now, the true engine of job creation in this country will always be America's businesses. *[Applause]* I agree, absolutely. But Government can create the conditions necessary for businesses to expand and hire more workers. We should start where most new jobs do, in small businesses, companies that begin when an entrepreneur takes a chance on a dream or a worker decides it's time she became her own boss. Through sheer grit and determination, these companies have weathered the recession, and they're ready to grow. But when you talk to small-business owners in places like Allentown, Pennsylvania, or Elyria, Ohio, you find out that even though banks on Wall Street are lending again, they're mostly lending to bigger companies. Financing remains difficult for small-business owners across the country, even those that are making a profit.

So tonight I'm proposing that we take \$30 billion of the money Wall Street banks have repaid and use it to help community banks give small businesses the credit they need to stay afloat. I'm also proposing a new small business tax credit, one that will go to over 1 million small businesses who hire new workers or raise wages. While we're at it, let's also eliminate all capital gains taxes on small-business investment and provide a tax incentive for all large businesses and all small businesses to invest in new plants and equipment.

Next, we can put Americans to work today building the infrastructure of tomorrow. From the first railroads to the Interstate Highway System, our Nation has always been built to compete. There's no reason Europe or China should have the fastest trains or the new factories that manufacture clean energy products. Tomorrow I'll visit Tampa, Florida, where workers will soon break ground on a new high-speed railroad funded by the Recovery Act. There are

projects like that all across this country that will create jobs and help move our Nation's goods, services, and information.

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

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

But the truth is, these steps won't make up for the 7 million jobs that we've lost over the last 2 years. The only way to move to full employment is to lay a new foundation for long-term economic growth and finally address the problems that America's families have confronted for years.

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

From the day I took office, I've been told that addressing our larger challenges is too ambitious; such an effort would be too contentious. I've been told that our political system is too gridlocked and that we should just put things on hold for a while. For those who make these claims, I have one simple question: How long should we wait? How long should America put its future on hold?

You see, Washington has been telling us to wait for decades, even as the problems have grown worse. Meanwhile, China's not waiting to revamp its economy. Germany's not waiting. India's not waiting. These nations are--they're not standing still. These nations aren't playing for second place. They're putting more emphasis on math and science. They're rebuilding their infrastructure. They're making serious investments in clean energy because they want those jobs. Well, I do not accept second place for the United States of America. As hard as it may be, as uncomfortable and contentious as the debates may become, it's time to get serious about fixing the problems that are hampering our growth.

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

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

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

Next, we need to encourage American innovation. Last year, we made the largest investment in basic research funding in history, an investment that could lead to the world's cheapest solar cells or treatment that kills cancer cells, but leaves healthy ones untouched. And no area is more ripe for such innovation than energy. You can see the results of last year's investments in clean energy in the North Carolina company that will create 1,200 jobs nationwide helping

to make advanced batteries or in the California business that will put a thousand people to work making solar panels.

But to create more of these clean energy jobs, we need more production, more efficiency, more incentives. And that means building a new generation of safe, clean nuclear power plants in this country. It means making tough decisions about opening new offshore areas for oil and gas development. It means continued investment in advanced biofuels and clean coal technologies. And yes, it means passing a comprehensive energy and climate bill with incentives that will finally make clean energy the profitable kind of energy in America. Now, I am grateful to the House for passing such a bill last year. And this year, I'm eager to help advance the bipartisan effort in the Senate.

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

Third, we need to export more of our goods, because the more products we make and sell to other countries, the more jobs we support right here in America. So tonight we set a new goal: We will double our exports over the next 5 years, an increase that will support 2 million jobs in America. To help meet this goal, we're launching a National Export Initiative that will help farmers and small businesses increase their exports and reform export controls consistent with national security.

We have to seek new markets aggressively, just as our competitors are. If America sits on the sidelines while other nations sign trade deals, we will lose the chance to create jobs on our shores. But realizing those benefits also means enforcing those agreements so our trading

partners play by the rules. And that's why we'll continue to shape a Doha trade agreement that opens global markets and why we will strengthen our trade relations in Asia and with key partners like South Korea and Panama and Colombia.

Fourth, we need to invest in the skills and education of our people. Now, this year, we've broken through the stalemate between left and right by launching a national competition to improve our schools. And the idea here is simple: Instead of rewarding failure, we only reward success. Instead of funding the status quo, we only invest in reform, reform that raises student achievement, inspires students to excel in math and science, and turns around failing schools that steal the future of too many young Americans, from rural communities to the inner city. In the 21st century, the best antipoverty program around is a world-class education. And in this country, the success of our children cannot depend more on where they live than on their potential. When we renew the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, we will work with Congress to expand these reforms to all 50 States.

Still, in this economy, a high school diploma no longer guarantees a good job. That's why I urge the Senate to follow the House and pass a bill that will revitalize our community colleges, which are a career pathway to the children of so many working families.

To make college more affordable, this bill will finally end the unwarranted taxpayer subsidies that go to banks for student loans. Instead, let's take that money and give families a \$10,000 tax credit for 4 years of college and increase Pell grants. And let's tell another 1 million students that when they graduate, they will be required to pay only 10 percent of their income on student loans and all of their debt will be forgiven after 20 years and forgiven after 10 years if they choose a career in public service, because in the United States of America, no one should go broke because they chose to go to college. And by the way, it's time for colleges and universities to get serious about cutting their own costs, because they too have a responsibility to help solve this problem.

Now, the price of college tuition is just one of the burdens facing the middle class. That's why last year, I asked Vice President Biden to chair a task force on middle class families. That's why we're nearly doubling the childcare tax credit and making it easier to save for retirement by giving access to every worker a retirement account and expanding the tax credit for those who start a nest egg. That's why we're working to lift the value of a family's single largest investment, their home. The steps we took last year to shore up the housing market have allowed millions of Americans to take out new loans and save an average of \$1,500 on mortgage payments. This year, we will step up refinancing so that homeowners can move into more affordable mortgages.

And it is precisely to relieve the burden on middle class families that we still need health insurance reform. Yes, we do.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Laughter]

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

I'm absolutely convinced that was the right thing to do. But families across the country are tightening their belts and making tough decisions. The Federal Government should do the same. So tonight I'm proposing specific steps to pay for the trillion dollars that it took to rescue the economy last year.

Starting in 2011, we are prepared to freeze Government spending for 3 years. Spending related to our national security, Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security will not be affected. But all other discretionary Government programs will. Like any cash-strapped family, we will

work within a budget to invest in what we need and sacrifice what we don't. And if I have to enforce this discipline by veto, I will.

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

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

Now, yesterday the Senate blocked a bill that would have created this commission, so I'll issue an Executive order that will allow us to go forward, because I refuse to pass this problem on to another generation of Americans. And when the vote comes tomorrow, the Senate should restore the pay-as-you-go law that was a big reason for why we had record surpluses in the 1990s.

Now, I know that some in my own party will argue that we can't address the deficit or freeze Government spending when so many are still hurting. And I agree, which is why this freeze won't take effect until next year, when the economy is stronger. That's how budgeting works. *[Laughter]* But understand, if we don't take meaningful steps to rein in our debt, it could damage our markets, increase the cost of borrowing, and jeopardize our recovery, all of which would have an even worse effect on our job growth and family incomes.

From some on the right, I expect we'll hear a different argument, that if we just make fewer investments in our people, extend tax cuts, including those for the wealthier Americans, eliminate more regulations, maintain the status quo on health care, our deficits will go away. The problem is, that's what we did for 8 years. That's what helped us into this crisis. It's what helped lead to these deficits. We can't do it again.

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

Now, to do that, we have to recognize that we face more than a deficit of dollars right now. We face a deficit of trust, deep and corrosive doubts about how Washington works that have been growing for years. To close that credibility gap, we have to take action on both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue to end the outsized influence of lobbyists, to do our work openly, to give our people the Government they deserve.

Now, that's what I came to Washington to do. That's why, for the first time in history, my administration posts on--our White House visitors online. That's why we've excluded lobbyists from policymaking jobs or seats on Federal boards and commissions. But we can't stop there. It's time to require lobbyists to disclose each contact they make on behalf of a client, with my administration or with Congress. It's time to put strict limits on the contributions that lobbyists give to candidates for Federal office.

With all due deference to separation of powers, last week, the Supreme Court reversed a century of law that I believe will open the floodgates for special interests, including foreign corporations, to spend without limit in our elections. I don't think American elections should be bankrolled by America's most powerful interests, or worse, by foreign entities. They

should be decided by the American people. And I'd urge Democrats and Republicans to pass a bill that helps correct some of these problems.

I'm also calling on Congress to continue down the path of earmark reform, Democrats and Republicans--Democrats and Republicans. Look, you've trimmed some of this spending, you've embraced some meaningful change, but restoring the public trust demands more. For example, some Members of Congress post some earmark requests online. Tonight I'm calling on Congress to publish all earmark requests on a single web site before there's a vote so that the American people can see how their money is being spent.

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

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

Washington may think that saying anything about the other side, no matter how false, no matter how malicious, is just part of the game. But it's precisely such politics that has stopped either party from helping the American people. Worse yet, it's sowing further division among our citizens, further distrust in our Government. So no, I will not give up on trying to change

the tone of our politics. I know it's an election year. And after last week, it's clear that campaign fever has come even earlier than usual. But we still need to govern.

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

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

Now, throughout our history, no issue has united this country more than our security. Sadly, some of the unity we felt after 9/11 has dissipated. And we can argue all we want about who's to blame for this, but I'm not interested in relitigating the past. I know that all of us love this country. All of us are committed to its defense. So let's put aside the schoolyard taunts about who's tough. Let's reject the false choice between protecting our people and upholding our values. Let's leave behind the fear and division and do what it takes to defend our Nation and forge a more hopeful future for America and for the world.

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

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

As we take the fight to Al Qaida, we are responsibly leaving Iraq to its people. As a candidate, I promised that I would end this war, and that is what I am doing as President. We will have all of our combat troops out of Iraq by the end of this August. We will support the Iraqi Government as they hold elections, and we will continue to partner with the Iraqi people to promote regional peace and prosperity. But make no mistake: This war is ending, and all of our troops are coming home.

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

Now, even as we prosecute two wars, we're also confronting perhaps the greatest danger to the American people, the threat of nuclear weapons. I've embraced the vision of John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan through a strategy that reverses the spread of these weapons and seeks a world without them. To reduce our stockpiles and launchers, while ensuring our deterrent, the United States and Russia are completing negotiations on the farthest reaching arms control treaty in nearly two decades. And at April's Nuclear Security Summit, we will bring 44 nations together here in Washington, DC, behind a clear goal: securing all vulnerable

nuclear materials around the world in 4 years so that they never fall into the hands of terrorists.

Now, these diplomatic efforts have also strengthened our hand in dealing with those nations that insist on violating international agreements in pursuit of nuclear weapons. That's why North Korea now faces increased isolation and stronger sanctions, sanctions that are being vigorously enforced. That's why the international community is more united and the Islamic Republic of Iran is more isolated. And as Iran's leaders continue to ignore their obligations, there should be no doubt: They too will face growing consequences. That is a promise.

That's the leadership we are providing: engagement that advances the common security and prosperity of all people. We're working through the G-20 to sustain a lasting global recovery. We're working with Muslim communities around the world to promote science and education and innovation. We have gone from a bystander to a leader in the fight against climate change. We're helping developing countries to feed themselves and continuing the fight against HIV/AIDS. And we are launching a new initiative that will give us the capacity to respond faster and more effectively to bioterrorism or an infectious disease, a plan that will counter threats at home and strengthen public health abroad.

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

Abroad, America's greatest source of strength has always been our ideals. The same is true at home. We find unity in our incredible diversity, drawing on the promise enshrined in our

Constitution: The notion that we're all created equal; that no matter who you are or what you look like, if you abide by the law, you should be protected by it; if you adhere to our common values, you should be treated no different than anyone else.

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

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

In the end, it's our ideals, our values that built America, values that allowed us to forge a nation made up of immigrants from every corner of the globe, values that drive our citizens still. Every day, Americans meet their responsibilities to their families and their employers. Time and again, they lend a hand to their neighbors and give back to their country. They take pride in their labor and are generous in spirit. These aren't Republican values or Democratic values that they're living by, business values or labor values, they're American values.

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

citizens turn away. No wonder there's so much cynicism out there. No wonder there's so much disappointment.

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

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

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

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

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

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

woman who said that even though she and her neighbors have felt the pain of recession, "We are strong. We are resilient. We are American." It lives on in the 8-year-old boy in Louisiana who just sent me his allowance and asked if I would give it to the people of Haiti. And it lives on in all the Americans who've dropped everything to go someplace they've never been and pull people they've never known from the rubble, prompting chants of "U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!" when another life was saved.

The spirit that has sustained this Nation for more than two centuries lives on in you, its people. We have finished a difficult year. We have come through a difficult decade. But a new year has come. A new decade stretches before us. We don't quit. I don't quit. Let's seize this moment to start anew, to carry the dream forward, and to strengthen our Union once more.

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

Appendix B

Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union

January 24, 2012

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, distinguished guests, and fellow Americans: Last month, I went to Andrews Air Force Base and welcomed home some of our last troops to serve in Iraq. Together, we offered a final, proud salute to the colors under which more than a million of our fellow citizens fought and several thousand gave their lives.

We gather tonight knowing that this generation of heroes has made the United States safer and more respected around the world. For the first time in 9 years, there are no Americans fighting in Iraq. For the first time in two decades, Usama bin Laden is not a threat to this country. Most of Al Qaida's top lieutenants have been defeated. The Taliban's momentum has been broken, and some troops in Afghanistan have begun to come home.

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

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

We can do this. I know we can, because we've done it before. At the end of World War II, when another generation of heroes returned home from combat, they built the strongest economy and middle class the world has ever known. My grandfather, a veteran of Patton's

army, got the chance to go to college on the GI bill. My grandmother, who worked on a bomber assembly line, was part of a workforce that turned out the best products on Earth.

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

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

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

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

It was wrong, it was irresponsible, and it plunged our economy into a crisis that put millions out of work, saddled us with more debt, and left innocent, hard-working Americans holding

the bag. In the 6 months before I took office, we lost nearly 4 million jobs. And we lost another 4 million before our policies were in full effect.

Those are the facts. But so are these: In the last 22 months, businesses have created more than 3 million jobs. Last year, they created the most jobs since 2005. American manufacturers are hiring again, creating jobs for the first time since the late 1990s. Together, we've agreed to cut the deficit by more than \$2 trillion. And we've put in place new rules to hold Wall Street accountable so a crisis like this never happens again.

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

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

Now, this blueprint begins with American manufacturing.

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

We bet on American workers. We bet on American ingenuity. And tonight, the American auto industry is back.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We're also making it easier for American businesses to sell products all over the world. Two years ago, I set a goal of doubling U.S. exports over 5 years. With the bipartisan trade agreements we signed into law, we're on track to meet that goal ahead of schedule. And soon there will be millions of new customers for American goods in Panama, Colombia, and South Korea. Soon there will be new cars on the streets of Seoul imported from Detroit and Toledo and Chicago.

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

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

I also hear from many business leaders who want to hire in the United States, but can't find workers with the right skills. Growing industries in science and technology have twice as

many openings as we have workers who can do the job. Think about that: openings at a time when millions of Americans are looking for work. It's inexcusable, and we know how to fix it. Jackie Bray is a single mom from North Carolina who was laid off from her job as a mechanic. Then, Siemens opened a gas turbine factory in Charlotte and formed a partnership with Central Piedmont Community College. The company helped the college design courses in laser and robotics training. It paid Jackie's tuition, then hired her to help operate their plant. I want every American looking for work to have the same opportunity as Jackie did. Join me in a national commitment to train 2 million Americans with skills that will lead directly to a job. My administration has already lined up more companies that want to help. Model partnerships between businesses like Siemens and community colleges in places like Charlotte and Orlando and Louisville are up and running. Now you need to give more community colleges the resources they need to become community career centers, places that teach people skills that businesses are looking for right now, from data management to high-tech manufacturing.

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

These reforms will help people get jobs that are open today. But to prepare for the jobs of tomorrow, our commitment to skills and education has to start earlier.

For less than 1 percent of what our Nation spends on education each year, we've convinced nearly every State in the country to raise their standards for teaching and learning, the first time that's happened in a generation. But challenges remain, and we know how to solve them.

At a time when other countries are doubling down on education, tight budgets have forced States to lay off thousands of teachers. We know a good teacher can increase the lifetime

income of a classroom by over \$250,000. A great teacher can offer an escape from poverty to the child who dreams beyond his circumstance. Every person in this Chamber can point to a teacher who changed the trajectory of their lives. Most teachers work tirelessly, with modest pay, sometimes digging into their own pocket for school supplies, just to make a difference.

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

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

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

Extend the tuition tax credit we started that saves millions of middle class families thousands of dollars, and give more young people the chance to earn their way through college by doubling the number of work-study jobs in the next 5 years.

Of course, it's not enough for us to increase student aid. We can't just keep subsidizing skyrocketing tuition; we'll run out of money. States also need to do their part by making higher education a higher priority in their budgets. And colleges and universities have to do their part by working to keep costs down.

Recently, I spoke with a group of college presidents who have done just that. Some schools redesign courses to help students finish more quickly. Some use better technology. The point is, it's possible. So let me put colleges and universities on notice: If you can't stop tuition from

going up, the funding you get from taxpayers will go down. Higher education can't be a luxury. It is an economic imperative that every family in America should be able to afford.

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

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

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

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

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

Innovation also demands basic research. Today, the discoveries taking place in our federally financed labs and universities could lead to new treatments that kill cancer cells but leave healthy ones untouched, new lightweight vests for cops and soldiers that can stop any bullet. Don't gut these investments in our budget. Don't let other countries win the race for the future. Support the same kind of research and innovation that led to the computer chip and the Internet, to new American jobs and new American industries.

And nowhere is the promise of innovation greater than in American-made energy. Over the last 3 years, we've opened millions of new acres for oil and gas exploration, and tonight I'm directing my administration to open more than 75 percent of our potential offshore oil and gas resources. Right now--right now--American oil production is the highest that it's been in 8 years. That's right, 8 years. Not only that, last year, we relied less on foreign oil than in any of the past 16 years.

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

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

The development of natural gas will create jobs and power trucks and factories that are cleaner and cheaper, proving that we don't have to choose between our environment and our economy. And by the way, it was public research dollars, over the course of 30 years, that

helped develop the technologies to extract all this natural gas out of shale rock, reminding us that Government support is critical in helping businesses get new energy ideas off the ground. Now, what's true for natural gas is just as true for clean energy. In 3 years, our partnership with the private sector has already positioned America to be the world's leading manufacturer of high-tech batteries. Because of Federal investments, renewable energy use has nearly doubled, and thousands of Americans have jobs because of it.

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

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

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

We can also spur energy innovation with new incentives. The differences in this Chamber may be too deep right now to pass a comprehensive plan to fight climate change. But there's no reason why Congress shouldn't at least set a clean energy standard that creates a market for innovation. So far, you haven't acted. Well, tonight I will. I'm directing my administration to allow the development of clean energy on enough public land to power 3 million homes. And

I'm proud to announce that the Department of Defense, working with us, the world's largest consumer of energy, will make one of the largest commitments to clean energy in history, with the Navy purchasing enough capacity to power a quarter of a million homes a year.

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

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

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

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

There's never been a better time to build, especially since the construction industry was one of the hardest hit when the housing bubble burst. Of course, construction workers weren't the only ones who were hurt. So were millions of innocent Americans who've seen their home values decline. And while Government can't fix the problem on its own, responsible

homeowners shouldn't have to sit and wait for the housing market to hit bottom to get some relief.

And that's why I'm sending this Congress a plan that gives every responsible homeowner the chance to save about \$3,000 a year on their mortgage by refinancing at historically low rates. No more redtape. No more runaround from the banks. A small fee on the largest financial institutions will ensure that it won't add to the deficit and will give those banks that were rescued by taxpayers a chance to repay a deficit of trust.

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

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

There's no question that some regulations are outdated, unnecessary, or too costly. In fact, I've approved fewer regulations in the first 3 years of my Presidency than my Republican predecessor did in his. I've ordered every Federal agency to eliminate rules that don't make sense. We've already announced over 500 reforms, and just a fraction of them will save business and citizens more than \$10 billion over the next 5 years. We got rid of one rule from 40 years ago that could have forced some dairy farmers to spend \$10,000 a year proving that they could contain a spill, because milk was somehow classified as an oil. With a rule like that, I guess it was worth crying over spilled milk. *[Laughter]*

Now, I'm confident a farmer can contain a milk spill without a Federal agency looking over his shoulder. Absolutely. But I will not back down from making sure an oil company can

contain the kind of oil spill we saw in the Gulf 2 years ago. I will not back down from protecting our kids from mercury poisoning or making sure that our food is safe and our water is clean. I will not go back to the days when health insurance companies had unchecked power to cancel your policy, deny your coverage, or charge women differently than men.

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

So, if you are a big bank or financial institution, you're no longer allowed to make risky bets with your customers' deposits. You're required to write out a "living will" that details exactly how you'll pay the bills if you fail, because the rest of us are not bailing you out ever again.

And if you're a mortgage lender or a payday lender or a credit card company, the days of signing people up for products they can't afford with confusing forms and deceptive practices, those days are over. Today, American consumers finally have a watchdog in Richard Cordray, with one job: to look out for them.

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

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

Now, a return to the American values of fair play and shared responsibility will help protect our people and our economy. But it should also guide us as we look to pay down our debt and invest in our future.

Right now our most immediate priority is stopping a tax hike on 160 million working Americans while the recovery is still fragile. People cannot afford losing \$40 out of each paycheck this year. There are plenty of ways to get this done. So let's agree right here, right now. No side issues. No drama. Pass the payroll tax cut without delay. Let's get it done.

When it comes to the deficit, we've already agreed to more than \$2 trillion in cuts and savings. But we need to do more, and that means making choices. Right now we're poised to spend nearly \$1 trillion more on what was supposed to be a temporary tax break for the wealthiest 2 percent of Americans. Right now, because of loopholes and shelters in the Tax Code, a quarter of all millionaires pay lower tax rates than millions of middle class households. Right now Warren Buffett pays a lower tax rate than his secretary.

Do we want to keep these tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans? Or do we want to keep our investments in everything else, like education and medical research, a strong military and care for our veterans? Because if we're serious about paying down our debt, we can't do both.

The American people know what the right choice is. So do I. As I told the Speaker this summer, I'm prepared to make more reforms that rein in the long-term costs of Medicare and Medicaid and strengthen Social Security, so long as those programs remain a guarantee of security for seniors. But in return, we need to change our Tax Code so that people like me, and an awful lot of Members of Congress, pay our fair share of taxes.

Tax reform should follow the Buffett rule. If you make more than a million dollars a year, you should not pay less than 30 percent in taxes. And my Republican friend Tom Coburn is right: Washington should stop subsidizing millionaires. In fact, if you're earning a million dollars a year, you shouldn't get special tax subsidies or deductions. On the other hand, if you make

under \$250,000 a year, like 98 percent of American families, your taxes shouldn't go up. You're the ones struggling with rising costs and stagnant wages. You're the ones who need relief.

Now, you can call this class warfare all you want. But asking a billionaire to pay at least as much as his secretary in taxes? Most Americans would call that common sense.

We don't begrudge financial success in this country. We admire it. When Americans talk about folks like me paying my fair share of taxes, it's not because they envy the rich. It's because they understand that when I get a tax break I don't need and the country can't afford, it either adds to the deficit or somebody else has to make up the difference, like a senior on a fixed income or a student trying to get through school or a family trying to make ends meet. That's not right. Americans know that's not right. They know that this generation's success is only possible because past generations felt a responsibility to each other and to the future of their country, and they know our way of life will only endure if we feel that same sense of shared responsibility. That's how we'll reduce our deficit. That's an America built to last.

Now, I recognize that people watching tonight have differing views about taxes and debt, energy and health care. But no matter what party they belong to, I bet most Americans are thinking the same thing right about now: Nothing will get done in Washington this year or next year or maybe even the year after that, because Washington is broken.

Can you blame them for feeling a little cynical?

The greatest blow to our confidence in our economy last year didn't come from events beyond our control. It came from a debate in Washington over whether the United States would pay its bills or not. Who benefited from that fiasco?

I've talked tonight about the deficit of trust between Main Street and Wall Street. But the divide between this city and the rest of the country is at least as bad, and it seems to get worse every year.

Now, some of this has to do with the corrosive influence of money in politics. So together, let's take some steps to fix that. Send me a bill that bans insider trading by Members of Congress. I will sign it tomorrow. Let's limit any elected official from owning stocks in industries they impact. Let's make sure people who bundle campaign contributions for Congress can't lobby Congress and vice versa, an idea that has bipartisan support, at least outside of Washington.

Some of what's broken has to do with the way Congress does its business these days. A simple majority is no longer enough to get anything--even routine business--passed through the Senate. Neither party has been blameless in these tactics. Now both parties should put an end to it. For starters, I ask the Senate to pass a simple rule that all judicial and public service nominations receive a simple up-or-down vote within 90 days.

The executive branch also needs to change. Too often, it's inefficient, outdated, and remote. That's why I've asked this Congress to grant me the authority to consolidate the Federal bureaucracy so that our Government is leaner, quicker, and more responsive to the needs of the American people.

Finally, none of this can happen unless we also lower the temperature in this town. We need to end the notion that the two parties must be locked in a perpetual campaign of mutual destruction, that politics is about clinging to rigid ideologies instead of building consensus around commonsense ideas.

I'm a Democrat, but I believe what Republican Abraham Lincoln believed: that Government should do for people only what they cannot do better by themselves and no more. That's why my education reform offers more competition and more control for schools and States. That's why we're getting rid of regulations that don't work. That's why our health care law relies on a reformed private market, not a Government program.

On the other hand, even my Republican friends who complain the most about Government spending have supported federally financed roads and clean energy projects and Federal offices for the folks back home.

The point is, we should all want a smarter, more effective Government. And while we may not be able to bridge our biggest philosophical differences this year, we can make real progress. With or without this Congress, I will keep taking actions that help the economy grow. But I can do a whole lot more with your help. Because when we act together, there's nothing the United States of America can't achieve.

That's the lesson we've learned from our actions abroad over the last few years. Ending the Iraq war has allowed us to strike decisive blows against our enemies. From Pakistan to Yemen, the Al Qaida operatives who remain are scrambling, knowing that they can't escape the reach of the United States of America.

From this position of strength, we've begun to wind down the war in Afghanistan. Ten thousand of our troops have come home. Twenty-three thousand more will leave by the end of this summer. This transition to Afghan lead will continue, and we will build an enduring partnership with Afghanistan so that it is never again a source of attacks against America.

As the tide of war recedes, a wave of change has washed across the Middle East and North Africa, from Tunis to Cairo, from Sana'a to Tripoli. A year ago, Qadhafi was one of the world's longest serving dictators, a murderer with American blood on his hands. Today, he is gone. And in Syria, I have no doubt that the Asad regime will soon discover that the forces of change cannot be reversed and that human dignity cannot be denied.

How this incredible transformation will end remains uncertain. But we have a huge stake in the outcome. And while it's ultimately up to the people of the region to decide their fate, we will advocate for those values that have served our own country so well. We will stand against violence and intimidation. We will stand for the rights and dignity of all human beings: men

and women; Christians, Muslims, and Jews. We will support policies that lead to strong and stable democracies and open markets, because tyranny is no match for liberty.

And we will safeguard America's own security against those who threaten our citizens, our friends, and our interests. Look at Iran. Through the power of our diplomacy, a world that was once divided about how to deal with Iran's nuclear program now stands as one. The regime is more isolated than ever before. Its leaders are faced with crippling sanctions, and as long as they shirk their responsibilities, this pressure will not relent.

Let there be no doubt: America is determined to prevent Iran from getting a nuclear weapon, and I will take no options off the table to achieve that goal. But a peaceful resolution of this issue is still possible, and far better. And if Iran changes course and meets its obligations, it can rejoin the community of nations.

The renewal of American leadership can be felt across the globe. Our oldest alliances in Europe and Asia are stronger than ever. Our ties to the Americas are deeper. Our ironclad commitment--and I mean ironclad--to Israel's security has meant the closest military cooperation between our two countries in history.

We've made it clear that America is a Pacific power, and a new beginning in Burma has lit a new hope. From the coalitions we've built to secure nuclear materials to the missions we've led against hunger and disease, from the blows we've dealt to our enemies to the enduring power of our moral example, America is back.

Anyone who tells you otherwise, anyone who tells you that America is in decline or that our influence has waned, doesn't know what they're talking about. That's not the message we get from leaders around the world who are eager to work with us. That's not how people feel from Tokyo to Berlin, from Cape Town to Rio, where opinions of America are higher than they've been in years. Yes, the world is changing. No, we can't control every event. But America

remains the one indispensable nation in world affairs, and as long as I'm President, I intend to keep it that way.

That's why, working with our military leaders, I've proposed a new defense strategy that ensures we maintain the finest military in the world, while saving nearly half a trillion dollars in our budget. To stay one step ahead of our adversaries, I've already sent this Congress legislation that will secure our country from the growing dangers of cyber threats.

Above all, our freedom endures because of the men and women in uniform who defend it. As they come home, we must serve them as well as they've served us. That includes giving them the care and the benefits they have earned, which is why we've increased annual VA spending every year I've been President. And it means enlisting our veterans in the work of rebuilding our Nation.

With the bipartisan support of this Congress, we're providing new tax credits to companies that hire vets. Michelle and Jill Biden have worked with American businesses to secure a pledge of 135,000 jobs for veterans and their families. And tonight I'm proposing a veterans jobs corps that will help our communities hire veterans as cops and firefighters, so that America is as strong as those who defend her.

Which brings me back to where I began. Those of us who've been sent here to serve can learn a thing or two from the service of our troops. When you put on that uniform, it doesn't matter if you're Black or White, Asian, Latino, Native American; conservative, liberal; rich, poor; gay, straight. When you're marching into battle, you look out for the person next to you or the mission fails. When you're in the thick of the fight, you rise or fall as one unit, serving one Nation, leaving no one behind.

You know, one of my proudest possessions is the flag that the SEAL team took with them on the mission to get bin Laden. On it are each of their names. Some may be Democrats, some may be Republicans, but that doesn't matter. Just like it didn't matter that day in the Situation

Room, when I sat next to Bob Gates, a man who was George Bush's Defense Secretary, and Hillary Clinton, a woman who ran against me for President.

All that mattered that day was the mission. No one thought about politics. No one thought about themselves. One of the young men involved in the raid later told me that he didn't deserve credit for the mission. It only succeeded, he said, because every single member of that unit did their job: the pilot who landed the helicopter that spun out of control, the translator who kept others from entering the compound, the troops who separated the women and children from the fight, the SEALs who charged up the stairs. More than that, the mission only succeeded because every member of that unit trusted each other. Because you can't charge up those stairs into darkness and danger unless you know that there's somebody behind you, watching your back.

So it is with America. Each time I look at that flag, I'm reminded that our destiny is stitched together like those 50 stars and those 13 stripes. No one built this country on their own. This Nation is great because we built it together. This Nation is great because we worked as a team. This Nation is great because we get each other's backs. And if we hold fast to that truth, in this moment of trial, there is no challenge too great, no mission too hard. As long as we are joined in common purpose, as long as we maintain our common resolve, our journey moves forward, and our future is hopeful, and the state of our Union will always be strong.

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

Appendix C

50 - Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union

January 28, 2014

The President. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, my fellow Americans: Today in America, a teacher spent extra time with a student who needed it and did her part to lift America's graduation rate to its highest levels in more than three decades. An entrepreneur flipped on the lights in her tech start up and did her part to add to the more than 8 million new jobs our businesses have created over the past 4 years. An autoworker fine-tuned some of the best, most fuel-efficient cars in the world and did his part to help America wean itself off foreign oil.

A farmer prepared for the spring after the strongest 5-year stretch of farm exports in our history. A rural doctor gave a young child the first prescription to treat asthma that his mother could afford. A man took the bus home from the graveyard shift, bone-tired, but dreaming big dreams for his son. And in tight-knit communities all across America, fathers and mothers will tuck in their kids, put an arm around their spouse, remember fallen comrades, and give thanks for being home from a war that after 12 long years is finally coming to an end.

Tonight this Chamber speaks with one voice to the people we represent: It is you, our citizens, who make the state of our Union strong.

And here are the results of your efforts: the lowest unemployment rate in over 5 years; a rebounding housing market; a manufacturing sector that's adding jobs for the first time since the 1990s; more oil produced at home than we buy from the rest of the world, the first time that's happened in nearly 20 years; our deficits cut by more than half. And for the first time in over a decade, business leaders around the world have declared that China is no longer the world's number-one place to invest, America is.

That's why I believe this can be a breakthrough year for America. After 5 years of grit and determined effort, the United States is better positioned for the 21st century than any other nation on Earth.

The question for everyone in this Chamber, running through every decision we make this year, is whether we are going to help or hinder this progress. For several years now, this town has been consumed by a rancorous argument over the proper size of the Federal Government. It's an important debate, one that dates back to our very founding. But when that debate prevents us from carrying out even the most basic functions of our democracy—when our differences shut down Government or threaten the full faith and credit of the United States—then we are not doing right by the American people.

Now, as President, I'm committed to making Washington work better and rebuilding the trust of the people who sent us here. And I believe most of you are too. Last month, thanks to the work of Democrats and Republicans, Congress finally produced a budget that undoes some of last year's severe cuts to priorities like education. Nobody got everything they wanted, and we can still do more to invest in this country's future while bringing down our deficit in a balanced way, but the budget compromise should leave us freer to focus on creating new jobs, not creating new crises.

And in the coming months, let's see where else we can make progress together. Let's make this a year of action. That's what most Americans want: for all of us in this Chamber to focus on their lives, their hopes, their aspirations. And what I believe unites the people of this Nation—regardless of race or region or party, young or old, rich or poor—is the simple, profound belief in opportunity for all: the notion that if you work hard and take responsibility, you can get ahead in America.

Now, let's face it, that belief has suffered some serious blows. Over more than three decades, even before the great recession hit, massive shifts in technology and global competition had

eliminated a lot of good, middle class jobs and weakened the economic foundations that families depend on.

Today, after 4 years of economic growth, corporate profits and stock prices have rarely been higher, and those at the top have never done better. But average wages have barely budged. Inequality has deepened. Upward mobility has stalled. The cold, hard fact is that even in the midst of recovery, too many Americans are working more than ever just to get by, let alone to get ahead. And too many still aren't working at all.

So our job is to reverse these trends. It won't happen right away, and we won't agree on everything. But what I offer tonight is a set of concrete, practical proposals to speed up growth, strengthen the middle class, and build new ladders of opportunity into the middle class. Some require congressional action, and I am eager to work with all of you. But America does not stand still, and neither will I. So wherever and whenever I can take steps without legislation to expand opportunity for more American families, that's what I'm going to do.

As usual, our First Lady sets a good example. [*Applause*] Well—[*applause*]. Michelle's "Let's Move!" partnership with schools, businesses, local leaders has helped bring down childhood obesity rates for the first time in 30 years. And that's an achievement that will improve lives and reduce health care costs for decades to come. The Joining Forces alliance that Michelle and Jill Biden launched has already encouraged employers to hire or train nearly 400,000 veterans and military spouses.

Taking a page from that playbook, the White House just organized a College Opportunity Summit, where already, 150 universities, businesses, nonprofits have made concrete commitments to reduce inequality in access to higher education and to help every hard-working kid go to college and succeed when they get to campus. And across the country, we're partnering with mayors, Governors, and State legislatures on issues from homelessness to marriage equality.

The point is, there are millions of Americans outside of Washington who are tired of stale political arguments and are moving this country forward. They believe—and I believe—that here in America, our success should depend not on accident of birth, but the strength of our work ethic and the scope of our dreams. That's what drew our forebears here. That's how the daughter of a factory worker is CEO of America's largest automaker; how the son of a barkeep is Speaker of the House; how the son of a single mom can be President of the greatest nation on Earth.

Opportunity is who we are. And the defining project of our generation must be to restore that promise. We know where to start: The best measure of opportunity is access to a good job. With the economy picking up speed, companies say they intend to hire more people this year. And over half of big manufacturers say they're thinking of insourcing jobs from abroad.

So let's make that decision easier for more companies. Both Democrats and Republicans have argued that our Tax Code is riddled with wasteful, complicated loopholes that punish businesses investing here and reward companies that keep profits abroad. Let's flip that equation. Let's work together to close those loopholes, end those incentives to ship jobs overseas, and lower tax rates for businesses that create jobs right here at home.

Moreover, we can take the money we save from this transition to tax reform to create jobs rebuilding our roads, upgrading our ports, unclogging our commutes, because in today's global economy, first-class jobs gravitate to first-class infrastructure. We'll need Congress to protect more than 3 million jobs by finishing transportation and waterways bills this summer. That can happen. But I'll act on my own to slash bureaucracy and streamline the permitting process for key projects so we can get more construction workers on the job as fast as possible.

We also have the chance, right now, to beat other countries in the race for the next wave of high-tech manufacturing jobs. My administration has launched two hubs for high-tech

manufacturing in Raleigh, North Carolina, and Youngstown, Ohio, where we've connected businesses to research universities that can help America lead the world in advanced technologies. Tonight I'm announcing, we'll launch six more this year. Bipartisan bills in both Houses could double the number of these hubs and the jobs they create. So get those bills to my desk. Put more Americans back to work.

Let's do more to help the entrepreneurs and small-business owners who create most new jobs in America. Over the past 5 years, my administration has made more loans to small-business owners than any other. And when 98 percent of our exporters are small businesses, new trade partnerships with Europe and Asia—the Asia-Pacific will help them create more jobs. We need to work together on tools like bipartisan trade promotion authority to protect our workers, protect our environment, and open new markets to new goods stamped "Made in the U.S.A."

Listen, China and Europe aren't standing on the sidelines, and neither should we. We know that the nation that goes all-in on innovation today will own the global economy tomorrow. This is an edge America cannot surrender. Federally funded research helped lead to the ideas and inventions behind Google and smart phones. And that's why Congress should undo the damage done by last year's cuts to basic research so we can unleash the next great American discovery. There are entire industries to be built based on vaccines that stay ahead of drug-resistant bacteria or paper-thin material that's stronger than steel. And let's pass a patent reform bill that allows our businesses to stay focused on innovation, not costly and needless litigation.

Now, one of the biggest factors in bringing more jobs back is our commitment to American energy. The all-of-the-above energy strategy I announced a few years ago is working, and today, America is closer to energy independence than we have been in decades.

One of the reasons why is natural gas. If extracted safely, it's the bridge fuel that can power our economy with less of the carbon pollution that causes climate change. Businesses plan to invest almost \$100 billion in new factories that use natural gas. I'll cut redtape to help States get those factories built and put folks to work, and this Congress can help by putting people to work building fueling stations that shift more cars and trucks from foreign oil to American natural gas.

Meanwhile, my administration will keep working with the industry to sustain production and jobs growth while strengthening protection of our air, our water, our communities. And while we're at it, I'll use my authority to protect more of our pristine Federal lands for future generations.

Well, it's not just oil and natural gas production that's booming, we're becoming a global leader in solar too. Every 4 minutes, another American home or business goes solar, every panel pounded into place by a worker whose job cannot be outsourced. Let's continue that progress with a smarter tax policy that stops giving \$4 billion a year to fossil fuel industries that don't need it so we can invest more in fuels of the future that do.

And even as we've increased energy production, we've partnered with businesses, builders, and local communities to reduce the energy we consume. When we rescued our automakers, for example, we worked with them to set higher fuel efficiency standards for our cars. In the coming months, I'll build on that success by setting new standards for our trucks so we can keep driving down oil imports and what we pay at the pump.

And taken together, our energy policy is creating jobs and leading to a cleaner, safer planet. Over the past 8 years, the United States has reduced our total carbon pollution more than any other nation on Earth. But we have to act with more urgency, because a changing climate is already harming Western communities struggling with drought and coastal cities dealing with floods. That's why I directed my administration to work with States, utilities, and others to set

new standards on the amount of carbon pollution our power plants are allowed to dump into the air.

The shift to a cleaner energy economy won't happen overnight, and it will require some tough choices along the way. But the debate is settled. Climate change is a fact. And when our children's children look us in the eye and ask if we did all we could to leave them a safer, more stable world, with new sources of energy, I want us to be able to say, yes, we did.

Finally, if we're serious about economic growth, it is time to heed the call of business leaders, labor leaders, faith leaders, law enforcement and fix our broken immigration system. Republicans and Democrats in the Senate have acted, and I know that members of both parties in the House want to do the same. Independent economists say immigration reform will grow our economy and shrink our deficits by almost \$1 trillion in the next two decades. And for good reason: When people come here to fulfill their dreams—to study, invent, contribute to our culture—they make our country a more attractive place for businesses to locate and create jobs for everybody. So let's get immigration reform done this year. *[Applause]* Let's get it done. It's time.

The ideas I've outlined so far can speed up growth and create more jobs. But in this rapidly changing economy, we have to make sure that every American has the skills to fill those jobs. The good news is, we know how to do it.

Two years ago, as the auto industry came roaring back, Andra Rush opened up a manufacturing firm in Detroit. She knew that Ford needed parts for the best selling truck in America, and she knew how to make those parts. She just needed the workforce. So she dialed up what we call an American Job Center, places where folks can walk in to get the help or training they need to find a new job or a better job. She was flooded with new workers. And today, Detroit Manufacturing Systems has more than 700 employees. And what Andra and her employees experienced is how it should be for every employer and every job seeker.

So tonight I've asked Vice President Biden to lead an across-the-board reform of America's training programs to make sure they have one mission: train Americans with the skills employers need and match them to good jobs that need to be filled right now. That means more on-the-job training and more apprenticeships that set a young worker on an upward trajectory for life. It means connecting companies to community colleges that can help design training to fill their specific needs. And if Congress wants to help, you can concentrate funding on proven programs that connect more ready-to-work Americans with ready-to-be-filled jobs.

I'm also convinced we can help Americans return to the workforce faster by reforming unemployment insurance so that it's more effective in today's economy. But first, this Congress needs to restore the unemployment insurance you just let expire for 1.6 million people.

Let me tell you why. Misty DeMars is a mother of two young boys. She'd been steadily employed since she was a teenager, put herself through college. She'd never collected unemployment benefits, but she'd been paying taxes. In May, she and her husband used their life savings to buy their first home. A week later, budget cuts claimed the job she loved. Last month, when their unemployment insurance was cut off, she sat down and wrote me a letter, the kind I get every day. "We are the face of the unemployment crisis," she wrote. "I'm not dependent on the government. Our country depends on people like us who build careers, contribute to society, care about our neighbors. I'm confident that in time, I will find a job, I will pay my taxes, and we will raise our children in their own home in the community we love. Please give us this chance."

Congress, give these hard-working, responsible Americans that chance. Give them that chance. *[Applause]* Give them the chance. They need our help right now. But more important, this country needs them in the game. That's why I've been asking CEOs to give more long-

term unemployed workers a fair shot at new jobs, a new chance to support their families. And in fact, this week, many will come to the White House to make that commitment real. Tonight I ask every business leader in America to join us and to do the same, because we are stronger when America fields a full team.

Of course, it's not enough to train today's workforce. We also have to prepare tomorrow's workforce, by guaranteeing every child access to a world-class education. Estiven Rodriguez couldn't speak a word of English when he moved to New York City at age 9. But last month, thanks to the support of great teachers and an innovative tutoring program, he led a march of his classmates through a crowd of cheering parents and neighbors from their high school to the post office, where they mailed off their college applications. And this son of a factory worker just found out, he's going to college this fall.

Five years ago, we set out to change the odds for all our kids. We worked with lenders to reform student loans, and today, more young people are earning college degrees than ever before. Race to the Top, with the help of Governors from both parties, has helped States raise expectations and performance. Teachers and principals in schools from Tennessee to Washington, DC, are making big strides in preparing students with the skills for the new economy: problem solving, critical thinking, science, technology, engineering, math.

Now, some of this change is hard. It requires everything from more challenging curriculums and more demanding parents to better support for teachers and new ways to measure how well our kids think, not how well they can fill in a bubble on a test. But it is worth it, and it is working. The problem is, we're still not reaching enough kids, and we're not reaching them in time. And that has to change.

Research shows that one of the best investments we can make in a child's life is high-quality early education. Last year, I asked this Congress to help States make high-quality pre-K available to every 4-year-old. And as a parent as well as a President, I repeat that request

tonight. But in the meantime, 30 States have raised pre-K funding on their own. They know we can't wait. So just as we worked with States to reform our schools, this year, we'll invest in new partnerships with States and communities across the country in a Race to the Top for our youngest children. And as Congress decides what it's going to do, I'm going to pull together a coalition of elected officials, business leaders, and philanthropists willing to help more kids access the high-quality pre-K that they need. It is right for America. We need to get this done. Last year, I also pledged to connect 99 percent of our students to high-speed broadband over the next 4 years. Tonight I can announce that with the support of the FCC and companies like Apple, Microsoft, Sprint, and Verizon, we've got a down payment to start connecting more than 15,000 schools and 20 million students over the next 2 years, without adding a dime to the deficit.

We're working to redesign high schools and partner them with colleges and employers that offer the real-world education and hands-on training that can lead directly to a job and career. We're shaking up our system of higher education to give parents more information and colleges more incentive to offer better value so that no middle class kid is priced out of a college education.

We're offering millions the opportunity to cap their monthly student loan payments to 10 percent of their income, and I want to work with Congress to see how we can help even more Americans who feel trapped by student loan debt. And I'm reaching out to some of America's leading foundations and corporations on a new initiative to help more young men of color facing especially tough odds to stay on track and reach their full potential.

The bottom line is, Michelle and I want every child to have the same chance this country gave us. But we know our opportunity agenda won't be complete, and too many young people entering the workforce today will see the American Dream as an empty promise, unless we

also do more to make sure our economy honors the dignity of work and hard work pays off for every single American.

Today, women make up about half our workforce, but they still make 77 cents for every dollar a man earns. That is wrong, and in 2014, it's an embarrassment. Women deserve equal pay for equal work. She deserves to have a baby without sacrificing her job. A mother deserves a day off to care for a sick child or a sick parent without running into hardship. And you know what, a father does too. It is time to do away with workplace policies that belong in a "Mad Men" episode. *[Laughter]* This year, let's all come together—Congress, the White House, businesses from Wall Street to Main Street—to give every woman the opportunity she deserves. Because I believe when women succeed, America succeeds.

Now, women hold a majority of lower wage jobs, but they're not the only ones stifled by stagnant wages. Americans understand that some people will earn more money than others, and we don't resent those who, by virtue of their efforts, achieve incredible success. That's what America is all about. But Americans overwhelmingly agree that no one who works full-time should ever have to raise a family in poverty.

In the year since I asked this Congress to raise the minimum wage, five States have passed laws to raise theirs. Many businesses have done it on their own. Nick Chute is here today with his boss, John Soranno. John's an owner of Punch Pizza in Minneapolis, and Nick helps make the dough. *[Laughter]* Only now he makes more of it. *[Laughter]* John just gave his employees a raise to 10 bucks an hour, and that's a decision that has eased their financial stress and boosted their morale.

Tonight I ask more of America's business leaders to follow John's lead: Do what you can to raise your employees' wages. It's good for the economy. It's good for America. To every mayor, Governor, State legislator in America, I say: You don't have to wait for Congress to act; Americans will support you if you take this on.

And as a chief executive, I intend to lead by example. Profitable corporations like Costco see higher wages as the smart way to boost productivity and reduce turnover. We should too. In the coming weeks, I will issue an Executive order requiring Federal contractors to pay their federally funded employees a fair wage of at least 10 dollars and 10 cents an hour. Because if you cook our troops' meals or wash their dishes, you should not have to live in poverty.

Of course, to reach millions more, Congress does need to get on board. Today, the Federal minimum wage is worth about 20 percent less than it was when Ronald Reagan first stood here. And Tom Harkin and George Miller have a bill to fix that by lifting the minimum wage to 10 dollars and 10 cents. It's easy to remember: 10-10. This will help families. It will give businesses customers with more money to spend. It does not involve any new bureaucratic program. So join the rest of the country. Say yes. Give America a raise. Give them a raise.

There are other steps we can take to help families make ends meet, and few are more effective at reducing inequality and helping families pull themselves up through hard work than the earned-income tax credit. Right now it helps about half of all parents at some point. Think about that: It helps about half of all parents in America at some point in their lives. But I agree with Republicans like Senator Rubio that it doesn't do enough for single workers who don't have kids. So let's work together to strengthen the credit, reward work, help more Americans get ahead.

Let's do more to help Americans save for retirement. Today, most workers don't have a pension. A Social Security check often isn't enough on its own. And while the stock market has doubled over the last 5 years, that doesn't help folks who don't have 401(k)s. That's why, tomorrow, I will direct the Treasury to create a new way for working Americans to start their own retirement savings: MyI—MyRA.

It's a new savings bond that encourages folks to build a nest egg. MyRA guarantees a decent return with no risk of losing what you put in. And if this Congress wants to help, work with

me to fix an upside-down Tax Code that gives big tax breaks to help the wealthy save, but does little or nothing for middle class Americans. Offer every American access to an automatic IRA on the job so they can save at work just like everybody in this Chamber can.

And since the most important investment many families make is their home, send me legislation that protects taxpayers from footing the bill for a housing crisis ever again and keeps the dream of homeownership alive for future generations.

One last point on financial security: For decades, few things exposed hard-working families to economic hardship more than a broken health care system. And in case you haven't heard, we're in the process of fixing that. Now, a preexisting condition used to mean that someone like Amanda Shelley, a physician's assistant and single mom from Arizona, couldn't get health insurance. But on January 1, she got covered. On January 3, she felt a sharp pain. On January 6, she had emergency surgery. Just one week earlier, Amanda said, and that surgery would have meant bankruptcy.

That's what health insurance reform is all about: the peace of mind that if misfortune strikes, you don't have to lose everything. Already, because of the Affordable Care Act, more than 3 million Americans under age 26 have gained coverage under their parent's plan. More than 9 million Americans have signed up for private health insurance or Medicaid coverage. Nine million.

And here's another number: zero. Because of this law, no American—none, zero—can ever again be dropped or denied coverage for a preexisting condition like asthma or back pain or cancer. No woman can ever be charged more just because she's a woman. And we did all this while adding years to Medicare's finances, keeping Medicare premiums flat, and lowering prescription costs for millions of seniors.

Now, I do not expect to convince my Republican friends on the merits of this law. *[Laughter]*

But I know that the American people are not interested in refighting old battles. So again, if

you have specific plans to cut costs, cover more people, increase choice, tell America what you'd do differently. Let's see if the numbers add up. But let's not have another 40-something votes to repeal a law that's already helping millions of Americans like Amanda. The first 40 were plenty. *[Laughter]*

We all owe it to the American people to say what we're for, not just what we're against. And if you want to know the real impact this law is having, just talk to Governor Steve Beshear of Kentucky, who's here tonight. Now, Kentucky is not the most liberal part of the country. That's not where I got my highest vote totals. *[Laughter]* But he's like a man possessed when it comes to covering his Commonwealth's families. They're our neighbors and our friends, he said: "They're people we shop and go to church with, farmers out on the tractor, grocery clerks. They're people who go to work every morning praying they don't get sick. No one deserves to live that way."

Steve's right. That's why tonight I ask every American who knows someone without health insurance to help them get covered by March 31. *[Applause]* Help them get covered. Moms, get on your kids to sign up. Kids, call your mom and walk her through the application. It will give her some peace of mind, and plus, she'll appreciate hearing from you. *[Laughter]*

After all, that's the spirit that has always moved this Nation forward. It's the spirit of citizenship, the recognition that through hard work and responsibility, we can pursue our individual dreams, but still come together as one American family to make sure the next generation can pursue its dreams as well.

Citizenship means standing up for everyone's right to vote. Last year, part of the Voting Rights Act was weakened, but conservative Republicans and liberal Democrats are working together to strengthen it. And the bipartisan Commission I appointed, chaired by my campaign lawyer and Governor Romney's campaign lawyer, came together and have offered

reforms so that no one has to wait more than a half hour to vote. Let's support these efforts. It should be the power of our vote, not the size of our bank accounts, that drives our democracy. Citizenship means standing up for the lives that gun violence steals from us each day. I've seen the courage of parents, students, pastors, police officers all over this country who say, "We are not afraid." And I intend to keep trying, with or without Congress, to help stop more tragedies from visiting innocent Americans in our movie theaters, in our shopping malls, or schools like Sandy Hook.

Citizenship demands a sense of common purpose, participation in the hard work of self-government, an obligation to serve our communities. And I know this Chamber agrees that few Americans give more to their country than our diplomats and the men and women of the United States Armed Forces. Thank you. Tonight, because of the extraordinary troops and civilians who risk and lay down their lives to keep us free, the United States is more secure. When I took office, nearly 180,000 Americans were serving in Iraq and Afghanistan. Today, all our troops are out of Iraq. More than 60,000 of our troops have already come home from Afghanistan. With Afghan forces now in the lead for their own security, our troops have moved to a support role. Together with our allies, we will complete our mission there by the end of this year, and America's longest war will finally be over.

After 2014, we will support a unified Afghanistan as it takes responsibility for its own future. If the Afghan Government signs a security agreement that we have negotiated, a small force of Americans could remain in Afghanistan with NATO allies to carry out two narrow missions: training and assisting Afghan forces and counterterrorism operations to pursue any remnants of Al Qaida. For while our relationship with Afghanistan will change, one thing will not: our resolve that terrorists do not launch attacks against our country.

The fact is, that danger remains. While we've put Al Qaida's core leadership on a path to defeat, the threat has evolved as Al Qaida affiliates and other extremists take root in different

parts of the world. In Yemen, Somalia, Iraq, Mali, we have to keep working with partners to disrupt and disable those networks. In Syria, we'll support the opposition that rejects the agenda of terrorist networks. Here at home, we'll keep strengthening our defenses and combat new threats like cyber attacks. And as we reform our defense budget, we will have to keep faith with our men and women in uniform and invest in the capabilities they need to succeed in future missions.

We have to remain vigilant. But I strongly believe our leadership and our security cannot depend on our outstanding military alone. As Commander in Chief, I have used force when needed to protect the American people, and I will never hesitate to do so as long as I hold this office. But I will not send our troops into harm's way unless it is truly necessary, nor will I allow our sons and daughters to be mired in open-ended conflicts. We must fight the battles that need to be fought, not those that terrorists prefer from us: large-scale deployments that drain our strength and may ultimately feed extremism.

So even as we actively and aggressively pursue terrorist networks through more targeted efforts and by building the capacity of our foreign partners, **America must move off a permanent war footing.** That's why I've imposed prudent limits on the use of drones. For we will not be safer if people abroad believe we strike within their countries without regard for the consequence.

That's why, working with this Congress, I will reform our surveillance programs, because the vital work of our intelligence community depends on public confidence, here and abroad, that privacy of ordinary people is not being violated.

And with the Afghan war ending, this needs to be the year Congress lifts the remaining restrictions on detainee transfers and we close the prison at Guantanamo Bay. Because we counter terrorism not just through intelligence and military actions, but by remaining true to our constitutional ideals and setting an example for the rest of the world.

You see, in a world of complex threats, our security, our leadership, depends on all elements of our power, including strong and principled diplomacy. American diplomacy has rallied more than 50 countries to prevent nuclear materials from falling into the wrong hands and allowed us to reduce our own reliance on cold war stockpiles. American diplomacy, backed by the threat of force, is why Syria's chemical weapons are being eliminated.

And we will continue to work with the international community to usher in the future the Syrian people deserve, a future free of dictatorship, terror, and fear. As we speak, American diplomacy is supporting Israelis and Palestinians as they engage in the difficult but necessary talks to end the conflict there, to achieve dignity and an independent state for Palestinians and lasting peace and security for the State of Israel, a Jewish state that knows America will always be at their side.

And it is American diplomacy, backed by pressure, that has halted the progress of Iran's nuclear program and rolled back parts of that program for the very first time in a decade. As we gather here tonight, Iran has begun to eliminate its stockpile of higher levels of enriched uranium. It's not installing advanced centrifuges. Unprecedented inspections help the world verify every day that Iran is not building a bomb. And with our allies and partners, we're engaged in negotiations to see if we can peacefully achieve a goal we all share: preventing Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon.

These negotiations will be difficult. They may not succeed. We are clear eyed about Iran's support for terrorist organizations like Hizballah, which threatens our allies. And we're clear about the mistrust between our nations, mistrust that cannot be wished away. But these negotiations don't rely on trust. Any long-term deal we agree to must be based on verifiable action that convinces us and the international community that Iran is not building a nuclear bomb. If John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan could negotiate with the Soviet Union, then surely a strong and confident America can negotiate with less powerful adversaries today.

The sanctions that we put in place helped make this opportunity possible. But let me be clear: If this Congress sends me a new sanctions bill now that threatens to derail these talks, I will veto it. For the sake of our national security, we must give diplomacy a chance to succeed. If Iran's leaders do not seize this opportunity, then I will be the first to call for more sanctions and stand ready to exercise all options to make sure Iran does not build a nuclear weapon. But if Iran's leaders do seize the chance—and we'll know soon enough—then Iran could take an important step to rejoin the community of nations, and we will have resolved one of the leading security challenges of our time without the risks of war.

Now, finally, let's remember that our leadership is defined not just by our defense against threats, but by the enormous opportunities to do good and promote understanding around the globe: to forge greater cooperation, to expand new markets, to free people from fear and want. And no one is better positioned to take advantage of those opportunities than America.

Our alliance with Europe remains the strongest the world has ever known. From Tunisia to Burma, we're supporting those who are willing to do the hard work of building democracy. In Ukraine, we stand for the principle that all people have the right to express themselves freely and peacefully and to have a say in their country's future. Across Africa, we're bringing together businesses and governments to double access to electricity and help end extreme poverty. In the Americas, we're building new ties of commerce, but we're also expanding cultural and educational exchanges among young people. And we will continue to focus on the Asia-Pacific, where we support our allies, shape a future of greater security and prosperity, and extend a hand to those devastated by disaster, as we did in the Philippines, when our Marines and civilians rushed to aid those battered by a typhoon, and who were greeted with words like, "We will never forget your kindness" and "God bless America."

We do these things because they help promote our long-term security, and we do them because we believe in the inherent dignity and equality of every human being, regardless of

race or religion, creed or sexual orientation. And next week, the world will see one expression of that commitment, when Team U.S.A. marches the red, white, and blue into the Olympic Stadium and brings home the gold. [*Laughter*]

Audience members. U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

The President. My fellow Americans, no other country in the world does what we do. On every issue, the world turns to us, not simply because of the size of our economy or our military might, but because of the ideals we stand for and the burdens we bear to advance them. No one knows this better than those who serve in uniform.

As this time of war draws to a close, a new generation of heroes returns to civilian life. We'll keep slashing that backlog so our veterans receive the benefits they've earned and our wounded warriors receive the health care—including the mental health care—that they need. We'll keep working to help all our veterans translate their skills and leadership into jobs here at home. And we will all continue to join forces to honor and support our remarkable military families.

Let me tell you about one of those families I've come to know. I first met Cory Remsburg, a proud Army Ranger, at Omaha Beach on the 65th anniversary of D-day. Along with some of his fellow Rangers, he walked me through the program and the ceremony. He was a strong, impressive young man, had an easy manner, he was sharp as a tack. And we joked around and took pictures, and I told him to stay in touch.

A few months later, on his 10th deployment, Cory was nearly killed by a massive roadside bomb in Afghanistan. His comrades found him in a canal, face down, underwater, shrapnel in his brain. For months, he lay in a coma. And the next time I met him, in the hospital, he couldn't speak, could barely move. Over the years, he's endured dozens of surgeries and procedures, hours of grueling rehab every day.

Even now, Cory is still blind in one eye, still struggles on his left side. But slowly, steadily, with the support of caregivers like his dad Craig and the community around him, Cory has grown stronger. And day by day, he's learned to speak again and stand again and walk again. And he's working toward the day when he can serve his country again. "My recovery has not been easy," he says. "Nothing in life that's worth anything is easy." Cory is here tonight. And like the Army he loves, like the America he serves, Sergeant First Class Cory Remsburg never gives up, and he does not quit. Cory.

My fellow Americans, men and women like Cory remind us that America has never come easy. Our freedom, our democracy, has never been easy. Sometimes, we stumble, we make mistakes; we get frustrated or discouraged. But for more than 200 years, we have put those things aside and placed our collective shoulder to the wheel of progress: to create and build and expand the possibilities of individual achievement, to free other nations from tyranny and fear, to promote justice and fairness and equality under the law so that the words set to paper by our Founders are made real for every citizen. The America we want for our kids—a rising America where honest work is plentiful and communities are strong, where prosperity is widely shared and opportunity for all lets us go as far as our dreams and toil will take us—none of it is easy. But if we work together—if we summon what is best in us, the way Cory summoned what is best in him—with our feet planted firmly in today, but our eyes cast toward tomorrow, I know it is within our reach. Believe it.

God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

Appendix D

36 - Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union

January 20, 2015

The President. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, my fellow Americans: We are 15 years into this new century. Fifteen years that dawned with terror touching our shores, that unfolded with a new generation fighting two long and costly wars, that saw a vicious recession spread across our Nation and the world. It has been and still is a hard time for many.

But tonight we turn the page. Tonight, after a breakthrough year for America, **our economy is growing and creating jobs at the fastest pace since 1999**. Our unemployment rate is now lower than it was before the financial crisis. More of our kids are graduating than ever before. More of our people are insured than ever before. And we are as free from the grip of foreign oil as we've been in almost 30 years.

Tonight, for the first time since 9/11, our combat mission in Afghanistan is over. Six years ago, nearly 180,000 American troops served in Iraq and Afghanistan. Today, fewer than 15,000 remain. And we salute the courage and sacrifice of every man and woman in this 9/11 generation who has served to keep us safe. We are humbled and grateful for your service.

America, for all that we have endured, for all the grit and hard work required to come back, for all the tasks that lie ahead, know this: The shadow of crisis has passed, and the State of the Union is strong.

At this moment—with a growing economy, shrinking deficits, bustling industry, booming energy production—we have risen from recession freer to write our own future than any other

nation on Earth. It's now up to us to choose who we want to be over the next 15 years and for decades to come.

Will we accept an economy where only a few of us do spectacularly well? Or will we commit ourselves to an economy that generates rising incomes and chances for everyone who makes the effort?

Will we approach the world fearful and reactive, dragged into costly conflicts that strain our military and set back our standing? Or will we lead wisely, using all elements of our power to defeat new threats and protect our planet?

Will we allow ourselves to be sorted into factions and turned against one another? Or will we recapture the sense of common purpose that has always propelled America forward?

In 2 weeks, I will send this Congress a budget filled with ideas that are practical, not partisan. And in the months ahead, I'll crisscross the country making a case for those ideas. So tonight I want to focus less on a checklist of proposals and focus more on the values at stake in the choices before us.

It begins with our economy. Seven years ago, Rebekah and Ben Erler of Minneapolis were newlyweds. *[Laughter]* She waited tables. He worked construction. Their first child Jack was on the way. They were young and in love in America. And it doesn't get much better than that. "If only we had known," Rebekah wrote to me last spring, "what was about to happen to the housing and construction market." As the crisis worsened, Ben's business dried up, so he took what jobs he could find, even if they kept him on the road for long stretches of time. Rebekah took out student loans and enrolled in community college and retrained for a new career. They sacrificed for each other. And slowly, it paid off. They bought their first home.

They had a second son Henry. Rebekah got a better job and then a raise. Ben is back in construction and home for dinner every night.

"It is amazing," Rebekah wrote, "what you can bounce back from when you have to. . . . We are a strong, tight-knit family who has made it through some very, very hard times." We are a strong, tight-knit family who has made it through some very, very hard times.

America, Rebekah and Ben's story is our story. They represent the millions who have worked hard and scrimped and sacrificed and retooled. You are the reason that I ran for this office. You are the people I was thinking of 6 years ago today, in the darkest months of the crisis, when I stood on the steps of this Capitol and promised we would rebuild our economy on a new foundation. And it has been your resilience, your effort that has made it possible for our country to emerge stronger.

We believed we could reverse the tide of outsourcing and draw new jobs to our shores. And over the past 5 years, our businesses have created more than 11 million new jobs.

We believed we could reduce our dependence on foreign oil and protect our planet. And today, America is number one in oil and gas. America is number one in wind power. Every 3 weeks, we bring online as much solar power as we did in all of 2008. And thanks to lower gas prices and higher fuel standards, the typical family this year should save about \$750 at the pump.

We believed we could prepare our kids for a more competitive world. And today, our younger students have earned the highest math and reading scores on record. Our high school graduation rate has hit an alltime high. More Americans finish college than ever before.

We believed that sensible regulations could prevent another crisis, shield families from ruin, and encourage fair competition. Today, we have new tools to stop taxpayer-funded bailouts and a new consumer watchdog to protect us from predatory lending and abusive credit card practices. And in the past year alone, about 10 million uninsured Americans finally gained the security of health coverage.

At every step, we were told our goals were misguided or too ambitious, that we would crush jobs and explode deficits. Instead, we've seen the fastest economic growth in over a decade, our deficits cut by two-thirds, a stock market that has doubled, and health care inflation at its lowest rate in 50 years. This is good news, people. [*Laughter*]

So the verdict is clear. Middle class economics works. Expanding opportunity works. And these policies will continue to work as long as politics don't get in the way. We can't slow down businesses or put our economy at risk with Government shutdowns or fiscal showdowns. We can't put the security of families at risk by taking away their health insurance or unraveling the new rules on Wall Street or refighting past battles on immigration when we've got to fix a broken system. And if a bill comes to my desk that tries to do any of these things, I will veto it. It will have earned my veto.

Today, thanks to a growing economy, the recovery is touching more and more lives. Wages are finally starting to rise again. We know that more small-business owners plan to raise their employees' pay than at any time since 2007. But here's the thing: Those of us here tonight, we need to set our sights higher than just making sure Government doesn't screw things up— [*laughter*—that Government doesn't halt the progress we're making. We need to do more than just do no harm. Tonight, together, let's do more to restore the link between hard work and growing opportunity for every American.

Because families like Rebekah's still need our help. She and Ben are working as hard as ever, but they've had to forego vacations and a new car so that they can pay off student loans and save for retirement. Friday night pizza, that's a big splurge. Basic childcare for Jack and Henry costs more than their mortgage and almost as much as a year at the University of Minnesota. Like millions of hard-working Americans, Rebekah isn't asking for a handout, but she is asking that we look for more ways to help families get ahead.

And in fact, at every moment of economic change throughout our history, this country has taken bold action to adapt to new circumstances and to make sure everyone gets a fair shot. We set up worker protections, Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid to protect ourselves from the harshest adversity. We gave our citizens schools and colleges, infrastructure and the Internet, tools they needed to go as far as their efforts and their dreams will take them.

That's what middle class economics is: the idea that this country does best when everyone gets their fair shot, everyone does their fair share, everyone plays by the same set of rules. We don't just want everyone to share in America's success, we want everyone to contribute to our success.

So what does middle class economics require in our time? First, middle class economics means helping working families feel more secure in a world of constant change. That means helping folks afford childcare, college, health care, a home, retirement. And my budget will address each of these issues, lowering the taxes of working families and putting thousands of dollars back into their pockets each year.

Here's one example. During World War II, when men like my grandfather went off to war, having women like my grandmother in the workforce was a national security priority, so this country provided universal childcare. In today's economy, when having both parents in the

workforce is an economic necessity for many families, we need affordable, high-quality childcare more than ever.

It's not a nice-to-have, it's a must-have. So it's time we stop treating childcare as a side issue, or as a women's issue, and treat it like the national economic priority that it is for all of us. And that's why my plan will make quality childcare more available and more affordable for every middle class and low-income family with young children in America, by creating more slots and a new tax cut of up to \$3,000 per child, per year.

Here's another example. Today, we are the only advanced country on Earth that doesn't guarantee paid sick leave or paid maternity leave to our workers. Forty-three million workers have no paid sick leave—43 million. Think about that. And that forces too many parents to make the gut-wrenching choice between a paycheck and a sick kid at home. So I'll be taking new action to help States adopt paid leave laws of their own. And since paid sick leave won where it was on the ballot last November, let's put it to a vote right here in Washington. Send me a bill that gives every worker in America the opportunity to earn 7 days of paid sick leave. It's the right thing to do. *[Applause]* It's the right thing to do.

Of course, nothing helps families make ends meet like higher wages. That's why this Congress still needs to pass a law that makes sure a woman is paid the same as a man for doing the same work. I mean, it's 2015. *[Laughter]* It's time. We still need to make sure employees get the overtime they've earned. And to everyone in this Congress who still refuses to raise the minimum wage, I say this: If you truly believe you could work full time and support a family on less than \$15,000 a year, try it. If not, vote to give millions of the hardest working people in America a raise.

Now, these ideas won't make everybody rich, won't relieve every hardship. That's not the job of government. To give working families a fair shot, we still need more employers to see beyond next quarter's earnings and recognize that investing in their workforce is in their company's long-term interest. We still need laws that strengthen rather than weaken unions, and give American workers a voice.

But you know, things like childcare and sick leave and equal pay, things like lower mortgage premiums and a higher minimum wage—these ideas will make a meaningful difference in the lives of millions of families. That's a fact. And that's what all of us, Republicans and Democrats alike, were sent here to do.

Now, second, to make sure folks keep earning higher wages down the road, we have to do more to help Americans upgrade their skills. America thrived in the 20th century because we made high school free, sent a generation of GIs to college, trained the best workforce in the world. We were ahead of the curve. But other countries caught on. And in a 21st-century economy that rewards knowledge like never before, we need to up our game. We need to do more.

By the end of this decade, two in three job openings will require some higher education—two in three. And yet we still live in a country where too many bright, striving Americans are priced out of the education they need. It's not fair to them, and it's sure not smart for our future. And that's why I'm sending this Congress a bold new plan to lower the cost of community college to zero.

Keep in mind, 40 percent of our college students choose community college. Some are young and starting out. Some are older and looking for a better job. Some are veterans and single parents trying to transition back into the job market. Whoever you are, this plan is your

chance to graduate ready for the new economy without a load of debt. Understand, you've got to earn it. You've got to keep your grades up and graduate on time.

Tennessee, a State with Republican leadership, and Chicago, a city with Democratic leadership, are showing that free community college is possible. I want to spread that idea all across America so that 2 years of college becomes as free and universal in America as high school is today. Let's stay ahead of the curve. And I want to work with this Congress to make sure those already burdened with student loans can reduce their monthly payments so that student debt doesn't derail anyone's dreams.

Thanks to Vice President Biden's great work to update our job training system, we're connecting community colleges with local employers to train workers to fill high-paying jobs like coding and nursing and robotics. Tonight I'm also asking more businesses to follow the lead of companies like CVS and UPS and offer more educational benefits and paid apprenticeships, opportunities that give workers the chance to earn higher paying jobs even if they don't have a higher education.

And as a new generation of veterans comes home, we owe them every opportunity to live the American Dream they helped defend. Already, we've made strides towards ensuring that every veteran has access to the highest quality care. We're slashing the backlog that had too many veterans waiting years to get the benefits they need. And we're making it easier for vets to translate their training and experience into civilian jobs. And Joining Forces, the national campaign launched by Michelle and Jill Biden—[*applause*]*—thank you, Michelle; thank you, Jill—has helped nearly 700,000 veterans and military spouses get a new job. So to every CEO in America, let me repeat: If you want somebody who's going to get the job done and done right, hire a veteran.*

Finally, as we better train our workers, we need the new economy to keep churning out high-wage jobs for our workers to fill. Since 2010, America has put more people back to work than Europe, Japan, and all advanced economies combined.

Our manufacturers have added almost 800,000 new jobs. Some of our bedrock sectors, like our auto industry, are booming. But there are also millions of Americans who work in jobs that didn't even exist 10 or 20 years ago, jobs at companies like Google and eBay and Tesla.

So no one knows for certain which industries will generate the jobs of the future. But we do know we want them here in America. We know that. And that's why the third part of middle class economics is all about building the most competitive economy anywhere, the place where businesses want to locate and hire.

Twenty-first century businesses need 21st-century infrastructure: modern ports and stronger bridges, faster trains and the fastest Internet. Democrats and Republicans used to agree on this. So let's set our sights higher than a single oil pipeline. Let's pass a bipartisan infrastructure plan that could create more than 30 times as many jobs per year and make this country stronger for decades to come. Let's do it. Let's get it done. [*Applause*] Let's get it done.

Twenty-first century businesses, including small businesses, need to sell more American products overseas. Today, our businesses export more than ever, and exporters tend to pay their workers higher wages. But as we speak, China wants to write the rules for the world's fastest growing region. That would put our workers and our businesses at a disadvantage. Why would we let that happen? We should write those rules. We should level the playing field. And that's why I'm asking both parties to give me trade promotion authority to protect

American workers, with strong new trade deals from Asia to Europe that aren't just free, but are also fair. It's the right thing to do.

Look, I'm the first one to admit that past trade deals haven't always lived up to the hype, and that's why we've gone after countries that break the rules at our expense. But 95 percent of the world's customers live outside our borders. We can't close ourselves off from those opportunities. More than half of manufacturing executives have said they're actively looking to bring jobs back from China. So let's give them one more reason to get it done.

Twenty-first century businesses will rely on American science and technology, research and development. I want the country that eliminated polio and mapped the human genome to lead a new era of medicine, one that delivers the right treatment at the right time.

In some patients with cystic fibrosis, this approach has reversed a disease once thought unstoppable. So tonight I'm launching a new precision medicine initiative to bring us closer to curing diseases like cancer and diabetes and to give all of us access to the personalized information we need to keep ourselves and our families healthier. We can do this.

I intend to protect a free and open Internet, extend its reach to every classroom and every community and help folks build the fastest networks so that the next generation of digital innovators and entrepreneurs have the platform to keep reshaping our world. I want Americans to win the race for the kinds of discoveries that unleash new jobs: converting sunlight into liquid fuel; creating revolutionary prosthetics so that a veteran who gave his arms for his country can play catch with his kids again; pushing out into the solar system not just to visit, but to stay. Last month, we launched a new spacecraft as part of a reenergized space program that will send American astronauts to Mars. And in 2 months, to prepare us for

those missions, Scott Kelly will begin a year-long stay in space. So good luck, Captain. Make sure to Instagram it. We're proud of you.

Now, the truth is, when it comes to issues like infrastructure and basic research, I know there's bipartisan support in this Chamber. Members of both parties have told me so. Where we too often run onto the rocks is how to pay for these investments. As Americans, we don't mind paying our fair share of taxes as long as everybody else does too. But for far too long, lobbyists have rigged the Tax Code with loopholes that let some corporations pay nothing while others pay full freight. **They've riddled it with giveaways that the super-rich don't need,** while denying a break to middle class families who do.

This year, we have an opportunity to change that. Let's close loopholes so we stop rewarding companies that keep profits abroad and reward those that invest here in America. Let's use those savings to rebuild our infrastructure and to make it more attractive for companies to bring jobs home. Let's simplify the system and let a small-business owner file based on her actual bank statement, instead of the number of accountants she can afford. And let's close the loopholes that lead to inequality by allowing the top 1 percent to avoid paying taxes on their accumulated wealth. We can use that money to help more families pay for childcare and send their kids to college. We need a Tax Code that truly helps working Americans trying to get a leg up in the new economy, and we can achieve that together. *[Applause]* We can achieve it together.

Helping hard-working families make ends meet, giving them the tools they need for good-paying jobs in this new economy, maintaining the conditions of growth and competitiveness—this is where America needs to go. I believe it's where the American people want to go. It will make our economy stronger a year from now, 15 years from now, and deep into the century ahead.

Of course, if there's one thing this new century has taught us, it's that we cannot separate our work here at home from challenges beyond our shores. My first duty as Commander in Chief is to defend the United States of America. In doing so, the question is not whether America leads in the world, but how. When we make rash decisions, reacting to the headlines instead of using our heads, when the first response to a challenge is to send in our military, then we risk getting drawn into unnecessary conflicts and neglect the broader strategy we need for a safer, more prosperous world. That's what our enemies want us to do.

I believe in a smarter kind of American leadership. We lead best when we combine military power with strong diplomacy, when we leverage our power with coalition building, when we don't let our fears blind us to the opportunities that this new century presents. That's exactly what we're doing right now. And around the globe, it is making a difference.

First, we stand united with people around the world who have been targeted by terrorists, from a school in Pakistan to the streets of Paris. We will continue to hunt down terrorists and dismantle their networks, and we reserve the right to act unilaterally, as we have done relentlessly since I took office, to take out terrorists who pose a direct threat to us and our allies. At the same time, we've learned some costly lessons over the last 13 years. Instead of Americans patrolling the valleys of Afghanistan, we've trained their security forces, who have now taken the lead, and we've honored our troops' sacrifice by supporting that country's first democratic transition. Instead of sending large ground forces overseas, we're partnering with nations from South Asia to North Africa to deny safe haven to terrorists who threaten America.

In Iraq and Syria, American leadership—including our military power—is stopping ISIL's advance. Instead of getting dragged into another ground war in the Middle East, we are leading a broad coalition, including Arab nations, to degrade and ultimately destroy this

terrorist group. We're also supporting a moderate opposition in Syria that can help us in this effort and assisting people everywhere who stand up to the bankrupt ideology of violent extremism.

Now, this effort will take time. It will require focus. But we will succeed. And tonight I call on this Congress to show the world that we are united in this mission by passing a resolution to authorize the use of force against ISIL. We need that authority.

Second, we're demonstrating the power of American strength and diplomacy. We're upholding the principle that bigger nations can't bully the small, by opposing Russian aggression and supporting Ukraine's democracy and reassuring our NATO allies.

Last year, as we were doing the hard work of imposing sanctions along with our allies, as we were reinforcing our presence with frontline states, Mr. Putin's aggression, it was suggested, was a masterful display of strategy and strength. That's what I heard from some folks. *[Laughter]* Well, today, it is America that stands strong and united with our allies, while Russia is isolated with its economy in tatters. That's how America leads: not with bluster, but with persistent, steady resolve.

In Cuba, we are ending a policy that was long past its expiration date. When what you're doing doesn't work for 50 years, it's time to try something new. *[Laughter]* And our shift in Cuba policy has the potential to end a legacy of mistrust in our hemisphere. It removes a phony excuse for restrictions in Cuba. It stands up for democratic values and extends the hand of friendship to the Cuban people. And this year, Congress should begin the work of ending the embargo.

As His Holiness Pope Francis has said, diplomacy is the work of "small steps." And these small steps have added up to new hope for the future in Cuba. And after years in prison, we

are overjoyed that Alan Gross is back where he belongs. Welcome home, Alan. We're glad you're here.

Our diplomacy is at work with respect to Iran, where, for the first time in a decade, we've halted the progress of its nuclear program and reduced its stockpile of nuclear material. Between now and this spring, we have a chance to negotiate a comprehensive agreement that prevents a nuclear-armed Iran, secures America and our allies, including Israel, while avoiding yet another Middle East conflict. There are no guarantees that negotiations will succeed, and I keep all options on the table to prevent a nuclear Iran.

But new sanctions passed by this Congress, at this moment in time, will all but guarantee that diplomacy fails: alienating America from its allies, making it harder to maintain sanctions, and ensuring that Iran starts up its nuclear program again. It doesn't make sense. And that's why I will veto any new sanctions bill that threatens to undo this progress. The American people expect us only to go to war as a last resort, and I intend to stay true to that wisdom. Third, we're looking beyond the issues that have consumed us in the past to shape the coming century. No foreign nation, no hacker, should be able to shut down our networks, steal our trade secrets, or invade the privacy of American families, especially our kids. So we're making sure our Government integrates intelligence to combat cyber threats, just as we have done to combat terrorism.

And tonight I urge this Congress to finally pass the legislation we need to better meet the evolving threat of cyber attacks, combat identity theft, and protect our children's information. That should be a bipartisan effort. If we don't act, we'll leave our Nation and our economy vulnerable. If we do, we can continue to protect the technologies that have unleashed untold opportunities for people around the globe.

In West Africa, our troops, our scientists, our doctors, our nurses, our health care workers are rolling back Ebola, saving countless lives and stopping the spread of disease. I could not be prouder of them, and I thank this Congress for your bipartisan support of their efforts. But the job is not yet done, and the world needs to use this lesson to build a more effective global effort to prevent the spread of future pandemics, invest in smart development, and eradicate extreme poverty.

In the Asia-Pacific, we are modernizing alliances while making sure that other nations play by the rules: in how they trade, how they resolve maritime disputes, how they participate in meeting common international challenges like nonproliferation and disaster relief. And no challenge—no challenge—poses a greater threat to future generations than climate change.

Two thousand fourteen was the planet's warmest year on record. Now, 1 year doesn't make a trend, but this does: 14 of the 15 warmest years on record have all fallen in the first 15 years of this century.

Now, I've heard some folks try to dodge the evidence by saying they're not scientists, that we don't have enough information to act. Well, I'm not a scientist, either. But you know what, I know a lot of really good scientists—[laughter]—at NASA and at NOAA and at our major universities. And the best scientists in the world are all telling us that our activities are changing the climate, and if we don't act forcefully, we'll continue to see rising oceans, longer, hotter heat waves, dangerous droughts and floods, and massive disruptions that can trigger greater migration and conflict and hunger around the globe. The Pentagon says that climate change poses immediate risks to our national security. We should act like it.

And that's why, over the past 6 years, we've done more than ever to combat climate change, from the way we produce energy to the way we use it. That's why we've set aside more public

lands and waters than any administration in history. And that's why I will not let this Congress endanger the health of our children by turning back the clock on our efforts. I am determined to make sure that American leadership drives international action.

In Beijing, we made a historic announcement: The United States will double the pace at which we cut carbon pollution. And China committed, for the first time, to limiting their emissions. And because the world's two largest economies came together, other nations are now stepping up and offering hope that this year the world will finally reach an agreement to protect the one planet we've got.

And there's one last pillar of our leadership, and that's the example of our values. As Americans, we respect human dignity, even when we're threatened, which is why I have prohibited torture and worked to make sure our use of new technology like drones is properly constrained. It's why we speak out against the deplorable anti-Semitism that has resurfaced in certain parts of the world. It's why we continue to reject offensive stereotypes of Muslims, the vast majority of whom share our commitment to peace. That's why we defend free speech and advocate for political prisoners and condemn the persecution of women or religious minorities or people who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender. We do these things not only because they are the right thing to do, but because ultimately, they will make us safer.

As Americans, we have a profound commitment to justice. So it makes no sense to spend \$3 million per prisoner to keep open a prison that the world condemns and terrorists use to recruit. Since I've been President, we've worked responsibly to cut the population of Gitmo in half. Now it is time to finish the job. And I will not relent in my determination to shut it down. It is not who we are. It's time to close Gitmo.

As Americans, we cherish our civil liberties, and we need to uphold that commitment if we want maximum cooperation from other countries and industry in our fight against terrorist networks. So while some have moved on from the debates over our surveillance programs, I have not. As promised, our intelligence agencies have worked hard, with the recommendations of privacy advocates, to increase transparency and build more safeguards against potential abuse. And next month, we'll issue a report on how we're keeping our promise to keep our country safe while strengthening privacy.

Looking to the future instead of the past, making sure we match our power with diplomacy and use force wisely, building coalitions to meet new challenges and opportunities, leading always with the example of our values—that's what makes us exceptional. That's what keeps us strong. That's why we have to keep striving to hold ourselves to the highest of standards: our own.

You know, just over a decade ago, I gave a speech in Boston where I said there wasn't a liberal America or a conservative America, a Black America or a White America, but a United States of America. I said this because I had seen it in my own life, in a nation that gave someone like me a chance; because I grew up in Hawaii, a melting pot of races and customs; because I made Illinois my home, a State of small towns, rich farmland, one of the world's great cities, a microcosm of the country where Democrats and Republicans and Independents, good people of every ethnicity and every faith, share certain bedrock values.

Over the past 6 years, the pundits have pointed out more than once that my Presidency hasn't delivered on this vision. How ironic, they say, that our politics seems more divided than ever. It's held up as proof not just of my own flaws—of which there are many—but also as proof that the vision itself is misguided, naive, that there are too many people in this town who actually benefit from partisanship and gridlock for us to ever do anything about it.

I know how tempting such cynicism may be. But I still think the cynics are wrong. I still believe that we are one people. I still believe that together, we can do great things, even when the odds are long.

I believe this because over and over in my 6 years in office, I have seen America at its best. I've seen the hopeful faces of young graduates from New York to California and our newest officers at West Point, Annapolis, Colorado Springs, New London. I've mourned with grieving families in Tucson and Newtown, in Boston, in West, Texas, and West Virginia. I've watched Americans beat back adversity from the Gulf Coast to the Great Plains, from Midwest assembly lines to the Mid-Atlantic seaboard. I've seen something like gay marriage go from a wedge issue used to drive us apart to a story of freedom across our country, a civil right now legal in States that 7 in 10 Americans call home. So I know the good and optimistic and big-hearted generosity of the American people who every day live the idea that we are our brother's keeper and our sister's keeper. And I know they expect those of us who serve here to set a better example.

So the question for those of us here tonight is how we, all of us, can better reflect America's hopes. I've served in Congress with many of you. I know many of you well. There are a lot of good people here on both sides of the aisle. And many of you have told me that this isn't what you signed up for: arguing past each other on cable shows, the constant fundraising, always looking over your shoulder at how the base will react to every decision.

Imagine if we broke out of these tired old patterns. Imagine if we did something different. Understand, a better politics isn't one where Democrats abandon their agenda or Republicans simply embrace mine. A better politics is one where we appeal to each other's basic decency instead of our basest fears. A better politics is one where we debate without demonizing each

other, where we talk issues and values and principles and facts rather than "gotcha" moments or trivial gaffes or fake controversies that have nothing to do with people's daily lives.

A politics—a better politics is one where we spend less time drowning in dark money for ads that pull us into the gutter and spend more time lifting young people up with a sense of purpose and possibility, asking them to join in the great mission of building America.

If we're going to have arguments, let's have arguments, but let's make them debates worthy of this body and worthy of this country. We still may not agree on a woman's right to choose, but surely we can agree it's a good thing that teen pregnancies and abortions are nearing alltime lows and that every woman should have access to the health care that she needs.

Yes, passions still fly on immigration, but surely we can all see something of ourselves in the striving young student and agree that no one benefits when a hard-working mom is snatched from her child and that it's possible to shape a law that upholds our tradition as a nation of laws and a nation of immigrants. I've talked to Republicans and Democrats about that. That's something that we can share.

We may go at it in campaign season, but surely we can agree that the right to vote is sacred, that it's being denied to too many, and that on this 50th anniversary of the great march from Selma to Montgomery and the passage of the Voting Rights Act, we can come together, Democrats and Republicans, to make voting easier for every single American.

We may have different takes on the events of Ferguson and New York. But surely we can understand a father who fears his son can't walk home without being harassed. And surely we can understand the wife who won't rest until the police officer she married walks through the front door at the end of his shift. And surely we can agree that it's a good thing that for the first time in 40 years, the crime rate and the incarceration rate have come down together, and

use that as a starting point for Democrats and Republicans, community leaders and law enforcement, to reform America's criminal justice system so that it protects and serves all of us.

That's a better politics. That's how we start rebuilding trust. That's how we move this country forward. That's what the American people want. And that's what they deserve.

I have no more campaigns to run.

[At this point, some audience members applauded.]

My only agenda—*[laughter]*. Audience member. *[Inaudible]*

The President. I know because I won both of them. *[Laughter]* My only agenda for the next 2 years is the same as the one I've had since the day I swore an oath on the steps of this Capitol: to do what I believe is best for America. If you share the broad vision I outlined tonight, I ask you to join me in the work at hand. If you disagree with parts of it, I hope you'll at least work with me where you do agree. And I commit to every Republican here tonight that I will not only seek out your ideas, I will seek to work with you to make this country stronger.

Because I want this Chamber, I want this city to reflect the truth: that for all our blind spots and shortcomings, we are a people with the strength and generosity of spirit to bridge divides, to unite in common effort, to help our neighbors, whether down the street or on the other side of the world.

I want our actions to tell every child in every neighborhood, your life matters, and we are committed to improving your life chances, as committed as we are to working on behalf of our own kids. I want future generations to know that we are a people who see our differences as a great gift, that we're a people who value the dignity and worth of every citizen: man and

woman, young and old, Black and White, Latino, Asian, immigrant, Native American, gay, straight, Americans with mental illness or physical disability. Everybody matters. I want them to grow up in a country that shows the world what we still know to be true: that we are still more than a collection of red States and blue States, that we are the United States of America.

I want them to grow up in a country where a young mom can sit down and write a letter to her President with a story that sums up these past 6 years: "It's amazing what you can bounce back from when you have to. . . . We are a strong, tight-knit family who's made it through some very, very hard times."

My fellow Americans, we too are a strong, tight-knit family. We too have made it through some hard times. Fifteen years into this new century, we have picked ourselves up, dusted ourselves off, and begun again the work of remaking America. We have laid a new foundation. A brighter future is ours to write. Let's begin this new chapter together, and let's start the work right now.

Thank you. God bless you. God bless this country we love. Thank you.