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America's Political Paradigm Shift

Rachel Wyman
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ABSTRACT

As representatives of the government, U.S. politicians are tasked with inciting and sustaining the American people's belief in the system. Their speeches work to reinforce the policy trajectories and ideologies that construct the political paradigms which may last, across presidencies, for decades. This thesis describes and analyses how Barack Obama utilized his presidency to sustain the last great political paradigm to grip America – that of the globalist 'New World Order' project (1990 – 2017) established in America under George H. W. Bush – and how he ultimately failed when Donald Trump successfully challenged this paradigm, most markedly within his 2016 presidential debate performance against opponent Hillary Clinton. Utilizing an innovative mixed-methods research design combining corpus linguistics and qualitative coding with argument reconstruction-based critical discourse analysis, this study employs advanced methods to illuminate the complex ways in which political rhetoric is used to sustain institutional power over extended periods of time. A new research approach, based on the analysis of complex argument trajectories through critical comparison and the identification of linguistic patterns, is additionally introduced and applied to examine long-term political policy trajectories as well as the conflicting mainstream and alternative media narratives currently being produced in reference to the political and economic sectors. The results of this study show that the Obama administration's inability to produce an even economic recovery despite the doubling of the national debt, the failure of the Affordable Care Act and the White House's covert funding of the Caliphate in Syria have resulted in a severe degree of corrosion in the population's belief in institutional power, a decline that largely began under George W. Bush due to the fallout from the 2003 Iraq War and the 2007-2008 Great Recession. Largely as a result, a general paradigm shift has been triggered and is manifesting among the American people; this shift is now being narrated by a new alternative media sector – including 'QAnon' – which is introducing and promoting political, economic, and occult-based theories such as *New World Order Theory, Deep State Theory* and *Global Oligarchy Theory,* which heavily influenced Trump's successful election campaign. This situation is having a profound effect on the nation as it additionally concerns a broader scientific shift out of the materialist construct of 'reality' which has defined the globalist model and into a quantum-based ontological construct; this new model broadly overlaps with the view of reality upheld within the spiritual and religious systems which have traditionally defined the belief structures of the American people. In short, the current political paradigm shift is a result of a greater consciousness shift unfolding within the United States today, and while a destabilizing time of transition, this is also a period of transformation and great hope.

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INTRODUCTION: AMERICA'S SHIFTING POLITICAL PARADIGM

On Tuesday, November 8th, 2016, one of the most shocking political events in modern American history occurred: businessman and reality television star Donald Trump won the Presidential election, defeating Hillary Clinton, one of Washington's most powerful political insiders. This event ushered in a severe power shift within the U.S. government and evidence of this shift can currently be seen in the period of instability that has followed President Trump's inauguration.

The Trump election is a widely and deeply misunderstood event, particularly on an international scale. While there are a myriad of reasons for this – most visibly the American mainstream media's exclusive support for Hillary Clinton – one factor stands out among the rest as having played a crucial role in both the election and in the world's subsequent alarm and confusion over it. This factor is the occurrence of a paradigm shift which is materializing among the general population in America, one which the outside world is largely unaware of both the existence and complexity of. Triggered by the fallout from the 2003 Iraq War and the 2007-2008 Great Recession, this is a shift that is defined by a collapse of belief among the population in the nation's oldest institutions, most markedly the financial sector and the mainstream media, along with the overall de-legitimization of the government as a whole. Originating among the American people, it has been fueled and defined by the creation of a complex alternative media apparatus, the role of which has been indispensable to the Trump movement, constructing the foundation for both the Trump campaign and his debate performance in America's most important pre-election event: the Presidential debates. Following Trump's election it became clear that the shift occurring among the population had come to be reflected within the political sphere, resulting in the now currently unfolding *political* paradigm shift which has so greatly stunned the world.

A great deal of the shock felt in the aftermath of the 2016 election is due to a general lack of perception concerning how America is changing today. The effects of the new paradigm and its implementation among segments of the population – and not among others – is having a highly de-stabilizing impact on society. There are two major reasons for this. Firstly, paradigm shifts are noted to involve a process of cognitive reorientation as the ideas that had become normalized in a society, structuring the belief systems of the population, begin to radically change (Kuhn 2012; Hay 2007). This is mentally arduous for those experiencing it because it concerns the re-ordering of a subject's reality. This process of mental de-stabilization is also reflected within the institutions that have been most integral to the creation and promotion of the old, existing paradigm; their decline is a part of the paradigm shift and the witnessing of this decline is additionally traumatic for the people. Secondly, paradigm shifts are de-stabilizing because they occur over significant periods of time (Geddes & Guiraudon 2007: 334). While key events such as the Iraq War and the Great Recession caused large numbers of people to lose faith in the political system, triggering and accelerating the shift, it has been slowly materializing for decades, a consequence of what is perceived to be the corrosion of American democracy and a heightening level of corruption within high levels of government. As America has grown into what is perceived by much of the

population to now be more of a corporatocracy and/or oligarchy than a healthy democracy – and scientific studies are beginning to confirm this (Gilens & Page 2014) – much of the general population has come to distrust and distain Washington and the system as a whole, viewing it as unconstitutional and working fully in the service of an elite class, as evidenced in the nation's staggering rate of inequality. It is not a coincidence that both Barack Obama and Donald Trump successfully won the Presidency with campaigns in which they promised to fight for change, vowing to challenge "the entrenched special interests of the status quo" (in Obama's case) and promising to "drain the swamp" (in Trump's case). And yet due to the nature of how slowly paradigm shifts may occur, millions of Americans also continue to support the establishment system, continuing to hope for reform. Adhering to the mainstream media narrative in which Trump is deserving of a swift impeachment, for this segment of society the failure of the old paradigm is causing widespread anger and despair. The result is a rupture within American society which can currently be seen in the staggering divides that are growing along political party, cultural, geographical, religious and ideological lines.

While the paradigm shift's main triggering events occurred under the Presidency of George W. Bush and the Trump election is largely a consequence of this shift, it is the Presidency of Barack Obama that is most vital to examine when considering the role that politicians play in creating, developing and sustaining the paradigms that come to have an immense effect on the lives of the citizens and in America's case, the lives of the world's population as a whole. The ideas that become normalized within paradigms are largely conceptualized by the powerholders within a society in the political sphere and introduced and molded within the arguments and speeches that elite politicians such as Presidents make. These ideas underpin, justify and incite support for the political actions that determine world events; analysis of these speeches is therefore critical in determining not only how paradigms are created and sustained over time but additionally, how they fail. Obama began his first term in office facing the formidable task of sustaining an existing paradigm that was in a state of crisis, with the system he had been elected to lead rapidly becoming de-legitimized in the eyes of the people. His ultimate failure and the end of the paradigm in which he played such a vital role, is one of the most pivotal events in modern American history and one which has yet to be understood or analyzed in sufficient depth. This thesis investigates America's last great political paradigm through the speeches of the final President to support it along with how the underlying ideas that acted as its foundation came to be defeated in the 2016 Presidential debates, resulting in the rise of a new era in American politics.

Data: The Weekly Addresses & the 2016 Presidential Debate Transcripts

This study investigates both the *Weekly Addresses to the Nation* made by Obama during his eight years in office (2009-2017) as well as the 2016 Presidential debates which took place between Democrat nominee Hillary Clinton and Republican nominee Donald Trump. The Presidential tradition of giving the Weekly Addresses – brief, 4-6 minute weekly recorded speeches – began in 1982 under the Ronald Reagan (1981-1989) administration. While Reagan's successor, George H. W. Bush (1989-1993) continued the tradition sporadically, giving only 18 Addresses during his one term in office, the practice was cemented by Bill Clinton (1993-2001) and George W. Bush (2001-2009), both of whom gave speeches every week of their dual-term Presidencies. Obama continued the tradition, as has Donald Trump. Originally aired on the radio, the Addresses are now

additionally filmed and are available on the White House website[1] as well as *YouTube.* The *American Presidency Project* maintains the transcripts within their archive (Peters & Woolley 2018). [2]

While Presidential campaign speeches and debates garner an enormous amount of attention and critique and the major speeches of a President's term – the *Inaugural, State of the Union* and *Farewell Addresses* – are both widely watched and heavily researched (Scacco 2011), the Weekly Addresses have gone largely overlooked within academia. Normally made in a quiet corner of the White House, these intimate chats are a stark contrast to the Presidents' other speeches which are carefully rehearsed and televised live on every major mainstream media channel. In contrast, the Weekly Addresses are designed to be a disparate type of speech, encompassing the "day-to-day 'tick tock'" of the administration (Scacco 2011: 66). And yet they play a vital role in the Presidency as they are used to construct the political and economic narrative upheld by the White House, incorporating the President's major arguments in support of domestic and foreign policy initiatives. The Addresses construct not only the identity of the President and his cabinet, they are additionally used to steadily uphold the foundational ideologies of the administration, which in turn work to legitimize the actions and power of the U.S. government itself. Recontextualized (Fairclough 2010) across the U.S. media, the Addresses position the American people as audience, helping to create their role as political subjects through language:

> presidential rhetoric, because it occurs in a locus of institutional power, both reflects and creates the dominant ideology among its audiences. Rhetoric is less important as a mover of public opinion on specific issues and more important as a creator of a particular kind of public, which will therefore 'naturally' hold certain opinions.
>
> (Stuckley 2015: xviii).

The creation and sustainment of these 'naturally' held opinions works to consolidate societal norms, laying the groundwork for the successful establishment of political paradigms which transverse Presidencies and in doing so, gain the ability to secure a commanding degree of hegemony. This process has resulted in long-term domestic and foreign policy trajectories which have come to re-order both spheres in just the past forty years, since the practice of making the Addresses began.

While Obama's speeches are the primary focus of this thesis, the 2016 Presidential debates play a highly important role within this study as they illustrate how hegemony comes to be successfully challenged and re-ordered – in this case, leading into a political paradigm shift. This shift was evidenced and reproduced within the rhetoric of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump as they upheld conflicting paradigms within both of their campaigns and most markedly within the debates

[1] The White House Archives (2018). 'Barack Obama: Speeches and remarks'. Available: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/speeches-and-remarks

[2] Peters, G. & Woolley, J. (2018). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/index.php

themselves, forming arguments in answer to the debate moderators' questions from within two different paradigmatic spheres. Taking place in September and October of 2016, prior to the Presidential election on November 8th, the first of the three 90-minute debates was watched on television by an estimated 84 million Americans, making it the most watched debate in American history.[3] The second and third maintained much of this audience, garnering 66.5. million and 71.5 million viewers respectively;[4] only the Super Bowl commands a larger audience. As the nation watched, Clinton fought to extend Obama's agenda while Trump challenged her arguments, ideologies and the legacy of her predecessor. What emerged was the gradual evidencing of not only two deeply conflicting agendas in support of two conflicting paradigms but additionally, the representation of two different realities. This thesis investigates this fascinating transformation of the American political sphere, which is now dramatically influencing the world.

Research Design Overview

The mixed-methods research design for this study, which combines corpus analysis, qualitative coding using NVivo and argument reconstruction, has been developed to thoroughly analyze both the complex nature of political discourse as well as how it develops over significant periods of time. Here political discourse is viewed as multi-dimensional. While on one level politicians work to produce arguments in support of political action (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 1), on a second level they reinforce and redefine ideologies largely through representation (Finlayson 2013: 318). The research design for this project focuses on the integrated analysis of both, individually and in relation to each other. Additionally, as studies have proven that the impact of individual speeches on influencing public opinion is very small and that it is rather the consistent, repetitious nature of regular speeches that has an impact on the public consciousness (Stuckley 2015: 70), this study works to develop a research approach that carries out the in-depth analysis of big data. Corpus tools are utilized to describe the 'reality' created by Obama through representation within his 413 Addresses (Chapter 5). Corpus analysis and NVivo are then integrated to identify what Obama's prototypical arguments have been across his eight years in office (Chapter 6). These arguments are then evaluated using argument reconstruction; conclusions as to Obama's role in reproducing the establishment paradigm are then considered (Chapter 7). This is followed by an examination of how this paradigm was contested by Trump in the 2016 debates using a process of comparative argument reconstruction and evaluation building on the work of Fairclough and Fairclough (2012; Chapter 8). The establishment paradigm as a whole, along with Obama's role within it is then assessed in the Conclusion.

[3] Kennedy, M. 'Clinton-Trump showdown was the most-watched Presidential debate ever'. *NPR*. September 27th, 2016. Available: http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/09/27/495692196/clinton-trump-showdown-is-most-watched-presidential-debate

[4] Neilson. 'Third Presidential debate draws 71.6 million viewers'. October 20th, 2016. Available: http://www.nielsen.com/us/en/insights/news/2016/third-presidential-debate-of-2016-draws-71-6-million-viewers.html

This study considers the following five research questions:

1. What are the common topics and discourses in Barack Obama's Presidential speeches?
2. What are the prototypical arguments in the speeches?
3. To what extent do these prototypical arguments stand up to critical evaluation?
4. How were Obama's discourses and arguments challenged effectively during the 2016 Presidential debates?
5. How has Obama used key ideologies and ideological strategies to sustain the hegemony of the establishment U.S. political paradigm?

Thesis chapters:

This thesis is composed of eight chapters. **Chapter 1** puts the thesis in context, with a focus on the Obama election, the key events that have sparked the paradigm shift, the emerging paradigm and the American media. **Chapter 2** outlines functional framework analysis, which is the major research approach incorporated within this study, along with the political theory in which is it based. **Chapter 3** provides an overview of the data, methods and tools being utilized; corpus linguistics, the research design and methodology and NVivo are discussed. **Chapter 4** provides an overview of the content of New World Order Theory, which underpins the alternative media narrative and acts as the major criticism of both the Obama Presidency and the 'establishment' paradigm as a whole. Chapters 5 - 8 are the main discussion chapters. **Chapter 5** details the results of a quantitative corpus study investigating 413 of Obama's Weekly Addresses. **Chapter 6** discusses the results of using NVivo to qualitatively code the 413 speeches along with the results of five quantitative corpus analyses of the resulting corpora. **Chapter 7** looks at the results of selecting, reconstructing and analyzing the proto-typical arguments from Obama's two terms. **Chapter 8** analyzes how these representations were challenged within the major arguments in the 2016 debates between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. In the **Conclusion,** I consider the overall results of this study and the implications that this research has.

CHAPTER 1:

BARACK OBAMA & AMERICA'S CHANGING POLITICAL & MEDIA LANDSCAPE

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1.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter puts the Obama Presidency and the paradigm shift into context, discussing the 2008 election and the political climate and challenges that Obama faced as he entered office. What has now become known as the 'establishment' paradigm is outlined with a concentration on the major policy agendas that underpinned the 1990 – 2008 period (1.2.). The two most significant events within the triggering of the paradigm shift – the second Iraq War and the Great Recession – are then detailed, along with the effect these events have had on the public's belief in institutional power (1.3.). The new paradigm that largely developed in the aftermath and which revolves to a significant extent around Deep State Theory and criticism of the monetary system and America's involvement in foreign conflicts, is then outlined (1.4.). The American media sphere, which has played a highly important role within the political world, particularly since the late 1990's, is then examined (1.5.).

1.2. BARACK OBAMA & THE 'ESTABLISHMENT' PARADIGM

This section discusses the election of Barack Obama and what became known during the 2016 election campaign as the 'establishment' political paradigm.

1.2.1. The 2008 Election

In 2008 U.S. Senator Barack Obama, who was virtually unknown in the national political sphere before 2007, ran an extremely successful Presidential campaign that rapidly catapulted him into power. Representing himself as a self-made Washington outsider who found his identity working as a community organizer in Chicago's rough South Side neighborhood rather than the elite universities he attended, Obama's campaign promised to restore a sense of unity to a politically and economically divided nation. Rhetorically gifted, half African-American, half Caucasian and relatively young, Obama was adored by the press who proclaimed him to be "refreshingly honest", "unusually intelligent", "palpably emotionally attached to his family" and "unimpressed by the mindless tit-for-tat of modern political campaigning" (Newsweek 2008). Standing before crowds of hundreds of thousands of Americans weary from war and economic turmoil, Obama not only promised true change and unity, he embodied both.

Obama's election campaign rhetoric was built on two major principles. The first was *unity*, "America prospers when we're all in it together, when hard work pays off and responsibility is rewarded, and when everyone – from Main Street to Wall Street – does their fair share and plays by the same rules" (DC.gov 2017). The second was *change*, one of his most popular quotes being, "change will not come if we wait for some other person or some other time. We are the ones we've been waiting for. We are the change that we seek" (Organizing for Action 2014). This message worked well in defeating New York Senator Hillary Clinton, viewed as the ultimate Washington insider and hailed as 'inevitable' by the mainstream media in the primary (Stirland 2008), as well as John McCain, strongly associated with the Bushes, in the 2008 election (Nagourney 2008). In a nation where nine out of ten citizens polled believed that the country was on the wrong track, Obama packaged his image perfectly[5] and America bought it; "Obama understood that he had become a giant screen upon which Americans projected their hopes and fears, dreams and frustrations. Maybe such a person never really existed, couldn't exist, but people wanted a saviour nonetheless" (Ibid.). Senator Barack Obama was sworn in as the 44th President of the United States on January 20th, 2009 before the "largest inaugural crowd in decades, perhaps the largest ever" (Hulse 2009).

Barack Obama's uplifting campaign message sparked a great deal of hope within a nation that had been suffering from the effects of the 2007-2008 Great Recession. While the Recession sparked an era of economic uncertainty and instability for millions of Americans, it additionally compounded a process of wide-spread disenchantment with the establishment in Washington that had largely begun under the Presidency of George W. Bush in response to events surrounding the

[5] Sweney, M. 'Barack Obama campaign claims two top prizes at Cannes Lions ad awards'. *The Guardian*. June 29th, 2009. Available: https://www.theguardian.com/media/2009/jun/29/barack-obama-cannes-lions

Iraq War. Obama, who had voted against the invasion of Iraq in 2002 while a State Senator, entered office faced with an America questioning not only the validity of its leaders and government but additionally, a population questioning their nation's role on the global stage. This role had been dramatically re-conceptualized during the post-World War II era, most markedly since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, as America became a unipolar power. The three Presidencies that have followed this period, those of George H. W. Bush (1989 - 1993), Bill Clinton (1993 - 2001) and George W. Bush (2001 - 2008), have come to re-define the role of the American state, creating what has become known as the 'establishment paradigm'. This consolidated ideas-and-actions based political trajectory (see Chapter 2), while initially promising global peace and economic security (see section 1.2), eventually began to deliver very different results. In the lead-up to the 2008 Presidential election, the American people had begun to reject this paradigm, along with its key ideologies (see Chapter 4). Obama, who was then elected based on a campaign built on the promise of hope and change, was faced with the choice of whether to keep his pledges to the people, or continue supporting the policy agendas and ideologies of his predecessors. As much of this thesis centers on Obama's relationship to this paradigm, it is important to further clarify both its history and content.

1.2.2. The Foundation of the Global Order

While the beginning of what is now considered to be the establishment paradigm can largely be traced back to the Republican Presidency of George H. W. Bush,[6] the shift that occurred during his years in office is rooted within policy agendas that were established much earlier following the end of World War I. It was during this period, in 1921, that America's premiere think tank, *The Council on Foreign Relations* (CFR), was formed in New York City. While originally aimed at advising President Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921) on how to respond to the new, post-war political landscape, members of the CFR began developing the idea of re-defining the world around a consolidated global system which would be based on a centralized financial model. Following World War II, the foundation for this model was implemented. A global financial structure was formed with the *Bank of International Settlements* (BIS) in Switzerland acting as its base. International institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) were created to support this structure globally; the UN formed to resolve international disputes. Within this new system, the U.S. dollar became the global reserve currency as outlined in the 1944 Bretton-Woods agreement, its value supported by its being pegged to gold.[7] The American military simultaneously began to be developed into a force that would be responsible for reinforcing this model; the *1947 National Security Act* was implemented under President Harry S. Truman (1945-1953) to create the enormous military-industrial complex that currently spans the globe today. Intelligence agencies such as the *Central Intelligence Agency* (CIA) and the *National Security Agency* (NSA) were additionally founded, resulting in a dramatic expansion in American governmental power, both on a domestic and worldwide scale. Other exclusive international organizations began to form, with a great deal of overlap in membership with the CFR, most notably the Bilderberg Group and the Trilateral Commission (Swiss Propaganda Research Organization 2017). In the led up to and during the aftermath of the fall of the Soviet Union,

[6] George H. W. Bush is also commonly referred to as *Bush Sr.*

[7] Federal Reserve History (2013). 'Creation of the Bretton-Woods system'. Available: https://www.federalreservehistory.org/essays/bretton_woods_created

prominent CFR members such as Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brezinski began to produce work further developing America's foreign policy agenda with the goal of re-conceptualizing the country as a fully uni-polar power. The opportunity to implement this new vision for the country came in 1991.

1.2.3. George H. W. Bush & the New World Order

On September 11th, 1990[8] – *exactly* 11 years before the 9/11 World Trade Center terrorist attacks – then-President George H. W. Bush made a speech before Congress discussing America's entry into the first Iraq War. It was within this speech that Bush laid out his plans for the creation of the *New World Order* which would come to dramatically re-define the American State:

> Out of these troubled times, our fifth objective – a *New World Order* – can emerge: a new era, freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace. An era in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in harmony. A hundred generations have searched for this elusive path to peace, while a thousand wars raged across the span of human endeavor. Today that new world is struggling to be born, a world quite different from the one we've known... Our world leadership and domestic strength are mutual and reinforcing; a woven piece, strongly bound as Old Glory.[9]

In this speech, Bush introduces the idea of a harmonious one-world system in which nations would work together to maintain a system based on maintaining peace through the rule of law. As in the foundational vision of economic security developed in the new global model that was built after World War II, this would be a world in which nations would work as one to solve problems such as poverty and environmental pollution together, thereby creating a modern system aimed at addressing the issues affecting humanity as a whole.

Within the same speech, Bush went on to address another problem, which had developed in parallel with the promotion of the New World Order: the issue of Iraqi dictator Sadaam Hussein's invasion of neighboring Kuwait, an American ally with a large amount of oil reserves. Within this speech Bush promotes America's invasion of Iraq under the auspices that along with aiding the Iraqi people, the war is a necessary element within the sustainment of America's economic and physical security; the invasion is additionally essential to the securement of stability in the Middle East. It is mentioned that Soviet President Gorbachev has agreed to form the "new partnership of nations" that Bush is promoting to support the war; at the time, the Soviet Union was in a state of near-collapse. America's relationship with close partner Saudi Arabia and King Fahd is also reiterated.

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[8] Bush, G. H. W. 'Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on the Persian Gulf Crisis & the Federal Deficit'. September 11th, 1990. *George H. W. Bush Presidential Library & Museum.* Available: https://bush41library.tamu.edu/archives/public-papers/2217

[9] 'Old Glory' is a reference to the American flag.

Bush additionally states that:

> Our interest, our involvement in the Gulf is not transitory. It predated Saddam Hussein's aggression and will survive it. Long after all our troops come home – and we all hope it's soon, very soon – there will be a lasting role for the United States in assisting the nations of the Persian Gulf.

Three months later, in an *Address to the Nation Announcing Allied Military Action in the Persian Gulf* on January 16th, 1991[10] Bush outlines actions being taken in reference to Iraq which would come to define the foreign policy agenda of the newly emerging establishment paradigm (this is discussed in Chapters 7, 8 and the Conclusion). Americans are told that Sadaam Hussein had invaded Kuwait and was consequently acting as a grave threat to the world. This threat is evidenced by his potential to create nuclear and chemical weapons. Economic sanctions, which eventually killed 500,000 Iraqi children, have been tried but have failed, as has UN intervention. Consequently, American airstrikes are underway; a coalition of 28 nations has formed in support of this war. Bush goes on to stress the importance of the New World Order once more, equating it and the war with the creation of peace. After highlighting quotes from famous military-men, Bush states that he has "called upon Hollywood" to "do what must be done" regarding the war effort as well.

In a third speech, an *Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union,* on January 29, 1991,[11] Bush addresses the final close to the Cold War and again reiterates the importance of the New World Order for a third time. In the wake of the Cold War, America has officially declared its status as a uni-polar power with *Foreign Affairs* – the journal of the CFR – writing, "the immediate post-Cold War world is not multipolar. It is unipolar. The center of world power is the unchallenged superpower, the United States, attended by its Western allies" (Krauthammer 1990/1991: 23). Bush reiterates this status for America; "the Nation that can shape the future". What is particularly important to note about this speech, is the link made between America's domestic and foreign policy agendas. The vision of the global order, upheld since the post-World War I era, is now integrated within the American financial sphere as the U.S. becomes a part of a global economy. While this is evidenced most notably in Bush's promotion of the *Americas Initiative,* the precursor to NAFTA, a free trade agreement bill signed by Clinton that is credited with creating the new global economic system, domestic banking policy is also expanded on. Bush urges further banking reform, a process of deregulation which had begun under Reagan (Hudson 2015), as well as the lowering of interest rates. Unlike Reagan, who had famously

[10] Bush, G. H. W. 'Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the Persian Gulf Crisis and the Federal Budget Deficit'. January 16th, 1991. *George H. W. Bush Presidential Library & Museum.* Available: https://bush41library.tamu.edu/archives/public-papers/2217

[11] Bush, G. H. W. Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union, January 29, 1991. *U.S. Government Publishing Office.* Available: https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PPP-1991-book1/html/PPP-1991-book1-doc-pg74.htm

questioned the role of the Federal Reserve[12], Bush upholds the Federal Reserve as a type of mediator within bipartisan disputes, giving it a great deal of authority:

> I'm asking the congressional leaders and the Federal Reserve to cooperate with us in a study, led by Chairman Alan Greenspan, to sort out our technical differences so that we can avoid a return to unproductive partisan bickering.

Bush additionally ushers in a new era of power in reference to the UN; within the new uni-polar model, "The leadership of the United Nations, once only a hoped-for ideal, is now confirming its founders' vision". These speeches established a new era within American politics and one that was quickly consolidated.

1.2.3. The Consolidation of the Establishment Paradigm

The George H. W. Bush Presidency drew to a close after only one term; Democrat Bill Clinton entered office in 1993. Clinton's agenda focused on consolidating Bush's vision of America as a part of a new global economic system while concentrating on continuing the domestic neo-liberalization model initiated under Reagan (Van Apeldoorn & de Graaff 2014). Clinton was highly instrumental in deregulating the nation's financial sector, laying much of the groundwork for the 2007-2008 mortgage crisis (Hudson 2015). His global economic policy focused on opening new international markets, the creation of free trade deals and the out-sourcing of American industry and manufacturing (Bacevich 2002; Van Apeldoorn & de Graaff 2014: 37). To back this agenda, Clinton embarked on a military campaign aimed at encouraging foreign states to accept increased U.S. economic and political influence. During his Presidency, the military interventions of Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Iraq, Sudan, Afghanistan and Serbia took place (Bacevich 2002: 38). Economic sanctions continued to be developed as a means by which to wage economic warfare against nations that did not support this expansion agenda (Van Apeldoorn & de Graaff 2014: 38). The power of large, western, CFR-dominated global governance agencies such as the IMF, World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO) grew during this period; Clinton controversially supported the entrance of China into the WTO. Overall, while choosing not to use the term, Clinton further developed Bush's vision for the New World Order during his two terms and American evolved accordingly.

Republican George W. Bush entered office in 2001, initiating the rise in power of a neo-conservative faction in the White House (Kagan & Kristol 2000; Stelzer 2004). This coincided with the increasing influence of a powerful corporate community linked to them, many of whom were connected to the military-industrial complex (Van Apeldoorn & de Graaff 2014: 30-31). Much of Bush's Presidency focused on the aftermath of the 9/11 World Trade Center attacks which occurred the same year he entered office. In the aftermath Bush chose to aggressively defend what was by then widely accepted to be America's role as a unipolar superpower. Emphasizing the promotion of democracy, the concept of U.S. exceptionalism and the externalization of evil, Bush

[12] Cline, F. X. 'Reagan suggests tighter control of central bank'. *The New York Times*. September 18th, 1982. Available: https://www.nytimes.com/1982/09/18/us/reagan-suggests-tighter-control-of-central-bank.html

promoted "coercion over consent" (Harvey 2003 in Van Apeldoorn & de Graaff 2014: 39) in carrying out the foreign policy aims of America. This agenda resulted in the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003. The creation of the *War on Terror* and the establishment of the Patriot Act, which sharply curtailed the rights of the American population and established a legal framework for the rise of the surveillance state, ensued.[13] The Bush Presidency eventually proved to be highly unsuccessful, particularly as events surrounding the Iraq War began to become publically known following the close of the conflict. This was compounded when the establishment paradigm's era of de-regulation resulted in the Great Recession in 2007-2008 as Bush's second term in office ended. It is important to examine the causes and effects of these two events in detail as they have heavily contributed to the de-legitimation of both America's institutions and the establishment paradigm as a whole.

1.3. PARADIGM SHIFT TRIGGERING EVENTS: THE SECOND IRAQ WAR & THE GREAT RECESSION

This section discusses the effects that events surrounding both the Iraq War and the Great Recession have had on the country, particularly in regard to the nation's belief in institutional power.

1.3.1. The Iraq War

The second Iraq War began in March, 2003. A part of America's *War on Terror* following the 9/11 World Trade Center attacks in Manhattan, Iraq was a minor war, with the main invasion – *Operation Iraqi Freedom* – only lasting a few months in the spring of 2003; only 1,369 American soldiers were killed in action by hostile forces (DeBruyne 2017). A *Physicians for Social Responsibility* report[14] cites the number of Iraqi casualties as estimated at 1 million, including the war itself and the following U.S. occupation. The U.S. invaded Iraq without the approval of the United Nations; it was therefore imperative for the Bush government to construct a strong political narrative justifying this invasion (see Chapter 7). Bush argued that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was producing chemicals of mass destruction, which were a threat to the world and that Hussein was supporting Al Qaeda. Later, after the war ended, no evidence of either of these claims was found (Kull, Ramsey & Lewis 2008). It was later revealed that they were based on the opinion of a single source working for German intelligence, codenamed *Curveball*, provided by the CIA (Murphy & Purdum 2009).

In the lead-up to the war, the majority of Americans believed the White House's justifications for the invasion – 68% believed Iraq played a significant role in the September 11th World Trade Center attacks; 45-52% believed Iraq was working with Al Qaeda; and the "overwhelming majority" believed Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. Even after the war had finished, 35% of

[13] Evans, J. C. (2002). 'Hijacking civil liberties: The USA PATRIOT Act of 2001', *Loyola University of Chicago Law Journal* 33: 933-990.

[14] Physicians for Social Responsibility. 'Body count: Casualty figures after 10 years of the 'War on Terror': Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan'. March 2015. Available: http://www.psr.org/assets/pdfs/body-count.pdf

Americans polled still professed to believe that these weapons had been found and 22% believed Iraq had *used* them (Kull, Ramsey & Lewis 2008: 572). These false beliefs instilled by Bush and the media motivated millions of Americans to support the war; among Americans who did not hold false beliefs, support for the war was very low (Ibid. 596). Among the nation's top five news channels (*Fox, CBS, ABC, CNN* and *NBC*), the number of viewers who believed misleading and false information ranged from 55-80%. The mainstream media heavily invested in promoting the war, thereby deeply damaging their own credibility (Jay 2013). Following the end of the war, it became widely known that members of the Bush administration had made huge profits from it, most notably Vice-President Dick Cheney.[15]

Despite the small number of American casualties, the war and its aftermath has had a profound effect on the American people, not only due to the fact that they were deceived by their government and the mainstream media but because Iraq changed the way that the world viewed the U.S. On April 8th, 2004, *60 Minutes II* released photos from Abu Ghraib, a prison in Iraq 32 kilometers west of Baghdad. The photos showed members of the U.S. military brutally torturing and sodomizing inmates smeared in feces (CBS News 2004). *The Red Cross, Amnesty International* and *Human Rights Watch* later confirmed that these practices were standard in Iraq as well as Afghanistan and Guantanamo Bay (Hersh 2004). As the world gaped in revulsion at these horrific images, the soldiers who were responsible largely avoided jail time. It was later reported that General Anthony Taguba, an investigator at Abu Ghraib, determined that the cause of these incidents were the O.L.C. memoranda, issued by the Bush government, which authorized the use of torture. Additionally, the incident is credited with being a major cause of American combat deaths "because of the effectiveness of these symbols in helping recruit jihadists into the field" (Murphy & Purdum 2009). The war, which was financed with deficits, also contributed to the financial destruction of the economy. Joseph Stiglitz, a Nobel Prize winner in economics, has famously calculated that the Iraq War cost America 3 trillion dollars, an estimate he calls "conservative"; this contributed to the causes of the Great Recession (Stiglitz 2008: 61-62).

These events influenced what had become a systematic collapse in the population's belief in the validity of the American government and its upholding institutions (Saad 2018). As anger toward the Bush government grew, the population began to look outside of the system for answers as to how this war, which had led to so much death and destruction, had been permitted to take place and why the media had supported it. As a result, a new alternative media began to emerge on the internet, offering an alternative narrative on America's involvement in the Middle East (see section 1.5.). The most pivotal event within the consolidation of this new narrative occurred in 2007 when retired 4-star Army General[16] and former Supreme Allied Commander of NATO, Wesley Clark, was interviewed on the show *Democracy Now* by journalist Amy Goodman. Clark explains that he was shown a classified memo written by Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of state under George W. Bush, following the 9/11 attacks, outlining a plan to destabilize and conquer much of the Middle East. "This is a memo that describes how we're going to take out seven countries in five years,

[15] Saty, A. 'Profiting from the Iraq War'. *Gulf News.* July 14th, 2008. Available: https://gulfnews.com/opinion/thinkers/profiting-from-the-iraq-war-1.118099

[16] There have been only 234 4-Star Generals in the history of the U.S. Army, starting with George Washington who was given the rank in 1775, making the title one of the most venerated throughout American history.

starting with Iraq, and then Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Somalia, Sudan and, finishing off, Iran" (Clark & Goodman 2007). At the time, America was already bombing Afghanistan.

This interview had major ramifications. Firstly, it led to an explosion in new 'conspiracy theories' over the Bush administration's involvement in executing the World Trade Center attacks. Secondly, it portrayed the government as deeply involved in the execution of strategized, long-term warfare aimed at destabilizing an entire region outside of the knowledge of the American people. Thirdly, Clark raised the idea of the U.S. government knowingly creating terrorism in the region within prisons such as Abu Ghraib in order to justify increased aggression in the region; this was a suggestion later echoed by the aforementioned General Anthony Taguba (Murphy & Purdum 2009). Thirdly, Clark further suggested the possibility of Saudi involvement in funding Al-Qaeda; this called into question the Bush family's notoriously close relationship with the Saudi royals and the connected issue of the sustainment of the petro-dollar (Eddy 1954: 34). Fourthly, as the 9/11 attacks had been used to justify the implementation of the Patriot Act, it sparked the fear that the Constitution was being systematically negated in the service of a more authoritarian State model. But perhaps most significantly of all, it called into question America's role as a global Empire and whether the sustainment of this Empire was worth the cost – both on a domestic and global scale.

President George W. Bush left office at the beginning of 2009 with a 26% approval rating. During his two terms, the population's faith in the government had plummeted, with confidence in the Presidency at 24% and confidence in Congress at 12%:

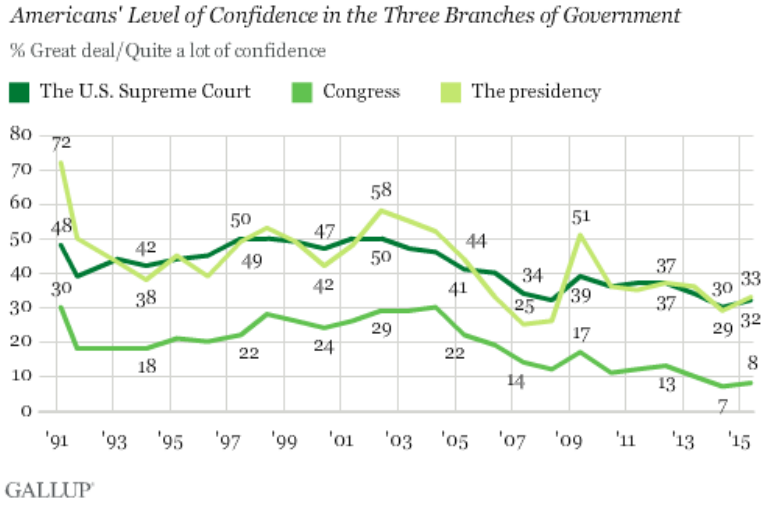

Figure 1.1: *Americans' level of confidence in the three branches of government*

These numbers are indicative of a broader trend which has continued:[17]

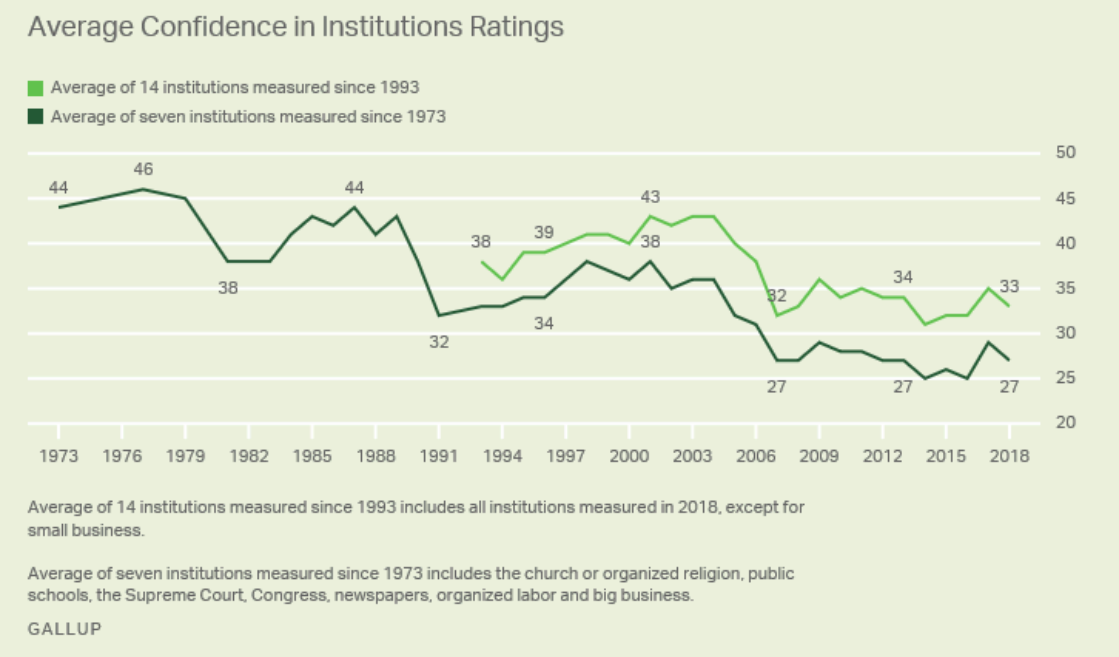

Figure 1.2*: Americans' average confidence in institutions*

Gallup concludes, "At least for the time being, Americans' average confidence in the nation's major governmental, economic and societal institutions has leveled off at a historical low point" (Saad 2018).

As concern over these issues led many Americans to question their government's version of events, another event took place just prior to the Obama election which had even more serious repercussions as it happened on American soil.

1.3.2. The Great Recession & the Taxpayer-funded Bank Bailouts

The Great Recession officially began in December 2007 (National Bureau of Economic Research 2017). Its cause is attributed to the large-scale failure of the mortgage securitization industry. This was an industry that was considered "niche" in the early 1990's but by 2007, had "transformed into the core activity of the rapidly expanding financial sector" (Fligstein & Goldstein 2011: 21). At its peak in 2003, the mortgage industry was enabling the financial sector (comprised of 10% of the labour force) to make 40% of the total profits of the *entire* American economy. This situation was enabled through the selling of mortgages and the widespread creation of mortgage-backed securities (Fligstein & Shin 2007). When the $4 trillion mortgage business and the housing market

[17] Saad, L. 'Military, small business, police still stir most confidence'. *Gallup.* June 28th, 2018. Available: https://news.gallup.com/poll/236243/military-small-business-police-stir-confidence.aspx

began to collapse in 2006-2007, the financial system was consequently thrown into turmoil; it was a collapse that "threatened the existence of the entire banking system in America" (Fligstein & Goldstein 2011: 21). Due to this turmoil, banks ceased to lend money to consumers and businesses; both in turn stopped spending and the economy spiralled into the worst recession since 1929.

Blame for the Great Recession was attributed to "Wall Street" due to the fact that loans for mortgages were being given to high-risk candidates and because some of the features of the mortgages depended on ever-expanding growth within the housing market; without the continued rise in housing prices they would be difficult to pay off (Ibid. 22). Additionally, the housing bubble caused the value of homes, which had stayed invariable from 1950-1997, to balloon to 160% of the long-term average. The number of subprime mortgages rose from 30% before 2003 to 70% in 2007. This type of mortgage is based on highly adjustable rates, which could legally rise dramatically after 24 or 36 months and were very difficult to refinance. Consequently, when the housing bubble began to burst, people lost their homes in large numbers. The big banks, the largest owners of these kinds of mortgages, were viewed as directly responsible. They had pursued these risky loans due to the high level of profit that could be made and because heightened competition within the mortgage market resulted in the need to create loans that people with bad credit could access. Additionally, very low interest rates allowed the banks to borrow huge amounts in order to make large numbers of subprime loans (Ibid. 37). Home values fell from one-third to one half between 2006 and 2009; property foreclosures rose sharply from 2007 - 2009 and a labour market crisis soon followed (Grutsky, Western & Wimer 2011: 4-5).

The Great Recession has had profound effects on American society, being "distinguished from all prior recessions by the rise of long-term unemployment, the profound destruction of wealth... and the deep and long-lasting decline in consumption" (Grutsky, Western & Wimer 2011: 16). Beyond the economic, the psychological affects have been severe; "… the Great Recession will prove to be an event which transforms beliefs, behaviours, and even institutions. To regard the recession as a purely economic event – even one of historic severity – may well be to underestimate its impact on U.S. society" (Ibid 4-5). Along with the human misery that the Recession has caused, the deregulation of the financial industry that took place in the three decades preceding the crisis has resulted in the dramatic financialization of the U.S. economy, which gave staggering power to the domestic and global financial sector at the expense of labour and industry (Hudson 2015). The term *financialization* can be defined as:

> A process whereby financial markets, financial institutions and financial elites gain greater influence over economic policy and economic outcomes. Financialization transforms the functioning of economic system at both the macro and micro levels. Its principal impacts are to (1) elevate the significance of the financial sector relative to the real sector; (2) transfer income from the real sector to the financial sector; and (3) increase income inequality and contribute to wage stagnation.[18]

It is imperative to stress how deeply this process of financialization, along with the government's bank bailouts, has turned the general population against the financial sector. Disclosure of

[18] Palley, T. I. (2007). 'Financialization: What it is and why it matters'. Working Paper 153, *Political Economy Research Institute, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.*

corruption at the highest levels of government and finance has "unhinged a portion of the American people and much of the political class" (Lofgren 2016: 3). Between 2006 and 2016, America's trust in banks fell from 49% to 27%.[19]

In the aftermath of the Recession, the American people began to question how an incident like this could have occurred. Why was the financial sector systematically deregulated to the extent that the entire economy was eventually threatened? And why did the Federal Reserve insist on keeping interest rates low when it was very clear that a huge bubble was being created? As Fligstein and Goldstein (2011: 40) point out in their analysis of the causes of the crisis, the Federal Reserve, a private corporation that regulates interest rates and controls the money supply in America, had prior knowledge of the growth of the housing bubble due to the fact that its growth was "astonishing" and failed to stop it. They argue that the low interest rates combined with the strong demand from investors to buy mortgage-backed securities, encouraged banks to funnel huge amounts of credit into the housing market, thereby creating the bubble. "The main role that regulators played was their refusal to intervene… The Federal Reserve was dominated by people who believed that in spite of this dangerous shift in the market, market actors would not take on too much risk. We now know this was wrong" (Fligstein & Goldstein 2011: 46). They conclude that "regulators and policymakers enabled this process at virtually every turn" (Ibid. 52). This has been confirmed within the records of the BIS, who predicted that this excessive credit growth would result in economic disaster; the Fed, members of whom sit on the board of the BIS,[20] did not heed these warnings (Lebor 2013: 240).

The implementation of the largely taxpayer-funded Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP) bank bailouts were signed into law by Bush in October of 2008. The sum of $700 billion was widely reported at the time as the total amount incurred during this process; however, more recent estimates conclude that this number is actually closer to $17 trillion (Collins 2015). Beyond the outrage felt by taxpayers over having to foot this huge amount of money, there has been further anger over how corrupt the system as a whole was perceived to be following the crisis. Neil Barofsky, former Special United States Treasury Department Inspector General for TARP, in discussing how rife with fraud the entire mortgage crisis was, with bankers directly "trampling over homeowners' rights" further states that the U.S. Treasury Department "refused to hold the banks accountable even after… instance after instance of misconduct".[21] Barofsky further details how Wall Street was so embedded in the government that they essentially wrote Obama's Dodd-Frank Wall Street reform bill; Hudson (2015: 214) concurs:

> A brief regulatory attempt, the Frank-Dodd Bill, was undone by bank lobbyists who bought control of politics, supporting politicians who promoted regulatory capture to a point where financial fraud was essentially decriminalized. Instead of prosecuting financial law-breaking, the largest banks have been off the hook, on the premise that enforcing laws against fraud would drive them under.

[19] Norman, J. (2016). 'America's confidence in institutions remains low'. *Gallup.* Available: http://news.gallup.com/poll/192581/americans-confidence-institutions-stays-low.aspx
[20] BIS (2018). 'BIS member central banks'. Available: https://www.bis.org/about/member_cb.htm
[21] The Big Picture. 'Conversations with great minds: Neil Barofsky'. *RT, YouTube.* August 23rd, 2012. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PqIoHbjvVsA&t=332s

The perpetrators of the crisis – the big banks – came to be viewed as having been saved after directly targeting the American people; as a result, the American middle class in particular plunged into an enormous and ever-increasing amount of debt. Hudson (2015: 192) argues, "The banks and their customers were saved at the economy's expense… No attempt was made to change the system that had led to the crash… Instead of 'saving the system', the financial oligarchy made its move to end economic democracy".

It was within this political and economic climate that Obama entered office. Largely in reaction to the Iraq War and the Recession, a new political and economic narrative was being developed within America, upholding a very different version of reality than what was offered by the government and the mainstream media.

1.4. THE NEWLY EMERGING PARADIGM

As discussed in the Introduction, the political paradigm shift unfolding in America today is having a profound effect on the population. This is largely because a new interpretation of the events discussed in sections 1.2. and 1.3. in relation to both the consolidation of the establishment paradigm and its monetary and foreign policy agendas is being created (see Chapter 4). In this alternative narrative, the establishment in Washington has betrayed the American people and the nation in working to re-define the American State as a domestic and global oligarchy, largely at the expense of the people, by utilizing the New World Order model. This section discusses this theory.

1.4.1. Deep State Theory

When Obama first became President two social issues were dominating the news: growing wealth inequality and criticism of the neo-liberal, corporate-Capitalist system as a whole. By 2016, as these two issues continued to worsen, interest in the existence of a 'Deep State' in Washington materialized among the population. The major principle behind *Deep State Theory* is the belief that an unelected elite class controls America's major policy decisions across Presidencies. While certain less significant changes are still debated between the Republican and Democrat parties, this two-party system mainly acts as a distraction from the fact that the U.S. is essentially an oligarchy. Currently 74% of the American population profess to believe in the existence of the Deep State, a remarkable fact when considering that adherence to this belief largely delegitimizes the government.[22] Additionally, 2018 polls show that Americans' greatest fear is now corruption within high levels of government.[23]

[22] Monmouth University Polling Institute (2018). 'Public troubled by 'Deep State''. Available: https://www.monmouth.edu/polling-institute/reports/monmouthpoll_us_031918/

[23] Chapman University. 'America's top fears, 2018'. October 16th, 2018. Available: https://blogs.chapman.edu/wilkinson/2018/10/16/americas-top-fears-2018/

Deep State Theory regarding the American political system was first conceptualized by Peter Dale Scott, former Professor Emeritus in English at the University of California, Berkley, who has written many books on the subject of 'deep politics'. Dale Scott's publications describe the power that the Deep State has wielded over Presidents, tracing America's current "culture of repression" back to the beginning of the Reagan administration in 1982 when former head of the CIA George Bush Sr. entered the White House as Vice-President and took control of foreign policy and to some degree, the White House as a whole following an assassination attempt on Reagan (Huff & Scott 2014). Mike Lofgren, a former Congressional aide for 28 years, has written an insider's account of the Deep State detailing exactly how it works and who its members are. He isolates the Deep State as "… the red thread that runs through the war on terrorism and the militarization of foreign policy, the financialization and deindustrialization of the American economy, the rise of a plutocratic social structure that has given us the most unequal society in almost a century, and the political dysfunction that has paralyzed day-to-day governance…" (Lofgren 2016: 5). In the America Lofgren describes, the CIA, the Department of Defence, the Department of State, the Department of Homeland Security and the Justice Department form the backbone of an entrenched power structure that controls the country; Congress adheres to the decisions made by these departments (Ibid. 34). Wall Street funds the "diversionary puppet show" that is the two-party system, wielding enormous influence. Silicon Valley administers the massive, pervasive surveillance state (Ibid. 36-37).

In 2017, the Swiss Propaganda Research Organization provided further detail as to who exactly the members of this Deep State are assumed to be, concluding that rather than being just an American organization, it is in fact additionally a *global* conglomerate largely run by members of the CFR. Listing the names of its members,[24] they provide a full overview of how the CFR has come to dominate America's institutions, along with leading global institutions, creating a hierarchy system which dominates the Presidency, Congress, the U.S. military and NATO, The Fed, the CIA, Hollywood, the mainstream media, the university system, the UN, the World Bank, the National Economic Council, Business and Finance, NGO's and a majority of think tanks. Interestingly, while former Presidents Jimmy Carter (1977-1981), George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush and former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (2009-2013) make the CFR list, Ronald Reagan and Obama are absent, as is Donald Trump.

While the question of whether or not the Deep State exists and has molded America into a domestic oligarchy serving the interests of a greater, global oligarchy has dominated the U.S. political sphere during the past 2 years, this discussion is a result of a profound problem gripping America, which seemingly has no solution – the continual rise in staggering wealth inequality, which was compounded by the Recession (see Chapter 8). While highly publicized works such as Thomas Piketty's *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (2014) have detailed the nation's extreme wealth and income gap, attesting to the theory that the system works in the service of an elite class, it is a 2014 paper out of Princeton and Northwestern Universities (Gilens & Page 2014) that most decidedly answers this question. In this rigorous quantitative study, researchers examined 1,800 government policy initiatives from the late 20th and 21st centuries. It was found that "economic elites... have substantial independent impacts on U.S. government policy, while average citizens and mass-based interest groups have little or no independent influence" (Gilens & Page 2014:

[24] Swiss Propaganda Research Organization (2017). 'The Propaganda Matrix'. Available: https://swprs.org/die-propaganda-matrix/

564). The preferences of the average American – the non-elite – were found to have a near-zero impact on public policy decisions and outcomes. In 2015, former President Jimmy Carter consolidated many Americans' fears when he stated that the nation had devolved into oligarchy, with political bribery acting as the enabler to this structure.[25] The next section briefly discusses the root of the criticism behind the establishment's monetary and foreign policy, which is that it is essentially the re-definition of the founding fathers' original conceptualization of the American State.

1.4.2. Criticism of the Federal Reserve & the American Military

As both the Federal Reserve and America's foreign policy agenda in the Middle East comprise very important components of this thesis (see Chapters 7 and 8), is essential to clarify why both are controversial. The existence of the Fed is in fact one of the most debated issues in modern American history (The Economist 2017), with the Recession and the bailouts viewed by many as one of a series of battles in a long conflict being waged between the American people and a global financial hierarchy rooted in Switzerland at the BIS, the City of London and Wall Street. This debate can best be seen in the work and political career of former Congressman Ron Paul (see 1.5), who made ending the Fed a cornerstone of his political agenda. This controversy largely began when Alexander Hamilton, the first Treasury Secretary, made an effort to reshape the United States' financial model after that implemented in Britain by establishing a central bank in 1781; its charter was later not renewed in 1811. A second central bank was established in 1816 but Andrew Jackson, a populist President known for his dislike of bankers,[26] vetoed the renewal of its charter in 1836. Following the financial panic of 1907, in which the stock market crashed, the Federal Reserve was created in 1913 as America's central bank. Thomas J. DiLorenzo, Professor of Economics at Loyola University, writes that "The main objective... was essentially to establish an American version of the British mercantilist system, the very system that the Revolution had been fought against".[27]

Libertarian scholar Murray N. Rothbard (2002: 183) argues that the creation of the Fed was a pivotal moment in American history in which the Progressive movement triumphed in turning the economic system from being largely laissez-faire to existing under a statist, centralized power structure. This eventually led to America's gradual development into a state with Imperial ambitions; "The leap into political imperialism by the United States in the late 1890's was accompanied by economic imperialism, and one key to economic imperialism was monetary imperialism" (Ibid. 218). This economic imperialism manifested itself in the globalized central banking system, which the Fed enabled in America, and a connection to both the creation of and funding of warfare in defense of this model. This largely began when World War I was financed by the banks, who lent the government money and created investor demand for war debt, setting an alarming precedent in which war became a profitable money-making scheme (The Economist

[25] Schwartz, J. 'Jimmy Carter: The U.S. is an 'oligarchy with unlimited political bribery'. *The Intercept.* July 30th, 2015. Available: https://theintercept.com/2015/07/30/jimmy-carter-u-s-oligarchy-unlimited-political-bribery/

[26] Donald Trump has famously hung a picture of Jackson in the Oval Office.

[27] DiLorenzo, T. 'The corrupt origins of central banking'. *Mises Institute: Austrian Economics, Freedom and Peace*. December 4th, 2017. Available: https://mises.org/library/corrupt-origins-central-banking

2017). Interest rates were kept low during World War II to allow governments to engage in military spending with the BIS – "the central pillar of the global financial system" – funding the rise of Adolf Hitler in Germany.[28] These criticisms[29] – that the implementation of the central banking model in America enabled Britain's mercantilist system to take root and thrive in America, leading into the growth of an oligarchic class and that this system created the base for the establishment of an Empire-system in defense of a global hierarchy – forms the foundation behind the alternative media movement within the U.S.

While Deep State Theory and criticism of the U.S. government as a whole largely revolves around the establishment paradigm's economic policy and the Fed, the secondary focus of criticism within this sphere centers on America's role as a globalized military force. The neo-conservative ideology, instilled after 9/11, created an alarming precedent in which warfare was aggressively glorified (see Chapter 4), even as Iraq failed to prove to be a direct threat to America. This ideology staunchly contradicted the values-system of much of the country, including the largely libertarian alternative media creators and adherents. Within the realm of foreign policy, the goal of libertarianism is to extend "peaceful coexistence" (Rothbard 2002: 330) and to keep the State from "extending their violence to other countries, so that each State's tyranny is at least confined to its own bailiwick. For the libertarian is interested in reducing as much as possible the area of State aggression against all private individuals" (Ibid. 330). In this view, war is then seen as mass murder, a crime against humanity committed to justify the actions of the State, an "invasion of the right to life" (Ibid. 332) carried out to enrich the elite, largely through increased taxation of the general population (in the case of the Iraq War to further indebt the country through deficit spending). In this view:

> War has always been the occasion of a great – and usually permanent – acceleration and intensification of State power over society. War is the great excuse for mobilizing all the energies and resources of the nation, in the name of patriotic rhetoric, under the aegis and dictation of the State apparatus. It is in war that the State really comes into its own: swelling in power, in number, in pride, in absolute dominion over the economy and the society. Society becomes a herd, seeking to kill its alleged enemies, rooting out and suppressing all dissent from the official war effort, happily betraying truth for the supposed public interest.
>
> (Rothbard 2006: 347-348).

This quote encapsulates the profound implication of molding the State into an Imperial force by re-creating it as an entity within which politicians incite continuous warfare as a way by which to assign the nation meaning. While the post-World War II period molded America's military into a globalized defender of the new internationalized system, this role came with significant consequences – most notably the militarization of American culture, largely through Hollywood (Giroux 2012). But more significantly on a global scale, it resulted in the petro-dollar system, a

[28] Lebor, A. 'Nevermind the Czech gold the Nazis stole...'. *The Telegraph.* July 31st, 2013. Available: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/bank-of-england/10213988/Never-mind-the-Czech-gold-the-Nazis-stole....html

[29] The long history of the relationship between the banking elite and the funding of war as a profit-making business is detailed in great length in the work of scholar Antony Sutton (1974, 1976, 1977, 1995).

result of a close partnership established in a pact between President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Saudi King Ibn Saud in 1945 (Eddy 1954), which enabled the exchange of America's military power in defense of the Kingdom for an exclusive partnership in which the U.S. has special access to Saudi's vast oil reserves (Pollack 2002). In 1990, George H. W. Bush would tell Saudi King Fahd bin Abd al-Aziz, hours after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, "[the security of Saudi Arabia is vital – basically fundamental – to U.S. interests and really to the interests of the Western world" (Pollack 2002: 78). This relationship has been heavily criticized as *Wahhabism,* a fundamentalist sect of Islam developed by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (Forte 2012: 60), has been instrumentally used by the House of Saud in order to create and sustain jihadi terrorism. This U.S.-Saudi connection is discussed in Chapters 4, 6, 7 and 8.

These significant criticisms link back to the idea of what America is as a state entity. The post-World War II and New World Order paradigm dramatically redefined this conceptualization. While the benefits and drawbacks of this new model continue to be debated, what is clear is that it is a model that has resulted in a governmental structure which has allowed for the launching of a highly destructive war justified with false information and the deregulation and financialization of the economy, leading into a Recession caused by high-level fraud and mismanagement. This is highly problematic and has resulted in a further issue. In the aftermath of the Iraq War, as the public realized that the Bush administration and the mainstream media had misinformed them about its details, they began to search for information elsewhere, resulting in a gradual split within the American media sphere.

1.5. THE AMERICAN MEDIA

This section discusses the current state of the American media, which, during the past two decades has become divided between the mainstream and alternative spheres. The chasm between these two groups is vast, with two different, often directly conflicting realities being represented. These two realities adhere to the two separate paradigms existing in the nation today with the mainstream upholding the paradigm of the establishment and the alternative media creating and reinforcing the new one; this section discusses the content of both. The media is an important role within this study and is heavily discussed in Chapter 4 and in the Conclusion.

1.5.1. The Mainstream Media

Much of the rise of the alternative media can be credited to a process by which the mainstream media has been systematically controlled and collectivized; this process was decisively consolidated under the George Bush Sr. and Clinton Presidencies. In 1983, the mainstream American media, which includes print periodicals, music, television, books, movies, and radio, was controlled by a total of 50 corporations. This number was halved by 1992; today it is controlled by the following five: *Time Warner, Disney, Murdoch's News Corporation, Bertelsmann of Germany* and *Viacom* (PBS.org 2016). Ben Bagdikian, former dean of the University of California, Berkeley Graduate School of Journalism, writes "Five global dimension firms, operating with many of the characteristics of a cartel, own most of the newspapers, magazines, book publishers, motion picture studios, and radio and television stations in the United States" (Bagdikian 2014: 4).

The owners of these companies work together to consolidate power, ensuring that "their corporate empires control every means by which the population learns of its society" (Ibid. 4). Bagdikian puts forward the *Homogenization Hypothesis* to describe how these corporations produce uniform, products, which promote and serve their own interests, erasing issues they do not want discussed. In effect this collectivization means that they have the power to "… manufacture a social and political world" (Ibid. 9).

Effectively, the mainstream media in America has become a corporate media, primarily existing to make profits for the owner corporations rather than accurately informing Americans of worldwide political events; additionally, it works to reproduce the narrative of CFR:

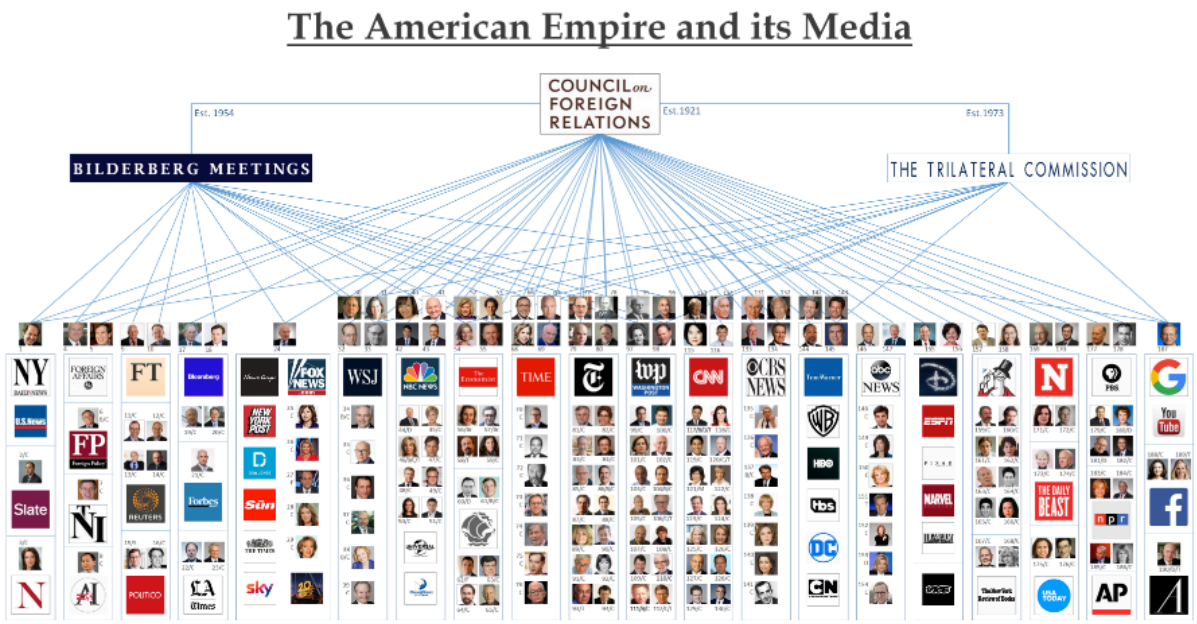

Figure 1.3: *Control of the American mainstream media*

Notably, *Facebook, Google* and *YouTube* are included within this graphic (see Chapter 8).

During the past decade in particular this situation had led to the exclusive reproduction of the neoliberal, neo-conservative, globalist and (under Obama) progressive ideologies upheld by the White House (see Chapter 4); non-establishment ideas, policies and even Presidential candidates are portrayed with bias. For example, in the lead-up to the 2016 Presidential election, the *New York Times* gave Clinton a 91% chance of winning; both *New York Magazine* and *Newsweek* printed covers proclaiming Hillary's win *before the election had even occurred*; 240 newspapers endorsed Clinton while only 19 endorsed Trump (Wead 2017: 2).

Along with its problematic highly-centralized structure, the role of the CIA in infiltrating and controlling the mainstream media through Operation Mockingbird is heavily documented, further

contributing to its de-legitimization in the eyes of the American people.[30] This has given the agency the ability to control public perception – most significantly regarding war. Pulitzer Prize-winning investigative journalist Chris Hedges, who worked at *The New York Times* from 1990 - 2005, has detailed the publication's role in doing so. Hedges recounts how the Bush administration directly informed reporters of what to cover during Iraq, "… everything they wrote was a lie" (Hedges & North 2017). Stephen Kinzer, a senior fellow at the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University, confirms this practice continued under Obama, with reporters getting their information on the Syrian War directly from Washington; "Reporters who cover Syria check with the Pentagon, the State Department, the White House, and think tank 'experts.' After a spin on that soiled carousel, they feel they have covered all sides of the story".[31]

Additionally, *The Washington Post* has come to be regarded in elite Washington circles as "the CIA paper" (Lofgren 2016: 13); owner Jeff Bezos – CEO of Amazon – has a $600 million cloud coverage contract with the CIA.[32] Largely due to this monopolization of the corporate, mainstream media, along with how considerably it was de-legitimized after the Iraq War, America's faith in the mainstream media is currently plummeting with recent 2016 Gallup polls showing that only 32 percent of the general population maintains "a great deal or fair amount of trust in the media".[33] This number is an all-time low since the polling of this question began in 1972. Largely due to this decline, the alternative media has grown significantly over the past few decades, particularly in the lead up to the 2016 Presidential election.

1.5.2. The Alternative & Radical Alternative Medias

This section provides an overview of the alternative media. It is important to stress two points about the alternative media. Firstly, in sharp contrast to the mainstream media, this is a *decentralized* network of content providers. It is consequently not easy to categorize and the quality of content within the alternative sphere varies dramatically; sources should be assessed on a case-by-case basis. Examples of high-quality content which have contributed to defining the new paradigm are given throughout this section. Secondly, it is not argued in this section or within this thesis that the content of the alternative media is more true *overall* than the content of the mainstream media. Rather, specific topics such as the war in Syria for example, must be assessed within both media spheres individually and then compared to one another over time in order to discern which is more accurate; this process of argumentation comparison is discussed in chapters 3 and in the Conclusion. The main value in the existence of the alternative media apparatus as a

[30] Tracy, J. F. (2018). 'The CIA and the media: 50 facts the world needs to know'. *Global Research Institute.* January 30th, 2018. Available: https://www.globalresearch.ca/the-cia-and-the-media-50-facts-the-world-needs-to-know/5471956

[31] Kinzer, S. 'The media are misleading the public on Syria'. *The Boston Globe*. February 18th, 2016. Available: https://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/2016/02/18/the-media-are-misleading-public-syria/8YB75otYirPzUCnlwaVtcK/story.html

[32] Konkel, F. 'The details about the CIA's deal with Amazon'. *The Atlantic.* July 17th, 2014. Available: https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2014/07/the-details-about-the-cias-deal-with-amazon/374632/

[33] Swift, A. (2016). 'Americans' trust in mass media sinks to new low'. *Gallup.com.* Available: http://www.gallup.com/poll/195542/americans-trust-mass-media-sinks-new-low.aspx

whole is that it provides a standard for comparison against which the mainstream narrative may be judged. Additionally, the alternative media presents topics and information that are not included within the largely collectivized mainstream, providing an excellent tool by which the population can engage in self-directed education. This section briefly discusses the politics and economics-based sectors of the alternative media.

1.5.2.1. The Alternative Media

The origin of the alternative media can largely be traced back to the founding of *The Drudge Report* by Matt Drudge in 1996. This website, on which news stories from across the internet that are negated from mainstream coverage are posted, aims at making the public more aware of events occurring outside of the establishment sphere. The founding of *Breitbart News* and *Infowars* followed, thereby consolidating the alternative media as a new, distinct entity from the mainstream. Aiming at counter-acting what was seen as the neoliberal, neo-conservative, globalist agenda of the mainstream, these sites focus on instilling nationalist and conservative ideologies. *Infowars* in particular garners an large audience with 20 million visits to the website each month.[34] *The Drudge Report* (#3), *Breitbart* (#34) and *Zerohedge* (#56; discussed below) are all in the top one hundred most viewed media channels in America (Sevitt 2017). Notably, Steve Bannon, formerly Trump's Chief Strategist, was the former founder and executive chair of *Breitbart.* Donald Trump made a personal call to thank *Infowars'* host Alex Jones for his support following his election win (Vitali 2016). While considered by many outside of this sphere to be "alt-right" and largely involved in promoting Nazism, this is a dismissive criticism that is largely untrue outside of the peripheral fringe.

While *Drudge, Breitbart* and *Infowars* are the most well-known alternative media sources they are often not considered a part of the 'real' alternative media by many. This is due to the fact that they heavily support the Trump Presidency and thereby the two-party government system, making them a part of it. In contrast, the *radical alterative media* is best defined by its rejection of the current system as a whole due to it being considered rampantly corrupt and while many sites support Trump to varying and currently increasing degrees, overall the belief that both the U.S. government and the State are inherently de-legitimized make it impossible to support any President. Here the two-party system is viewed as a distraction, its polarizing effects designed to divide the population to make them easier to control.

1.5.2.2. The Radical Alternative Media

The radical alternative media is highly complex. Based on the internet, it uses both web pages, *YouTube* and podcasts as a base. These sources are mainly funded by small donors and audience members rather than large corporations. Some of these sites have been created by journalists who have been forced to leave the corporate media as it has ceased to support traditional investigative journalism (Camp 2017). Sites such as *Truthdig, The Real News, Mint News, Democracy Now* and *Truthout* are run by some of the most respected journalists working today, such as Chris Hedges,

[34] Similar Web (2018). 'Inforwars.com'. Available: https://www.similarweb.com/website/infowars.com

Paul Jay, Amy Goodman and Robert Scheer and focus on progressive issues such as police brutality and the heightened surveillance state; Noam Chomsky is a contributor to *Truthout*. Many sources utilize data from *WikiLeaks,* which is often also considered a part of this sphere. Being progressive in their ideologies, these sites are highly critical of the U.S. government and reject it in its current form but still maintain some hope that perhaps reform is possible in some distant future. In contrast, many other sources actively focus on predicting and narrating the collapse of the government and/or financial system, which they see as currently underway.

As the radical alternative media has largely been fueled by and created in response to the Iraq War and the Great Recession, its three defining themes are criticism of America's neoconservative foreign policy agenda, the globalization of the country and the country's corrupt financial system; all are attributed to the Deep State and global oligarchy. Largely created and run by ex-Wall Street insiders rather than political analysts, it is consequently more acutely focused on creating an economic alternative narrative rather than an alternative political narrative. The most notable exception to this general rule is *The Ron Paul Institute for Peace and Prosperity*. Paul's site offers a concise and largely objective political and economic analysis and presents a clear picture of what the legitimate alternative media is. Other notable sources include: *LaRouche Pac, the X22 Report, MintPress News, Watching the Hawks, Redacted Tonight, the Sirius Report, Syriana Analysis, Press TV, Ben Swan, the Jimmy Dore Show, Dr. Steve Turley*, *the Corbertt Report, the Duran, Counterpunch, 21st Century Wire, the Greg Hunter Show, Ken O'Keefe, DAHBOO77, SGT Report* and *Dark Journalist.* Additionally, many independent commentators create content dissecting the news from angles that go unrepresented in the mainstream – conservatives *Stephen Molyneau, Mark Dice* and *Martin Brodel* are three examples, along with cultural critiques such as academic *Jordan Peterson.* Interview-based shows such as *Sarah Westall, the Higher Side Chats*, *X22 Report Spotlight* and *London Real* focus on bringing research from outside of the mainstream to a broader audience.

The most significant source for the economic alternative narrative is the website *Zerohedge*. Other notable economic sources include: *Rogue Money, the Keiser Report, Mike Maloney & the Hidden Secrets of Money, Jim Willie & the Hat Trick Letter, Lynette Zang, Armstrong Economics, Kirby Analytics, the Solaris Report, Crush the Street, Silver Doctors, Gregory Mannarino, Andreas M. Antonopoulos (Aantonop), World Alternative Media, Peter Schiff, Road to Roota* and *the Dollar Vigilante.* Additionally, it is becoming increasingly popular for analysts to link political theory with historical research into hidden history, occultism, religious and spiritual belief systems, and quantum theory. Examples include: *Black Earth Productions, Jordan Maxwell, Dr. Joseph P. Ferrall, Michael Tsarian & Unslaved Productions, Forum Borealis, Off Planet Media, Mark Passio, Dane Calloway, Tommy Williams & the Truth Honor & Integrity Show, Veil of Reality, The Crowhouse, OpenSourceOccultTV, The Phoenix Enigma, Lift the Veil, The Observation Deck, ThunderWizarddotcom, JonLevi, Jay Dyer*, *Tiffany FitzHenry* and *Quantum of Conscience.* Additionally, channels focusing on the application of quantum-based theories and the revival of various spiritual traditions are becoming increasingly popular. Examples include: *The Harmonic Reactor, Aluna Ash, Bentinho Massaro, Infinite Waters, Aaron Abke, Aaron Doughty* and *Teal Swan.* Overall, while the radical alternative media tends to be more right-wing in its agenda than the mainstream, its most-defining ideology is libertarianism and the rejection of the left/right paradigm.

Along with Deep State theory, the following ideas underpin the alternative media narrative; these ideas are further discussed in Chapter 4:

- The 'New World Order' model aims at the creation of a global, one-world government (Cornwell 2015) and financial system. This is the ultimate goal of the major global institutions such as the IMF (Hari 2011) and the World Bank (Winters 2004), etc. This government would be administered by a global elite class, widely termed the 'global oligarchy'.
- The worldwide, western-controlled financial system is heavily manipulated and corrupt; it is currently imploding (Rogue Money 2017; Hoffman 2017).
- Obama's economic recovery was designed to serve the Deep State, who work in the service of the New World Order and the global oligarchy (X-22 Report 2017a).
- The Federal Reserve is an illegitimate, unconstitutional institution; it is seen as the foothold of the global oligarchy in America (Paul 2016).
- The U.S. mainstream media is a propaganda tool of the oligarchy (St. Clair & Cockburn; Muhawesh 2017).
- The vast majority of Congress are no longer working in the interest of the American people as mandated in the Constitution.
- The George W. Bush and Obama administrations have carried out an agenda of war in the Middle East to sustain the dollar as the world reserve currency and the petro-dollar system. These wars are illegal (Allday 2016).
- The U.S. is utilizing the funding of terrorism to accomplish its foreign policy aims (X22 Report 2017b).
- The U.S. government creates false flag attacks to accomplish its aims, both on international soil and domestically (Dammegard 2017; Zerohedge 2017b).
- The CIA is heavily involved in running the global drug and sex trade (Willie 2018).
- America's inability to solve its health care crisis is indicative of the fact that the government no longer serves the people (Hedges 2012).
- The global oligarchy is a dark occultist group, with an involution-based ideology acting to underlie their goals and actions (Tsarian 2014; Shaking My Head Productions 2019; SGT Report 2019).
- There is an internal war happening between various factions within the U.S. Deep State aimed at overthrowing the Donald Trump Presidency, due to Trump's roll in challenging the power of the Deep State and the oligarchy (see Chapter 8; Greenwald 2017; Schlanger 2018).

Many of these ideas were once considered fringe and wildly radical; this changed when Trump incorporated them into his Presidential campaign:[35]

> Our movement is about replacing a failed and corrupt political establishment with a new government controlled by you, the American people... The political establishment that is trying to stop us is the same group responsible for our disastrous trade deals, massive illegal immigration and economic and foreign policies that have *bled our country dry*...

[35] Mangfald, B. 'This video will get Donald Trump elected'. *YouTube.* Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G2qIXXafxCQ

> It's a global power structure that is responsible for the economic decisions that have robbed our working class, stripped our country of its wealth and put that money into the pockets of a handful of large corporations and political entities.[36]

Since Trump's election, the mysterious QAnon message board[37] has appeared on 8Chan. Claiming to be run by an official within the administration, it has largely consolidated the alternative media narrative, causing an explosive reaction by periodicals across the mainstream and illustrating just how vicious the media divide is. This board has grown to become a phenomenon across America;[38] as Trump continues to tour the nation giving rallies, thousands of people have begun posting photos of themselves in Q t-shirts:

Figure 1.4: *QAnon Twitter picture, Trump rally, Chattanooga Tennessee*

The message of the QAnon board is the same as that espoused in the Trump quote above. What Q describes is an America in which a 'Deep State War' is being carried out by the U.S. military in order to overthrow a globalist criminal organization, associated with the New World Order and the Deep State, which has penetrated the highest levels of government.[39] Urging support from the people, it stresses a return to Constitutionalism, the unification of the country across party lines and a form of nationalism justified by Christianity. It frames these events as a *spiritual war* and regularly cites Bible verses:

---

[36] Trump, D. 'Donald Trump's argument for America'. *The New Republic.* November 4th, 2016. Available: https://newrepublic.com/political-ad-database/donald-trump-donald-trumps-argument-for-america/MTEvNC8xNjpEb25hbGQgVHJ1bXAncyBBcmd1bWVudCBmb3IgQW1lcmljYQ

[37] QAnon message board (2018). Available: https://qntmpkts.keybase.pub//

[38] Time Magazine Staff. 'The 25 most influential people on the internet'. June 30th, 2018. Available: http://time.com/5324130/most-influential-internet/

[39] Hersh, S. M. (2016). 'Military to military'. *The London Review of Books,* Vol 38(1). Available: https://www.lrb.co.uk/v38/n01/seymour-m-hersh/military-to-military

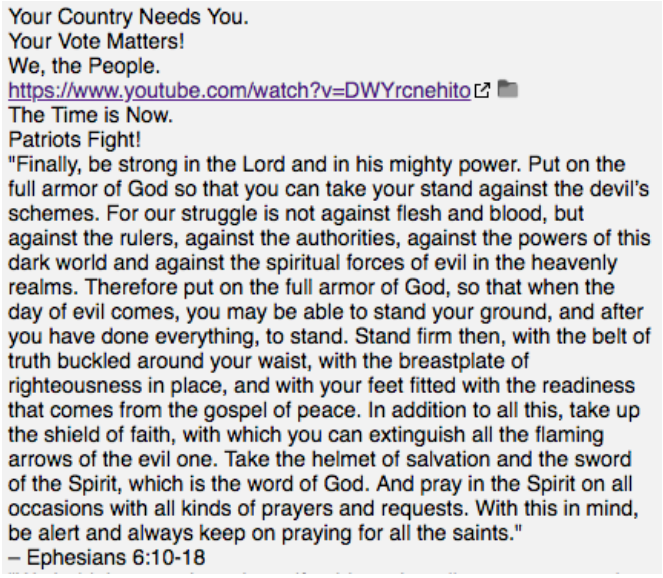

Figure 1.5: *QAnon message board post, November 4th, 2018*

Overall, the existence of the alternative media sphere in itself has been quintessential in helping to ignite, define and promote the new paradigm among the people. As theorized by Thomas Kuhn (see Chapter 2 and Chapter 4) paradigm shifts do not occur until there is a new paradigm to shift into; the established paradigm must become challenged by new ideas. The ideas that fuel the alternative media were largely responsible for changing the course of history in the 2016 election and yet they are being dismissed and ignored within the mainstream, including academia. This is highly problematic as it is contributing to the establishment of two conflicting realities upheld by the two separate media spheres as seen in the 2016 Presidential debates; this is discussed throughout this thesis.

1.6. CONCLUSION

This chapter has addressed the Obama election and the content of the establishment paradigm that he was elected within. The two major events that have triggered the paradigm shift – the Iraq War and the Great Recession – have been detailed along with the reasons for why they were so pivotal. An overview of the content of the newly emerging paradigm has been given, along with a description of the American media sphere, which is playing such an important role within this shift. It is important to reiterate that the Barack Obama Presidency began with a great deal of promise, initially succeeding in reigniting the faith in the State that had been lost during the Bush years. However, it eventually became clear that Obama could not stave off the shift that was coming; his attempts to further consolidate the power of the State ultimately resulted in the election of Donald Trump. This thesis investigates how this happened, leading into one of the most significant power shifts in American history. Chapter 2 details the first research approach used in this study as well as the political theory in which this study is based.

CHAPTER 2:

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK & CONCEPTS

2.1. INTRODUCTION
2.2. FUNCTIONAL FRAMEWORK ANALYSIS
2.2.1. Overview
2.2.2. CDA & Argument Reconstruction
2.2.2.1. Aristotle's Dialectic
2.2.2.2. Stephen Toulmin
2.2.2.3. Practical Argumentation
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2.3. POLITICAL THEORY
2.3.1. Defining the Political
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2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the main theoretical framework being used in this study, as well as relevant political theory. Firstly, a functional framework for analyzing arguments developed by Isabela Fairclough and Norman Fairclough (2012) is discussed in section 2.2.; this section additionally provides an overview of argumentation theory. Secondly, the political theory informing this study is explored with an emphasis on the concepts of the state, the government, the ontological view of the political as developed by Peter Steinberger as well as the concept of paradigm shifts (2.3.). An overview of Norman Fairclough's approach to analyzing ideology is then given (2.4.), along with further distinctions between key terms used within this thesis (2.4.2.).

2.2. FUNCTIONAL FRAMEWORK ANALYSIS

2.2.1. Overview

This section discusses the argument reconstruction framework being utilized in this study (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012), which has been developed within the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) research approach, along with relevant argumentation theory. As previously discussed, Presidential speeches are structured as arguments; it is therefore important to include the analysis of these arguments within the research design for this project; this is further discussed in Chapter 3. This study utilizes this framework in three of the five main steps within the research design. In Step 2 it is used to code Obama's Weekly Addresses. In Step 3 it is used to determine which major arguments will be further examined in Step 4. In Step 4 the reconstruction and evaluation these arguments is carried out using this framework. Additionally, elements of CDA theory are used in Step 5 when discussing the ideologies within Obama's speeches. This section begins with a brief overview of CDA. I then discuss argumentation theory beginning with the work of Aristotle, leading up to the development of a new argument reconstruction-based version of CDA (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012).

2.2.2. CDA and Argument Reconstruction

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an "interdisciplinary research movement" designed to study power and ideology through text analysis using a broad range of research methods and theoretical models (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak 2011: 357). CDA became established in the early 1990's with the work of Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak; the various CDA approaches of these researchers have continued to develop until today (Wodak & Meyer 2009: 3). Additionally many new approaches have been introduced over the years including the corpus linguistic approach (Stubbs 2002, 2004; Baker 2006; Baker et al. 2008; O'Halloran 2010), critical metaphor studies (Charteris-Black 2004; Koller 2004), the cognitive linguistic approach (Hart 2011, 2013) and the legitimization-proximation model (Cap 2006, 2008). What unites all of these approaches is the study of the relationship between discourse and social reality, with researchers focusing on "different aspects of this relationship, working at different locations on the continuum that links the 'micro' (the linguistic) with the 'macro' (the social)" (Cap & Hart 2014: 1).

Viewing "language as social practice" (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 258), *discourse* is seen as a form of meaning-making which acts to both reflect and construct the social world (Rogers 2004: 5). In this view, discourses are ways of representing reality and these representations may work to serve various agendas; in the case that they serve the powerholders in a society they are considered ideological as they are being utilized by the elite to control and engineer societal norms. It is therefore imperative to critique these discourses using linguistic and theoretical methods, in order to illuminate how they may be utilized to reproduce unjust social practices. CDA theory is influenced by Karl Marx. In the Marxist tradition, social reality is "conceptually mediated" meaning that the events, practices and structures that make up the social world "have a reflexive character" (Fairclough 2013: 178). A part of these elements is how we see them – our

representations, interpretations and conceptualizations of them. Therefore social reality is both material and semiotic (Jessop 2004).

In 2012, Norman Fairclough and argumentation theorist Isabela Fairclough introduced a new version of CDA (2012; Fairclough 2013, 2015). The development of the framework is premised on the idea that politics is fundamentally concerned with political action. In this view, politicians primarily engage in answering the question of *what to do* about problems. CDA is used to critique the practical arguments politicians use to respond (Fairclough 2015: 2). In doing so, it becomes possible for CDA to move from the critique of discourse to advocating for social change by highlighting the flaws within arguments that ultimately influence political action. These flaws are largely examined through a process of argument reconstruction where the major argument in a political text is broken down into its functional units in order to examine both how these units are constructed through discourse and how they connect to form arguments:

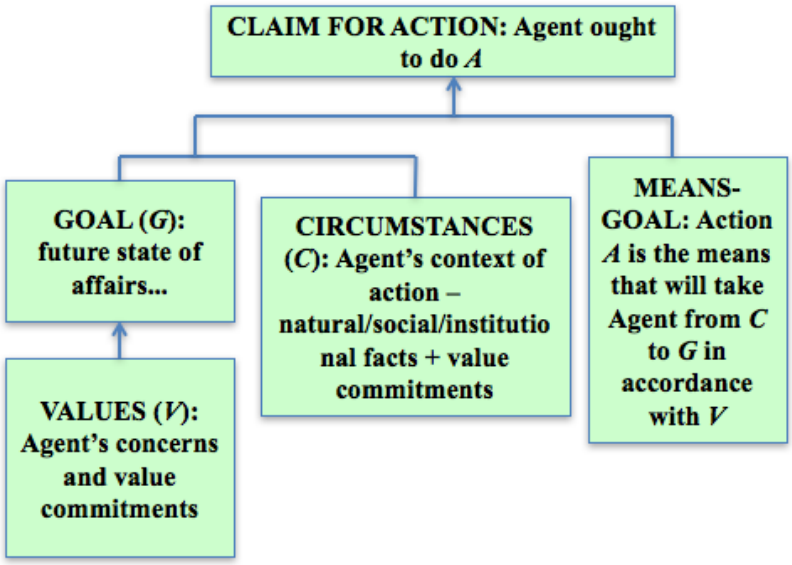

Figure 2.1: *Argument reconstruction framework from Fairclough & Fairclough (2012: 45)*

The aim is to identify and analyze how arguments are constructed within political discourse as well as how they are influenced by discourses/representations.

This framework is influenced by Aristotle and builds on the work of Stephen Toulmin (1958) and the practical argumentation theory of Robert Audi (2006) and Douglas Walton (2005, 2007). This section briefly discusses these theories in turn, while charting how they influenced the development of Fairclough and Fairclough's argument reconstruction framework; this is followed by a more in-depth explanation of this framework.

2.2.2.1. Aristotle's Dialectic

The study of argumentation within the western world can be traced back to the Greek Sophists, a group of scholars who would give public debates; this led to great public interest in argumentation during the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. Eventually Aristotle wrote about the theory behind **logic** (*Prior Analytics, Posterior Analytics*), **dialectic** (*Topics, Sophistical Refutations*) and **rhetoric** (*Rhetoric*), three forms of argumentation which are categorized according to their purposes in being put forth. *Apodictic* or *demonstrative* arguments are made in order to achieve certain knowledge. *Dialectical* arguments are made to result in generally accepted opinions or points of view. And *rhetorical* arguments aim to convince an audience of a certain viewpoint (van Eemeren *et al* 1996: 32). Argumentation theorists study the production, analysis and evaluation of argumentative discourse, additionally considering the context in which arguments occur (ibid. 1996: 12). van Eemeren (2011: 110) writes that the study of argumentation "has been motivated by an interest in the improvement of discourse or a modification of the effects of that discourse on society".

In *Topics*, Aristotle describes the dialectic as deliberation or "a process of criticism wherein lies the path to the principles of all inquires... Dialectic is thus the art of arguing for or against" (Brunschwig 1967: 168). Fairclough and Fairclough (N. Fairclough 2015: 16) view CDA as a part of this tradition; their reconstruction framework is based on the idea that in politics, agents debate about the question of *what to do*; therefore, the speech activity they are engaging in is primarily dialectic (Fairclough 2015: 3). An argumentative technique, the dialectic was used in debate and can be summed up as "the art of inquiry through critical discussion" (van Eemeren, Jackson & Jacobs 2011: 113). In these debates the goal was to contribute "either to choice and avoidance, or to truth and knowledge" rather than to convince the audience of a certain point of view (Brunschwig 1967: 173-174). As Aristotle writes, the premises of dialectical arguments must be generally accepted by the audience, including those deemed most wise (Brunschwig 1967: 23). An important point to emphasize is that these premises would be routed in the belief system of this audience (and approved by the wise); they would be generally held and tested beliefs or *endoxa.* Because of this, "political disputes take place not at the level of conclusions but at that of premises - conceptions of situations, of circumstances, of the social world" (Finlayson 2013: 318).

This deliberative process is one which is undertaken within democracies in which agents are aiming at identifying the best solution to a problem within society; the arguments being made can then be assessed based on which presented solution is the best. In Fairclough and Fairclough's view, this is the goal of politics and consequently, the role of the researcher is to largely examine the structure of the arguments being made. This view adheres to Steinberger's (2004) first conception on how to study politics (see Chapter 3) in which politics is mainly concerned with action; consequently research focuses on analyzing the decision-making process, evaluating how decisions are made and their outcomes, etc. (Steinberger 2004: 4). While this thesis adheres to Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) view on the importance of largely basing the analysis of political discourse on the evaluation of arguments, the theoretical framework for it adheres much more strongly to Steinberger's second view on the political in which the researcher focuses on an ontological investigation into the nature of the state and the ideas being implemented by it. The reasons for this are discussed in detail in Chapter 3. The next section discusses an argument reconstruction framework introduced by Stephen Toulmin.

2.2.2.2. Stephen Toulmin

Stephen Toulmin's hugely influential work *The Uses of Argument* (1958) shifted the traditional focus of argumentation from logic toward an interactional view with a focus on form and content. Using judicial argumentation as a model, he looked at the interchange between two opposing agents, studying the structure of their linguistic interaction. van Eemeren, Jackson and Jacobs (2011: 114) call Toulmin's model a first step "toward studying argumentation as a linguistic activity".

Toulmin (1958: 96) develops his new argumentation model in relation to Aristotle's model for assessing arguments based on logic. In these types of arguments, the focus was on argument patterns in which statements that were known to be true were used to establish the truth of other, new statements (van Eemeren, Jackson & Jacobs 2011: 110). These arguments were called *categorical syllogisms* and they were made up of a minor premise, a main premise and a conclusion:

> Socrates is a man;
> All men are mortal;
> So Socrates is mortal.

Toulmin argued that this structure was too simple and developed a new framework for evaluating arguments based on six functional units: *Data, Claims, Warrants, Qualifiers, Rebuttals* and *Backing* (Toulmin 1958: 102). These functional units are summarized below:

Data: evidence used to prove the argument.
Claim: an arguable statement (a thesis).
Warrants: statements that link the evidence and the claim.
Backing: statements that support the warrants.
Qualifiers: statements that limit the strength of the argument or give conditions under which it is true.
Rebuttals: counter-arguments.

The following is an overview of how these separate functional units connect to form arguments:

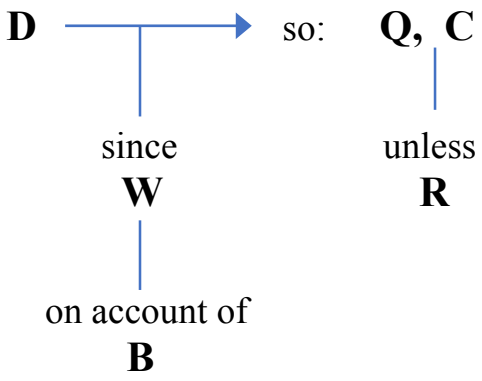

Figure 2.1: *Toulmin's argumentation model* (1958: 104)

Toulmin's work became heavily influential within the study of rhetoric and composition studies and it is additionally extremely useful within the study of linguistics because it provides a framework whereby arguments can easily be broken down and analyzed. This analysis is focused on relationship between the functional units. Thus, arguments are evaluated not only as monolithic units but also as complex "organisms". Toulmin's focus on arguments occurring in ordinary language, rather than the formal language of logicians, also makes it much easier to apply to linguistic data, making it a very practical model to incorporate into both the study of writing and in research projects. While their functional units derive from Toulmin's (1958) and focus on language in use as his does, Fairclough and Fairclough (2015: 2) have developed different functional units focusing on the critique of discourse within the separate units. The next section briefly discusses the influence of practical argumentation on this approach.

2.2.2.3. Practical Argumentation

The work of Robert Audi (2006) and Douglas Walton (2005; 2007) in contemporary argumentation theory focuses on the analysis of practical arguments. Audi (2006) defines practical reasoning as a means-ends process characterized in three main ways. First, it is based on "what to do". Second, it expresses one or more reasons for action. Third, it is "in some way, suitable for producing action that is in line with its content" (Audi 2006: 82). Viewing practical argumentation as having a cognitive-motivational structure, agents start from premises expressing motivation and instrumental cognition and make judgments based on a conclusion expressing a decision for action:

> Major premise – the motivational premise: I want X.
> Minor premise – the cognitive (instrumental) premise: My doing A would contribute to realizing X.
> Conclusion – the practical judgment: I should do A.
>
> (Audi 2006: 96).

Building on this framework, Walton (2007) incorporates *values* into his structure of practical reasoning, distinguishing between instrumental and value-based normative practical reasoning. His *Scheme for Value-Based Practical Reasoning* connects an agent's *goals* to his or her *values:*

> I have a goal *G*.
> *G* is supported by my set of values, *V*.
> Bringing about *A* is necessary (or sufficient) for me to bring about *G*.
> Therefore, I should (practically ought to) bring about *A*.
>
> (Walton 2007: 35).

Walton's uses critical questions to evaluate the conclusions of practical arguments, for example:

> 1. What other goal do I have that might conflict with G?
> 2. How well is G supported by (or at least consistent with) my values V?
> 3. What alternative actions to my bringing about A that would also bring about G should be considered?
>
> (Walton 2007: 222).

The view that values significantly influence arguments is adopted in Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) work as they introduce *values* as a functional unit, which affect an agent's *goals* and how they describe their *circumstances*. Additionally, Audi's view of political argumentation as essentially about *what to do* underpins the Fairclough and Fairclough's approach. The next section discusses this approach in further detail.

2.2.2.4. Fairclough & Fairclough's Framework

Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012: 11) framework examines the relationship between the premises in an argument and the *claim for action* or *conclusion*. This is an overview of the five functional units that they use to reconstruct arguments:

- **Goal premise**

The goal premise specifies the goal that the agent is aiming for – a future state of affairs. This goal may not necessarily be what the agent wants, but rather what they feel is normatively or morally correct, or what they feel obligated or forced to adopt because of their role in society (as a political figure, etc.).

- **Circumstantial premise**

The circumstantial premise specifies the agent's context of the situation in which the argument is taking place. It is their representation of the natural and social facts that make up the world.

- **Value premise**

The value premise supports the goal premise. The agent's values influence how they make arguments. The action that the agent decides upon is most desirable if it corresponds to both their goal and their values.

- **Means-goal premise**

The means-goal premise states that the action advocated for in the claim will lead to achieving the goal.

- **Claim for action**

The claim for action is the action that should be taken or the conclusion to the arguments.

The following chart shows an overview of this framework applied to an Obama speech about Wall Street reform from May 19th, 2012[40]:

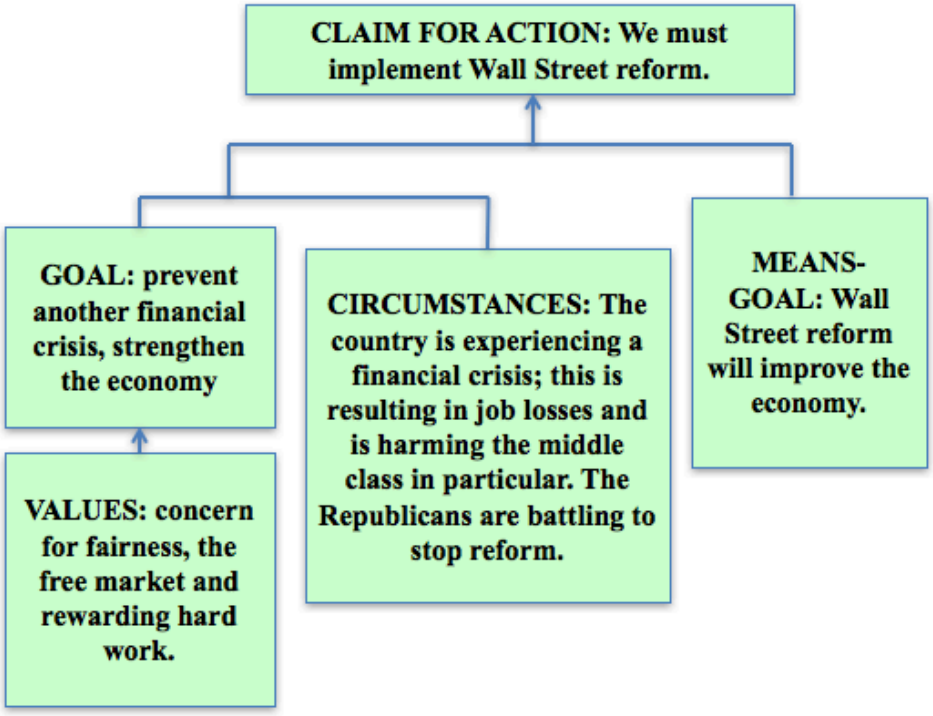

Figure 2.3: *Fairclough & Fairclough's Argument Reconstruction Framework Applied to Obama's Weekly Address, May 19th 2012*

In this example, the *goal* of improving the economy is influenced by the Obama's *values* – his concern for fairness, upholding the free market and rewarding hard work. The way that Obama

[40] Obama, B. (2012). 'The President's Weekly Address, May 19th, 2012'. *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=100858

describes the world in the *circumstantial premise* justifies the need to improve the economy in order to help the middle class, stop job loss, etc. The *means-goal* then connects the *claim* that we must implement Wall Street reform to the *goal.* It should be additionally noted that *Wall Street having caused the crisis* is part of an explanation which is used in a subsequent argument, leading into the conclusion that Wall Street should be made responsible and consequently 'pay' for their mistakes.

An important point to note is how representations enter into and influence the argument in both the *goal, values* and *circumstantial* premises. For example, Obama represents "Wall Street" – an undefined group of bankers and banks – as being solely responsible for the economic crash of 2008. This representation was upheld across all of his previous Weekly Addresses (a fact which can be proven through corpus analysis; see Chapter 5). This representation then influenced Obama's argument in support of Wall Street reform. By representing Wall Street as singularly responsible, Wall Street reform was then presented as the solution to the economic crisis. As a result, Obama effectively erased blame for the crisis from the U.S. government (which is responsible for regulating Wall Street). Therefore this one representation, repeated regularly across Obama's Weekly Addresses for years, had enormous ramifications and laid the foundation upon which he then made the argument in Figure 2.3. which can be shown to be flawed through critical evaluation (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012). This example illustrates the complex connection between arguments and representations and the need to study both. To sum up, this framework enables the in-depth analysis of arguments within texts. By viewing arguments in terms of their functional units, it is possible to structure the analysis of a text based on its *goal, circumstances, values, means-goal* and *claim for action*, analyzing how each one works individually and how the argument works as a monolithic unit. It should be noted here that this study incorporates the most basic version of Fairclough and Fairclough's model, as it is used to code a very large number (413) of speeches.

2.3. POLITICAL THEORY

This section discusses various ways of viewing the political along with the view that this study incorporates.

2.3.1. Defining the Political

In the *The Idea of the State* (2004), Peter Steinberger argues that there are two disparate ways to view and study politics, each focusing on a different aspect of what defines the political. In the first view, politics is mainly concerned with the subject matter of political *action* – the activities that are undertaken by governments, particularly policy decisions. In the second view, the subject matter of political inquiry is primarily *ideas* – specifically the idea of the state itself – both the concept behind it, its development in modern day society and the philosophy it exposes through political texts/speeches. The distinction between the two is vital; "This difference of subject matter gives rise, in turn, to two kinds of political theory – two different ways of thinking about the

political world, sharply distinct from one another both methodologically and substantively" (Steinberger 2004: 4).

These two approaches involve disparate research strategies (Steinberger 2004: 6). In the first case, reflecting the view that politics mainly concerns action, the political theorist studies the decision-making process within the political system, evaluating how decisions have been made, their outcomes and perhaps recommending alternative suggestions (Steinberger 2004: 5). In this view, the political world revolves around an "open-ended series of loosely connected exercises in practicality and judgement" (Steinberger 2004: 5). Additionally, in this view, politics involves applying moral value judgements to these decisions to determine what will benefit society. Political analysis is then a process in which the analyst studies "the decision-making process, evaluates its outcomes, and seeks to make a contribution" (Steinberger 2004: 6). The study of argumentation is particularly useful here as the process by which decisions are made is an area of concentration (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012).

In the second approach, reflecting the view that politics is mainly concerned with the implementation of ideas, the role of the political analyst is not to focus on political action but rather "on the nature of the state itself. Here the goal is to offer an analysis not of policy and government but of a concept, a philosophical theory rather than a prudential one. Such a theory – *a theory of the idea of the state* – seeks to contemplate the state as it actually is, rather than what it appears to be" (Steinberger 2004: 7). This is an ontological investigation aimed at uncovering and identifying the "conceptual foundations upon which much of our political thinking is based, foundations that reflect, in turn, emergent, influential and extremely powerful notions about the very nature of human thought and action" (Steinberger 2004: 7).

Steinberger's assessment of these two views accounts for a major debate within the field of political theory: in doing political analysis, which should be the focus of the analysis – actions or ideas? The research method in this thesis incorporates a close analysis of both within the study of big data but it is ultimately a concentration on the ideas upheld within political speeches which grounds the analysis. I base my reasons for this on the view of the state and the government that this thesis incorporates, which are discussed in the next section.

2.3.2. The State and the Government

This study investigates the language employed by Barack Obama during his two terms in office. In doing so it considers elite politicians such as Presidents as members of and representatives of the government but additionally, representatives of the state. Distinguishing the difference between the two is imperative as they are not the same entity and perform diverse roles. This section discusses the concept of the state, the government, how these entities differ and how both work in tandem to create the political world.

There are varying views on how to define the concept of the state. Some political theorists see the state as synonymous with the government; the two work as one entity, sharply distinguished from civil society. In contrast, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1911) defined the state as separate from the government and synonymous with civil society, in the tradition of the Greek city state. In this

view, the state and the citizens work as one to avoid and address problems in society, largely through the creation of laws; the government is only a piece of the whole (Steinberger 2004: 8-10). In *On the Constitution of the Church and State* (1976) Samuel Taylor Coleridge expands on this idea, writing that "the state not only 'is' an idea but actually 'exists' or functions as an idea, i.e., our idea of the state is the idea of an idea" (Steinberger 2004: 14). Steinberger (2004: 13) builds on these definitions when introducing a new conception of the state, influenced by Hegel and Coleridge, which sees the state as essentially a collection of ideas which work to create reality:

> The state is best understood as a *structure of intelligibility*... reducible, at one level, to a series of propositions. The propositions of which the state is composed are those that collectively embody the various judgments that the citizens of the state have made about how things really are. As such, they reflect a complex and comprehensive intellectual world – an immense world of concepts and beliefs... a world of concepts rendered suitable for practice… a structure of judgement about what is true and what is not… the idea of the state is precisely that the state *is* an idea or, perhaps more accurately, a composite of ideas.

In this view, the state acts as the "theoretical foundation" upon which the government acts and civil society is structured (Steinberger 2004: 21). Upheld by its major institutions, the state defines 'reality' for its citizens, largely determining the actions that these citizens take in their daily lives. The result is an ordered society with cohesion, in which the population functions in a structured manor. Steinberger argues against the idea of the role of the state as mainly concerned with political action, instead highlighting Émile Durkheim's assertion that the state's "essential function is to think" (Durkheim 1950: 63 in Steinberger 2004: 23) and "the State is above all an organ of reflection" (Durkheim 1950: 59 in Steinberger 1950: 23). In contrast to the role of the state, it is the government's role to execute *action,* putting into practice the ideas that the state reinforces; the role of politicians is then primarily to work in the service of the state apparatus. "The organs of the state – primarily the instruments of government, military as well as civil – are complex tools with which the state attempts to implement its judgements. These tools are integral parts of the state and yet, at the same time, secondary and derivative" (Steinberger 2004: 21). In this view, the government serves the state, creating policies which are ultimately determined by it.

It is furthermore the role of the state to connect the citizens to authority cognitively, creating *deontic power* or the ability to convince subjects to perform desire-independent actions, e.g. paying taxes (Searle 2010). Without this power, it becomes difficult to maintain the legitimacy of society's major institutions, which work in relation to the state, acting as the glue that holds society together. When this authority becomes significantly challenged, it may result in the population's belief in institutional facts corroding, leading into a dramatic decline in institutional power. In Durkheim's view, political society – or the political elite comprising the state – take on the vital role of connecting the state to the *collective intelligence:*

> The state depends upon the 'entire mental life… that is diffused throughout society', i.e., the collective intelligence. Its role is to interpret, articulate and explicate that intelligence in an authoritative manner, to 'work out certain representations'. Such representations constitute society's understanding of the general truth of things.

(Steinberger 2004: 23).

This view on the distinction between the state and the government must be emphasized in light of the subject matter of this thesis. Firstly, as discussed in Chapter 1, Deep State Theory plays a very significant role in this study. Within this theory the concept of the state is similar to that put forward by Steinberger, the main difference is that for Steinberger the state has a predominantly neutral connotation. Within Deep State Theory (see Chapter 1), this connotation is deeply negative as its members maintain power largely at the expense of the population and democracy. In both cases, it is the state that has the real power; it forms a huge complex with enormous influence over society. Secondly, parts of this thesis involve discussion of America's role as a uni-polar power or an Empire. One of the major factors within the creation and sustainment of Empire is the control and creation of ontology on both a domestic and global scale (see Chapter 4). Subsequently, Steinberger's view on the political is the most useful when applied to the subject matter of this study. Thirdly, America's role as super-power, largely re-conceptualized under Bush Sr., was effectively challenged in the 2016 Presidential debates by Donald Trump; the current, consequential re-negotiation of America's role in the world is highly important factor within the current paradigm shift. This is discussed in Chapter 8 in reference to Obama's failed policies. Overall, while Trump and opponent Hillary Clinton produced arguments during the debates, I argue that it was more importantly a war of ideas which largely revolved around the idea of what America is as a nation. This is in-line with Steinberger's view on the state as an apparatus that maintains its power through the implementation of ideas; therefore, fighting the power of the state involves challenging the ideas which define it. This is further discussed in the following sections.

2.3.3. The Ontological View on the Political & the Study of Language

Steinberger's view of the state is an ontological and metaphysical one (2004: 4). And while he clearly asserts that he is not claiming the total dominance of the mental over the physical (2004: 24), for him it is *ideas* that structure the political world because the state takes precedence over the government. The concept of ideas is strongly linked to that of *representation* as ideas are often not explicitly expressed through language but rather by political actors through the representations they uphold in discourse:

> The approach that I have sketched thus far resonates in various ways with the influential view that social life itself is primarily 'composed of representations', that such representations are social facts reflecting shared or common judgments of reality and of value, that institutions are best understood as representational patterns or structures, and that the state itself is a kind of *représentation collective*.

(Steinberger 2004: 22).

This *représentation collective* is defined largely in political speeches aimed at the public, in which agents reinforce and uphold representations as well as re-defining and contesting them.

The ramifications that this view has on the study of the state, the government and those political actors working within its structure are highly significant. Rather than analyzing the actions of politicians and formulating analyses of these decisions, there is instead an emphasis on describing the *reality* of what the state is and how the arguments politicians make that lead to action work to redefine and develop this concept; "… individual states essentially *are* attempts to implement the idea of the state" (Steinberger 2004: 28). In this view, the speeches of politicians become building blocks in the construction of reality; this element takes precedence over the specific actions they argue for. Since the ideas of the state underpin political action, ontological claims become "inscribed in the conceptual and linguistic infrastructure of society itself", determining the political actions that the population will accept (Steinberger 2004: 37). The state is consequently dependent on its people, who must remain convinced of its legitimacy and who form, along with it, a living "organism" (Ibid. 2004: 37). To control this organism, the political actors in the state's service must convince the people to accept the ideas which come to underpin political action.

This view of the state and the government's role within it have important implications for the study of language:

> … culture has bequeathed to us a rich universe of discourse composed of concepts and interpretations, premises and presuppositions, all of which determine, in large part, what we think and how we think it. To the extent that we are creatures of mind, this inheritance has made us who we are. As such, it establishes, admittedly, the conditions of our unfreedom; it determines what it is possible for us to think. But it explains, as well, the precise sense in which we are in fact quite free, for it defines not only the horizons but also, at the same time, the as-yet-unimagined possibilities of our intellectual life. It is, in effect, a prison-house of ideas without which, however, we could not even begin to think for ourselves.
>
> (Steinberger 2004: 33).

This "prison-house of ideas" is defined, upheld and reproduced through language, particularly within the speeches of elite politicians; this how the state communicates with the public. But the speeches of elite politicians are not simply lists of ideas or presuppositions or representations; they are *arguments*; this is the form of communication that they take. Consequently, not only the ideas but the structure of the arguments should be considered when undertaking the study of political discourse and the political as a whole.

What is the best way to incorporate the study of both ideas as well as political action, which is argued for in political speeches? Steinberger's idea of the state as a system of ideas links to the political concept of *paradigms*. As discussed in the next section, paradigms are essentially systems or groupings of ideas. They are the result of the state as a thinking entity; they are the creation of this entity and a product of it. And the concept of paradigms links ideas and action. This is because the ideas within a paradigm underlie the actions which politicians who serve that paradigm argue in favor of and support. *Policy paradigms* – which are systems of policy decisions based on the existing (idea) paradigm – reflect the ideas upon which they build. It is therefore possible to identify what paradigm a politician serves by examining the arguments they make in support of

action. This phenomenon is an extremely important area of inquiry because political power *grows over time*. Both policy trajectories and ideological (idea) trajectories gain permanence over decades rather than presidential term limits. A major mistake commonly made in analyzing politics is dividing time into spans that are determined by political actors, e.g. presidential terms. Presidents do not determine political power; the state determines political power through the implementation of ideas which form paradigms that manifest themselves in political action. Ideas take precedence over actions but also over political actors. The next section discusses paradigms, policy paradigms and paradigm shifts.

3.3.4. Paradigms, Policy Paradigms & Paradigm Shifts

This thesis deals heavily with the concept of *paradigms*. As discussed in the Introduction, the current paradigm shift is an organic, bottom-up process; it is occurring among the general population of the country and is then being reflected in the current state of instability within the government. The belief system of the population is diversifying as large segments of society experience the shift, separating from the old paradigm and those within it as it fails to legitimize itself. This is causing a severe rupture within society along political, cultural, ideological and geographical lines. This section discusses the political theory behind the concept of paradigms and how existing paradigms come to determine policy agenda trajectories which often evolve over the course of decades.

Defining the concept of *paradigms*

The term *paradigm* has traditionally been difficult to define as it contains a very broad range of elements. Although popularized by Thomas Kuhn, the term existed as far back as the work of Aristotle, appearing in *Rhetoric*. Aristotle used the Greek word *paradeigma* in explaining his theory on argumentation, giving it the meaning of an *exemplar* or "a very best and most instructive example" (Hacking 2012: xix). The term was broadly theorized on for the first time in the modern sciences by physicist and philosopher of science Thomas Kuhn in his groundbreaking book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962). It was later noticed that Kuhn used the word in at least 22 different ways throughout the book (Masterson 1970; Kuhn 2012: 181). Later clarifying its definition, Kuhn (2012: 176) distinguished two main defining characteristics. Firstly, paradigms represent a "constellation of beliefs and values" of a scientific group or community; the fusion that exists within these communities is largely created through the existence of shared goals. And secondly, a paradigm denotes "… one sort of element in that constellation, the concrete puzzle-solutions which, employed as models or examples, can replace explicit rules as a basis of the solution of the remaining puzzles of normal science" (Kuhn 1970: 275). As in the tradition of Aristotle, paradigms act as exemplars and the term is related to the idea of a *worldview* (Vasquez 1998).

Kuhn criticized the sciences for being problematic due to their tendency to support the existing status quo rather than aiming for truly novel discoveries; science "tends to discover what it expects to discover" (Hacking 2012: xxvi). When a novel discovery is made, "it comes not when something goes right but when something is awry, a novelty that runs counter to what was expected. In short,

what appears to be an anomaly" (Hacking 2012: xxvi). When anomalies begin to appear, this eventually leads into a period of crisis as the system of ideas that has been accepted and has come to define a scientific community starts to change, causing a great disruption:

> Normal science is characterized by a paradigm, which legitimizes puzzles and problems on which the community works. All is well until the methods legitimized by the paradigm cannot cope with a cluster of anomalies; crisis results and persists until a new achievement redirects research and serves as a new paradigm. This is a paradigm shift…
>
> (Hacking 2012: xxiii).

These shifts allow for science to evolve. They are deeply destabilizing for communities which then have to cope with the effects of this shift; "in the course of a revolution or a paradigm shift, the new ideas and assertions cannot be strictly compared to the old ones. Even if the same words are in use, their very meaning has changed" (Hacking 2012: xi). During these periods of crisis, scientific communities become split from one another as some shift into the new paradigm more quickly than others, leaving the community in disarray (Hacking 2012: xxv).

Kuhn's theory on paradigms and paradigm shifts within the philosophy of science was later applied to the social sciences. Political paradigms are quintessentially amalgamations of ideas that are upheld within political systems over long periods of time, achieving a sense of permanency which dictates policy agendas that may develop over decades. These ideas are important not only because they influence political action but because they work to define political reality for a country's population, creating the social and political world – a view similar to that of Steinberger's view on the state (Hay 2007: 214). Paradigms hold society together by producing common cognitive frameworks largely through the use of exemplars which are shared among the people. Their sense of permanency makes paradigms very difficult to *shift* or displace; "'paradigms' are by definition stable and self-reproducing and do not 'shift' readily"; they account for "enduring, diverse national paths" (Geddes & Guiraudon 2006: 334). And yet a highly significant aspect of paradigms is their relation to those trying to usurp them; "…no paradigm has ever been 'rejected' unless there is a competing paradigm ready to take its place" (Vasquez 1998: 29). They are therefore heavily related to political power struggles; "paradigms were not disproven but discarded on the basis of a struggle for power between adherents of competing paradigms" (Vasquez 1998: 28). As in Kuhn's work, paradigmatic shift involves dramatic change to the structure of the existing paradigm as the key ideas that have become normalized within a society begin to erode and be replaced.

When paradigm shifts begin to occur it is because the key ideas within them have begun to be successfully challenged. The result is a de-stabilizing effect on audiences as their political reality becomes unsustainable. For these reasons, Hay (2007: 214) argues that political analysis should consider paradigms as a major topic of study, calling on analysts to:

> consider the dominant paradigms and frames of reference through which actors come to understand the contexts in which they must act and, above all, the mechanisms and processes by which such paradigms emerge, become challenged and are ultimately replaced. Periods of perceived crisis – in which the disparities between previously

> unquestioned cognitive frameworks and the 'realities' they purport to represent are starkly revealed – here acquire a particular significance.

The next section discusses policy paradigms.

Policy paradigms

The control of political paradigms is a major goal of politics; this control allows for politicians to mold policy agendas that achieve a sense of permanency as they develop over significant periods of time. This process is imperative in the U.S. government system as presidencies last only one or two terms (four or eight years) which is usually not a long enough period of time to create radical change. For example, it would have been impossible to create the surveillance state that now exists in America in an eight-year span because the degree of change that this would have required would have been too extreme. Rather, the creation of the surveillance state became a part of a paradigm, which allowed for its creation, largely unquestioned within the two-party system. In this way, paradigms form the platforms upon which policy decisions are argued for and made; they link ideas to action:

> Policy paradigms can be seen as one feature of the overall terms of political discourse. They suggest that the policymaking process can be structured by a particular set of ideas, just as it can be structured by a set of institutions. The two often reinforce each other since the routines of policymaking are usually designed to reflect a particular set of ideas about what can and should be done in a sphere of policy.
>
> (Hall 1993: 290).

Hall uses the example of the ideas of John Maynard Keynes as becoming fully institutionalized within macroeconomic policymaking in the U.K.; Keynes' ideas came to fully define the political paradigm of the time, acting as the foundation upon which goals were set and policies argued for. "They specified what the economic world was like, how it was to be observed, which goals were attainable through policy, and what instruments should be used to attain them. They became the prism through which policymakers saw the economy as well as their own role within it" (Hall 1993: 279).

It is important to note that small policy shifts back and forth between political parties may result in changes but not to structural change to the existing system or (idea) paradigm. Shifts to the paradigm itself are vastly more difficult as they result in major power restructuring (Hay 2007: 215). The restructuring of political power largely involves political strategy which focuses on creating a foundation for changes to existing policy paradigms through the implementation of new ideas. Politicians such as Obama accomplish this largely through a process of argumentation in which they present new ideas aimed at challenging the existing paradigm. When successful, the outcome is not only an (idea) paradigm shift that influences policy trajectories but additionally, a redefinition of the state.

Paradigm Shifts

How do politicians succeed in shifting existing paradigms? The relationship between paradigm shifts/change and policymaking/political action is discussed by Hall (1993: 279), who distinguishes three different types of policy change. *First order change* and *second order change* effect policies but do not contest the existing paradigm. In contrast, *third order change*:

> is likely to reflect a very different process, marked by the radical changes in the overarching terms of policy discourse associated with a 'paradigm shift'. If first and second order changes preserve the broad continuities usually found in patterns of policy, third order change is often a more disjunctive process associated with periodic discontinuities in policy.
>
> (Hall 1993: 279).

Since third order change is essentially drastic, systematic change, it is difficult to implement and involves a process of highly developed political strategy aimed at challenging and replacing the existing paradigm. One of the major reasons this is so difficult is because the new paradigm must contest the existing one, which will have gained an enormous amount of power through permanency and because it is upheld by the institutions within a society (Hall 1993: 280). There is a wide range of factors that may contribute to an actor's success in achieving third order change. The most significant one to note for this study is inconsistency within the existing policy paradigm - the anomalies that lead to crises as described in Thomas Kuhn's work:

> Like scientific paradigms, a policy paradigm can be threatened by the appearance of anomalies... within the terms of the paradigm. As these accumulate, ad hoc attempts are generally made to stretch the terms of the paradigm to cover them, but this gradually undermines the intellectual coherence and precision of the original paradigm.
>
> (Hall 1993: 280).

These "anomalies" that begin to occur within paradigms become evident in governmental actions which conflict with the terms of the paradigm that the government is claiming to uphold. For example, under the George W. Bush presidency, the paradigm being reinforced dealt heavily with the idea that American aggression in the Middle East was heroic and force for good. As discussed in Chapter 1, when photos from Abu Ghraib were released the incident dramatically conflicted with one of the foundational concepts within the existing paradigm. This resulted in a degree of destabilization as the population dealt with a reality that conflicted with the one their politicians were narrating.

This section has defined the concept of the political that this thesis takes, along with the key concepts that it involves. The next section discusses the method by which ideology is largely analyzed within this study.

2.4. ANALYZING IDEOLOGY

Chapter 4 of this thesis examines how ideologies are incorporated within the establishment paradigm in diverse ways; discussion as to Obama's roll in using ideologies is examined within the Conclusion. This section outlines an approach to analyzing ideology developed by Norman Fairclough.

2.4.1. Norman Fairclough's CDA Approach

The argument reconstruction framework being used in this study is based in the work of Isabela Fairclough and Norman Fairclough, the latter of whom is one of the founders of CDA. This section discusses Fairclough's approach to the analysis of ideology.

A major area of analysis within CDA is the relationship between "big D" and "little d" discourses (Gee 2011). "Big D" discourses are seen as ways of representing the world from a certain point of view, "I use the term 'Discourse', with a capital 'D', for ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity" (Gee 2011: 29). "Little d" discourses are texts or language in use (Gee 2011). 'Big D' discourses are *material* in that they construct our interactions in the social world through how we communicate and represent our identities. They also construct how we think and mentally understand the social world around us, "Discourses, then, are social practices and mental entities, as well as material realities" (Gee 2011: 39). One of the goals of CDA is to connect the micro-analysis of texts to the macro-analysis of the practices, structures and institutions in which these texts are produced and which reproduce social relations.

Fairclough's approach to analyzing ideology is mainly influenced by the work of highly-influential political theorist Antonio Gramsci (1971) and the concept of hegemony, which plays a major role in upholding political power. Gramsci believed that political struggle and ultimately revolutions are fought out on the level of ideologies. A Marxist, he wrote that the ruling class comes to dominate society by instilling their belief systems within the population through the control of institutions and resources, thus gaining hegemony. Ideology is consequently a site of social conflict over the implementation of ideas and belief systems. Hegemony is a form of *praxis* in that within it, both material and ideological elements connect as tools of the ruling class to maintain power. While building on the work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Gramsci critiques key elements of their theory on ideology as false consciousness. Claiming that their view of materialism incorrectly assumes a distinction between material matter and ideas, he asserts that it is structures that change ideology rather than ideologies that change structures; ideology is not just a reflection of the material world (Hawkes 2003: 115). It is therefore the development of ideas that is important as class conflict takes place on a battlefield over ideas acting as material forces. "It is with Gramsci that the crucial transition is effected from ideology as 'systems of ideas' to ideology as lived, habitual social practice" (Eagleton 2007: 115).

It is important to distinguish that hegemony and ideology, though strongly connected, are not the same thing. Eagleton (2007: 112) points out that "hegemony is a broader category than ideology:

it *includes* ideology but is not reducible to it". Ruling classes may gain the consent of the masses through various means, one of which is ideology:

> Hegemony, then, is not just some successful kind of ideology, but may be discriminated into its various ideological, cultural, political and economic aspects. Ideology refers specifically to the way power-struggles are fought out at the level of signification; and though such signification is involved in all hegemonic processes, it is not in all cases the *dominant* level by which rule is sustained.
>
> (Eagleton 2007: 113).

For CDA, the study of hegemony focuses on how ideology acts as a tool used by the dominant elite class to maintain hegemonic domination over not only the economy and state institutions but also over culture (Fairclough 2014: 64-65). There is an emphasis on *common sense*, "ideologies are embedded in features of discourse which are taken for granted as matters of common sense" (Fairclough 2014: 101). Additionally, common sense assumptions work cohesively in social groups, upholding and supporting the *naturalization* of ideas. *Hegemonic struggle* involves producing discourse that fights to challenge naturalized concepts. When common sense ideas and ideological discourses become so naturalized that they appear ideologically neutral, they have become dominant and erase other ideas or discourses that could challenge them (Fairclough 2014: 113).

The relationship between hegemony and ideology is upheld in CDA; "ideologies are seen as one modality of power, a modality which constitutes and sustains relations of power through producing consent or at least acquiescence, power through hegemony rather than power through violence and force" (Fairclough 2013: 73). In CDA, ideology is therefore a tool used by those with power; it is subsumed within the power structure. The relationship between power and ideology is also vital to note here; the two are inextricably linked as ideology is used by the powerful to gain and maintain hegemonic dominance through language. Ideology is therefore "a relation between meaning (and therefore texts) and social relations of power and domination" (Fairclough 2010: 79).

CDA links hegemony to the study of discourse by examining how ideological signs or representations are upheld through language (Fairclough 2010: 79). Whether or not a discourse is ideological is revealed in the relationship between the representations within the discourse and their relationship to the power structure:

> We may call discourses 'ideological' where social analyses plausibly shows a relation between their meanings (ways of representing) and social relations of power... Moreover, if ideology is, first, a relation between texts (in meaning-making) and power, it is, second, a relation between orders of discourse and power, and even languages and power, because meanings achieve relative stability and durability in social practices and social structures.
>
> (Fairclough 2010: 79).

Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) new CDA approach focuses on examining how discourses which may be ideological become a part of arguments which result in concrete action. The representations that politicians base their arguments on – largely their construction of the social world in which they are acting – lay a foundation for the arguments that they make. "Such interpretation and explanations can be said to be ideological if they can be shown to be in a sense necessary – necessary to establish or keep in place particular relations of power" (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 101).

2.4.2. Distinguishing between paradigms, hegemony and ideologies

It is important to clarify the distinction between paradigms and hegemony as well as ideologies and discourses.

Paradigms vs. hegemony

The concept of paradigms and hegemony are very closely linked as paradigms, as systems of ideas, maintain a position of domination within society; they gain hegemonic dominance. As with hegemony, they come to define common sense within a society. Hegemonic struggle and paradigm shifts are also related concepts which involve struggle over key representations. However, in the Marxist tradition, hegemony is a top-down process by which those with power control groups with less power in society. In contrast, paradigms are unique in that they are not means of control but rather a consequence of a society's way of thinking; they do not contain the pejorative aspect of hegemony's definition. Paradigms and paradigm shifts may be partly engineered by the elite powerholders in society, as hegemony is, but they are not necessarily influenced and planned in this way.

The term *paradigm* is used in this thesis because the paradigm shift occurring in the U.S. is a bottom-up shift in which it is those *without* power - the non-elite - who are leading and defining the shift and the new paradigm. This is imperative to note because it is a unique situation in which power is being radically re-structured from the bottom up. The paradigm shift is in a period of transition in which those who have maintained political hegemony for decades are being radically challenged and the hegemonic map is being re-drawn. Hegemony has a highly negative connotation not only because it serves the elite but because it works to destroy critical thinking within a society through the naturalization of ideas; this destruction is engineered. In contrast, paradigm shifts are evolutions in ways of thinking; they move society into something new. It should, however, be noted that unlike in scientific paradigm shifts, this new place is not necessarily a better place (or worse place).

Paradigms vs. ideologies

The relationship between ideologies and paradigms is somewhat more complex. Ideologies are used to uphold paradigms but they do not necessarily *define* paradigms and are often employed

interchangeably for strategic purposes. For example, George W. Bush used a neo-conservative ideology to define his presidency; in contrast Obama employed a neoliberal ideology (see Chapter 8). The use of these two ideologies was permissible within the same paradigm because the foundational ideas and policies defining the paradigm did not change. In this situation, the shift between political parties and their defining ideologies was an extremely useful strategy in upholding the existing paradigm because it acted as a distraction from the consistent existence of the paradigm (see Chapter 8). The juxtaposition between Bush's neo-conservatism and Obama's neoliberalism worked to distract from Obama's continuation of Bush's *policy* paradigm (Hall 1993) in a similar way to how the Democrat and Republican parties act as a distraction from criticism of the system as a whole. Within the context of paradigms, ideologies should consequently be viewed as tools employed by actors or the state to accomplish political aims but not as necessarily obtaining a sense of permanency - this occurs when they become naturalized. Additionally, ideologies may be employed by actors outside of the existing paradigm to challenge and displace the existing one. Ideologies are distinct entities, as are the concepts of paradigms and hegemonic control - although all three consistently overlap.

2.5. CONCLUSION

This section has discussed functional framework analysis along with the major research approach used in this study – Fairclough and Fairclough's argumentation-based version of CDA. The political theory in which this study is based was also outlined, along with relevant theory on ideology. The next chapter outlines the data, methodology and tools used in this study.

CHAPTER 3:

DATA, METHODOLOGY & TOOLS

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3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the two analytical tools being used in this project: quantitative-based corpus analysis and the qualitative-based text analysis program NVivo. One of the broad aims of this study is to examine how political discourse works over significant periods of time to sustain political paradigms. In order to examine Obama's speeches over the course of eight years, corpus linguistics was identified as the best tool by which to undertake a full quantitative study of the language Obama employs while President, in order to identify how he both adheres to and deviates from the Presidential norm since the Weekly Addresses began in 1982. In a study titled *The Wall Street Argument: A Corpus-based Discourse Analysis of President Obama's Narrative of Blame for the Financial Crisis, 2009 – 2012* (Wyman 2012; see Chapter 4) the method of combining argument reconstruction-based CDA (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012) with an initial corpus study was piloted. The combination of these two approaches was found to be advantageous for three reasons. Firstly, the data from the initial corpus study was used to select which Obama speech was to be analyzed in the following CDA, providing a clear justification for the selection of this speech. This helped to address a major criticism of CDA involving the degree to which researcher bias influences which texts are chosen for analysis (Widdowson 1995: 165). Secondly, it was

possible to prove with corpus data that the main argument in the speech I was analyzing in the CDA was representative of language patterns - both qualitative functional argument unit patterns and quantitative lexical patterns - that occurred across the three-year Obama corpus. Thirdly, the data from the initial corpus study was used to support the points that were made in the following CDA. Because of the results from this pilot study along with the further advantages to using corpus linguistics, argument reconstruction-based CDA and corpus linguistics are again combined in this study, along with NVivo coding, with the use of the latter additionally allowing for the in-depth analysis of the argumentation in Obama's speeches.

This study uses a 5-step mixed-methods research approach outlined in section 3.3; corpus linguistics and the software tool NVivo are used in the first 3 steps. In Step 1, a full corpus analysis of Obama's 413 Weekly Addresses is carried out to identify the major lexical and semantic patterns in the corpus. The Obama corpus is compared to a reference corpus of the combined speeches of Presidents Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton and George Bush. This step involves examining the key semantic domains within this corpus along with the frequency and keyword lists and selected concordances and collocates. In Step 2, NVivo is used to qualitatively code each of the 413 Addresses, using the functional argument units from Fairclough and Fairclough (2012); these codes are then used to construct 5 distinct corpora. These corpora are then analyzed using corpus methods and compared to the American English 2006 corpus. In Step 3, the coded NVivo data is used to compare how Obama's arguments on each topic develop over time; for example, within the topic of health care reform the *circumstances* functional units are compared to one another across eight years to identify inconsistencies in Obama's arguments, allowing for certain topics to become flagged for further analysis using argument reconstruction in Step 4. Section 3.2. of this chapter firstly discusses corpus linguistics: the corpus analysis program Wmatrix (3.2.2.) and the corpus techniques used in this study (3.2.3.). Section 3.3 details the research design and methodology used in this study. Section 3.4. discusses the key advantages of NVivo along with how the program works (3.4.2).

3.2. CORPUS LINGUISTICS

3.2.1. Overview

During the last few decades, corpus linguistics has become a major research method within the field of linguistics; "corpus-linguistic methods have established themselves as among the most powerful and versatile tools to study language acquisition, processing, variation, and change" (Gries & Newman 2013: 257). A surge in interest in corpus linguistics has occurred for many reasons. Firstly, technology now allows for the development of a wide range of tools capable of carrying out a broad range of functions as well as creating visuals expressing complex data. Secondly, methodological and theoretical progress has occurred, leading to new software, computer science innovations and statistical methods. Thirdly, there is clearly "a growing desire for (more) objective, quantifiable, and replicable findings as an alternative to, or at least as an addition to, intuitive acceptability judgements" (Gries & Newman 2013: 257). Particularly in the current era of political instability in America, where the mainstream and alternative medias are sharply diverging, there is a clear need for studies which incorporate objective research methods

based on big data analysis rather than subjective interpretation. As Louw (1996: 171) writes, "Interest in CL has grown because everyone is interested in *truth*".

Corpus linguistics is the study of language using authentic texts compiled together to form a *corpus* or *corpora* (Baker, Hardy & McEnery 2006: 48). The underpinning focal point is on language patterns, "which can enable us to make sense of the ways that language is used in the construction of *discourses* (or ways of constructing reality)" (Baker 2006: 1). Corpus-based research incorporates both qualitative and quantitative analysis (Biber 1988: 4). Quantitative analysis forms the base of corpus analysis as statistics are used to analyze the data produced by corpus analysis software such as *WordSmith Tools* (Scott 2012), *Antconc* (Anthony 2011) and *Wmatrix* (Rayson 2009). Qualitative techniques become involved when carrying out certain aspects of the analysis such as studying concordance lines or analyzing how statistical results may be used to support theories which are developed through the qualitative analysis of the texts. Corpus tools are used to annotate the collections of texts that form the corpora being researched; these annotations aid in making the analysis of large amounts of text much easier. For example, the part-of-speech CLAWS tagging function in Wmatrix (Rayson 2009) gives the researcher the ability to automatically produce lists of verbs, adjectives, articles, etc. from the text being studied.

Corpora are samples of language; therefore, they must be representative of language use as well as built with authentic texts (Stubbs 1996: 4). When compiling a corpus or deciding which existing corpus to utilize in research there are certain key factors to consider. The first is size. It is essential to make sure that the data being produced in the corpus analysis is representative (Sinclair 2004: 4). For example, while it would be possible to construct a corpus of a sample of Obama's Weekly Addresses across his eight years in office, it is much more useful to include all his speeches in this corpus, thereby providing a much more thorough representation of his language use. As this study includes all of Obama's Weekly Addresses, the issue of representation based on size is clearly addressed within this methodology. Small corpora can be useful in some circumstances, when studying a certain type of grammar use for example, but in general large amounts of texts produce better representations of language use. A second vital factor to consider is the *genre* of the texts within a corpus (McEnery & Hardie 2012: 7). Corpus linguistics is largely based on comparing corpora. Therefore, when selecting a reference corpus to compare to the corpus being studied, it is important to select a corpus containing the same genre of texts. For example, a corpus of past Presidential Weekly Addresses is a far better option to compare Obama's speeches with than a selection of academic texts would be. The key is to design both the corpus being studied as well as the reference corpus for the specific research project at hand.

There are many advantages to using corpus tools to study language, either as a sole research technique or in combination with other research methods. The most obvious advantage to using computers to analyze text is the speed in which data is produced, along with the accuracy. The use of computers also produces statistical data that is factual and can be used to support other types of qualitative research, such as CDA (Baker 2006). The use of computers also helps to address the issue of researcher bias, as computer data is not influenced by it (McEnery, Xiao & Tono 2006: 6). Corpus linguistics also makes it possible to investigate what aspects of language are typical or widely used. Language heavily influences culture; therefore, by identifying the patterns in corpora it is possible to investigate how language shapes discourse communities (Baker 2006: 13).

Rayson (2008: 520) distinguishes three main types of research questions that can be investigated with corpus methods. In the first type, described as *microscopic* (in Biber 1988), a specific language feature such as a word, phrase or grammatical construction is studied. In the second type, described as *macroscopic*, an entire corpus is examined to identify the characteristics that the language within it has and how the texts are characterized by certain features. In the third type, *the data-driven approach*, the first two types of questions are combined "by focusing on whole texts and then suggesting specific linguistic features to study in further detail" (Rayson 2008: 521). This thesis is primarily a data-driven study, which incorporates a wide range of corpus tools which are discussed in the following sections.

3.2.2. Wmatrix

Wmatrix[41] (Rayson 2009) is a corpus analysis and comparison tool which uses the USAS and CLAWS corpus annotation tools to tag texts along with utilizing standard corpus tools (see section 2.2.3.).

Wmatrix was selected for use in this study for the following reasons:

1. It is an internet-based program; uploading and storing separate corpora is a fast and efficient process.

2. The American English 2006 corpus is available as a reference corpus. This corpus was selected as an additional reference corpus for the 5 functional units corpora in Chapter 5 as it contains language data from the American population, making it reflective of Obama's language (Baker 2006: 43).

3. Wmatrix uses the USAS tag feature to automatically semantically tag texts, allowing for key semantic domain analysis. This feature was used in the pilot study for this project and proved to be useful as it provided important insight into how the Obama corpus was distinctive from the reference corpus. Additionally, it is possible to search within specific domains. For example, the *damaging/destroying* domain was examined to identify who Obama spoke about highly negatively.

The next section discusses the five main corpus tools being used in this study.

3.2.3. Tools for Analysis

Since corpus linguistics is a growing field, tools are continuously being developed which allow for new ways to analyze language using computer analysis and corpora of texts. The main tools

[41] Rayson, P. (2009) 'Wmatrix: A web-based corpus processing environment'. Computing Department, Lancaster University. Available: http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/wmatrix/

being used in this study are outlined below along with screenshots to illustrate how they produce and present data to researchers. The examples below are from the corpus analysis software program Wmatrix, version 3 (Rayson 2008; 2009); the collocation analysis program *Graph Coll* (Brezina, McEnery & Wattam 2015) is briefly discussed as well.

3.2.3.1. Frequency Lists

Corpus studies often begin with frequency lists. Frequency is an important aspect of analysis not only because it shows how often a word is used but also because it shows what words the speaker or writer *chose* to use. For example, Obama consistently refers to *ordinary* Americans, meaning those who work outside of government institutions and/or are not the economic elite. He could interchangeably use the more common term *average Americans* or a term like *general population*. His choice of the term *ordinary*, which can have a negative connotation, is an important detail to notice – especially if he uses this term highly frequently. It is also imperative to note the *dispersion* of frequent terms or how they are used over time.

Figure 3.1. shows a frequency list from a corpus of President Obama's Weekly Addresses from 2009 - 2012. Wmatrix (Rayson 2009) has organized Obama's top twenty most commonly used words into a **raw frequency list** showing how many times Obama used each word across the corpus as well as a **relative frequency list** showing how much of the corpus is comprised of each term. For example, the most commonly used word is *the*; it is used 5,871 times and makes up 4.42% of the corpus.

WORD	FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY
the	5871	4.42
and	5252	3.95
to	4621	3.48
of	3118	2.35
that	2638	1.99
a	2622	1.97
we	2419	1.82
in	2148	1.62
our	1876	1.41
for	1535	1.16
this	1462	1.10
is	1230	0.93
i	1038	0.78
are	1023	0.77
will	996	0.75
it	914	0.69
have	858	0.65
on	817	0.61
their	779	0.59
they	725	0.55
more	694	0.52
but	689	0.52
can	673	0.51
with	642	0.48
as	633	0.48
do	619	0.47
who	581	0.44
be	572	0.43
you	571	0.43
jobs	536	0.40
by	510	0.38
thats	499	0.38
from	487	0.37
not	485	0.36
what	461	0.35
or	450	0.34
economy	435	0.33
its	435	0.33
all	431	0.32

Figure 3.1: *Obama 2009-2012 Corpus Frequency List*

Figure 3.1. shows results that would be similar to those found in any English language corpus since these words are so commonly used due to the grammatical structure of the language. However it is important to additionally note that the inclusion of *jobs* and *economy* in this list illustrates that it still displays the most significant words within the corpus. In order to produce more useful data, it would be very easy to simply omit all of the non-lexical words, leaving nouns, verbs, adjectives and lexical adverbs (Baker 2006: 54). Figure 3.2. shows a list of the top 25 lexical words, which present a much clearer picture of the topics the President has discussed the most often; it offers more insight into the major themes of Obama's narrative.

WORD	FREQUENCY	RELATIVE FREQUENCY
jobs	536	0.40
economy	435	0.33
american	426	0.32
people	423	0.32
americans	415	0.31
new	404	0.30
America	356	0.27
country	351	0.26
need	347	0.26
congress	331	0.25
work	313	0.24
families	303	0.23
get	291	0.22
now	286	0.22
businesses	286	0.22
help	285	0.21
tax	272	0.20
like	238	0.18
make	237	0.18
time	232	0.17
know	228	0.17
reform	221	0.17
future	205	0.15
small	195	0.15
well	193	0.15

Figure 3.2: *Obama 2009-2012 Corpus Frequency List, Lexical Words*

This study utilizes a frequency list in Step 1 (Chapter 5) of the research design to look at the major themes in Obama's corpus as well as how they are discussed and connected (part of this will involve looking at the concordance lines for the frequent terms). This step also provides insight as to what Obama's main arguments are, which is useful knowledge to have prior to beginning the NVivo coding in Step 2. Additionally, frequency lists are used in Step 2 in the analysis of the 5 separate functional unit corpora excerpts.

Frequency lists show how often words appear in texts but they do not show how the words are used. Concordances are a useful way to look at words closely on an individual basis to examine them in context (Baker 2006: 71).

3.2.3.2. Concordances

In order to look at how a word is used in a text, a concordance of the word being examined or the *node* can be produced. The concordance shows each instance of the node in context. Wmatrix allows for concordance lines to be expanded; this makes it possible to view both selected words and concordance lines within the full text (Rayson 2009). This allows the researcher to closely qualitatively examine how words are used in sentences (Baker 2006: 89). Figure 2.3. shows an example from the 2009 – 2017 Obama corpus of the first 20 lines of a concordance for the node *Wall Street* expanded to 80 characters:

89 occurrences.			Ext
tioned for taxpayer assistance ,	Wall Street	firms shamefully paid out nearly	1
rom Main Street to Washington to	Wall Street	. Soon my Treasury Secretary , Ti	2
s unsustainable . For years , as	Wall Street	used accounting tricks to conceal	3
irresponsibility took hold from	Wall Street	to Washington to Main Street , an	4
this crisis may have started on	Wall Street	, but its impacts have been felt	5
to the way business is done , on	Wall Street	and in Washington . We will do wh	6
were not just decisions made on	Wall Street	, but also unsustainable mortgage	7
surprisingly , lobbyists for big	Wall Street	banks are hard at work trying to	8
large financial institutions on	Wall Street	that gambled on risky loans and c	9
ad clearer rules of the road for	Wall Street	and actually enforced them . We c	10
ility and accountability to both	Wall Street	and Washington . And that 's how	11
ks and financial institutions on	Wall Street	. These financial firms took huge	12
ieve when there are reports that	Wall Street	is going to hand out more money i	13
people . We 're not going to let	Wall Street	take the money and run . We 're g	14
he TARP fund originally used for	Wall Street	and create a new small-business l	15
cts not the special interests of	Wall Street	, but the best interests of the A	16
risis could have been avoided if	Wall Street	firms were more accountable , if	17
failure of responsibility--from	Wall Street	to Washington--are all around us	18
ighting so hard to pass a set of	Wall Street	reforms and consumer protections	19
l . Finally , these reforms hold	Wall Street	accountable by giving shareholder	20

Figure 3.3: *'Wall Street' concordance, first 20 lines, Obama 2009-2017 corpus*

As shown in this figure, concordances make it possible to see not just how an agent uses a specific lexical item but the discourse patterns that develop in this use as well. For example, in just the first twenty instances of Obama's use of the term *Wall Street*, it is clear that a pattern of blaming Wall Street for the economic crisis is shown. Additionally, the researcher may want to examine how the term *Wall Street* has been used in the Obama corpus compared to how it has been used in other corpora.

The study of concordance lines is an important part of the research design for this project. The concordance lines for the relevant words from the frequency list and keyword lists are examined in Steps 1, 2, and 3, to identify how they are used, sentence and functional unit corpora excerpt patterns. Keyword lists, which allow for more in-depth comparisons, are discussed in the next section.

3.2.3.3. Keyword Lists

Keyword lists are produced by comparing frequency wordlists from separate corpora. Comparing the frequencies in one corpus to the frequencies in another produces data showing which words occur more often statistically in the first corpus versus the second. These statistically significant terms are then used to compile a keyword list. "A keyword list therefore gives a measure of *saliency*, whereas a simple word list only provides *frequency*" (Baker 2006: 125). It shows only lexical difference between corpora, not semantic difference (Baker 2004).

To create a keyword list, Wmatrix takes into account the size of the corpora and the frequencies of each word in these corpora and then carries out a log-likelihood test on each word:

	Corpus 1	Corpus 2	Total
Frequency of a word	a	b	a + b
Frequency of other words	c - a	d - b	c + d – a - b
TOTAL	c	d	c + d

Table 3.1: *Contingency table for log-likelihood calculation* (Rayson 2008: 527*)*

This results in the assignment of a *p* (probability) value to each word between 0 and 1. For example, if the *p* value of *ordinary* in Obama's corpus is 0.01, this data suggests that Obama consciously chose to use the word often (Baker 2006: 125). The log likelihood number for each word is then used to create the keyword list, with the word with the highest log likelihood listed first. The word at the beginning of the list has the greatest relative frequency difference between corpus 1 and corpus 2 (Rayson 2008). It is important to note that corpus analysis programs such as Wmatrix carry out these calculations automatically.

Figure 3.4. shows a keyword list of Obama's corpus compared to a reference corpus from the speeches of former Presidents Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton and George W. Bush. Column 01 shows the observed frequency in the Obama corpus while column 02 shows the observed frequency in the Bush corpus. The %1 and %2 columns show the relative frequency in both. The + stands for overuse in 02; - shows underuse in 01 compared to 02. The last two columns show the log-likelihood (LL) and log ratio, which determine how key each word is. Words closest to the top are the most significant.

ITEM	01	%1	02	%2	LL
everybody	327	0.13	35	0.00 +	760.33
folks	258	0.10	16	0.00 +	653.50
that	5305	2.10	12064	1.40 +	581.88
weekend	194	0.08	0	0.00 +	576.92
hi	192	0.08	0	0.00 +	570.97
businesses	471	0.19	454	0.05 +	351.35
middle_class	285	0.11	160	0.02 +	348.23
jobs	914	0.36	1406	0.16 +	327.63
what	916	0.36	1501	0.17 +	285.68
right_now	184	0.07	82	0.01 +	260.59
crisis	211	0.08	137	0.02 +	231.12
kids	168	0.07	85	0.01 +	220.17
veterans	182	0.07	116	0.01 +	202.31
republicans	250	0.10	234	0.03 +	192.95
why	469	0.19	679	0.08 +	189.90
isil	62	0.02	0	0.00 +	184.38
get	557	0.22	890	0.10 +	183.94
Wall_Street	89	0.04	17	0.00 +	180.04
economy	774	0.31	1425	0.17 +	179.29
we	5361	2.13	14785	1.71 +	177.53

Figure 3.4: *Key wordlist for Obama 2009-2012 corpus compared to reference corpus*

This table shows various differences in lexical use when comparing the two corpora. Firstly, it shows that Obama tends to use certain terms such as *everybody* and *folks* more than the Presidential norm. This would be expected as the vernacular of each of the Presidents would be assumed to vary. It additionally suggests that Obama may focus on more colloquial rhetoric (along with *hi* and *kids*) than his predecessors; this could be an important point for further investigation within some studies. The data also shows what topics Obama mentions in his Weekly Addresses with the highest degrees of keyness in comparison to the norm: *businesses* (3,784.0 vs. 505.2), *the middle class* (2,289.5 vs. 178.0), *jobs* (7,342.5 vs. 1,564.5), *crisis* (1,695.0 vs. 152.4), *kids* (1,350 vs. 94.6), *veterans* (1,462.0 vs. 129.1), *Republicans* (2,008.3 vs. 260.4), *Isil* (498.0 vs. 0), *Wall Street* (715.0 vs. 19.0) and the *economy* (6,217.8 vs. 1425). The next step in this corpus study would likely be examining the concordances for these terms in both corpora to see exactly how they are used. Figure 3.4. also displays an additional useful feature of Wmatrix; the program identifies multi-word units. For example, *middle class* and *Wall Street* are listed rather than being divided into separate words. This can be an extremely useful feature when analyzing phrases, proper nouns, etc.

Keyword lists are used in this study in Step 1 to compare how the key terms in Obama's corpus differ from those of Reagan, Clinton and George W. Bush. Obama's corpus is also compared to a reference corpus of this combined Weekly Addresses of Reagan, Clinton and Bush, showing how Obama's corpus is distinct. Additionally, keyword lists are used in Step 2 to examine what words are most important in each functional unit corpus excerpt and to see which concordances should be further investigated.

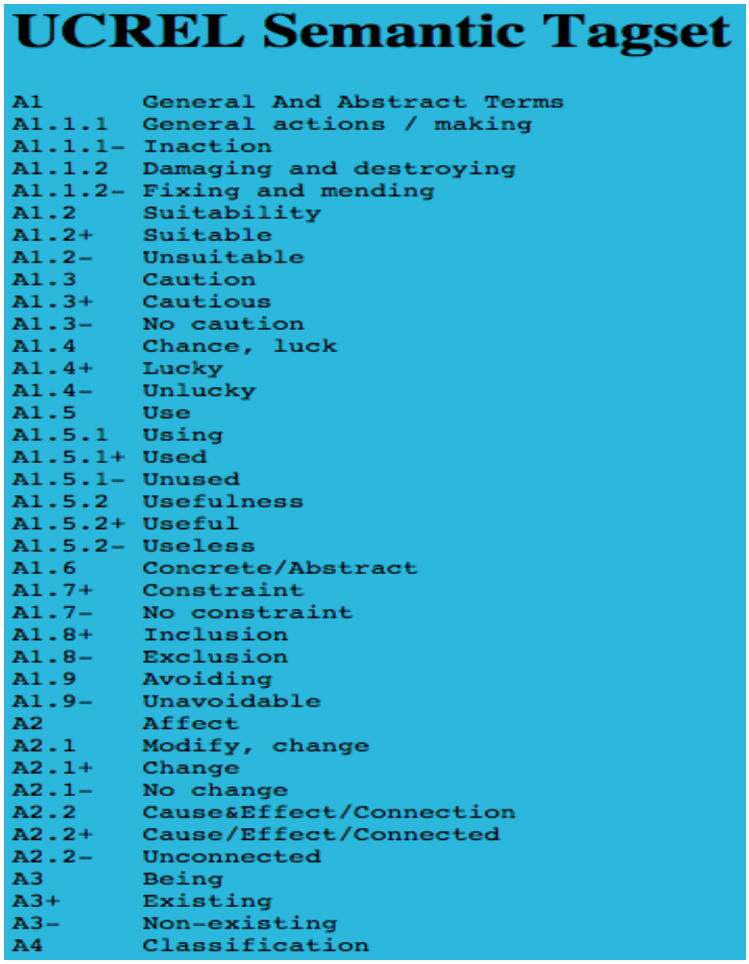
Wmatrix also allows for the creation of word clouds to display keywords. Figure 3.5. shows a word cloud that corresponds to the keyword list in Figure 3.4. The largest terms are the most significant.

Figure 3.5: *Obama keyword list word cloud compared to reference corpus*

Another way to closely examine the relationship that words have with each other is through the use of semantic domain analysis.

3.2.3.4. Semantic domain analysis

Wmatrix uses a tool called the USAS (*UCREL Semantic Annotation System*) tagger to assign semantic domains to lexical items in a corpus. USAS is a tool that carries out automatic semantic tagging of texts. Since Wmatrix allows users to upload their own corpora, it takes only minutes to have an entire corpus of one's own creation tagged. Figure 3.6. shows an example of the first forty semantic domains:



UCREL Semantic Tagset

A1	General And Abstract Terms
A1.1.1	General actions / making
A1.1.1-	Inaction
A1.1.2	Damaging and destroying
A1.1.2-	Fixing and mending
A1.2	Suitability
A1.2+	Suitable
A1.2-	Unsuitable
A1.3	Caution
A1.3+	Cautious
A1.3-	No caution
A1.4	Chance, luck
A1.4+	Lucky
A1.4-	Unlucky
A1.5	Use
A1.5.1	Using
A1.5.1+	Used
A1.5.1-	Unused
A1.5.2	Usefulness
A1.5.2+	Useful
A1.5.2-	Useless
A1.6	Concrete/Abstract
A1.7+	Constraint
A1.7-	No constraint
A1.8+	Inclusion
A1.8-	Exclusion
A1.9	Avoiding
A1.9-	Unavoidable
A2	Affect
A2.1	Modify, change
A2.1+	Change
A2.1-	No change
A2.2	Cause&Effect/Connection
A2.2+	Cause/Effect/Connected
A2.2-	Unconnected
A3	Being
A3+	Existing
A3-	Non-existing
A4	Classification

Figure 3.6: *Extract from Wmatrix semantic tagset list*

The USAS tagger categorizes words and phrases in the corpus into semantic domains; this data is highly useful when examining not only the topics an agent discusses regularly but how the semantic domains within their discourse compare. For example, the 2009-2012 Obama corpus can

be compared to corpora from the Weekly Addresses of Reagan, Clinton or Bush individually or it can be compared to a reference corpus made up of all of the Reagan/Clinton/Bush Weekly Addresses. Figure 3.7. shows a key domain cloud comparing the Obama corpus to this Reagan/Clinton/Bush reference corpus:

Figure 3.7: *Semantic domains, Obama 2009-2012 corpus vs. Reagan/Clinton/Bush reference corpus*

This data illustrates which topic areas are more significant to the Obama corpus than the reference corpus. By clicking on a word or phrase, Wmatrix displays a concordance of the words or terms that fall within this selected domain. Additionally, it is possible to select from a list of domains in the Obama corpus to see how the President discusses certain topics. For example, to see who or what Obama categorizes as being *selfish*, this domain (*S1.2.3+*) can be examined as shown in Figure 3.8:

16 occurrences.			Extend context
ill not excuse or tolerate such	arrogance	and greed . The road to recovery	1 More | Full
that we can avoid the political	posturing	and ideological brinksmanship th	2 More | Full
the new law early and stop the	perverse	practice of dropping people 's c	3 More | Full
a say on pay to help change the	perverse	incentives that encouraged reckl	4 More | Full
years . But thanks to political	posturing	in Washington , they have n't be	5 More | Full
hite House . These are CEOs who	take pride in	hiring people here in America ,	6 More | Full
deal of bickering and political	posturing	that put the strength of our eco	7 More | Full
ow suit : to put aside partisan	posturing	, end the gridlock , and do what	8 More | Full
ow suit : to put aside partisan	posturing	, end the gridlock , and do what	9 More | Full
s delays , and all the partisan	posturing	and let 's just do the right thi	10 More | Full
e of distractions and political	posturing	and phony scandals shift focus f	11 More | Full
an endless parade of political	posturing	and phony scandals to distract f	12 More | Full
around the world'97and against	bigotry	and hatred in all their forms so	13 More | Full
slam , all of us have to reject	bigotry	, in all of its forms . I 'll sa	14 More | Full
he Virgin Islands. 'a0 Our team	boasts	the most women who have ever com	15 More | Full
and baggage handlers'97all who	take pride in	getting us to our destinations s	16 More | Full

Figure 3.8: *Obama 2009 - 2017 corpus concordance for semantic domain 'selfish'*

This data shows that Obama addresses *partisan posturing* eight times (an expansion of these concordance lines shows that he means within the U.S. government). Lines 1 and 4 refer to the arrogance and greed of Wall Street. Line 3 refers to bad practice within the insurance industry. Lines 13 and 14 discourage bigotry; line 14 specifically discourages bigotry against Muslims. This small concordance example shows how useful semantic domain analysis can be when investigating a corpus.

Semantic domain analysis is used in Step 1 of this study to look at selected domains appearing in Obama's corpus. For example, in the pilot study for this thesis (Wyman 2012), I began by investigating how Obama represents the economic crisis by examining domains for negative adjectives and adverbs. Eventually I discerned that the domains *Violent/Angry* and *Damaging/Destroying* showed that Obama depicted the *broken health care system, Wall Street, the financial industry, mortgage lenders, special interest groups, Gadhafi* and *the BP oil spill* negatively. By examining the concordances for each of these terms it was then found that *Wall Street* alone was represented as directly responsible for causing the financial crisis, rather than simply contributing to and worsening it as *the broken health care system, the financial industry, mortgage lenders* and *special interest groups* were. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, this representation of Wall Street as being independently to blame for the crisis supported Obama's argument for how to respond to the crisis by implementing Wall Street reform. Semantic domain analysis is a useful tool in this study for examining how various representations consistently appear across Obama's corpus in semantic patterns and how they come to influence arguments.

Semantic preference - the concept on which the development of semantic tagging is based - has to do with how a lemma or word form is related to a set of words that are semantically related. Stubbs (2001: 65) uses the example of the item *large* being related to and co-occurring with *number, scale, part, amounts* and *quantities.* Additionally, a word has semantic preference in relation to another when it shares a semantic feature (Stubbs 2001: 65). For example, a group of words all having to do with the U.S. government: *Congress, democratic, president,* etc. As Baker (2006: 87) points out, semantic preference is closely related to collocation because semantic preference is derived from the collocations of a lexical item but instead of focusing on a word or a related set of grammatical words as collocation does, it focuses on a set of semantic categories. In comparison, the related concept of *semantic prosody* expresses the writer's approval or disapproval of the subject under discussion, indicating the evaluation and the attitude of the writer (Sinclair 1996: 87). Hunston and Thompson (2000: 5) define *semantic prosody* as "the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about"; overall, the indication that this view is positive or negative. Partington (2004: 150) defines the term as "a phenomenon whereby a particular lexical item x collocates frequently, not with another item y, but with a series of items which belong to a semantic set", adding that it is as if words "*prefer* the company of words of that particular field". Partington (2004: 131) notes that semantic prosody expresses "evaluative meaning but spread over a unit of language which potentially goes well beyond the single orthographic word and is much less evident to the naked eye"; the focus is on the pragmatic meaning of the lexical item. To illustrate this, Partington uses the example of the word *undergo*, which has multiple semantic preferences. It collocates with other items from the lexical fields of *medicine, change, testing* and *involuntariness*. These fields build a negative prosody for the term as it is used to describe negative experiences such as *undergo an exam* or *undergo surgery*. Partington (2004: 151) notes that semantic preference is a "narrower" construct; it relates the lexical item to another item in a semantic set while semantic prosody can "affect wider stretches of text". Additionally, preference contributes to building prosody, whereas prosody "dictates he general environment which constrains the preferential choice of the node item" (Ibid.). Collocation is discussed in the next section.

3.2.3.5. Collocation Analysis

Collocation is a "co-occurrence pattern that exists between two items that frequently occur *in proximity* to one another... in this sense [collocation] may be considered a methodological elaboration on the concordance" (McEnery & Hardie 2012: 122). Two words that appear together in a regular, statistically significant way are called *collocates* while the process of words occurring together regularly is termed *collocation* (Baker 2006: 96). The word being searched for in the corpus is referred to as the *node*; the combination of the node and collocates forms an *n-gram* (McEnery & Hardie 2012: 123). Collocates are produced based on both co-occurrence in a text or corpus as well as additional calculations which are based on frequency data from the corpus. Whether two words collocate is based on the length of the text in which they occur, the amount of times they are found in the text and the number of times they occur with each other (Sinclair 2004b: 28). Figure 3.9. shows collocates within the Obama 2009 – 2017 corpus:

	LL	t-score	collocation	
1	1599.45	12.50	health	care
2	1529.62	11.54	middle	class
3	1127.61	8.82	United	States
4	1121.26	9.20	men	women
5	978.40	9.35	clean	energy
6	955.14	8.05	Wall	Street
7	812.25	9.61	create	jobs
8	791.61	9.47	small	businesses
9	738.35	10.47	American	people
10	718.60	9.29	health	insurance
11	712.61	9.24	right	now
12	635.02	8.14	tax	cuts
13	623.56	7.13	business	owners
14	619.73	7.26	Democrats	Republicans
15	603.78	8.08	small	business
16	594.63	7.26	great	weekend
17	559.12	8.12	across	country
18	545.82	6.55	special	interests
19	464.40	5.56	private	sector
20	458.45	7.84	health	reform
21	448.64	6.61	In	fact
22	432.23	6.30	tax	breaks
23	428.88	5.29	Recovery	Act
24	423.63	4.90	status	quo
25	418.53	7.02	come	together
26	404.85	5.29	White	House
27	404.76	6.53	around	world
28	402.50	7.20	insurance	companies
29	396.34	5.98	Right	now
30	386.25	7.28	I	believe

Figure 3.9: *Obama 2009 - 2012 corpus top 30 collocations*

While Wmatrix has a tool for basic collocation analysis (shown above), a new tool called *GraphColl* (Brezina, McEnery & Wattam 2015) allows for more in-depth analysis of collocation networks. GraphColl allows users to upload corpora and search for terms; it then displays the collocates for these terms. This is useful as Wmatrix does not perform this function. Collocation analysis is a minor component within this study; consequently the visuals GraphColl provides are not included. Additionally, it should be noted that the collocations within this study are sorted by log likelihood rather than t-score, which would have been a better measurement to sort by; this is discussed in the 'limitations' section in 3.3.1. This project uses collocate analysis in Chapter 5 in

order to further examine words with high occurrences within the frequency and keyword lists within the Obama corpus in order to show how these words are commonly used.

Section 3.2.4. discusses the corpora used in this study.

3.2.4. Corpora used in this Study

The data for this project involve 12 corpora, 11 of which I compiled myself and uploaded onto Wmatrix. The American English 2006 corpus is used in Chapter 6 as a reference corpus. All of the speeches were available from the American Presidency Project website. The following is an overview of the corpora within the chapters they are used:

Chapter 5:

1. Obama's Weekly Addresses from 2009 - 2017.
2. Ronald Reagan's Weekly Addresses from 1982 - 1989.
3. Bill Clinton's Weekly Addresses from 1993 - 2001.
4. George W. Bush's Weekly Addresses from 2001 - 2009.
5. A reference corpus of the Weekly Addresses from Reagan, Clinton and Bush combined.

This chart gives an overview of this data:

	speeches:	words:	years as president:
Obama	413	252,214	2009 – 2017
Bush	414	251,038	2001 - 2009
Clinton	409	367,336	1993 - 2001
Reagan	334	280,322	1981 - 1989
Reference	1,157	898,696	

Table 3.2: *Overview of Obama corpus data and reference corpus data*

Chapter 6:

The following five corpora were built using the functional argument units coded with NVivo:

6. The Obama *goals* corpus.
7. The Obama *claims for action* corpus.
8. The Obama *circumstances* corpus.
9. The Obama *values* corpus.
10. The Obama *means-goal* corpus.
11. The American English 2006 corpus (available in Wmatrix) was additionally used as a reference corpus.

corpora:	**word count:**
goals	29,664
claims for action	48,756
circumstances	174,384
values	58,267
means-goal	27,962
total	339,033

Table 3.3: *Overview of Obama functional units corpora*

Chapter 7:

12. A small 2,860-word corpus of Obama's health care reform Weekly Addresses, 2009 - 2017. This corpus is used when discussing Obama's arguments on health care reform, in order to put them in context as far as their content.

This section has discussed corpus linguistics and the corpora used in this study. The next section explores the research design and methodology being utilized in this thesis.

3.3. RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

The following section details the 5-step research approach being utilized in this thesis. This is an approach which is based on combining qualitative and quantitative analysis using corpus linguistics, qualitative NVivo coding and argument reconstruction-based CDA.

3.3.1. Research Design: Combining CDA, Corpus Linguistics & Qualitative Coding

As discussed in the Introduction, the following 5-step approach has been developed to examine how political discourse works over significant periods of time. This approach, which can be applied generally, revolves around the principles of comparison and the examination of patterns; this is further discussed at the end of this section.

Step 1: Quantitative Analysis of the Obama Corpus (CH5)

The first part of this study is a corpus analysis of Obama's Weekly Addresses - 413 in total. The aim is to identify the overall lexical and semantic patterns in the corpus, to see the main content and mode of expression for Obama's narrative. Firstly, a key semantic domain analysis (Rayson 2008) is used to identify how the Obama corpus is distinct from the reference corpus; this data presents an overview of the Obama Presidency. Additionally, as selected semantic domains had been used within the pilot study to isolate which groups Obama depicts negatively and this data meaningfully informed the analysis, all of the non-key semantic domains depicting negative values are examined. The following four are included within the analysis as they present a clear overview of which groups Obama depicts negatively: *no caution, damaging/destroying, violent/angry* and *unethical*; this information is utilized within the following analysis sections. Secondly, the frequency list and keyword list data are examined to identify which topics Obama addresses the most often and how these topics further distinguish his language from his three predecessors. This is followed by an examination of the concordances for the frequently words with 100 or more instances of use and the top 250 keywords to identify how they are used and to examine discourse patterns within the concordances. This analysis also involves looking at the concordances for selected words. The data from Step 1 shows how Obama's speeches work to construct his Presidency – what they focus on and the various types of lexical and semantic patterns within them as well as how they differ from the Weekly Address norm. This data is used in Steps 3, 4 and 5.

Step 2: Qualitative NVivo Coding & Quantitative Corpus Analysis of the Obama Functional Argument Unit Corpora (CH6)

The second step in this study is using NVivo to qualitatively code each of Obama's 413 Weekly Addresses. For the NVivo coding, each of these speeches is assessed individually. Firstly, the major argument in each speech is isolated. Secondly, this argument is coded using the separate functional units from Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) argument reconstruction framework – *claim for action, goal, means-goal, circumstances* and *values*. These separate functional argument units are then used to construct individual corpora. The result is five distinct corpora of at least 413 functional argument units each; I say 'at least' since in each presidential speech there can be more than one *goal*, etc. All of these five corpora are then analyzed using the corpus analysis techniques outlined in Step 1. The American English 2006 corpus is used as a reference corpus for this step; it provides a sample of language from the U.S. population and is consequently a useful comparison tool for Obama. It is available within Wmatrix.

There are four reasons that this coding is an important step in this study. Firstly, it allows for the close qualitative examination of each major argument in each of Obama's 413 speeches, making my analysis of the arguments in Obama's narrative much more thorough. Secondly, it allows for the creation of 5 distinct corpora based on these 5 units, which will result in a more in-depth quantitative corpus analysis. Thirdly, it will allow me to identify the major speech topics that define the narrative; this data will be used in Step 3. Fourthly, as I am looking at both arguments as well as representations, it allows for a thorough examination of Obama's *circumstantial, values* and *goal* premises, which are based largely on his representations of the social world (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012). This data will be used in Step 5.

Step 3: Identifying the Prototypical Arguments in the Obama Corpus (CH7)

The next step in this study is identifying the prototypical arguments in the Obama corpus. This is problematic however, because Obama almost never makes the same arguments. Rather, within each major topic, he makes a series of arguments over the course of eight years, which build on one another and contain functional units which vary. For example, within the topic of health care reform, each argument contains the same overlying goal, which is improving the country's health care system. But the arguments are not identical because they will be supported by varying *circumstantial premises* with some deviation in the *claims for action, values* and *means-goal* premises as well. It is therefore not easy to identify which exact argument is the most prototypical. To address this problem, all of the arguments within the most prominent topics (as identified in Step 2) are qualitatively analyzed and the structures compared to one another using Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) argument reconstruction framework. By comparing the structures of each of the arguments within one topic, it becomes possible to identify inconsistencies in how Obama's arguments develop across time. This process of logic-based critical comparison allows for the flagging of such arguments as having a high probability of being unsound or invalid.

For example, health care reform was flagged in Step 2 as one of Obama's major topics; he makes 25 speeches on health care during his two terms. When comparing the structure of the arguments on health care reform, it becomes clear that there are discrepancies. In 2010, Obama's arguments in favor of health care reform were based on one main premise: the Affordable Care Act would solve America's health care problem, which was bankrupting the country, by making the entire system more affordable for everyone - the people, the government and the industry. By 2016, since the bill had been passed, Obama was now arguing for people to sign up for health care. But now the main premise, that the Affordable Care Act was making the system more affordable, was not included in these arguments - it was now going unmentioned as a reason to support the Act, whereas before it had been the major reason. The absence of the main premise upon which the argument originally was made, is highly significant as it shows a discrepancy between the argument used to sell health care reform to the population and the reality of its implementation. This argument can then be flagged for further analysis in Step 4.

Step 3 is important because it provides a highly rigorous method for selecting the arguments for analysis in Step 4, rather than arbitrarily choosing arguments to qualitatively analyze. It also flags arguments which show argument patterns which are likely to contain fraudulent claims, based on

how they develop over time. This is very important because it allows for a more thorough investigation into how Obama uses argumentation in his speeches.

Step 4: Qualitative Text Analysis: Assessing the Reasoning of Obama's Arguments (CH7) and Comparing the Arguments in the 2016 Presidential Debates (CH8)

The qualitative analysis of the arguments selected in Step 3 will involve two steps. First, the structure of the arguments is evaluated through a process of critical questioning. This evaluation takes into account the possible consequences of the policy being proposed; if the consequences are likely to be objectionable and difficult to mitigate then the proposal should be considered problematic and criticized accordingly. For example, Obama's arguments in support of increasing America's role in the Syria conflict must be examined in relation to the consequences that will likely materialize in response to the U.S. bombing the country. It is highly likely that civilians will be killed and this could lead into further negative consequences such as the creation of more terrorists in response to U.S. policy. It is important to note that if the actions taken to achieve the goals result in consequences which have unwanted side effects or which undermine the goals, then it is more reasonable to abandon the proposal. Second, the argument trajectories on the topics selected in Step 3 are evaluated; this involves comparing all of the arguments within these topics to one another. This comparison will include comparisons between the structure of the arguments as a whole as well as comparisons between the separate functional units - a process that is made much easier as these units have been coded with NVivo and used to create the separate corpora. The second part of this step is particularly important because it shows how Obama uses representations in the three representational premises (the *goals*, *circumstances* and *values* premises) as a basis for the construction of his arguments. The overall results from Step 4 will show whether or not the arguments that define Obama's narrative stand up to critical evaluation. If they do not, this will suggest a level of corruption within the administration as it is assumed that Obama has the resources and the intelligence to write speeches containing reasonable arguments. Additionally, many of the key representations which Obama focuses on and includes within his arguments can be flagged for further analysis in Step 5.

Based on the results of the argument evaluations within Chapter 7, the research approach being developed within this study was applied generally to the both the mainstream and alternative media spheres to assess whether Obama's narrative on the issue of U.S. intervention in Syria was being supported by the mainstream. As it was identified as containing highly questionable claims, it was important to evaluate whether or not the mainstream was reproducing these claims as was the case with Bush and the Iraq War. The following method was used:

1. The mainstream media narrative in reference to Syria was evaluated – as outlined in Chapter 1, the major arguments within this narrative have been consolidated and collectivized.
2. The major arguments within a broad range of alternative media channels were evaluated. Prior study of this sphere gave me knowledge of which high-quality sources to investigate.
3. The major arguments on Syria within these sources were cross-referenced.

4. The evidence in support of each was then examined; this evidence is mainly found within leaked documents, e.g. the ISIS Memo (see Chapter 7).
5. The most logical, evidence-based alternative media narrative was then ascertained.
6. The arguments and narratives being made within the mainstream and alternative media spheres, along with the evidence, were then compared - both in reference to the other, conflicting narrative and in reference to the argument trajectories on the most important topics. This assessment is discussed in the Conclusion.

In Chapter 8 the arguments made in the 2016 debates between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump are compared to each other. The topics that are selected within this chapter are the most prominent of the Obama Presidency: arguments on the economic crisis, the health care system and U.S. involvement in the Syrian war. One of the theoretical principles on which this thesis is based is the concept of *comparison,* principally that the study of corpora, arguments and ideologies should strive to be as objective as possible and therefore based on comparison. Consequently, part of Step 5 involves comparing Obama's key representations to contradicting representations that Donald Trump introduced within his arguments during the 2016 Presidential campaign. When Clinton reproduced Obama's key representations and in fact overwhelmingly very similar arguments to his in the debates (which was to be expected as she was Obama's Secretary of State), Trump contradicted both. He did so by introducing representations which had, in some cases, not existed within the presidential paradigm since 1982. For example, Syria and Iraq had been represented in a highly negative manor since the Reagan administration (as discussed in Chapter 4). When asked a question by the debate moderator (which was framed to serve Clinton's narrative) about how to intervene in Syria, Trump responded by *defending* Assad and Iran as being involved in *fighting* terrorism, rather than being terrorists or supportive of terrorists. This new representation had enormous implications, discussed in Chapter 8. This is a key step because it analyzes how ideas that have become hegemonized in a society can become challenged, resulting in concrete political change through the implementation of new dominant ideologies within arguments.

Step 5: Discourse Analysis of Political Ideologies and Ideological Strategies (CH8, Conclusion)

Step 5 analyzes the ideological content of the Obama corpus, comparing it to the ideologies that came to dominate American political discourse over the past two decades leading up through the Obama administration and Hillary Clinton's Presidential campaign, as outlined in Chapter 4. This analysis is largely anchored in the results of the argument evaluations from Chapters 6 and 7, as well as the representations that have been shown to be highly prevalent in the Obama corpus in Steps 1 and 2. For example, the representation of the economy as recovering has defined much of Obama's narrative and many of his arguments. Secondly, I will examine the representations which have most heavily contributed to the arguments which have been discussed as unable to stand up to critical evaluation in Step 4. For example, the representation of terrorism as America's greatest threat is extremely important to the Obama narrative as it justifies a range of extreme actions (invading Syria and Libya; gun control measures). Many of these most key representations have in fact been reproduced since the Reagan era, a fact that can be shown with corpus data. This suggests that these representations have not only upheld Obama's narrative but a paradigm within presidential discourse that has existed since the Weekly Addresses began in 1982.

The research design for this study revolves around two major theoretical principles. Firstly, that language analysis should revolve around comparison and secondly, that it should be based on examining patterns. Both the quantitative corpus analysis and the qualitative argumentation analysis within this study focus on these two principles.

In regard to comparison, "Since the essential claim concerns differences caused by different language use, it follows that studies of language use and cognition must be comparative" (Stubbs 1997: 7). As outlined in the last section, this thesis incorporates this first principle in the following ways by:

- Comparing Obama's corpus to that of the Presidential Weekly Address norm in the reference corpus (Step 1)
- Comparing the functional units within each functional units corpus to one another, e.g. how Obama's circumstantial premises develop over eight years (Steps 2 & 3)
- Comparing Obama's arguments within each topic to one another to highlight inconsistencies (Step 3)
- Comparing Obama's arguments to arguments by other actors on related topics, e.g. the structure of Obama's arguments concerning U.S. intervention in Syria is compared to arguments by Colin Powell on the invasion of Iraq (Steps 3 & 4). This is step puts Obama's arguments in the context of the paradigm in which they are made, comparing it to other arguments within this paradigm to identify patterns
- Comparing the two conflicting media narratives on the topic of the Syrian War
- Comparing the arguments made by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in response to questions asked in the Presidential debates (Step 4)
- Comparing the ideologies upheld within the establishment paradigm to those upheld by the competing paradigm; key representations are also compared (Step 5)

As far as patterns, this thesis focuses on the idea that "… investigations can reveal important patterns in language use, while also pointing to areas within texts which would be interesting for more intensive, qualitative analysis… (Biber, Conrad & Reppen 1998: 131). Examining these patterns involves a process by which quantitative, corpus-based data and qualitative argument-based data are integrated, which involves "movement back and forth between them, insight is gained into patterns of co-occurrence between linguistic form and discoursal function in argumentation... qualitative and quantitative evidence of such form and function patterns illuminates argumentation" (O'Halloran 2011: 173). Patterns are examined in the following ways:

- Lexical and semantic patterns are investigated in the quantitative corpus analysis (Steps 1 & 2)
- Discourse patterns are identified in the functional units corpora through qualitative analysis and within the process of coding (Step 2)
- Discourse patterns within the functional units and the argument structures as a whole within each Obama topic are qualitatively analyzed to identify inconsistencies which can then be further investigated (Step 3)

- Patterns within the structure of the arguments made within the existing paradigm are analyzed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8
- Patterns in the policy paradigm and the ideologies upheld within the Presidencies within the establishment paradigm are analyzed in Chapter 8

This approach is based on combining quantitative and qualitative analysis aimed at the rigorous investigation of large bodies of texts through comparison and pattern identification.

Comparing Arguments and Paradigms

In designing methodologies for analyzing political discourse, it is necessary to tailor the techniques used and the focus specifically to the *type* of political discourse that is being studied (Hay 2013). As one of the major aims of this study is to analyze how political discourse works over significant periods of time, Fairclough and Fairclough's framework has been combined in this study with the method of argument comparison outlined in the last section; Obama's arguments on each topic are compared to one another in order to examine how they develop across time and if there are inconsistencies in this development. The goal with this method is to carry out as objective an analysis as possible through comparison (Webber 1995: 33-34) as well as to select the argument trajectories that need to be further assessed in the main argument reconstruction chapter (6). Additionally, in Chapters 7 and 8, which focus on argument comparison (7) and ideological strategies (8), two diverse paradigms are compared. This became a possibility after the Trump election and after the results of Chapter 7 were found, in which it was determined that two distinct paradigms were being represented in the 2016 Presidential debates. As Hay (2010: 3) argues, in considering major events such as the economic crisis, it is imperative to consider not just problems *within* the system but their existence as an interrogation of this system and the greater paradigm as a whole.

Limitations of this Study

The following limitations are important to note.

1. The first major shortcoming of this study is the selection of an inappropriate keyness metric for the keyword analyses. This problem is addressed by including the normalized frequencies (instances per million words) for all lexical units discussed within this study (Gabrielatos 2018).

2. The second major shortcoming of this study is that the corpus analysis within Step 2 (Chapter 6) utilizes the American English 2006 corpus, which is compared to the functional units corpora coded with NVivo. As these corpora are compared by year, a better corpus for comparison would be separate annual corpora (2009 – 2017). Although it is not available in Wmatrix, the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA)[42] allows the user to search by both year and genre. The

[42] Davies, M. (2019). 'Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)'. Available: https://www.english-corpora.org/coca

use of this corpus would have provided a more accurate keyword analysis as some keyword differences within this study may be due to the different time periods covered in the corpora being compared rather than distinctions in content.

3. The third limitation of this study is that the collocates within the collocation analysis, which forms a very minor component of Chapter 5, are sorted by log likelihood rather than t-score; t-score would have been a more appropriate metric by which to sort these lexical items (Bartsch 2004).

The next sections discuss relevant criticisms.

3.3.2. Addressing Criticisms of CDA

This methodology works to address one of the major criticisms of CDA, made by Widdowson (1995: 169):

> persons may simply refuse to converge, insist on the primacy of their own ideological position, and so derive from the text the discourse which fits their preconceived ideological commitment. ...first, it is not partial in that it is ideologically committed, and so prejudiced; and it is partial in that it selects those features of the text which support its preferred interpretation.

While the corpus analysis employed in Steps 1 and 2 of this study largely addresses this problem by providing data which can be employed to support the major points being made in Steps 4 and 5, it is still notably difficult to analyze political discourse fully objectively. As Stubbs (1997: 8) argues "there are no unbiased interpretative judgements: all interpretations are done with an eye on the intentions of the author, within historical, professional and institutional contexts". Overcoming personal bias is the most significant methodological challenge for this thesis. However, Fairclough and Fairclough significantly address this criticism of CDA with their new argument reconstruction-based method. Firstly, they provide a framework which is based on the analysis of arguments using logic - therefore, the discourse analysis should be grounded in logic, which counter-acts personal bias. Secondly, the results of the argument reconstructions provide a platform upon which to build the criticisms being made in the following discourse analysis; it is much easier to avoid over-interpretation if there is proof of a failed argument as the basis for the critique. My research design also provides a method by which to select the arguments being analyzed in further depth, thereby avoiding random selection which could be motivated by bias.

Additionally, while Obama is the main President being analyzed in this study, the main subject is in many ways the State. It is the State which has determined the existing paradigm due to the fact that paradigms take significant amounts of time to develop and become hegemonized. Therefore, much of the focus is on how the State has evolved since the paradigm largely began in 1982; while the focus is on Obama, Obama is viewed in context as a part of the whole. The criticisms of him

and the ideologies he upholds, are viewed in their relationship to the State and its construction of ontological reality (Steinberger 2004); there is no claim to the truth or the validity of one ideology over another, although the negative effects of the paradigm's defining ideologies are discussed.

One further specific criticism of CDA which applies to this thesis involves how to interpret what a speaker means based on the structure of his or her discourse. As Stubbs (Stubbs 1997: 4) points out:

> Ideology cannot be read off texts in a mechanical way, since there is no one-to-one correspondence between forms and functions… if it is not possible to read the ideology off the texts, then the analysts themselves are reading meanings into texts.

Simply put, "You cannot read what people mean directly from the texts they produce" (Widdowson 1995: 167). The problems of circularity, in which the researcher ultimately finds what they are hoping to within a text is relevant here. The methodology for this thesis addresses this issue by examining and comparing patterns in discourse - both through the use of corpus linguistics as well as by looking at patterns in argumentation - both within the functional units of arguments across time and by comparing arguments to one another. Conclusions are drawn based on these patterns due to the fact that patterns within discourse suggest that an agent is adhering to a particular political strategy in producing these patterns. For example, if a politician incorporates language reproducing the neoliberal ideology in 300 speeches, it is far more significant than if he or she does so within one speech. This is in line with the view that discourse analysis is inherently based on "the study of language patterns beyond the sentence" (Widdowson 1995: 159). Within the study of language data, "repeated events are significant. If a pattern occurs over and over again, in the language use of many different speakers, then it cannot be dismissed as mere performance" (Stubbs 2007: 130).

3.3.3. Addressing Criticisms of Combining CDA and Corpus Linguistics

Despite the popularity of combining CDA and corpus linguistics, Norman Fairclough's large body of work on CDA does not involve the use of corpus linguistics other than in one instance (Fairclough 2000). In the new edition to his seminal work *Language and Power* (2014) Fairclough (2014: 20) argues that, contrary to the opinion of many linguists (Baker *et al.* 2008), corpus linguistics "is not analysis, it is a tool which can serve analysis". He goes on to claim that Paul Baker's (2013) representation of corpus linguistics as both quantitative as well as qualitative and interpretive is "misleading" and that in analyzing concordance lines or language patterns one has ceased to practice corpus linguistics (Fairclough 2014: 21). Despite this view, Fairclough goes on to state that corpus linguistics can be useful as a tool to enhance CDA as it can provide statistical information, be used to check conclusions reached through qualitative analysis, alert the analyst to information about texts that they may be unaware of and present new ideas for further research (2014: 21). However:

> It is best regarded as part of the preparation from which the real work of analysis and critique can begin. The danger is in attributing to corpus linguistics a more elevated place in one's critical discourse analysis than it actually has… I have listened to and read many

> purported CDA papers which have struck me as ending at the point where they should begin, doing little more than present data produced by corpus linguistics.
>
> (Fairclough 2014: 21).

In contrast, Baker *et al*. (2008: 274) write that, "neither CDA nor CL need to be subservient to the other… each contributes equally and distinctly to a methodological synergy". The point is made that corpus linguistics gives the researcher quantitative data which can support researcher objectivity, helping to provide a means by which to look at a text "free from any preconceived or existing notions regarding their linguistic or semantic/pragmatic content" (Baker *et al*. 2008: 277).

The authors argue that corpus linguistics is qualitative in that the researcher must still select which texts to include in the corpus, what to analyze, which tools to use and the parameters for determining statistical significance measures. The researcher also must analyze concordance lines qualitatively as well as identifying patterns in the data produced by corpus analysis software. The authors point out that the strength of combining corpus linguistics with critical discourse analysis is that "a traditional corpus-based analysis is not sufficient to explain or interpret the reasons why certain linguistic patterns were found (or not found). Corpus analysis does not normally take into account the social, political, historical and cultural context of the data" (Baker *et al* 2008: 293). Both of the approaches can also be used to triangulate the findings of the other approach.

Fairclough's (2014) criticism of corpus linguistics is given along with a simple description of this method. He gives a brief overview of corpus linguistics in his critique, which is focused on describing keyness, collocation and concordances before pointing out that corpus linguistics has no theory of language and is ultimately just a research tool. While he mentions ways in which corpus linguistics can be useful, he fails to address the main advantage of combining corpus linguistics and CDA, which is that in doing so, two of the major criticisms of CDA - that the texts being studied are not a representative sample of language and that the researcher's bias enters this selection - are addressed (Stubbs 1994; 1997). Stubbs (1994) points out that many aspects of language are not observable in single texts and the ability to isolate these patterns is the major strength of corpus linguistics. When CDA and corpus linguistics are combined the result is that the CDA provides context for the corpus data used in the analysis and the corpus data can be used to support the points made in the CDA and to provide much more in-depth insight into how representative a text is and how it compares to other similar texts.

It would be possible to enhance the CDA approach presented in *Political Discourse Analysis* (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012) by adding an option whereby corpus tools could be utilized to support the approach outlined in this book. This study does so in order to examine a large number of texts; this approach could prove to be useful for many disparate types of studies, particularly as the study of big data has become popular. I fully agree with the point, made by Fairclough (2014), that some corpus-based CDA papers end where they should begin, omitting in-depth discourse analysis and that this detracts from the quality of the work. However, the argument reconstruction framework provided by Fairclough and Fairclough could be successfully integrated within many different types of analysis and for various forms of critique beyond CDA; therefore its integration

with corpus linguistics could be presented as a valuable additional option. The next section provides a brief overview on criticisms of NVivo.

3.3.4. Addressing Criticisms of NVivo & Coding

The NVivo coding element of this project is a very important one. This section gives a basic overview of coding along with a discussion of the main study upon which the approach of combining qualitative coding and quantitative corpus analysis within this thesis is based (O'Halloran 2011).

When developing NVivo, Richards (2002) writes that he aimed to create a program that made both coding and the analysis of the resulting constructed codes possible. Before NVivo, programs had been developed which allowed for texts to be coded and stored but NVivo went further to allow for these codes to be created, stored in nodes and then analyzed in themselves and in comparison to each other. For example, the researcher can not only identify codes in a text – *anger, joy, grief* – and categorize them into corresponding nodes but also compare how these nodes relate to and compare to one another. For example, one could investigate how *anger* is expressed in the text compared to *grief* by looking at how these terms are connected and whether there are patterns in the text that show this.

Coding can be defined as "an abstract representation of an object or phenomenon" (Corbin & Strauss 2008: 66). Codes may be descriptive, labels for themes, interpretive or analytical. A major benefit of coding is that it aids researchers in "assisting you to move from document analysis to theorizing" (Bazeley & Jackson 2013: 71). An important point to stress is that coding is often the most beneficial when researchers know their data and base the codes they decide to use on their prior knowledge of this data. It is imperative that the coding not take over the project; the researcher should view coding as a way to help them categorize and analyze data that they have made conclusions about when reading the texts before the coding begins. The concern that using "computers can distance researchers from their data" (Bazeley & Jackson 2013: 7) or that in computer- assisted qualitative data analysis the software may drive the research too much (Crowley, Harre & Tagg 2002; Seidel 1991) needs to be carefully considered as the process of dividing data into codes can come to feel restrictive. It is imperative to remember to look at texts as a whole before coding them and to avoid feeling subservient to the codes one has decided to use.

This study uses NVivo to code functional argument units (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012). This is a research approach which is being newly developed. The main study that the development of this approach is based on is titled 'Investigating Argumentation in Reading Groups: Combining Manual Qualitative Coding and Automated Corpus Analysis Tools' published in *Applied Linguistics* (O'Halloran 2011). In it, informal argumentation within ten reading groups was studied over a one-year period with reader discussion being recorded and transcribed. The qualitative coding software program Atlas-ti was used to code this data using the following codes:

Discussion Code	Description
Claim	A challengeable proposition about the novel
Challenge	Where a speaker challenges a previous claim
Co-construction	Where claims from different speakers build on each other

Figure 3.10: *Codes used to investigate argumentation in reader groups* (O'Halloran 2011: 181)

The coded data was then used to construct 3 distinct corpora. These corpora were examined to answer a list of pre-determined research questions. The conclusions of this study provided valuable insight as to how informal argumentation is used within colloquial language. Additionally, it showed that combining qualitative-based coding with quantitative-based corpus analysis tools was an extremely useful approach within discourse analysis (O'Halloran 2011: 93). The research methodology for this study integrates this approach while using different codes.

Criticisms of NVivo

The criticism of NVivo that is most relevant to this project is the issue of accurate coding. 413 speeches needed to be coded for this project, a time-consuming process that required a great deal of concentration over many months. Within the 413 speeches it is highly likely that some human errors occurred. This issue has been addressed in two main ways. Firstly, a second researcher was employed to code one-fourth of the speeches – 105 in total. The data was then compared. Since the codes are based on functional argument units, which are quite clearly defined, there was little room for interpretation and less room for era. Additionally, a coder who had specifically been trained for this task during his MA dissertation was employed,[43] thereby establishing a high level of inter-coder reliability (Kurasaki 2000: 179). While it would have been ideal to have all 413 of the speeches second-coded, this was not possible considering the amount of time involved in this process. Secondly, corpus linguistics was used to check some aspects of the coding which were discussed in the analysis chapters (5-8). For example, to check that all of Obama's claims regarding Wall Street reform improving the economy, I examined the concordance lines for "Wall Street" in Wmatrix to identify each time the term was used. It is also important to note that Obama's language is highly repetitive; therefore, a number of coding mistakes will not make a significant impact on the analysis. The next section provides a brief overview on how to use Nvivo.

[43] The person I have selected to do this coding, Mr. Mark Wilkinson, has a Master's in English Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics from King's; he used Fairclough and Fairclough's argument reconstruction-based CDA framework in his dissertation and it received a score of 80.

3.4. NVIVO

3.4.1. Overview

This section gives a brief overview of how NVivo is used in this study along with its development and how the program works. In this project I am using NVivo to code each of Obama's 413 Weekly Addresses using Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) argument reconstruction framework. In this approach, the main argument within each speech is isolated and the five functional argument units are then identified and dragged into separate nodes. These nodes are then used to create five distinct corpora which are analyzed in Chapter 6. I am using NVivo because it is designed for qualitative analysis; additionally, the strength of the program is how easy it is to code with and how clearly it organizes the codes into groups (nodes). This allows for the simple transfer of this coded information from NVivo to the quantitative corpus analysis program Wmatrix (Rayson 2009).

The use of NVivo in this research project is important for three main reasons. Firstly, the process of coding and creating separate corpora allows for a more discriminating analysis of Obama's major arguments across all 413 speeches. This gives a more in-depth quantitative and qualitative analysis of each of the 5 corpora, providing further insight as to how Obama's goals developed over time, how his depiction of the world within the circumstantial premises changed, etc. Secondly, the coding process allows for the thorough examination of discourse patterns in how Obama's arguments are formed. For example, it became clear that in the vast majority of his speeches, Obama incorporates a main goal within his major argument but, additionally, another over-arching goal as well. For example, within speeches on the topic of education reform, the main goal is improving the educational system; this contributes to the over-arching goal, made within the same speech, of improving the economy. This information allowed me to recognize argument patterns that were a-typical within Obama's speeches; this information is utilized in Chapters 7 and 8. Thirdly, the use of NVivo allows for the study of all of each of the functional units together within separate corpora. This is highly useful as it makes it possible to directly compare the content, making it easier to identify how Obama's functional units within each major topic developed over time. For example, it was clear that the content of the circumstantial premises within this corpus within the topic of health care reform developed to include very different information regarding the details and implementation of the Affordable Care Act when the data from 2009/2010 was compared to the data from 2015/2016. This information is used both to select which arguments should be further analyzed in the argument reconstruction in Chapter 7. The next section discusses how NVivo works.

3.4.2. Using NVivo

Developed by Tom Richards and released in 1999, NVivo quickly became a very popular tool for qualitative analysis as it allows for new ways of doing detailed analysis and qualitative modeling (Beazley & Jackson 2013). Since its release NVivo has won a slew of awards and has continued to develop at a fast pace. The current version, NVivo 11, allows users to perform a wide range of new functions including syncing with Evernote and Survey Monkey, inputting text by speaking and importing data from web pages. The program can therefore be used to support a huge array of

types of projects.

NVivo is a program that allows users to carry out computer assisted qualitative data analysis. The focus is on coding, organizing data and analyzing this data using a variety of tools. Text files are loaded into the program and then *nodes* are created to represent the various codes being used by the researcher. Sections of the text can then be highlighted and dragged into the corresponding node. NVivo also allows the user to create memos and annotations in order to make comments on the texts. It has features for searching for specific words and phrases, creating word frequency lists and comparing node content. There are also tools that create visualizations of the data including word clouds, tree maps, word trees as well as column, pie and bar charts. NVivo is easy to use and King's College London offers an intensive one-day training course.

Figure 3.11. shows the user face for NVivo. In the column to the far left, texts can be uploaded by clicking on **External Sources**; they then become stored under **Internal Sources.** Memos with extra information can be added to the internal documents. Here a Weekly Address by Obama, dated *September 5, 2009*, has been uploaded and appears in the main body of the program. Above the text of Obama's speech, nodes have been created which correspond to the codes being utilized in the research project based on Fairclough and Fairclough's framework (2012). Here the nodes are *circumstances, claim for action, goal, means-goal* and *values*:

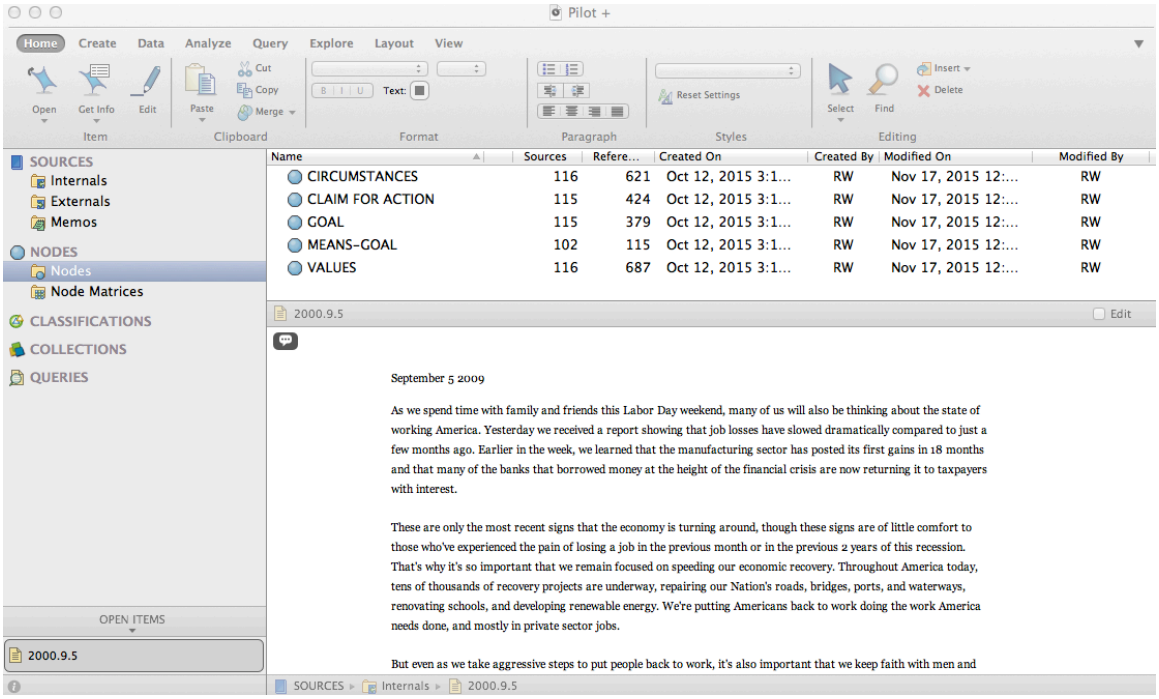


Figure 3.11: *NVivo interface showing nodes for: 'circumstances', 'claim for action', 'goal', 'means-goal' and 'values'* (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012)

When one of these nodes is selected, NVivo displays a scrollable list of every example of this node highlighted across the total number of texts uploaded into this project. In Figure 3.12 the *goal* node has been selected. Three coded goals within Obama's Weekly Address from January 31, 2009 are shown. To the right of each node under **Sources** it is possible to see the number of documents that the node has been coded in. For example, the *circumstances* node has been coded in 116 sources. Under **References** the total number of codes for the entire project is shown. For example, the *claim for action* code has been used 424 times in 115 documents:

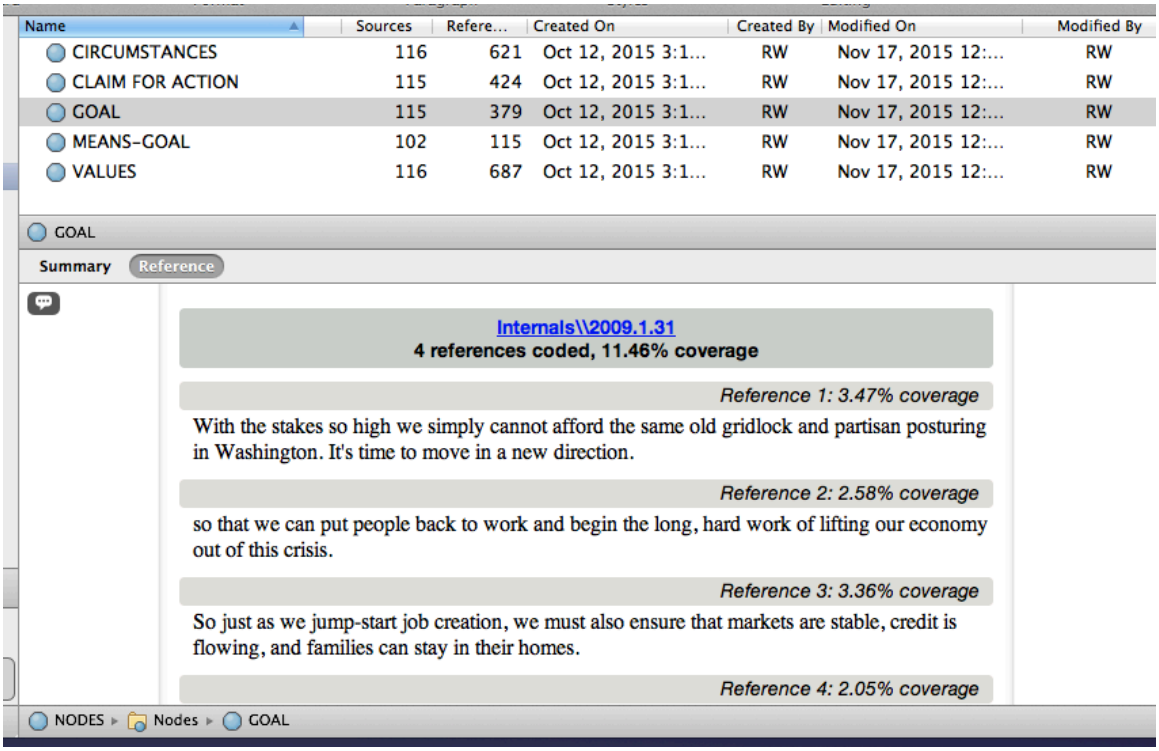


Figure 3.12: *NVivo interface showing node for 'goal' from Obama Weekly Address, January 1, 2009*

As discussed, this project uses NVivo primarily to code Obama's Weekly Addresses using Fairclough and Fairclough's CDA framework.

3.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided overviews of corpus linguistics and NVivo. The research design for this study was provided, along with a discussion of the major principles behind this theory and relevant criticisms of combining CDA and corpus linguistics, as well as criticisms of coding and how this project addresses them. Chapter 4 examines New World Order Theory, detailing important political concepts within this study.

CHAPTER 4:

CRITICISMS OF THE NEW WORLD ORDER PARADIGM

4.1. INTRODUCTION
4.2. LINKS TO GLOBAL OLIGARCHY THEORY & DEEP STATE THEORY
4.3. THE CENTRALIZATION OF THE SYSTEM
4.3.1. Banker-funded Warfare
4.3.2. The BIS and the Centralized Banking System Model
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4.4. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC EMPIRE & OCCULT
4.4.1. The 'Light' Occult
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4.5. THE POLITICALIZATION OF THE OCCULT & RELIGION
4.5.1. The Nazis & Politicization of the Occult
4.5.2. The Caliphate Model & the Politicization of Religion
4.6. QUANTUM PHYSICS & ONTOLOGY
4.7. CONCLUSION

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter further examines *New World Order Theory,* which centers on criticisms of the paradigm established by George Bush, Sr., made from within the alternative media sphere while clarifying important concepts which are central to the discussion chapters within this study. Chapter 1 has outlined the official narrative on the New World Order as detailed in the speeches of George H. W. Bush in 1990 and 1991; this chapter considers this paradigm and its consequences from a stance outside of it, examining external criticisms. While the sections within this chapter are largely referenced from alternative sources, these sources have not yet been compiled into a unified alternative narrative, largely because the alternative sphere is decentralized (see Chapter 1). This chapter makes progress toward providing an overview of the content of the alternative narrative as it relates to what is arguably the most important concept within this sphere; New World Order Theory underlies the alternative narrative as a whole by acting as a cohesive, major device to which a very broad range of sources and theories link back. As such it lays the foundation for much of the anti-establishment sentiment that has led into the election of Donald Trump, the American peoples' collapsing belief in institutional power and the growing divides within the nation. Both Deep State Theory and Oligarchy Theory (see Chapter 1) are further linked to New World Order Theory; this is discussed within this chapter. Overall, the new world order concept has come to define both the 'establishment' paradigm and the reaction against it.

While a range of books on New World Order Theory exist, they have largely been written from either a religious perspective, mainly citing Biblical references, or they have been written by researchers engaging with secondary texts, which are then used as evidence toward the existence of the New World Order as a group of old-money families and/or secret societies working to influence American and global politics. The *Wikipedia* page for 'New World Order (conspiracy theory)' outlines many of these secondary sources.[44] The content of these books then largely deals with the identities of the theorized upon oligarchs along with the problematic outcomes that have arisen due to the oppression that is seen to have been inflicted by this system. These outcomes often link back to scientific studies detailing institutional corruption and/or the current declining standard of living among the general American populace. They detail the current rise in rates of severe and growing[45] financial hardship,[46] the student loan crisis,[47] increasing income inequality[48] and poverty and food insecurity.[49] These figures are often discussed in relation to the nation's continuing expansion of the military-industrial complex,[50] the abusive practices of the medical industry[51] and the continuing financialization of the economy at the expense of small business and the labor sector.[52] The progressive alternative media heavily charts the nation's collapsing

[44] Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia (2019). 'New World Order (conspiracy theory)'. Available: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_World_Order_(conspiracy_theory)

[45] Gross, T. 'First-ever eviction database shows 'we're in the middle of a housing crisis'. *NPR.* April 12th, 2018. Available: https://www.npr.org/2018/04/12/601783346/first-ever-evictions-database-shows-were-in-the-middle-of-a-housing-crisis

[46] Milligan, S. 'The Civic Report: Stretched thin'. *U.S. News.* January 11th, 2019. Available: https://www.usnews.com/news/the-report/articles/2019-01-11/stretched-thin-majority-of-americans-live-paycheck-to-paycheck

[47] Hugh-Smith, C. 'What killed the middle class?' *Zerohedge.* March 24th, 2016. Available: https://www.zerohedge.com/news/2016-03-24/what-killed-middle-class

[48] Project Censored. 'World's richest 1% continue to become wealthier'. October 2nd, 2018. Available: https://www.projectcensored.org/3-worlds-richest-one-percent-continue-to-become-wealthier/

[49] Feeding America. '41 million people in the United States face hunger'. September 6th, 2017. Available: https://www.feedingamerica.org/about-us/press-room/new-data

[50] Whitehead, J. 'Pity then nation: War spending is bankrupting America'. *The Rutherford Institute*. March 12th, 2019. Available: https://www.rutherford.org/publications_resources/john_whiteheads_commentary/pity_the_nation_war_spending_is_bankrupting_america

[51] Boboltz, S. 'Yep, Martin Shkeli's 5,000 percent drug price hike is still in effect'. *The Huffington Post.* March 9th, 2018. Available: https://www.huffpost.com/entry/martin-shkreli-aids-drug-price-the-same_n_5aa3117fe4b07047bec694cb

[52] Keiser Report (2019). 'And forgive them their debts'. *The Keiser Report, YouTube.* July 3rd, 2019. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i_XtIPoBHx8

infrastructure,[53] the poisoning of the water[54] and food supply[55] and the environmental destruction caused by major corporations[56] and highlighting that the world is nearly in environmental collapse. The effects of these practices on the American people's mental,[57] physical,[58] and spiritual health[59] are often reiterated, particularly as they relate to the millennial generation, 36,000 of whom died 'deaths of despair' in 2017.[60] Many link back to the fact that life expectancy in America is now *falling*[61] while the suicide rate has increased by 30% since 1999;[62] the child suicide rate has doubled since 2008.[63] As the American people have looked to find answers as to why this spate of problems has been plaguing the nation, many of them have identified the government policies which have been in place under the establishment paradigm as being to blame. This has led into the wide-scale belief that rather than being the result of poor policy decisions, the New World Order has purposefully worked to shift the country into an oligarchy-based model, in order to further empower the global elite at the cost of the American people and the decentralized model for government upheld within the Constitution. As the oligarchy model is strongly equated with slavery, it is widely considered to be a dark occultist construct, which means that this is considered to be a spiritual war and one being waged to stop the takeover of the nation by a Satanic agenda. This chapter examines many of the reasons behind these beliefs, focusing on their link to the political paradigm shift. Section 4.2. outlines the links between New World Order Theory and both Deep State Theory and Global Oligarchy Theory, which are briefly outlined in Chapter 1. Section 4.3. discusses the roots of the New World Order's centralization agenda. Section 4.4. outlines the Roman Empire and its links to the occult; this section connects to the concept of the Caliphate. Section 4.4. discusses the practice of politicizing the occult and religion as a form of political

[53] Thompson, C. & Matousek, M. 'America's infrastructure is decaying – here's a look at how terrible things have gotten'. *Business Insider*. February 5th, 2019. Available: https://www.businessinsider.com/asce-gives-us-infrastructure-a-d-2017-3

[54] Pell, M. B. & Schneyer, J. (2009). 'Thousands of U.S. areas afflicted with led poisoning beyond Flint's'. *Scientific American.* Available: https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/thousands-of-u-s-areas-afflicted-with-lead-poisoning-beyond-flints/

[55] Brockovich, E. 'The weed killer in our food is killing us'. *The Guardian.* December 6th, 2018. Available: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/dec/06/the-weedkiller-in-our-food-is-killing-us

[56] Elizabeth, R. 'Don't want antibiotics sprayed on your citrus? Sorry – it's about to expand, big-time'. *The Florida Phoenix.* April 2nd, 2019. Available: https://www.healthnutnews.com/dont-want-antibiotics-sprayed-on-your-citrus-sorry-its-about-to-expand-big-time-2/

[57] Mental Health America (2019). 'The state of mental health in America'. Available: http://www.mentalhealthamerica.net/issues/state-mental-health-america

[58] Center for Disease Control & Prevention (2019). 'Overweight and obesity'. Available: https://www.cdc.gov/obesity/data/adult.html

[59] Centers for Disease Control & Prevention (2019b). 'Understanding the epidemic'. Available: https://www.cdc.gov/drugoverdose/epidemic/index.html

[60] Ducharme, J. 'More millennials are dying 'deaths of despair' as overdose and suicide rates climb'. Time. June 13th, 2019. Available: https://time.com/5606411/millennials-deaths-of-despair/

[61] Khazan, O. 'Americans are dying even younger'. *The Atlantic.* November 29th, 2018. Available: https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2018/11/us-life-expectancy-keeps-falling/576664/

[62] Fox, M. 'Suicide rates are up 30 percent since 1999, CDC says'. *NBC News*. June 7th, 2018. Available: https://www.nbcnews.com/health/health-news/suicide-rates-are-30-percent-1999-cdc-says-n880926

[63] Heid, M. 'Depression and suicide rates are rising sharply in young Americans, new report says'. *Time.* March 14th, 2019. Available: https://time.com/5550803/depression-suicide-rates-youth/

strategy. Section 4.6 examines the connection between the concept of Empire and it's link to the current scientific paradigm.

4.2. LINKS TO GLOBAL OLIGARCHY THEORY & DEEP STATE THEORY

This section outlines the links between the new world order, Deep State Theory and Global Oligarchy Theory. The three have developed in relation to one another.

The word *oligarchy* stems from the Ancient Greek ὀλίγος *(olígos)* meaning 'few' and ἄρχω *(arkho)*, meaning 'to rule or to command'. Aristotle used the term to designate a system of government based on rule by the rich; the related term *plutocracy* has a similar meaning. The term has a generally negative connotation as history has illustrated that extreme measures are often employed by oligarchs to maintain control over populations. The defining feature of oligarchic systems is the creation and sustainment of two separate law codes, one pertaining to the elite and one pertaining to those external to it. This study deals with the concept of the *global* oligarchy. *Global Oligarchy Theory* is based on the idea that an international oligarchy exists across national boundaries and that the globalized financial and military structure that developed following World War I, and most markedly after World War II, re-engineered the international system to foster the increasingly dramatic growth in power of this elite class. As discussed in Chapter 1, Deep State Theory focuses on the idea that members of this elite class – both elected and unelected – have come to serve the agenda of the global oligarchy at the expense of the nation and the American people.

Within this theory, the New World Order paradigm is viewed as a group of policy trajectories, political ideologies and social engineering initiatives designed to integrate the United States within the global oligarchic model. Here the country's major institutions, working under the CFR, are viewed as corrupted by the globalist agenda. The New World Order is seen as utilizing the Deep State structure – most markedly members of Congress working to forward the goals of the corporations owned by the oligarchy – in order to further consolidate power. The major goal of the oligarchy is theorized to be full control over a fully centralized global system through the control of finance. It is important to note that within this theory, those working to promote this system do not necessarily maintain allegiance to their country of origin. Rather individual nation-states are viewed as pieces on a chessboard covering the world (Brezinski 1997). The supported rise and fall of individual nation-states through forced economic collapse and military intervention and/or overthrow is viewed as an important strategy within the attainment of a centralized global power structure – a New World Order.

In an important side note, the global oligarchy is seen as a distinct entity from the general American elite class. It is imperative to stress that *this is not a class war*.

4.3. THE CENTRALIZATION OF THE SYSTEM

This section discusses the funding within America of what is considered to be the major goal of the New World Order: the centralization of the American domestic and international systems.

4.3.1. Banker-Funded Warfare

There are two academic historians whose work best describes the roll financial elites have played in creating economic crises and funding warfare throughout history. Dr. Carroll Quigley's book *Tragedy and Hope: The History of the World in Our Time* (1966) recounts a tragic historical narrative for America, one in which a group of oil barons, industrialists and financial capitalists linked to London and Paris rose to become a hyper-elite oligarchic class, gradually usurping the power of the political class during the 1800's. They did so by controlling the money and credit supply; Quigley outlines how this led into the dramatic centralization of the system, which in turn promoted monopoly capitalism – or *corporate capitalism* as it is largely known today (Ibid. 337).

Eventually their 'far-reaching aim' became the following (Ibid. 324):

> To create a world system of financial control in private hands able to dominate the political system of each country and the economy of the world as a whole. This system was to be controlled in a feudalist system by the central banks of the world acting in concert, by secret agreements... The apex of the system was to be the Bank for International Settlements in Basel, Switzerland, a private bank owned and controlled by the world's central banks which were themselves private corporations.

In order to work toward the accomplishment of this goal, Quigley writes that America's foreign wars were funded by the elite banking class, leading into America's involvement in World War I and World War II, despite the reluctance of the American people. Quigley (Ibid. 707) references a 1934 Senate hearing in which it was shown that "American intervention in World War I had been pushed by bankers and munitions manufacturers ('merchants of death') to protect their profits and their interests"; this was disguised behind effective propaganda efforts from the media. The "banker-engendered" deflationary crisis of 1927-1940 then became a "chief cause of World War II" (Ibid. 357). Quigley also notes the connections between the interests of the banks, the oil companies and Allen W. Dulles, the former head of the CIA, in working to overthrow foreign governments in-line with their personal economic interests, by funding regime-change. The CFR is mentioned as an offshoot of the Round Table Group (1910), a counterpart to Chatham House in London (Ibid. 132). Sutton's (1974, 1976, 1995) work adds a great deal to Quigley's historical outline, extensively detailing historical events such as Wall Street's funding of the Russian Revolution of 1917 under the aim of centralizing the global banking system, Wall Street's enablement of the rise of Adolf Hitler in 1933 and the illegal and unconstitutional formation of the Federal Reserve. In addition to Quigley and Sutton's work, William Guy Carr (1966), a former Commander within the Royal Canadian Navy, has introduced *Three World Wars Theory*, which has been very well-known within the alternative sphere. Carr outlines a plan by the elite, who he

identifies as a dark occultist group, to fund World War I and World War II; a third war is predicted by which to "enslave [humanity] for all eternity, physically, mentally and spiritually" (Carr 1966: 6). This war was predicted to be waged within the Middle East, with the aim of creating a totalitarian, one-world system. Within New World Order Theory, the financial system is what enables this structure.

4.3.2. The BIS & the Centralized Banking System Model

Within New World Order Theory, the globalized banking system, which is rooted at the Bank of International Settlements (BIS), is considered to be the center of power for the global oligarchy. It is the role of the BIS, which rose to staggering power following World War II under the Hague Convention, that enabled the consolidation of the worldwide system in itself (Lebor 2013).

Located in the city of Basel in Switzerland, a nation which claimed neutrality during World War II, the BIS has an extremely controversial history. Empowered to carry out business transactions for both the Allied and the Axis powers during the war under the cover of neutrality, the BIS came to act as the "arm of the Reichsbank" for Adolf Hitler, carrying out foreign exchange deals for Germany and accepting looted gold from the Nazis (Lebor 2013: xix). Without his reliance on the BIS, it would not have been possible for Hitler to successfully finance his war campaign, as the modernized finance system relied on the use of a bank to convert stolen precious metals from conquered territories into currency for the purchase of weaponry. The intertwining of the Nazis and the BIS eventually became pervasive. This is perhaps most notable in the example of Hermann Schmitz, CEO of IG Farben, a German chemical conglomerate so large that it was considered a "parallel state" in Germany during the war. Schmitz was elected to the board of the BIS in 1939. At the time, his company, IG Farben, was running a massive human-experimentation initiative; "During the war, IG Farben managers built and ran the company's private concentration camp at Auschwitz, known as 'IG Auschwitz'" (Lebor 2013: 51). It was additionally due to the role of the BIS that the economic warfare strategy deployed by Spanish military dictator Francisco Franco's forces during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) could be developed; "This, as much as the Blitzkrieg, was the real lesson from the Spanish Civil War: the nationalists' sophisticated fusion of financial and military power. The Nazis would hone this model, using the BIS to underpin their economic empire" (Lebor 2013: 57). Despite this role and while many members of the BIS went to prison for their support of Nazism, the bank itself came to be the global 'central bank of the central banks' following World War II, wielding staggering power. Lebor (2013: 220) argues that it is in fact the BIS that has been the major proponent of the increasingly centralized financial and global system. It was here that the concepts of the European Union and the Euro, along with the European Central Bank, were introduced and initially supported. Many of the most foundational ideas within the conception of the New World Order, such as modern economic warfare strategies, open and free trade, a single European currency and the erasure of national boarders can be traced back to the Nazis and were supported and enabled by the BIS. This super-centralizing agenda is a logical one as the entire system has been designed around the further empowerment of the financial sector, with the BIS acting as the center.

Within New World Order Theory, the American military was expanded and remolded (see Chapter 1) after World War II (see Chapter 1) to act as the enforcer for the global oligarchy's fully

centralized banking system model. This event is seen as having coincided with a steep rise in corporate fascism, which began to take hold of the country through the expansion in power of the elite's monopoly corporations, particularly those linked to the banking sector, military and weapons exports as well as the pharmaceutical and health care industry. The unfolding of this situation had been predicted and cautioned against before it began; 33rd Vice President Henry A. Wallace (1941-1945) began to warn[64] of the threat of corporate fascism spreading to America in 1944. He envisioned this threat as manifesting through the merger of the control by the corporations of the media, Wall Street and Washington, outlining how the fascists within the country were enthusiastically supporting World War II at the time, hoping to profit from connections to "German chemical firms after the war ends". Wallace identifies *Wall Street* as the major threat; warning of the dangers of the rise in power of big banking at the expense of "Main Street", the support of policies that harm humans for profit and the corruption of a press who will mislead the public to make profits for corporations – all practices which are viewed as completely normalized within America today. What Wallace did not warn of was the threat that could arise from the build-up of a vast military-industrial complex. Rather 34th President Dwight Eisenhower (1953-1961) did so 17 years later in his Farewell Address, which became one of the most famous political speeches in American history.[65] Overall, this financial model is viewed as the means by which the corporations owned by the global oligarchy further empower themselves, largely at the expense of the American people and particularly the middle class as it becomes increasingly difficult to compete with the power of monopolies. Companies such as Amazon, which has a $600 million contract to provide technology to the CIA (see Chapter 1), are viewed as a new form of corporate fascist monopoly and one which is enabled by the intelligence agencies.

Hall (1993: 279) writes that following World War II the globalized economic system became cemented by the Keynesian school of economics.[66] Lebor (2013) notes that John Maynard Keynes played a highly important role in convincing the Allied Powers to accept the roll of the BIS within the new financial world. This model came to work alongside the Federal Reserve, which, since its inception, had instituted a highly-controversial money-printing strategy in which every dollar created incurs interest simply by being printed; this has led into the creation of a model which empowers the private owners of the Fed at the cost of the American government and the people, whose tax dollars pay for this interest.[67] This policy, along with many other Fed-based initiatives (see Chapter 1), created a heavily debt-based financial model, which led into the belief that the creation of debt was in fact the *goal* of the Fed-based system, along with the centralized control of the economy. "Debt slavery is the goal of every world central bank... Their only product is debt. Issuance of debt. The more debt they issue, the stronger they become. And the more enslaved everyone else gets. That's the mechanism, is the debt-based financial model".[68] As a result of this

[64] Wallace, H. A. 'The dangers of American fascism'. *New York Times*. April 9th, 1944. Available: http://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/cdm/ref/collection/wallace/id/65433

[65] Eisenhower, D. (1961). 'Farewell Address'. *Yale Law School*. Available: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/eisenhower001.asp

[66] Maloney, M. 'Money vs. currency – the hidden secrets of money, episode 1'. *GoldSilver, YouTube.* February 26th, 2013. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DyV0OfU3-FU

[67] Maloney, M. 'The Federal Reserve: Biggest scam in the history of mankind'. *GoldMoney, YouTube.* October 5th, 2013. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iFDe5kUUyT0

[68] Mannarino, G. 'Debt slavery, predatory loans, negative rates, the Fed, World Bank, MORE!'. Gregory Mannarino, *YouTube*. February 6th, 2019. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XPiKr1XXeBc

model, the New World Order is considered an *economic paradigm*, with the political paradigm working in defense of the economic, which is seen as a corporate fascism-enabling system defended by financial terrorism and war. Within this theory, this economic paradigm is viewed as maintaining a sense of permanency since the founding of the Federal Reserve in 1913 (Griffin 2010). As such it outdates both the global financial changes that occurred at the end of World War II, as well as the official foundation of the New World Order within George Bush, Sr.'s rhetoric (see Chapter 1). Accordingly, within this theory, politicians are viewed from within the alternative sphere as simply being hired by the major banks[69] and subservient to them.[70] This is a particularly important criticism to note as within much spiritual and religious practice, debt conscription is considered a parasitic practice, emblematic of dark occultism; this has surely contributed to the view that the oligarchy is implementing a dark occult-based construct.

4.3.3. The Collectivization of the American Media

The fear that the American domestic and global systems are being increasingly centralized in order to create a one-world system is particularly acute due to the fact that this system is seen as being based on totalitarian principles and practices; this point is largely upheld in relation to the media and technology sectors. As outlined in Chapter 1, the consolidation of the mainstream media[71] in America was implemented by the late 1980's under the CFR. Within the CIA's *Project Mockingbird*[72] (Clare & Cockburn 2016) the CIA took control of the sphere and began to engineer its content as far back as the 1950's (Washington 2017); it was gradually consolidated and collectivized. This process coincided with the introduction of televisions into the vast majority of American homes which also began in the 1950's; Americans now watch over four hours of television per day on average.[73] This created a situation by which the CIA, working within the CFR, gained the ability to control not only the content of the news but additionally, American culture and societal norms. This has come to be seen as particularly problematic as 95% of the human mind is comprised of the unconscious, which does not have an active filtering device but

[69] Dayen, D. 'The most important WikiLeaks revelation isn't about Hillary Clinton'. *New Republic.* October 14th, 2016. Available: https://newrepublic.com/article/137798/important-wikileaks-revelation-isnt-hillary-clinton

[70] Webb, W. 'Hilary begs forgiveness from the Rothschilds in leaked email'. *Mint Press News.* October 9th, 2016. Available: https://www.mintpressnews.com/hillary-clinton-begs-forgiveness-rothschilds-leaked-email/221570/

[71] This model, along with the corruption of the press, had been strongly cautioned against in the past; one of John F. Kennedy's most famous speeches[71] focuses on the former President urging the press not to allow 'secret societies' and outside interests to corrupt the practice of journalism. Kennedy, J. F. 'The President and the press: Address before the American Newspapers Publishers Association. April 27th, 1961. Available: https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/american-newspaper-publishers-association-19610427

[72] Central Intelligence Agency (1973). 'Memorandum for Executive Secretary, CIA Management Committee: 'Family Jewels'.' Available: https://www.cia.gov/open/Family%20Jewels.pdf

[73] Pinsker, J. 'How do American families have time to watch 8 hours of TV every day?' *The Atlantic*. December 6th, 2018. Available: https://www.theatlantic.com/family/archive/2018/12/tv-popular-americans-free-time/577468/

rather absorbs whatever it comes into contact with, making it highly susceptible to programming (Lipton 2005).

The totalitarian nature of this centralized model has also given rise to concerns that it has been purposefully implemented to create a consolidated sphere of public consciousness, which can then be engineered by the media through various forms of programming. Totalitarian systems work in relation to the fact that the human mind largely functions through a process of constant comparison, viewing everything in relation to other things. Taking this into account, totalitarian systems, which aim to control and purposefully lower human consciousness (Merloo 1960), work to eliminate standards by which comparisons may be made. Consequently, they are mind-control-based systems, which work to erect ontological boundaries within their subjects, molding them into one collective 'hive' mind, which may then be programmed. In the absence of the ability to make comparisons, the mind of the subject becomes dramatically simplified as the level of awareness within the individual drops. This affects their internal level of consciousness, in severe cases, such as in prisoner of war camps, this process reduces the subject to a kind of 'mindless robotism' (Merloo 1960: 235). The totalitarian subject is then incapable of questioning either authority or the effects of this authority on their own humanity; this is a heavily-dehumanizing process. This type of mental automation works as an inversion of logic; in the absence of the subject's ability to think officialdom becomes 'truth'; horrific acts can then become normalized (Merloo 1960: 104, 110). Without the opportunity to compare systems to one other, it becomes impossible to transcend the existing system (or paradigm). This creates a highly authoritarian State model in which the populous loses its freedom while staying largely unaware of it. The stripping of a subject's ability to think critically is a process by which the control of the subject's ontological reality is aggressively implemented by the State; this is a process of state-implemented, internal centralization (Merloo 1960: 237) carried out through the purposeful lowering of human consciousness in order to simply Man. In response to these practices, the subject retreats into an internal dream world, disconnecting with reality and into fantasies as an escape, they then surrender their will to the system and consent to this process, internalizing it.

The implementation of this structure has not only been enforced through the collectivization and control of the mainstream media but additionally through the use of the major CFR-controlled companies, which were also the main funders of both Obama and Hillary Clinton, most markedly Google, Facebook/YouTube and Amazon, who have now begun heavily censoring the alternative media, along with the intelligence agencies.[74] Robert Epstein, senior research psychologist at the *American Institute for Behavioral Research & Technology,* in fact argues that rather than the mainstream media, it is in fact Google that is "the most powerful mind-control device ever invented" (Moore & Tambini 2018: 14). Relating to a quote made by Google CEO Eric Schmidt two days after the 2016 Presidential election, in which Schmidt states controlling "how people get their information, *what they believe, what they don't"* as Google's project for the next decade (Epstein 2018: 297), Epstein goes on to note that Facebook and Google have gradually become "supremely intrusive tracking devices" integral to the surveillance state. "They have also become tools for manipulating the opinions, beliefs, purchases, and voting preferences of billions of people, often without their knowledge" (Epstein 2018: 297). Both companies, along with Apple,

[74] Zerohedge (2019). 'FBI: Conspiracy theorists are now a domestic terrorism threat'. August 1st, 2019. Available: https://www.zerohedge.com/news/2019-08-01/fbi-conspiracy-theories-are-domestic-terrorism-threat

Microsoft and IBM, are currently America's major funders of AI,[75] which is moving in the direction of enabling the capabilities to build replicas of the terrifying AI surveillance state currently being administered in China, in which citizens, who have no privacy outside of their homes, spend every moment of their lives surveilled with a numerical rating system displayed on camera over their heads tracking and granting or deducting points based on everything the subject does and thereby assigning "rights" based on these numerical scorecards.[76] AI is seen within the alternative sphere as the means by which to decisively force the physical internalization of the system within the subject, a method by which human consciousness would be purposefully and permanently lowered. Overall, the control of the media and tech are viewed within New World Order Theory as the means by which to implement 'reality' through ontological control; this 'reality' is then molded to serve the agenda of the global oligarchy, which, through its control of ontology, is then enabled to act as a worldwide Empire. Along with these methods, the key ideologies upheld within the political sphere since the New World Order paradigm began are additionally seen as working to redefine society's conception of Man.

4.3.4. Mainstream Political Ideologies

This section discusses the ideologies employed by the establishment paradigm, which are theorized within New World Order Theory to have been purposefully designed justify the implementation of the oligarchic financial model as well as the wars which are seen as having been fought to extend this model. As discussed in Chapter 1, the New World Order paradigm has revolved around a neoliberal agenda rooted in the Reagan White House but most markedly produced by the Democrat Presidency of Bill Clinton, as well as the neo-conservative agenda rooted in the Bush Sr. Presidency and fully implemented under George W. Bush following 9/11. The neoliberal and neo-conservative ideologies have worked in tandem to justify these key policy trajectories, acting as the ideas-based foundation for both; this section discusses them, along with *globalism*, which they have worked in relation to. As discussed in Chapter 2, ideologies are utilized to uphold paradigms; paradigms need ideologies to give them a sense of cohesion; they map the ideas that structure the paradigm together into belief systems, presenting the illusion of change within systems that may, in reality, work to stay the same in order to continue certain policy trajectories across Presidencies. This 'sameness' is defined by the underlying major policy paradigms, the importance of which, as compared to minor policy paradigms, is overwhelmingly dominant.

Both neo-conservatism and neo-liberalism have been broadly discussed within both the alternative sphere and within academia, being widely criticized as upholding principles which have worked to scale-back the rights of individuals at the expense of the state while upholding policy agendas which negatively affect the individual and society as a whole. Brown (2006: 691), argues that they have in fact converged to "cannibalize" the foundation of democracy in the modern era by creating extreme class divisions, the sustainment of a corporate and governing elite and imperial statism.

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[75] Forbes. 'What companies are winning the race for Artificial Intelligence?' February 24th, 2017. Available: https://www.forbes.com/sites/quora/2017/02/24/what-companies-are-winning-the-race-for-artificial-intelligence/#5da10cecf5cd

[76] Carney M. 'Leave no dark corner'. *ABC News Australia.* September 18th, 2018. Available: http://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-09-18/china-social-credit-a-model-citizen-in-a-digital-dictatorship/10200278

While *neoliberalism* has been defined in a very wide variety of ways, its predominant feature can be isolated as its aim of casting:

> The political and social spheres both as appropriately dominated by market concerns and as themselves organized by market rationality. That is, more than simply facilitating the economy, the state itself must construct and construe itself in market terms.
>
> (Brown 2006: 694).

In this conceptualization, the State is run like a business with democratic principles and the rule of law acting as obstacles to circumvent (Ibid. 695). Here cultural and nation-state borders are simply impediments to continued economic progress, all "relations, attachments, and endeavors are submitted to a monetary nexus" (Ibid. 698-699). A future-focused ideology (Ibid. 699), neoliberalism envisions a world remade to serve the economic agenda of an elite global class, working to normalize its financial policies, which result is ever-increasing levels of personal and national debt and gradually shift wealth into the top wealth bracket. In doing so, neoliberalism is in fact an aberration of traditional liberalism, which upholds the dignity and rights of the individual, focusing on disallowing practices which harm him or her. In its most simplified form, the pervasion of neoliberalism within culture results in the monetization of every aspect of society, with the economy coming to replace all else (culture, religion, etc.) as the unifying source – society's center. All actions and goals come to revolve around service to the economy, directly and indirectly.

In giving the economy such an elevated roll within society, any threats to it can then be used to justify extreme acts of brutality and violence, which are promoted through the neo-conservative ideology, which is also an aberration of the original ideology – *conservatism* – for which it takes its name. Here the degree of power which the state wields over human life and Nature on a global scale is severe as corporate fascism is promoted, along with a form of faux-patriotism based on the domination of other people groups and nations through financial and direct warfare and expansionist foreign policy initiatives (Norton 2004: 178). The aggressive growth in power of the State over the people is viewed as a positive development (Donnelly, Kagan & Schmitt 2000) as they are expected to submit to ever-increasing levels of "hierarchy and authority", which scale back their democratic rights (Brown 2006: 700). The State then becomes responsible for upholding the moral code of the country, which, as it reflects the ideology, promotes a deceptive perversion of organic Christianity, using God to justify warfare.[77] The humans killed in these wars must be dehumanized through media representations in order to excuse the State's actions, making this a highly supremacist ideology which incites the population to derive pleasure from the State's brutality; these practices can then be reproduced on a domestic scale as seen in the expansion of the surveillance state, police brutality, etc. Overall, these two ideologies are seen as the means by which the establishment paradigm has justified the economic paradigm, which has been built on practices which harm the general domestic and global populations.

[77] MacAskill, E. 'George Bush: God told me to end the tyranny in Iraq'. *The Guardian*. October 7th, 2005. Available: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/oct/07/iraq.usa

Globalism

Unlike neo-conservatism and neoliberalism, *globalism* – the third main ideology employed by the new world order paradigm – has been largely ignored (as an ideology) within academia with the exception of the work of Professor Manfred B. Steger. Writing that globalism is "the dominant ideology of our time against which all of its challengers must define themselves" (Steger 2005: 11), he introduces the term *globality* to signify a social condition "characterized by thick economic, political, and cultural interconnections and global flows that are making currently existing political borders and economic barriers irrelevant" (Steger 2005: 13). Tracing the origin of globalization back to the 1980's-1990's and the collapse of the Soviet Union, he describes it as originating among international elites who designed the concept of a new global order based on their values and beliefs; specifically, the belief in expanding the free market and consumerism (Steger 2005: 14).

Steger argues that the globalist ideology is in fact what has enabled both the neoliberal and neo-conservative ideologies to gain so much power within the U.S. political system and the world:

> By the mid-1990s, large segments of the population in the both the global North and South had accepted globalism's core claims, thus internalizing large parts of an overarching normative framework that advocated the deregulation of markets, the liberalization of trade, the privatization of state-owned enterprises, the dissemination of 'American values,' and, after 9-11, the support of the global War on Terror under U.S. leadership.
>
> (Sterger 2011: 14).

Sterger (2011: 14) states that a distinguishing feature of the globalist ideology is the idea that what drives it is a collective yet unanimous source – that no individual entities actually control it's rise. He notes a quote by Robert Hormats, Vice Chairman of Goldman Sachs, in which Hormats states "The great beauty of globalization is that no one is in control". Furthermore, globalism is represented as inevitable, beneficial to everyone and as furthering the spread of democracy (Sterger 2011: 18-22). Both the goals and negative consequences of the neoliberal and neo-conservative agendas are justified much more readily when considered in the context of an inevitably globalized world.

Globalism is perhaps the most vigorously contested ideology within the alternative sphere as it is equated with communism within America. The major criticism regarding globalism is the centralizing nature of the ideology and the policies it justifies – a system of increased economic and political control supported by the threat of force. The ideology is viewed as masking itself as *internationalism,* which may be defined by the creation of an increasingly integrated worldwide system in which individuals may interact across boarders freely and autonomously; globalism instead works to increase the power of the State over these interactions. Additional concerns over globalism involve the totalitarian nature of the ideology, as CRF-controlled corporations serving

the global model have begun to censor free speech and the alternative media.[78] Overall, globalism, neo-conservatism and neo-liberalism are seen as having been used to further establish an increasingly centralized American domestic and global model. Neo-conservatism is used to justify the forced implementation of this model through military means; neo-liberalism is used to justify this model through economic means. Globalism acts as the foundation for the implementation of both. As these ideologies came to define the New World Order paradigm, the collectivization of the CRF-controlled media within America and on a global scale further worked to consolidate this paradigm by negating conflicting narratives, arguments and ideologies, thus allowing for the normalization of the foundational ideas within it. This eventually climaxed into a brand of hegemony that very clearly succeeded in dominating the American political, economic and media landscape for decades, underlying the policy trajectories that came to define the establishment. This is further discussed in the Conclusion.

4.4. THE ROMAN EMPIRE & THE OCCULT

Within New World Order Theory, both the global finance-based Empire model as well as the roots of the spiritual war seen to be unfolding now, are based in traditions stemming back to the Roman Empire; this section discusses this idea, along with both the 'light' and 'dark' occult. The occult is discussed here because it links to the connection between the New World Order and Nazism as well as the concept of the Caliphate, which is a one of the most important components within this study (see Chapter 7, Chapter 8 and the Conclusion). In order to conceptualize the dark occult (section 4.3.2.) it is necessary to know what it works in relation to; 4.3.1 briefly outlines themes within the 'light' or 'original' occult teachings.

4.4.1. The 'Light' Occult and the Roman Catholic Empire

The verb form *occult* stems from the Latin roots *celare* meaning 'to hide' and *occulere,* 'to conceal'; it has a neutral connotation and refers to the study of all hidden knowledge, as well as knowledge hidden to the perceptual senses. The study of the occult teachings by the general populace is largely discouraged by institutions under the assertion that in undertaking this line of inquiry, one in fact becomes *initiated* into the occult; religious systems often equate this field with the demonic and strongly caution against any further investigation into it. In the occult worldview, much like in those views upheld across religions and within spiritual groups, *reality* is comprised of two distinct planes or spheres: the material world in which the body exists and the spiritual world which concerns all that is beyond the perceptual senses, namely human consciousness. Occult study revolves around the *esoteric* examination of the symbolic meanings of texts, in contrast to the *exoteric* or literal meanings, with the aim of discovering the underlying causes behind what manifests on the material plane (Hall 1996: 5). It it through this method that students of the occult can are believed to be able to transverse the veil of *Maya*, the division between this world and the hidden world, passing in and out of the veil.

[78] Zerohedge. 'FBI: conspiracy theories are now a domestic terrorism threat'. August 1st, 2019. Available: https://www.zerohedge.com/news/2019-08-01/fbi-conspiracy-theories-are-domestic-terrorism-threat

The field which makes up the 'light' or 'original' occult teachings is very broad and replete with a vast array of schools and forgotten, ancient texts and traditions ranging from Druidism to Qabbalism to Freemasonry. Originating within the Egyptian Mystery Schools, and even farther back to Babylon and Atlantis, these belief systems were largely driven underground by the Roman Empire. Viewed as a threat to the power structure of the Empire, they were labeled a 'gnostic' and consequently became 'occulted'. Within New World Order Theory and more broadly, these genocides are viewed as part of a centralization agenda designed, through the merging of the Roman Empire and the Catholic Church, to centralize the system *externally* through the control of institutions while simultaneously working to *internally* centralize the minds and belief systems of those living within it. Here the burning by Rome of the Library at Alexandria is seen as a resetting of history,[79] wherein the Romans gained the ability to re-write the past, granting them the control over *time*. In the merging of the Empire with the church and due to the gnostic genocides, this control could extend beyond the material plane and into the spiritual plane and the higher levels of consciousness, granting the rulers of Rome the power to control 'reality'; they then became ontologists*,* able to create the world they wished on a multi-dimensional level. The wars that occurred during the consolidation of this Empire are consequently seen as wars that were fought to determine who would hold power over the ontological construction of the world, giving them the power to create 'reality'. They were consequently considered religious wars or *occult wars*. Here an *occultist* may be defined as a manipulator and molder of a multi-dimensional reality, in the tradition of a *wizard* or *sorcerer*.

The western gnostic teachings, while diverse, center on common themes (Hall 2003). The most prominent is Man's relationship to God. Here *God* may be viewed through a Judeo-Christian lens, with a distinct personality and voice. Or, for many, 'God' is seen in the tradition of the Gnostics and in the *Tao*, as the *Source* of consciousness and energy, acting as the highest vibration and frequency of the latter; there is much overlap between these views. God is equated with the entire spiritual plane, much like in the Spinozian tradition, which is defined as all that humans are beyond the physical – the realm of the ever-expanding unknown and the dwelling place of what Plato described as the "eternal Essence" (Hall 2003: 21). Within the occulted systems, Nature and the world as a whole are intrinsically linked to Man, in the tradition of Eden, they act as one organism and Man is tied to Nature's fate; this view is reflective of the philosophy of *vicoism* in which Natural Law is ordained by God as a means by which to protect all living systems. Within this tradition, humans are seen as a three-part whole comprised of *mind, body* and *spirit;* the three must work in balance to create harmony within the individual. The aim of life is to work to discover God's Divine Plan for oneself, a process of discovering one's *higher purpose*, in which existence on the material plane merges with the Will of God on the spiritual plane, resulting in the drawing up of the individual from his or her lower, Earth-bound self, linked to the material and the idea of the *microcosm,* and equated with the ego, and into the *higher self*, linked to the higher planes of the *macrocosm*. This is a journey by which one strives to grow closer to the Creator*,* working to emulate Him as He is the source of fulfillment on the material plane; this is a process of *evolution:*

> A person's ability to think does not depend upon chance but upon the attuning of his consciousness to the planes of thought, so that his mental powers may be energized. Those

[79] Observation Deck. 'Book blazing throughout history and the Vatican library'. *Observation Deck*, *YouTube.* May 10th, 2019. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OZ5kO6BhAOo

> who attune themselves to the various planes of Nature governing the major divisions of life will receive the influx of thought, life or power that dwells in and manifests through that particular plane... He must seek to unite his intelligence with that of his Creator, the Ancient of Days. This he does by adjusting his organisms to the body centers of Macrocosmic Man [the higher self]. This sequential adjustment of internal centers of consciousness with eternal qualities we call *evolution.*
>
> (Hall 1993: 22).

Within these teachings, Man is defined by his relationship to evolution, evolution acting as a metaphor for God. Made in the image of the Creator and imbibed on a cellular level with the energy and consciousness flowing from this source, humans are seen as having infinite potential and worth as dramatically-complex beings capable of internally rising above the external world, into deeper and greater depths of consciousness and connection with the divine:

> Spirituality is a progressive awakening to the inner reality of our being, to spirit, self, soul, which is other than our mind, life and body. It is an inner aspiration to know, to enter into contact and union with the greater Reality beyond, which also pervades the universe and dwells in us, and, as a result of that aspiration, that contact and that union, a turning, a conversion, a birth into a new being.
>
> (Aurobindo 1990: 61).

This internal, transcendental process allows Man to connect to God's presence within himself – known as the *Holy Spirit* in the Bible – this is an act of engagement with overcoming the material plane, which is seen as inflicting trauma upon its occupants, often leading them to engage in acts of 'sin' which ultimately harm them on a spiritual level. And in fact the overriding theme of the entire western occult cannon could be argued to be *autonomy from* versus *allegiance to* the physical world and it's control structures; this theme overlaps greatly with many religions and philosophical belief systems across the world (Capra 1975). Within a wide range of these occult worldviews, the material plane exists as a fallen manifestation of a former self, sunken into a state of involution, which works to separate it from the Creator. This is a spiritual slavery-system, seeking to trap humans in cages of materialism, binding them to this plane to keep them from rising above and beyond it. This is viewed as the condition of the fallen world, plagued by various, ever-morphing versions of a primordial structure given authority over the Earth. The Roman Empire is viewed as a modern manifestation of a dark, enduring, chaotic force existing in ever-morphing, monstrous forms and working to re-conceptualize Man, simplifying him as a slave to the Romans and to the priest class. It is here that the foundation for the New World Order is theorized to have been established.

4.4.2. The Dark Occult

The original gnostic teachings were kept secret within the Mystery Schools and isolated from the general population to prevent infiltration by 'dark occultists' who might utilize the knowledge within them, usurping and inverting it to gain power over others. This problem charts back to the corruption of the Mystery schools, where sorcerers are said to have engaged in "transcendental experimentation" or occult warfare, eventually "seizing the reigns of spiritual government"; they then "mutilated the rituals of the Mysteries while professing to preserve them" (Hall 2003: 315), ushering in the fall of the civilizations they conquered. Due to these practices, in which even the most advanced original occult teachings were usurped, the entire dark occult field has now become defined by the practice of *inversion*. In this sense, inversion is not only a process by which the original symbol or teaching is manipulated into its direct opposite; it is additionally one in which the original is defiled and perverted, largely in a blasphemous manor. In the absence of the ability to create new systems outside of those directly inspired by God, the dark occultists are seen as being tasked with developing inversion-based methods by which to introduce parasitic societal constructs; these constructs serve the Ego, working to elevate Man above God, as an inversion of evolution, and causing Man to invest himself in the material plane exclusively. As such, the dark occult paradigm is one based on inverted evolution or the *involution* of Man. This process, justified by a variety of converging belief systems such as Saturnism, Satanism and Luciferianism, revolves around instilling processes which purposefully lower human consciousness and entrain and steal human energy in order to harness and control it; "the most dangerous form of black magic is the scientific perversion of occult power for the gratification of personal desire" (Hall 2003: 318). The New World Order is viewed as a modern manifestation of this agenda.

The inversion principle, which is broadly seen as the elevation of the material plane or 'Man' above the spiritual plane or 'God' is based on an ancient belief structure known as *Saturnism*. Deriving from the Roman god *Saturn* and the Greek god *Chronus* as well as *Ba'al* or *Moloch* within the Carthaginian tradition, the planet of Saturn is equated with the material plane itself (Hoffman 2001). As the material plane is believed to exist as a tiny sphere emerging from a vast spiritual universe, the worship of the material and the consequential negation of the spiritual is seen as the practice of *inverting reality.* As the spiritual plane is infinitely more vast, the worship of the material causes the subject to *internalize* the material at the cost of the Divine, merging them fully into their lower selves and causing them to enter a state of devolution; denying their own humanity, they "become what they worship" (Beale & Kim 2014). *Saturn* is represented within stories as an eater of his own children, acting as a symbol of both involution and parasitism. Overall, the exaltation of the the material plane and the purposeful destruction of humanity's belief in the spiritual plane and the higher-dimensional version of themselves is consequently seen as *spiritual warfare.* This is viewed as a multi-dimensional war spanning human history, one fought against God and a war against human evolution.

While often simplistically depicted as the worship of a serpentine entity, within the dark occult *Satanism,* while considered a highly-primitive belief system, is in fact much more complex than is represented within the non-occult sphere. Long out-dating its Christian depiction in the Bible, Satanism is considered to have foundations pre-existing the advent of writing and is often considered to be an *ideology* of parasitism rather than a religion (Passio 2017). Within the ancient texts, it is represented as a predatory belief structure (Hall 2003: 386). Participants utilize energy

channeling methods to connect to negative, 'demonic' entities believed to exist on the lower astral plane of consciousness; these entities then aid them energetically in accomplishing goals linked to the ego, which involve exerting control over others. This ritual is also performed in groups in relation to shared goals. Satanism is viewed as problematic within society largely because of the hierarchical constructs which it promotes, which are seen as upholding and reproducing values-systems based on sado-masochism (Keenahan 1990); these values are reflective of the pyramid structure, which is viewed as a slavery-based construct. It is largely for these reasons that the debt-based banking system model is isolated as being based on dark occult principles; slavery is equated with Satanism and its parasitic nature. Other Satanic practices involve the application of methods by which humans are incited to channel their energy into the lower astrals, which are believed to feed on energy produced by negative emotions, most pronouncedly *fear*. These practices result in the extreme torture and rape methods for which Satanists are known, which are often institutionalized. Satanic practice is also accomplished through mass-scale trauma infliction – most notably, war (Passio 2019).

Luciferianism has a highly-complex history, with *Lucifer* being perhaps the most controversial figure in the entire occult cannon, taking on many symbolic meanings within many systems; this section discusses it's involution-based form. Here Lucifer is seen as the great adversary to God, acting as an artificial construct of the Father figure. In relation to the conception of God as the original source of energy, Lucifer is a form of *false light* or *false energy*. Whereas Satanic practice focuses on energy channeling, Luciferianists discard violent rituals, avoiding the karmic cost they are seen as incurring, and rather working to control the *mind*. In the Gnostic interpretation of the Book of Revelation the mother of the illuminated souls sent by God to "bring Heaven down and establish it in the midst of Earth itself" is hunted down by a dragon who attempts to flood the sacred knowledge they hold with false doctrine (Hall 2003: 614); Lucifer is equated with this falsity and deception – the lowering of consciousness. The *Demiurges*, a figure represented as a malevolent architect-god given reign over Earth, comes to "swallow up the immortal part of human nature" (Ibid. 2003: 615); Lucifer constructs the complex false realities that deceive Man into sacrificing this part of him or herself.[80] In doing so, Luciferians are believe to be able to extend the slavery-based systems they mold into the higher spiritual planes by causing humanity to negate the multi-dimensional aspect of themselves by 'selling their souls' for material wealth and prestige – the sacrifice of the higher self for the worship of the lower self. Within New World Order Theory, these illusions are erected to distract the populace from the reality that society is controlled under a dark occultist agenda. As human consciousness becomes lowered to increasingly severe degrees, artificial structures are implemented to conceal Satanic practice. False explanations and justifications for events which are blatantly Satanic in their agendas and executions are then accepted by the populace.[81]

[80] Black Earth Productions. 'The art of hyper-dimensional warfare'. *YouTube.* May 7th, 2016. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hxg1AYNmu3I

[81] Tsarian, M. (2012). 'Enter the Magi, part 1'. *Black Earth Productions, YouTube.* December 13th, 2012. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eOc_SYdCtII

Within the occult field *evil* may be defined as:[82]

> The parasitic practice of those who have gained advanced knowledge of the transitional nature of human consciousness. They know how to recognize our tendency to transcend into newer and higher perpetual realities as an inherent ability and purposefully decide to impede, co-opt, manufacture and undermine those innate mechanisms at the *molecular atomic consciousness* – the cell – to disallow for the transcendence of mankind from obsolete paradigm structures.

The goal of the supremacist Luciferian construct is therefore to simplify Man into a materialist, ego-based shadow of his true self, training him to consent to slavery, so that he does not evolve beyond the dark occultist systems which oppress him. In relation to themselves, the Luciferians refer to non-occultists as *the dead,* for their consciousness is buried within a materialist grave. The next section discusses the the methods by which this spiritually-based war is theorized to have been waged in modern times, leading into the concept of the Caliphate.

4.5. THE POLITICALIZATION OF THE OCCULT & RELIGION

This section discusses the politicalization of the occult and religion and how the political groups which have utilized this strategy have done so within attempts to create one-world structures.

4.5.1. The Nazis & Politicalization of the Occult

The politicalization of the occult has a long history. Joseph Stalin's cult of personality, for example, is certainly one manifestation – a temple to ego in the form of an Empire; here Stalin became 'God'. However, within the modern western world, the use of the dark occult is best seen in the history of the Nazi Party in Germany during World War II. This history largely begins with a spike in popularity in the belief system of *theosophy* during the 1880's, a movement based on the work of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831-91); this contributed to a ('light') occult revival which spread across Germany prior to World War I (Goodrick-Clarke 2005: 18). Interestingly, part of the reason this revival took place was due to a reaction against the gnostic genocides carried out by the Roman Catholic Empire; these genocides were viewed as "owing to Satanic design" (Ibid. 2005: 05). Due to the Nazis' attainment of advanced knowledge of a wide range of occulted belief systems due to this revival and the scholars who promoted it, they were able to carefully select a system to utilize within the Party and they chose the ancient esoteric Jewish belief system of *Qabbalath*. Perhaps more than any other western-based belief structure, Qabbalath is distinctive due to the profound nature of its teachings, which came to greatly influence Freemasonry (Hall 2003); this profundity can be attributed to the belief system's advanced adherence to a quantum physics-based ontological construct of reality. This adherence has allowed for the development of

[82] Black Earth Productions (2017). 'Psychology of evil and the energy force'. *YouTube.* January 15th, 2017. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b4_pC_CIyk0

a spiritually-based belief structure which incorporates the application of advanced quantum-based methods;[83] as such it is known to be extremely effective in both its organic and inverted forms. It can be surmised that the Nazis chose Qabbalath due to its sophistication and because of their knowledge of the quantum-based system, recognizing it to be a more advanced scientific system than the Newtonian model (see Section 4.6). This system was eventually developed by the SS who utilized the Qabbalist *Tree of Life* to order their internal political structure; "this occult system of ten grades of successively higher initiation into gnostic mysteries served as the basis of the new order" (Ibid 2005: 29).

The Nazis use of Qabbalath gradually descended into dark occultism as the belief structure was being utilized to create a one-world order – a temple to the ego. In doing so, the Nazis inverted the Qabbalic belief system and applied these practices to external groups. This occurred in tandem with their extermination of nearly all of the Qabbalist rabbis in the Holocaust.[84] As the Tree of Life is originally a map based on personal and spiritual development aimed at the moral expansion of the individual, the Nazis' culture of extreme hierarchy based largely on supremacist, fascist principles, along with their eugenics-based extermination agenda realized in the concentration camps, was clearly a perversion of the original Tree of Life concept. This contributed to the design of the Third Reich, which was largely conceptualized as a way to challenge the central bank-based model, which was viewed as Satanic owing to its structural design – here Satanic practice was ascribed to the Jewish race/religion who were seen as controlling a semi-global banking monopoly. The Nazis' merging of the political and the spiritual, which was extremely successful for a time, resulted in a "new order" comprised of Nazi "special elite, whose power was holy, absolute and mysterious" (Ibid 2005: 96); through the use of this strategy, the Nazis effectively politicized the occult, inverting a powerful Qabbalist, evolution-based method in order to create the Third Reich.

Following the close of World War II, hundreds of Nazi scientists were brought to America in *Operation Paperclip,* which is now declassified,[85] and began to work largely within the CIA, helping to conceptualize the agency's agenda. From the 1950's onward, the agency began to engage in carrying out projects aimed at controlling the consciousness of their subjects. Many of these projects, the most famous of which is *MKULTRA,*[86] aimed at fracturing the human psyche with the aim of creating mind-controlled slaves (Jacobsen 2014), a technique widely used within dark occult practice under the same goal. Other operations such as the *Gateway Project*[87] show that like the Nazis, the CIA and the American military were deeply engaged in studying occult practices and their link to quantum physics, researching methods such as hypnosis, transcendental

[83] Berg, R. 'The war within'. *The Kabbalah Center.* Available: https://kabbalah.com/en/master-kabbalists/the-war-within

[84] Cooper, J. A. *God is a Verb: Kabbalah and the Practice of Mystical Judaism*. New York: Penguin.

[85] Jacobsen, A. (2014). *Operation Paperclip: The Secret Intelligence Program to Bring Nazi Scientists to America.* New York: Little, Brown & Company. Review available: https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol-58-no-3/operation-paperclip-the-secret-intelligence-program-to-bring-nazi-scientists-to-america.html

[86] The popular Netflix show *Stranger Things* is loosely based on the MKULTRA project.

[87] McConnell, W. M. (1983). 'Analysis and Assessment of Gateway Process'. *Department of the U.S. Army.* Available: https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP96-00788R001700210016-5.pdf

meditation, the activation of the Kundalini, biofeedback, energy entrainment and holograms as well as the special abilities of humans; e.g. psycho-cognition, telepathy, telekinesis, etc. What these projects attest to is the U.S. government's knowledge of the fact that successful political strategy – particularly within war, as seen within the Nazi Party – does not only involve engagement with the material plane but rather engagement with *both* the material and spiritual planes, in the tradition of the Roman Empire.

It is partly due to the declassification of these disturbing projects and partly due to George Bush Sr.'s 'saving' of the CIA following the Church Committee Hearings and the Franklin Scandal during his brief (1976 – 1977) tenor as head of the agency, that the New World Order is considered a distinctly Nazi organization, tied to the dark occult, which is theorized to have gravitated to America within the CIA. Additionally, Bush Sr. was a member of Yale University's notorious *Skull and Bones* society, an group noted to practice dark occultism (Hoffman 2001).

A post from the QAnon message board (see Chapter 1) from March 10th, 2018 shows the following:

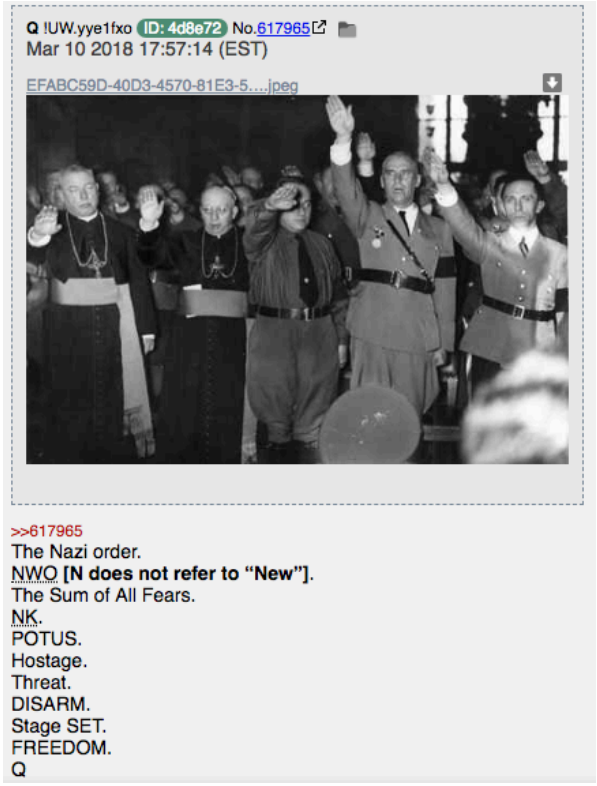

Figure 4.1: *QAnon message board, March 10th, 2018*

Here the New World Order is directly implicated as a Nazi organization.

Another post from March 4th, 2019 shows the following graphic:

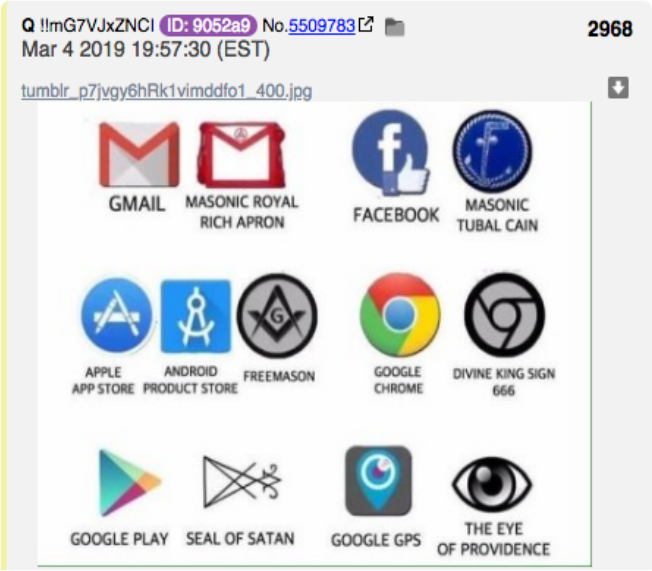

Figure 4.2: *QAnon message board, March 4th, 2018*

Here the major CFR-controlled companies are accused of being equated with Satanism and inverted Masonic systems; they are considered a part of the globalist Empire described within Global Oligarchy Theory.

The Q board further connects the New World Order to the agenda of the global oligarchy, which is sad to largely revolve around creating war for profit and to cause worldwide chaos (post 50, November 2nd, 2017 under *answers* section):

Why are wars so important?

- Gain power, control, resources (including financial), territory
- Depopulation – eliminate men of able age (18-45) that could fight a different opponent
- Human Trafficking.
- Large-scale population movement
- Financial gain from subsequent rebuilding effort.
- The world, and our own elites, are far more evil and degenerate[88] than we may imagine. Their corruption is overwhelming and they have worked against the interests of the USA including treason

Overall, the Nazis are viewed as one manifestation of the global oligarchic agenda, which works to fund all types of centralizing political systems, ideologies, institutions, etc. In modern times, their major political weapon is a direct slave system justifying endless war – the Caliphate.

[88] Here the Q board is referring to institutionalized pedophilia, which is heavily addressed across other posts and is considered a form of dark occult practice.

4.5.2. The Caliphate Model & the Politicalization of Religion

Due to the importance of the concept of the *Caliphate* within this study, this section examines the idea behind it and its role within political Islam.

> Today, every member of the Muslim world agrees that all the Muslim countries of the world... should be merged into one Muslim state... There should be one caliph for the whole state whose capital should be Mecca. There should be one currency and defense for this state and the Holy Quran should be its constitution. The name that has been proposed for this vast state is Global Muslim State.
>
> -Osama bin Laden.[89]

Islamism is the belief that both political and public life should revolve around the traditional Islamic belief system supported within the Quran and Sharia Law. It is important to note that Islamism is an extreme form of *Islam,* which is considered a religion of peace; the two should not be confused. *Wahhabism* – the state-sponsored form of Islam within Saudi Arabia while a part of the Islamist movement, is an extreme fundamentalist belief system, strongly related to the practice of jihad and jihadi terrorist groups.

While there are various forms of Islamism, the overriding aim is the creation of a one-world Muslim Caliphate; extremist Islamist groups such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS engage in acts of terrorism justified by this goal, which is viewed as a devotedly religious one. In reference to this goal:

> 1. A Caliphate is a centralized Islamic religious state in which the national boundaries of nation-states are erased, uniting all Muslims under a unified, global system (Adraoui 2017: 918).
>
> 2. Secular leaders within the Muslim world are identified as the enemy of the caliphate objective (Adraoui 2017: 924). Jihadi terrorist regimes – specifically Al-Qaeda and ISIS who have stated this as a goal – aim at overthrowing non-Islamic regimes who do not support the Caliphate (Adraoui 2017: 931). On the basis of this view, "jihadists are entitled to try to obliterate any political border that seeks to contain the rise of this new caliphate" (Adraoui 2017: 932).
>
> 3. Within the Caliphate model extreme acts against non-Muslims are justified. "...cultural, ethnic, linguistic and territorial separations are considered intolerable..." This may justify extreme acts such as ethnic cleansing (Adraoui 2017: 931) and is highly totalitarian.
>
> 4. Many pro-Caliphate leaders consider the Caliphate a purely *political* goal. In 2013, Rached Ghannouchi, co-founder of the Tunisian Ennahda Party, which was

[89] United States FBIS (2004). 'Compilation of Usama bin Laden's statements, 1994–January 2004', *Federation of American Scientists*. Available: http://fas.org/irp/world/para/ubl-fbis.pdf.

> developed based on the writings of the Muslim Brotherhood, explained in an interview that the concept of the Caliphate is in fact very close to the concept of the European Union; "Yes, the EU is a powerful example and a similar project can be undertaken in North Africa and the wider Arab world" (Adraoui 2017: 930).

It is important to note that the Caliphate model calls for war to be waged between those within the Caliphate system and those external to it. In short, the creation of a Caliphate would be the catalyst for endless war on Earth.

The Caliphate concept illustrates that along with occulted belief structures, religious systems may also be infiltrated, corrupted and turned into 'sects' of their former selves and then utilized to justify and create dark occultist politicalized systems. The creation of a Caliphate is the major aim of Wahhabism, a fundamentalist sect of Islam developed by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (Forte 2012: 60), which has been instrumentally used by the House of Saud to create and sustain jihadi terrorism through groups such as Al-Qaeda, the Muslim Brotherhood and ISIS, and to justify the severely repressive Saudi Royal Family's political domination of the nation. The British Empire's role in supporting the rise in power of both the Saud family dynasty (Gaunt 2016) and in the creation Wahhabism (Gümüş 2016) in order to divide the Muslim world is well-documented. Denounced by Muslims worldwide as a "vile sect" and, in fact, a form of Satanism (al-Husni 2014), Wahhabism is a perversion and arguably an inversion of the organic Islamic belief system, which has "weaponized Islamist ideology" (Choksy & Choksy 2015: 27) and has been *the* major source for the creation and funding of global terrorism (Choksy & Choksy 2015) while additionally working to support the Saudi Royal Family's control of the global sex, drugs and slave trades (Schwartz 2003).

The manipulation of Islam by the west for political gain is also evident within German history as well; spy Max Freiherr von Oppenheim famously ran a 'Oriental Intelligence Unit' during World War I, which successfully expanded the conditions under which jihad could be carried out (Ferall 2015: 87). The CIA has continued this legacy, supporting Islamic fundamentalism during the 1950's and 1960's, the overthrow of the Shah of Iran by the Muslim Brotherhood and the ayatollahs in 1979, the funding of the mujahedin in Afghanistan[90]and working to fund Al-Qaeda (see Chapters 7 and 8).[91] What this history shows is that the corruption of both occulted systems and religious systems is a common political tactic that has been utilized throughout history in order to accomplish political aims through the manipulation of spiritual-based systems, in the tradition of the inversion of the Mystery Schools. Additionally, these corrupted systems are often used to justify dark occultist agendas based on the implementation of devolution-based models. It should be stressed that in examining these systems and religions, that there are corrupted and inverted versions of all of them. This unfortunate fact has had staggering consequences as these inverted belief structures have been used to justify extreme acts of brutality against humanity, thereby dividing people groups and turning them against one another. This 'divide and conquer' strategy is seen as one of main methods employed by the oligarchy in order to maintain power. The

[90] Aburish, S. K. *A Brutal Friendship: The West and the Arab Elite* (1998). New York: St Martin's Press.
[91] Chengu, G. 'America created Al-Qaeda and the ISIS terrorist group'. *Global Research.* March 8th 2019. Available: https://www.globalresearch.ca/america-created-al-qaeda-and-the-isis-terror-group/5402881

Caliphate is further discussed in Chapter 8 and in the Conclusion. The next section discusses New World Order Theory in further detail in relation to the control of ontology.

4.6. QUANTUM PHYSICS & ONTOLOGY

This section discusses the final criticisms of the New World Order system, which revolve around the idea that the British Empire's control of science ushered in a new era upon which the paradigm came to be built.

A major theme within the alternative sphere is the distinction between classical and quantum physics – specifically the two conflicting versions of 'reality' upheld within them. This is particularly significant as under the British Empire, science became the determiner for 'reality' rather than religion, particularly the subject of physics (Sardar 2000). This 'reality' then comes to underpin other academic subjects, resulting in the dramatic influence of the subject of physics upon society and the world. Quantum mechanics rejects *physicalism* – the view that the physical world solely constructs reality and instead upholds the view that there are rather *two* distinct planes (Chalmers 1996). The first plane involves the classical level of experiential, empirical reality, composed of independent, spatially localized objects; this is the *physical* or *material* world. The second plane is distinct from the first and defined by non-separability and the fundamental unity of all nature; it is the plane concerned with expansive human consciousness and what we picture as *the universe* (Mukhopadhyay 2018: 11-12). This second plane is often referred to as the 'spiritual' plane; it is the underlying level to the first, with the physical plane acting as only one branch stemming from it (Mukhopadhyay 2018: 10), a view which overlaps with those of the occulted, spiritual and religious systems discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Here the quantum plane is infinitely more vast and expansive, with the material acting as tiny sailboat drifting on an ocean of quantum. As a part of this reality, humans are then seen as reflected *within it*, a multi-dimensional, logical part of the whole, overwhelmingly comprised of consciousness and energy – two distinct yet reinforcing concepts acting in relation to one another – rather than simply matter. This is reflected in the human cell structure, which is 99.9999% energy (Dispenza 2012), meaning that the human body can be seen as a metaphor for the dimensions of the material versus quantum planes; here the matter in our cells represents the sailboat, floating in an ocean of quantum energy.

Within current quantum theory, matter, mind and thus, human behavior emerge from the quantum, underlying plane into the physical plane; "our empirical reality is continuously being selected from a plurality of options at an underlying level of reality" (Mukhopadhyay 2018: 14). The reality that emerges from the quantum into the physical plane is selected by the individual; in observing reality, a 'state vector collapse' occurs and the reality that is being observed manifests into the world; here "*observation* is just a euphemism for consciousness" (Walker 2000: 95). This means that it is the level of *consciousness* of the *individual* which determines the reality that becomes selected; rather than the external, material plane determining the internal, it is the *internal* which determines the *external*. In short, *reality responds to us*. And more so, reality responds who we *are*; consequently, internal development is a matter of paramount importance. Here no human is

'the same' or 'equal',[92] as individuals exist at dramatically diverse levels of consciousness, which lead them to claim different belief systems; this is a natural consequence of existing in a quantum world. Within the quantum view, because of the infinite capabilities that humans hold within themselves, they are viewed as boundlessly complex, holding ever-expanding potential, having the ability to distend their consciousness into the quantum plane autonomously – a process of evolution willed and controlled by the individual and their relationship to the universe. As Conn Henry (2005: 29) writes in *Nature,* "One benefit of switching humanity to a correct perception of the world is the resulting joy of discovering the mental nature of the Universe... The Universe is immaterial — mental and spiritual. Live, and enjoy" (Conn Henry 2005: 29).

The history of the 'war' (Sardar 2000) between the Newtonian and quantum-based versions of physics has been active within the sciences for nearly one hundred years, with physicists and increasingly, philosophers,[93] arguing that the quantum model is in fact far more advanced and calling for a new paradigm shift within the hard sciences. Thomas Kuhn's (1962) *The Scientific Structure of Revolutions* provided the theory – paradigm shifts – whereby the shift from classical to quantum could be justified without destroying the legitimacy of science and the institutions as a whole. Kuhn's work also gave rise to the possibility of science being controlled by the dominant hegemonic class of the time. This view began to be supported soon after quantum mechanics emerged, with it being argued[94] that the Newtonian view on physics was primarily a result of seventeenth-Century Britain's socio-economic interests. "Step by step, science flourished along with the bourgeoisie. In order to develop its industry, the bourgeoisie required a science that would investigate the properties of material bodies and the manifestations of the forces of nature" (Hessen 1931: 16). Within this theory, in controlling science in alignment with their agenda, the bourgeoisie negated the study of the non-material and the multi-dimensional view of both reality and Man, thereby contributing to the building of an atheist architecture for 'reality', which Newtonian physics had promoted through its depiction of the material plane as overwhelmingly dominant. Hessen's theory has been widely supported within the alternative media with physicist Nikolai Tesla being perhaps the most highly regarded individual within the entire sphere. Tesla, whose work utilized quantum mechanics in order to harness energy, is famous for his inventions as well as his profound writings which work to explain applied quantum mechanics, his most famous quote being "If you want to find the secrets of the universe, think in terms of energy, frequency and vibration". Tesla is viewed as a hero who attempted to free science from its restrictive materialist prison.[95]

This view of both the universe and Man, which greatly overlap with the occulted teachings as well as many religious and philosophical traditions, was radically redefined within America following World War II, when Quigley writes (1966) *that everything changed*. It was at this point that society

[92] Which certainly does not mean that we should not all be given equal rights.
[93] Kastrup, B. 'Should quantum anomalies make us rethink reality?' *Scientific American*. April 19th, 2018. Available: https://blogs.scientificamerican.com/observations/should-quantum-anomalies-make-us-rethink-reality/
[94] Hessen, B. (1931). 'The social and economic roots of Newton's *Principia*'. Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science, 278.
[95] Vikoulov, A. 'The physics of information: Quantum potentiality to classical actuality of your experiential reality'. *Ecstadelic.net.* September 20th, 2018. Available: https://www.ecstadelic.net/top-stories/the-physics-of-information-quantum-potentiality-to-classical-actuality-of-your-experiential-reality

embraced Charles Darwin's materialist conception of Man as defined by an "animal nature" (Ibid.) and the Newtonian model of physics and this came to be reflected within the culture as *scientific materialism*[96] took hold and the culture began to reflect this:

> The whole trend of the nineteenth century has been to emphasize man's animal nature, and in doing so, to seek to increase his supply of material necessities... This effort has resulted in the sharp curtailment or almost total neglect of of the conventions of man's earlier history, conventions which had been, on the whole, based on a conception of man as a dualistic creature in which an eternal spiritual soul was encased, temporarily, in an ephemeral, material body.
>
> (Quigley 1966: 832).

This was a process which had been conceptualized within the work of philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1990: 53), who described what he saw as the 'death of God' within society:

> When one gives up the Christian faith, one pulls the right to Christian morality out from under one's feet. This morality is by no means self-evident… Christianity is a system, a whole view of things thought out together. By breaking one main concept out of it, the faith in God, one breaks the whole.

What Nietzsche is describing is the removal of a quantum-based, multi-dimensional conception of reality from society and its replacement by a one-dimensional, materialist model. In removing 'God' as the centralizing force, American society became dramatically re-engineered.

Writing partially in response Nietzsche's work, political philosopher Eric Voegelin (1968) argues that the Greeks' original conception of *logos* – or *order*, a metaphor for *God*, or within quantum theory, *the universe* or *the ultimate higher consciousness*, came to be replaced by science's adherence to physicality. In replacing God with Man, the centralizing force in the universe was replaced by 'gods' who evolved from the material plane, given life by materialist ideologies, which were built on the materialist Marxist view that consciousness arises from the physical plane. Whereas society had originally been centralized around a higher consciousness, it slowly grew to be centralized around the economy. Whereas society had previously supported humanity's wide-scale direction of its energy into the quantum plane, society changed to support the exclusive direction of human energy into the material. Whereas God had once acted as the main force or energetic center ('the heart') within American society, His replacement is seen as ushering in an era of *involution*. In disposing of the non-material, Marx created the pathway by which reality could become inverted, with the material itself becoming a replacement for God, a deeply Saturnist practice, and igniting humanity's channeling of all of its energy into the physical plane – the equivalent of decrying the ocean for planks of wood.

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[96] Sheldrake, R. 'The Science Delusion banned Ted talk'. *Revolutionloveevolve, YouTube*. March 15th, 2013. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JKHUaNAxsTg

The New World Order is viewed as being based on this principle – the replacement of *logos* or *divine order* by a manmade structure – a *new* world. This new world is seen as coming to act as a complex, artificial architecture built over 'Eden' – God's original creation, of which humanity and Nature form a whole, acting as one. In order to justify the implementation of this new world, complex false realities needed to be erected in order to not only lower human consciousness but to consolidate, collectivize and entrain it into a one-world 'hive mind' which could then be engineered. These practices are reflective of the Luciferian revolt against God, in relation to God as the ultimate higher consciousness. Working as an adversarial force, totalitarian methods by which to implement ontological control were introduced, along with dehumanizing and demoralizing ideologies, now leading into tech-based ideologies such as *post-humanism* and *transhumanism* which are being used to justify practices such as the micro-chipping of humans. These complex strategies work to keep the population unaware of the war on their consciousness unfolding all around them. Within this theory, the most profound false reality is due to the corruption of *science* and humanity's simultaneous glorification of the ideology of *scientism*. As outlined in 4.3., within the Luciferian tradition, dark occultists work to extend slavery-based systems into the afterlife by keeping the populace unaware of the effects that the systems they live within have upon them and creating humans who are non-cognizant of the need to be delivered from the 'tomb' of the material plane; consequently, this unawareness may be reproduced across reincarnation cycles. These false realities work to conceal practices such as debt conscription, the implementation of international systems designed to keep the vast majority of the world in poverty, genocide carried out under the banner of 'just war', institutionalized pedophilia, etc. – all forms of Satanic practice.

Beyond the centralization of the global system, the goal of the oligarchy is seen as the *involution* of *Man*. In order to cause him to enter a state of involution, it is necessary to sever God from Man. This severance is the gateway by which he may come to be dehumanized; this is a necessary process by which, in the stripping of his humanity, Man comes to consent to the slavery-based construct which harms him. Severely dehumanizing practices such as those that took place in Abu Ghraib in which inmates were raped with dogs (Haslam 2006), result in the shattering of the psyche of the victim, causing multi-dimensional trauma which is believed to affect the victim into the higher planes of consciousness, severing their relationship to the quantum field while triggering within them a process by which they often become unconscious of the incident which caused the trauma. This method aggressively lowers the awareness level of the victim; they may then be controlled by an outside actor. These practices merge Man into a form more resembling an (unconscious) beast, separating him from his source. This is viewed as the defilement of Man, moving him into an involuted state of being; this is the essence of Satanism. Within quantum physics, an involuted state may be described as one in which the individual's consciousness and energy is artificially lowered to the point of animalism; this is the equivalent of condemning God, God acting as a metaphor for evolution.

This system as a whole is viewed as working in the tradition of the Rome, to simply Man by severing his relationship to the quantum or 'spiritual' plane, which is infinitely more vast and profound than the physical – within both quantum theory and the spiritual traditions which have spanned centuries (Capra 1975). Whereas Rome had collectivized the spiritual belief systems of the west, giving the Romans ontological control over their subjects internally and externally, Newtonian physics has come to be seen as the greatest mind control agenda in modern human

history, having successfully waged a spiritual war against the population while keeping them fully unaware. In creating a fully material world justified by science, the oligarchy is seen as having been given reign over the entire quantum plane. Cognizant of the history of the world as one of perpetual spiritual warfare, which may also be termed 'occult warfare', they are viewed as engaging in an occult-based war against the population, in which what is essentially a War of Attrition is being carried out against the people – *mind, body* and *spirit*. This is also viewed as a *world* war fought between the oligarchy and the global population, with the New World Order being the result of the capture of America. Here, *the greatest trick the Devil ever pulled was convincing the world he doesn't exist.*[97]

Within the 'Cosmic Laws' which define the world of the occult, the belief that "everything is mental" is upheld. Therefore, this world war is viewed as being fought *internally,* making it primarily a consciousness-based,[98] ontological war. As in quantum theory, reality then responds. The internal war is one in which the subject fights to retain his or her humanity within an artificial, involution-based construct in which he or she has been 'taught the wrong rules to reality' by the system. This method is implemented under the auspices that when a less-advanced system is used to investigate a more-advanced system, the more-advanced system is only every partially known (Boulding 1956). Born unaware and oppressed by the more advanced systems that he is not taught, the aim of life is to advance beyond the lower self – or within Simulation Theory the *avatar* – and into the higher, quantum self.

As previously noted, here *evil* is defined as:

> The parasitic practice of those who have gained advanced knowledge of the transitional nature of human consciousness. They know how to recognize our tendency to transcend into newer and higher perpetual realities as an inherent ability and purposefully decide to impede, co-opt, manufacture and undermine those innate mechanisms at the *molecular atomic consciousness* – the cell – to disallow for the transcendence of mankind from obsolete paradigm structures.

The point of evil, therefore, is to stop humanity from internally evolving into the higher-dimensional versions of themselves – their quantum selves. In purposefully stalling this ascension process and the implementation of the quantum-physics-based reality, the control by the oligarchy of the world's resources may be maintained. What the alternative sphere is describing is a multi-dimensional occult war being waged to *stop the paradigm shift*. The paradigm transverses all spheres – it's political, economic, scientific and ontological dimensions are discussed within this study. This is a war to stall and cease humanity's evolution into a new *reality*. Thomas Kuhn (2012) conceptualized the method by which this shift can be implemented within the sciences; Fritjok Capra (1975, 1982) then saw the spiritual implications of this shift as overlapping with the scientific. The aim of ever-evolving Empire model, from Rome to London to Washington, is the

[97] C.S. Lewis. *The Screwtape Letters.* London: Penguin.
[98] Hancock, G. 'The war on consciousness – banned Ted talk'. *Revolutionloveevolve, YouTube.* March 15th, 2013. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y0c5nIvJH7w

continuation of an artificial system built over the quantum – which is inherently *dead* as it is involution-based – by keeping the people confined within it *mentally*. The extreme actions of those working within the New World Order paradigm to stop this reality from manifesting within the individual attest to the gravity of this situation, over which a world war is believed to be being fought almost totally outside of the knowledge of the general population.

4.7. CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed New World Order Theory, providing a detailed account of the deeper layers to the theory, which are generally not well known and working to produce a consolidated account of the content that exists in relation to this theory from within the decentralized alternative sphere. This chapter also provides important background information which connects to the research findings discussed in Chapters 7, 8 and in the Conclusion.

CHAPTER 5:

OBAMA CORPUS ANALYSIS

5.1. INTRODUCTION
5.2. PILOT STUDY: *THE WALL STREET ARGUMENT*
5.2.1. Aims, Data and Method
5.2.2. Corpus Analysis
5.2.3. Results
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5.4. CONCLUSION

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the results of a corpus analysis of Barack Obama's Weekly Addresses to the Nation spanning 2009 – 2017. The aim is to answer research question #1: *What are the common topics and discourses in the Weekly Addresses?* By examining the lexical and semantic patterns within Obama's language as well as key frames, this chapter provides insight into the content of these 413 speeches as well as the mode of expression employed by Obama, showing how they are used to define and construct the Presidency. Section 5.2 briefly summarizes the methodology and results of a 2012 pilot study titled *The Wall Street Argument: A Corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis of President Obama's Narrative of Blame for the Financial Crisis, 2009 – 2012* (Wyman 2012). The implications of this research and its impact on this thesis are then discussed. The results of the full 413-speech Obama corpus analysis are then detailed in Section 5.3.

As discussed in Chapter 2, ideologies expressed through language are used to uphold existing political paradigms, creating the permanency that allows them to gain hegemony, often across decades. Examining the content of these 413 speeches as a whole and in comparison to a reference corpus from the Addresses of Obama's predecessors Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton and George W. Bush (see section 5.2.2.) is essential to this study because it illustrates how and to what extent Obama reinforced the existing political paradigm as well as what the content of this paradigm is. As discussed in Chapter 1, the most significant criticisms of Obama have focused on the disconnect between the former President's rhetoric and the reality of the major policies he implemented, which largely remained consistent with those policy paradigms of his predecessors. However, Obama also brought significant change to the Presidency, distinguishing himself with his new

emphasis on issues such as climate change and clean energy implementation. This chapter illuminates how this complex President both adhered to and deviated from what had become the Presidential norm.

5.2. PILOT STUDY: THE WALL STREET ARGUMENT

As discussed in Chapter 1, Obama began his Presidency during the Great Recession; he was immediately tasked with addressing its cause and he did so in his Weekly Addresses. In the *The Wall Street Argument* pilot study (Wyman 2012) it was found that Obama ultimately apportioned blame for the crisis to Wall Street and consequently presented the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (passed in 2010) as a solution. This pilot study involved a corpus analysis of Obama's first 174 Weekly Addresses, followed by an argument reconstruction-based critical discourse analysis of a speech representative of the corpus findings (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012). This section gives a brief overview of this study, concentrating on the corpus component, followed by a discussion of how it led to the development of this project.

5.2.1. Aims, Date & Method

The aim of this pilot study was to investigate how Obama represented the cause of the 2007-2008 financial crisis in his speeches to the American people, and consequently, how he formulated arguments regarding recovery from it. To answer this question, the Weekly Addresses (see Introduction) were examined using the *American Presidency Project* online archive compiled by the University of Santa Barbara (Peters & Woolley 2017).

The following research questions were assessed:

1. Who is represented as being to blame for the financial crisis?
2. How do these representations enter into the premises of arguments on how respond?

Question 1 was investigated with a corpus study followed by an investigation of Question 2 using CDA (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012).

5.2.2. Corpus Analysis

Investigating Question 1: *Who is represented as being to blame for the financial crisis?*

To investigate this question, the corpus analysis tool Wmatrix 3 (Rayson 2009; see Chapter 2) was used to construct the following corpora:

1. **OBAMA CORPUS**

To isolate language patterns over the course of Obama's first three years as President, a corpus of his Weekly Addresses from January 24, 2009 through June 16, 2012 was compiled.

2. REAGAN, CLINTON & BUSH CORPORA

One of the theoretical tenets of corpus linguistics is that it is vital to compare texts to others in order to show their distinctive attributes (Stubbs 1996; see Chapter 3). For this reason, separate corpora for the Ronald Reagan (1981- 1989), Bill Clinton (1993 - 2001) and George W. Bush (2001 - 2009) Addresses were compiled. As George Bush Sr. made only 18 speeches during his one term as President, they were not included as they were not deemed to be a good representation of his Presidential discourse. Additionally, it was decided that comparing two multi-term Republican presidents (Reagan and Bush) and two Democratic presidents (Clinton and Obama) would be sufficient and present balanced data. The Bush Sr. speeches were later examined in a separate corpus (see 4.2.3.).

3. REFERENCE CORPUS

The combined Reagan, Clinton and Bush corpora were then used to create a reference corpus.

The following is an overview of this data:

	speeches	words	years as president
Obama	174	124,481	2009 - 2012
Bush	417	252,084	2001 - 2009
Clinton	409	367,354	1993 - 2001
Reagan	334	280,323	1981 - 1989
Reference	1,160	1,024,242	

Table 5.1: *Pilot study corpora data*

To examine whom Obama blames for the financial crisis, the following corpus analysis techniques were employed:

1. A frequency wordlist for the Obama corpus was created to examine which words are used most regularly.

2. A keyword list for the Obama corpus was compared to a keyword list from the

reference corpus to show which words are used most frequently compared to the norm since 1982.

3. A semantic domain analysis was carried out to isolate the topics that Obama speaks about negatively. The following semantic categories were the most useful:

- *Violent/Angry*
- *Damaging/Destroying*

4. Concordances for the high frequency keywords were then examined. The main results were found in the following concordances:

- Reference Corpus: *Wall Street*
- Bush Corpus: *Wall Street*
- Obama Corpus: *Wall Street*

5.2.3. Results

The frequency list results (1) show that the most frequently mentioned content words in the Obama corpus are *jobs* (4,000.6 vs. 1,564.5) followed by *work* (2,144.9 vs. 1,878.3), *workers* (1,100.6 vs. 709.9) and *job* (1,084.5 vs. 582.0). Words pertaining to *the economy, the financial industry, the health care industry* and *reform* are common within the first 150 lines. This data confirms that Obama is focused on jobs and the economy, which are obviously connected, as well as the health care industry. The findings of the keyword list comparison (2) confirm this. Compared to the other Presidents, Obama is more predominantly focused on *jobs* (4,000.6 vs. 1,564.5), *the economy* (3,205.3 vs. 1,585.6) and *the financial system* (1,325.5 vs. 220.3) The following words which may have related to the crisis had high log likelihood values: *small*, *breaks, oversight*, *common sense*, *oil companies*, *millionaires* and *wealthiest*.

The term *Wall Street* is used 57 (457.9) times in Obama's speeches compared to only 17 (18.9) times in the reference corpus. This was a surprising finding since the term is very commonly used in the media in regard to the crisis and in politics in general; it would be expected that it would be commonly used by all of the Presidents. To investigate how *Wall Street* had been used before, concordances were created in the Obama corpus and the reference corpus.

The results of the semantic domain analysis (3) showed that Obama used terms in the *Violent/Angry* category in reference to the financial and insurance industries as well as "special interest groups". These results were evident when examining the concordance lines within each domain. The semantic domain analysis for the *Damaging/Destroying* category focuses on the health insurance system and the financial system.

The concordance analysis (4) showed the following results:

a. *Wall Street Concordance, Reference Corpus*

Of the 17 times *Wall Street* is used in the reference concordance, 10 of these instances include it in the term *Wall Street Journal*. Of the remaining 7, 4 reference the location and have a neutral connotation. Two of the remaining terms reference Wall Street negatively; 1 mentions a rescue "effort".

b. *Wall Street Concordance, Bush Corpus*

All three negative references are contained here, all within one speech on September 27th, 2008. To confirm that this was the first time the term had been used in the Weekly Addresses since 1982, a corpus of speeches from George Bush Sr.'s Presidency (1989 - 1993) was created. The results show that he never used the term. This fact confirmed that "the term *Wall Street* was introduced as a way to represent the financial system and encapsulate a group of large financial firms under one term of reference for the first time on September 27, 2008" (Wyman 2012: 32).

c. *Wall Street Concordance, Obama Corpus*

The 57-line *Wall Street* concordance within the Obama corpus showed that the President depicts Wall Street overwhelmingly negatively. Wall Street is blamed for causing the crisis; therefore, Wall Street reform presents a solution to the crisis.

Conclusion

This corpus study shows how Obama apportioned blame for the financial crisis to Wall Street, effectively diverting blame from the U.S. government. While other parties are represented negatively – the health care industry, lobbyists and credit card companies – they are not blamed for the crisis. It is also interesting to note that Obama adopted Bush's metonymic use of the term, illustrating how presidencies connect through discourse across time.

An argument reconstruction-based critical discourse analysis of an Obama speech on Wall Street reform was then carried out..

5.2.4. Implications for Further Research

This pilot study has been an important part of the development of this thesis for three reasons. Firstly, the argument that it focuses on is one of the most important of Obama's Presidency as it apportions blame for the financial crisis, which Obama's Presidency is primarily dedicated to responding to (see section 5.3.). Since the results of this study call into question many aspects of this argument through use of Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) argument reconstruction framework, it was deemed vital to explore this further; Chapters 7 and 8 focus largely on these issues. Secondly, this pilot study showed how compatible corpus analysis and argument reconstruction-based CDA are when investigating political discourse; the corpus data used here provides very important insight into how Obama introduced and reinforced the idea that Wall Street was independently responsible for the crisis; it was additionally possible to show that Wall

Street is independently blamed. Thirdly, during this study it became clear that Obama's major arguments often connect to one another across his speeches, making the way in which his speeches act as a political narrative more complex than initially expected; this was taken into consideration during the research design stage of this study.

5.3. CORPUS ANALYSIS, OBAMA CORPUS 2009 - 2017

Following this pilot study a full corpus analysis of all of President Obama's Weekly Addresses from 2009 - 2017 was carried out with a focus on examining which topics Obama concentrates on, lexical and semantic patterns and which frames are most integral to the Presidency. This section discusses the results of analyzing the following: (1) the key semantic domains in the Obama corpus compared to the Reagan/Clinton/Bush Weekly Addresses reference corpus (used in the pilot study); (2) the Obama corpus frequency wordlist; (3) the Obama keyword list compared to the reference corpus as well as separate corpora for Reagan, Clinton and Bush; (4) a concordance analysis of selected top keywords, in which top collocations for these terms are also discussed and (5) a preliminary frame analysis, which is continued in Chapter 6.

5.3.1. Obama Corpus Key Semantic Domain Analysis

The following section examines a selection of the most key semantic domains within the Obama corpus as compared to the reference corpus. This chapter focuses on the following types of content words: *nouns, adjectives* and *adverbs.* This means that semantic domains that are composed of mainly verbs are not included in this analysis. Instead, important verbs are included in the corpora analysis for Chapter 5. Chapters 4 and 5 are structured this way due to space limitations, in order to avoid excessive repetition and in order to focus on how verbs are used within Obama's argumentation. For example, the verb *build* is mainly used in reference to *building a new foundation for the economic recovery* and *rebuilding the country*. In this chapter, this information is identified in the semantic domain, frequency list and keyword list analysis and then briefly mentioned in the collocation analysis section. In Chapter 6 *build* is examined much more closely within the *goals* and *claims for action* corpora. Chapter 5 works to give a general overview of the content of Obama's speeches while Chapter 5 provides specific detail as to how he has used argumentation in this speeches.

The following graphic shows which Obama corpus semantic domains are the most key as compared to the reference corpus:

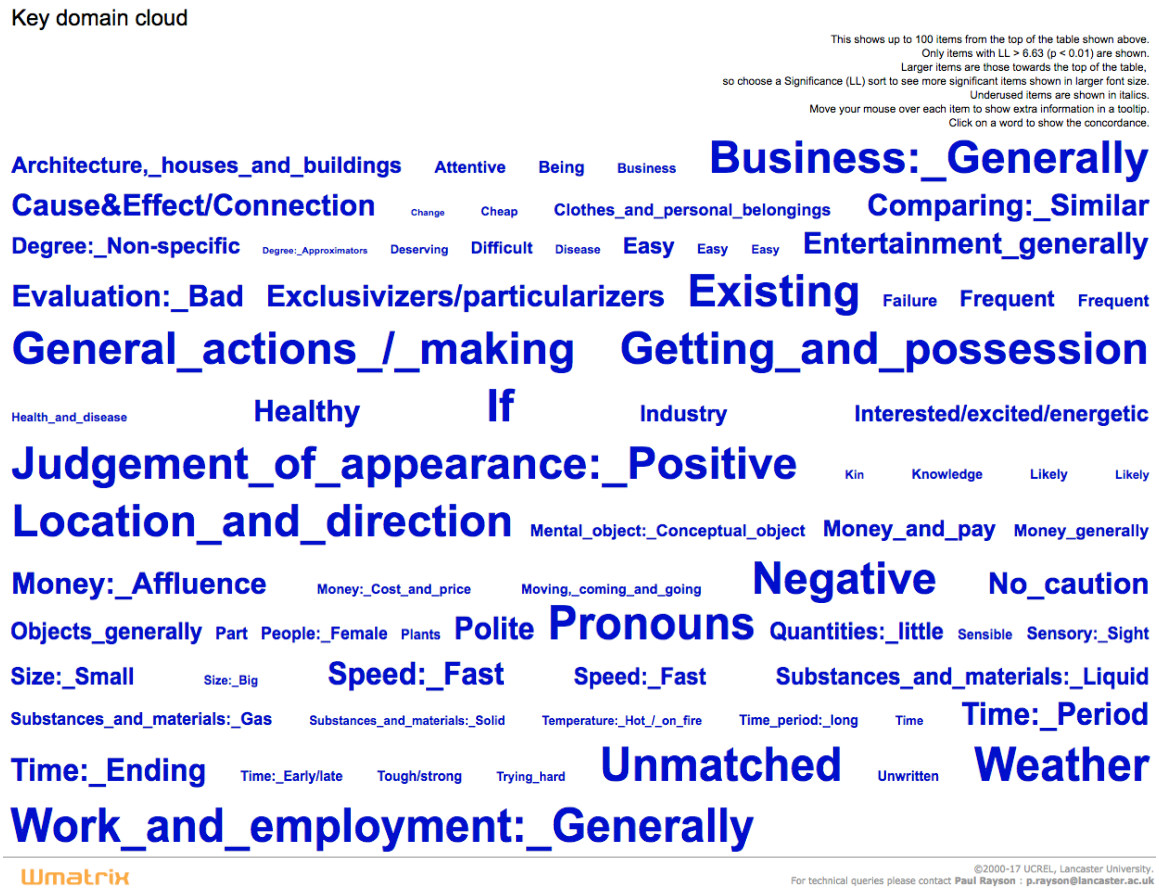

Figure 5.1: *Obama corpus key semantic domains compared to reference corpus*

It is clear from this key semantic domain cloud that Obama is highly concerned with discussing the topics of **business and work/employment;** these are the noun-based key domains with the largest number of words categorized at 2,219 for *business* (8,798.1 vs. 4,233.8) and 2,922 for *work/employment* (11,585.4 vs. 7,788.0). Within the *business* domain the following terms are heavily used: *economy, infrastructure, business, recession* and *corporations*. Within the *work/employment* domain: *job, work, employment* and *worker.* Additionally, Obama focuses more heavily on **money/finance:** *money and pay* (8,354.0 vs. 6,898.0), *money: generally* (5,182.1 vs. 4,312.0), *money: affluence* (87.2 vs. 0.05) and *money: cost and price* (2,502.0 vs. 1,814.7). These domains contain the following words: *income, investment, save, tax, credit, taxpayer, reinvestment, afford, fund, pay check, subsidy, premium, wage, profit, dollar, money, financial, insurance, budget, fiscal, banks, millionaires, cost, bill* and *price*. **Industry** (816.8 vs. 453.7) is used frequently; there is concern with *the auto industry, factories, the insurance industry* and *the gas and energy industries.* The related domains for *substances and materials: liquid* (828.7 vs. 451.7) and *substances and materials: gas* (475.8 vs. 261.7) show a focus on *oil, oil companies* and *gas*. Three domains show a strong focus on **clean energy and the environment**. The *interested/excited/energetic* (581) domain is largely made up of the word *energy*. The *judgement of appearance: positive* (296) domain largely consists of the word *clean,* which is almost exclusively used to modify *energy*. The *substances and materials: solids* (2,303.6 vs. 242.5) domain contains 32 instances of the word *carbon,* in reference to pollution and the need for a

reduction. The domain for *health and disease* (955.5 vs. 654.7) shows a focus on the topic of the need for **health care reform**. The domain for *healthy* (908.0 vs. 482.0) shows the words *recover* and *recovery,* in reference to the economic recovery. Additionally, the domain for *mental object: conceptual object* (2,355.1 vs. 1,619.0) shows the following terms being heavily used: *dream, ideas, theory, principle, remind, ideological, thought* and *issue.*

There are also many significant key domains which are mainly comprised of adjectives and adverbs. Many of these domains heavily involve words with negative connotations. The domain for *difficult* (2,993.5 vs. 2,128.0) shows a sharp concentration on discussing the economic *crisis* as well as the terms *challenge, problem, difficult* and *hard work*. The *failure* domain (1,229.1 vs. 808.3) includes the words *lose* and *fail.* The *evaluation: bad* domain (523.4 vs. 197.0) shows the words *worst, disaster* and *catastrophe.* There are also adjective/adverb domains which have positive or neutral connotations. The *size: small* domain contains high use of the word *small,* which largely modifies *business*. The words within these domains which are used heavily are further discussed in sections 5.3.2., 5.3.3. and 5.3.4.

The following four domains are discussed in further detail here as they clearly show how Obama represents key topics and issues. While *no caution* is a key domain, the remaining three - *damaging/destroying, violent/angry* and *unethical* are not, but have rather been selected for discussion due to their adding valuable information to this study.

1. ***NO CAUTION*** (A1.3-, 35 occurrences)

The *no caution* key semantic domain mentions two groups as being reckless: (1) the financial world - specifically Wall Street, financial firms and large banks - and (2) the U.S. government, concerning the shutdown and spending cuts.

2. ***DAMAGING/ DESTROYING*** (A1.1.2, 356 occurrences)

The semantic domain for *damaging/destroying* is very useful for determining whom Obama represents in a highly negative way. Appendix 4A shows clear patterns for the following:

- the health care industry

The health care industry is represented as incurring *crushing costs*, particularly for families; these costs will *devastate the economy*. The health care system is referred to consistently as *broken.*

- the economic crisis/ jobs

The crisis is described as *devastating*, along with the jobs reports during Obama's first term. Economic *turmoil* has ripped through the country, wiping out jobs. The nation is involved in a fight to come back from the *wreckage* of the recession by trying to *break the back* of the crisis.

- the financial industry

Smaller patterns show that the financial industry is discussed as having been on the verge of *collapse*, having a *broken regulatory system*, carrying out *abuses* and creating *speculative real estate bubbles*. There is mention of Obama's having had to bail out the banks that contributed to the crisis, to avoid economic collapse.

- ISIL and Al Qaeda

Obama calls for America to *destroy* ISIL and Al Qaeda, both of whom are inflicting terrible harm in a barbaric manor around the world.

3. ***VIOLENT/ ANGRY*** (E3-, 490 occurrences)

The economic crisis is represented as the biggest threat to the country, followed by the abuses of the financial industry. Additional threats are: terrorism, carbon pollution, health care industry problems, natural disasters, disease, nuclear arms, gun violence and the Zika virus.

4. ***UNETHICAL*** (G2.2-, 107 occurrences)

The following groups are targeted as being unethical: the health insurance industry, corporations exploiting unfair tax loopholes, special interest groups funding elections, terrorists, Libya, scam arrests targeting veterans, the Aurora shooter, employers who hire undocumented workers, political posturing in Washington, Republicans rigging the economy for the wealthy, Iran, terrorists and unfair sentencing laws. Also, many specific elements of the financial industry are mentioned: Wall Street, credit card companies, lenders giving bad loans, mortgage lenders and credit rating agencies.

In conclusion, these semantic domains illustrate how Obama's corpus is distinguished from the reference corpus – mainly in regard to his focus on *business and employment, money and finance, industry, clean energy and the environment* and *health care reform* - as well as how Obama negatively characterizes certain groups. It is important to consider, however, that this analysis does not include discussion of the topics that Obama mentions which are normally addressed by all acting Presidents, such as *taxes*; it is therefore important to provide a brief overview of the Obama frequency wordlist.

5.3.2. Obama Frequency Wordlist

The frequency list from the 2009 - 2017 Obama corpus shows which words the President uses the most often. In 4B, the grammatical function words have been edited out, leaving the main content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs). Overall Wmatrix shows a total of 252,214 words in this corpus and 14,602 distinct tokens. In the following discussion section, I focus on words that are used more than 100 times across Obama's 413 Weekly Addresses.

The frequency list for Obama's speeches shows that the President is primarily concerned with **job/s**, which are mentioned 1219 times in 413 speeches. This is an average of 2.95 times per speech. *Wages* are additionally mentioned 117 times. The second major topic is **the economy** in

general, which is mentioned 774 times along with the adjective *economic* (251). Other categories relating to the economy are evident as well. The first is **business in general**: *businesses* (471), *business* (187) and *companies* (151). The second is **money and finance**: *financial* (209), *money* (153), *costs* (149) and *investments* (110). The third is **the recession**, also described regularly as *the crisis*: *crisis* (211), *recovery* (129) and *recession* (127).

Other categories are apparent as well. Firstly, the **health insurance industry**: *insurance* (250), *health care* (228), *plan* (218), *health* (212), *system* (206), *coverage* (132), *affordable* (129). Secondly, **taxes**: *tax* (368) and *taxes* (118). Thirdly, **energy** (251). Fourthly, **politics and government**: *Republicans* (250), *Washington* (204), *government* (199), *budget* (170), *law* (157), *bill* (140), *rules* (137), *spending* (134), *deficit* (111), *Democrats* (108), *federal* (109), *Republican* (107), *members* (102) and *vote* (102). Fifthly, **education**: *education* (175), *college* (149) and *students* (134). **Security** is also mentioned 209 times and **oil** (126) is also a frequent topic. There is also highly frequent mention of the following **people groups**: *Americans* (811), *Congress* (606), *families* (539), *workers* (314), *the middle class* (285), *women* (249), *family* (220), *veterans* (182), *children* (178), *kids* (168), *communities* (151), *the Senate* (133), *military* (123) and *troops* (121).

Additionally, when examining the most frequently used verbs, it is clear that many of them would relate to these categories: **jobs** (*work, working, create, pay, lost*), **the economy** (*reform, costs, afford*) and **taxes** (*cut, cuts*). It is also possible to see small groups of verbs that semantically relate to each other. Verbs concerning **helping** (*help, give, care, protect, support*), **progress** (*change, believe, hope, progress*) and **growth** (*growing, growth, grow, build*).

These results confirm the findings of the pilot study, in which the most frequently mentioned content words were *jobs* followed by *work*, *workers* and *job*. The Obama frequency list also showed high numbers of words pertaining to *the economy, the financial industry, the health care industry* and *reform.* The next step is a keyword list analysis to compare Obama's corpus to the reference corpus.

5.3.3. Obama Keyword List Analysis

Appendix 5C shows the Obama corpus keyword list compared to the reference corpus keyword list. The Wmatrix results show that there are 1,163 keywords with log likelihood values over 7 in the Obama corpus (making them key). It is important to consider that this data shows only what Obama has focused on in comparison to Presidents Reagan, Clinton and George W. Bush; these topics are what make his corpus distinctive. Therefore, some topic areas, such as *tax reform* or *balancing the budget* for example, which are major areas of emphasis across all four presidencies, will not show up as key. These terms have been flagged in the frequency list and both lists are investigated in the concordances section (5.3.4.). Additionally, many of the highly key terms in Obama's corpus are key because they refer to specific events that have occurred during Obama's presidency and would therefore not appear in the reference corpus such as *Ebola.*

When examining the Obama keyword list, it is clear that certain topic themes characterize it, largely matching the data from the semantic domain analysis and the frequency list. The President is acutely concerned with **the economy, business and finance** (*businesses, jobs, companies,*

economy, job, small business, oversight, workers, deficits, hard work, pay, recovery, rebuild, payday, rebuilding, workforce, business, jobs bill) including the financial world and the crisis (*crisis, Wall Street, financial, recession, wages, rules, investments, owners, $10.10, lenders, banks, credit card, loophole, profits, loopholes, millionaires, 98 percent, watchdog, recover, costs, wage, billionaires, hiring, corporations, foreclosures, hire, bailouts, corporations, lending, investing, bubble, bets, CEO's, economists, overtime, trillion, reform*). Additionally, he focuses on certain **people groups** (*the middle class, kids, veterans, Republicans, middle class families, girls, service members, Main Street, consumers, consumer, families, firefighters, veteran, middle class, taxpayer, Christians*). Other themes are also apparent including **clean energy** (*clean, energy, carbon, solar, climate, wind, panels, planet, biofuels, pollution*) as a major topic, along with **infrastructure** (*manufacturing, infrastructure, bridges, Intel, high-speed, renewable, turbines, roads, construction, drilling, drill, transportation bill*), **the health care industry** (*insurance, insurance companies, care, pre-existing, healthcare.gov, insurance industry, practices, industry, Obamacare, sick, treat, marketplace, premiums*) and **the automotive and gas industries** (*auto industry, gas, Chrysler, oil, GM, oil companies, trucks, cars, fuel-efficient, pump, gas companies, gallon*). **Security and foreign policy** is a significant theme as well, the emphasis being on terrorism and Iran's nuclear program (*ISIL, Iran, nuclear weapons, Syria, G-20, Libyan, Syrian, Assad*). To a lesser extent **government and politics** (*politics, sequester, status quo*), **education** (*higher education, college, graduates, community colleges, colleges*), **taxes** (*breaks, cuts, credits*) and **housing** (*refinance, mortgages, $3,000*) are mentioned consistently.

The category of ***economy, business and finance*** shows that Obama is highly focused on this topic area compared to Reagan, Clinton and Bush. *Economy* is used 774 times by Obama compared to 1425 times in the reference corpus. He mentions *businesses* and *business* a combined 658 times compared to 866 times in the reference corpus; *small business* is specifically mentioned 71 times as well, compared to only 56 times in the reference corpus. Additionally, *companies* (151 vs. 136), *corporations* (32 vs. 22) and *manufacturing* (80 vs. 30) are discussed disproportionately by Obama. While the reference corpus shows mention of *job/jobs* 1929 times, Obama mentions jobs 1219 times. The connected term *wages* is mentioned 117 times by the President compared to 82; the adjective *minimum* modifies *wage* 84 times, as the President calls for the implementation of a $10.10 wage hike.

Obama is also concerned with the current *recession,* which he mentions 127 times. In comparison Reagan used the word 51 times in eight years; Clinton only 11 times and Bush 32 times. The President also concentrates on the financial world. *Financial* is used 209 times by Obama, more than all the other Presidents combined (198). *Wall Street* is discussed 89 times compared to only 17 times in the reference corpus. Additionally, *investments* (110 vs. 106), *lenders* (38 vs. 10), *banks* (69 vs. 52), *credit cards* (32 vs. 9), *profits* (39 vs. 18) *foreclosures* (11 vs. 0), *bailouts* (13 vs. 1), *deals* (26 vs. 14) and *bubble* (9 vs. 0) are used disproportionately by Obama. *$10.10* is used only by Obama.

A second category for Obama is **government, politics and current political events.** During his Presidency, he had to address both *the sequester* and the government *shutdown*, urging both parties to *compromise*. Bringing down the *deficit* was also an important part of his Presidency. Additionally, Obama mentions two other related topics: *criminal justice reform* and *immigration*

reform. Interestingly, Obama also refers to himself as *Commander in Chief* 30 times in comparison to the term being used only 27 times in the reference corpus.

Energy and the environment is a huge topic for Obama; he mentions *energy* 251 times compared to 326 in the reference corpus (the concordance lines show that the term is used exclusively to talk about *clean energy* rather than human energy). In comparison, the Bush corpus shows 220 instances of use, the Clinton corpus 72 instances and the Reagan corpus only 34 (10 of these instances reference human energy). Additionally, *carbon* (35 vs. 0), *solar* (47 vs. 12), *climate* (58 vs. 26), *wind* (42 vs. 14), the *planet* (39 vs. 11), *turbines* (11 vs. 0), *biofuels* (13 vs. 1), *pollution* (31 vs. 27) and *panels* (12 vs. 2) are mentioned disproportionately in the Obama corpus.

There are also a high number of keywords pertaining to the **healthcare industry** that are used disproportionately by Obama: *insurance* (250 vs. 330), *insurances companies* (63 vs. 30), *care* (167 vs. 337) and *industry* (52 vs. 67). *Affordable* is used 49 times in the title *Affordable Care Act* and companies refusing to insure people with *pre-existing* conditions (37) are discussed as a major reason to support health care reform. *Healthcare.gov* (22) is a website where Americans can sign up for the Affordable Care Act.

Gas and the automotive industry are also significant areas of concentration for Obama. He has heavily supported policies to end *dependence* on foreign oil. *Gas* is mentioned almost as often by Obama as the other three Presidents combined (84 vs. 87). The *auto industry* (38 vs. 12), *oil companies* (21 vs. 4), *trucks* (27 vs. 15) and *drilling* (20 vs. 11) are mentioned far more often. Car companies *Chrysler* (27) and *GM* (19) are also discussed by Obama. *Cars* are more significant of a topic in the reference corpus but the term is still used more frequently by Obama. Obama also mentions **infrastructure** far more often than each of the other Presidents (47 vs. 26) as well as *bridges* (39 vs. 17), *construction* (44 vs. 45) and *roads* (47 vs. 50).

In the **education** category, *college* is a significant topic, as it is in the reference corpus. The related terms *higher education* (32 vs. 19) and *graduates* (20 vs. 9) are mentioned as well. Within the taxes category, Obama stresses the need to end tax breaks for companies shipping jobs *overseas*.

It is also imperative to note which **people and people groups** Obama focuses on. This is very important because it shows whom Obama is concerned with mentioning in his Weekly Addresses, both whose problems he is speaking about solving and who is portrayed as working to block progress. It is important to additionally consider that certain parties – *Americans, Congress* and *the Senate* in particular – will not be flagged as key terms since these parties would be commonly mentioned across the Weekly Addresses in the reference corpus.

Obama is acutely focused on the *middle class*[99] compared to the other Presidents (285 vs. 160) as well as *middle class families* (76 vs. 30) and *veterans* (182 vs. 116). *Service members* is a related term, meaning those who currently serve in the U.S. military in some capacity. His frequent mention of *Republicans* (250) would be expected as he is a Democrat; the reference corpus shows

[99] Taking only income into account, the most recent data shows that 51% of Americans can be classified as *middle class* (down from 61% in 1970). Adjusted for family size, this is an income range of $40,667 - $122,000 per household of three (Kochhar & Fry 2015). Directly below the middle class is the *working class*, who are generally defined as engaging in hourly paid positions, largely due to low levels of education.

similar results (234) although only 147 of these occurrences falls in the Clinton corpus (also a Democrat), showing that Obama is more focused on the opposition than Clinton was. *Owners* (77 vs. 54) is modified by *small business* 51 times; *small business owners* are generally considered to be a part of the middle class. Additionally, *Main Street*, used 16 times by Obama and twice in the reference corpus, is a metonymic term used to represent the middle class and small business owners. It is often used in juxtaposition to *Wall Street* (Wyman 2012). The terms *consumer* (57 vs. 89) and *consumers* (71 vs. 65) are used disproportionately by Obama and mainly refer to the middle class; these are people who can afford to take out mortgages, obtain credit cards and student loans, etc. (see section 3.3). *Firefighters* (30 vs. 21), represented in the media as heroes particularly since 9/11, are certainly a part of the middle class. The *98 percent* are described as those families who make *$250,000* a year or less; this also includes *97 percent* of small business owners.

The only time Obama refers directly to those who are not a part of the middle class in the entire 1090-word keyword list is in reference to the term *28 million*, meaning the number of Americans who would benefit from the $10.10 minimum wage increase. Three groups that make up the upper class are also mentioned: *millionaires* (20 vs. 1) and *billionaires* (10 vs. 0) and the top *2 percent*, along with the adjective *wealthiest*. Additionally, Obama mentions *workers* (314 vs. 638) highly regularly compared to the reference corpus, referring to about half of the population currently in employment.[100] It can also be assumed that the elite are not included in the term.

Obama also focuses on *families* (539 vs. 1365). *Kids* (168 vs. 85) is flagged as highly key as well, although the reference corpus shows the term *children* is more commonly used. He mentions his own family (wife *Michelle* and daughters *Sasha* and *Malia* - his *girls*) regularly, reminding his listeners that he is a family man himself. Outside of these main categories, the following words have been flagged as being additionally useful to this study: *idea/s, transparency* and *innovation*. *Transparency* (21 vs. 5) and *innovation* (44 vs. 32) are two concepts that Obama is particularly concerned with. Both are further discussed in section 4.3.

To conclude, this keyword analysis shows what Obama has focused on in comparison to Reagan, Clinton and Bush in his Weekly Addresses. The overall findings match those of the pilot study and frequency list, showing that Obama is acutely focused on the crisis and recovery from it, with other key topics being very consistently mentioned as well. The next section further analyzes how Obama represents key actors in his speeches.

5.3.4. Concordance and Collocation Analysis

While the keyword list shows which words Obama chooses to use regularly, it does not show how these words are used. Therefore, the concordance lines for each of the key terms has been examined to show how the most significant terms are discussed and represented by Obama as well as whether there are semantic patterns within the concordance lines. For example, the concordance for the highly keyword *energy* is mainly used in sentences where Obama states that the country needs to

[100] As of September 2016, the U.S. Labour Participation Rate was 62.9%, meaning that nearly 95,000,000 Americans are not working. When factoring in retirees receiving social security, veterans, unemployment benefits and Medicare, the number of people being given support from the government was over 150,000,000 in 2012. These people, making up nearly half of the U.S. population (319 million) would not be included in the term *workers*.

invest in clean energy, showing a strong pattern in the use of the term. Often these patterns correspond to Obama's major pushes for policy decisions and are therefore important to note (this is further investigated in Chapter 6). While many of the top words from the frequency list overlap with the most key words, concordances for the top frequency words have also been analyzed. Additionally, in the concordance analysis for the most heavily used terms, the top collocates are discussed as well.

In the following discussion section, the top 250 key content words are divided into grammatical and semantic categories. The majority of the words are nouns, which have been divided into the categories of (1) **the economy, business and finance**, (2) **government and politics,** (3) **clean energy and the environment,** (4) **the automotive and gas industries**, (5) **health care**, (6) **education**, (7) **other,** (8) **security and foreign policy**, (9) **people and people groups** and **(10) adjective and adverbs**.

1. economy, jobs, business and finance

Item	O1	%1	O2	%2	LL
businesses	471	0.19	454	0.05 +	350.99
jobs	914	0.36	1406	0.16 +	327.10
crisis	211	0.08	137	0.02 +	230.94
Wall Street	89	0.04	17	0.00 +	179.95
economy	774	0.31	1425	0.17 +	178.91
financial*	209	0.08	198	0.02 +	158.92
recession	127	0.05	94	0.01 +	124.32
companies	151	0.06	136	0.02 +	121.55
wages	117	0.05	82	0.01 +	120.18
rules	137	0.05	141	0.02 +	94.25
job	305	0.12	523	0.06 +	85.14
grow	141	0.06	162	0.02 +	83.65
investments	110	0.04	106	0.01 +	82.00
lenders	38	0.02	10	0.00 +	68.97
banks	69	0.03	52	0.01 +	66.44
small-business	71	0.03	56	0.01 +	65.50
oversight	26	0.01	3	0.00 +	59.54
credit card	32	0.01	9	0.00 +	56.59
profits	39	0.02	18	0.00 +	54.07
hit	54	0.02	41	0.00 +	51.64
foundation	65	0.03	61	0.01 +	49.97
lifetimes	22	0.01	3	0.00 +	48.59
watchdog	16	0.01	0	0.00 +	47.58
watchdog	16	0.01	0	0.00 +	47.56
recover	43	0.02	28	0.00 +	46.95
streak	15	0.01	0	0.00 +	44.59
lost	141	0.06	233	0.03 +	43.04
doors	30	0.01	16	0.00 +	37.95
recovery	129	0.05	220	0.03 +	36.50
hiring	40	0.02	34	0.00 +	34.25
corporations	32	0.01	22	0.00 +	33.41
top	66	0.03	85	0.01 +	32.86
hire	66	0.03	86	0.01 +	32.23
bailouts	13	0.01	1	0.00 +	31.95
create	209	0.08	441	0.05 +	31.04
lending	22	0.01	11	0.00 +	29.03
investing	54	0.02	67	0.01 +	28.55
rebuild	74	0.03	112	0.01 +	27.39
bets	11	0.00	1	0.00 +	26.33
rebuilding	50	0.02	63	0.01 +	25.79
business	187	0.07	412	0.05 +	23.44
mess	20	0.01	12	0.00 +	23.27
bubble	9	0.00	0	0.00 +	26.75

* used mainly as part of the term *financial system* and *financial crisis*

Table 5.2: *Obama corpus key content words in the category of: economy, jobs, business and finance*

The following words from the frequency list have also been added to this list: *working, reform, economic, money, growth* and *bill.*

By far the most key terms in Obama's corpus are *businesses/business*, *jobs/job* and *economy*. They are each discussed here in detail partly in reference to their collocates, followed by an overview of the patterns within the top key terms.

Businesses and *business* in general are represented very positively, primarily as new job creators. Special attention is given to *small business*, which is also mentioned as being harmed by the high cost of health care during Obama's first term. The cost of insuring workers is discussed as having become too high, resulting in layoffs and companies shutting their *doors*. Additionally, there is a pattern of calling for *lending* loans to support businesses to get them *hiring*. Businesses are regularly grouped with *families*. In sharp contrast, *corporations* are discussed in highly negative terms.

The following shows the top collocates for *businesses* and *business*:

> **businesses (471)**: *small* (114), *jobs* (97), *new* (79), *more* (76), *families* (67), *million* (49), *created* (49), *American* (43), *workers* (36), *help* (31), *create* (30), *economy* (24), *give* (24), *over* (24), *tax* (22)
>
> **business** (187): *leaders* (34), *small* (29), *more* (24), *owners* (17), *every* (13), *America* (12), *American* (10), *companies* (10), *new* (10)

The topic of *jobs* is heavily connected to business. During Obama's first term he discussed the devastating job losses caused by the recession very frequently. This was soon replaced by discussion of how job growth and *streaks* of job creation have started as the country recovers from the recession, *creating more new* jobs in the *millions*, largely thanks to *businesses*. Particularly in the second term, Obama gives regular updates on how many *millions* of jobs have been created, again crediting *businesses*. The clean *energy* sector is also credited with creating jobs. Overall there is consistently a call to *grow* jobs and *help create* jobs with good *wages*, particularly *middle class jobs*. He additionally mentions his jobs *bill* (the American Jobs Act) 28 times. The need to help *working* families save *money* is emphasized.

Job loss is linked to Obama's call for health care reform due to the issue of workers being tied to their current jobs due to the threat of losing their health insurance if they quit. As Obama summarizes, health care is "an issue that affects the health and financial well-being of every single American and the stability of our entire economy. It's about... every worker afraid of losing health insurance if they lose their job or change jobs".[101]

The following are the top collocates for *jobs* and *job*:

> **jobs** (1219) – *new* (210), *more* (178), *create* (157), *million* (114), *businesses* (97), *economy* (97), *good* (96), *created* (77), *creating* (66), *American* (64), *jobs* (60), *over* (56), *lost* (50), *America* (50), *middle* (48), *bill* (48), *help* (46), *class* (42), *now* (38), *make* (37), *last* (37), *added* (35), *all* (35), *Americans* (34), *months* (33), *month* (32), *pay* (32), *past* (32), *manufacturing* (31)

[101] Obama, B. (2009b). 'Weekly Address: President Obama Says Health Care Reform Cannot Wait', *Whitehouse.gov*. July 18th, 2009. Available: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/realitycheck/the-press-office/weekly-address-president-obama-says-health-care-reform-cannot-wait

job (305) – *creation* (35), *growth* (33), *more* (25), *new* (24), *back* (21), *workers* (20), *jobs* (19), *Congress* (19), *good* (18), *find* (17), *training* (15)

The economy is the third major topic Obama discusses, frequently in reference to needing to *keep growing* and *rebuilding* our economy, *economic reform* and *growth*, and *creating new/more jobs* and *hiring* to put people back to *work*, specifically the middle class. *Investments* in clean energy and education are stressed as being conducive to job creation. He also consistently talks about the economy as being in a state of slow recovery, even boldly claiming by the end of his second term that "the economy is stronger today than it was before the crisis".[102] It is interesting to note how Obama's discussion of the economy gradually changes, which is evident in the concordance lines. While Wall Street is independently blamed for causing the crisis, by January 2016 Obama has conceded that, "our economy continues to go through profound changes that began long before the great recession hit". [103] During the final years of his Presidency he begins to address the issue of the uneven recovery, admitting that those at the *top* are doing well while the rest of the country has not fully recovered.

The following are the top collocates for *economy*:

economy (774) - *jobs* (97), *growing* (83), *grow* (77), *more* (53), *new* (53), *work* (47), *middle* (47), *make* (39), *help* (41), *keep* (36), *class* (33), *rebuild* (35), *global* (35), *create* (30), *stronger* (31), *now* (29), *hard* (29), *good* (28), *American* (27), *time* (26), *build* (25), *business* (24), *know* (22), *energy* (22), *years* (21), *strengthen* (20)

Appendix 4D shows the concordance for *financial*, which occurs 209 times in the Obama corpus. While most of these occurrences refer to the need to bring the financial system back from near ruin, there is also a clear pattern of blaming the financial world for the crisis and for engaging in risky behaviour:

> But much of [the crisis] was due to the irresponsibility of large financial institutions on Wall Street that gambled on risky loans and complex financial products... And their actions, in the absence of strong oversight, intensified the cycle of bubble and bust and led to a financial crisis that threatened to bring down the entire economy.[104]

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[102] Obama, B. (2016). 'Weekly Address: Protecting the Progress We've Made with Wall Street Reform', *Whitehouse.gov.* July 23rd, 2016. Available: https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/07/23/weekly-address-protecting-progress-weve-made-wall-street-reform

[103] Obama, B. (2016f). 'Weekly Address: Improving Economic Security by Strengthening and Modernizing the Unemployment Insurance System,' *Whitehouse.gov.* January 16th, 2016. Available: https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/01/16/weekly-address-improving-economic-security-strengthening-and-modernizing

[104] Obama, B. (2009). 'The President's Weekly Address: December 12th, 2009'. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=86987

The concordance for *banks* (Appendix 5E) shows that the term is associated with the financial world and that the banks are blamed for being involved in high risk, destructive behaviour. The *bailouts* are acknowledged as a drastic measure; Wall Street reform will prevent them in the future.

These top three terms are followed by many other key words that show significant semantic patterns in use. The term *crisis* is used in reference to the economic crisis; additionally, it is called the *financial crisis* 29 times and the verb *hit* is primarily used to describe the recession. In comparison, while Reagan, Clinton and Bush all referred to an economic/financial crisis in their speeches, they all additionally used the term to refer to other problems (a crime crisis, the health care crisis, a crisis of frivolous lawsuits, the AIDs crisis in Africa, the crisis in the Middle East, etc.). Obama is the only one of the four Presidents to use the term only in reference to one, isolated issue. The related term *foundation* is used when stressing the need to lay a *new economic foundation* to *recover*. The *recession* is described as the worst in our *lifetimes*; toward the end of Obama's second term he begins to call it the *great* recession.

The findings of the *Wall Street Argument* pilot study concluded that the financial world is described in highly negative terms in Obama's Weekly Addresses from 2009 – mid-2012. The data from late 2012 – 2017 shows that this pattern remains unchanged. *Wall Street* is independently blamed for causing the financial crisis by making risky *bets*, creating a housing *bubble* and getting us into a fiscal *mess*. There is consequently a need to write new *rules* and provide new *oversight* to the financial world. One detail of this reform is the creation of a consumer *watchdog* that will help protect the American people from unfair financial practices. Although not a major topic, *credit card companies* are discussed with particularly strong language; they are blamed for misleading Americans with pages of fine print. *Lenders* are also represented highly negatively, specifically *mortgage lenders*.

2. government and politics

Item	O1	%1	O2	%2	LL
republicans	250	0.10	234	0.03 +	192.76
manufacturing	80	0.03	30	0.00 +	124.29
compromise	41	0.02	19	0.00 +	56.71
loopholes	38	0.02	16	0.00 +	55.54
shutdown	30	0.01	9	0.00 +	51.66
deficits	96	0.04	131	0.02 +	43.30
overseas	53	0.02	52	0.01 +	38.67
$250,000	17	0.01	3	0.00 +	35.17
politics	94	0.04	144	0.02 +	33.93
sequester	12	0.00	1	0.00 +	29.13
act	248	0.10	577	0.07 +	24.39
status quo	30	0.01	28	0.00 +	23.21

Table 5.3: *Obama corpus key content words in the category of: government and politics*

The concordances for the top frequency words in this category have also been analyzed, the following are discussed below: *Congress*, *tax, taxes*, *security*, *Washington*, *government*, *budget, Senate*, *Democrats*, *Republican, leaders, cut/s, spending*, *breaks* and *on time.*

Obama mainly mentions *Congress*, specifically *Republican members*, when pushing for legislation – acts or bills – which there is an urgency to *act* on passing. Republicans are regularly mentioned as blocking progress.

> **Congress** (606) – *Republicans* (87), *now* (56), *members* (54), *act* (47), *right* (43), *week* (35), *pass* (34), *every* (31), *work* (30), *bill* (29), *budget* (27), *time* (25), *help* (25), *working* (23), *jobs* (23), *needs* (21), *need* (20), *tax* (20), *passed* (20), *tell* (20)

In contrast, the *Senate* is mentioned in more neutral terms. The concordance for *Democrats* shows the term mainly used along with *Republicans* as Obama calls for the parties to *compromise* and unite to make progress. *Republican leaders* are often mentioned as impeding progress.

As the frequency list data shows, Obama focuses on *taxes* to a significant degree as the rest of the Presidents have. 119/358 uses of the term refer to *tax breaks*; there is specific concern with ending tax breaks for companies shipping jobs *overseas* and closing tax *loopholes*. This connects to Obama's push to support American *manufacturing*. Overall the President is concerned with raising taxes on the wealthy and extending tax *cuts* and credits for the rest of the country (the 98%), specifically the middle class and small business owners.

> **tax** (368) – *cuts* (87), *cut* (49), *breaks* (48), *credit* (40), *more* (40), *tax* (34), *Americans* (37), *credits* (34), *wealthiest* (34), *families* (31), *middle* (33), *class* (32), *code* (29), *companies* (26), *Congress* (26), *new* (24), *give* (24), *jobs* (23), *businesses* (22), *loopholes* (21), *working* (21), *dollars* (21), *dollars* (20), *hike* (20), *Congress* (20)

Washington, a metonymic term used to personify "the U.S. government", is represented by Obama as an imperfect system in need of change. It is consistently mentioned that much game playing and partisanship goes on and that special interests influence politics. Obama positions himself on the side of the people, working to change the *status quo*. In contrast *government* is discussed in a general, neutral way. The President also mentions *politics* consistently, often urging the government to put politics aside and to *compromise*.

Along with the *sequester* and the government *shutdown*, many of the remaining key terms within this category refer to important events or policies that Obama has needed to address. During his first term, he had to balance the *budget*, which required a great deal of *compromise* between parties to *cut spending*. Obama also worked across both terms to lower the *deficit*.

3. clean energy and the environment

Item	O1	%1	O2	%2	LL
clean	142	0.06	95	0.01 +	120.18
energy	251	0.10	326	0.04 +	123.23
carbon	35	0.01	0	0.00 +	104.05
solar	47	0.02	12	0.00 +	86.28
climate	58	0.02	26	0.00 +	81.81
wind	42	0.02	14	0.00 +	69.05
planet	39	0.02	11	0.00 +	68.89
Intel	15	0.01	0	0.00 +	44.59
renewable	27	0.01	15	0.00 +	33.21
turbines	11	0.00	0	0.00 +	32.70
biofuels	13	0.01	1	0.00 +	31.95
pollution	31	0.01	27	0.00 +	25.87
panels	12	0.00	2	0.00 +	25.22

Table 5.4: *Obama corpus key content words in the category of: clean energy and the environment*

One of the major policies Obama has fought for while President is investment in *clean, renewable energy*. The dangers of *carbon pollution* are stressed along with the need to cap carbon emissions. The President argues for the use of *wind turbines* and *solar power*, *biofuels* and *panels;* the need to battle *climate* change is also emphasized to protect the *planet*. Clean energy relates to new technology as well; he makes a speech from *Intel,* using it as a shining example of how technology can be used to create jobs in America. It is notable how heavily concerned with the environment and clean energy Obama has been compared to Reagan, Clinton and Bush.

4. automotive/gas industries and infrastructure

Item	O1	%1	O2	%2	LL
auto industry	38	0.02	12	0.00 +	64.01
Chrysler	27	0.01	3	0.00 +	62.30
infrastructure	47	0.02	26	0.00 +	57.98
gas	84	0.03	87	0.01 +	57.33
bridges	39	0.02	17	0.00 +	55.90
oil	126	0.05	187	0.02 +	48.52
GM	19	0.01	2	0.00 +	44.30
oil companies	21	0.01	4	0.00 +	42.50
trucks	27	0.01	15	0.00 +	33.21
roads	47	0.02	50	0.01 +	30.98
construction	44	0.02	45	0.01 +	30.51
cars	59	0.02	83	0.01 +	25.18
drilling	20	0.01	11	0.00 +	24.77
drill	10	0.00	1	0.00 +	23.54

Table 5.5: *Obama corpus key content words in the category of: automotive/gas industries and infrastructure*

Gas is mainly discussed in reference to high prices, which rose to $4 a gallon during Obama's Presidency (and have since fallen). He bailed out the *auto industry* and it is described as a huge success. *Chrysler* and *GM* are represented as iconic American companies. Obama pushes for increasing the fuel-efficiency of *cars* and *trucks*.

Oil and the *oil companies* are discussed in various ways. The need to end America's dependence on foreign oil is stressed as well as the need to end oil and gas company tax breaks. Oil companies are represented as being given unfair tax breaks. Interestingly however, the oil companies are not given agency in pursuing these tax breaks but are rather being granted them. Unlike Wall Street, they are not pursuing economic policies that harm the middle class. *Drilling* is discussed mainly in reference to implementing higher operating standards in response to the BP oil spill.

Another of the policies that Obama has supported is investment in *infrastructure*, specifically *bridges* and *roads*. 26/44 uses of the term *construction* are used to refer to construction workers, who were laid off due to the recession.

5. health care

Item	O1	%1	O2	%2	LL
insurance	250	0.10	330	0.04 +	119.45
insurance companies	63	0.02	30	0.00 +	85.71
affordable	129	0.05	137	0.02 +	85.23
healthcare.gov	22	0.01	0	0.00 +	65.40
preexisting	37	0.01	15	0.00 +	55.20
costs	149	0.06	252	0.03 +	43.03
care	181	0.07	335	0.04 +	41.22
insurance industry	19	0.01	3	0.00 +	40.49
if you like	12	0.00	1	0.00 +	29.13
practices	44	0.02	47	0.01 +	28.85
covered	34	0.01	30	0.00 +	27.99
industry	53	0.02	67	0.01 +	27.20

* used in the term *Affordable Care Act* 40 times

Table 5.6: *Obama corpus key content words in the category of: health care*

Coverage and *health care* have been added from the frequency list.

The Wall Street Argument pilot study found that the insurance industry was represented highly negatively from 2009 – 2012. The concordance lines for 2013 – 2017 confirm this pattern has remained unchanged throughout Obama's Presidency. While *health care* and *health insurance* are discussed neutrally, specifying the need for reform in general, *insurance companies* and the *insurance industry* are completely vilified. They are represented as upholding unfair policies and *practices* that directly harm consumers. Obama often uses the example of insurance companies being able to deny customers treatment based on *pre-existing* conditions or dropping *coverage* in the case of severe illness. 40 instances of *affordable* reference the Affordable Care Act, telling people to get *covered* at *healthcare.gov* and giving updates on how successful it has been. The

adjective *affordable* is mainly used when discussing how health insurance must be more affordable (as well as *college*). The concordance for the term *costs* also shows how important it was for Obama to focus on the cost of health care continuously rising; this fact formed the basis for his argument on the necessity of implementing the Affordable Care Act (see Chapter 6). He repeatedly promises that if customers, that "*if you like* your doctor, you can keep your doctor".

6. education

Item	O1	%1	O2	%2	LL
higher education	32	0.01	19	0.00 +	37.52
college	149	0.06	280	0.03 +	32.47
graduates	20	0.01	9	0.00 +	28.15

Table 5.7: *Obama corpus key content words in the category of: education*

Additionally, *education, students, community colleges* and *colleges* have been added from the frequency list.

Obama represents *education* as the key to success and a bright future, no matter how expensive the cost. While emphasizing that attending *college* is now more important than ever, Obama consistently discusses the need to make *college* more affordable and has supported a $2,500 tax credit, a college rating system and free *community college*. *Higher education* is used interchangeably and is described as something that should be available to all Americans. The large amount of student loan debt that recent *graduates* are dealing with is mentioned in 6/19 occurrences of the term. *Students* are represented highly positively.

7. other

Item	O1	%1	O2	%2	LL
$10.10	25	0.01	0	0.00 +	74.32
wage	98	0.04	143	0.02 +	39.02
childcare	18	0.01	3	0.00 +	37.82
minimum	87	0.03	124	0.01 +	36.24
criminal justice	22	0.01	11	0.00 +	29.03
pathway	16	0.01	4	0.00 +	29.60
foreclosures	11	0.00	0	0.00 +	32.70
deals	26	0.01	14	0.00 +	32.68

Table 5.8: *Obama corpus key content words in the category of: 'other'*

During his second term, Obama begins to focus increasingly on supporting those struggling in the recession. He heavily supports raising the *minimum wage* to *$10.10,* immigration reform, which

will provide a *pathway* to citizenship, *criminal justice* reform and lowering the cost of childcare. He also addresses the need to end home *foreclosures* and develop new trade *deals*.

8. security and foreign policy

Item	O1	%1	O2	%2	LL
Isil	62	0.02	0	0.00 +	184.31
Iran	51	0.02	36	0.00 +	52.06

Table 5.9: *Obama corpus key content words in the category of: security and foreign policy*

The following words have been added from the frequency list: *nuclear weapons, Syria, Libya, Syrian* and *Assad*.

Obama mainly discusses *security* in relation to *economic* security, with an emphasis on protecting families and the middle class. Health care reform is represented as a way to help ensure security; *national security* is referenced in terms of external threats such as terrorism and disease. Collocates for *security* include:

> **security** (209) – *more* (28), *social* (28), *national* (27), *families* (22), *middle* (23), *class* (22), *health* (18), *homeland* (17), *Americans* (17), *economic* (16)

Obama is also concerned with terrorism, with a focus on *ISIL* and on stopping *Iran* from producing *nuclear weapons*. It is interesting to note that the reference corpus shows 36 instances of the term *Iran* and the concordance lines for the Reagan, Clinton and Bush corpora show a clear history of Iran being negatively depicted in American Presidential discourse:

Reagan Corpus, *Iran*

18 occurrences.

nvade Cambodia and the Soviet Union invade Afghanistan . Iraq and	Iran	began their war during this period as well . Over and over , we Am
ions that our forces took in the Gulf were a measured response to	Iran	's resumption of mine-laying and continued aggression against nonb
rted by our Gulf Arab friends , offer the best means of deterring	Iran	and enhancing Gulf security . Working together , we can also put n
Our role in this war is neutral , and we do not seek to confront	Iran	. However , its leaders must understand that continued military an
and refusal to negotiate an end to the war will be very costly to	Iran	and its people . Until next week , thanks for listening , and God
hn Tower , Edmund Muskie , and Brent Scowcroft to investigate the	Iran	affair , my attitude was : Let the chips fall where they may . I t
ensive , especially about events on the international scene . The	Iran	controversy has certainly been a disappointment for all of us ; no
own citizens-and bringing about an end to the bloody war between	Iran	and Iraq . When word came to me that individuals in Iran , includi
between Iran and Iraq . When word came to me that individuals in	Iran	, including some members of the Government there , had asked throu
, I said yes . And even though these were responsible elements in	Iran	that might be able to assist us in stopping the violence and possi
d others were about to follow . Then someone in the Government of	Iran	leaked information about our contacts with Iran to a newspaper in
the Government of Iran leaked information about our contacts with	Iran	to a newspaper in Lebanon . You know the rest . This effort to est
effort to establish a relationship with responsible moderates in	Iran	came to light and was broken off . But I think you can see the pur
xplained it . When revelations regarding a transfer of money from	Iran	to those attempting to fight the Sandinista government were report
ing ground for subversion . A delegation of Nicaraguans is now in	Iran	. Nicaragua 's border violations against Honduras and Costa Rica c
ein , President Mubarak , and I will also discuss the war between	Iran	and Iraq . America and other nations have worked for years now to
a , Bulgaria , East Germany , North Korea , Libya , the PLO , and	Iran	is a threat to our security , because the dictators of Cuba and Ni
g drugs to poison our youth and linking up with the terrorists of	Iran	, Libya , the Red Brigades , and the PLO . The Sandinistas are n't

Figure 5.1: *Reagan corpus concordance, Iran*

Clinton Corpus, *Iran*

6 occurrences.

e already signed it , including Russia , China , Japan , Israel ,	Iran	, and all our European allies . Many nations have already ratified
re acting on our own . A law I signed this week will help to deny	Iran	and Libya the money they use to finance international terrorism .
sin agreed to cancel the sale of nuclear enrichment technology to	Iran	, which clearly could be used to develop nuclear weapons . Third ,
myrdin to look into whether Russia 's sale of nuclear reactors to	Iran	could help to produce nuclear weapons . Fourth , we resolved outst
at will help lead Russia to close down conventional arms sales to	Iran	. Fifth , we agreed to begin visits to biological weapons factorie
ngagement , from North Korea 's nuclear program to the efforts of	Iran	and other backlash states to sponsor terrorism . We 're meeting th

Figure 5.2: *Clinton corpus concordance, Iran*

Bush Corpus, *Iran*

12 occurrences.

instigated by Hamas , a Palestinian terrorist group supported by	Iran	and Syria that calls for Israel 's destruction . Eighteen months a
t against human rights abuses by tyrannical regimes like those in	Iran	and Syria , Cuba , Sudan , and Zimbabwe . We 've spoken candidly a
of missile defense . We 're also working together to ensure that	Iran	is not allowed to acquire a nuclear weapon . This week , America a
. Together America and Europe are pursuing strong diplomacy with	Iran	, so that future generations can look back and say that we came to
ers across the region to reject spoilers , such as the regimes in	Iran	and Syria , move past old grievances , and embrace the changes nec
discuss the importance of countering the aggressive ambitions of	Iran	. And I will assure them that America 's commitment to the securit
Qaida a safe haven , it will counter the destructive ambitions of	Iran	, and it will serve as a partner in the fight against terrorism .
can interests in the Middle East . We will address the problem of	Iran	and Syria allowing terrorists and insurgents to use their territor
up with internal extremistsAl Qaida with the Sunni insurgents and	Iran	with Shi'a militiato foment hatred and thus throttle , at birth ,
reignty over its territory and guards its borders . In addition ,	Iran	must end its financial support and supply of weapons to terrorist
elped provide Hizballah with shipments of Ira-nian-made weapons .	Iran	's regime has also repeatedly defied the international community w
chnology and know-how to rogue regimes around the world , such as	Iran	and North Korea . Thanks to the tireless work of intelligence offi

Figure 5.3: *Bush corpus concordance, Iran*

The same negative projection is clear in the *Libya* concordances:

Reagan Corpus, *Libya*

9 occurrences.

ranny , or who were to condemn our strike against Qadhafi 's	Libya	. And , yes , in the fall of 1983 , when the Soviets walked o
nue to supply billions of dollars of weapons to regimes like	Libya	, Syria , Cuba , Nicaragua , Vietnam , Ethiopia , South Yemen
an were fired on by the forces of the north African nation ,	Libya	. This was a direct military confrontation provoked by Libya
Libya . This was a direct military confrontation provoked by	Libya	's dictator , Colonel Qadhafi , who usually prefers to arm ,
hat we 've see this week . You see , dictators like those in	Libya	or in Nicaragua know how unpopular they are with their people
m the Soviet bloc and their coldblooded allies , the PLO and	Libya	. One thing alone unites these enemies of democracy : hatred
gua gets from Cuba , Bulgaria , East Germany , North Korea ,	Libya	, the PLO , and Iran is a threat to our security , because th
oison our youth and linking up with the terrorists of Iran ,	Libya	, the Red Brigades , and the PLO . The Sandinistas are n't de
LO . Trained in terrorist tactics by Soviet-bloc nations and	Libya	, the PLO joined the civil war and attacked Israeli targets ,

Figure 5.4: *Regan corpus concordance, Libya*

Clinton, *Libya*

2 occurrences.

ur own . A law I signed this week will help to deny Iran and	Libya	the money they use to finance international terrorism . Secon
liances in Asia and Europe , or isolating rogue nations like	Libya	and Iraq , steady , strong American leadership is making our

Figure 5.5: *Clinton corpus concordance, Libya*

Bush, *Libya*

5 occurrences.

d intelligence successes . " These include the uncovering of	Libya	's nuclear and missile programs , which led Libya 's leader t
overing of Libya 's nuclear and missile programs , which led	Libya	's leader to renounce weapons of mass destruction . In Pakist
k-market supplier of deadly weapons technology and convinced	Libya	to give up its weapons of mass destruction programs . And mor
emoved terrorist regimes in Afghanistan and Iraq , convinced	Libya	to give up its weapons of mass destruction , and put the worl
luding providing fundamental rights to women . The leader of	Libya	has now pledged to disclose and dismantle all of his weapons

Figure 5.6: *Bush corpus concordance, Libya*

Syria is represented similarly:

Reagan Corpus, *Syria*

2 occurrences.

ed Israel 's northern border , killing innocent civilians .	Syrian	forces occupied the eastern part of Lebanon . Israeli milita
urface missiles'97the SS-21 . We have to wonder aloud about	Syrian	protestations of their peaceful intentions . For a year , we

Figure 5.7: *Reagan corpus concordance, Syria*

Clinton Corpus, *Syria*

2 occurrences.

e kept moving forward . And finally it looks like Israel and	Syria	will sit together in the United States to seek a way to resol
er future for this region . And I met with President Asad of	Syria	to say it 's time he , too , follow the example and inspirati

Figure 5.8: *Clinton corpus concordance, Syria*

Bush Corpus, *Syria*

13 occurrences.

Hamas , a Palestinian terrorist group supported by Iran and	Syria	that calls for Israel 's destruction . Eighteen months ago ,
n rights abuses by tyrannical regimes like those in Iran and	Syria	, Cuba , Sudan , and Zimbabwe . We 've spoken candidly about
region to reject spoilers , such as the regimes in Iran and	Syria	, move past old grievances , and embrace the changes necessar
the outskirts of Baghdad to Iraq 's borders with Jordan and	Syria	and Saudi Arabia . And until recently , Anbar was Al Qaida 's
in the Middle East . We will address the problem of Iran and	Syria	allowing terrorists and insurgents to use their territory to
upply of weapons to terrorist groups such as Hizballah , and	Syria	must end its support for terrorism and respect Lebanon 's sov
e attacks and the nations that support it . For many years ,	Syria	has been a primary sponsor of Hizballah , and it has helped p
of the main routes for foreign terrorists entering Iraq from	Syria	. During operations in the key town of Tall Afar , Iraqi secu
nd to stop terrorists from crossing into the country through	Syria	. I 'm encouraged by the increasing size and capability of th
from the aftermath of a horrific civil war and occupation by	Syria	. Lebanese citizens who have watched free elections in Iraq a
their own destiny , free of Syrian control and domination .	Syria	has been an occupying force in Lebanon for nearly three decad
an occupying force in Lebanon for nearly three decades , and	Syria	's support for terrorism remains a key obstacle to peace in t
er Blair , and German ChancellorSchroeder have all called on	Syria	to withdraw from Lebanon . A Syrian withdrawal of all its mil

Figure 5.9: *Bush corpus concordance, Syria*

Appendices 5F, 5G and 5H show that Obama continues discussing these three countries in similarly negative terms and in fact the American-backed NATO invasion of Libya and the U.S. intervention in Syria occur under his Presidency. Appendix 5F shows that the Iran Deal is represented as a solution to any imminent threat but there are consistent reminders that Iran is not to be trusted. Appendix 5G shows Obama narrating the Libya invasion and the Benghazi embassy attack. Appendix 5H shows Obama describing Syrian President Bashar al-Assad's chemical attacks on the Syrian people, the diplomacy that followed and the sudden threat of ISIL overrunning the country a year later. Libya and Syria are discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 8.

9. people and people groups

Item	O1	%1	O2	%2	LL
middle class	285	0.11	160	0.02 +	347.98
kids	168	0.07	85	0.01 +	220.02
owners	77	0.03	54	0.01 +	79.05
girls	44	0.02	16	0.00 +	69.42
workers	314	0.12	638	0.07 +	53.40
millionaires	20	0.01	1	0.00 +	51.93
Keeper	20	0.01	1	0.00 +	51.93
service members	19	0.01	2	0.00 +	44.30
consumers	71	0.03	89	0.01 +	36.93
Main Street	16	0.01	2	0.00 +	36.03
consumer	57	0.02	65	0.01 +	34.18
families	539	0.21	1365	0.16 +	33.38
Obama	19	0.01	6	0.00 +	32.01
firefighters	30	0.01	21	0.00 +	30.85
veteran	20	0.01	8	0.00 +	30.05
billionaires	10	0.00	0	0.00 +	29.73
uniform	80	0.03	125	0.01 +	27.70
economists	30	0.01	26	0.00 +	25.17

Table 5.10: *Obama corpus key content words in the category of: people and people groups*

Woman, children, veterans, communities, *military* and *troops* have been added from the frequency list.

The *middle class*, *families* and *workers* are talked about in an overwhelmingly positive manor; Obama repeats that the country must grow, strengthen and rebuild the middle class and protect *communities*. He also speaks about creating a better bargain for the middle class. Business *owners* are similarly represented; 53/77 occurrences specify *small business owners. Kids* are discussed largely in reference to improving the education system and creating a better future. Obama specifically mentions *women* when pushing for policies that support equal pay and a minimum wage hike. There is a call to honour and support the country's *veterans, military* and welcome *service members* and *troops* home, as well as men and women in *uniform*. *Consumer/s* are discussed largely as needing protection from the dishonest practices of the financial industry.

Obama discusses *girls* in reference to his Let Girls Learn initiative, which supports educating girls around the world. He also references the need to put *fire fighters* back to work.

As far as the upper class, the terms *millionaires* and *billionaires* are used often in reference to tax cuts for these groups, (which Obama does not support) but neither group is vilified as pursuing these tax cuts. The *wealthiest* Americans are mentioned as being asked to pay a little more in taxes.

The word *keeper* is used exclusively in the terms *brother's keeper* and *sister's keeper* by Obama when he is quoting the Bible.

10. Adjectives and adverbs

Item	O1	%1	O2	%2	LL
worst	86	0.03	53	0.01 +	98.05
commonsense	64	0.03	48	0.01 +	61.90
more	1558	0.62	4265	0.49 +	54.70
21st-century	16	0.01	0	0.00 +	47.56
innovation	44	0.02	32	0.00 +	43.76
transparency	21	0.01	5	0.00 +	39.53
fair	132	0.05	223	0.03 +	38.22
small	180	0.07	345	0.04 +	36.97
on my own	14	0.01	1	0.00 +	34.78
resilience	18	0.01	4	0.00 +	34.70
recklessness	11	0.00	0	0.00 +	32.70
all-of-the-above	10	0.00	0	0.00 +	29.73
hard-working	46	0.02	51	0.01 +	28.69
irresponsibility	13	0.01	2	0.00 +	27.89

Table 5.11: *Obama corpus key content words in the category of: adjectives and adverbs*

New, American, responsibility, stronger, young, equal, accountable and *reckless* have been added from the frequency list.

When examining the adjective *American*, it is imperative to note that much of the U.S. population is very patriotic and the term has a highly positive connotation. All of the collocates for this term are represented across Obama's corpus in an extremely positive light; furthermore, these concepts relate to traditional American culture which is largely defined by hard work and family life.

> **American** (727) – *people* (160), *every* (92), *American* (72), *workers* (68), *jobs* (64), *businesses* (43), *more* (40), *new* (40), *all* (39), *families* (28), *economy* (27), *dream* (27), *manufacturing* (27), *work* (25), *energy* (24), *industry* (23), *people* (22)

The following groups are mentioned as needing to be held *accountable* (27): insurance companies, Wall Street, the Gadhafi regime and companies that hire undocumented workers. The American

people/folks are described as *resilient* as well as *hard-working*. 9/16 occurrences of *21st-Century* are used to modify *economy*. Each use of the term *all-of-the-above* refers to Obama's energy strategy, defined as "a strategy where we produce more oil and gas here at home, but also more biofuels and fuel-efficient vehicles, more solar power and wind power".[105] He also calls for increased *innovation* in regard to new technology and clean energy.

Worst is mainly used to describe the *economic crisis* as well as *practices of the health insurance industry*. *Recklessness* is used in reference to Wall Street causing the financial crisis, as is *irresponsibility*. Overall Obama shows a deep concern with making a wide range of aspects of government fairer as well as increasing *transparency*. Additionally, Obama speaks about the need to eradicate *top* down economic policies and portrays a concern with policies that do not just concern those at the top of the income ladder. *Common-sense* is used to modify many policy decisions that Obama is calling for with a small pattern showing it modifying *financial reform*. He promises to *act on my own* to help the American people when governmental compromise fails.

In conclusion, it is clear from the data discussed in this section that certain frames are evident in the Obama corpus and that he returns to his major topics continuously. Overall the most defining feature of Obama's corpus is how repetitive it is and how consistent his representations are across eight years. The next section very briefly discusses the major frames from the Obama corpus, which add additional useful information to this study.

5.3.5. Asserting Common Frames

As discussed in Chapter 4, the way that issues are framed in the media influences audience perception of them (Gamson & Modigliani 1989). Modigliani (1989: 143) describes framing as "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events". As frames are a minor component within this thesis, this fairly general definition is adopted here. It is important to include the concept as it is clear from the corpus analysis that Obama focuses on reinforcing certain frames; the repetitive nature of his language as well as how highly consistent his representations are, supports this idea. The story that the Weekly Addresses tell across eight years is built on the repetition of specific frames, outlined in Appendix 4I. The table is adapted from Touri and Koteyko (2014: 9).

These heavily re-occurring frames have all been discussed in previous sections of this chapter; they are further discussed in greater detail at the end of Chapter 6 as they all form important elements within Obama's arguments.

[105] Obama, B. (2013). 'Weekly Address: Time to Create the Energy Security Trust', *Whitehouse.gov*. Available: https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/03/16/weekly-address-time-create-energy-security-trust

5.4. CONCLUSION

It is clear from this analysis that the Obama Presidency is dedicated to constructing a crisis narrative (Hay 2010) in response to the recession; his major policies all relate back to the recovery. Certain actors are vilified in regard to the crisis – mainly Wall Street and the financial world – while Obama's clear focus is on supporting the middle class during this difficult period as he leads the nation into a better future. In comparison to the reference corpus, it is clear that Obama was much more acutely focused on the economic sector as a whole than the overall norm, which supports the idea that this was largely a neo-liberal Presidency where the economy was represented as the most important factor by a very wide margin. It is very apparent from the corpus findings that Obama's language is highly-repetitive and the representations within it extremely consistent throughout his two terms in office. He concentrates extensively on the economy and job creation, as well as the business and finance sector as a whole compared to the reference corpus. An additionally important finding to note is that the *damaging/destroying* domain shows that the insurance companies, the financial world, the crisis and terrorism (ISIL and Al-Qaeda) are isolated as the country's biggest concerns; this is further discussed in Chapter 6.

While the financial sector and more specifically the banks are blamed for the Recession, this blame revolves around the narrative, initiated under George W. Bush, that the Recession was a mistake. Obama focuses on describing the banks as irresponsible and involved in high-risk gambling; this strategy ultimately works to omit the era of deregulation that allowed for such behaviour to occur (see Chapter 1). The Federal Reserve is mentioned three times in the Obama corpus, all in a positive light. Overall, this narrative works to extend the existing structure of the financial system, which had been de-regulated within the establishment paradigm. Instead of structural change, Wall Street Reform – containing non-structural reform – is offered as a solution. Additionally, as in the case of the bank bailouts, health care reform is represented as a necessary policy implementation in light of the threat it poses to the economy. This chapter shows that Obama clearly extended the establishment paradigm's foreign policy trajectory in regard to representations of Libya and Syria. His rhetoric in regard to Iran also promoted distrust, although he successfully implemented the Iran Deal. Further conclusions as to Obama's support of the establishment paradigm are made in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6: CORPUS ANALYSIS OF FUNCTIONAL ARGUMENT UNITS CORPORA

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6.6.1. Semantic Domain Analysis
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6.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the results of isolating and coding each of the main arguments within Obama's 413 Weekly Addresses, along with the results of the corpus analysis of each of the five functional claims corpora that the NVivo-coded data was used to produce. This method resulted in an in-depth qualitative examination of each of the major arguments within Obama's speeches during the coding process as well as how his arguments on each topic developed over time. The aim is to answer research question #2: *What are the proto-typical arguments in Obama's Weekly Addresses?* This chapter discusses each of the five functional unit corpora excerpts in turn before coming to conclusions as to what Obama's major arguments are and additionally, which arguments are flagged for further analysis in Chapters 7 and 8.

As discussed in Chapter 5, the Obama 2009-2017 corpus is 252,214 words long. NVivo was used to qualitatively code each of the 413 speeches in this corpus. Firstly, the main argument in each speech was isolated; secondly, it was coded with the functional argument units from Fairclough and Fairclough (2012). Subsequently the resulting five nodes were used to build five corpora:

CORPUS:	**WORD COUNT:**
circumstances corpus	174,384
goal corpus	29,664
values corpus	58,267
claims for action corpus	48,756
means-goal corpus	27,962
total	339,033

Table 6.1: *Function units corpora words counts*

This data shows that there is a very significant amount of overlap in the coding since the total is 86,819 words greater than the Obama 2009 - 2017 corpus total. This is due to a high amount of overlap between the *circumstances* and *values* corpora and some overlap between the *means-goal* and *circumstances* corpora. The large size of the *circumstances* corpus shows that Obama is mainly focused on this element of his arguments; about 75% of his speeches focus on this functional unit. The *values* corpus is about one-fourth this size; Obama spends a significant amount of time, especially at the end of his speeches, stressing the same small group of heavily repeated values. The *goals* corpus is smaller; Obama does not tend to repeat his goals more than once or twice in each speech and they are usually stated in simple, direct language. The *claims for action* corpus is larger; Obama often includes long lists of claims in his speeches, presenting many small actions that combine to work toward solving the main goal of the speech. The *means-goal* corpus is small because roughly one-fourth of the means-goals in Obama's Weekly Addresses are implicit.

The following five sections discuss each of these corpora. Based on the type of data in each corpus, they have each been analyzed in disparate ways using the following corpus tools: frequency lists, keyword lists, concordances, collocate analysis and semantic domain analysis. As discussed in Chapter 3, the American English 2006 corpus has been used as a reference corpus.

6.2. *GOALS* CORPUS ANALYSIS

This section discusses the 29,664-word *goals* corpus analysis findings using key semantic domain analysis as well as frequency list, keyword list, collocate and concordance data.

6.2.1. Key Semantic Domain & Concordance Analysis

The following section discusses the results of comparing the *goals* corpus key semantic domains to the corpus, to show what Obama's stated goals were while President. The concordances for the top frequency words and keywords are additionally discussed here, within the semantic domains that they are most commonly found within. Chapter 5 mainly discussed semantic patterns within noun and adjective/adverb concordances; this section isolates significant verb patterns as well.

Figure 6.1. shows the *goals* corpus key semantic domains compared to the American English 2006 corpus:

Figure 6.1: *Key semantic domain analysis, goals corpus compared to American English 2006 corpus*

The following key domains added additional, relevant information to the findings from Chapter 6.

Architecture, houses and buildings (177): *build*/86, *rebuild*/61, *rewarded*/14, *homeowners*/8
This domain shows that the word *build* is used in reference to creating a thriving economy which will foster job creation and long-term growth. This new economy will withstand future economic storms by being "built to last" and creating security, particularly for the middle class and children. This security is linked to the need to keep the American Dream alive and support small businesses that "build our country's future". The economy must be *rebuilt* stronger than before.

Belong to a group (245): *middle class*/102, *community*/26, *come together*/15
The main group mentioned here is the *middle class* with the goals of strengthening them, creating middle class jobs, giving them a "better bargain" and increasing their economic security. Those working to *enter the middle class* are also included 8 times in Obama's second term.

Business, generally (386): *economy*/254, *businesses*/68, *hard work*/37, *strengthen*/22, *prosperity*/22, *recession*/19, *shot*/17, *recover*/14, *foundation*/9
The main goals in this domain are helping the *economy recover* from the crisis, the need to grow the economy and create *prosperity* and a new economic *foundation*. The nation must *strengthen* the economy, keep it moving forward and protect it. From 2015-2016 the new goals of creating an economy where *hard work* and responsibility are *rewarded* and an economy where everyone gets a fair *shot* are introduced. *Businesses* must grow.

Chance, luck (110): *opportunity*/55, *chance*/43*, restore*/23, *sense*/18
The main goal here is giving all Americans the *chance* to get ahead, particularly in reference to a good education. The need to *restore opportunity* to all Americans and a *sense* of security, largely through job creation, is also stressed.

Cheap (77): *economic*/52, *affordable*/17
The adjective *economic* modifies *recovery, growth* and *security.* Health care and education are highlighted as needing to be *affordable*.

Competitive (32)
America must be *competitive* on the global stage, mainly in reference to jobs.

Difficult (134): *crisis*/38, *challenges*/22
The word *crisis* is used exclusively in reference to the financial crisis. America will meet all its *challenges*.

Ethical (74): *fair*/39, *fairer/*6, *rules*/27
The economy must be *fair* for the middle class. Everyone must play by the same *rules*.

Evaluation: Good (66)
Rebuilding a *better* economy is linked to creating a *better* day and providing a *better* future for America's children.

General actions/making (716): make/113, create/96
Here Obama is concerned with *making* the economy work for the middle class, along with making education affordable, the system more fair and *creating* jobs.

Getting and possession (473): have/178, keep/131, get/109,
The country *has* a responsibility to serve the troops and develop better health insurance.

Government (297): *government*/34, *nation*/56, *Washington*/35, *country*/111, *President*/46, *fiscal*/16
In reference to the *government*, the goals are establishing a government that lives within its means and keeps its *fiscal* house in order and avoiding a government shutdown. *Washington* must make sure the government works for the people and stops the special interests from gaining power. The American *nation* must lead the world, particularly the global economy and in clean energy. As *President*, Obama describes his job as focused on rebuilding an economy where everyone has the

chance to succeed. A handful of goals specified only a few times: police reform, reducing drug use, reforming the criminal justice system and deterring Syria from using chemical weapons.

Helping (337): help/98, protect/42, serve/24
The economy must be *helped,* along with the middle class and business owners. The American people must be *protected.* There is a small pattern for *serving* the troops.

Hindering (96): *prevent*/23*, fighting*/39
The following must be *prevented*: future economic crises, home foreclosures, abuse within the financial system, the banks from "taking on too much risk", Ebola, corporations from gaining power, Gadhafi from committing atrocities, gun violence, the government shutdown, terrorism, the spread of nuclear weapons in Iran and climate change. Obama is *fighting* to improve the economy and create jobs.

Important (19)
Obama's states that his *top priority* (18) is creating good jobs and improving the economy.

Interested/Excited/Energetic (83): *energy*/39, *interest*/19
The need for investment in clean, American *energy* is stressed. Obama mentions the threat posed by special *interests* equated with lobbyists and the financial industry.

Law and order (146): *security*/57, *rules*/31
The need for *security,* mainly economic, is repeated, as is the need for everyone to play by the same *rules.*

Likely (468): *make sure*/94, *secure*/26, *ensure*/21,
Obama stresses the need to *ensure* children have the best education and that veterans and military can succeed. The goal of *securing* a better bargain for the middle class includes a secure retirement, a healthy future and a safe country.

Location and direction (629 occurrences): *ahead*/40, *back*/38, *forward*/29
The country needs to move *forward*. People must be put *back* to work. The country needs to be a place where everyone who works hard can get *ahead*.

Money and pay (171): *invest*/27, *wage*/19, *investments*/14
The nation must *invest* in clean energy and the future and make investments in education; ensure *wages* are rising.

Money generally (117): *financial*/22, *insurance*/18, *fiscal*/16
There is a small pattern for *financial* reform and health *insurance* reform. The need to get America's *fiscal* house in order and restore discipline is repeated.

People (252 occurrences): *people*/120, *Americans*/87, *families*/71, *kids*/39, *children*/37, *women*/32, *veterans*/30
There is a wide range of goals within this domain: keeping the American Dream alive for the *children*, giving *kids* the best education possible, giving "our kids" a safer and secure future and

protecting them from gun violence. Restoring the *American people's* faith in government, empowering the people with consumer financial protections and providing people with job skills training are also repeated. Also in reference to foreign policy; Assad must stop gassing the Syrian people; the Libyan people must be protected.

Quantities: little (73): deficit/28
Obama repeats the importance of bringing down the *deficit.*

Size: big (169): *grow*/89
The need for economic *growth* and the growth of opportunity for the middle class is highlighted.

Strong obligation or necessity: (507)
The country has a *responsibility* to serve veterans. The government *must* restore fiscal responsibility and responsibility on Wall Street and in Washington, along with improving health care, increasing exports and writing the rules of the global economy. America must be a world leader by example, keep America safe from terrorism, defeat ISIL and reduce nuclear weapons. Language pertaining to *Washington* is surprisingly strong; for example, the extended concordance lines for the term show the following:

our kids are once again the best educated in the world , it also depends on restoring a sense of responsibility and accountability to our Federal budget . Without significant change to steer away from ever-expanding deficits and debt , we are on an unsustainable course . So today , we simply can not afford to perpetuate a system in Washington where politicians and bureaucrats make decisions behind closed doors with little accountability for the consequences , where billions are squandered on programs that have outlived their usefulness or exist solely because of the power of a lobbyist or interest group , and where outdated technology and information systems undermine efficiency , threaten our security , and fail to serve an engaged citizenry . If we 're going to rebuild our economy on a solid foundation , we need to change the way we do business in Washington . We need to restore the American people 's confidence in their Government ; that it is on their side , spending their money wisely to meet their families ' needs . That starts with the painstaking work of examining every program , every entitlement , every dollar of Government spending and asking

Figure 6.2: *Extended concordance lines for Washington example*

Success (149): *win*/27, *succeed*/14
America needs to *win* the future, the global competition and the war against ISIL.

Time (100)
Obama states that it is *time* to meet responsibilities, work together, focus on nation-building at home and raise the minimum wage to $10.10.

Time: beginning (127)
The country must create *lasting* prosperity.

Tough/strong (36)
The goal is a *stronger* economy.

Tough/strong (63):
The nation must *strengthen* the economy and the middle class.

Work and employment: Generally (423): *more*/223, *jobs*/158, *new*/89, *help*/84, *work*/103, *good*/70, *every*/64, *working*/47, *put*/47, *give*/44, *works*/34, *workers*/30, *engine*/12.

The main patterns include *putting* people back to *work*. The top collocates for jobs are *new, more* and *good*. The country must *help* working families, businesses and the middle class get ahead. Creating the jobs of the future that are linked to infrastructure and technology is stressed.

The concordance lines for the word ***goal*** (21) were additionally examined. Obama explicitly states the following as his goals: creation of a transparent budget, health care which is of a high quality and affordable, making sure the voices of Americans are heard by the government, the prevention of future crises, supporting businesses, preparing graduate students ready for college and a career, for America to have the highest number of graduates in the world, raising the amount of electricity coming from clean energy, less dependence on foreign oil, raising American exports, preserving Medicare, reducing the deficit, stopping the Syrian regime from gassing their people and creating opportunity for all.

6.2.3. Frequency List Analysis

Appendix 5A shows the top frequency words in the Obama *goals* corpus. The results show that Obama is primarily focused on reiterating goals regarding the major topics of the **economy** (*economy, growth, foundation*) and **jobs** *(jobs, work, growth).* Other topics of focus include: **America***,* **businesses, security, opportunity, the crisis, energy, education, Washington/the government,** the **system** and the concept of **chance**. The *future, time, the world* and *change* are mentioned highly frequently, along with the values of *responsibility* and *fairness*. As far as people groups, the focus is on the *middle class, families, Americans* in general, *kids, children, women* and *workers.*

In comparison to the full Obama corpus frequency list, there is a large group of words that do not appear in the goals corpus frequency list. This group includes: *Congress, tax, job, reform, pay, insurance, republicans, home, health care, plan, health, financial, cut, cuts, care, budget, money, steps, companies, college, bill, rules, students, spending, Senate, recovery, recession, oil, military, troops, taxes, wages, progress, deficit, investments, Democrats, Republican* and *vote.* Most of these words appear in the *claims for action* corpus frequency list, as it consists of much more specific language.

This analysis shows that Obama's main goals heavily involve economic growth and building a new foundation, with an emphasis on job creation and the middle class. Businesses are heavily mentioned as well; data from Chapter 4 has shown that businesses are represented as job creators. There is also an emphasis on restoring economic security for middle class families in particular. This data shows that the same words are heavily repeated across all of the terms, showing that Obama uses highly repetitive language and repeats his major goals very consistently. He also uses very general language when stating his goals, especially compared to the specific language in the *claims for action* corpus.

It is clear from this data that Obama is sharply focused on the economic recovery and job creation; they act as overarching goals for his entire narrative and appear connected to almost every key semantic domain. Most of his other, smaller goals work to address one or both. Additionally, making the country more safe and working to create a brighter future are very important goals for

Obama. The next section discusses the *circumstantial premise* corpus, in which the President represents his view of the world.

6.3. *CIRCUMSTANCES* CORPUS ANALYSIS

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the size of the *circumstances* corpus is 75% of the size of the full Obama corpus. As a result, the data does not show how this corpus is distinctive but rather the results are similar to those of Chapter 4. However, the results of Chapter 4 showed that Obama switches to discussing key new topics during his second term and particularly during his last two years as President. While Chapter 4 details how repetitive Obama's language is and how consistent the representations he uses are, it does not chart how his depictions of the country's circumstances evolve over the course of eight years as he introduces new topics and this has proven to be an important aspect of his corpus (see section 6.7.). Therefore, this data is investigated in this section, with each year being analyzed in turn; top frequency and keyword list words are in italics and are listed in Appendix 6B. The keyword list data has been compared to the American English 2006 corpus to show how each year is distinct. Key semantic domains for some years are additionally included when they add important information to the analysis.

2009 Frequency list, keyword list and concordance analyses

It is clear from the frequency list data for 2009 that Obama's first year as President is dominated by his battle to implement health care reform, with *reform* and *insurance* being mentioned more than either *jobs*, the *economy* or the *crisis* and *recovery*. Additionally, a majority of the most key words focus on detailing what health care reform would involve.

Obama begins his first year describing the country as in an "unprecedented *crisis* that calls for unprecedented action".[106] During previous months the country was *losing* 700,000 jobs. He warns that if "we do not act boldly and swiftly, a bad situation could become dramatically worse" and that "this is a difficult time for our country". Obama describes the current health care system as broken and *unsustainable*, linking the issue of reform to the economic recession and jobs. *Out-of-pocket expenses* and *premiums* are said to have doubled in the past decade. *Families* are being "crushed" by costs. If reform is not implemented "costs will devastate the U.S. economy". Obama expresses concern with helping those who have lost jobs and that it is claimed that "health care *reform* is not part of the problem when it comes to our fiscal future, it's a fundamental part of the solution". The *debate* over reform is represented as only involving two options: the Affordable Care Act or the continuation of the current system, which will "bankrupt State and Federal governments". Many specific promises concerning reform are made; they are discussed in Chapter 7.

[106] Obama, B. (2009c). 'The President's Weekly Address: February 21st, 2009'. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=85787

The American Reinvestment and Recovery Plan, which invests in tax credits, clean energy, education, health care and infrastructure, is also heavily discussed this year; 20/43 instances of *recovery* reference it. It is passed and by the end of 2009 Obama is detailing how it has already saved 1 million jobs.

Semantic domain and concordance analysis

Figure 6.2 shows the key semantic domains for the 2009 circumstances corpus compared to the Obama corpus. All of them have been analyzed and those that add relevant additional information are discussed in this section along with their concordance lines.

Figure 6.3: *Key semantic domains for circumstances corpus for 2009 compared to the American English 2006 corpus*

Difficult (144)
Other than health care reform and the economic crisis, the *challenges* the country faces are said to be the tax system that favors the wealthy, the poor state of American schools, over reliance on foreign oil and "our crumbling" infrastructure.

Failure (72)
Obama invests considerable time on giving statistics on *lost* jobs – 700,000 during this first month in office for a total of 4.4 million since the recession began.

Interested/Excited/Energetic (89)
The country's priorities are repeatedly described as clean *energy*, education and infrastructure. The *special interests* are described ominously as "mobilizing against change", against the interests of the American people. Interestingly they are connected to Congress; "The special interests and their agents in Congress claim that reforms like the consumer financial protection agency will stifle consumer choice…"[107]

[107] Obama, B. (2009). 'The President's Weekly Address: December 12th, 2009'. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=86987

Money: Generally (232)
Obama addresses the bank bailout in a surprisingly direct way, "Last year, Congress passed a plan to rescue the financial system. While the package helped avoid a *financial* collapse, many are frustrated by the results, and rightfully so. Too often taxpayer dollars have been spent without transparency or accountability".[108] He goes on to mention the $20 billion in bonuses Wall Street firms rewarded themselves with in 2008. It is stressed that "precious" taxpayer dollars must be *spent* "wisely and well".

Time: Future (399)
Despite the country's challenges, Obama maintains a hopeful tone. The country *will* emerge stronger from the crisis, "we will prove equal to this task".

2010 Frequency list, keyword list and concordance analyses

The frequency and keyword lists show that other than the *economic* recovery and *job* creation, major areas of concentration in 2010 are *tax* and *financial* reform. Obama mentions the *special interests* and battles with *Republicans* in *Congress* very consistently, setting a dark tone for the year.

The concordance lines for *jobs* shows that Obama constantly mentions the problem of job loss, showing concern for those out of work during these *tough times* filled with economic *turmoil*. This works to further justify his push to end *tax* breaks for companies *shipping jobs overseas*. The *economy* was "shrinking at an alarming rate" but is now "growing again". By September, the recession is declared by economists "who decide when recessions start and end" to officially be over.[109]

The concordance for *Wall Street* shows that it is clarified that Wall Street is responsible for the country's current circumstances, "Wall Street firms took enormous, irresponsible risks that imperiled our financial system and hurt just about every sector of our economy".[110] The *special interests* and banks are fighting reform, which is represented as a solution to the crisis; Obama warns, "if we don't change what led to the crisis, we will doom ourselves to repeat it".[111] The concordance for *financial* shows that by the end of the year, the Dodd-Frank Bill is already

[108] Obama, B. (2009d). 'The President's Weekly Address: January 31st, 2009'. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=85712
[109] Obama, B. (2010). 'The President's Weekly Address: September 25th 2010'. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=88505
[110] Obama, B. (2010c). 'The President's Weekly Address: April 24th, 2010'. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=87793
[111] Obama, B. (2010d). 'The President's Weekly Address: April 17th, 2010'. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=87776

heralded as a success, "designed to rein in the secret deals and reckless gambling that nearly brought down the financial system".

The concordance lines for *ads* show that Obama's fight against the special interests is thwarted when a Supreme Court *ruling overturns* Citizens United, allowing for anyone, including *lobbyists* and *foreign-controlled corporations* to fund unlimited ads that will result in too much corporate influence in elections, "At a time when the American people are already being overpowered in Washington by these forces, this will be a new and even more powerful weapon that the special interests will wield".[112] The concordance lines for *Republicans* show negotiations over the "exploding" deficits and tax breaks as greatly challenging.

Semantic domain and concordances analysis

Figure 6.4: *Key semantic domains for circumstances corpus for 2010 compared to American English 2006 corpus*

Business: Generally (276)
In regard to Al Qaeda, the U.S. is described as having cut off their financing. Financial firms are "furiously" fighting reforms.

In Power (221)
Al Qaeda *leaders* are being "eliminated".

Industry (36)
The *insurance industry's* fight against reform is detailed. The *auto industry* bailout is labeled a success.

2011 Frequency list, keyword list and concordance analyses

The two major themes of 2011 are Obama's push for clean energy investment, as the country experiences $4/gallon gas hikes and balancing the budget. Despite the invasion of Libya, the dark tone of 2010 is gone as Obama tours the country.

Obama continues to chart the positive economic news, stating that the economy continues to grow and 1.3 million *new jobs* were created in 2011. On his tour he stops and speaks from private

[112] Obama, B. (2010b). 'The President's Weekly Address: May 1st, 2010'. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=87827

companies to talk about job creation in the *private sector*. Jobs are linked to clean energy and technology. He visits *Chrysler* and *GM*, charting their success since the bailout and linking it to American manufacturing.

Taxes are a recurring theme, with *cuts* for the wealthy represented as unfair and reminders that Obama is working to give breaks to the middle class; "Some see this as class warfare. I see it as a simple choice. We can either keep taxes exactly as they are for millionaires and billionaires, or we can ask them to pay at least the same rate as a plumber or a bus driver".[113] The concordance for *Washington* shows Obama's aggravation over balancing the budget. Obama represents the only reasonable *spending* cuts as to the military and domestic spending, in favor of his budget based on education, health care, infrastructure and clean energy investment and the tax code.[114] He also describes the stress high *gas* prices are causing those *struggling* further harm. He admits that *paychecks* "aren't keeping up with the rising costs of everything from tuition to groceries to gas prices".

The concordance for *Libya* shows Obama's representation of the U.S.-backed NATO invasion; "we will work with our partners in the region to protect innocent civilians in Libya and hold the Gadhafi regime accountable".[115] By March 31st, the U.S. has invaded Libya, along with NATO, Qatar and the UAE.

The concordance for *Al Qaida* shows that the war in Iraq is ending. On December 17th, American troops prepare to "take their final march across the border and out of the country".

Semantic domain and concordance analysis

Figure 6.5: *Key semantic domains for circumstances corpus for 2011 compared to the American English 2006 corpus*

Dislike: (6)
Obama describes American politics as "shrill and discordant".

[113] Obama, B. (2011). 'The President's Weekly Address: October 8h, 2011'. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=96874
[114] Obama, B. (2011b). 'The President's Weekly Address: April 16th, 2011'. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=90274
[115] Obama, B. (2011c). 'The President's Weekly Address: March 19th, 2011'. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=90166

Education (177)
Student debt is acknowledged as severe.

2012 Frequency list, keyword list and concordance analyses

This year Obama focuses on job creation, American manufacturing and taxes.

Obama continues to stress that the economy is slowly recovering, with some new language, focusing on the phrases "an economy built to last", "build an economy where hard work pays off again where everyone gets a fair shot, everyone does their fair share, and everyone plays by the same rules" and where "hard work and responsibility are rewarded". It is continually stressed that things are improving. The *housing market's* return is heralded as a success; America is making a *comeback*.

It is stressed that high *gas prices* are a result of too much dependence on foreign energy. Part of his energy strategy is more *drilling*. *Tax* cuts for the *wealthy* and oil company subsidies are represented as unfair; "we've got a tax system that doesn't always uphold the principle of everybody doing their part".[116] He pushes *Congress*, especially the *Republicans,* to defend and protect the security of the *middle class* (those making less than *$250,000*/ the *98 percent*) and *families* in creating a fairer system. There is great urgency in this, as he stresses that if Congress does not act *right now*, taxes will *go up*. Again, it is mentioned that "some people call this class warfare".[117] Obama rejects the "trickle-down" economics that the Republicans support; "Prosperity has always been built by a strong, thriving middle class".[118]

The concordance for *Afghan* shows that the President states that American troops will leave by 2014. The death of Glen Doherty, Tyrone Woods, Sean Smith, and Chris Stevens in Benghazi is memorialized as well.

2013 Frequency list, keyword list and concordance analyses

2013 is defined by Obama's battle with Congress to balance the budget, which culminates in the government shutdown[119]. This year he begins addressing three of the most controversial subjects in America: gun control reform, immigration reform and climate change.

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[116] His first battle with Congress of the year is over the middle class tax cuts, which are scheduled to expire, affecting 160 million working Americans. They amount to savings of $1,000 a year for a family making $50,000.

[117] Obama, B. (2012c). 'The President's Weekly Address: March 31st, 2012. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=100376

[118] Obama, B. (2012b). 'The President's Weekly Address: April 14th, 2012. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=100492

[119] When Obama's Presidency began, the Democratic Party controlled both the Senate (58-seat majority) and Congress (256 seats). Under Obama, they lost control of Congress in 2010 and the Senate in 2014 (Dinan 2016).

On December 21st, Obama admits that 2013 has been "a year of showdowns and obstruction that only held back our *economy*", referring to the budget war over the *deficits*. This year he begins connecting everything to the economy; almost every policy is labeled as helping or hurting it. Wall Street reform and the Affordable Care Act are helping the economy. Growing student loan debt, the current immigration system, climate *change*, the battle over the budget, the threat of *default* and the *shutdown* are all harming the economy.

2013 is the year Obama begins to address the issue of *gun* control. While acknowledging that the "vast majority of gun owners act responsibly" and upholding the Second Amendment, he returns to referencing the special interest lobbyists as fighting "commonsense reforms" to "protect the status quo".

The government's success on cutting the deficit by $2.5 of the $4 trillion necessary is discussed yet the pressure to continue with more cuts remains; "if Congress doesn't act by March 1st, a series of harmful, automatic cuts to job-creating investment and defense spending, also known as the *sequester*, are scheduled to take effect. And the result could be a huge blow to middle class families and our economy as a whole". *Republicans* are said to be impeding progress. The sequester eventually happens; Obama details the hurt it subsequently does to under-privileged children and the elderly.[120] Increasingly, throughout this year, Washington is represented as impeding the country's progress. The government reopens on October 19th; by December 21st a two-year budget has finally been passed. In what seems to be one of the President's most honest speeches, he states: "There's no good reason why we can't govern responsibly, without lurching from manufactured crisis to manufactured crisis. Because that isn't governing, it's just hurting the people we were sent here to serve".[121]

This is also the year Obama begins to push for *immigration* reform, represented as strengthening America and providing the 11 million illegal immigrants a *pathway* to obtain *citizenship*. A month later he makes a speech focusing on immigrants being one of America's strengths and describing the current immigration system as harming the economy. Obama also introduces the topic of climate *change* this year, represented as already damaging the country through extreme weather.

On September 7th, 2013, Obama informs the American people that Bashir Assad, the President of Syria, has used *chemical weapons* to gas his own people, a "serious threat to our national security".

2014 Frequency list, keyword list and concordance analyses

2014 largely revolves around Obama's struggles to compromise with the Republicans in Congress. America begins an intervention in Syria.

It is reported that the *economy* is *growing* at the fastest rate since 2003. It is interesting to note that

[120] Obama, B. (2013b). 'The President's Weekly Address: April 27th, 2013. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=103541

[121] Obama, B. (2013). 'The President's Weekly Address: October 19th, 2013. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=104336

this year Obama begins depict the country's recovery as *clearly* evident; "The economy is clearly getting stronger. Things are clearly getting better".[122] There is a shift to focusing not just on the economy but on the importance of the success of the American people who are working "harder just to get ahead" while those at the top are "doing better than *ever*" it becomes the year of "restoring opportunity for all". This year Obama vows to act *on his own* to create better *opportunities* for Americans when Congress refuses to act, partly by working with *states*. Admitting that *average wages* are still refusing to go up and minimum wage has *barely* budged since the 1970's, he begins arguing in favor of the *minimum wage* increase to *$10.10* an *hour* and paid overtime for *contractors*, which are represented as a way to *benefit 28 million* people, lifting them out of poverty; "America deserves a *raise*". *Women* are represented as being unfairly treated by only making 77 cents on the dollar to men.

The concordance for *Republicans* shows that Obama continues to narrate his battle with them in *Congress* who have *voted* against him 50 times. This year Obama also increases his focus on student loan debt, reaching an average of $30,000 per student, and the plight of the *young*. It is notable that no matter how exorbitant the cost of college, higher education is represented as the only path to success.

Semantic domain and concordances analysis

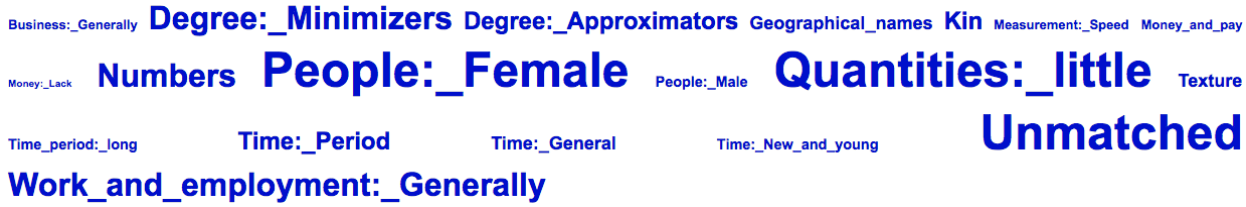

Figure 6.5: *Key semantic domains for circumstances corpus for 2014 compared to American English 2006 corpus*

The large number of flagged domains shows that Obama invests in focusing on new topics quite a lot this year.

Geographical Names (377)
On August 9th, Obama suddenly states that terrorists have entered *Iraq* "rounding up families, executing men, enslaving women, and threatening the systematic destruction of an entire religious community, which would be genocide". Overall the war against terrorism is described as slowly being won, yet it is becoming more "diffuse". *ISIL* is on the radar and the military is staying vigilant. The Senate and House approve giving troops "the authority they need to train Syrian opposition fighters so that they can fight ISIL in Syria". It is important to note that Obama's 2013

[122] Obama, B. (2014b). 'The President's Weekly Address: August 2nd, 2014. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=105496

claim for action on the U.S. invasion of Syria has now been achieved; this is discussed in Chapter 7.

2015 Frequency list, keyword list and concordance analyses

This year Obama begins to focus more on policies that will help the lower class, along with the highly controversial Trans-Pacific Partnership, criminal justice reform, gun control and the Iran deal.

Obama starts 2015 by informing the American people that 2014 had been a "breakthrough" year for the *economy*; "All of us have a right to be proud of the progress America has made".[123] Obama repeats the idea that "this country does best when everyone gets their fair shot, everyone does their fair share and *everyone* plays by the same set of rules" regularly. Free community college is represented as a way to address the student debt crisis. The Affordable Care Act is represented as a great success with *16 million uninsured* gaining coverage. America's crippling *heroin* addiction problem is addressed. The threat of *climate* change increases; "The Pentagon says that climate change poses immediate risks to our national security".[124]

On April 4th Obama explains the *Iran Deal.* It will keep Iran from developing a *nuclear weapon*, denies them plutonium and allows for inspections and the threat of *sanctions*. The USA Freedom Act is represented as necessary to "defend our security and protect the freedoms and civil liberties enshrined in our Constitution". He discusses surveillance for the first time in this speech, promising that the Freedom Act will end the government's collection of civilian phone data. Terrorism and *ISIL* are addressed in a new way on November 21st; "They want to manufacture a clash between civilizations. They want frightened people to think in terms of 'us versus them". Following the San Bernardino night club shooting, Obama warns of the "danger of people succumbing to *violent* extremist ideologies". Interestingly he conflates the issue of terrorism with the issue of gun control. This is further discussed in Chapter 6.

The President also addresses *trade deals*, representing them as serving the middle class and the economy. The *TPP* is called "the highest-standard trade agreement in history". The Trans-Pacific Partnership is negotiated, represented as the "best possible deal for American workers". China gaining trade power is depicted as a threat.

Criminal justice reform is addressed this year; "Thirty years ago, there were 500,000 people behind bars in America. Today, there are 2.2 million. The United States is home to 5 percent of the world's

[123] Obama, B. (2015e). 'The President's Weekly Address: January 10th, 2015. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=109214

[124] Obama, B. (2015d). 'The President's Weekly Address: April 18th, 2015. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=110040

population, but 25 percent of the world's prisoners".[125]

2016 Frequency list, keyword list and concordance analyses

More updates on the *economy* are given: the auto industry, businesses, school, college, the clean energy sector, the deficits – all growing more successful by the day. Terrorism has been *delivered* devastating blows. The country is said to be experiencing the "longest streak of private sector *job* growth in our history" – 14 million new jobs; the unemployment rate is cut in half. On July 23rd Obama makes a speech with Senator Elizabeth *Warren* in which they decisively state that "our economy is stronger today than it was before the crisis" (Obama 2016b). This speech is discussed in Chapter 7.

On March 26th, Obama mentions "our openness to refugees fleeing ISIL's violence; our determination to win the battle against ISIL's hateful and violent propaganda, a distorted view of Islam that aims to radicalize young Muslims to their cause". [126]

On May 14th, Obama makes a speech on drug *addiction* with pop singer *Macklemore,* famous for penning a huge hit song[127] about social inclusion. Obama presents the shocking statistic that *opioid* drug deaths have tripled since 2000, now outpacing traffic accident deaths; 44% of Americans know a person addicted to prescription pain killers. The Orlando night club shooting is memorialized on June 18th. Obama refers to "loss and the grief felt by the people of Orlando, especially our friends who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, or *transgender*". The attacker is said to have "pledges allegiance to ISIL". He somewhat oddly transitions this speech into Father's Day and the responsibility of parents to support gun control. He supports the LGBT *movement* with a Stonewall monument.

A few months before his Presidency ends, Obama takes the following parting shot at Congress: "I've delivered a few hundred of these Weekly Addresses over the years. And you may have noticed a theme that pops up pretty often: The Republicans who run this *Congress* aren't doing their jobs".[128] The concordance for *first* shows what is surely one of Obama's boldest statements within the Weekly Addresses, on February 13th he states, "But I'll be the first to admit that the tone of our politics hasn't gotten better, but worse. Too many people feel like the system is rigged and their voices don't matter. And when good people are pushed away from participating in our public

[125] Obama, B. (2015). 'The President's Weekly Address: October 17th 2015. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=110971

[126] Obama, B. (2016d). 'The President's Weekly Address: March 26th, 2016. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=115065

[127] Interestingly, some of the lyrics of this song, *Where Is the Love* include the following: "Overseas, yeah, we try to stop terrorism/ But we still got terrorists here livin'/ In the USA, the big C.I.A./ The Bloods and The Crips and the KKK". Obama references this song in his speech in his May 14th speech with the singer.

[128] Obama, B. (2016). 'The President's Weekly Address: September 17th, 2016. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=119017

life, more powerful and extreme voices will fill the void…"

In December, as his term draws to a close, Obama details his accomplishments: the economic recovery, 15.6 million jobs created, a "resurgent" auto industry, falling poverty, rising incomes, 20 million new Americans with health insurance, more affordable health care, high school graduation rates at all-time highs, 165,000 troops returned from the Middle East, Usama bin Laden killed, a diplomatic solution to Iran's nuclear program, progress on climate change and marriage equality. "The story of America is a *story* of progress".[129]

The *circumstances* corpus shows how Obama's second term in office is very different from his first, with a wide range of new issues coming to replace his focus on health care reform and Wall Street reform during his first term. Many of his second term issues are highly controversial, particularly gun control, the Trans-Pacific Partnership, climate change and immigration reform. Obama is also consistently invested in describing his battles with opponents: the Republicans in Congress, lobbyists, Wall Street, the insurance companies, the special interests, etc. It is also clear that the metonymic term *Washington*, is not only used to represent top politicians but also the often dysfunctional system as a whole, which is blamed for slowing change. On certain topics - Wall Street reform and tax reform in particular - he directly positions the wealthy and the financial elite against the population, creating a clear division that he sides with the middle class on.

6.4. OBAMA *VALUES* CORPUS ANALYSIS

This section discusses a keyword list analysis of the 58,276-word values corpus. A frequency list for the values corpus was also analyzed (see 6C). It was not deemed necessary to add any frequency list words to the following analysis.

6.4.1. Keyword List Analysis

Appendix 6D shows the keyword list for the *values* corpus compared to the American English 2006 corpus. The following discussion focuses on what makes this corpus distinctive from the Obama corpus; therefore, general verbs that have been discussed in Chapter 5 and section 6.2. are not included here.

The relevant keywords can be categorized into the following groups:

topics:
America, the economy, Washington, businesses, (special) interests, politics, the crisis, Wall Street, Congress, the world, jobs, health care, rules, blessings, the status quo, reform, banks, sacrifices, security, the recession, Easter, democracy, responsibilities, Medicare, holidays, economics, cuts,

[129] Obama, B. (2016c). 'The President's Weekly Address: June 25th, 2016. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=117853

service, debt, earth, system, sick, poverty, government, election, problems, insurance, policies, the budget, decisions, tax, money, moments, rights, [the country's] *story.*

people and people groups:

Americans, families, the middle class, veterans, middle class families, generations, men and women in uniform, Republicans, communities, kids, Michelle, workers, troops, the President, ISIL, men, women, consumers, heroes, business and small business owners, family, commander, Christians, citizens, children, patriots, lobbyists, God, neighbors, owners, democrats, girls, leaders, immigrants.

abstract nouns:

Future, spirit, opportunity, progress, ideals, dream/s, challenges, values, faith, prosperity, privilege, time, ingenuity, love, differences, belief, destiny, generation, success, fear, choices, competition, change, commitment, innovation, harm, idea, justice, purpose, worry, health, risk, power, action.

values:

Hard work, responsibility, fairness, courage, freedom, hope, resilience, common sense, dignity, gratitude, unity, resolve, determination, strength, respect, confidence.

adjectives:

American, fair, better, strong/er, hard/er, hard-working, grateful, brighter, financial, brighter, confident, great/est, founding, equal, tough, special, brave, safer, prosperous, proud, reckless, united, extraordinary, economic, same, affordable, ordinary, growing, worst, safe, struggling, free, big/bigger, easy, fellow, powerful, common, wrong, big, Republican, committed, political, absolutely, basic, important, determined, responsible, shared.

It is immediately apparent that these results show which topics Obama speaks about most often with the highest degree of emotion: **the economy, financial crisis and recovery** (*the economy, businesses, crisis, Wall Street, jobs, rules, banks, security, the recession, economics, money*), **politics** (*Washington, special interests, politics, Congress, the status quo, reform, democracy, responsibilities, tax cuts, government, election, the budget, decisions*), health care reform (*health care, reform, Medicare, cuts, system, sick*) and **the military** (*sacrifices, service, courage).* The groups he defends and praises throughout his Presidency (*families, the middle class, veterans, middle class families, future generations, men and women in uniform, communities, kids, Michelle, workers, troops, business owners, consumers, Christians, citizens, democrats, immigrants)* as well as the groups he attacks (*Wall Street, Washington, [special] interests, Congress, banks, the insurance industry, ISIL, Republicans* and *lobbyists*) are evident. He also shows emotion when referring to himself (*President, Commander in Chief*). It is also notable that the abstract nouns, values and adjectives that Obama describes and uses are highly positive, with only 7 of them (*fear, harm, worry, reckless, worst, struggling, wrong*) having a distinctly negative connotation.

6.4.2. Concordance Analysis

This section discusses the findings of the concordance analysis of the above terms; it omits findings that are already discussed in Chapter 5 due to the highly consistent language that Obama uses. For example, the *middle class* and the *crisis* have already been thoroughly investigated.

Even within the values corpus, much of the data shows Obama speaking about the economy. It is continuously stressed that the country is moving toward a *better future* where America will be *stronger*. Obama remains ever optimistic and *absolutely confident* in his *belief* in America's economic recovery, which has caused pain, "Nothing has shaken my faith in that belief. We will come back stronger; we do have better days ahead and it's because of you". A *brighter* day and more *prosperous* future and progress are always awaiting the nation, which is moving forward, although it is not *easy*. This belief in *progress* connects to his belief in equality and his support of policies that promote equality; he explicitly states that all Americans are created *equal* ten times and that prosperity should be *shared*. He also stresses *unity* and a *spirit* of *common purpose* among the population; every American should be able to get ahead. Both Americans and members of government are urged to put aside their *differences, come together* and *compromise* to be *united* and improve the nation; on November 15th, 2011 Obama states "we are one American family, 300 million strong". He regularly reaffirms his *faith* in the country, people and *Christians*. It is also notable that he is very inclusive of other faiths, particularly in Christmas and *Easter* speeches, "I have made it clear that the United States has a profound respect for people of all faiths. We stand for religious freedom. And we reject the denigration of any religion, including Islam". It is very evident that these values align with his goals.

The *ideals* that define America include: *opportunity, equality* and *freedom*. It is stressed that America writes its own *destiny*. The American *spirit* is defined as one of selflessness, resolve, confidence, optimism, entrepreneurialism, resilience, openness, tolerance and rugged individualism. *Love* is mainly used to discuss Americans' love of their country and family. *Ingenuity* and *innovation* of the American people and businesses are tied to hope for the future; "America will win the future in this century just like we did in the last".[130] Obama is adept at turning tragedy into *hope,* describing both the crisis and the broken health care system as *opportunities* to build a better future for America. The U.S. is still heavily stressed as the land of opportunity as well; *competition* in the market and in general is upheld. America is the *greatest* country on *earth*.

As previously discussed, the main values Obama upholds are overwhelmingly *hard work, responsibility* and *fairness*; it is necessary to build an economy that rewards these values. Along with generally being hard-working and responsible, the *American* people are also described as *resilient* and upheld as capable of making *sacrifices* for one another. They are also regularly called *ordinary*. It is constantly repeated that they make *hard* choices with spending in juxtaposition to Wall Street and Washington, who are spoken about with particularly emotive language and blamed for letting the *status quo* and playing *political* games to stand in the way of progress; they are directly compared to families and told to live up to their *responsibilities* and make the hard choices that families are. The *American* people are represented as deserving an honest, diligent government; "the tone of our politics hasn't gotten better, but worse. Too many people feel like the

[130] Obama, B. (2011d). 'The President's Weekly Address: February 2nd, 2011. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=88966

system is rigged and their voices don't matter".[131] Obama's role as *President* is to bring change and serve the people. *Politics* is described pejoratively as a game that is mainly being played as a distraction from progress.

A question that this analysis raises, is why the insurance companies and the insurance industry do not get flagged the keyword analysis. Both were identified in Chapter 5.3.3. and 5.3.4. as "vilified" due to "upholding unfair policies and practices that directly harm consumers". The insurance companies only appear 8 times in the *values* corpus compared to 63 in the full Obama corpus; the insurance industry appears 9 times compared to 19. A concordance analysis for both shows that the insurance companies and industry are not described using emotive language but rather in relation to their actions; consequently, this data mainly appears in the *circumstances* corpus. Section 5.3.4. shows that they are identified more with being unethical. Obama uses much more emotive language when discussing Wall Street, government ineffectiveness and terrorism; the obvious reason for this is that he needs to convince the people that these three entities are a threat to them. The harmful practices of the insurance industry have already been felt by the nation.

Gratitude and *courage* are used in reference to *men* and *women* in *uniform* and *veterans*; Obama almost always reminds the nation on holidays to be *grateful* for the *sacrifices* of those *extraordinary* people – *heroes* – who *serve* America and for the blessing of being American. "You keep us safe, and you keep the United States of America a shining beacon of hope for the world".[132] The military and athletes are commended for showing *character*; they are America's *best*. In the face of the terrorist threat, American will not live in *fear*; America will not fear the future.

Obama also tells *stories* about Americans in his speeches. He uses them to represent the struggles the middle class is facing. They define the everyday struggle to obtain the American Dream, which Obama defines on January 9th, 2010 as "a good job with a good wage, a secure and dignified retirement, stable health care so you don't go broke just because you get sick, the chance to give our kids a better shot than we got". And later on March 15th, 2016 as, "a paycheck that lets them support their families" along with "a little economic security" and the ability to "pass down some hope and optimism to their kids. That's something worth fighting for".

While Obama upholds a fairly wide range of values, *hard work, fairness* and *responsibility* very heavily define this corpus. The following table shows a comparison between word use for a list of traditional American values across each Presidential corpus:

[131] Obama, B. (2016e). 'The President's Weekly Address: February 13th, 2016. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=111745

[132] Obama, B. (2014c). 'The President's Weekly Address: July 4th, 2014. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=105382

word	Reagan	Clinton	Bush	Obama
peace	439	265	180	21
liberty	72	17	123	13
freedom	380	165	412	48
hard work	37	39	50	90
fair/fairness	45/27	66/14	62/5	132/10
equal/equality	27/4	32/7	19/7	52/11
justice	25	36	83	30
individual	53	28	25	13
responsibility	67	385	103	146
unity	26	7	25	13
resilience	0	1	3	13

Table 6.2: *Values within Presidential corpora*

It is interesting to note how drastically the word *peace* has declined in use since Reagan's Presidency. Additionally, Obama uses the following far less than previous Presidents: *liberty, freedom* and *individual*. These findings are further discussed in the conclusion.

6.5. *CLAIMS FOR ACTION* CORPUS ANALYSIS

The NVivo coding showed that while Obama uses very repetitive and consistent language, he tends to make a wide range of *claims for action*, often five or six within one speech. This is reflected in the fairly large size of this corpus; at 48,756 words it is about one fifth the size of the Obama corpus.

6.5.1. Frequency and Keyword List Analysis

The frequency list in Appendix 5E shows that the main topics within the *claims for action* corpus are: **Congress and the Senate** (*Congress, members, Senate, vote, bill, representative*), **jobs** (*jobs, work, job, pay*), **tax reform** (*tax, cuts, loopholes, credit*), **business** (*businesses, business, companies*), **budget reform** (*budget, spending, the deficit*), **the economy, energy reform, the military** (*veterans, military, home, joiningforces.gov, equipment, officers*), **the government** (*government, Washington, administration, Republicans, Democrats, leaders, bipartisan, department*), **health care reform** (*plan, insurance, health care, health*), **financial reform** (*financial, rules*), **education** (*college, education, schools, students*), **security** and **oil (***oil, money***)**.

The following keyword cloud is compared with the full Obama corpus; the reason for this is that the American English 2006 corpus shows too wide a range of key domains whereas the one below shows only those which are unique as compared to Obama's language as a whole. It is clear from the keyword cloud that certain claims make this corpus distinctive: the need to balance the *budget* and rein in *spending*, calling on *Congress* to *vote* on and *pass* his *bills*, ending corporate *tax loopholes* and a concern with *veterans*. All of these topic categories correlate with the findings discussed in Chapter 4. The frequency list was also analyzed; due to a high degree of overlap, no

additional terms have been added to this list. The next section discusses the *claims* within each topic.

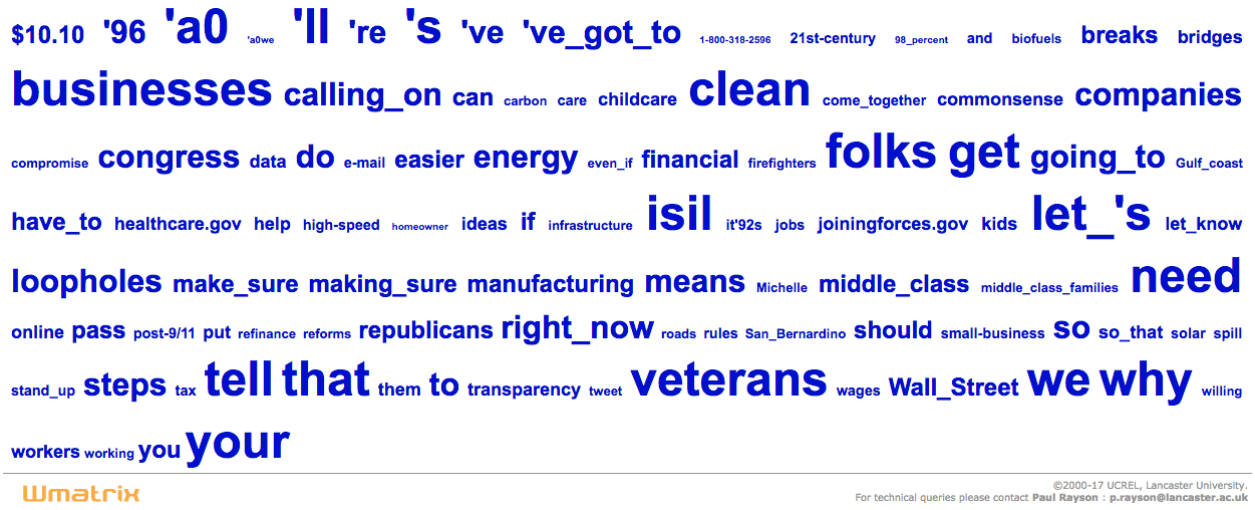

Figure 6.8: *Keywords for claims for action corpus compared to reference corpus*

6.5.2. Concordance Analysis

The concordances for all of the top frequency list and keyword list words were examined to isolate patterns in their use. The results are discussed below.

Congress (257) **& the Senate** (39)
Obama urges and *calls on* Congress and the Senate to *pass* and *vote* on a very broad range of legislation, encouraging them to take *steps* forward on his *bills.*

Jobs (*jobs*/138, *work*/132, *job*/62)
As one of the two topics that defines Obama's corpus, the word *jobs* connects many of Obama's significant policies. Major patterns in this concordance show his support for the American Jobs Act, which would include initiatives to encourage companies to hire *veterans.* There is also a significant pattern calling for more business loans, the elimination of tax breaks for companies shipping jobs overseas and for investment and tax credits for businesses creating jobs. There are regular patterns showing support for investment in job skills training, education and increasing exports as well as small patterns calling for improving health care to cover those looking for work, extending unemployment insurance, meetings with businesses on job creation and new trade deals. The concordance for *pay* (61) shows small patterns calling for Congress to pay its bills on time, equal pay for women, fair pay laws and laws to help students – free community college and the Student Aid Bill of Rights.

Tax Reform (*tax*/128, *cuts*/45, *credit*/30, *loopholes*/21)
The concordances for *tax* and *cuts* show very clear patterns of Obama fighting to lower taxes for the middle class and businesses, grant them *credits* and for the elimination of tax cuts that help the wealthy. The major reforms he supports are extending the middle-class tax cuts for families making less than $250,000 a year and 97% of small businesses – this is about $2,000/year. He additionally argues for a series of cuts for families including child tax credits, payroll credits, cuts for health care, credits for college and cuts for clean energy and high-tech manufacturing companies. He argues for cuts to help small businesses hire new workers, extended lending and credits for companies hiring veterans. He also argues in favor of ending tax breaks and *loopholes* for companies shipping jobs overseas, ending the $700 billion cuts for millionaires and billionaires and ending oil and gas company subsidies.

Businesses (*businesses*/96, *companies*/47, *leaders/45, business*/38)
Obama argues for new loans and grants to be made available to *businesses*, who should also be rewarded for hiring American workers and veterans. During his first term, health care reform is connected to the support of business as it is resulting in layoffs. The concordance for *leaders* shows Obama striving to meet with and work with business leaders on how to improve the economy.

The Economy (72)
The claims in this concordance reinforce Obama's push for a new *economy* built on clean energy, manufacturing, skills and education. The American Jobs Act is clarified and there are also small patterns for Wall Street reform, credit card reform, clean energy investment, cutting the deficit, job training for veterans and closing tax loopholes for companies shipping jobs overseas as ways to improve the economy.

Budget & Deficit Reform (budget/72, deficit/30, spending/46)
The major pattern here is Obama calling on Congress to compromise on and pass the budget on time. Obama's main claim on the budget is that the parties need to compromise on cutting what the country does not need while investing in what it does need; this is will restore "honor and transparency" to government spending. He specifically calls for a budget with four main principles: (1) a reduction in foreign oil spending, (2) a renewed commitment to education, (3) health care reform and (4) investment in clean energy and (5) a reduction of the deficit. Obama urges compromise to stop the government shutdown and after it eventually happens, for Congress to raise the debt ceiling in order to pass the budget, pay the bills and re-open.

Energy Reform (70)
Obama argues for clean energy initiatives, an increase in energy security by decreasing energy dependence, producing more oil and gas at home, investing in wind and solar and funding for clean energy. Clean energy initiatives are argued for including the Energy Bill, the promotion of clean energy technology, the creation of clean energy jobs and clean energy tax credits. The auto industry is called to raise full efficiency standards and develop new technology. In regard to the environment, Obama sharply focuses on carbon reduction through his Climate Action Plan.

Veterans and the Military (*veterans*/72, *home*/58, *military*/36, *equipment*/8, *officers*/8, *joiningforces.gov*/7)

Obama encourages Americans to the support the *military* and military families in their communities in any way they can along with *veterans* returning *home* and for reductions in their taxes. They can go to *joiningforces.gov* to find ways to help. A return to nation-building at home is stressed.

Government Reform *(government*/58*, Republicans/52, Washington*/33*, Democrats*/32, *bipartisan*/27)
There are patterns for *government* reform through eliminating wasteful spending and increasing transparency as well as Congress needing to end the government shutdown. *Republicans* and *Democrats* are called to vote on many issues; Obama works with *bipartisan* committees on policies. *Washington* is urged to take action on a range of issues and the population is encouraged to contact their representatives to put pressure on them.

Health Care Reform (*plan, insurance, health care, health*),
Obama argues for the Affordable Care Act as the solution to *health care insurance* reform; no other options are considered. He further argues that Congress must eliminate waste, abuse and fraud in the health care system.

Financial Reform (*financial*/48, *credit*/30, *rules*/30)
Obama's main policy on financial reform is Wall Street reform. It will create new financial rules, close loopholes, end taxpayer bailouts, give more power to shareholders, increase accountability, and empower consumers. He also argues for ending the auto bailouts (after the one he implements for GM and Chrysler). The 2009 Credit Card Act aims at making the credit system more fair and the creation of the Consumer Financial Protection Agency aims at protecting customers and supporting competition. Globally, Obama mentions working with G20 leaders to reform the rules of the global economy.

Education (college/40, education/40, schools/30, students/)
Obama's makes claims in reference to education for two separate groups: (1) *students* in the government run public school system, which includes Kindergarten – high school and (2) college students. His focus on the public school system is mainly on the reform of No Child Left Behind; he calls on Congress to replace and reform the law. Obama also focuses on making college more affordable. The main action he argues in favor of is Federal student loan reform, which includes increases in grant funding, capping repayments at 10% of income (Pay As You Earn), extra support for minority-serving colleges and revitalizing courses on programming at community colleges.

Oil (*money*/38, *oil*/32)
The concordance for *money* shows that the term is widely used but there is a small pattern arguing for the end of the $4 billion oil and gas subsidies. He calls for an end to America's dependence on foreign *oil*.

Security (38)
The concordance for *security* shows an emphasis on homeland security with a focus on the Middle East. Obama pushes for the country to support the U.S.-led NATO invasion of **Libya.** On September 7, 2013, Obama calls for the invasion of **Syria,** calling on Congress to support this decision. When Congress refuses, he calls for a diplomatic solution to force Assad to give up his

chemical weapons. A year later, the U.S. has invaded Syria and is said to be fighting ISIL. On April 4th, 2009, Obama mentions asking for civilian support from NATO in **Afghanistan**. The **Iraq** War is brought to a close; "I refocused the fight, bringing to a responsible end the war in Iraq, which had nothing to do with the 9/11 attacks" By 2014, America's presence in Iraq has become connected to the war in Syria. Erbil is invaded to protect diplomats; targeted strikes are carried out against terrorists and humanitarian assistance is provided.

6.6. OBAMA *MEANS-GOAL* CORPUS ANALYSIS

The *means-goal* in Obama's speeches is often implicit, resulting in a corpus that is 27,962 words long. Of his 413 speeches, 305 means-goals were identified and roughly half of them did not use explicit language but rather explained over the course of a paragraph that the stated *claims* would result in accomplishing the *goal*. However, Appendix 5F shows that the *means-goal* corpus very clearly shows instances of means-goals which cover all of Obama's major topics:

1. The Recovery & Reinvestment Act will create jobs.
2. Living without the country's means will reduce the deficit.
3. Living within the country's means will reform Washington.
3. Wall Street reform/attacking the cause of the crisis will prevent future crises.
4. Health care reform will reduce health care costs and provide more security and stability.
5. Investment in clean energy and energy independence will better America's future, reduce energy costs and create jobs.
6. New guide lines on carbon reduction will cut down on pollution.
6. Investing in education will better America's future.
7. Tax cuts, etc. will help Veterans.
8. Tax cuts will accelerate the recovery.
9. Compromise will lead to balancing the budget.
10. Destroying ISIL will make America more safe.
11. Immigration reform will make America stronger.
12. Raising the minimum wage will lift people out of poverty.
13. The Iran Deal will keep Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon.
14. Gun control reform will make America safer.

6.7. CONCLUSION

These five corpora show very clearly what Obama's most significant arguments are as well as how the Presidency is framed. According to Obama, the country's **circumstances** involve a severe economic recession, caused by the financial sector (the financial elite) which is initially worsening due to the broken health care system and widespread job loss. This is the crisis of our time. The **goal** of Obama's policies on this issue is economic recovery as whole, particularly for the middle class and business, along with job creation and keeping the country safe. The **values** Obama upholds are the idea of fairness, particularly regarding creating a fair economic system, as well as the mainly un-stated belief in progress, displayed in Obama's constant discourse describing how the nation has slowly been recovering. He then spends the individual Weekly Addresses presenting

claims which support actions that will help the country accomplish not only the small goals within each individual speech but also the overlying goals of economic recovery and job creation. Appendix 5G gives an overview of the major frames from the Obama corpus data from Chapters 4 and 5, showing how they have contributed to producing Obama's major arguments. The way in which Obama's speeches are structured is considerably more complex than would be expected. While the arguments are structured very simply, the way in which the primary and secondary goals of each speech link back into supporting the overlying goals of economic recovery and job creation is very well-designed and specific.

Obama's most prototypical argument is that the economy has recovered from the recession. He offers proof of this in two sets of statistics: job growth numbers and the shrinking unemployment rate. His other major arguments – for job creation as well as Wall Street, health care, tax, budget, government, education and environmental reform, all aim at improving the overall system economically, primarily for the middle class. His minor arguments for workers' rights, trade policy, gun laws, immigration and criminal justice reform, all made in his second term, more greatly prioritize improving the system for the working class or "those working to enter the middle class". His arguments on fighting terrorism and the invasions in the Middle East develop across both terms, with more of an emphasis in the second term. Chapter 7 further examines Obama's arguments on the following topics: health care reform, the invasions of Syria and Libya and gun control as these topics were flagged as showing inconsistencies in the way in which the arguments developed. Chapter 8 examines Obama's arguments on the existence of the economic recovery, including Wall Street reform; the corpus data from Chapters 5 and 6 shows that this is overwhelmingly his most commonly discussed topic. The reasons for the selection of these arguments is further addressed in these chapters.

Although only briefly noted within this chapter, it should be noted that the findings show that Obama supported the signing of the USA Freedom Act,[133] upholding its provision to end the NSA's phone records collection program initiated under the Patriot Act; the Freedom Act actually restored parts of the Patriot Act which had expired in June of 2015 thereby extending the post-9/11 surveillance state.[134] Obama also supported policies in support of the establishment paradigm's goal of further centralizing and globalizing the economy. Firstly, while Obama mentions trade deals (4.3.4.), he only makes one speech[135] in support of the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a global trade deal that would affect 40% of the world's economy. This bill would have allowed corporations to sue sovereign governments when their laws interfered with profits; the bill additionally allowed for unlimited use of taxpayer money to settle these cases (Public Citizen Organization 2018). Secondly, Obama supported a fairly radical immigration agenda which would have allowed illegal immigrants a pathway to U.S. citizenship. As discussed in Chapter 4, overall,

[133] Obama, B. (2015c). 'The President's Weekly Address: May 30th, 2015'. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=110249

[134] Breslow, J. M. 'Obama on mass government surveillance, then and now'. *PBS.org*. May 13th, 2014. Available: https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/obama-on-mass-government-surveillance-then-and-now/

[135] Obama, B. (2015b). 'The President's Weekly Address: October 10th, 2015'. Peters, G. and Woolley, J. T. (eds.). *The American Presidency Project*. Available: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=110955

while it is clear that Obama did focus on promoting many progressive policies aimed at improving the economic conditions of both the working and middle classes as well as the environment in small ways, his major policy trajectories aligned with those of the establishment paradigm. Additionally, this chapter provides some support for one of the major criticisms of Obama, which has been that he had a fairly divisive Presidency. Support for this theory can be seen in Obama's extensive discussion on battling the special interests, the Republicans in Congress, lobbyists, Wall Street and the insurance companies. Tax policy is framed as a fight between the wealthy and the middle class; class warfare is mentioned twice. Additionally, during Obama's second term he introduced a range of highly controversial policies which included: gun control, equal pay for women, the minimum wage increase, criminal justice reform, the climate change agenda and immigration reform.

CHAPTER 7:

RECONSTRUCTION & EVALUATION OF OBAMA'S MAJOR ARGUMENTS

7.1. INTRODUCTION
7.2. ARGUMENTS ON HEALTH CARE REFORM
7.2.1. Argument Reconstruction: Obama Weekly Address, June 6th, 2009
7.2.2. The Health Care Reform Argument Trajectory
7.2.3. Analysis
7.3. ARGUMENTS ON INTERVENTION IN SYRIA
7.3.1. Argument Reconstruction: Obama's Address to the Nation, September 10th, 2013
7.3.2. The Foreign Intervention Argument Trajectory
7.3.3. The Tragedy/Threat Pattern
7.3.4. Analysis
7.4. CONCLUSION

7.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the most significant arguments of Obama's Presidency are reconstructed and analyzed using argument reconstruction. The aim is to answer research question #3: *In what way do the prototypical arguments stand up to critical evaluation?* As discussed in Chapter 6, the following three topics have been selected for further analysis due to having been flagged during the manual NVivo coding process as having high likelihoods of containing false premises: (1.) health care reform, (2.) the intervention in Syria and (3.) gun control reform. The economic recovery (4) was additionally isolated as needing further analysis based on the corpus findings of Chapters 5 and 6; this topic is discussed in Chapter 8. Topics 1 and 2 are fully analyzed in this chapter (sections 7.2. and 7.3.). Due to space restrictions, Obama's arguments on gun control are discussed mainly in relation to his arguments on Syria as there are similar, unique patterns within the arguments on these two topics (section 7.3.3.). In the following sections, Obama's major arguments on health care reform and Syria are analyzed in two ways. Firstly, the use of Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) framework is employed in order to describe and evaluate Obama's major argument on each topic; these two speeches were chosen as the NVivo coding and corpus data showed them to be representative of Obama's speeches on these topics as a whole. These major arguments are then put into context and compared to the full trajectory of Obama's arguments on the same topics. In the case of health care reform, the circumstantial premises in 16 additional arguments are included in the analysis. In the case of U.S. intervention in Syria, the structure of Obama's main argument from 2013 is compared with his major Address on Libya from 2011, Colin Powell's UN speech on the invasion of Iraq and two of Obama's other Addresses on counter-acting terrorism in the Middle East from 2014. As discussed in Chapter 3, this analysis centers on

analyzing the logical effectiveness of Obama's arguments as well as putting them into context within his Presidency as a whole.

During the coding process an initial analysis of each of the arguments in Obama's 413 Weekly Addresses was carried out. The following points in reference to the structure of Obama's arguments became evident:

1. Obama makes two main types of speeches:

    - The first type of speech are those which contain one major argument on one policy-related topic. These speeches contain the five main functional units (*goal premise, circumstantial premise, values premise, claim for action* and *means-goal*) but additionally, they almost always mention the overarching goal of economic recovery. Appendix 7A gives an overview of how these speeches have been categorized based on the topic of the major argument within them. Appendix B gives an overview of the speeches that are an exception to this general rule and contain two major arguments.

    - The second type of speech are those which give an overview of how Obama is responding to the economic crisis. These speeches contain the *goal* of economic recovery from the crisis as well as an overview of the major policies Obama is implementing and/or arguing in favor of to address the crisis. In these overview speeches, each of these major actions act as a *claim for action* in relation to the goal of economic recovery. These speeches provide a summary of the Presidency.

Fairclough and Fairclough's argument reconstruction framework which is reproduced here:

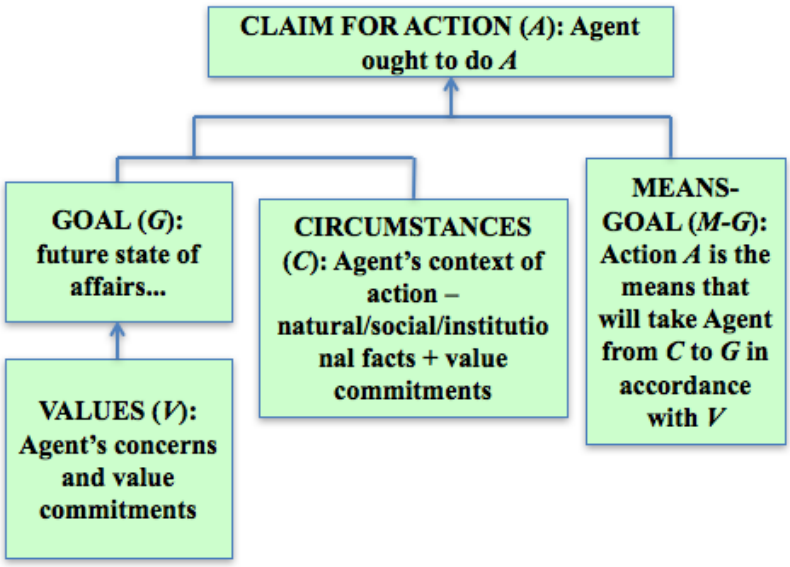

Figure 7.1: *Argument Reconstruction Framework from Fairclough and Fairclough* (2012: 48)

7.2. ARGUMENTS ON HEALTH CARE REFORM

This section discusses the implementation of the Affordable Care Act (also termed 'ObamaCare'), broadly considered Obama's most important domestic policy. As the corpus frequency and keyword lists show, health care reform is Obama's most discussed topic after *the economy, jobs* and *the financial sector* (see Chapter 5). Obama spent much of his first two years as President (2009-2010) focused on this topic, making 28 speeches with arguments focusing exclusively on it, as well as 3 additional speeches on reforming Medicare. This trajectory of arguments was flagged during the coding process as the main stipulations upon which the bill was sold to the public were eventually erased as Obama's arguments on the topic progressed into his second term, suggesting that it became clear that the stipulations upon which he based his arguments in support of the ACA were not going to be met.

7.2.1. Context: America's health care crisis

In 2009, at the beginning of the Obama Presidency, a Harvard University study on the state of America's health care crisis was published in the *American Journal of Public Health*.[136] The study explains that the U.S. is the only industrialized nation that does not provide health care coverage to all of its citizens, that at the time 46 million Americans did not have health care and that as a result, 45,000 Americans between the ages of 18-64 were dying every year; risk of death increases by 40% when an individual is uninsured. Furthermore, it detailed that the U.S. spends more on health care both per capita and as a percent of GDP than any other nation, reaching 17.6% of GDP.[137] It is clear that this was an unsustainable situation that the American people were demanding be addressed; a significant part of Obama's election campaign was based on the promise of reform. This section examines how he argued for this reform and how, ultimately, the Affordable Care Act (ACA) failed.

7.2.2. Argument Reconstruction: Obama Weekly Address, June 6th, 2009

Figure 7.2. shows Obama's first major speech on health care reform, which he gave on June 6th, 2009. This speech can be found in 7C.

[136] Wilper, A. P., Woolhandler, S., Lasser, K. E., McCormick, D., Bor, D. H. & Himmelstein, D. U. (2009). 'Health insurance and mortality in U.S. adults'. American Journal of Public Health, 99(12): 2289-2294. Available: http://www.pnhp.org/excessdeaths/health-insurance-and-mortality-in-US-adults.pdf

[137] Bradford, J. W., Knott, D. G., Levine, E. H., & Zemmel, R. W. (2011). 'Accounting for the cost of U.S. health care'. *McKinsey Center for U.S. Health System Reform*. Available: http://healthcare.mckinsey.com/sites/default/files/793268__Accounting_for_the_Cost_of_US_Health_Care__Prereform_Trends_and_the_Impact_of_the_Recession.pdf

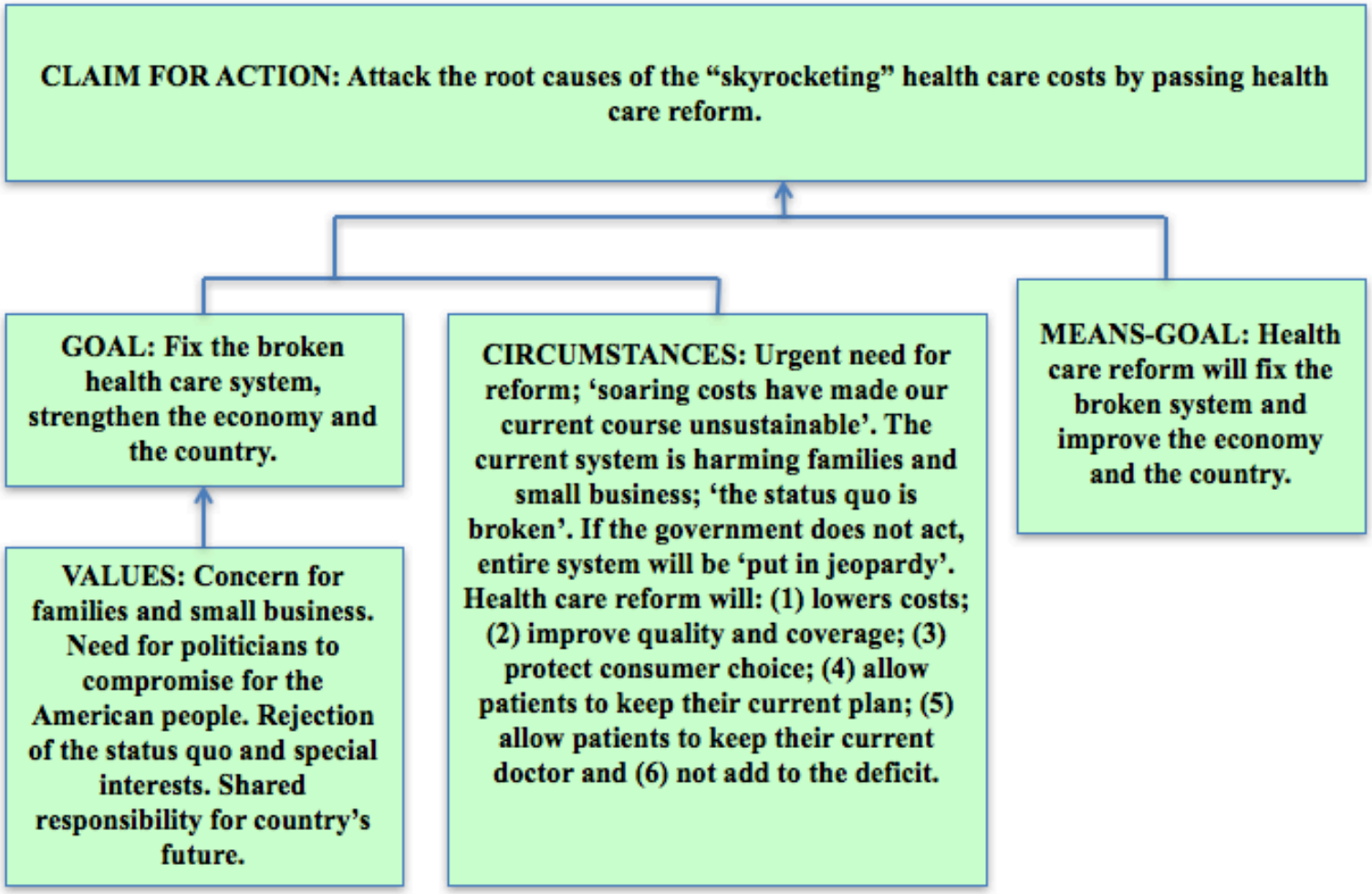

Figure 7.2: *Obama health reform argument, June 6th, 2009*

In the **circumstantial premise** within this speech, Obama establishes that the current health care system is broken because "the soaring costs of health care make our current course unsustainable". Families are going bankrupt and businesses are closing over costs, causing a situation that must urgently be addressed, "If we do nothing, everyone's health care will be put in jeopardy. Within a decade, we'll spend $1 out of every 5 we earn on health care, and we'll keep getting less for our money… we cannot postpone any longer". As discussed in the following section, this circumstantial premise is highly representative of how Obama sold the Affordable Care Act to the public; the current system was represented as unaffordable and the ACA as the only option available to replace it. 7D shows a list of Obama's other speeches containing similar circumstantial premises as identified in the NVivo coding. In these examples, health care reform is not only linked to the country's dire financial situation, it is additionally represented as an imperative reform which will stop the U.S. economy from being further devastated. This further justifies the implementation of the bill as it gives a great sense of urgency to the situation. It is also notable that Obama regularly repeats threats involving the consequences of not implementing reform; in #10 he goes as far as to state that the government will inevitably go bankrupt; in #16 he states that the economy will be destroyed by the current system.

The **goal** of Obama's health care reform policy is fixing "what ails our broken health care system", is linked to Obama's major goal as President, which is to "strengthen our economy and our country now and for decades to come". In the **means-goal premise** he asserts that, "… if we keep working together and living up to our mutual responsibilities, if we place the American people's interests above the special interests, we will seize this historic opportunity to finally fix what ails our broken health care system and strengthen our economy and our country now and for decades to come". The **values premise** is very typical of the Obama corpus; there is concern for families and businesses and he urges those in government to compromise. The **claim for action** is that the government needs to address the high costs of health care. This claim is represented as being a huge step toward addressing the country's financial and health care crises. It is notable that throughout Obama's speeches on the topic of health care reform, particularly in his later speeches before it was passed in 2010, the ACA was never mentioned but rather just referred to as 'health care reform'. This conflation suggested that the two were synonymous and worked to represent the ACA and health care reform as the same thing; other options went unaddressed.

7.2.3. The Health Care Reform Argument Trajectory

The most important aspect of Obama's arguments on health care reform, however, involves how his arguments on the topic developed over time. In order to examine how these arguments relate to one another, they are termed as working to form an argument trajectory on the topic of health care reform. An *argument trajectory* may be defined as:

> The progression or line of development within a series of arguments made on an individual topic in relation to one another.

When comparing the 28 health care reform arguments within the NVivo-coded functional units corpora, the *goal, claim for action, means-goal* and *values premises* remain largely consistent but

the *circumstantial premises* show that the original stipulations made in reference to the bill changed highly significantly over the course of the Presidency.

The following list shows all the stipulations within the circumstantial premise that Obama made in reference to what would be included in the ACA:

C1. The ACA will lower costs/ give the best care at the lowest cost.
C2. Improve the quality of care.
C3. Improve coverage (raise the number of people insured).
C4. Protect consumer choice, which means that "if you like the plan you have, you can keep it. If you like the doctor you have, you can keep your doctor too".
C5. Eliminate waste, fraud and abuse in the system.
C7. Disallow insurance companies from creating yearly or lifetime caps on coverage.
C8. Disallow insurance companies from denying coverage due to preexisting conditions.
C9. Disallow insurance companies from dropping coverage when people become seriously ill.
C10. Cover those who have lost their jobs recently or are in the process of changing jobs.
C11. Strengthen businesses.
C12. Give families choices and security.
C13. Create an insurance exchange/marketplace to shop for competitive plans.
C14. Give small businesses tax credits to insure employees; if they do not choose to insure employees, employees can sign up on the exchange as well.
C15. Give low income workers subsidies.
C16. Limit the amount insurance companies can charge individuals "out of pocket".
C17. Implement consumer protections to "make sure those who have insurance are treated fairly and that insurance companies are held accountable" – a Patient's Bill of Rights.
C18. Require insurance companies to provide yearly checkups and preventative care, such as: mammograms, colonoscopies and eye and foot exams for diabetic patients.
C19. Give the middle class greater security, not higher taxes.
C20. Stop insurers from charging exorbitant premiums on the basis of age, health, or gender; women will not be charged more than men.
C21. Young adults will be able to stay on their parent's policy until they're 26 or 27 years old.
C22. Early retirees who receive coverage from their employers will see their coverage protected and their premiums go down.
C23. Seniors who fall into the coverage gap known as the 'doughnut hole' will receive discounts of up to 50 percent on their prescriptions.
C24. Everyone will have access to emergency care.
C25. There will be an appeals process for those who feel they have been treated unfairly by the insurance companies.

The following chart shows the dates and how often these stipulations were made prior to the bill's passing; the speech with the asterisk shows a slight variation on the 'lower costs' stipulation:

The ACA will...	6. 6. 09	13. 6. 09	18. 7. 09	25. 7. 09	8. 8. 09	15. 8. 09	22. 8. 09	12. 9. 09	3. 10. 09	10. 10. 09	17. 10. 09	19. 12. 09	09. 1. 10	20. 2. 10	7. 2. 10	6. 3. 10	TOTAL
C1. Lower costs	√	√	√	√	√		√	√		*		√			√	√	11
C2. Increase quality of care	√	√	√														3
C3. Increase coverage	√	√		√		√	√	√		√							7
C4. Allow you to keep your doctor and current plan	√	√	√		√	√	√	√					√			√	9
C5. Reduce fraud and waste in the system	√		√							√		√					4
C6. Decrease the deficit	√	√	√					√		√							5
C7. Eliminate lifetime caps on coverage			√		√	√	√	√				√	√			√	8
C8. Stop denial of coverage due to pre-existing conditions			√	√	√	√	√	√	√			√	√			√	10
C9. Stop denial of coverage due to serious illness			√	√	√	√	√	√	√			√	√			√	10
C10. Cover those who have lost or changed jobs			√	√			√	√	√								5
C11. Strengthen business			√														1
C12. Create security			√	√	√	√	√	√		√			√	√	√	√	11
C13. Create an insurance exchange			√	√					√								3
C14. Provide business credits				√					√				√			√	4
C15. Provide subsidies				√													1
C16. Limit 'out-of-pocket' expenses				√	√	√	√		√			√					6
C17. Provide consumer protections					√		√			√			√			√	5
C18. Provide preventative care					√	√	√						√			√	5
C19. Not raise taxes																	0
C20. Equalize premiums												√					1
C21. Keep young adults on parents' plans until age 26													√			√	2
C22. Protect retirees														√			1
C23. Provide prescription discounts												√	√			√	3
C24. Provide emergency care for all													√				1
C25. Create an appeals process for customers																√	1

Table 7.1: *Obama health care reform argument trajectory promises, pre-passing of bill*

The following chart shows which stipulations Obama discussed *after* the passing of the ACA on March 23rd, 2010; dates marked with an asterisk are discussed below:

The ACA will...	8. 5. 10	17. 8. 13	28. 9. 13	26. 10. 13	15. 11. 14	27. 6. 15	7. 11. 15	23. 1. 16	5. 11. 16	10. 12. 16
C1. Lower costs					*	*		*	*	*
C2. Increase quality of care										
C3. Increase coverage	√		√		√	√	√	√	√	√
C4. Allow you to keep your doctor and current plan	√									
C5. Reduce fraud and waste in the system										
C6. Decrease the deficit								√		
C7. Eliminate lifetime caps on coverage			√						√	√
C8. Stop denial of coverage due to pre-existing conditions		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
C9. Stop denial of coverage due to serious illness	√	√					√	√		√
C10. Cover those who have lost or changed jobs							√	√		
C11. Strengthen business										
C12. Create security	√				√	√		√	√	
C13. Create an insurance exchange		√	√	√	√			√	√	
C14. Provide business credits	√									
C15. Provide subsidies		√								
C16. Limit 'out-of-pocket' expenses										
C17. Provide consumer protections	√									√
C18. Provide preventative care		√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√
C19. Not raise taxes										√
C20. Equalize premiums				√		√	√		√	√
C21. Keep young adults on parents' plans until age 26	√	√	√	√		√			√	√
C22. Protect retirees	√			√						
C23. Provide prescription discounts	√	√	√	√		√			√	√
C24. Provide emergency care for all										
C25. Create an appeals process for customers	√									

Table 7.2: *Obama health care reform argument trajectory promises, post-passing of bill*

It is clear from this trajectory that the majority of the stipulations that Obama made in reference to the ACA never materialized and failed to be mentioned in his speeches again after the bill was passed. Overall, before the bill passed Obama largely focused on how it would lower costs and

that people would be able to keep their doctors and their existing plans. After the bill passed, he switched to outlining how the bill would help certain segments of the population: young adults who could stay on their parents' plan, those who had previously had unfairly high premiums, those with pre-existing conditions and those needing preventative care. This is important to note as, rather than providing an affordable, quality health care plan to the nation, the Affordable Care Act worked to address corruption in the existing system by eradicating the most severe abuses of the insurance agencies within the Patient's Bill of Rights. It did not solve the health care crisis by ending the for-profit model; it simply made the system less corrupt.

By far the two most important promises – those that deeply mattered to the American people as they would directly affect their health and finances – were the promises that the ACA would lower costs and that it would allow users to keep their doctors.

KEY FALSE PREMISE #1: *You can keep your doctor and your current plan.*

The following concordance shows all 23 of the instances of the word *doctor* from the corpus of Obama's 28 health care reform speeches. Obama very clearly stipulates that customers will be able to keep their doctors under the ACA:

23 occurrences.

you can keep it . If you like the	doctor	you have , you can keep your doctor
octor you have , you can keep your	doctor	too . The only change you 'll see a
s . If you like your plan and your	doctor	, you can keep them . The only chan
an , you wo n't get to choose your	doctor	, that some bureaucrat will choose
nyone telling us who our family 's	doctor	should be , and no one should decid
r our proposals , if you like your	doctor	, you keep your doctor . If you lik
u like your doctor , you keep your	doctor	. If you like your current insuranc
reforms we seek , if you like your	doctor	, you can keep your doctor . If you
ke your doctor , you can keep your	doctor	. If you like your health care plan
o cover voluntary visits with your	doctor	to discuss your end-of-life care ,
crats getting between you and your	doctor	, then you should know that 's what
t you 've heard , if you like your	doctor	or health care plan , you can keep
rnment to get between you and your	doctor	than I want insurance companies to
reform we seek , if you like your	doctor	, you can keep your doctor ; if you
ke your doctor , you can keep your	doctor	; if you like your private health i
oyer to change the coverage or the	doctor	you have . What my plan will do is
luded the right to choose your own	doctor	. It included the right to access i
that patients would know if their	doctor	had a conflict of interest when pro
r . And every patient 's choice of	doctor	will be protected , along with acce
you can keep it . If you like your	doctor	, you can keep your doctor , becaus
ke your doctor , you can keep your	doctor	, because nothing should get in the
ionship between a family and their	doctor	. If we act now , all this will hap
family . You can even look up your	doctor	and medications as you shop . Most

Figure 7.3: *Obama corpus concordance "doctor"*

Of all of the stipulations made during Obama's health care reform speeches, this is the most infamous due to the fact that it never materialized within the bill itself, causing many Americans

to have to switch doctors and plans.[138] In 2013, *PolitiFact* even went as far as to label it the "lie of the year".[139] It is not, however, the reason for the ACA's failure; rather the main premise that it was built on has been.

KEY FALSE PREMISE #2: *Health care reform will lower costs*.

There are 68 uses of the term *costs* within the Obama corpus (Appendix 7F). Additionally, the frequency list data shows that *costs* is the 9th most used noun within Obama's health care reform speeches, after *insurance, health, reform, health care, coverage, Americans, people* and *care.* This was clearly a major stipulation made by Obama and he spends a highly significant part of his circumstantial premises describing the urgency of reform due to how badly costs are affecting the American people, small business, government and the economy. And yet after the bill was passed, Obama's language in reference to these costs changed:

> November 15, 2014: "… health care prices have grown at their slowest rate in nearly 50 years".
> June 27th, 2015: "The law has helped hold the price of health care to its slowest growth in 50 years".
> January 23rd, 2016: "We've done all this while cutting deficits and keeping health care inflation to its lowest in 50 years".
> November 5th, 2016: "… health care prices have been rising slower than they have in 50 years".

Finally, Obama ends his Presidency reflecting on the idea that the major goal of health care reform was to give people better health care coverage:

> November 5th, 2016: "… our goal wasn't just to make sure people have coverage, it was to make sure more people have better coverage".
> December 10th, 2016: "Because our goal wasn't just to make sure people have coverage, it was to make sure people have better coverage".

This is, of course, untrue. The major goal was to reform the health care system in order to stop it from bankrupting the country, the population, the government and causing further harm to the economy. This factor was concentrated on in order to justify the ACA and the urgency in which it was implemented. Certainly, it would have been commendable to implement the ACA in order to cover more people and give them better care. However, in making these speeches, Obama did not

[138] It should be noted that in America it is a tradition and a part of the culture in many regions to form a close relationship with one's doctor; this relationship often lasts a lifetime with it being common for families to carry on this relationship cross-generationally.
[139] Drobnic Holan, A. 'Lie of the year: If you like your health care plan, you can keep it'. *PolitiFact.* December 12th, 2013. Available: http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2013/dec/12/lie-year-if-you-like-your-health-care-plan-keep-it/

need to convince those who were lacking health care coverage or quality coverage to support the ACA; he needed to convince those who did not need the ACA to support it. He did so by basing his speeches on the economic benefits; when they did not materialize the plan imploded. The *means-goal* in both Obama's June 6, 2009 health care speech – *health care reform will fix the broken system and improve the economy and the country* – and in his health care reform argument trajectory as a whole has turned out to be untrue.

7.2.3. Analysis

The Affordable Care Act was a highly significant push toward the creation of a centralized national healthcare system in which the State would consequently have an increased amount of power over the population. Implementation of this model has never before been successful in America largely due to the nation's original conception of government in which the creation of the 50 states was used to decentralize the power of the federal government, keeping it from extending its overreach into the lives of its citizens and thereby corroding their individual rights. To some extent, America's inability to solve its health care crisis is a consequence of this fact. For a highly significant portion of the country, government-mandated health care is an assault on human freedom, individualism and dignity – not because of its existence but because of the elimination of the population's right to choose whether or not to sign up (the fine for not doing so stretched to $695 a year for 2016/2017). There is a delicate balance between increased state control for the sake of security and the rights of the individual. Obama took an enormous gamble in challenging this balance. He used the threat of the nation's eventual bankruptcy to justify the implementation of a bill that would radically increase the power of the government to control the health of the population. This strategy eventually backfired.

The argument outlined within this section, along with the list of stipulations that were mentioned prior to the bill's passing, illustrates why this strategy backfired. Obama convinced the American people to support the ACA as a solution to the health care reform issue based on the stipulations discussed within this section – these stipulations were given as promises to the American people, repeated over and over within Obama's rhetoric. Following the passing of the bill, many of them, including those which were most important to the American people, never materialized within the bill or within the range of options presented to those within many individual states. At the same time, costs rose significantly, year by year. This resulted in the following situation. Firstly, the American people recognized, through their direct experience of signing up for the ACA and using the services within it, that Obama's promises to them prior to the bill's passing had not been met. This caused widespread anger. Secondly, since Obama had repeated these stipulations regularly within his speeches and these promises were recontextualized (Fairclough 2010) across the media sphere, they were extremely well-known to the general public. Therefore, when they were not met, it became widely believed that Obama and the government as a whole had purposefully deceived the pubic in order to pass the ACA. The fact that it appears that Obama purposefully made a complex argument trajectory across dozens of health care reform speeches, which revolved largely around reiterating promises in order to garner support for the bill, only to have them never materialize, is highly disconcerting; this was recognized by millions of Americans as the alternative and conservative mainstream medias focused on it. As a consequence, the Obama administration appeared to not only be purposefully deceiving the people, it additionally appeared

that the administration was doing so despite the fact that the health care crisis was so dire, with 45,000 people dying a year and many more going bankrupt due to the exorbiant costs. As a consequence it appeared that the administration was either purposefully deceiving the nation to benefit the pharmaceutical and health care corporations or that Obama's genuine desire to fix the broken system was impossible to fulfill. It should be reiterated that Obama, as a gifted rhetoritician, was adept at representing himself as genuinely concerned with the people's health and it would certainly be assumed that he would *want* to become the President who solved this enormous problem; this would surely have made him one of the most successful Presidents in modern American history. In light of these points, the administration's inability to address the crisis consequently acts as a testament to the reality that the health care monopolies wield a *staggering* level of power over the politicians in Washington, to the extent that it is impossible to solve the crisis, even as it is causing so many dire consequences, as outlined in Obama's speeches.

The question of *why* it does not seem possible for America to solve its health care crisis when every other industrialized nation has done so seems deeply perplexing and yet, it is a question that has already been answered. Unlike every other universal health care system other than the Netherlands, America's health care industry is a for-profit business. In his book *The Healing of America* (2009), author T.R. Reid stresses that no country has been able to produce a health care system based on maximizing insurance and drug industry profits – it simply does not work.[140] The ACA attempted to continue doing so; it was not a bill that worked for the people. It is important to stress that the insurance and drug companies, who wield enormous influence in politics, pouring money into lobbying, are some of the most hated institutions in America, much like the Wall Street banks.[141] Their deeply unjust practices (some of which were addressed in the Patient's Bill of Rights) were, in 2009, largely responsible for the deaths of 45,000 people a year. Obama blames them for the health care crisis, just as he blames Wall Street for the financial crisis and yet the ACA served them at the expense of the American people. Its creation, which did not eradicate the for-profit model, attests to this in itself. Just as the bank bailouts illustrated that the financial sector has the unlimited power to execute grossly corrupt practices only to then be bailed out with taxpayer money, the nations' inability to solve the health care crisis displays the unlimited power of corporations and their right to dictate the life and death of the people in order to maximize profits. It is notable that within Obama's discourse, the insurance and drug companies, while criticized for upholding unfair practices, are largely protected as the ACA is represented as addressing these practices. Consequently, the continuation of the for-profit model can continue without consequence for these mega-monopoly corporations.

Discussing an article posted on *Bloomberg News* titled 'Americans are dying young, saving corporations billions',[142] Max Keiser of *the Keiser Report* makes the argument that the health care

[140] Schwarz, J. 'Obamacare is faltering for one simple reason: profit'. *The Intercept*. August 27th, 2016. Available: https://theintercept.com/2016/08/27/obamacares-faltering-for-one-simple-reason-profit/
[141] Hagopian, J. 'The evils of big pharma exposed'. *Centre for Research on Globalization.* May 11th, 2018. Available: https://www.globalresearch.ca/the-evils-of-big-pharma-exposed/5425382
[142] Tozzi, J. 'Americans are dying younger, saving corporations billions'. *Bloomberg News*. August 8th, 2017. Available: https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-08-08/americans-are-dying-younger-saving-corporations-billions

industry and the government are too economically dependent on the destruction of the American people's health at this point to even be able to reform the system without an economic collapse:[143]

> This idea of the economics of extinction – this is very similar to what happened in the 1930's in Germany. So, initially when a particular group was scape-goated and then they were sent off to be exterminated, you know, there was a huge industry behind that – the gold teeth that were extracted, the clothes that were re-sold, the shoes that were re-sold. And pretty soon the German economy became dependent on genocide, became dependent on the Holocaust. Now in America, very similarly, the pharmaceutical industry, the medical industry and the bankers – they are profiting from the American Holocaust. And the American economy is now so dependent on the revenue from the American Holocaust that it's very difficult to understand how this train of death – this freight train, these boxcars of death – is going to end.

Keiser's argument – that corporations are being allowed to exploit Americans for profit even until death – is difficult to refute taking into account the statistics discussed in this section. The fact that 45,000 Americans aged 18-64 were dying every year due to not being insured in the richest nation in the world is an astounding fact. But beyond this, as discussed in the Bloomberg article, the pension system in America is under enormous strain,[144] creating a situation where both corporations and the State have a vested interest in ending the lives of those they owe money to – the American pensioners – as early as possible. This situation results in a very disturbing economic landscape.

The ACA's failure, however, should not be exclusively attributed to Obama, who, it should be remembered, succeeded in passing the law. He convinced a majority of lawmakers and 46% (KFF 2018) of the population at the time of the ACA's passing[145] to accept the ideas underpinning the Affordable Care Act, namely the idea that health care should be a right, not a privilege. The failure of the Act should rather be attributed to the government and the State, who did not implement the system that Obama promised. This is a testament to Obama's success as a politician; he convinced Americans to support the increased power of a State which is largely viewed as becoming de-legitimized (Saad 2018), for their own security. When they did so, the system that they supported failed them – largely at their own expense. In the aftermath, the security that was promised is collapsing along with the Affordable Care Act. At time of writing the Republicans in Congress have also failed to offer a solution to the health care crisis. Writing in the *Washington Examiner*, Senator Rand Paul notes that the latest replacement bill proposed by the Senate includes a taxpayer bailout clause for the insurance industry, which made a record-breaking $15,000,000,000 in profit

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[143] Keiser, M. ''Silver lining' of U.S. mortality rates'. *The Keiser Report, RT.* August 17th, 2017. Available: Keiser Report: 'Silver lining' of US mortality rates'. RT. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TEBhBkh4g_s

[144] Scott, M. D. 'America's pension crisis demands action by Congress'. *The Hill.* November 29th, 2017. Available: http://thehill.com/opinion/finance/362274-americas-pension-crisis-demands-action-by-congress

[145] Poles on the percent of Americans supporting the ACA have shown a wide range of results depending on the year. The low was in November, 2013 with only 33% approving of the bill; at its peak in February, 2018 this number was 54%.

in 2017.[146] Paul concedes that the situation has become so dire and the "crony capitalist" system so obviously corrupt that it is seemingly hopeless for him to even attempt to reason with a Congress who "now argue that the federal government has a responsibility to confer profit to a profitable industry". In the domestic sphere there is no comparable legislative failure. With each day that America's health care crisis goes unsolved, more and more people consider the following idea, so central to the foundation of the new paradigm: *the government, in its current form, does not serve the people*. And in the eyes of many, these ideas have been expanded to include one even more damnatory: *the government, in its current form, serves those directly harming the health of the people.* Overall, Obama's health care reform initiative resulted in further perpetuating an already sharp decline in the people's belief in institutional power and it can be assumed that this contributed to the belief in both Deep State Theory and Global Oligarchy Theory. Here the power of the Deep State is seen as dominating Washington to the extent that the government has been rendered largely ineffective, even in relation to the country's most major domestic policy issue. This situation is then linked to Global Oligarchy Theory in that this theory largely revolves around the idea that the centralization of the American domestic system is being implemented in order to forward the aims of the oligarchy and perhaps additionally as a means by which to wage financial warfare against the American people through the drug and insurance companies (see Chapter 4).

The next section examines Obama's arguments on intervention in the conflict in Syria.

7.3. ARGUMENTS ON INTERVENTION IN SYRIA

This section primarily discusses Obama's arguments on the intervention in Syria, additionally taking into account other related speeches on the invasions of Iraq and Libya. Obama's three main Syria arguments were selected during the coding process because it was clear that Obama utilized two separate justifications for accomplishing the same foreign policy goal of invading the country. Additionally, prior knowledge of arguments on U.S. invasions told me that a similar justification had been made in order to invade Iraq in 2003[147] – I therefore further investigated all of the Weekly Addresses on foreign invasions within the reference corpus as well as the Colin Powell United Nations speech which justified the 2003 invasion of Iraq. It is imperative to view these foreign invasion arguments in context and in their relation to other foreign policy speeches on similar invasions as U.S. intervention in the Middle East has a long and complex history. This section does so by examining Obama's three major arguments on the Syria invasion and how key similarities exist between them and previous speeches urging the invasions of Iraq and Libya.

[146] Paul, R. 'Crony Capitalism isn't a right, so why does Senate healthcare bill give insurance companies the right to a bailout?' *The Washington Examiner*. August 4th, 2017. Available: http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/rand-paul-crony-capitalism-isnt-a-right-so-why-does-senate-healthcare-bill-give-insurance-companies-the-right-to-a-bailout/article/2628572

[147] Global Research: Center for Research on Globalization. 'False flag terrorism isn't a 'theory'... It's admitted and widespread'. July 28th, 2017. Available: https://www.globalresearch.ca/false-flag-terrorism-isnt-a-theory-its-admitted-and-widespread/5601511

7.3.1. Context: America's Role in the Syrian Civil War

The conflict in Syria and America's role within it is one of the most contested topics within politics today. The two conflicting narratives being produced in the American mainstream and alternative medias diverge more sharply on this issue than perhaps any other. This section gives an overview of the facts surrounding the intervention of the U.S. and the broader international community in the Syrian civil war, followed by a summary of the two media narratives produced within the U.S. concerning Syria and a list of the evidence that has been substantiated in support of each of these narratives. The international community's response to the Syria conflict has been heavily influenced by events that occurred in Libya in 2011 (Zenko 2016); therefore, the NATO-led intervention in Libya is briefly discussed first to give further context to the conflict in Syria.

This section heavily concerns the issue of terrorism. While there is no universally agreed upon definition of the term, in a 2002-2005 report[148] the FBI defines *terrorism* as "the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives" (28 C.F.R. Section 0.85).

Interestingly, the current FBI website[149] has changed this definition to the following:

> **International terrorism**: Perpetrated by individuals and/or groups inspired by or associated with designated foreign terrorist organizations or nations (state-sponsored).
>
> **Domestic terrorism**: Perpetrated by individuals and/or groups inspired by or associated with primarily U.S.-based movements that espouse extremist ideologies of a political, religious, social, racial, or environmental nature.

As this second definition of *international terrorism* exclusively allows the American State to determine which organizations are deemed 'terrorist', the original FBI definition is supported within this section.

The NATO Intervention in Libya

On February 15th, 2011, unarmed protests against the rule of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi broke out in Benghazi; during the following two weeks Gaddafi lost control of part of the country including the major cities of Misrata and Benghazi (House of Commons 2016: 6). Gaddafi, who had been in power since 1969, was a highly controversial figure. Criticized in the west as a dictator who had implemented a terrible human rights record during his long rule, Gaddafi was also

[148] Federal Bureau of Investigation (2002-2005). 'Terrorism 2002/2005'. Available: https://www.fbi.gov/stats-services/publications/terrorism-2002-2005

[149] Federal Bureau of Investigation (2018). 'What we investigate: Terrorism'. Available: https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/terrorism

considered by many to be a revolutionary and a noted adversary of Wahhabism, the major source for the creation and funding of global terrorism (Haider 2013).

In response to a counter-offensive launched by Gaddafi and reports that he was responding to these protests by planning a large-scale massacre of civilians, the United Nations responded swiftly by implementing an arms embargo (Resolution 1970) and a no-fly zone (Resolution 1973); on March 24th, 2011, NATO took control of Libya's air space. What followed was the training of the Libyan rebels by the U.S., UK, France, Italy, Qatar and the UAE along with the shipping in of antitank missiles by Qatar and weapons air-drops into rebel-held areas by France. America's role in Libya was highly significant; "the central protagonist in the story of the war became NATO, led by the U.S., with aerial bombardment and special forces on the ground" (Forte 2012: 22). Following a bombing campaign that leveled much of the country, including 6,000/7,000 structures in Sirte – Gaddafi's home city – and the deaths of 40,000 Libyan civilians, Gaddafi, after attempting to surrender, was brutally murdered by NATO-backed rebels. Troops loyal to Gaddafi were attacked by NATO as they retreated (Zenko 2016).

In a 2016 investigation of the events that unfolded in Libya, the UK House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee (2016: 14) determined that there was in fact no evidence that Gaddafi was going to massacre civilians in Benghazi; "We have seen no evidence that the UK Government carried out a proper analysis of the nature of the rebellion in Libya" (House of Commons 2016: 15). It was further found that in an early conflict:

> The disparity between male and female casualties suggested that Gaddafi regime forces targeted male combatants in a civil war and did not indiscriminately attack civilians. More widely, Muammar Gaddafi's 40-year record of appalling human rights abuses did not include large-scale attacks on Libyan civilians.
>
> (House of Commons 2016: 14).

The reality of what took place in Libya has now become widely known; "In truth, the Libyan intervention was about regime change from the very start" (Zenko 2016). "the NATO powers abused the limited UN authorization to overthrow the Libyan Government" (McKinney 2012). As in the case of the Iraq War, where the evidence of Hussein's production of weapons of mass destruction never materialized, the lack of evidence of Gaddafi's impending massacre of civilians influenced the world's response to reports that Syrian President Bashar al-Assad had carried out gas attacks against Syrian civilians.

The Syrian Civil War

The civil war in Syria is a highly complex political event. This is largely due to three main factors. Firstly, the military involvement of outside actors in the conflict, specifically the U.S., Russia, Iran, China and Turkey, has caused enormous complications. Secondly, the large-scale funding of internal actors by an extensive range of external actors, including those previously named as well as Saudi Arabia and Qatar, has produced a wide range of individuals being paid to fight on each side with it being difficult to properly vet them or identify their true agendas (Hersh 2016). Thirdly,

as discussed in Chapter 1, the conflict developed into what some have termed a *proxy war* (Stent 2016) between the U.S.-led western powers and Russia, China and Iran. And additionally, the Obama administration's use of the surrogate warfare strategy (Krieg & Rickli 2016) in this conflict has been carried out largely behind-the-scenes, causing the U.S. government's narrative on Syria to be fairly convoluted; this is discussed in the following sections.

Taking place as part of the Arab Spring in March 2011, protests against the Assad government began in Damascus with those in attendance demanding democratic government reforms. Events involving these protests, which soon spread to cities across Syria, involve a great deal of controversy with Assad claiming that the riots were incited by foreign actors; the number of reported protestors shot and arrested by Assad varies greatly. The response to the Syrian war involved attempts by the UNSC to intervene but in light of events in Libya, Russia and China vetoed resolutions in 2011 and 2012. In April 2012, UN-Arab League envoy Kofi Annan developed a plan to end the violence in Syria, Resolution 2042, which was accepted by Assad and allowed thirty observers to monitor a ceasefire within the country. Russia additionally sponsored Resolution 2043, creating a 90-day UN Supervision Mission in Syria. However, in May 2012, more fighting broke out; China and Russia vetoed another resolution. This was followed in August 2013 by the Gouta chemical gas attacks. U.S.-planned military intervention was stopped when Russia proposed keeping Syrian chemical weapons under international surveillance. The UNSC approved Resolution 2118, which, while endorsing the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons' action in destroying Syria's chemical weapons, "was only marginally consequential to the resolution of the crisis" as a whole (Tocci 2016: 3). Finally, in February 2014, the UNSC passed Resolution 2139, in which Syria would allow UN humanitarian agencies into the country and which condemned the rise of Al-Qaeda in the region.

Within the United States, two distinct and conflicting media narratives have developed in reference to further events concerning the Syrian war. Tim Anderson, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Sydney, outlines these two narratives. Firstly, that promoted by the mainstream American media (see Chapter 1) in which 'rebels' were fighting new jihadi extremist groups:

> The first pretext over Syria was that the NATO states and the Gulf monarchies were supporting a secular and democratic revolution. When that seemed implausible the second story was that they were saving the oppressed majority 'Sunni Muslim' population from a sectarian 'Alawite regime'. Then, when sectarian atrocities by anti-government forces attracted greater public attention, the pretext became a claim that there was a shadow war: 'moderate rebels' were said to be actually fighting the extremist groups. Western intervention was therefore needed to bolster these 'moderate rebels' against the 'new' extremist group that had mysteriously arisen and posed a threat to the world.
>
> (Anderson 2017).

And in the second narrative, supported by the alternative media:

> Proxy armies of Islamists, armed by U.S. regional allies (mainly Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Turkey), infiltrate a political reform movement and snipe at police and civilians. They

> blame this on the government and spark an insurrection, seeking the overthrow of the Syrian government and its secular-pluralist state. This follows the openly declared ambition of the U.S. to create a 'New Middle East', subordinating every country of the region, by reform, unilateral disarmament or direct overthrow. Syria was next in line, after Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya. In Syria, the proxy armies would come from the combined forces of the Muslim Brotherhood and Saudi Arabia's Wahhabi fanatics. Despite occasional power struggles between these groups and their sponsors, they share much the same Salafist ideology, opposing secular or nationalist regimes and seeking the establishment of a religious state.
>
> (Anderson 2017).

In this second quote, Anderson is referring to the 2007 interview between General Wesley Clark and Amy Goodman discussed in Chapter 1.[150] It is important to note that the jihadi 'extremists' are united by the shared goal of creating a centralized religious state – the Caliphate discussed in Chapter 4; they primarily adhere to the Saudi-based Salafist/Wahhabi ideology formed within the religious sect.

Due to how radically these two narratives conflict and the lack of adequate reporting coverage from within the country of Syria (Kinzer 2016), it is necessary to examine what evidence has been produced in support of both side's claims in regard to the situation in Syria; Appendix 6G gives an overview of this evidence, which is discussed in the following sections within the argument reconstructions.

7.3.2. Argument Reconstruction: Obama's Address to the Nation, September 10th, 2013

On September 7, 2013, Obama made a Weekly Address about the need for American intervention in Syria. This was followed the next week, on September 10th, 2013, by a special Address to the Nation. Both speeches contain the same argument on U.S. intervention; the September 10th speech is analyzed here as it is far more detailed, containing 2,205 words compared to only 476 in the September 7th speech (see Appendix 7H).

[150] Clark, W. & Goodman, A. (2007). 'Global warfare: We're going to take out 7 countries in 5 years: Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Somalia, Sudan and Iran'. *Global Research.* Available: https://www.globalresearch.ca/we-re-going-to-take-out-7-countries-in-5-years-iraq-syria-lebanon-libya-somalia-sudan-iran/5166

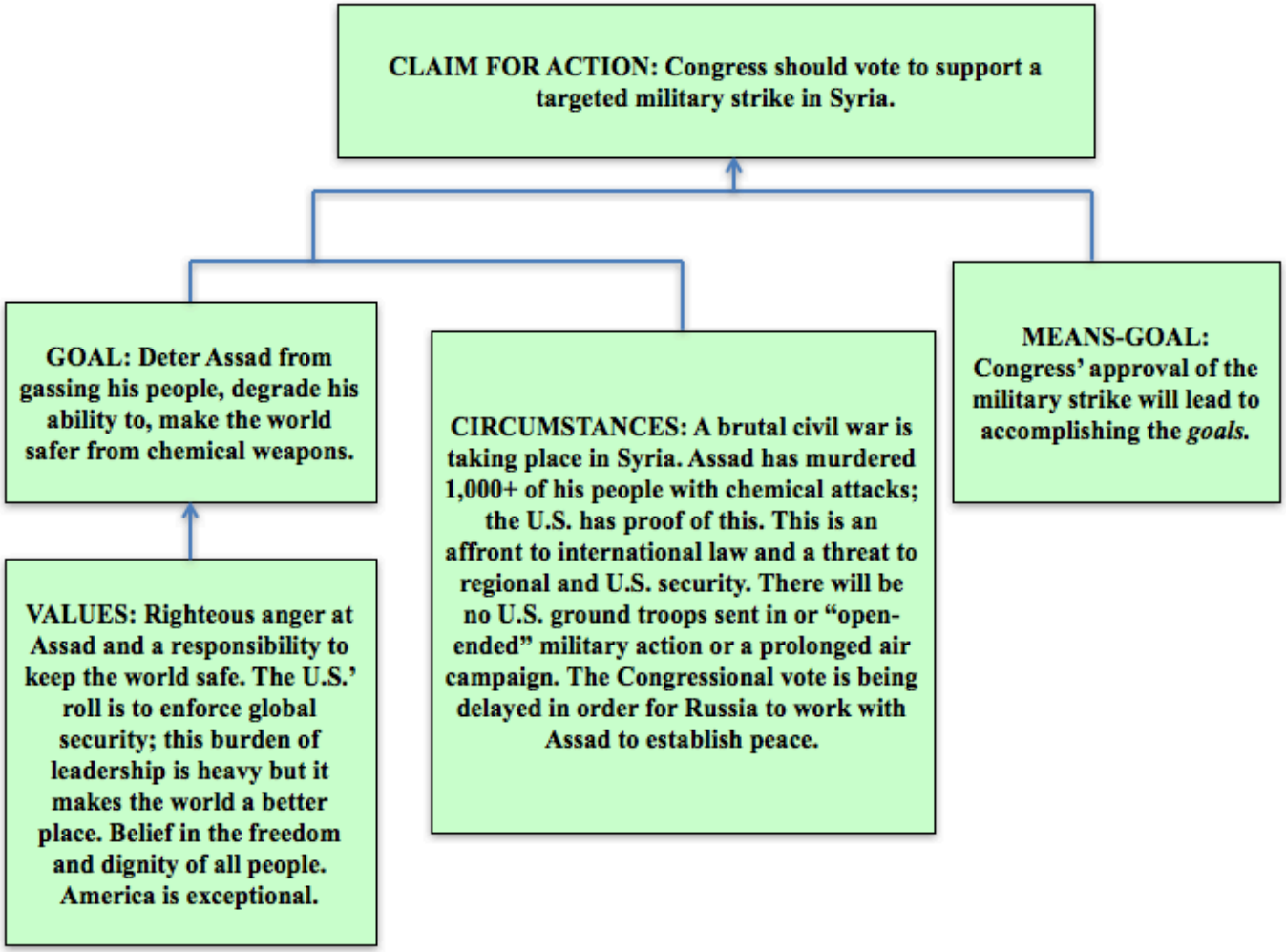

Figure 7.4: *Obama, Address to the Nation, September 10th, 2013*

This speech, characteristically heavily focused on the **circumstantial premise,** describes Syria as a country in which "peaceful protests" have begun in response to the "repressive regime" of President Bashar Al-Assad. This has led to a civil war in which 100,000 people have been killed; millions have fled. Directly following this description, Obama states that during this time, the U.S. has become involved through giving humanitarian assistance, helping the "moderate opposition" and working to "shape a political settlement". By *moderate opposition* Obama is in fact referring to various rebel groups in Syria, fighting to overthrow the Assad government, who the U.S. is funding. To be clear, Obama is explicitly stating, in somewhat veiled language, that the U.S. has begun funding the overthrow of the sovereign government in the country of Syria. It should also be noted that he mentions this casually before even arguing for intervention; "But I have resisted calls for military action, because we cannot resolve someone else's civil war through force." He then gives a long description of the chemical attacks that Assad has allegedly launched against his own people, killing at least a thousand. Lurid details of the victims lying on the floor "foaming at the mouth, gasping for breath… A father clutching his dead children, imploring them to get up and walk" are given, the incident labeled a "crime against humanity" and a "violation of the laws of war". This is followed by a long description of the dangers of chemical warfare, which is prohibited by 189 nations.

There are two very important assertions within the circumstantial premise, which work to fully justify U.S. military intervention in Syria. The first is that "no one disputes that chemical weapons were used in Syria". The second is that "we know the Assad regime is responsible". The attack was planned; rockets were launched into 11 neighborhoods; people became sick; the Assad regime reviewed this and further increased shelling. Sarin gas was found on the survivors. These two claims are accompanied by a **values premise** in which America has a moral duty to respond for the security of the world. If America does not, this will enable the use of chemical weapons throughout the world by "other tyrants". This is followed by Obama's **claim for action**: "… after careful deliberation, I determined that it is in the national security interests of the United States to respond to the Assad regime's use of chemical weapons through a targeted military strike". The main **goals** are: "to deter Assad from using chemical weapons, to degrade his regime's ability to use them, and to make clear to the world that we will not tolerate their use".

An important detail to note is that Obama admits that some of Assad's opponents, who the U.S. is funding, are extremists. Additionally, Obama includes two threats in his argument. The primary threat is further chemical weapons attacks and the secondary threat is jihadi terrorism growing in the region:

> It's true that some of Assad's opponents are extremists. But al Qaeda will only draw strength in a more chaotic Syria if people there see the world doing nothing to prevent innocent civilians from being gassed to death.

A vote on whether or not to approve the invasion of Syria never reached Congress as the situation was eventually solved diplomatically through the mediation of Russia. Popular support for another military intervention in the Middle East on the part of the American people was also very low. In

poles, even when told that Assad had conclusively used chemical weapons to kill Syrians, the American people largely opposed the intervention[151]:

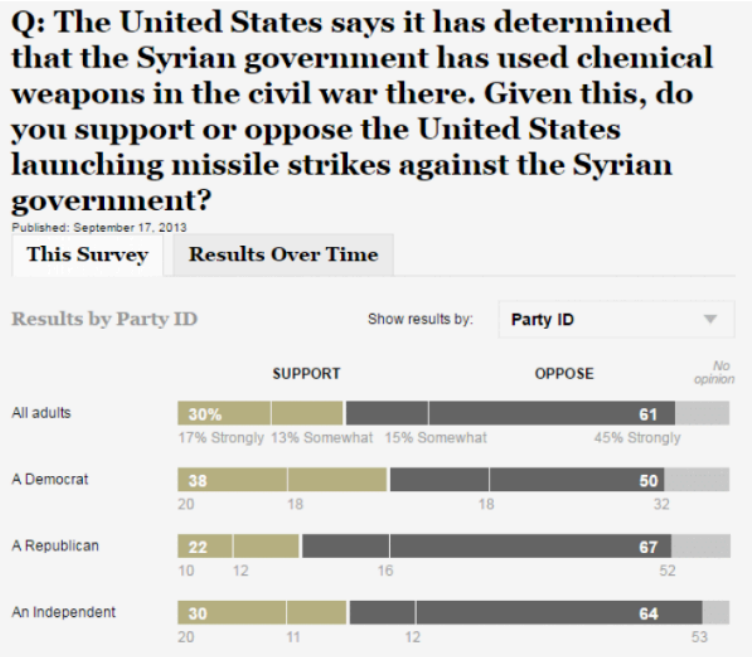

Figure 7.5: *Washington Post poll on the invasion on Syria*

It is notable that far fewer Americans approved of the invasion of Syria, even when told there was proof that Assad had gassed his people, than had supported other recent wars, showing that the American people had little interest in supporting the government's agenda of intervention in Middle East conflicts[152]:

[151] Clement, S. 'Americans hated the idea of strikes against Syria in 2013. But Trump's could be different'. *The Washington Post.* April 7th, 2017. Available: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/04/07/military-strikes-in-syria-were-very-unpopular-four-years-ago-but-trumps-could-be-different/?utm_term=.84e441c803fa

[152] Dugan, A. 'U.S. support for action in Syria is low compared to past conflicts'. *Gallup.* September 6th, 2013. Available: http://www.gallup.com/poll/164282/support-syria-action-lower-past-conflicts.aspx

Views on Proposed U.S. Military Actions Before Commencement of Such Actions

Country/Region	Polling dates	Favor	Oppose	No opinion
		%	%	%
Syria	Sep 3-4, 2013	36	51	13
Iraq	Mar 14-15, 2003	64	33	3
Afghanistan	Oct 5-6, 2001	82	14	4
Kosovo/The Balkans	Feb 19-21, 1999	43	45	12
Iraq/Persian Gulf	Jan 11-13, 1991	55	38	4

GALLUP

Figure 7.6: *Gallup poll on American support for wars*

This speech was extremely important because it came to sharply divide the corporate and alternative media narratives in reference to foreign policy. The two narratives divided over whether or not there was actually proof that Assad had committed the chemical gas attacks; the alternative media maintained that there was not. This assertion was perhaps best made in a report released by M.I.T. stating that it would have been impossible for the missiles to have been fired from Assad's territory.[153] Additionally, the alternative media argued that it made absolutely no logical sense for Assad to commit such an act as it would immediately justify America's invasion of the country and turn every nation critical of chemical weapons attacks – 189 in total – against him.[154] Instead, the U.S. creating a "false flag" to justify regime change was much more logical. The leaked Roebuck[155] and CIA regime-change memos[156] attest to a long history of the U.S. planning to overthrow the government in Syria; additionally, the U.S.' close ally, Saudi Arabia (see Chapter 1), was found to be funding jihadi terrorism in Syria.[157] HIS Conflict Monitor additionally found that 52 similar attacks had been carried out by terrorist groups since 2014, making it entirely possible that they had committed this one.[158] This is a point of contention that has not been resolved.

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[153] Lloyd, R., & Postal, T. A. 'Possible implications of faulty U.S. technical intelligence in the Damascus nerve agent attack on August 21st, 2013'. *MIT Science, Technology and Global Security Working Group.* January 14th, 2014. Available: https://s3.amazonaws.com/s3.documentcloud.org/documents/1006045/possible-implications-of-bad-intelligence.pdf

[154] Hersh, S. 'Whose Sarin?' *London Review of Books.* December 19th, 2013. Available: https://www.lrb.co.uk/v35/n24/seymour-m-hersh/whose-sarin

[155] U.S. Embassy, Damascus. 'Influencing the SARG in the end of 2006'. *WikiLeaks.* December 13th, 2006. Available: https://www.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/06DAMASCUS5399_a.html

[156] Central Intelligence Agency. 'Syria: Scenarios of dramatic political change'. *WikiLeaks*. July 31st, 1986. Available: https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP86T01017R000100770001-5.pdf

[157] Sanger, D. E. 'Rebel Arms Flow is Said to Benefit Jihadists in Syria'. *New York Times.* October 14th, 2012. Available: http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/15/world/middleeast/jihadists-receiving-most-arms-sent-to-syrian-rebels.html

[158] Schmidt, E. 'ISIS used chemical attacks at least 52 times in Syria and Iraq, report says'. New York Times. November 21st, 2016. Available: https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/21/world/middleeast/isis-chemical-weapons-syria-iraq-mosul.html

An additional point of disagreement in reference to this argument has been the question of who exactly the Obama regime was funding in Syria. Obama claims that is was the opposition to Assad and that some of them are "extremists", avoiding any type of specific information. The alternative media claimed Obama was funding the jihadi terrorists and that they were in fact working with the U.S. to overthrow Assad in order to implement the regime change agenda outlined in the Clark interview (Clark & Goodman 2007). In this case, the U.S. would be directly funding and arming terrorist mercenaries to carry out regime-change in an independent nation without Congressional approval. This is a claim which has become highly significant due to the release of an unclassified memo ominously dubbed *the ISIS Memo*. It is important to discuss this memo in further detail as it has had an enormous impact on both America's foreign policy trajectory and the Trump election.

In 2015, a declassified memo from the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency produced in 2012 was released and posted on the website *Judicial Watch*.[159] This memo, the legitimacy of which has not been challenged, explains the following:

B. "The Salafist, The Muslim Brotherhood, and AQI [Al Qaeda in Iraq, affiliated with Al Nusra] are the major forces driving the insurgency in Syria".
C. "The West, Gulf countries, and Turkey support the opposition, while Russia, China and Iran support the regime".
3B. AQI supported the opposition from the beginning, both ideologically and through the media. AQI declared its opposition of Assad's government because it considered it a sectarian regime targeting Sunnis.

As discussed in Chapter 1, in 2015, former U.S. General Michael Flynn, Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency (D.I.A.) under Obama from 2012-2014, appeared on the Al Jazeera Network's show *Head to Head*; he discusses this memo in detail. In this explosive interview (see Appendix H), Flynn states that not only did the U.S. knowing support terrorists in Syria but that this policy was exclusively implemented by the Obama administration to the confusion of the D.I.A. He additionally discusses the creation of terrorists in prisons such as Abu Ghraib under the George W. Bush administration.

This memo attests to the fact that the Obama administration was told in 2012 by their top intelligence agency that the Syrian rebels that Obama argues in favor of supporting, are predominantly jihadi terrorists. Consequently, the Obama administration was actively funding terrorism in order to overthrow the Assad regime; in this situation the terrorists and the Obama administration had the same foreign policy goal, in-line with the broader Wahhabi goal of creating an Islamic Caliphate. It is highly relevant that Flynn not only headed the agency that produced this memo and may have had a hand in its leaking – which discredited Obama, Hillary Clinton as his Secretary of State, the Bush administration before them and the CIA who were carrying out the on-the-ground training – but that he additionally made this information public in the Al Jazeera

[159] Defense Intelligence Agency (2012). 'The ISIS memo'. *Judicial Watch.* Available: http://www.judicialwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Pg.-291-Pgs.-287-293-JW-v-DOD-and-State-14-812-DOD-Release-2015-04-10-final-version11.pdf

interview. While the legitimacy of this memo has not been contested, the mainstream media has aggressively tried to discredit it, mainly by inaccurately summarizing it and then incorrectly "fact-checking" it.[160] Additionally, they have employed retired high-level members of the CIA to claim that it is based on flawed intelligence, without any proof.[161] These findings are further discussed in section the Conclusion.

In addition to these findings, other events which have occurred under the Obama administration support the idea that his administration was linked to the Muslim Brotherhood and consequently, their Caliphate goals. Within testimony[162] made by Peter Hoekstra, a senior fellow for *The Investigative Project on Terrorism,* in 2016 before the House Committee on Homeland Security, Hoekstra states:

> Under PSD-11 – which the administration needs to declassify – Obama and Clinton pivoted from the historical U.S. strategy of maintaining order and stability in the Middle East. It instead turned to a strategy that emphasized support for regime change, as well as political and democratic reforms, regardless of the impact on regional stability. PSD-11 directly led to U.S. engagement with the Muslim Brotherhood. U.S. officials did not concern themselves with questions over whether the new power structures would become allies or foes, or with intelligence agency warnings about the jihadist chaos such regime change might unleash.

U.S. long-term ally Egyption President Hosni Mubarak was eventually ousted and replaced by Muslim Brotherhood leader Mohamed Morsi. Hoekstra goes on to state, "For the first time since its founding in 1928, the Muslim Brotherhood ran a major country in the Middle East, and Obama and Clinton were willing accomplices". This was in-line with the Wahhabist and jihadi goal of eradicating secular Muslim leaders such as Gaddafi, to be replaced with Islamist leaders who would work to implement the Caliphate:

> In Libya Muammar Gaddafi – a repressive dictator and state sponsor of terror for 40 years – reversed course and by 2003-04 allied with the U.S. He turned over his weapons programs. He paid reparations to the victims of his terrorist activity. He fought side-by-side with the West against radical jihadists. Under the guidance of PSD-11, the administration turned on Gaddafi and sided with the Muslim Brotherhood and al-Qaida

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[160] Fishel, J. 'Donald Trump pushes conspiracy theory that Obama supports ISIS'. *ABC News.* June 15th, 2016. Available: http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/donald-trump-pushes-conspiracy-theory-obama-supports-isis/story?id=39877503

[161] Morell, M. 'Former C.I.A. chief: Trump's conspiracy theory about ISIS is nonsense'. Politico. June 16th, 2016. Available: http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/06/trump-obama-isis-conspiracy-theory-fbi-213970

[162] The Investigative Project on Terrorism, House Committee on Homeland Security. 'Statement of Peter Hoekstra'. September 2, 2016. Available: https://docs.house.gov/meetings/HM/HM09/20160922/105384/HHRG-114-HM09-Wstate-HoekstraP-20160922.pdf

> elements to dispose of him. Libya now exports weapons, training and jihadist ideology throughout the greater region.

Hoekstra concludes:

> With PSD-11 the administration engaged with radical Islamists who predictably took advantage of the opportunity to fundamentally transform the region and its threat environment rather than pursuing democratic reforms.

The question of why the Muslim Brotherhood has not been classified by the U.S. government as a terrorist organization continues to be broadly asked. In 2012, Congresswoman Michelle Bachmann attempted to have this issue investigated; [163] much of this controversy pertained to Huma Abedin, Clinton's top aide. Alarmingly, Abedin's mother has an extensive, well-catalogued relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood.[164] Additionally, whistle-blowers have continued to come forward, detailing the White House's engagement with Muslim extremists, perhaps the most notable example being retired Admiral James Ace Lyons, whose many *YouTube* clips[165] outline the Muslim Brotherhood's infiltration into the White House. Interestingly, Lyons isolates former CIA head (2013-2017) John Brennan as a major actor in allowing for this infiltration. Brennan has been at the forefront of the effort to impeach Trump.

In 2017, Michael Flynn was later hired by President Trump to act as National Security Advisor. He subsequently resigned 24 days later under accusations of accepting money from foreign governments without the proper approval. It is notable, however, that Trump's foreign policy agenda has continued to align with much of what Flynn said; Trump has stopped the funding of the CIA's training program in Syria. Following this decision, in a July 2017 interview with *Fox News,* Congresswoman Tulsi Gabbard stated, "It's been widely reported that for years now the CIA was providing arms, intelligence, money and other types of support to these armed militants who were working hand in hand and oftentimes under the command of Al-Qaeda in Syria".[166] She continues on to call this funding a result of an "addiction to regime change… People would rather directly support Al-Qaeda rather than give up their regime change goals". Two years later, during the 2020 Democrat Party primary debates, Gabbard additionally pointed out that it was Al-Qaeda

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[163] American Freedom Law Center. 'Rep. Michele Backmann calls for investigation of Muslim Brotherhood infiltration of U.S. government'. July 17th, 2012. Available: https://www.americanfreedomlawcenter.org/2012/07/17/rep-michelle-bachmann-r-mn-calls-for-investigation-of-muslim-brotherhood-infiltration-of-u-s-government/

[164] Timmerman, K. R., 'Huma Abedin's ties to the Muslim Brotherhood'. *The Hill.* August 23rd, 2016. Available: https://thehill.com/blogs/pundits-blog/presidential-campaign/292310-huma-abedins-ties-to-the-muslim-brotherhood

[165] The United West. 'Admiral Lyons: 'pure dereliction of duty and un-American Obama military'. *YouTube.* May 11th, 2013. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0-HL_NvX7Lk

[166] Hains, T. 'Democratic Rep. Tulsi Gabbard: President Trump just ended Obama era CIA program which 'directly' funded and armed al-Qaeda in Syria'. *Real Clear Politics*. July 25th, 2017. Available: https://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2017/07/25/dem_rep_tulsi_gabbard_president_trump_ended_obama_era_program_which_funded_al-qaeda_in_syria.html

who was responsible for carrying out the 9/11 attacks, meaning that the Obama administration was funding the same group responsible for 9/11.[167]

This memo and the controversy surrounding it have come to define not only the split between the mainstream and alternative media narratives on America's foreign policy agenda in the Middle East but additionally, Clinton and Trump's contradicting arguments on the issue during the 2016 Presidential debates (see Chapter 8). It is imperative to note that in the alternative media narrative, both Obama and Clinton are funders of terrorism. This is a very significant aspect of the new paradigm as it heavily justifies the illegitimacy of the existing government and the State.

The next section discusses Obama's second and third arguments on the Syria intervention, which were made exactly one year later.

7.3.3. The Foreign Intervention Argument Trajectory

It is clear from the corpus data from Chapter 5 that there has been a history of negative discussion of Syria and Libya (and Iran) since the Weekly Addresses began in 1982. It is also notable that the argument that Obama used to justify the U.S. invasion is highly similar to the one he used to argue for the invasion of Libya on March 26th, 2011 (see Appendix 7J):

[167] Lemon, J. 'Tulsi Gabbard fact checks Tim Ryan after he inaccurately claims Taliban attacked U.S. on 9/11'. *Newsweek.* June 27th, 2019. Available: https://www.newsweek.com/tusli-gabbard-fact-check-tim-ryan-taliban-attack-9-11-1446190

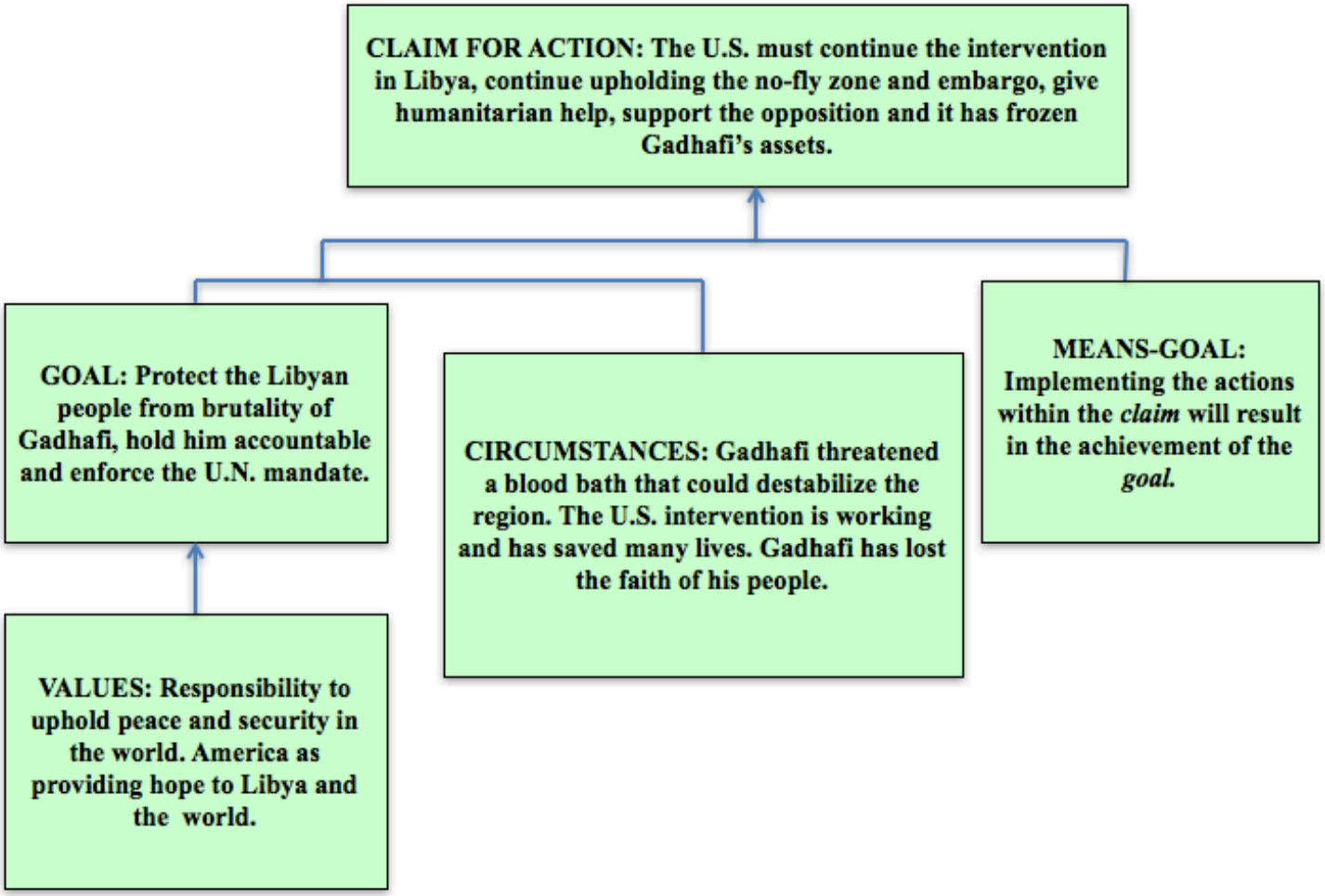

Figure 7.7: *Obama Weekly Address on invasion of Libya, March 26th, 2011*

Both arguments are also very similar to those made by Colin Powell at the United Nations to justify the invasion of Iraq in 2003.[168]

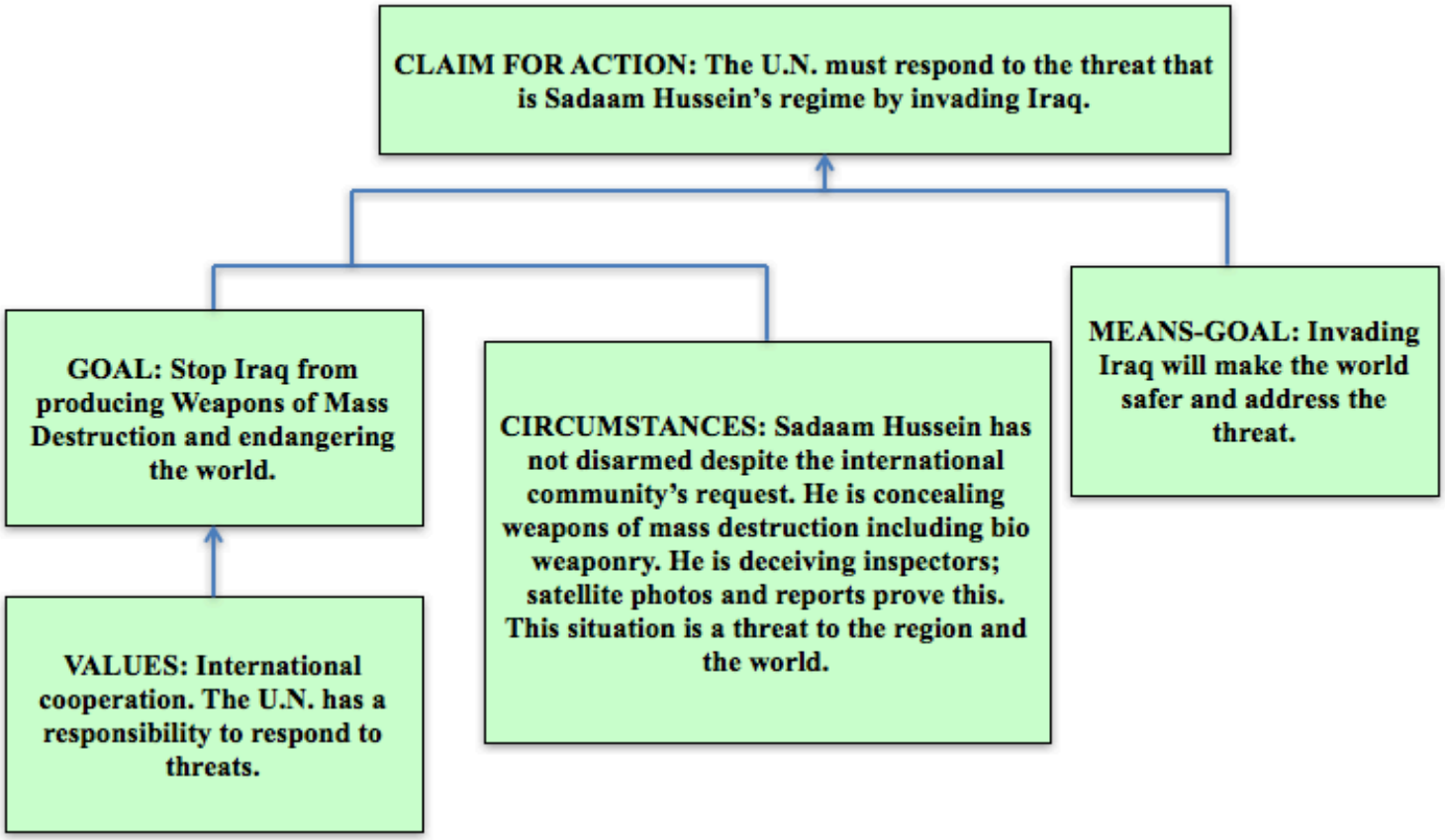

Figure 7.8: *Colin Powell, UN Address on the invasion of Iraq, February 5th, 2003*

[168] This speech is not included in the Appendices due to its length; it is available in three parts here:
The Guardian. 'Full text of Colin Powell's speech'. February 5th, 2003. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/feb/05/iraq.usa

In all three cases, the leaders of these three nations were vilified in the **circumstantial premise** and represented as a threat to their region and the world; this was used to justify the **claim** that America should invade in order to make the world safer and respond to the threat. All three **value premises** are then based on the idea that the U.S. starting a war will make the world safer. But by now, it is clear that both Colin Powell's argument on the invasion of Iraq and Obama's argument on Libya were based on false premises. In Powell's case, the Weapons of Mass Destruction that Powell based his claim on have been shown to not exist; the intelligence was incorrect (see Chapter 1). In the case of Libya, the **means-goal premise** that the U.S. invasion would better the lives of Libyans has clearly proven to be false as the country has descended into chaos; at time of writing a 7-years civil war continues to rage and according to former Middle East ambassador Ryan Crocker, Libya is a failed state.[169] Additionally, the bloodbath that Gadhafi was said to have been planning has been disproven, as previously discussed. It is additionally important to consider that the first Iraq War, fought under George Bush Sr. from 1990-1991, has now shown to be fought based on fall claims as well.[170] The result is a clear pattern of U.S. intervention in the Middle East based on falsified evidence and/or false claims.

These two previous arguments are important to note for three reasons: (1) they are very similar in that they involve the vilification of a foreign leader and the consequential justification of an invasion due to the threat these leaders pose and in Assad and Hussein's cases, the threat of terrorism; (2) they all heavily involve a value premise that attests to war making the world safer; (3) the Iraq and Libya arguments are based on premises that are clearly false, meaning that it should be noted that there is a significant probability of Obama's claims that Assad has used chemical weapons as being false as well; the burden of proof should be on the Obama administration.

One year after his original speech on the need to invade Syria, Obama made two new Weekly Addresses on the topic of terrorism. In these speeches, an invasion of Syria and re-entrance into Iraq were argued for on the claim that it was now necessary to go into these countries to counter the terrorist threat (see Appendix 7K):

[169] Crocker, R. & Martin, R. '7 years after Gadhafi's ouster, Libya remains engulfed in civil war'. *NRP*. May 29th, 2018. Available: https://www.npr.org/2018/05/29/615079862/9-years-after-gadhafis-ouster-libya-remains-engulfed-in-civil-war

[170] Holland, J. 'The first Iraq War was also sold to the public based on a pack of lies'. *BillMoyers.com*. June 27, 2014. Available: http://billmoyers.com/2014/06/27/the-first-iraq-war-was-also-sold-to-the-public-based-on-a-pack-of-lies/

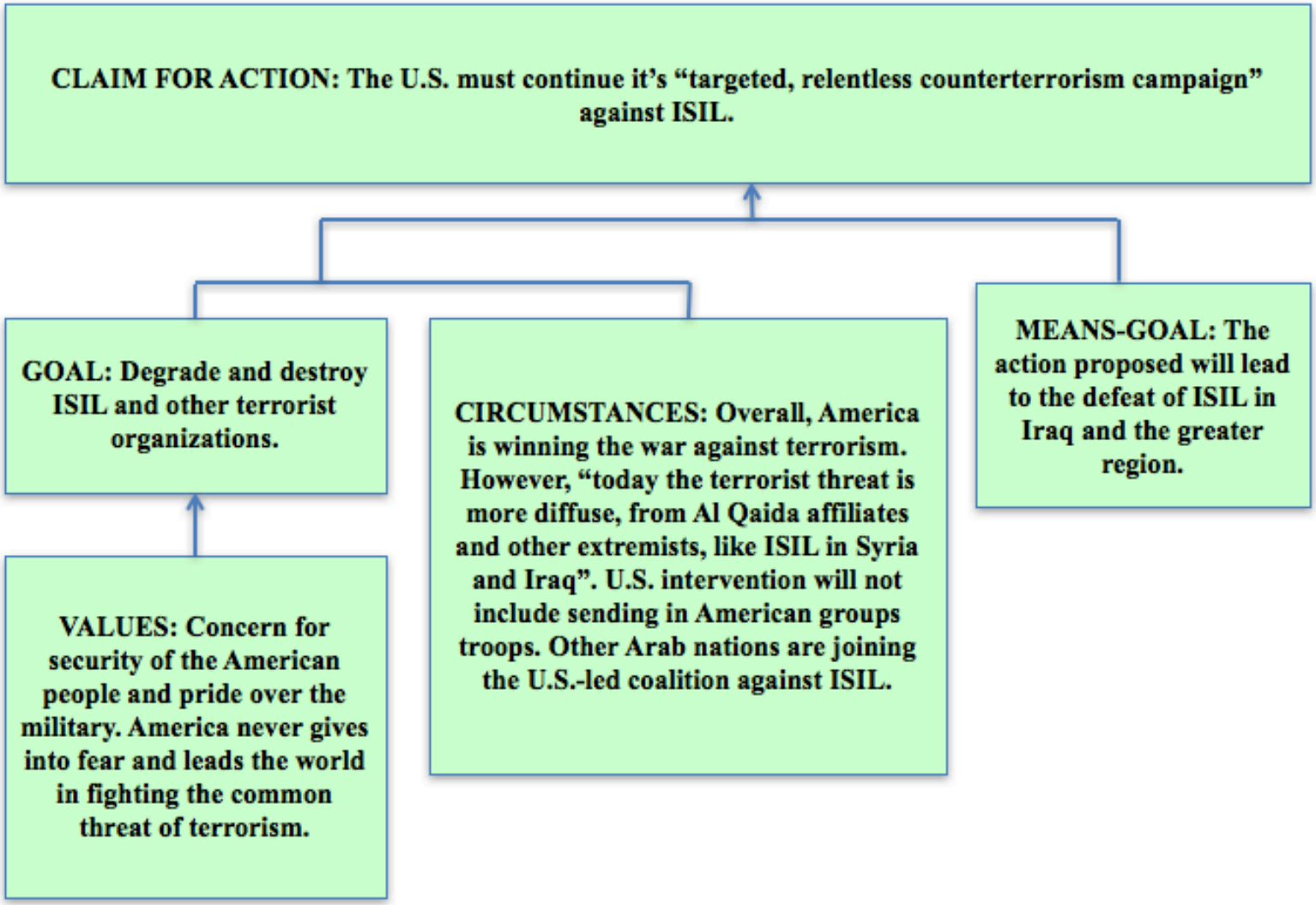

Figure 7.9: *Obama, Weekly Address, September 13th, 2014*

The following speech was made the following week (see Appendix 7L):

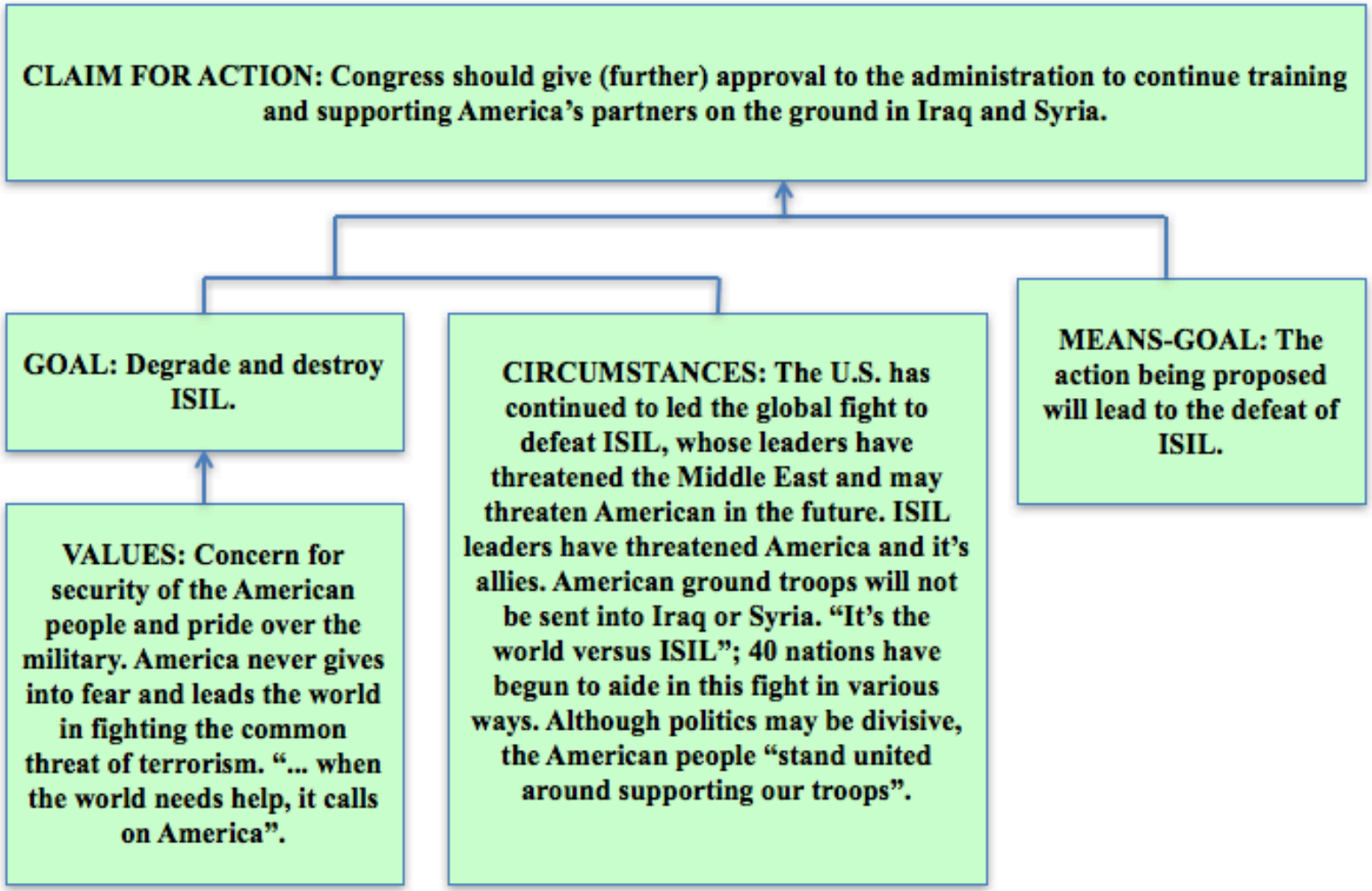

Figure 7.10: *Obama, Weekly Address, September 20th, 2014*

In both of these speeches, the invasions of Syria and the re-invasion of Iraq are now framed in the **circumstantial premise** as a part of America's war against terrorism; the invasion of Syria and re-invasion of Iraq are justified as necessary as a part of this war. The **goal** of invading Syria from the 2013 speech has now shifted to become a part of the circumstantial premise; the Syrian opposition is being trained by America in the region in order to now overthrow ISIL (rather than Assad in 2013). Obama's **claim** mentions that airstrikes are already being carried out – the U.S. is now bombing Syria and the war that Obama argued in favor of has begun. American troops are on the ground training and equipping Iraqi and Kurdish troops. Obama is asking Congress to "expand our efforts to train and equip the Syrian opposition"; he mentions receiving this approval in the September 20th speech. Additionally, it is mentioned that Saudi Arabia, one of America's major trading partners, is joining "the effort to help train and equip moderate Syrian opposition forces" – as discussed in Chapter 1, Saudi Arabia is the main funder of terrorism in the world; they had very clearly been funding terrorism in the region and the U.S. knew this.[171]

No mention of Assad is made in either of these speeches. This omission presents an interesting problem. As mentioned in all three of Obama's speeches on the invasion of Syria, the U.S. and Saudi Arabia are funding and equipping "the opposition". In the 2013 speech, Obama states that the U.S. is backing those opposing Assad, even in light of the fact that some of them are "extremists". In the 2014 speeches, the U.S. is backing the opposition that is fighting ISIL in Syria. But this information omits an obvious question: what is the relationship between Assad and ISIL? In 2013, Obama attempted to convince the world that Assad was a terrorist gassing his own people. This argument failed and the situation was handled diplomatically; because of this resolution, Obama does not attempt to label Assad as a terrorist again. But the fact remains that the U.S. was originally backing the overthrow of Assad. In the 2014 speeches, the U.S. is backing the opposition against ISIL in Syria, but this explanation for why the U.S. is in the country (and is heavily bombing it) leaves no mention of what the President of Syria, who Obama previously urged Congress to allow him to overthrow, is doing at the time. It would not be logical for Obama to argue that Assad is a terrorist, as the terrorists are trying to overthrow Assad and gain power in the region – this is why the U.S. is invading after all. Surely Assad is not supporting the overthrow of himself. This confusing situation is indicative of Obama's narrative on Syria as a whole; the American people have never been given adequate information or a coherent justification for why the U.S. is in Syria or who *exactly* the American government is backing in the region. This is a highly important detail as during his Presidential campaign, Trump and the alternative media argued that this was in fact because they did not know exactly who they were backing and that as a result, the Obama administration fostered the growth of jihadi terrorism in the region.

7.3.4. The Tragedy/Threat Pattern

It is clear that in Obama's first argument in support of the invasion of Syria, the tragedy of Assad gassing his people was used as a justification for invading the country. A year later, terrorism was used as a justification for accomplishing the same goal. This could mean one of two things. Either

[171] Cockburn, P. 'We finally know what Hillary Clinton knew all along – U.S. allies Saudi Arabia and Qatar are funding ISIS'. *The Independent.* October 14th, 2016. Available: http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/hillary-clinton-wikileaks-email-isis-saudi-arabia-qatar-us-allies-funding-barack-obama-knew-all-a7362071.html

the increase in the threat of terrorism in the region occurred at a highly convenient time and happened to help the U.S. government accomplish their foreign policy goals or the threat of terrorism was an excuse for the U.S. to invade the country. In the second case, it would be clear that first a tragedy (Assad's chemical weapons attacks) and then a threat (terrorism) were used to justify the invasion. But when these two speeches are compared, it is clear that two separate threats were used. In 2013, the threat of Assad harming the world with chemical weapons was employed and in 2014, the threat was a rise in terrorist activity. This means that in order to justify the invasion of Syria, Obama used three strategies: 1. *description of a tragedy;* 2. *description of a threat* and 3. *description of a terrorist threat;* Appendix 6M shows this pattern was additionally used to justify the invasion of Libya in 2011 and the 2003 invasion of Iraq. It was further utilized by Hillary Clinton in the 2016 Presidential debates in her arguments on gun control, illustrating that this is a pattern employed by the New World Order paradigm very consistently in order to justify unpopular and un-Constitutional policies (see Chapter 8).

7.3.5. Analysis

This series of arguments on the invasion of Syria has had huge ramifications. As discussed in Chapter 1, one of the major foundations of the media war taking place in America is the battle over the foreign policy narrative that has been developed since the Bush Sr. Presidency. This is a narrative that revolves around the justification of continuous aggression in the Middle East under the guise of protecting the world from tyrants and terrorism. The exposure of the fact that both Iraq wars as well as the Libyan war were fought based on justifications that later proved to be false has had enormous consequences. Not only has America come to be viewed by its citizens as an endless war state, it has come to be viewed as a state which is no longer answerable to its people or the Constitution. The argument that America is starting wars to bring peace and stability to the world has come to wear extremely thin since the 2003 Iraq War – particularly in light of incidents such as the Abu Ghraib leaks (see Chapter 1). As a result, these wars and the arguments justifying them have created an environment in which Obama's arguments on the invasion of Syria should be viewed as plausibly based on false premises as well. Did Assad really bomb his own people? Arguments (upheld by the alternative media but also, increasingly, in the mainstream) on this being a logical absurdity are quite convincing.[172] It is beyond the scope of this thesis to assess whether this evidence conclusively proves that the U.S. lied about these attacks but had Obama done so, it would be in line with an already existing pattern of justifying the invasion of Arab nations in the name of fighting tyrants and terrorism with unsubstantiated evidence. Additionally, the evidence showing that the Obama administration knowingly funded jihadi terrorism is conclusive as seen in the ISIS memo. Overall, America's neo-conservative war trajectory has been justified by highly flawed arguments which have failed, leaving in their wake ideas which have come to define the paradigm shift. Firstly, *the American government is a war state, which must invade foreign nations to sustain its role as an Empire*. Secondly*, the American government is now engaging in a process of creating falsified intelligence to justify these invasions.* And thirdly, *the large-scale funding of terrorism is now being utilized by the U.S. government in order to accomplish its foreign policy objectives.* The question of *why* the government is engaging in foreign policy initiatives which appear to be aimed at destabilizing the Middle East, while simultaneously costing taxpayers

[172] Hersh, S. 'Whose Sarin?'. *London Review of Books.* December 19th, 2013. Available: https://www.lrb.co.uk/v35/n24/seymour-m-hersh/whose-sarin

enormous sums of money (see Chapter 8), has come to be answered within both Deep State Theory and Global Oligarchy Theory. Here it is theorized that the American military is being utilized by the Deep State and the Global Oligarchy in order to accomplish their overlying goal of centralizing the global system (see Chapter 4 and the Conclusion).

Beyond these points, recent studies have concluded that Obama's foreign policy initiatives in Syria have been a resounding failure. Krieg and Rickli (2016) confirm that Obama's support of the bombing of Libya and America's increased intervention in Syria are in fact a continuation of a foreign policy strategy designed by neo-conservative Donald Rumsfeld which has come to define the establishment's foreign policy since 9/11 (Krieg & Rickli 2016: 104). Building on Rumsfeld's work, Obama and Secretary of Defense Hillary Clinton developed a policy of foreign interventionism that revolved around *surrogate warfare*: a more evolved form of proxy warfare based on "externalizing the strategic and operational burden of war to human and technological surrogates" (Ibid. 97, 98). This type of warfare involves the use of both state and non-state actors, including terrorist and rebel groups as well as NGO's, the most well-known examples being Soviet support for the Vietcong in the Vietnam War and U.S. support for the mujahedeen in Afghanistan (Ibid. 99-100). Somewhat predictably, the negative ramifications of this policy have been significant. Firstly, it has led to drone warfare strikes in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Somalia, Pakistan and Yemen (Parsons & Hennigan 2017), resulting in the deaths of hundreds of civilians (Purkiss & Serle 2017) and creating "widespread public antagonism toward the United States" (Kreig & Rickli 2016: 111). Secondly, the administration's funding of rebels with links to terrorist groups in Libya and Syria (Ibid. 107) has resulted in a huge number of complications in the Middle East, including the development of a proxy war between the U.S. and Russia and inflaming tensions with China and Iran (Stent 2016: 106). Thirdly - as a result of this policy - the U.S. has lost a great deal of power in the region; "While the United States remains a Great Power, including in the Middle East, it has reached the end of its hegemonic control" (Kreig & Rickli 2016: 113). The Obama administration's foreign policy agenda clearly illustrates that America's role in engaging in seemingly endless warfare is not only dramatically harming the world; it is dramatically harming the country as well. This is further discussed in Chapter 8.

7.4. CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed Obama's arguments on health care reform and the invasions of Syria and Libya, along with the George W. Bush administration's argument justifying the invasion of Iraq. As previously discussed, the alternative media has been producing a narrative in which the Obama administration was involved in funding terrorism to carry out regime change in Syria. The conclusions of this chapter support this theory; this is further discussed in Chapter 8. It is clear that the surrogate warfare policy employed by the Obama administration was a continuation of a policy paradigm that is part of the foundation for the establishment paradigm itself, one in which continuing U.S. military aggression in the Middle East is being utilized in order to maintain centralized control over the global oil trade, the petro-dollar and consequently, the financial system in support of the global model. Despite Obama's aggressive bombing campaign in the region, terrorism grew aggressively under his administration (see Chapter 8); neither the overthrow of Assad or a win in the War on Terror were accomplished; consequently, Obama's foreign policy was a failure. It is also evident that there is, in fact, a solid reason for why so many Americans

continue to believe that the U.S. is using false flag attacks to justify the implementation of unpopular policies, as the threat of terrorism has been used to argue for both foreign interventions and gun control measures.

In regard to the Affordable Care Act, it is clear that the public was deceived as to the reality of what this bill would entail. There has been an enormous amount of research done as to the deeply destructive effects the drug and insurance companies have had on the American people and the control they wield over Congress; the situation as a whole is a testament to the reality of America as a state in severe crisis, as discussed. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to present in-depth research as to the reasons for why this situation is permitted to continue, there have been many books and articles[173] written about the CIA's history of controlling the global drug trade on both a global and domestic scale, from the funding of the crack epidemic in South Central Los Angeles to the Iran-Contra scandal to the agency's involvement in importing drugs through the U.S./Mexican border.[174] America's role in occupying Afghanistan has been coupled by the shocking opioid epidemic that has simultaneously materialized on U.S. soil; Americans now consume 80% of global opioid pills while making up 5% of the world's population; since 1999 prescriptions have quadrupled.[175] Along with New Zealand it is the only nation that allows for television drug advertising – which has risen 64% since 2012 – these adverts work to push these highly addictive drugs on the population.[176] Currently 115 Americans die a day from opioid overdoses.[177] This research shows an alarming number of individuals and agencies engaged in profiting from the population's consumption of highly addictive drugs; surely this is a factor in the government's inability to solve the health care crisis. Overall America's health care crisis and its role in Syria have been highly key in extending and motivating the current paradigm shift which as previously discussed, is primarily defined by a loss of faith in institutions but additionally centers on the idea of what the U.S. has become as a State entity. For those who did not believe Obama's narrative, the State had essentially become a terrorist organization. Chapter 8 further discusses these ideas, examining the arguments made by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump on these issues in the 2016 Presidential debates.

[173] The work of Peter Dale Scott covers CIA involvement in running the global drug trade extensively.
[174] UN News. 'Afghanistan opium production jumps 87% to record level'. November 15th, 2017. Available: https://news.un.org/en/story/2017/11/636182-afghanistan-opium-production-jumps-87-cent-record-level-un-survey
[175] Walters, J. 'America's opioid crisis: How prescription drugs sparked a national trauma'. *The Guardian.* October 25th, 2017. Available: https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/oct/25/americas-opioid-crisis-how-prescription-drugs-sparked-a-national-trauma
[176] Amos, O. 'Why opioids are such an American problem'. *BBC News.* October 25th, 2017. Available: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-41701718
[177] National Institute on Drug Abuse. 'Opioid overdose crisis'. March 2018. Available: https://www.drugabuse.gov/drugs-abuse/opioids/opioid-overdose-crisis

CHAPTER 8:

RECONSTRUCTION & CONTRASTIVE EVALUATION OF CLINTON & TRUMP'S ARGUMENTS IN THE 2016 PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

8.1. INTRODUCTION
8.2. ARGUMENTS ON THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY
8.2.1. Obama's Final Wall Street Reform Argument
8.2.2. Trump and Clinton's Debate Arguments
8.3. ARGUMENTS ON HEALTH CARE REFORM
8.3.1. Clinton's Argument
8.3.2. Trump's Argument
8.3.3. Analysis
8.4. ARGUMENTS ON U.S. INTERVENTION IN SYRIA
8.4.1. Clinton's Argument
8.4.2. Trump's Argument
8.4.3. Analysis
8.5. CONCLUSION

8.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter employs argument reconstruction-based discourse analysis (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012) as well as argument comparison to analyze the 2016 Presidential debates between Democrat candidate Hillary Clinton and Republican candidate Donald Trump. The aim is to answer research question #4: *How were Obama's key representations, and the establishment paradigm as a whole, challenged during the 2016 Presidential debates?* In times of political crisis, when the legitimacy of the State is challenged, politicians produce crisis narratives in order to discursively reconstitute the State, re-defining its "responsibilities and boundaries" and working to explain and justify its failures; the crises that these narratives address become focal points to which all else relates (Hay 1999: 331, 328). While the Obama Presidency focused on the government's response to the economic crisis, in the aftermath Clinton and Trump needed to respond to the failures of the Obama administration: primarily the uneven economic recovery, the collapse of the Affordable Care Act and America's inability to defeat terrorism in the Middle East. In order to do so, Clinton and Trump chose highly disparate strategies. Clinton focused on extending the establishment narrative upheld by Obama, representing America's defining crisis as the external threats of terrorism and Russia; this was a strategy which worked to detract from the Obama administration's failures. In contrast, Trump focused on displacing Obama's representation of the economic recovery as having been

largely successful, positioning himself on the side of the middle and lower classes as a political outsider coming to "drain the swamp" in Washington - "the swamp" being a euphemism for the Deep State.[178] This strategy worked to discredit the Obama Presidency and by association, Clinton herself, who had been Secretary of Defense in the Obama administration.

As discussed in Chapter 3, crisis narratives are used to uphold existing paradigms. They explain the anomalies in these paradigms, creating a reality in which the negative impact of the actions of the State upon the people are mistakes - temporary and/or fixable. Within the two-party system in America, both the Democrat and Republican parties support the establishment paradigm; outside ideas which contradict it are largely relegated to third-party candidates who are not included in the Presidential debates. This is a system which is designed to protect itself as candidates must be supported by one of the two main parties to have a chance of getting elected. The 2016 election was unique because, despite the existence of this system, Trump commodified ideas from the new paradigm into both his campaign and his debate performance; these were ideas that have been promoted within the alternative media (see Chapter 1). At two key moments in the debate in particular, as he was making arguments firstly on health care reform and secondly on the Syrian conflict, Trump radically deviated from the establishment paradigm, creating a situation in which the possibility of replacing it suddenly became conceivable. This was important as the establishment paradigm had become significantly delegitimized; as discussed in Chapter 1, the population's faith in America's major institutions, particularly Congress, has been plummeting for decades, attesting to the ineffectiveness of the government narrative in convincing the people to continue believing in the system. This chapter examines how this situation occurred by analyzing the main debate arguments on the issues that were most crucial to the Obama Presidency and consequently, the 2016 election: the economic recovery (section 8.2.), health care reform (section 8.3.) and U.S. intervention in the conflict in Syria (section 8.4.).

8.2. ARGUMENTS ON THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY

This section discusses Obama's final argument on issues relating to Wall Street reform.

8.2.1. Obama's Final Wall Street Reform Argument

As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the Recession was the major crisis of the Obama Presidency with the economic recovery being the most important frame within the Obama corpus. Additionally, the recovery acted as a unifying goal to which every major argument related; nearly every Weekly Address mentioned the economy. It was therefore imperative to the success of the Presidency that the recovery occur. While Obama slowly narrated the existence of this recovery across his eight years in office, it was on July 23rd, 2016 – six months before his Presidency drew to a close – that Obama completed the frame by stating definitively that it had occurred in an Address on Wall Street reform with popular Democrat Senator Elizabeth Warren (see Appendix 8A):

[178] Harrington, R. 'Here's what Trump means when he says 'drain the swamp' – even though it's not an accurate metaphor'. *Business Insider.* November 11th, 2016. Available: http://www.businessinsider.com/what-does-drain-the-swamp-mean-was-dc-built-on-a-swamp-2016-11

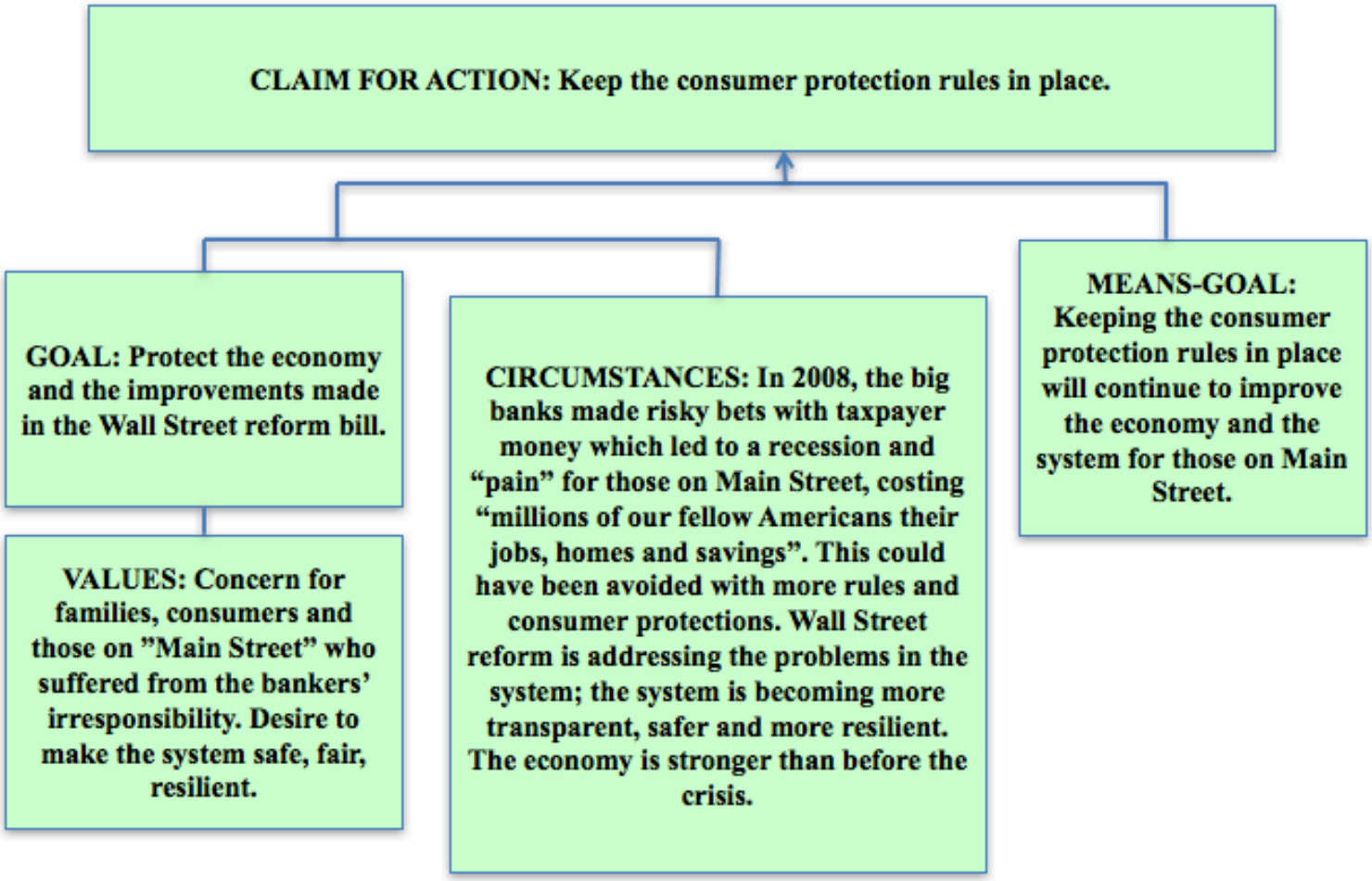

Figure 8.1: *Obama Weekly Address, July 23rd, 2016*

In this speech, Warren and Obama argue for fighting to stop the big banks and the Republicans from weakening Wall Street reform's provisions which protect consumers (the **claims**) in order to meet the **goal** of continuing to protect the economy and those on Main Street; the **means-goal** links the two. The **circumstances** concentrate on describing how reform has made the system more transparent, safe and resilient; the economy is said to be stronger than before the crisis. The **values** premise concentrates on the irresponsibility of the bankers.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Obama's Wall Street reform arguments are the most pivotal within his 413 Addresses as they put forth the foundational ideas upon which the economic recovery narrative is based: (1.) the crisis was caused independently by Wall Street and (2.) the crisis was caused by mistake. If these two ideas are accepted, it then makes logical sense that Wall Street reform solved the country's major problem and that the recovery then slowly happened as Obama describes. However, as he and Warren clearly realize, by 2016 (six years after Wall Street reform's implementation) clear evidence that this solution was working needed to be produced. Since this was Obama's last speech on this topic and the speech in which he decisively completed the recovery frame, it was here that he offered this proof in the following three statements:

1. Businesses have added 15 million jobs.
2. Corporate profits and business lending have increased.
3. The stock market is at an all-time high.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to evaluate whether the recovery has occurred using economic data. However, key studies refuting this claim were already being produced by the time the Obama Presidency ended. Firstly, while the job creation numbers Obama cites continuously have always been controversial,[179] a 2016 Princeton University study proved that 94% of the jobs created under Obama were part-time and/or temporary work, attesting to the fact that the recovery had not replaced the middle class jobs lost in the Recession.[180] Secondly, a 2016 Harvard Business School report proved that new business formation numbers had plummeted since the 1970's and particularly since the Recession[181] with small, middle class businesses being the most affected; they did not recover after 2008. A 2015 Pew Research Center report charts this overall decline in the middle class and small business, showing that middle income households fell from 61% in 1971 to 50% in 2015.[182] Thirdly, the stock market only further reflects the unequal nature of the recovery; while around half of Americans own stocks, the bottom 80% of the population own only

[179] Matthews, C. 'Is the unemployment rate really just a 'big lie'? *Fortune.* February 4th, 2015. Available: http://fortune.com/2015/02/04/unemployment-rate-gallup/

[180] Katz, L. F. & Krueger, A. B. 'The Rise and Nature of Alternative Work Arrangements in the United States, 1995-2015'. Working Paper #603, *Princeton University.* Available: http://dataspace.princeton.edu/jspui/bitstream/88435/dsp01zs25xb933/3/603.pdf

[181] Porter, M. E., Rivkin, J. W., Desai, M. A. & Raman, M. 'Problems unsolved and a nation divided'. *Harvard Business School*. September 2016. Available: http://www.hbs.edu/competitiveness/Documents/problems-unsolved-and-a-nation-divided.pdf

[182] Pew Research Center (2015). 'The American middle class is losing ground'. Available: http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/12/09/the-american-middle-class-is-losing-ground/

8% in total.[183] There is also an increasing amount of scrutiny over the degree to which stock buybacks are propping up the market.[184] Overall, Obama and Warren's claims fail to prove that the recovery has affected the middle class, but perhaps the most surprising statistic and the one that Trump returned to repeatedly in the 2016 Presidential debates, is that despite the lack of recovery among the middle class, Obama expanded the national debt from $10.63 to a total of $19.19 trillion.[185] There is additionally proof that Obama knows the recovery has not been successful within his own rhetoric; as discussed in Chapter 5, during his second term Obama began specifying that the recovery needed to serve the middle class, 'not just those at the top'. Overall, in the lead-up to the 2016 election, there was very convincing evidence that the recovery had not occurred, particularly in the lives of the middle class whom Obama stated he had come to Washington to serve, and that Obama's representation that it had was inaccurate, thereby proving that his Presidency was a large-scale failure. Since this representation was so important, it played a major role in the debates.

8.2.2. Trump and Clinton's Debate Arguments on the Recovery

One of the major themes of the Trump campaign was the idea that the economic recovery had not affected the majority of the American people; the country was consequently in deep turmoil. This was a highly effective strategy which worked to invalidate both the Obama Presidency as well as Clinton's campaign.

The *first line* of Trump's entire debate performance was the following (see Appendix 8B):

> **TRUMP:** Our jobs are fleeing the country (8B, 51).

This was followed by:

> **TRUMP:** Our country's in deep trouble (8B, 99).

Trump then turned to the topic of the national debt:

> **TRUMP:** What's happened to our jobs and our country and our economy generally is - look, we owe $20 trillion. We cannot do it any longer (8B, 115-116).

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[183] Kurtzelben, D. 'While Trump touts stock market, many Americans are left out of the equation'. *NPR.org.* March 1, 2017. Available: http://www.npr.org/2017/03/01/517975766/while-trump-touts-stock-market-many-americans-left-out-of-the-conversation

[184] Hanauer, N. 'Stock buybacks are killing the American economy'. *The Atlantic.* February 8th, 2015. Available: https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/02/kill-stock-buyback-to-save-the-american-economy/385259/

[185] Kotlikoff, L. J. 'America's fiscal insolvency and its generational consequences: Testimony to the Senate Budget Committee'. February 25th, 2015. Available: https://www.kotlikoff.net/sites/default/files/Kotlikoffbudgetcom2-25-2015.pdf

> **TRUMP:** The Obama administration, from the time they've come in, is over 230 years' worth of debt, and he's topped it. He's doubled it in a course of almost eight years, seven-and-a-half years (8B, 166-167).
>
> **TRUMP:** We have the slowest growth since 1929 (8C, 959).
>
> **TRUMP:** It is - our country has the slowest growth and jobs are a disaster (8C, 961).

Trump additionally connected this debt to America's wars in the Middle East:

> **TRUMP:** And we've spent $6 trillion in the Middle East... we could have rebuilt our country twice... And it's politicians like Secretary Clinton that have caused this problem. Our country has tremendous problems. We're a debtor nation (8B, 449-453).

But Trump's most radical statement in reference to the economy concerned the stock market and the Federal Reserve:

> **TRUMP:** Now, look, we have the worst revival of an economy since the Great Depression. And believe me: We're in a bubble right now. And the only thing that looks good is the stock market, but if you raise interest rates even a little bit, that's going to come crashing down... And we have a Fed that's doing political things. This Janet Yellen of the Fed. The Fed is doing political - by keeping the interest rates at this level... when they raise interest rates, you're going to see some very bad things happen, because the Fed is not doing their job (8B, 353-361).

In direct contrast to Trump, Clinton's strategy in addressing the economy was to continue the establishment narrative created by Obama. As she was mirroring his agenda, she had to sustain the idea that the economy had recovered. However, nowhere in the debates does she state this explicitly as Obama did. Instead, she employs a high level of mitigation when describing the recovery:

> **CLINTON:** Now, we have come back from that abyss. And it has not been easy. So we're now on the precipice of having a potentially much better economy (8B,138-140).
>
> **CLINTON:** We're going to get the economy really moving again, building on the progress we've made over the last eight years (8B, 157-158).
>
> **CLINTON:** I personally believe that the steps that President Obama took saved the economy... It was a terrible recession. So now we've dug ourselves out of it, we're standing, but we're not yet running (8D, 510-512).

It is additionally clear that she understands that the recovery has only served the upper class:

> **CLINTON:** What I have proposed would be paid for by raising taxes on the wealthy, because they have made all the gains in the economy (8B, 268-269).
>
> **CLINTON:** Since the Great Recession, the gains have all gone to the top (8C, 616).
>
> **CLINTON:** Most of the gains in the last years since the Great Recession have gone to the very top (8D, 438).

Clinton's strategy was problematic for three key reasons. Firstly, it worked to delegitimize Obama's claim that the recovery had definitively occurred. In light of the recovery only serving the elite, it was then unconvincing to argue in favor of the same economic policies as her predecessor. Secondly, Clinton focuses exclusively on extending the recovery frame in order to counter-act Trump's negative depictions of the economy through representation rather than offering any proof of the continuing existence of the recovery. This was an ineffective strategy as Clinton's defining characteristic was untrustworthiness; this was widely publicized.[186] Thirdly, she did not challenge the points that Trump made in his arguments: the issue of the job creation possibly being inaccurate, the reasons for the staggering growth in the national debt, the idea that the stock market was in a bubble, his condemnation of the Fed. These were important topics that should have been addressed; in not doing so Clinton again appeared untrustworthy.

The grave and unmentioned injustice here is that the Recession, which was clearly attributed as having been caused by the elite banker class by Obama, then resulted in not only the bankers being bailed out with taxpayer money but then *additionally* in a recovery funded with the doubling of the national debt. Despite this doubling, it was still only the elite who recovered. Clinton's continuing defense of this system was unsurprising as Clinton, like George W. Bush, Bill Clinton and Obama before her, was being heavily funded in her election campaign by the big banks responsible for the Recession; her top twenty contributors included JP Morgan Chase & Co, Bank of America, Wells Fargo and Morgan Stanley.[187] It is therefore predictable that her economic narrative worked to assure the public that the current system was functioning well. This assurance was unconvincing however, not only due to it being well-known that she was being funded by the banks but additionally because of the widely publicized *WikiLeaks* release of Clinton campaign manager John Podesta's emails. Leading into the election, Clinton had made a series of highly paid speeches at various banks; she refused to release the transcripts of these speeches and sections of them were then leaked. Two of the debate questions were on this issue (8C, 509-535 and 8D, 288-308). In answer to both, rather than addressing the reasons that she would not release the speech transcripts, Clinton immediately changed the subject to the issue of Russia interfering in the elections, additionally indicting WikiLeaks. This was an ineffective strategy and one that Trump openly mocked her for in response (8C, 539-544), garnering loud laughter from the studio audience.

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[186] Barbaro, M. 'Americans don't trust her. But why?'. *The New York Times*. August 16th, 2016. Available: https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/16/podcasts/hillary-clinton-trust.html?_r=0

[187] OpenSecrets.org. 'Top contributors, federal election data for Hillary Clinton, 2016 cycle'. Available: https://www.opensecrets.org/pres16/contributors?cycle=2016&id=N00000019&src=c&type=f

Trump's introduction of the idea that the Fed was a flawed institution acting in a politically biased manner was highly significant, particularly to adherents of the largely libertarian-inspired alternative media. As discussed in Chapter 1, one of the foundational ideas within the libertarian ideology is that the creation of the Federal Reserve in 1913 was an assault on the principles of the country, which largely promoted a decentralized, state-based government system; in this view the Fed consolidated the power of a new oligarchy which subsequently went on to rig the financial system, massively disempowering the American people. This is one of the most paramount of the foundational ideas within the alternative media narrative; in the new paradigm the current debt-based financial system is not only invalid, it is the enabler of the centralized system which gives the hierarchical structure of society its foundation and the oligarchy its power. Trump's criticism of the Fed suggested that he may agree; he additionally indirectly linked the role of the Fed to the Recession and stated that it was not doing its job by refusing to raise interest rates – the same policy that allowed for the creation of the mortgage crisis (see Chapter 1). While it can be assumed that millions of viewers missed this connection, Trump's mere mention of the Fed in a negative light worked to make his audience more *aware* of its existence and the role that it plays within the financial system. The introduction of the idea that the Fed was acting politically – in the interests of a certain group was also highly significant. This was an attack on the structure of the system. Finally, it is notable that he further brings up the link between the national debt and the Iraq War, which Clinton had supported; his mention of this war was consistent throughout the debates as its role in delegitimizing the government was highly significant (see Chapter 1).

Clinton's debate performance reinforced ideas in reference to the economy that were not only untrue but involved an assumed extreme degree of economic and political ignorance within the audience:

> **CLINTON:** We had the worst financial crisis, the Great Recession, the worst since the 1930's. That was in large part because of tax policies that slashed taxes on the wealthy, failed to invest in the middle class, took their eyes off of Wall Street, and created a perfect storm (8B, 130-133).

This is not why the Recession happened (see Chapter 1). Additionally, "took their eyes off Wall Street" is a misleading term when considering that the de-regulation agenda promoted by the establishment paradigm had systematically re-structured the financial sector since the Reagan administration (see Chapter 1). Also, as Obama had invested a great deal of government money into the economy, resulting in the creation of part-time and contractor jobs, it is unclear how Clinton's investments would change the current situation.

Later she states:

> **CLINTON:** I've never seen people as physically distraught as the Bush administration team was because of what was happening to the economy (8B, 508-510).

The physical distress level of the Bush administration (as well as her positive depiction of the former President, who is considered a war criminal by millions) was quite a hard sell considering

both the government's era of deregulation leading into the crisis as well as the enormous financial toll that the Iraq War, which was paid for with derivatives, took on the country (see Chapter 1).

Overall, Trump's depiction of the economy was successful because Obama failed to serve the middle class as he constantly promised that he would. Clinton offered no reason for why anything would change under her Presidency and it was clear that in both cases, the bankers who funded each of their campaigns would benefit from a Clinton election as they had from Obama's (Open Secrets.org 2016).

The next section compares Trump and Clinton's arguments on the Affordable Care Act.

8.3. ARGUMENTS ON HEALTH CARE REFORM

During the Presidential primaries, health care reform was a highly significant issue as it was one that would heavily affect the lives of the population; additionally, as debate moderator Chris Wallace mentions during the third debate, the health care sector makes up one-sixth of the American economy (8D, 545-546). Despite the issue's clear importance, health care was not a topic that garnered much discussion in the debates. It can be surmised that this is because both Trump and Clinton offered very direct solutions to the problem; Trump stressed how much of a failure the Affordable Care Act had been and pushed for a full repeal while Clinton admitted that the bill was not working and offered ways to reform it while retaining the elements that worked. What was not debated was that the bill was highly problematic. Evidence of this can be seen in the main question regarding the ACA, which was asked in the second debate:

> **QUESTION:** … The Affordable Care Act, known as Obamacare, it is not affordable. Premiums[188] have gone up. Deductibles[189] have gone up. Copays[190] have gone up. Prescriptions have gone up. And the coverage has gone down. What will you do to bring the cost down and make coverage better? (8C, 283-286).

This question is significant as the major stipulation that Obama had made in regard to health care reform was that it would make the system more affordable (see Chapter 7); by the time of the debates it was clearly acknowledged that this had not happened.

8.3.1. Clinton's Argument

[188] An insurance *premium* is the amount an individual pays for health care every month.
[189] A *deductible* is the amount an individual pays for health care before the insurance company begins to contribute to their expenses; e.g. a patient may have to pay a $3,000 deductible out of their own pocket. Having a higher deductible results in a less expensive yearly rate for coverage.
[190] A *copay* is the amount an individual pays for a health care service outside of what their insurance covers; e.g. a doctor's visit may cost $150 – the individual will pay a $40 copay and the insurance company will cover $110.

The following chart from Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) shows Clinton's response to this question (Appendix 8C, lines 292-312):

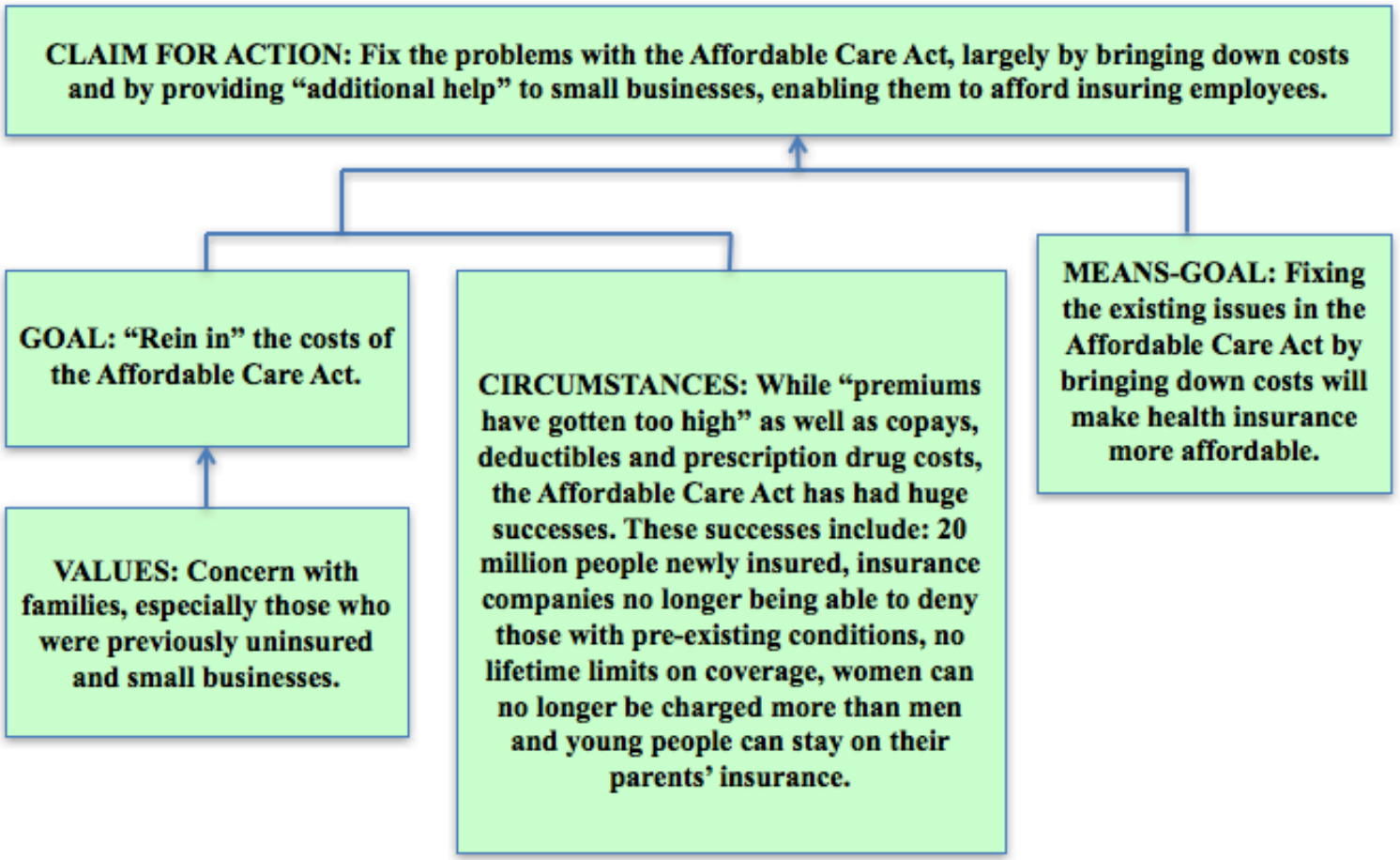

Figure 8.2*: Clinton health care reform argument, 2nd Presidential Debate*

Clinton argues that in order to rein in health care costs (the **goal**), costs should be brought down and additional help should be given to small businesses so that they can afford to insure their employees (the **claims**). Her **circumstantial premise** works to defend the Affordable Care Act despite admitting to its high cost; she emphasizes that 20 million people are newly insured. Her **value premise** focuses on concern for families and small business.

Initially, this seems to be a very logical answer to the question. It is, after all, indisputable that the Affordable Care Act resulted in highly positive changes which affected the population; insuring twenty million previously uninsured people and eradicating some of the worst abuses of the insurance companies has certainly benefited the American population. However, Clinton does not answer the question; it remains unclear firstly how costs will be brought down and secondly, how coverage will become better. She only offers the idea of the government giving small businesses more assistance. This argument makes no suggestion as to *why* Clinton's Presidency would do anything to address the reason that the ACA failed (the enormous costs) and there is additionally no justification for why the American people were misled by Obama regarding the fact that the plan would lower costs.

8.3.2. Trump's Argument

The following chart shows Trump's response to the same question, which followed Clinton's (Appendix 8C, lines 316-328):

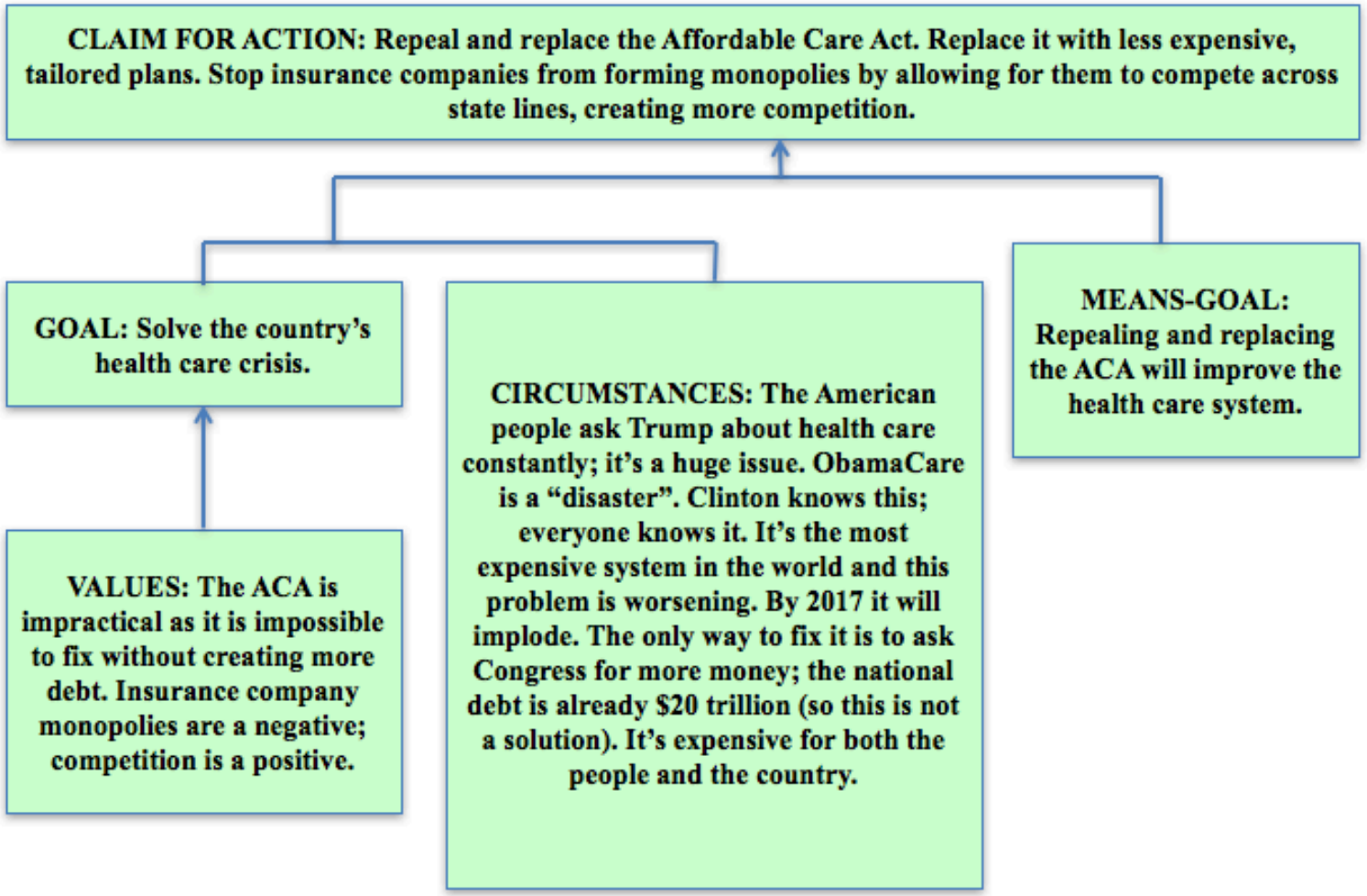

Figure 8.3: *Trump health care reform argument, 2nd Presidential Debate*

Trump argues that in order to solve the nation's health care crisis (the **goal**), the Affordable Care Act should be repealed and replaced with less expensive plans more tailored to the specific needs of the individual. Additionally, insurance companies should be stopped from forming monopolies within states by allowing for competition across state lines (the **claims**). The **circumstantial premise** focuses on how much of a "disaster" "ObamaCare" has become and its imminent "implosion". His **values premise** focuses on fiscal responsibility and the negative impact of insurance company monopolies.

Clearly this is a much easier question for Trump to answer than for Clinton, who is tasked with defending one of the U.S. government's biggest failures in modern history, while Trump needs only emphasize the severity of this failure and push for repeal. However, Clinton makes Trump's job easier by not addressing how the high costs will be lowered and she does not mention the insurance and drug companies. Trump at least faults them for creating monopolies, which is certainly a true claim as, at the time, many states only had one insurance company plan available (the insurance marketplaces Obama stated the ACA would create never materialized in many states[191]). However, neither Trump nor Clinton go into any detail as to how concrete change will actually take place; they both give very vague answers suggesting that neither of them have any idea of how to fix the health care crisis.

However, following Clinton and Trump's main arguments, two more important exchanges take place regarding health care. Firstly, in response to a follow-up question regarding Bill Clinton's criticism[192] of the ACA (8C, 339-342), Clinton states:

> **CLINTON:** The Affordable Care Act was meant to try to fill the gap between people who were too poor and couldn't put together any resources to afford health care, namely people on Medicaid[193]... and then all of the people who were employed, but people who were working but didn't have the money to afford insurance and didn't have anybody, an employer or anybody else, to help them (8C, 346-352).

This is, of course, information that was never presented to the American people in Obama's speeches, as his arguments all built on how much more affordable and better overall the ACA would make the system as a whole.

Following some further back-and-forth discussion on the topic, Trump eventually makes the following claim in response to Clinton (8C, 379-384):

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[191] Mangan, D. 'This map shows how much of the United States could see zero or few Obamacare insurers selling health coverage next year'. *CNBC.* June 13th, 2017. Available: https://www.cnbc.com/2017/06/13/map-shows-where-people-could-see-zero-few-obamacare-insurers-in-2018.html

[192] Ferris, S. 'Bill Clinton slams ObamaCare: It's the craziest thing in the world'. *The Hill.* October 4th, 2016. Available: http://thehill.com/policy/healthcare/299130-bill-clinton-slams-obamacare

[193] *Medicaid* is a federal government program which provides health care for low-income Americans. 68 million people are currently covered by Medicaid (Medicaid.gov 2018).

> **TRUMP:** Obamacare... by the way, was a fraud. You know that, because Jonathan Gruber, the architect of Obamacare, was said – he said it was a great lie, it was a big lie. President Obama said you keep your doctor, you keep your plan. The whole thing was a fraud, and it doesn't work.

This comment was the first of two radical moments in the debate. The reason for this is because in making it, Trump deviated from the establishment paradigm. He did so by not only claiming that the bill was a fraud purposefully designed to deceive the American people but by backing up this point with damaging evidence of this fact.

This evidence is seen in a video of Jonathan Gruber, Professor of Economics at M.I.T. and widely labeled one of the "architects" of ObamaCare as he was instrumental in helping to write the bill, which was filmed at a panel discussion at the University of Pennsylvania. Referencing the ACA he states:[194]

> … if you had a law which said healthy people are gonna pay in – it made it explicit that healthy people were gonna pay in and sick people get money, it would not have passed… Lack of transparency is a huge political advantage. And basically, you know, call it the stupidity of the American voter or whatever, but basically that was really, really critical to getting the thing to pass.

This depiction is similar to the system which Clinton describes (8C, 346-352) – one in which the system is designed to primarily help those unable to afford insurance, either because they are too poor or too sick. In contrast to this reality, Obama had portrayed a system that would make health care more affordable for *everyone,* including the nation itself, thereby staving off an impending government bankruptcy.

Gruber goes on to explain how the plan defrauds the American population:

> We just tax the insurance companies; they pass on higher prices [to the population]; that offsets the tax breaks we get – it ends up being the same thing. It's a very clever, you know, basic exploitation of the lack of economic understanding of the American voter.

After its release this video had an explosive effect particularly within the alternative media, where it was used as evidence of the fact that the government not only purposefully deceived the American people but that it did so in the service of the insurance companies. This eventually led to it being picked up by the mainstream media station Fox News[195] and its consequential wide-known existence should be considered as highly significant. Taking into account the amount of time that Obama invested in reinforcing the idea that his major values involved concern for the

[194] Roy, A. '3 Jonathan Gruber videos: Americans 'too stupid to understand'. *YouTube.* Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Adrdmmh7bMo

[195] Carlson, T. 'Tucker takes on ObamaCare architect Jonathan Gruber'. *Fox News, YouTube.* January 25th, 2017. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kvDlBIaZV9w

middle class and small business owners, who are the ones who were most negatively affected by the ACA's high costs, it is highly significant that this video attests to the fact that his most important policy appears to have been designed to deceive them. The debate moderator quickly changes the subject; Clinton does not challenge Trump's points.

8.3.3. Analysis

Although briefly discussed in Chapter 7, it is vital to note the profoundly destructive effect the American government's inability to solve the health care crisis has had on the people, particularly when considering why Trump won the 2016 election. Firstly it should be noted that despite the enormous costs to consumers, the U.S. medical industry is highly flawed – medical error is now the third-leading cause of death in America, claiming 251,000 deaths a year.[196] Additionally, the population of the U.S. is an extremely unhealthy one, with 70% of American adults currently categorized as overweight or obese[197] and 70% taking one or more prescription drugs;[198] the consequent reliance of the population on the health care industry has made the insurance and drug companies enormously profitable. This situation has led to the belief, upheld in the alternative media, that the industry (along with the food industry[199]) is purposefully creating and encouraging the destruction of the health of the people in order to profit directly off of it.[200] Trump's addressing of the Affordable Care Act as a fraud and his raising of the public's awareness on this issue reinforced the two key ideas concerning its failure. Firstly, that the government, in its current form, is not serving the people. And secondly, that the government is serving those directly harming the people by allowing the for-profit system to continue.

The Obama administration's decision not to change the health care system from being profit-based to one which works in the service of the people with the goal of caring for their health makes it evident that he was unwilling or unable to do so. Clinton offered no concrete plan for respite from the enormous costs the ACA. Trump's strategy of highlighting the Obama administration's deception of the American public on this issue by directly calling the bill a fraud surely damaged Clinton's chances of winning the election but more so, Trump spoke to the huge segment of American society that was outraged by Obamacare, not only because the ACA failed but because

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[196] Cha, Eunjung A. 'Researchers: Medical errors now third leading cause of death in the United States'. *The Washington Post.* May 3rd, 2016. Available: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/to-your-health/wp/2016/05/03/researchers-medical-errors-now-third-leading-cause-of-death-in-united-states/?utm_term=.db7d5ad2d5be

[197] Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2017). 'Obesity and overweight'. Available: https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/fastats/obesity-overweight.htm

[198] Mayo Clinic. 'Nearly 7 in 10 Americans on prescription drugs, Mayo Clinic, Olmsted Medical Center find'. June 19th, 2013. Available: https://newsnetwork.mayoclinic.org/discussion/nearly-7-in-10-americans-take-prescription-drugs-mayo-clinic-olmsted-medical-center-find/

[199] O'Connor, A. 'How the government supports your junk food habit'. *New York Times Blogs*. July 19th, 2016. Available: https://well.blogs.nytimes.com/2016/07/19/how-the-government-supports-your-junk-food-habit/

[200] Keiser, M. ''Silver lining' of U.S. mortality rates'. *The Keiser Report, RT.* August 17th, 2017. Available: Keiser Report: 'Silver lining' of US mortality rates'. RT. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TEBhBkh4g_s

it came to largely be viewed as a betrayal, argued for on false premises, that served the oligarchic corporations directly profiting off of the population's health.

While neither Trump nor Clinton offered to end this for-profit model, Clinton, like Obama before her, assured the population that they should accept the State's heightened control of their health and bodies. The ACA negated this as a choice as it heavily fined those who did not sign up – twenty U.S. states are now suing the federal government over the law being unconstitutional.[201] As in the case of her representation of the current financial system as legitimate even as the recovery only served the elite who caused it, Clinton expected the American people to continue accepting a health care plan that was failing and in this failure, harming those it was promised by Obama to serve in order to further enrich the drug and insurance companies at the expense of the population; this was a highly disconcerting strategy. Whereas the actions of the banking elite have disenfranchised millions of Americans, the health care system can be argued to be *actively destroying the physical bodies* of hundreds of thousands of people. Clinton assured these people that this was permissible.

The next section examines the issue of the America's intervention in Syria.

8.4. ARGUMENT ON U.S. INTERVENTION IN SYRIA

The Syrian civil war and foreign policy in the Middle East as a whole (see Chapter 7) were a highly significant part of the debates, with *ISIS* being mentioned 66 times and *Syria* being mentioned 33 times. The main question regarding Syria was asked in the second debate in reference to how the U.S. should respond to Russia's bombardment of Aleppo, which was dominating the news during the primaries:

> **RADDATZ:** The heart-breaking video of a 5-year-old Syrian boy named Omran sitting in an ambulance after being pulled from the rubble after an air strike in Aleppo focused the world's attention on the horrors of the war in Syria... in the past few weeks alone, 400 people have been killed, at least 100 of them children. Just days ago, the State Department called for a war crimes investigation of the Syrian regime of Bashar al-Assad and its ally, Russia, for their bombardment of Aleppo... Diane from Pennsylvania asks, if you were president, what would you do about Syria and the humanitarian crisis in Aleppo? Isn't it a lot like the Holocaust when the U.S. waited too long before we helped? (8C, 696-706).

8.5.1. Clinton's Argument

In reply to this question, Clinton responded with the following argument (Appendix 8C, 707-725):

[201] Roubein, R. '20 states file lawsuit alleging ObamaCare is unconstitutional'. *The Hill.* February 27th, 2018. Available: http://thehill.com/policy/healthcare/375760-20-states-file-lawsuit-alleging-obamacare-is-unconstitutional

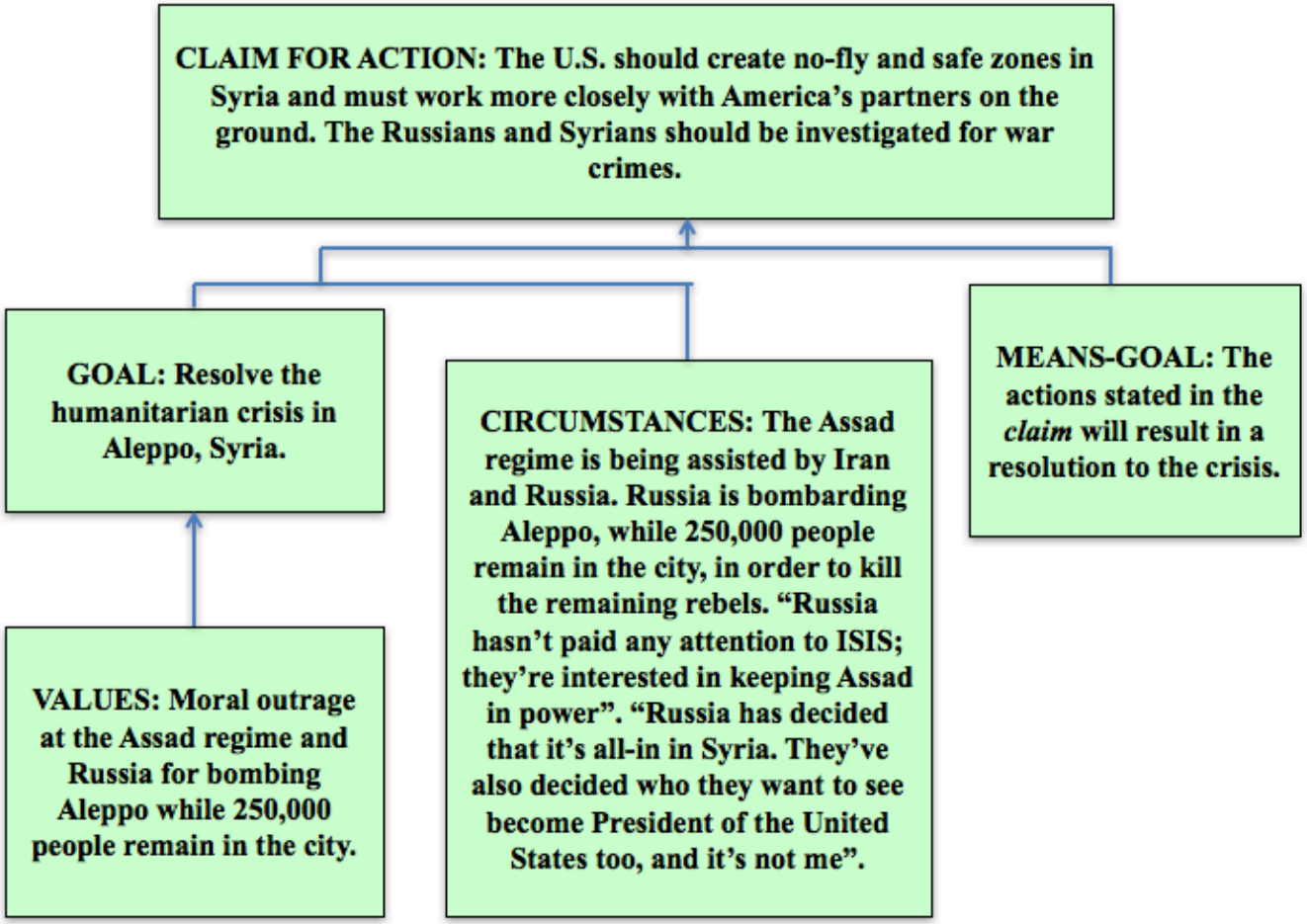

Figure 8.4: *Clinton Syria argument, 2nd Presidential Debate*

Clinton argues that the solution to the **goal** of achieving a resolution to the humanitarian crisis in Aleppo is: (1.) creating no-fly and (2.) safe zones in Syria, (3.) continuing to support the U.S.-backed troops on the ground and additionally, (4.) that Russia and Assad's government should be investigated for war crimes (the **claims**). Her **values premise** involves moral outrage at Assad and Russia for bombing Aleppo. The **circumstantial premise** portrays Russia as uninterested in ISIS and only involved in the conflict in order to support Assad. Additionally, Russia is said to be supporting Trump in the Presidential election. The details of Clinton's *circumstantial premise* and in her *claims for action* are very important to closely analyze as she is saying a great deal in this single argument; the next two sections examine each in turn.

The circumstantial premise

It is imperative to closely analyze Clinton's circumstantial premise, as in it, she is describing her version of reality, "re-describing or re-framing reality in a rhetorically convenient way" (Fairclough & Fairclough 2012: 93). In this reality, Russia is a major threat to the United States, both as far as the country's role in defending Assad in Syria as well as domestically in its interference in America's elections.

The following claims in Clinton's *circumstantial premise* are significant:

> 1. There are 250,000 people in Aleppo; Russia is destroying Aleppo in order to kill the rebels who remain there, who are "holding out against the Assad regime". This claim could justify Russia being tried for war crimes, as it involves the systematic murder of "people" - the debate moderator has mentioned that 100 of them are children.
>
> 2. "Russia hasn't paid any attention to ISIS". Russia's only interest is in keeping Assad in power. The main adversary in this premise is surprisingly not Assad, who the rebels are fighting against directly, but rather Russia.
>
> 3. Russia is further implicated in its role in supporting the Trump election; "And they've also decided who they want to see become president of the United States, too, and it's not me". Clinton is referring to earlier claims about Russia hacking the election.

In the circumstantial premise there are 5 main actors: (1) President Assad who currently controls Syria, (2) Russia (additionally aided by Iran), (3) the U.S., (4) the U.S.-backed rebels and (5) ISIS. The following goals are attributed to each of them:

> 1. **Assad**'s goal is to stay in power; thus he is fighting attacks by the U.S.-backed rebels and America. Assad's exact relationship with ISIS remains unclear.

2. **Russia's** goal is to keep Assad in power. Russia is consequently fighting the U.S.-backed rebels and America. However, they have no interest in fighting ISIS.

3. **America's** goal is to overthrow Assad. They are fighting Assad and the Russians. No mention is made of whether America is fighting ISIS; (fighting ISIL was Obama's justification for carrying out air strikes in Iraq in 2014 and for asking Congress for funding for the 'Syrian opposition'; see Chapter 7).

4. **The U.S.-backed rebels'** goal is to overthrow Assad. They are fighting Assad and Russia. Their relationship with ISIS is unclear.

5. **ISIS'** goal is to overthrow Assad. They are fighting Assad and consequently, Russia as well.

Firstly, the obvious problem with Clinton's circumstantial premise is her claim that Russia has no interest in killing the ISIS terrorists (claim #2, above). Number one, it does not make logical sense; ISIS are attempting to overthrow Assad and Russia is trying to prevent Assad from being overthrown. Russia must consequently be engaged in fighting ISIS in Syria in order to keep Assad in power. Secondly, the idea that Russia has no interest in defeating ISIS is not logical in itself as terrorist organizations are a common threat to governments worldwide.

Secondly, in claim 1. of Clinton's circumstantial premise, she states that Russia is bombing Aleppo to kill the remaining rebels; Russia and Assad have of course stated that they were doing so to kill the terrorists trying to overthrow Assad; here the 'rebels' are considered terrorists as they are attempting to overthrow the sovereign leader of Syria.[202] Additionally, Russia and Assad have always maintained that the U.S. has been backing both the rebels *and* the jihadi terrorists; therefore there is no distinction between them. Here Russia and Assad's claims make far more logical sense than Clinton's when taking into account that when a group of "rebels" is paid by a foreign state to overthrow the sovereign leader of a country they then *become* terrorists. Whether or not the U.S. labels the *rebels* as *terrorists,* the Obama administration is creating terrorists by training, arming and paying individuals to overthrow Assad. The American Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.) defines terrorism as "the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives" (28 C.F.R. Section 0.85).[203] This is exactly what America is doing in Syria. Additionally, as discussed in Chapter 7, in Obama's final Syria speech in 2014, he successfully justified intervention in Syria under the premise that it was to fight ISIL and yet Clinton's speech makes no mention of this – the U.S. is back to fighting Assad and Russia. This is a glaring inconsistency in the establishment narrative on the Syrian war and one Clinton seems to be unaware of.

[202] Yahoo News. 'Putin, Rouani welcome Aleppo 'victory''. December 25th, 2016
[203] Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.), *U.S. Department of Justice*. 'Terrorism 2002-2005'. Available: https://www.fbi.gov/stats-services/publications/terrorism-2002-2005

It is clear that in regard to Syria, Assad and Russia have the same goal, while the U.S., the rebels and ISIS have the same goal as well. Is it far-fetched to believe that the U.S. would fund jihadi terrorism in order to accomplish their political aims? Taking into account how critical the answer to this question this is, it is necessary to review the evidence that has been discussed throughout this thesis:

1. Both the leaked U.S. State Department 'Roebuck' memo and the CIA regime change memo showed that the U.S. had been planning to overthrow the Assad government since 1986 (see Appendix 8G). The General Wesley Clark interview (Clark & Goodman 2007) further attests to the George W. Bush White House's plan to overthrow Syria.

2. The findings of Chapter 4 of this study show that Syria, like Libya and Iran, are discussed highly negatively and as threats during the Reagan, Clinton and Bush Presidencies, making this this the norm since 1982; this language shows that denigrating these three nations was part of the agenda of the establishment paradigm, in line with (1). Obama and Clinton were continuing this paradigm.

3. The leaked Defense Intelligence Agency memo[204] showed that the Obama administration was told that the major driving forces attempting to overthrow Assad were the (Saudi) Salafists/Wahhabis, Muslim Brotherhood and Al Qaeda. Obama funded these 'rebels' anyway.

4. In 2012, the New York Times reported that "Most of the arms shipped at the behest of Saudi Arabia and Qatar to supply Syrian rebel groups fighting the government of Bashar al-Assad are going to hard-line Islamic jihadists" (Sanger 2015). In his September 13th, 2014 speech (see Appendix 7K) Obama states that his administration is working with the Saudis who are, globally, the major funders of terrorism (Choksy & Choksy 2015: 27). The Bush family (see chapters 1 and 7) is very close with the Saudi Royal Family; the Saudis are major Clinton Foundation funders.[205] The Obama administration knew that one of their major partners was funding terrorism.

5. The Assad government, which is secular, as well as those of Gadhafi and Iran and Iraq are enemies of the Saudi-based Salafist terrorists; the Salafists were opposed to the secular State structure in Syria as they were seeking to establish a religious state (Anderson 2017). The ISIS memo supports this point. The Obama administration and the Saudis had the same goal in Syria; as discussed in Chapter

[204] Defense Intelligence Agency (2012). 'The ISIS memo'. *Judicial Watch.* Available: http://www.judicialwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Pg.-291-Pgs.-287-293-JW-v-DOD-and-State-14-812-DOD-Release-2015-04-10-final-version11.pdf

[205] Samuels, G. (2016). 'Julian Assange: ISIS and Clinton Foundation are both funded by Saudi Arabia and Qatar'. *The Independent.* Available: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/julian-assange-clinton-foundation-isis-same-money-saudi-arabia-qatar-funding-a7397211.html

1, the petro-dollar enabled and continues to enable the USD-based control of the global financial system – this control is imperative to maintain in order to maintain the power of the global oligarchy, which the establishment paradigm defends.

6. The House of Commons (2016) report showed that there was in fact no evidence that Gadhafi was going to carry out the atrocities that were used to justify the NATO invasion in Libya. As in the case of both Iraq Wars, evidence that later never materialized was used to justify the invasion of these countries (see Chapter 6).

7. As discussed in Chapter 6, the Gouta attacks – the major Assad threat – have yet to be proven to have been carried out by Assad. Arguments, based on evidence, in support of this being an impossibility have been made by M.I.T. (Lloyd & Postal 2014). ISIL had used chemical weapons at least 52 times, making it possible for them to have carried out these attacks (Schmidt 2016; see Appendix 7G).

8. The existence of the 'Stop Arming Terrorists Act' introduced in Congress by Representative Tulsi Gabbard[206] in 2017 shows that the funding of terrorists was taking place under the Obama CIA[207] as it has not been discredited.

This evidence attests to the fact that the U.S. had been actively planning regime change in Syria since at least 1986; Presidential rhetoric within the Addresses reflects this fact. The Obama administration worked with the Saudis to knowingly fund the Wahhabi-sponsored terrorists in Syria who were the main force attempting to overthrow Assad. This was in line with the objectives of the Saudis who wished to establish a Caliphate; Assad, who was running a secular government, was an impediment to this goal, as were Iraq, Iran and Libya – all nations named by Wesley Clark as being targeted by the Bush White House. Consequently, the Obama administration, the Saudis and the terrorists had the same goal – to overthrow Assad. In order to justify the invasions of Iraq, Libya and Syria, the Bush and Obama administrations used evidence that in the case of Iraq and Libya never materialized; in the case of Syria this evidence has yet to be proven; strong counter-evidence exists. The 'Stop Arming Terrorists Act' proves that Congress was funding jihadi terrorism and the Caliphate.

In light of these facts, it is much more probable that Russia is in fact killing jihadi terrorists than the U.S. and that Clinton is lying about this fact in order to establish grounds for trying Russia for war crimes (claim 1); Russia is then further implicated in election interference. This is the same strategy – accusing a foreign nation of committing humanitarian atrocities

[206] Gabbard, T. (2017). 'Stop Arming Terrorists Act'. 115th Congress. Available: https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-bill/532

[207] Hains, T. 'Democratic Rep. Tulsi Gabbard: President Trump just ended Obama era CIA program which 'directly' funded and armed al-Qaeda in Syria'. *Real Clear Politics*. July 25th, 2017. Available: https://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2017/07/25/dem_rep_tulsi_gabbard_president_trump_ended_obama_era_program_which_funded_al-qaeda_in_syria.html

as a justification for the invasion of that nation – that George Bush Sr. used to justify the first Iraq War, George W. Bush and Colin Powell used to justify the second Iraq War and Obama used to justify the bombing of Libya and the invasion of Syria in 2013 (see Appendices 7M, 7N and 7O). This is a major strategy employed by the American Deep State in order to carry out their foreign policy agenda of regime change, in order to serve a global, oligarchic system. Obama and Clinton were able to justify this agenda by using a very simple strategy: labeling *terrorists* as *rebels* and representing them as heroic in relation to Assad.

Claims for action

The actions that Clinton argues in favor of revolve around the advancement of America's role in perpetuating the conflict in Syria in order to overthrow Assad; this is accompanied by her agenda of creating justification for a conflict with Russia.

The following *claims for action* are given as ways in which to resolve the conflict in Aleppo:

1. America should create a no-fly zone in Syria.

2. America should create safe zones in Syria.

3. The U.S. should work more closely with the 'rebels' on the ground who are attempting to overthrow Assad.

4. Russia and Syria should be tried for war crimes.

Clinton firstly argues in favor of the U.S. creating no-fly zones in Syria; this would mean that the U.S. would be directly at war in Syria as maintaining control of a country's airspace is an act of war. This is a point that debate moderator Chris Wallace makes during the third debate; (this is discussed in the following sections). This was a strategy employed by the U.S. and NATO in Libya in 2011; Libya is now a failed state[208] in the aftermath of the NATO bombing campaign; as discussed, U.K. Parliament has since admitted there was no evidence to support their justification for the NATO intervention (see Chapter 7).[209] Additionally, Clinton's argument in favor of America creating safe zones would be an act of war as the U.S. would then be controlling the land of a foreign nation without their permission while simultaneously funding and training individuals to overthrow it. Clinton's argument as a whole is an argument for America to enter another war, one that the population absolutely did not want. As discussed in Chapter 6, even when told that

[208] House of Commons Library (2018). 'Libya: The consequences of a failed state'. Available: https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-8314

[209] House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee (2016-2017). 'Libya: Examination of intervention and collapse and the UK's future policy options'. Available: https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmfaff/119/119.pdf

there was categorical proof that Assad was gassing his own population, which has since proven to be untrue,[210] Obama failed to motivate Americans to support further U.S. engagement in the Middle East.

Two additional points should be considered in reference to Clinton's argument. Firstly, the true story behind Omran, the young Syrian boy referenced in this debate question, has emerged since this debate took place. Omran became a symbol across the western world for the oppression of the Assad government and the tragedy of the war; Clinton reinforces this symbol by mentioning Omran independently in two other sections of the debate (8C, 697 and 8C, 468). This photo was circulated across the western media:

Figure 8.5: *Omran Daqneesh, Western corporate media symbol of the tragedy of the Syrian War*[211]

However, in a recent interview with Omran's father, Mr. Daqneesh, he states that Omran was removed from his home by the White Helmets – a U.S.-funded medical group working within Syria – without his knowledge, and photographed. Mr. Daqneesh was then asked to criticize Assad's government and the Syrian state on camera. The White Helmets threatened to kidnap Omran if his father did not comply.[212] In late March 2018, President

[210] Wilkie, I. 'Now Mattis admits there was no evidence Assad used poison gas on his people'. *Newsweek*. February 8th, 2018. Available: http://www.newsweek.com/now-mattis-admits-there-was-no-evidence-assad-using-poison-gas-his-people-801542

[211] Al-Salchi, H. 'The boy in the ambulance is a stark reminder of Aleppo's pain'. *Time.* August 18th, 2016. Available: http://time.com/4457417/aleppo-boy-ambulance-omran-syria/

[212] Specia, M. & Samaan, M. 'Syrian boy who became image of civil war reappears'. *The New York Times.* June 6th, 2017. Available: https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/06/world/middleeast/omran-daqneesh-syria-aleppo.html?mcubz=0

Trump froze funding for the White Helmets as they are widely considered to be terrorists.[213] Secondly, since this debate, the U.S. has carried out an extensive investigation into Russia meddling in the election; no evidence[214] of the Russian government successfully influencing the outcome of the election has been found.[215] In contrast, WikiLeaks has proven that the Democratic National Primary was rigged against Bernie Sanders in order to secure the election of Clinton;[216] this stunning attack on the democratic process has worked to aggressively delegitimize the Democratic Party. It is, perhaps, the best current evidence of both the existence of the Deep State and Clinton's role within it.

8.4.2. Trump's Argument

Trump's response to Clinton and his subsequent argument in answer to this debate question were the most important moment in the 2016 Presidential debates. In only a few minutes of air time, Trump successfully challenged not only the reality that Clinton had created in the circumstantial premise of her argument, he challenged the entire mainstream media narrative and the establishment as a whole. It is important to note that throughout the debate, one of the major points that Trump repeated relentlessly was that the Obama administration was responsible for the rise of ISIS. Appendix 8E shows Trump stressing Clinton's role in supporting the Iraq War, the vacuum that was formed in its aftermath in which ISIS grew to spread to 32 other countries, the disastrous aftermath of the Libya intervention and additionally, the Clinton Foundation's acceptance of huge amounts of funding from Saudi Arabia and Qatar, both of whom were implicated in the ISIS memo as dedicated to the overthrow of Assad and involved in funding jihadi terrorism in Syria under the aim of creating a Caliphate. As previously discussed, Saudi Arabia is well-known as the major funder of global terrorism; the question of why they are funding Clinton is consequently significant. These points explicitly suggest that Clinton is incapable of defeating terrorism; they implicitly suggest that she had no desire to defeat terrorism.

Before presenting his argument in answer to the question, Trump replies to Clinton. In this reply he makes the following very important points (Appendix 8C, lines 738-752):

1. "She talks in favor of the rebels. She doesn't even know who the rebels are".

[213] Atwood, K. 'U.S. freezes funding for Syria's White Helmets'. *CBS News.* May 3rd, 2018. Available: https://www.cbsnews.com/news/u-s-freezes-funding-for-syrias-white-helmets/
[214] CNN Library. '2016 Presidential campaign hacking fast facts'. February 21st, 2018. Available: https://www.cnn.com/2016/12/26/us/2016-presidential-campaign-hacking-fast-facts/index.html
[215] McCarthy, A. C. 'Fighting the politicized, evidence-free 'collusion with Russia' narrative. *The National Review.* May 24th, 2017. Available: https://www.nationalreview.com/2017/05/trump-russia-collusion-john-brennan-testimony-how-fight-politicized-narrative/
[216] Sainato, M. 'Wikileaks proves primary was rigged: DNC undermined democracy'. *The Observer.* July 22nd, 2016. Available: http://observer.com/2016/07/wikileaks-proves-primary-was-rigged-dnc-undermined-democracy/

2. “You know, every time we take rebels, whether it's in Iraq or anywhere else, we're arming people. And you know what happens? They end up being worse than the people [currently in power]”.

3. “Look at what she did in Libya with Gadhafi. Gadhafi's out. It's a mess. And, by the way, ISIS has a good chunk of their oil. It was a disaster”.

In response, the debate moderator reminds Trump of the question. And additionally, he states the following:

> **RADDATZ:** And I want to remind you what your running mate said... if Russia continues to be involved in air strikes along with the Syrian government forces of Assad, the United States of America should be prepared to use military force to strike the military targets of the Assad regime (8C, 758-763).

Raddatz is reminding Trump of the mainstream media narrative, in which the U.S. *must* intervene in Aleppo, as Russia is committing war crimes there. The following exchange then takes place:

> **TRUMP:** OK. [Vice-Presidential candidate Mike Pence] and I haven't spoken, and I disagree. I disagree. (8C, 764).
>
> **RADDATZ:** You disagree with your running mate? (8C, 765).
>
> **TRUMP:** I think you have to knock out ISIS. Right now, Syria is fighting ISIS. We have people that want to fight both at the same time. But Syria is no longer Syria. Syria is Russia and it's Iran, who she made strong and Kerry and Obama made into a very powerful nation and a very rich nation... She had a chance to do something with Syria. They had a chance. And that was the line. And she didn't (8C, 766-771).

It is at this point that, by refusing to answer the question regarding intervention in Aleppo, Trump radically deviates from the mainstream narrative and the establishment paradigm – which it had been assumed he was participating in – as a whole. He does so despite its meaning that he then has to disagree with his running mate, Mike Pence, which is a very risky move as it shows a total lack of unity. In the mainstream narrative, upheld by Obama, Clinton, Pence and the mainstream media, Assad and Russia are bombing Aleppo, allowing for the murder of civilians, including children. This is a war-crime which invalidates the legitimacy of both the Russian and the Assad governments; the moderator has *compared it to the Holocaust.* Trump refuses to validate this narrative by answering the question; had

he done so, he would have displayed that he was consenting to supporting Clinton's (and the establishment's) reality, in which the U.S. would be justified in engaging in all-out warfare in Syria.

This point in the debate illustrates how hegemonic struggle occurs in language. The representation of Syria, Russia and Iran as threats to the world was an integral part of Clinton's election campaign. Without it, she could not justify continuous war. Trump contested this representation:

> I don't like Assad at all, but Assad is killing ISIS. Russia is killing ISIS. And Iran is killing ISIS. And those three have now lined up because of our weak foreign policy (8C, 756-757).

Whereas for Clinton, Russia is the greatest threat to America, Trump upholds ISIS as the greatest (external) threat; Russia's role in fighting terrorist groups acts to dissolve Russia as a threat to America. By redefining how Russia was represented, Trump did an enormous amount of damage to Clinton's campaign. Firstly, re-representing Russia, Syria and Iran in a (somewhat) positive light challenged Clinton's justification for further aggression toward the three nations; it is less easy to believe that Russia and Assad are mass-murdering civilians if they are also viewed as fighting terrorism. Secondly, it implicitly suggested that Obama and Clinton were in fact not engaging in fighting terrorism because they were labeling those who were – Assad and Iran – as terrorists and, as previously discussed, because elsewhere in the debate Trump stressed (accurately) that terrorism had grown an enormous amount under the Obama administration. This opened up the possibility of the Obama administration in fact supporting and/or creating terrorism in order to carry out foreign policy goals. Trump's previously outlined comments suggest that he knows the Obama administration has been funding the terrorists; this is a point he explicitly stated at a campaign rally in 2016; Fox News reported on this.[217]

8.4.3. Analysis

In this argument, Trump rejected a key element of the existing paradigm as a whole. In the establishment paradigm, Assad, Russia and Iran *must* remain absolute villains. The reason for this is not only because it justifies war; it additionally works to hide the fact that the Obama administration were funding terrorism in order to overthrow Assad and to create a Caliphate; Assad, Russia and Iran *must* act as a distracting, immanent threat to hide the crimes of the Obama administration from the American people. As discussed in Chapter 1, the chemicals of mass destruction evidence that never materialized which justified the Iraq War and the Abu Ghraib leaks significantly weakened the legitimacy of the American

[217] Fox News. 'Trump accuses Clinton, Obama of creating ISIS'. Published August 11th, 2016. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j8gXEto2_mQ

government in the eyes of the population and the world; the uncovering of America's support for and training of terrorist mercenary armies would fully break the back of the legitimacy of the State.

As discussed, the clear labeling of jihadi terrorists as 'rebels' is a blatant flaw in the establishment narrative; Obama and Clinton had to maintain the idea that these two groups are distinct and that the rebels are heroes – not state-sponsored terrorists. The reason the American State succeeded in convincing the western world of this is partly due to their control of the media (see Chapter 8) but additionally, it is because the U.S. had become an empire and empires have the ability to create reality, a fact that a senior aide to President George W. Bush famously explained in 2002:[218]

> People like you are still living in what we call the reality-based community. You believe that solutions emerge from your judicious study of discernible reality. That's not the way the world really works anymore. We're an empire now, and when we act, we create our own reality.

The idea that absolute power corrupts absolutely can not only be successfully applied to political or monetary corruption, it can be applied to the corruption of reality itself. It was necessary for the U.S. Deep State to win the war in Syria in order to maintain control over the global narrative, which upholds the idea that America is a force for good in the world no matter what it does; control of this narrative gave the U.S. the power to institute a reality in which jihadi terrorists were heroic rebels.

It was at this point that Trump proved that he was – at least to some degree – an anti-establishment candidate. He did this by rejecting the reality that the State had created since the Reagan administration – one in which Iran, Iraq and Syria were vilified within Presidential discourse (see Chapter 5). What Trump was arguing for was of *third order change* or "radical changes in the overarching terms of policy discourse associated with a 'paradigm shift" (Hall 1993: 279). The establishment then turned on him because it became evident that he was challenging the New World Order paradigm that they had created and which was in turn giving them power; the impeachment campaign that has followed Trump's election, the justification for which Clinton created in her debate performance, has attested to this fact every day of his Presidency.[219] In contrast, the portion of the public who were producing the paradigm shift from the ground up, suddenly saw a glimpse of their reality reflected in elite establishment discourse, a development that had formally seemed impossible due to how normalized the existing paradigm had become through hegemony. The elites lining up to condemn Trump are doing so in the service of a narrative

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[218] Suskind, R. 'Faith, certainty and the Presidency of George W. Bush'. The New York Times. October 17th, 2004. Available: https://www.nytimes.com/2004/10/17/magazine/faith-certainty-and-the-presidency-of-george-w-bush.html

[219] Greenwald, G. 'The Deep State goes to war with President-Elect, using unverified claims, as Democrats cheer'. *The Intercept.* January 11, 2017. Available: https://theintercept.com/2017/01/11/the-deep-state-goes-to-war-with-president-elect-using-unverified-claims-as-dems-cheer/

that worked to validate the American Deep State and the global oligarchy's decades of war, use of terrorist mercenary armies and the genocide of the Arab race in order to maintain global hegemony. Trump radically shifted the idea of what the state could be; he opened up the possibility for America to stop being dedicated to an endless warfare agenda in the service to an oligarchy that was simultaneously stripping the domestic population of their wealth and physical health.

Was Hillary Clinton going to engage in all-out warfare in Syria? In the third debate moderator Chris Wallace asks her this question:

> **WALLACE:** Secretary Clinton, you have talked about... that you would impose a no-fly zone to try to protect the people of Aleppo and to stop the killing there... General Joseph Dunford, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, says you impose a no-fly zone, chances are you're going to get into a war - his words - with Syria and Russia... how do you respond? (8D, 1007-1014).

Clinton answers this question by assuring the audience that "a no-fly zone could save lives and could hasten the end of the conflict" (8D, 1015-1016) and that the purpose of this no fly zone would be to "provide safe zones on the ground" for the Syrian people and to "help us with our fight against ISIS". She then details the fate of Omran and transitions into the link between ISIS and homegrown terrorism, promising to "keep fighting" the terrorist threat (8D, 1015-1034). And in fact in making this link, Clinton not only evades the question, she continues an argument pattern that was used under Obama – the conflation of the threat of terrorism and the gun control agenda. Whereas here she simply mentions this link, elsewhere in the debates she firstly links gun control to criminal justice reform as Joe Biden had (8B, 506-532; see Chapter 6) and then to the threat of terrorism as Obama had (8B, 595-611). Later, in the third debate, in response to a question regarding Iraq, Clinton again conflates the terrorist threat with her gun control agenda (D, 867-885). This is clearly an argument strategy being employed to accomplish the goal of implementing gun control in a nation where the population increasingly sees the government as a major threat to their well-being, if not the direct enemy of the people. It is clear that the threat of terrorism is now not only being used to justify warfare, it is being used to justify attacking the Constitution.

Had Clinton been given the opportunity to start a war with Russia, it would have been in-line with her policy agenda as Secretary of State under Obama. The following is a transcript from an interview where Julian Assange recounts to journalist John Pilger how the Libyan war came about:[220]

> Libya more than anyone else's war, was Hillary Clinton's war. Barack Obama initially opposed it. Who was the person who was championing it? Hillary Clinton;

[220] Assange, J. (2016). 'UK: Hilary Clinton used destruction of Libya to run in the general election'. *Dartmouth Films.* Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=04MDYW1oEe0

> that's documented throughout her emails… There's more than 1700 emails out of the 33,000 Hilary Clinton emails we published just about Libya. It's not about that Libya has cheap oil. She perceived the removal of Gadhafi and the overthrow of the Libyan state something that she would use to run in the general election. For President. So late 2011, there's an internal document called the *Libya Tick-Tock* that is produced for Hillary Clinton. And it's a chronological description of how Hillary Clinton was the central figure in the destruction of the Libyan state. As a result, there was around 40,000 deaths, ah, within Libya. Jihadists moved in; ISIS moved in. That led to the European refugee and migrant crisis… It had been effectively the cork in the bottle of Africa.

Why has the Obama administration failed to stop the threat of terrorism; why has it, as Trump repeats over and over, continued to grow at such an alarming rate? The logical answer, as outlined in Chapter 7, is the most simple one: because that has been the administration's goal, along with the creation of the Caliphate, in-line with the New World Order agenda which has worked to serve that of the globalist oligarchy.

In 2017, Trump stopped the CIA's funding of terrorists in Syria.[221] This action shows a break with the establishment paradigm, which has been one actively de-stabilizing the Middle East, along with close partner and primary global terrorist funder, Saudi Arabia. Trump, whose Presidential bid was funded by the U.S. military, followed an agenda based on de-escalating tensions in the region and based on preventing the CIA and Saudi Arabia from employing terrorists to overthrow Assad (Hersh 2016). He additionally de-escalated tensions with Russia.

8.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the 2016 Presidential debates and the process by which Donald Trump incorporated the current paradigm shift and the ideas that act as its foundation within his rhetoric. Clinton, in attempting to extend the existing paradigm, utilized a strategy by which she focused on assuring the population that the current economic situation, the ACA and the war in Syria could be slowly improved by employing the same policies as Obama had. This was particularly problematic as Obama's Presidency had been a broad failure; the economic recovery had not served the non-elite; the ACA was collapsing and being exposed as a fraud and the U.S. had failed to either overthrow Assad or lesson terrorism in Syria. In comparison, Trump reinforced the idea that the Recession had not uniformly occurred, that the ACA was designed to fraud consumers and that the recent foreign policy agenda was a total failure. He additionally offered respite from America's wars in the Middle East, raised awareness over the existence of the Federal

[221] Sanger, D. E. 'Rebel Arms Flow is Said to Benefit Jihadists in Syria'. *New York Times.* October 14th, 2012. Available: http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/15/world/middleeast/jihadists-receiving-most- arms-sent-to-syrian-rebels.html

Reserve and provided evidence of admitted and purposeful fraud within the design of the ACA. Overall, Trump offered concrete policy change in regard to America's highly unpopular wars in the Middle East – the staple policy paradigm behind the establishment paradigm as a whole. And secondly, in criticizing the Fed and raising awareness regarding its role, he suggested that concrete financial reform – in the form of eliminating the dominance of the Fed – could be possible. In an America where the former President had promised meaningful change and then worked to strengthen the power of the financial and health care elite, this was all it took to win the 2016 election. The Conclusion further discusses these results.

CONCLUSION

This section provides a summary of the four discussion chapters in this study; this is followed by an overview of the methodological and empiracle contributions to knowledge made by this study.

SUMMARIES BY CHAPTER

The conclusions of Chapter 5-8 of this study are discussed within this section. This is followed by an overview of this study's methodological and empirical contributions to knowledge.

The findings from **Chapter 5** show that the Obama Presidency is primarily focused on addressing the economic crisis and responding to it. The lexis within Obama's discourse is highly repetitive; the representations are also very consistent across the corpus. He focuses extensively on the economy, jobs and the financial/business sector. Obama's major policies all relate back to the economic recovery; by the end of his time in office the recovery is said to have been successful. Within this narrative, Obama represents himself as a defender of the middle class, with Wall Street and the financial world being upheld as responsible for causing the Recession, having carried out abuses of power. The main distinguishing feature of the Obama corpus in comparison to the reference corpus, is Obama's sharp focus on the economy and the business and finance sector as a whole. This focus supports one of the major criticisms of Obama, which is that he was a highly neo-liberal President who presented the American people with the idea that the economy was, overwhelmingly, the most important factor within both the recovery and in reference to the well-being of the nation as a whole. The *damaging/destroying* semantic domain shows that Obama represents the biggest concerns of the country as being the crisis, the actions of the insurance companies and the financial world and terrorism (ISIL and Al-Qaeda). Additionally, the passing of the Affordable Care Act, which was also represented as the only option in reference to health care reform, was represented as mandatory under the threat of further harm to the economy.

It is clear that Obama's major policies supported the establishment paradigm. Firstly, Obama continued to enact policies which served the financial sector at the expense of the American people. It is clear from the corpus data that Obama blamed the big banks for "making mistakes" which resulted in the Recession – a narrative begun under George W. Bush in 2007 – he ultimately worked to defend the financial sector as a whole. While describing the irresponsibility of those on Wall Street, the era of deregulation preceding the crisis was omitted from Obama's discourse; the bank bailouts were then effectively justified under the threat of further economic collapse. The role of the Federal Reserve in the crisis is negated; the Fed is mentioned only three times within Obama's Addresses, two of these instances depict the Fed positively; one is mainly neutral. While the Wall Street reform act was implemented, it has proved to be largely ineffectual since its passing in 2010 (Hudson 2015). Despite this fact, Obama represented it as a full solution for how to address the causes of the crisis. The bank bailouts, while depicted as unfair, were

represented as mandatory and beyond discussion under the threat that negating their implementation would further harm the economy. Secondly, the corpus data shows that in regard to the establishment's foreign policy trajectory, a pattern of aggression toward Syria, Libya and Iran, established under Reagan, was continued. Speeches in support of the NATO-led bombing campaign in Libya and America's increased involvement in Syria were made; both were argued for under the threat of Gadhafi and Assad being a danger to worldwide security.

The findings of **Chapter 6** show that Obama's Presidential narrative was defined by one major, overlying argument which acted to frame the Presidency as a whole. In it, the Recession is the "crisis of our time"; it has resulted in the large-scale harming of the middle class, primarily through job-loss; the failing health care system has worsened this situation. The overlying goal of the Presidency and the direct or indirect goal of nearly every speech is economic recovery. The value of *fairness* and the need to return to a more transparent system is reiterated; Obama's belief in progress remains unwavering. The claims within his speeches work to present ways in which the nation will reach the overlying goal, largely through job creation. Obama's most prototypical argument was that the recovery had been successful; this claim was supported by job growth statistics and the unemployment rate. The following other major arguments, based on the reform of various sectors, all link back to the recovery: Wall Street, health care, tax, budget, government, education and environmental reform all aim at improving the country's economic situation. The specific recovery of the middle class is strongly emphasized throughout the corpus. Minor arguments regarding workers' rights, trade policy, gun laws, immigration and criminal justice reform, all made in his second term, prioritize improving America for the working class and/or minorities.

The following are the major frames of the Presidency:

1. The economy as in a state of recovery from the crisis.
2. Wall Street and the financial world as responsible for the crisis.
3. The American health care industry as "broken".
4. America as needing to be kept safe.
5/6. Washington as in need of reform and too concerned with maintaining the status quo; Repubicans as blocking progress.
7. Tax breaks as unfairly favoring the rich and not the middle class.
8. The budget as in need of reform and the deficit in need of reduction.
9. Clean envery as the future and a job creator.
10. America's over-dependency on foreign oil as harmful.
11. College education as essential yet growing increasingly unaffordable for the middle class. Schools as in need of small reforms.
12. Libya as in need of saving from Gadhafi, a madman harming his people.
13/14. Syrian President Assad as a dictator committing chemical weapons attacks on his people; Syria as becoming overru by ISIL (2014).
15. The low minimum wage as needing to be raised.
16. The immigration system as broken.
17. The criminal justice system as flawed.
18. Veterans as deserving of a better America and more opportunities.

These frames illustrate why one of the major criticisms of Obama, which is that he was a very devisive President, materialized:

1. Obama continuously blames Wall Street and Republicans for blocking the country's progress; Washington is discussed in disparaging terms.
2. Obama's battles with the special interests, lobbyists, Wall Street and the insurance companies are regularly reiterated.
3. The wealthy and the middle class are positioned against one another in regard to tax policy; references to class warfare are made twice.
4. Obama's support of continuing intervention in the Middle East found little support from the populace, particularly in light of his Nobel Peace Prize.

Additionally, Obama's support of highly controversial issues such as immigration reform, the minimum wage increase, equal pay for women, criminal justice reform and gun control reform heavily divided the nation. His support of the globalist Trans-Pacific Partnership was met with nation-wide protests and his attacks on whistle-blowers and the press as well as his support for surveillance were met with widespread disappointment as Obama largely represented himself as a progressive. It can be assumed however, that Obama was also partly correct in blaming the Republican Party for being divisive, Washington for being dysfunctional, etc. Based on the findings of this chapter, arguments on health care reform, the invasions of Syria and Libya and gun control were selected for further analysis as they were flagged as showing inconsistencies in the way in which the arguments developed. The prevalence of the argument in support of the successful economic recovery also led to its selection for further analysis; within this argument Wall Street reform was included; the corpus data from Chapters 5 and 6 shows that this is overwhelmingly his most commonly discussed topic.

The findings of **Chapter 7** address the argument reconstructions on the following topics: health care reform (with brief discussion of gun control) and the invasions of Syria and Libya – partly in relation to the George W. Bush administration's argument justifying the invasion of Iraq. Regarding the Affordable Care Act, it is evident that the American public were deceived as to the content of the bill prior to its passing. The original promises made to the public, which were largely based around the fact that the bill would lower costs for the population and the nation as a whole, thereby staving off increased economic decline, were not kept. In the aftermath of the ACA's passing, Obama upheld the idea that the bill had primarily been aimed at making coverage better; the data shows that this was a false representation. The ACA's current failure due to exorbitant costs to the consumer, is now underway; the health care crisis remains unsolved. Despite his rhetoric, the Obama administration did not address the for-profit model which the U.S. system is based on; rather, the insurance and drug companies were further empowered by not only the nation-wide implementation of the ACA, which worked to increase their profits and power, but by its forced implementation – fines were given to those who did not sign up. The findings of this analysis support Deep State Theory as the Obama administration chose to further empower the drug and insurance companies at the expense of the population; threats of

further economic devastation were made in order to pass the law; in the aftermath, it has partly been the ACA which has caused the further decline of the middle class.

In regard to Syria, the findings of this analysis support the alternative media theory that the Obama administration was involved in funding terrorism in order to carry out regime change in Syria. This was consistent with Donald Rumsfeld's surrogate warfare policy (Krieg & Rickli 2016) which Obama extended, along with the War on Terror, despite his pledges to create a more peaceful world. This is in-line with the establishment's aim of continuing to control the global oil trade, the extension of the petro-dollar system and the continuing support of the globalized financial system model (see Chapter 4). Additionally, it worked to support the Muslim Brotherhood and Wahhabi goal of creating a centralized religious Caliphate in the Middle East (Anderson 2017). Obama's 2013 speech on Syria clearly shows that the administration's initial goal of funding the Syrian rebels – some of whom were said to be 'extremists' – to overthrow Assad was re-defined to become the goal of fighting terrorists in Obama's 2014 speeches. The U.S. was consequently justified in intervening further in Syria under the justification that it was doing so to fight the threat of terrorism. There remains no conclusive evidence that Assad carried out the chemical weapons attacks that were used in 2013 to attempt to justify the overthrow of his Presidency; strong counter-evidence exists, as discussed throughout Chapter 7. The ISIS memo clearly shows that the Obama administration was knowingly funding terrorism in the region, despite Obama's claims to be fighting terrorism.

The Obama administration's foreign policy trajectory in the Middle East as a whole is a continuation and extension of the War on Terror, which has been justified by the threat of terrorism, false evidence and/or untrue claims and the vilification of Arab leaders. As a result of the administration's failed foreign policy legacy and the mainstream media's inability to construct a coherent narrative on events in Syria, the American people's support of the country's role as an Empire has continued to wane, as seen in poles discussed in Chapter 6. It is also clear that there is a valid reason for the widespread theory that the American government was engaging in false flag attacks in order to implement unpopular policies as the threat of terrorism is used by Obama to argue for both foreign interventions and increased gun control measures; this is in-line with a pattern established within the existing paradigm. The CIA's role in training and equipping terrorists within Syria is well-documented (Shipp 2017). In regard to both the ACA and Syria, it is very clear why the public has lost faith in the most foundational institutions upholding American society as well as the mainstream media justifying these actions; this is a major reason for why Deep State Theory has come to dominate political discourse within the country. The consequential rise in the alternative media, which has spurred the paradigm shift, is easy to understand in this context.

The findings of **Chapter 8** show that Donald Trump incorporated many of the key ideas underpinning the new paradigm within his debate performance against opponent Hillary Clinton. In reference to the economic recovery, which Obama stated had been successful by the end of his time in office, no evidence that this recovery had served the non-elite class was offered to the public. Instead, Obama offered job growth numbers, corporate profit numbers and the strong stock market. Studies outlined within this chapter show that

none of these statistics show that the non-elite have recovered; the data instead proves the opposite. The middle class and small business in particular never recovered and continue to suffer from the effects of the Recession. Trump responded by strongly focusing across the debates on the failing economy and the $6 trillion that had been spent on wars in the Middle East, which did not prevent terrorism and rather played a role in exacerbating its growth. Clinton extended Obama's policies in regard to the economy, admitting that the recovery had only served the wealthy class. Rather than countering Trump's claims or even addressing them, Clinton simply reinforced the representation of the recovery as gradually occurring, assuring the population that the system was working well; this was an ineffective strategy. Additionally, while Trump criticized the Federal Reserve, Clinton described the causes of the Recession in fairly-misleading terms, assuming a high level of economic ignorance among the American people.

In reference to health care reform, Trump and Clinton offered very direct debate answers. Trump argued for a full repeal while Clinton proposed reforming the ACA and keeping the elements that worked. Clinton's response outlines that costs should be brought down and business owners should be given "help" to business owners. This was an inadequate answer as no details are provided in answer to the question regarding *how* the costs would be lowered or how coverage would improve. Trump argued for replacing the ACA with less expensive plans tailored to individual needs and for stopping the insurance company monopolies that had formed in many states by increasing competition. Both answers were fairly vague, suggesting that no real solution had materialized within either campaign. Clinton went on to detail how the ACA had been designed to help low-income people receive health insurance; this was problematic since this was not what Obama had told the American people. Trump went on to claim that the ACA was a fraud, offering proof in a leaked tape in which Jonathan Gruber, one of the designers of the bill, outlines how the bill involves the "basic exploitation of the lack of economic understanding of the American voter". This video and America's inability to solve the crisis as a whole deeply influenced the election and the American people's belief in the validity of Congress.

The third major issue discussed in Chapter 8 concerned the U.S.'s involvement in Syria, specifically in the Aleppo. Clinton argued for increasing U.S. involvement in the region by creating no-fly and safe zones in Syria, working more closely with partners on the ground and for investigating Russia and Syria for war crimes. Russia was blamed for bombing Aleppo in order to kill the rebels there, for propping up Assad rather than killing terrorists and for interfering in the American election in order to help Trump win. This was a problematic depiction as it illogically represented Russia as unconcerned by terrorism in the region – particularly as the terrorists were trying to overthrow Assad, who Russia was supporting. Clinton's answer was also inconsistent in comparison to Obama's; in her version of events, the U.S. is back to fighting Assad – Obama's 2013 goal in intervening in the region, rather than fighting ISIL, which was the justification that successfully led to the U.S. intervention in 2014. This is indicative of the establishment paradigm's inability to construct a coherent version of events. In regard to accusing Russia of committing humanitarian injustices in the region, this was a strategy employed by Bush Sr. in regard to the Iraq War, George W. Bush in regard to the Second Iraq War, Obama's bombing of Libya and his argument on the 2013 intervention in Syria. Overall, Clinton's argument was

heavily flawed. Trump responded by reiterating throughout the debate that the Obama administration was responsible for the rise of ISIS as well as Clinton's receiving of huge amounts of funding from Saudi Arabia. Trump refused to answer the question on Aleppo, as in doing so he would have been agreeing with the mainstream media's version of reality, in which Russia and Syria were a threat to the world. Instead he stated that Assad, Russia and Iran were killing ISIS. This suggested that Obama and Clinton were not engaged in fighting terrorism as they were labeling those who were as the enemy; previous Trump campaign speeches show he knew the Obama administration was funding terrorism in the region.

The overall findings of this thesis show a pattern of strategies employed by the establishment paradigm to consolidate and extend hegemony with a focus on the time span of 1991-2017. Based on the findings of Chapters 7 and 8, it was found that the Obama administration had been supporting the overthrow of Assad in Syria. This was in-line with the New World Order agenda established by George H. W. Bush in 1990/1991, as outlined in Chapter I. This agenda, which aligned with the jihadi terrorist groups supported by Saudi Arabia and Qatar, revolved around further centralizing the system, both domestically and on a global scale, which further involved the promotion of an occult-based political construct – the Caliphate – by which an endless warfare model would be installed (see Chapter 4). Overall the findings show that while elements of the Obama Presidency were unique, his major policies supported the establishment agenda. The arguments made by Obama and Hillary Clinton in support of this agenda were not successful; combined with the failed policies of the New World Order paradigm as a whole, this resulted in the end of this model as seen in the 2016 election of Donald Trump. While it is entirely possible that Obama genuinely strove to fight the Deep State – the "special interests" he references so often during his first term suggest this – his actions show that he was ultimately unsuccessful.

METHODOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE

1. The argumentation-based critical comparison research approach

The first major methodological contribution to knowledge from this thesis is the mixed-methods research approach developed within this study, which integrates Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) argument reconstruction-based critical discourse analysis approach, corpus linguistics and qualitative coding using NVivo. This easily-adaptable method can be utilized across disciplines within projects which incorporate a rigorous language analysis component, as well as the same major theoretical principles as those upheld within this study. Firstly, that language analysis should revolve around *comparison* (Stubbs 1997: 7) and secondly, that it should be based on the examination of *patterns* (Biber, Conrad & Reppen 1998: 131).

This study has also worked to develop a new research approach which compares arguments – perhaps most usefully within competing narratives – to one another. This is a process of *argumentation-based critical comparison;* when applied to argument trajectories within

competing narratives, as in Chapter 8, it may be termed *argumentation-based critical narrative comparison.* This method is illustrated within the following *Media Studies* section.

2. New terms within the field of argumentation studies

This thesis has introduced some key new terms within the field of argumentation theory: *argument trajectory, functional unit trajectory* and *prototypical argument.*

> An *argument trajectory* may be defined as "the progression or line of development within a series of arguments made on an individual topic in relation to one another".

Argument trajectories are made in relation to a common goal, e.g. improving the health care system; they may also be made in relation to a shared *overlying goal,* within a series of speeches or a corpus, e.g. improving the economy. In this case, the shared goal of the arguments within the trajectory (improving the health care system) acts in relation to an overlying goal (improving the economy). Within the evaluation of these arguments it is important to consider them in relation to one another, both in reference to the logical progression of the arguments and in reference to how their individual functional units develop over time in relation to one another. This approach allows for the analysis of full trajectories, viewing them as complex, inter-connected units.

It is also possible to focus on the trajectory of individual functional units within an argument trajectory. For example, Chapter 7 compared the circumstantial premises within each of Obama's health care reform speeches to each other in order to ascertain how they had changed over time in relation to each other.

> A *functional unit trajectory* may be defined as "the progression or line of development within a series of functional argument units in relation to one another, made within separate arguments on one topic".

In examining the arguments within a trajectory, it is possible to select the one which is the most proto-typical within the trajectory by comparing the functional units within the arguments within the trajectory to one another.

> A *prototypical argument* may be defined as "an argument constituting and acting as a representational example from within a group of arguments within one topic [an argument trajectory]".

This allows the researcher to isolate which of each of the functional units is the most repeated. This data can be used to assess which of the arguments contains the most

commonly repeated functional units; this argument is consequently the proto-typical argument. This process can also be used to ascertain if there is an overlaying goal which the argument trajectory relates to.

EMPIRICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE

This section provides an overview of the additional contributions to knowledge that this study makes within the fields of media studies and political theory.

MEDIA STUDIES

1. Evidence of mainstream media corruption

As outlined in Chapter 3, the research approach developed within this study can be employed generally. After the results of Chapter 7 in reference to the Syrian war were isolated, this method of argumentation-based critical comparison was additionally used to investigate the mainstream and alternative medias' narratives on Syria. The following method was used (see Chapter 3):

1. The mainstream media narrative in reference to Syria was evaluated – as outlined in Chapter 1, the major arguments within this narrative have been consolidated and collectivized.
2. The major arguments within a broad range of alternative media channels were evaluated. Prior study of this sphere gave me knowledge of which high-quality sources to investigate.
3. The major arguments on Syria within these sources were cross-referenced.
4. The evidence in support of each was then examined; this evidence is mainly found within leaked documents, e.g. the ISIS Memo (see Chapter 6).
5. The most logical, evidence-based alternative media narrative was then ascertained.
6. The arguments and narratives being made within the mainstream and alternative media spheres, along with the evidence, were then compared - both in reference to the other, conflicting narrative and in reference to the argument trajectories on the most important topics.

The results of this comparison showed that the mainstream was reproducing Obama's narrative, which included false claims. In fact, it was because of the alternative media that much of the evidence used in Chapter 7 in relation to Syria was available. As a result, the mainstream media was identified as not only consolidated, controlled and collectivized under the CFR, but as additionally being used to purposefully spread misinformation in regard to the Syrian War. As the statistics discussed in Chapter 1 show, the American people are very aware that this situation is unfolding; this is surely contributing to the wide-scale loss in belief in institutional power in general.

The split between the two 'realities' that occurred within the 2016 Presidential debates, along with the seeming fracturing of the 'reality' upheld within the mainstream media, is very significant. America is now experiencing a situation in which the alternative media and specifically the QAnon message board is narrating the collapse of the old establishment paradigm's reality while the new paradigm has not yet been formed. As the population's belief in many institutions crumbles, the institutional facts (Searle 2010) supported by them are losing authority as well, thereby creating the 'post-truth' world that has begun to be theorized on within academia. These findings show that due to the importance of the alternative media, it should be an area of engagement for academics, especially as many of the major arguments within this sphere are proving to be true. Research should continue to be carried out to isolate high-quality content from within this sphere.

2. Overlap between the method used and results of this thesis and the QAnon message board

The findings of this study have shown that, surprisingly, the QAnon message board discussed in Chapter 1 is teaching readers to carry out (a more simplified) version of the argument-based critical narrative comparison approach utilized in this study. As the Q board originated in 2017, the research approach used in this study, which the Q board aligns with, had already been developed at the time. The use of this approach by the board is highly notable as the results of this thesis have shown that it is very effective in uncovering many forms of language patterns, particularly within argumentation, that would normally go unnoticed to those listening to or reading these speeches. This illustrates that those (partly) engineering the new political paradigm through the use of this message board (the board claims to be run by Military Intelligence) are using this method to teach others how to discern truth using argumentation analysis, critical comparison (of the two media spheres) and evidence. This is particularly important in reference to the totalitarian methods being utilized by the mainstream media (see Chapters 1 and 4) and increasingly, politicians (see below), as this method trains users to engage in self-directed research based on comparison. Research methods which promote critical comparison work to counteract the effects of totalitarian programming; the QAnon board's use of this method is consequently highly significant. Additionally, while this study has not investigated the claims on this board in detail, overall the general QAnon narrative aligns with the results of this study in reference to the New World Order.

One of the most effective forms of totalitarian-based political strategy is *gas-lighting*. Introduced into American politics by Bill Clinton (Dowd 1995), Hilary Clinton used this strategy in the debates:

> **CLINTON:** Well, Donald, I know you live in your own reality... (B, 216).
>
> **CLINTON:** …he lives in an alternative reality. (C, 599).

CLINTON: He has all the conspiracy theories... (D, 941).

This strategy should be high-lighted as working to represent the New World Order's version of reality as the only valid one. This is a highly totalitarian political strategy and one which the public should be aware of as it may be psychologically damaging to both political actors and audiences.

POLITICAL THEORY

This thesis has worked to support many of the ideas originating within the alternative sphere, outlined in Chapter 1 and Chapter 4.

1. Introduction of 'neo-progressivism' as a political ideology

This thesis introduces a new form of ideology – *neo-progressivism* – which largely defined the Obama corpus. Neo-progressivism is distinguished in the following ways:

1. It is represented as authentic progressivism – defined by its basis around the forwarding of social reforms that will benefit the general population.

2. In actuality it works to conceal the fact that the policy decisions being supported within the paradigm are working to further empower the elite class at the expense of the people, specifically the middle class, and that this is *progress*.

3. It justifies domestic economic terrorism in the form of gross debt increases. Within this theory, financial decisions which work to destroy the economic prosperity of the country are not excused under the provision that this is a 'mistake'.

4. The ideology as a whole is defined by *false hope*. This falsity can be found within the fact that the ideology works to present the illusion of authentic hope while the policies justified by it create the exact opposite – namely increased debt conscription for the people and the nation as a whole.

Obama's speeches espoused this ideology in the following major ways:

1. Obama presented an economic narrative which, over the course of 413 speeches, described in detail and in relation to one another a process of economic recovery, claiming that this recovery had occurred by the end of his Presidency. In actuality, it had only occurred within the elite wealth bracket.

2. Obama represented policies which doubled the national debt as a way to address the economic recovery. It did not and further indebted the American people and future generations. This narrative served the big banks.

3. Obama represented the ACA as a solution to the health care crisis; in reality it did not solve the crisis and rather further empowered the health care industry at the expense of the people.

4. Obama represented America's involvement in the Libya and Syria conflicts as working to change these nations and the lives of their inhabitants for the better. In reality it dramatically harmed both nations.

Neo-progressivism, much like neoliberalism and neo-conservatism, is in many ways an inverted form of the original ideology it debases, e.g. progressivism. It was used by the Obama administration to present the illusion of change. It should be noted that neo-conservatism, neo-liberalism and globalism could all be argued to be just as destructive.

2. Evidence to support *New World Order Theory*

The findings summarized within this Conclusion should be further considered in relation to the concept of the Caliphate. In funding jihadi terrorism, the Obama administration was not only supporting the Wahhabi (Salafist), Muslim Brotherhood and Al Qaeda, it was consequently supporting the major shared goal of these organizations, which was the overthrow of sectarian Muslim leaders with the aim of erasing national borders to create a Caliphate. Assad, like Gadhafi, was an opponent of Islamism; this is evident in the fact that Syria is a secular state. Additionally, Iraq became secular in 1932; following the American invasions, Islam has now been appointed as a state religion. Additionally, Jihadi terrorism expanded dramatically under the George W. Bush and Obama administrations; in the case of the latter ISIS alone spread to 32 nations – a great deal of progress toward the Caliphate goal (see Chapter 8). This led into the belief that these administrations were purposefully creating terrorism, both to create the Caliphate and to cause and justify wars. As discussed in Chapter 1, General Wesley Clark alluded to this situation in his *Democracy Now* interview, in which he outlines the George W. Bush administration's plan to invade much of the Middle East. As Michael Flynn states in his Al Jazeera interview, "they believe in perpetual conflict on the, on the Islamic radical front... they've talked about perpetuating conflict for the rest of time" (Al Jazeera English 2015). He further notes that between 2004-2014, the number of terrorists operating in the Middle East doubled. As outlined in Chapter 4, the Caliphate model calls for those internal to the Caliphate to wage war against those external to it indefinitely; extreme acts such as ethnic cleansing against non-Muslims are additionally justified (Adraoui 2017).

Overall these events are in-line with the content of the ISIS memo, which depicts what is essentially a world war revolving around events in Syria in which the Western, Gulf countries and Turkey were supporting the opposition to Assad, while Russia, China and

Iran were supporting Assad; Hersh (2016) supports this idea. What this research suggests is that Bush Sr.'s New World Order system was working in league with the Saudis; this further explains Saudi Arabia's extensive funding of Hillary Clinton. This system extended the sustainment of the petro-dollar system while working to establish the Saudis' major goal – a Sharia-law-based religious Caliphate under which, all Muslims would live. As mentioned by Osama bin Laden (see Chapter 4), this system would be a global Muslim state with the Quran as a Constitution and a single currency. Presumably the Saudi Royal Family would administer this Caliphate, thereby enslaving the entire Muslim world under a fundamentalist Islamic sect so extreme it is considered a form of Satanism by many Muslims (see Chapters 1 and 4). These two goals are united by their major aim: the further centralization of the global system; this is the same goal upheld within Global Oligarchy Theory. Here the New World Order paradigm is working, largely through the War on Terror, in the service of this greater agenda. It should also be reiterated that Obama was funding Al Qaeda – the same group responsible for 9/11 (see Chapter 7).

As discussed in Chapter 4, the Caliphate model is both a religious and a political construct. It is promoted under the Wahhabist form of Islam which has been heavily sponsored and influenced by a range of external western actors to de-stabilize the Islamic world and to divide this region so that the oil and gas resources within it may be controlled (see Chapter 4). The infiltration of Islam and the consequential corruption of its major tenants (one of which is widely considered to be *peace*), particularly within the creation of *sects* is a part of a wider dark occult-based agenda in which religious and spiritual systems are inverted and used as a means by which to wage wars which engage with both the material and spiritual planes. Due to the nature of the Caliphate as an 'endless warfare' model, the Obama administration's funding of its creation works to legitimize New World Order Theory. Here the administration, working as part of the establishment paradigm, was aiding in the creation of a one-world system which would further extend the power of the global Empire class outlined in Chapter 4; the administration was using financial terrorism through the funding of the jihadist groups as well as direct warfare to extend this system, in-line with the methods commonly employed by the broader economic paradigm. This situation is particularly problematic as the Wahhabi sect of Islam as well as the Caliphate model support and encapsulate slavery-based constructs, ideologies and practices deriving from dark occultist traditions, which the New World Order paradigm was supporting.

3. Evidence to support *Deep State War Theory, Global Oligarchy Theory, Three World Wars Theory* and Hersh (2016)

The findings of this study have shown that it is in fact possible to control the major party decisions of both the Democrat and Republican parties across Presidencies, as the major policy paradigms of the New World Order have served one broad agenda. This agenda aligned with the major goals of the global oligarchy; this is further discussed below.

In further reference to the possibility of a 'Deep State War' unfolding in reaction against the New World Order paradigm (Hersh 2016), the following points can be made:

1. It is clear that the New World Order paradigm and its principle actors – George Bush Sr., Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama and Hilary Clinton[222] – were aligned with Saudi Arabia and Qatar in their foreign policy agenda, as well as the UK, France and Turkey, as outlined in the ISIS memo. The findings of this thesis support this fact. This group comprises and aligns with what has become known as the 'global oligarchy' working toward a one-world order; the Caliphate model is currently being used to accomplish this aim.

2. Gadhafi and Assad, as leaders of secular/nationalist states were/are enemies of the Wahhabi, Salafist agenda of the Saudis, and were fighting against this model, as was Iraq's Sadaam Hussein.[223] Consequently, they were targeted for regime change.

3. In regard to Global Oligarchy Theory, the findings of this study suggest that the agenda of this group revolves around four major aims working to accomplish the overlying goal of fully centralizing the worldwide system. They are listed here[224] along with the New World Order policies which worked toward their accomplishment:

a. The creation of an increasingly **centralized American domestic model**

- The consolidation, collectivization and control of the mainstream media.
- The censorship of the alternative media, through Facebook/YouTube[225] and Google[226] – all CFR-controlled companies.

[222] While the neoliberal ideology and the era of banking de-regulation took hold within the Reagan Presidency, it is highly debatable to what extent Reagan was knowingly a part of the Deep State. Many of his policies did not adhere to the agenda outlined in this section; some policies worked against it. The literature suggests that he was not a part of the Deep State but that Bush Sr. largely defined the Reagan Presidency following an assassination attempt (see Chapter 1). The findings from this study regarding Reagan show that his rhetoric is, in some key ways, highly distinct from that of the four Presidents who followed him (he mentions *God* 8x more often, refers to the founding fathers far more, etc.). A further study comparing the Reagan corpus to a reference corpus of the speeches from Bush Sr., Bill Clinton, George W. Bush and Obama would provide additional, useful information to this study.

[223] Islam, F. 'Iraq nets handsome profits by dumping dollar for Euro'. *The Guardian*. February 15th, 2003. Available: https://www.theguardian.com/business/2003/feb/16/iraq.theeuro

[224] This is not an extensive list as this study has not involved the detailed policy analysis of the Bush, Sr. – Obama Presidencies.

[225] Tynan, D. 'Facebook accused of censorship after hundreds of U.S. political pages purged'. *The Guardian.* October 16th, 2018. Available: https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2018/oct/16/facebook-political-activism-pages-inauthentic-behavior-censorship

[226] Epstein, R. 'The new censorship: How did Google become the internet's censor and master manipulator, blocking access to millions of websites?' *U.S. News*. June 22nd, 2016. Available:

- Obama's eradication of a ban on the media propagandizing of the American people[227]; increased control by Congress of the foreign press[228].
- The centralization of the health care system with the simultaneous sustainment of the for-profit model.
- The legalized promotion of highly addictive drugs through advertising.
- The continuing occupation of Afghanistan, where over 90% of the world's heroin is produced (Dale Scott 2014; McCoy 2003).
- Continual negation of the Constitution (the Patriot Act, the enabling of the surveillance state, gun control, forced fines for those not signing up to the ACA, continuing support for the existence of the Fed).
- The planned, targeted killing of U.S. citizens without trial by the Obama administration (not on American soil).[229]
- The creation of the pervasive American surveillance state.
- The elimination of the people's right to bear arms along with the simultaneous increased militarization of the domestic police force.
- Government support for monopoly companies such as Amazon, which reinforce the centralizing model within the business sphere and destroy small business.
- Increased federal regulations, thereby granting the State increased power over the population.[230]

b. The creation of an increasingly **centralized global model**

- The continuation of the petro-dollar system.
- Increased Saudi/Qatari Wahhabi control over the Middle East through the creation of the Caliphate.
- The increased power of both of the above simultaneously, resulting in an increasingly globalized power structure based on the control of finance and natural resources.
- Support for global free trade deals (NAFTA, the TPP, the TTIP).

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https://www.usnews.com/opinion/articles/2016-06-22/google-is-the-worlds-biggest-censor-and-its-power-must-be-regulated

[227] Hudson, J. 'U.S. repeals propaganda ban, spreads government-made news to Americans'. *Foreign Policy*. July 14th, 2013. Available: https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/07/14/u-s-repeals-propaganda-ban-spreads-government-made-news-to-americans/

[228] 21st Century Wire. '2017 NDAA: Obama signs Countering Disinformation and Propaganda Act'. December 25th, 2016. Available: https://21stcenturywire.com/2016/12/25/2017-ndaa-obama-signs-countering-disinformation-and-propaganda-act/

[229] American Civil Liberties Union (2014). 'Al-Aulaqi v. Pantta – Constitutional challenge to killing of three U.S. citizens'. June 4th, 2014. Available: https://www.aclu.org/cases/al-aulaqi-v-panetta-constitutional-challenge-killing-three-us-citizens?redirect=targetedkillings

[230] Crew, C. W. 'Obama's legacy: 2016 ends with a record-shattering regulatory rulebook'. *Forbes*. December 30th, 2016. Available: https://www.forbes.com/sites/waynecrews/2016/12/30/obamas-legacy-2016-ends-with-a-record-shattering-regulatory-rulebook/#5df8acb1398e

- Support for agendas mandated and administered by global institutions such as the UN.
- Support for global military institutions such as NATO.
- Support for open-borders immigration policies.

c. The reinforcement of the **hierarchical structure** of the financial system

- The policy paradigm of de-regulation to further empower the banks.
- The financialization of the U.S. economy at the expense of labor.
- The shielding of the Fed from blame for the mortgage crisis to continue the system; 'the recession was a mistake narrative'.
- The Fed's allowing of the 1929 (Ahamed 2009) and 2007-2008 Recessions (Lebor 2013).
- The doubling of the national debt without producing a recovery for the lower and middle classes.
- The funding of foreign wars using derivatives.
- Increased support for global financial structures such as the IMF and World Bank.
- The use of economic sanctions as a means by which to conduct economic warfare.
- Banker funding of major conflicts such as World War I and World War II.

d. The use of **regime-change and warfare** to reinforce this hierarchical model

- The funding and creation of terrorism to justify both regime-change and wars.
- The employment of the CIA, working outside of the Constitution, to enforce this model.
- The funding and creation of jihadi terrorism to justify both regime-change and wars.
- Use of the surrogate warfare strategy in which drone warfare and NGO's such as the White Helmets were used to carry out covert operations.
- The construction of prison-torture complexes across the Middle East, such as Abu Ghraib.
- America's on-going partnership with Saudi Arabia and Qatar, the major funders of jihadi terrorism worldwide.
- The employment of America's enormous weapons manufacturing sector to export weapons across the world.
- Tight control over all information pertaining to the 9/11 World Trade Center attacks through the CFR-controlled 9/11 Commission. These attacks have been used as the major, overlying justification for the War

on Terror. In a 2016 pole, over 60% of Americans stated that they do not believe the government's official narrative on 9/11.[231]

- Push to scale-back and change the Constitution.

Due to the fact that these 'establishment paradigm' policies worked to accomplish the goals of the oligarchy so systematically, the New World Order can be identified as working to serve the global oligarchy/one-world agenda. These findings support New World Order Theory and Global Oligarchy Theory.

It can be theorized that the American military had a strong reason to eventually rebel (Hersh 2016) against supporting the New World Order model due to its funding of the creation of the Caliphate. The military takes an oath to serve God and is known for its patriotic culture, which is based on the upholding of western, Judeo-Christian values. These conclusions support Hersh (2016), suggesting that a 'Deep State War' between the U.S. military and the Obama administration took place in some form in Syria; the QAnon message board asserts that this is the case and is narrating this war. These findings further support the work of Carroll Quigley and Antony Sutton (see Chapter 4), who have shown that the practice of bankers creating war for profit is common-place and a part of a broader economic policy paradigm. Alarmingly, this entire situation supports *Three World Wars Theory* (Carr 1966; see Chapter 4), in which a third war was predicted in 1966 as a part of a centuries-long effort on the part of a dark occultist oligarchy to create a totalitarian, one-world system. Overall, these findings suggest that this global conflict does, in fact, have a very strong spiritual warfare component. This should be studied in detail.

4. Evidence to support Trump's rejection of the *New World Order* paradigm

This study has found that the following strategies have been found to be employed by the establishment paradigm. A full list, including extended explanations behind these policies is included in the Appendix/Conclusion:

a. The use of the CIA to carry out a regime-change agenda.
b. The vilification of the leaders of countries targeted for regime-change years in advance.
c. The use of falsified/unverified 'facts' as evidence.
d. The tragedy/threat/terrorist threat argument pattern.
e. The equation of war with peace and/or America as a savior.
f. Terrorism as an excuse for unpopular foreign invasions and unpopular policies.
g. America's partnership with Saudi Arabia and Qatar.
h. The creation of terrorism.
i. The control of the media.

[231] Rasmussen Reports. 'Americans want government to tell all about 9/11'. April 25th, 2016. Available: http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/politics/general_politics/april_2016/americans_want_government_to_tell_all_about_9_11

j. The further re-definition of America as a permanent war state.
j. Attacks on the Constitution.

Trump either rejected or chose not to continue each of these strategies in the debates, meaning that overall, it is very clear that Trump challenged and rejected the New World Order paradigm in his performance and in his broader campaign. Much of this can surely be attributed to Steve Bannon.[232] Additionally, as Trump was funded by the military, it can be assumed that he was adhering to their version of events within the foreign policy arena; this is the same narrative upheld by General Flynn.

Trump's debate performance worked *against* the New World Order paradigm in the following ways:

1. Trump did not utilize the key establishment paradigm ideologies of neoliberalism, neo-conservativism; instead, he primarily used nationalist rhetoric. Nationalist rhetoric is based on a decentralized conception of the world. It works in direct opposition to the centralizing ideologies employed by the establishment.

2. Trump supported a de-centralizing agenda:

- He challenged the role of the Fed.
- He criticized insurance company monopolies.
- He argued to repeal the ACA.
- Did not approve of the policy trajectory of intervention in the Middle East.

Overall Trump's debate performance worked to raise *awareness* of the existence of the Deep State. He did this most markedly by:

- Questioning the role of the Fed in the economic downturn.
- De-legitimizing Obama economic recovery narrative.
- Highlighting that the establishment's wars in the Middle East, which has involved many 'mistakes' and had cost $6 trillion.
- Arguing that there was no concrete reason to intervene in Syria.
- Exposing damaging evidence of the ACA being purposefully designed to "defraud" the people.
- Attacking the CFR-controlled media.

[232] CPAC. 'Munk debate: The rise of populism'. November 2nd, 2018. Note: this video is from the prestigious Munk Debates between Bannon and David Frum, senior editor at *The Atlantic* and speechwriter for George W. Bush. Following the debate the audience voted on the winner, selecting Bannon with 57%; this is shown on-air. The institute later retracted this result, blaming it on a technical error and giving Frum the win instead. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=poq5ZrAc7pk

This evidence supports Deep State War Theory (see Chapter 1), the foundation for which can be attributed to Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Seymour Hersh (2016).

Additionally, the Trump administration is now offering increasingly obvious signs that the Q board is being run by the same military leading the administration. A screenshot from a video posted by President Trump on his Twitter account on August 6th, 2019 shows the following:

On the bottom of the screen the message 'Investco QQQ Trust (QQQ)' can be identified. This is a reference to the most commonly cited phrase on the Q board, which is 'Trust the plan, Q'. The mainstream media has now begun to narrate the attempted overthrow of a democratically-elected American President by the Obama administration working in-league with a UK-based globalist elite, illustrating that the alternative media's narrative is now migrating into the mainstream.[233]

5. Final conclusions regarding the paradigm shift and America

As outlined in Chapter 4, the New World Order paradigm is largely viewed as an economic one, with the political paradigm acting as a topical, defensive layer built over it by which to conceal the reality of the system. The findings of this study support this idea, as the policy paradigms that have been established since 1991 have worked to extend the power of the economic model across Presidencies. Both of these paradigms – the political and the economic – can be argued to have additionally worked in relation to a greater *scientific*

[233] Fox News. 'Hannity: Evidence s coming that will rock DC's foundation'. February 8th, 2018. Available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fIRD5NbtfIU

paradigm, which is the materialist, classical physics-based model. Due to the authority of physics in determining how societies come to view 'reality', this scientific paradigm is additionally an *ontological* one. Because of the conception of reality that has been molded within the Empire model, in which spiritual belief systems were eradicated in order to give the Roman priest class the power over ontology and in which a materialist conception of reality was upheld by the British Empire, this ontological paradigm is viewed as working in conflict to the multi-dimensional conception of reality upheld across spiritual and religions systems, as well as within the quantum model. As such, efforts to trigger and support a paradigm shift are seen as part of a spiritual war being fought with the aim of taking back the control of ontology from a dark occultist oligarchy, which has implemented an aggressive centralization-based agenda in order to establish a one-world structure acting as an adversary to God and His original reality. Consequently, the political paradigm shift manifesting in America now can be viewed as a result of this war. Due to the fact that the shift is a bottom-up process manifesting among the people, these events can be viewed as acting in response to this organic shift, which is originating with the individual. As such, the paradigm shift can be seen as working in the tradition of a *revolution*.

The conceptualization of this situation as a form of spiritual war is one which illustrates America's continuing link to the multi-dimensional conception of 'reality' upheld across spiritual belief systems. As outlined in Chapter 4, philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche's work re-conceptualized the human *will*, divorcing it from the links Arthur Schopenhauer had made between it and the Christian practice of mastering the will to align it with God as well as the Buddhist conception of Nirvana as the subjugation of the will to the Universe (Hall 2003: 31). In the place of Schopenhauer's transcendental linking of humanity's center to the spiritual plane, Nietzsche materialized it, working to sever humanity's relationship to God and instead binding the will to the lust for power. This effectively replaced society's energetic center by elevating the material over the spiritual, signifying the 'murder of God' (Voegelin 1968). As outlined in Chapter 4, this ontological construction is viewed as having led into the creation of the new world model which has grown increasingly corrupt and extreme in its aims, climaxing in the Obama administration's direct funding of the Caliphate. This materialist model for reality is now being rejected within America, as the population is refusing to consent to it; the rise of the alternative media and the paradigm shift is a reflection of a greater rejection of the Empire system as a whole. As in philosophy, within quantum theory the will is a point of deep importance. This is due to its acting as the trigger by which we select our material reality from the infinite number of options existing in the underlying quantum plane, making the human will the determiner for the reality which becomes a part of the material plane (Walker 2000). The will is therefore the link from the microcosm to the macrocosm, the uni-dimensional to the multi-dimensional, the material to spiritual, classical to quantum. Within America's founding documents, this will is bound to God and with this binding, Man is upheld as imbibed with infinite worth and boundless potential, having been created with a profound link to the transcendental within him or herself. It is this link, activated by the will, which has kept America fused to and defined by the higher plane; in being defined as such, the people continue to refuse to consent to becoming a part of a totalitartian, one-world system and the materialist reality it purports. Consequently, the control of ontology has never been decisively transferred from God to the oligarchy within America. This has disallowed the country from being re-

shaped from the decentralized, Constitutional model into the global model and its conflicting conception of reality and Man. In the end, it is God who continues to be America's saving grace.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to thank my primary supervisor, Dr. Kieran O'Halloran, for all of your support, encouragement and for constantly demanding that I be more objective. Secondly, I would like to thank Donald Trump, who will save us all... just kidding! Thank-you to Prof. Guy Cook, Dr. Anwar Tlili, Dr. Isabela Fairclough and Dr. Costas Gabrielatos for your comments on my drafts; they greatly helped me improve the final version.

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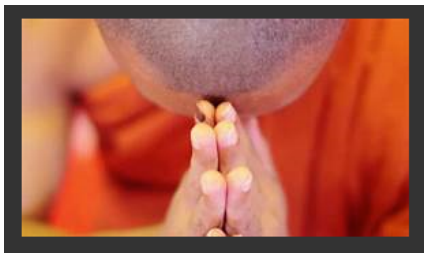
This thesis is dedicated, with love, to my *team*.



Now the sacrilege of history has only been one thing: an investment in separation of Man from its Source.

(Selig 2017: 89).

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CHAPTER 5

APPENDIX 5A: OBAMA CORPUS SEMANTIC DOMAIN FOR *DAMAGING/DESTROYING*

356 occurrences.			Ext
cial system . While the package helped avoid a financial	collapse	, many are frustrated by the results , and rightfully so	1
ly in history has our country faced economic problems as	devastating	as this crisis . But the strength of the American people	2
b cf0 **38;426;TOOLONG b0 cf0 Yesterday began with some	devastating	news with regard to our economic crisis . But I 'm please	3
while ignoring our fundamental economic challenges : the	crushing	cost of health care or the inadequate state of so many sc	4
ilding our crumbling roads and bridges and repairing our	faulty	levees and dams . Because of what we did , companies larg	5
families and businesses . It will require reforming the	broken	regulatory system that made this crisis possible and reco	6
for 95 percent of working Americans , roll back the tax	breaks	for those making over $250,000 a year , and end the tax b	7
for those making over $250,000 a year , and end the tax	breaks	for corporations that ship our jobs overseas . This budge	8
cars and American trucks . I promised to bring down the	crushing	cost of health care , a cost that bankrupts one American	9
t and the medicines we take are safe and do n't cause us	harm	. That 's the mission of our Food and Drug Administration	10
ave to worry that the medicines they buy will cause them	harm	. Protecting the safety of our food and drugs is one of t	11
em to make room for ones that do . That means ending tax	breaks	for companies shipping jobs overseas , stopping the fraud	12
ership of these individuals , I am confident that we can	break	our bad habits , put an end to the mismanagement that has	13
ed an immunity to it , it has more potential to cause us	harm	. Unlike the various strains of animal flu that have emer	14
cause we have it within our power to limit the potential	damage	of this virus , we have a solemn and urgent responsibilit	15
administration is taking is focused on clearing away the	wreckage	of this recession and building a new foundation for job c	16
by the weight of rapidly rising health care costs and a	broken	health care system . That 's why I met with representativ	17
. That 's why I will send our service men and women into	harm	's way only when it 's necessary and ensure that they hav	18
tastrophe down the road . Simply put , the status quo is	broken	. We can not continue this way . If we do nothing , every	19
e this historic opportunity to finally fix what ails our	broken	health care system and strengthen our economy and our cou	20
ide our broader approach to reform . We will fix what 's	broken	, while building upon what works . If you like your plan	21
ous : millions of Americans have seen their life savings	erode	; families have been devastated by job losses ; businesse	22
have seen their life savings erode ; families have been	devastated	by job losses ; businesses large and small have closed th	23
ton to stand up for their interests . And while I 'm not	spoiling	for a fight , I 'm ready for one . The most important thi	24
that we do n't return to the endless cycle of bubble and	bust	that led us to this recession . Clean energy and the jobs	25
ld . It 's what has always led us , as a people , not to	wilt	or cower at a difficult moment , but to face down any tri	26
orm an unsustainable health care system that is imposing	crushing	costs on families , businesses'97large and small'97as wel	27
al budgets . We need to protect what works , fix what 's	broken	, and bring down costs for all Americans . No more talk .	28
any feared that our financial system was on the verge of	collapse	. As a result of the swift and aggressive action we took	29
weather this economic storm . But once we clear away the	wreckage	, the real question is what we will build in its place .	30
e moving in the right direction . We 're cleaning up the	wreckage	of this storm . And we are laying a firmer , stronger fou	31
ouncil of Economic Advisers , right now they are getting	crushed	by skyrocketing health care costs . Because they lack the	32
e reform should be stopped as a way to inflict political	damage	on my administration . I 'll leave it to them to explain	33
o the American people . What I 'm concerned about is the	damage	that 's being done right now to the health of our familie	34
of-pocket expenses , because no one in America should go	broke	just because they get sick . Finally , we 'll require ins	35
e is widespread agreement on the urgent need to reform a	broken	system and finally hold insurance companies accountable .	36
end marks the fourth anniversary of Hurricane Katrina 's	devastation	of the Gulf Coast . As we remember all that was lost , we	37
hole neighborhoods of a great American city were left in	ruins	. Communities across the Gulf Coast were forever changed	38
, investing in public health and safety , and repairing	broken	roads , bridges , and homes . And this effort has been dr	39
t get health coverage , men and women who worry that one	accident	or illness could drive them into bankruptcy . And I 've h	40
ooperation to jump-start the world 's economies and help	break	the downward spiral that enveloped all our nations. **48;	41
eps each nation has taken , separately and together , to	break	the back of this economic crisis . And the good news is t	42
ing to do the right thing should n't have to worry about	ruinous	competition from unregulated and unscrupulous competitors	43
forget how close we came to the brink and perpetuate the	broken	system and breakdown of responsibility that made it possi	44
h Korea to stop their efforts to develop weapons of mass	destruction	. And we will continue to stand with our allies and partn	45
quo : a status quo of rising health care costs that are	crushing	our families , our businesses , and our government ; a st	46
xaggeration to say that unless we act , these costs will	devastate	the U.S. economy . This is the unsustainable path we 're	47
I will not abide are those who would bend the truth , or	break	it , to score political points and stop our progress as a	48
any more are discouraged from even trying because of the	crushing	costs of health care , costs that have forced too many sm	49
back when many of our largest banks were on the verge of	collapse	, our credit markets were frozen , and it was nearly impo	50
ed on reports coming in from across America , as shovels	break	ground , as needed public servants are rehired , and as f	51
ica . It 's a crime that would have horrified us had its	victims	been Americans of any background . But it 's all the more	52
he place where it occurred and the patriots who were its	victims	. The SRP is where our men and women in uniform go before	53
e same stunned reaction : I 'm supposed to be the one in	harm	's way , not you . Thursday 's shooting was one of the mo	54
way , not you . Thursday 's shooting was one of the most	devastating	ever committed on an American military base . And yet eve	55
d community , the Army , and friends and families of the	victims	to honor 13 of our fellow Americans who died and the doze	56
d for a son or daughter , a husband or wife stationed in	harm	's way . And we say a special thanks for the sacrifices t	57
nts we 've made and tough steps we 've taken have helped	break	the back of the recession , and now our economy is finall	58
n those first months , the numbers were nothing short of	devastating	. The worst recession since the 1930s had wreaked havoc o	59
of devastating . The worst recession since the 1930s had	wreaked	havoc on the lives of so many of our fellow Americans . Y	60
eps we 've taken , we 're no longer facing the potential	collapse	of our financial system or a second great depression . We	61
ifficult steps we 've taken since January have helped to	break	our fall and begin to get us back on our feet . The econo	62
nly choices are bailing out banks or letting our economy	collapse	. And they would consolidate the consumer protection func	63
tient 's bill of rights never made it into law . It fell	victim	, again and again , to the same special interest lobbying	64
. And reforms to target waste , inefficiency , and price	gouging	by the insurance industry will help make this the largest	65
now that he traveled to Yemen , a country grappling with	crushing	poverty and deadly insurgencies . It appears that he join	66
gnified retirement , stable health care so you do n't go	broke	just because you get sick , the chance to give our kids a	67
nd win the race for the 21st century . We 're fixing our	broken	health insurance system that 's crushing families , eatin	68
We 're fixing our broken health insurance system that 's	crushing	families , eating away at workers ' take-home pay , and n	69
oken health insurance system that 's crushing families ,	eating away	at workers ' take-home pay , and nailing small businesses	70

st financial firms in the world teetered on the brink of	collapse	, overwhelmed by the consequences of their irresponsible	71
s to prevent the abuse and excess that nearly led to its	collapse	. Our goal is to promote fair dealings while punishing th	72
ile discouraging the speculative bubbles that inevitably	burst	. Ultimately , that 's in the shared interest of the fina	73
l Reserve , the FDIC , and others to prevent a financial	collapse	. And it ignores a far greater unfairness : sticking the	74
n now get into the act . I ca n't think of anything more	devastating	to the public interest . The last thing we need to do is	75
k , and it will be a priority for us until we repair the	damage	that has been done . One of the great Republican Presiden	76
last year , amidst headlines about banks on the verge of	collapse	and job losses of 700,000 a month , we received another t	77
t just burden our children and grandchildren , but could	damage	our markets , drive up our interest rates , and jeopardiz	78
se , there were many causes of the economic turmoil that	ripped	through our country over the past 2 years . But it was a	79
xecutive salaries and bonuses . And through new tools to	break up	failing financial firms , it would help ensure that taxpa	80
fact is , it 's now been well over a year since the near	collapse	of the entire financial system , a crisis that helped wip	81
se of the entire financial system , a crisis that helped	wipe out	more than 8 million jobs and that continues to exact a te	82
s who depend on it . To make sure our students do n't go	broke	just because they chose to go to college , we 're making	83
s , instead of losing them . We 've begun to reverse the	devastating	slide , but we have a long way to go to repair the damage	84
ating slide , but we have a long way to go to repair the	damage	from this recession , and that will continue to be my foc	85
OOLONG b0 cf0 There were many causes of the turmoil that	ripped	through our economy over the past 2 years . But above all	86
old with little oversight as " financial weapons of mass	destruction	. " That 's why through reform we 'd help ensure that the	87
ore than 1 year ago that our country faced a potentially	devastating	crisis in our auto industry . Over the course of 2008 , t	88
of America 's manufacturing might , were on the brink of	collapse	. The rapid dissolution of these companies , followed by	89
if the companies and their stakeholders were willing to	break	with the past . They had to fundamentally reorganize , wi	90
s how we 'll help to put an end to the cycle of boom and	bust	that we 've seen . And that 's how , after 2 very difficu	91
Buffalo . These small businesses were some of the worst	victims	of the excessive risk-taking on Wall Street that led to t	92
'll prevent banks from taking on so much risk that could	collapse	and threaten our whole economy . And we 'll give sharehol	93
exploded off Louisiana 's coast , killing 11 people and	rupturing	an underwater pipe . The resulting oil spill has not only	94
unding the leak but for shutting it down , repairing the	damage	it does , and repaying Americans who 've suffered a finan	95
disaster and where oversight of the oil and gas industry	broke down	. We know , for example , that a cozy relationship betwee	96
d Isle , Louisiana , one of the first places to feel the	devastation	wrought by the oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico . While I	97
r bed along the north side of Grand Isle has likely been	destroyed	by the spill. **48;9264;TOOLONG cf0 Terry Vegas has a sim	98
d tackle is flying off the shelves . But he too has been	devastated	by the decline in tourism and the suspension of fishing i	99
al bounty of this place . Here , this spill has not just	damaged	livelihoods , it 's upended whole communities . And the f	100
was lacking , it will be strengthened . And if laws were	broken	, those responsible will be brought to justice . Now , ov	101
ife . And we will fight alongside them , until the awful	damage	that has been done is reversed , people are back on their	102
in Washington , but gridlock as a political strategy is	destructive	to the country . Whether we are Democrats or Republicans	103
led a resolution authority to help wind down firms whose	collapse	would threaten our entire financial system . Put simply ,	104
happy Fourth of July . And to all our troops serving in	harm	's way , I want you to know you have the support of a gra	105
y to train and equip our troops before we send them into	harm	's way , we have a solemn responsibility to provide our v	106
y expenditure . That 's because an economic disaster can	devastate	families and communities just as surely as a flood or tor	107
employed . They 've got no problem spending money on tax	breaks	for folks at the top who do n't need them and did n't eve	108
y from Wall Street to Washington . Instead of giving tax	breaks	to corporations that ship jobs overseas , we want to give	109
rporations that ship jobs overseas , we want to give tax	breaks	to small-business owners who are creating jobs right here	110
e this mess , and it will take years to fully repair the	damage	. But I am confident that we are finally headed in the ri	111
of our manufacturing might for a century to the brink of	collapse	. We did n't have many good options . On the one hand , w	112
auto companies to go out of business , which could have	wiped out	1 million American jobs . I refused to let that happen .	113
after seeing the wealth people worked a lifetime to earn	wiped out	in a matter of days , that no one would want to place bet	114
that our troops and veterans can keep for life . We 're	breaking	the claims backlog and reforming the process with new pap	115
ing economic security . Companies were rewarded with tax	breaks	for creating jobs overseas . Wall Street firms turned hug	116
es to pay their bills . Ultimately , that house of cards	collapsed	. So this Labor Day , we should recommit ourselves to our	117
s . Instead , I 'm fighting to pass a law to provide tax	breaks	to the folks who create jobs right here in America . But	118
il , but the human capacity for good ; not the desire to	destroy	, but the impulse to save . That 's why we mark September	119
our ideals , in defiance of those who would do us grave	harm	. We prove that the sense of responsibility that we felt	120
il , but the human capacity for good ; not the desire to	destroy	, but the impulse to save . That 's why we mark September	121
our ideals , in defiance of those who would do us grave	harm	. We prove that the sense of responsibility that we felt	122
t will generate the jobs we need and repair the terrible	damage	the recession has done . That 's why I 've proposed a ser	123
proposed a series of additional steps : accelerated tax	breaks	for businesses who buy equipment now , a permanent resear	124
drawn the most interest on their web site is ending tax	breaks	for companies that ship jobs overseas . The funny thing i	125
s . Instead of cutting taxes for the wealthiest few--tax	breaks	we can not afford--I 've called for tax cuts for middle c	126
e Mojave Desert , a company called BrightSource plans to	break	ground on a revolutionary new type of solar power plant .	127
r Tax Code has actually given billions of dollars in tax	breaks	that encourage companies to create jobs and profits in ot	128
s and businesses within our borders . We should give tax	breaks	to American small businesses and manufacturers . We shoul	129
epression . Even today , we 're still digging out of the	damage	it unleashed on the economy . Millions of people are stil	130
ke this country backward , that we do n't go back to the	broken	system we had before . We 've got to keep moving forward	131
ar activities . So those who would block this treaty are	breaking	President Reagan 's rule . They want to trust , but not v	132
e Republicans in Congress strongly favored permanent tax	breaks	for the wealthiest taxpayers and the wealthiest estates ,	133
so hurt businesses , which will hurt hiring , which will	damage	our economy . So this plan is going to help millions of f	134
ing the budget , we can not continue to afford these tax	breaks	for the wealthiest taxpayers , especially when we know th	135
rocked the foundations of our economy and left a lot of	destruction	and a lot of doubt in its wake . So our fundamental missi	136
rizona . We properly spent much of the week mourning the	victims	and remembering their lives . We also discovered stories	137
f view rose in common cause to honor Gabby and the other	victims	and to reflect on our shared hopes for this country . As	138
er decision than sending our military men and women into	harm	's way . And the United States should not , and can not ,	139
cal . If we do n't act , a rising tide of borrowing will	damage	our economy , costing us jobs and risking our future pros	140

ese drastic cuts , it would also give $1 trillion in tax	breaks	to the wealthiest 2 percent of Americans , an extra $200,	141
aced an auto industry on the brink of extinction . Total	collapse	. At the time , many people thought the President should	142
ican companies , Chrysler and GM , stood on the brink of	collapse	. Now , we had a few options . We could have done what a	143
sed to explore water and sewage pipes and find leaks and	breaks	before they become expensive problems . But the folks at	144
how they 'd deal with an unexpected expense if their car	breaks down	. They 're worried about layoffs . They 're not sure if t	145
n't afford them . Because if we choose to keep those tax	breaks	for millionaires and billionaires or for hedge fund manag	146
les that give special interests and big corporations tax	breaks	that middle class Americans do n't get . It 's pretty sim	147
n't think oil companies should keep getting special tax	breaks	when they 're making tens of billions in profits . I do n	148
il companies and corporate jet owners to give up the tax	breaks	that other companies do n't get . Before we cut medical r	149
, we should ask the wealthiest taxpayers to give up tax	breaks	we simply ca n't afford under these circumstances . That	150
ther in their communities and neighborhoods to honor the	victims	of 9/11 and to reaffirm the strength of our Nation with a	151
hat the future belongs to those that want to build , not	destroy	. Ten years ago , ordinary Americans showed us the true m	152
s bill . This is the job creating we need right now ! It	breaks	my husband 's heart when he has to let people go . Pass t	153
ur role in protecting the Libyan people and helping them	break	free from a tyrant was the right thing to do. **48;18301;	154
egulations regarding prescription drugs to prevent price	gouging	. And there 's more to come . If the Republican Congress	155
o are in Afghanistan and serving , even as we speak , in	harm	's way to protect the freedoms and security we hold so de	156
home and investing in America , and we 'll eliminate tax	breaks	for companies that move jobs overseas . It 's also why ,	157
up-or-down vote within 90 days . We should also stem the	corrosive	influence of money in politics . The House and Senate sho	158
drove up prices and created an unsustainable bubble that	burst	and left millions of families who did everything right ,	159
of failure . If we had let this great American industry	collapse	, if we had let Detroit go bankrupt , more than 1 million	160
've been looking for a job ever since the housing market	collapsed	. But once again , we 're waiting on Congress . You see ,	161
does n't make any sense . Do we want to keep giving tax	breaks	to the wealthiest Americans , folks like myself or Warren	162
ng to go on record . And if they vote to keep giving tax	breaks	to people like me'97tax breaks our country ca n't afford'	163
y vote to keep giving tax breaks to people like me'97tax	breaks	our country ca n't afford'97then they 're going to have t	164
er , pay them a visit , and tell them to stop giving tax	breaks	to people who do n't need them and start investing in the	165
ddle class families have seen too much of their security	eroded	over the past few decades for us to tell them they 're go	166
ion , the tide of war has turned in Afghanistan . We 've	broken	the Taliban 's momentum . We 've built strong Afghan secu	167
um . We 've built strong Afghan security forces . We 've	devastated	Al Qaida 's leadership . And 1 year ago , our troops laun	168
nomy right now . First , Congress should stop giving tax	breaks	to companies that ship jobs overseas and use that money t	169
hese companies are putting Americans to work and helping	break	our dependence on foreign oil . Congress should extend th	170
system like a casino . Not only did that behavior nearly	destroy	the financial system , it cost our economy millions of jo	171
treet and a lack of basic oversight in Washington nearly	destroyed	our economy . We ca n't afford to go back to that brand o	172
lt on cheating consumers or making risky bets that could	damage	the whole economy , you have nothing to fear from Wall St	173
d . And it 's long past time for Congress to end the tax	breaks	for companies that ship jobs overseas and use that money	174
k away from 40,000 good jobs . And instead of giving tax	breaks	to companies who ship jobs overseas , Congress should tak	175
y . I 'm here in Colorado Springs , visiting some of the	devastating	fires that have been taking place over the last several d	176
e under threat . And we had a chance to tour some of the	devastation	that had been taking place in some of the subdivisions he	177
ng treated for injuries at local hospitals . Some of the	victims	are being treated at a children 's hospital. **48;23069;T	178
yone takes some time for prayer and reflection : for the	victims	of this terrible tragedy , for the people who knew them a	179
se who are still struggling to recover , and for all the	victims	of less publicized acts of violence that plague our commu	180
ield , and others are getting ready to ship out . We 've	broken	the Taliban 's momentum in Afghanistan and begun the tran	181
e complete . But as long as we have a single American in	harm	's way , we will continue to do everything in our power t	182
ca watched the towers fall and the Pentagon burn and the	wreckage	smoldering in a Pennsylvania field , we were filled with	183
k stronger as a nation . We took the fight to Al Qaida ,	decimating	their leadership , and put them on the path to defeat . A	184
Chief , the United States will never tolerate efforts to	harm	our fellow Americans . Right now we are doing whatever we	185
. We are Americans . We know that our spirit can not be	broken	and the foundation of our leadership can not be shaken .	186
it was flatlining . GM and Chrysler were on the verge of	collapse	. Suppliers and distributors were at risk of going under	187
e pump . That 's what America is all about . When we get	knocked down	, we get back up . We come back stronger . And as long as	188
homes are going up . In fact , construction workers are	breaking	ground on new homes in America at the fastest pace in mor	189
h Governor Christie , and witnessed some of the terrible	devastation	first hand . It 's heartbreaking . Families have lost lov	190
the first-responders , who repeatedly put themselves in	harm	's way to bravely save the lives of others , have suffere	191
test way . This week , we have been humbled by nature 's	destructive	power . But we 've been inspired as well . For when the s	192
unities . We 've seen hospital workers using their lunch	breaks	to distribute supplies ; families offering up extra bedro	193
l their dreams. **48;25727;TOOLONG cf0 So our hearts are	broken	today . We grieve for the families of those we lost , and	194
energy independence while protecting our planet from the	harmful	effects of climate change , educating our children , and	195
nks to our brave men and women in uniform , we 've dealt	devastating	blows to Al Qaida . We 've pushed the Taliban out of thei	196
he work ahead will not be easy . Our forces are still in	harm	's way . But make no mistake : Our path is clear , and we	197
igration system . We have to protect our planet from the	destructive	effects of climate change and protect our children from t	198
keeping an irresponsible , law-breaking few from causing	harm	on a massive scale . That 's what these reforms are desig	199
ht now if Congress does n't act by March 1 , a series of	harmful	, automatic cuts to job-creating investment and defense s	200
idea to put thousands of jobs at risk and do unnecessary	damage	to our economy . And yet the current Republican plan puts	201
need to make our Tax Code more competitive , ending tax	breaks	for companies that ship jobs overseas and rewarding compa	202
es for corporate jet owners ? Are they really willing to	slash	military health care and the border patrol just because t	203
border patrol just because they refuse to eliminate tax	breaks	for big oil companies ? Are they seriously prepared to in	204
The longer these cuts remain in place , the greater the	damage	. Economists estimate they could eventually cost us more	205
week , they decided that protecting special interest tax	breaks	for the well off and well connected is more important tha	206
an $8,000 at the pump . But the only way we 're going to	break	this cycle of spiking gas prices for good is to shift our	207
reduce our deficits by nearly $2 trillion more , without	harming	the recovery . That surpasses the goal of $4 trillion in	208
Boston'97residents , priests , shopkeepers'97who carried	victims	in their arms , delivered water and blankets , lined up t	209
the sequester : by replacing it before it causes further	damage	. A couple of weeks ago , I put forward a budget that rep	210

border , but to fix an immigration system that is badly	broken	. In recent weeks , we 've seen a commonsense immigration	211
smarter way that does n't hurt middle class families or	harm	critical investments in our future . So in a lot of secto	212
there for the military families whose loved ones are in	harm	's way , for they serve as well . And above all , we must	213
ding our crumbling roads and bridges , like the one that	collapsed	last week in Washington State . We 'd all be safer , and	214
ent rate would fall faster . And Congress should fix our	broken	immigration system by passing commonsense reform that con	215
, America will take an important step towards fixing our	broken	immigration system . The entire United States Senate will	216
years , our out-of-date immigration system has actually	harmed	our economy and threatened our security . Now , over the	217
we 've taken steps to try to patch up some of the worst	cracks	in the system . We strengthened security on the southern	218
communities legally . But if we 're going to truly fix a	broken	system , we need Congress to act in a comprehensive way .	219
hance to finally fix an immigration system that is badly	broken	. So if you agree that now is the time for commonsense re	220
and men without a family connection'97who are trying to	break	the cycle and give more of our young people a strong male	221
ense bill that 'd be an important step toward fixing our	broken	immigration system. **48;29010;TOOLONG cf0 It 's a bill t	222
hat the time for excuses is over ; it 's time to fix our	broken	immigration system once and for all . We can do this , be	223
rave longer wildfire seasons . The farmers who see crops	wilted	one year and washed away the next . Western families worr	224
omy , and that sheltering future generations against the	ravages	of climate change is a prerequisite for your vote . We wi	225
e and your sacrifice , especially those still serving in	harm	's way and your families here at home . So God bless you	226
ation reform , taking an important step towards fixing a	broken	immigration system once and for all. **48;29391;TOOLONG c	227
but only if we act . If we do n't do anything to fix our	broken	system , our workforce will continue to shrink as baby bo	228
the part of a few could never again cause a crisis that	harms	millions of middle class families. **48;29518;TOOLONG cf0	229
f our lifetimes . We saved the auto industry , took on a	broken	health care system , invested in new American technologie	230
're not yet where we need to be . Trends that have been	eroding	middle class security for decades'97technology that makes	231
ill grow our economy , I also put forward a strategy for	breaking	through the Washington logjam : a grand bargain for the m	232
e are no tricks to grow the economy . Reversing the long	erosion	of middle class security in this country wo n't be easy .	233
nied affordable care just because they 've been sick and	harming	the economy and millions of Americans in the process . An	234
chemical weapons'97not only because they cause death and	destruction	in the most indiscriminate and inhumane way possible , bu	235
all into the hands of terrorist groups who wish to do us	harm	. That 's why , last weekend , I announced that , as Comm	236
cal weapons over to international control and ultimately	destroying	them . This would allow us to achieve our goal : deterrin	237
t Asad gives up his chemical weapons so that they can be	destroyed	. We will continue rallying support from allies around th	238
credit of the United States . I will not allow anyone to	harm	this country 's reputation or threaten to inflict economi	239
might choose to shut down the Government and potentially	damage	the economy just because they do n't like this law . I 'l	240
is week , there 's only one way out of this reckless and	damaging	shutdown : pass a budget that funds our Government with n	241
t in the middle of the holiday shopping season , because	damage	to America 's sterling credit rating would n't just cause	242
ing credit rating would n't just cause global markets to	go haywire	. It would become more expensive for everyone in America	243
their bills and that their own creditworthiness will be	ruined	for no good reason at all . And I want to thank all the n	244
the manufactured crisis of these last few weeks actually	harmed	jobs and growth . And it 's understandable that your frus	245
rowing . Second , we should finish the job of fixing our	broken	immigration system . There 's already a broad coalition a	246
o pay for things that actually create jobs . We can keep	harmful	cuts to education programs or we could give more kids a H	247
rica . Our troops gain unmatched skills while serving in	harm	's way . So we 're also doing everything we can to connec	248
l than we buy from other countries . We decided to fix a	broken	health care system . And even though the rollout of the m	249
just hurt families already struggling , it will actually	harm	our economy . Unemployment insurance is one of the most e	250
b0 cf0 One year ago today , a quiet , peaceful town was	shattered	by unspeakable violence . Six dedicated school workers an	251
f0 Newtown is a town like so many of our hometowns . The	victims	were educators and kids that could have been any of our o	252
hat could have been any of our own . And our hearts were	broken	: for the families that lost a piece of their heart ; for	253
ave to do everything we can to protect our children from	harm	and make them feel loved and valued and cared for . And a	254
r the next 2 years . This budget will unwind some of the	damaging	cuts that have threatened students and seniors and held b	255
on that only held back our economy , we 've been able to	break	the logjam a bit over the last few weeks . It 's a hopefu	256
, fewer of our men and women in uniform are deployed in	harm	's way than at any time in the last decade . And that 's	257
otors that save businesses money on energy costs and cut	harmful	carbon pollution . And I stopped by NC State University ,	258
reate jobs , like building infrastructure and fixing our	broken	immigration system . Where Congress is n't acting , I 'll	259
ls from getting an education '96 grown men attempting to	snuff out	the aspirations of young girls . And I want you to know t	260
ant to send their daughters off to school , fearing that	harm	might come their way . But they took that risk because th	261
ress will claim that these guidelines will kill jobs and	crush	the economy . Let 's face it , that 's what they always s	262
, but in America , we 've always used new technology to	break	the old rules . As President and as a parent , I refuse t	263
ill make in the coming weeks : protect young people from	crushing	debt or protect tax breaks for millionaires . And while C	264
: protect young people from crushing debt or protect tax	breaks	for millionaires . And while Congress decides what it 's	265
lyweds expecting their first child Jack when the housing	crash	dried up his contracting business . He took what jobs he	266
wing the economy for everybody . So rather than more tax	breaks	for millionaires , let 's give more tax breaks to help wo	267
more tax breaks for millionaires , let 's give more tax	breaks	to help working families pay for childcare or college . R	268
rica is. **48;36086;TOOLONG cf0 Now , none of this is an	accident	. It 's thanks to your resilience , resolve , and hard wo	269
ad is growing. **48;36213;TOOLONG cf0 None of this is an	accident	. It 's thanks to the resilience and resolve of the Ameri	270
s . But when some companies cherry-pick their taxes , it	damages	the country 's finances . It adds to the deficit . It mak	271
g men , enslaving women , and threatening the systematic	destruction	of an entire religious community , which would be genocid	272
proved targeted American airstrikes to help Iraqi forces	break	the siege and rescue these families . Earlier this week ,	273
d marching band and the school play ; moms and dads will	snap	those first-day-of-school pictures , and that includes me	274
moving ahead with our strategy to degrade and ultimately	destroy	this terrorist organization . To meet a threat like this	275
are serving in this effort . When our airstrikes helped	break	the siege of the Iraq town of Amerli , one Kurdish fighte	276
nds and allies in the strategy to degrade and ultimately	destroy	the terrorist group known as ISIL . As I 've said before	277
on our troops . Whether it 's to degrade and ultimately	destroy	a group of terrorists or to contain and combat a threat l	278
leading the world in the fight to degrade and ultimately	destroy	the terrorist group known as ISIL . On Monday , our brave	279
little to show for it . And the much longer and profound	erosion	of middle class jobs and incomes is n't something we 're	280

entrepreneurial . But today , our immigration system is	broken	, and everybody knows it . That 's why , nearly 2 years a	281
creates jobs . Reforming our outdated tax system and our	broken	immigration system creates jobs . Raising the minimum wag	282
have been part of our mission to degrade and ultimately	destroy	ISIL in Iraq and Syria . They 've been supporting our eff	283
. We 're leading the coalition to degrade and ultimately	destroy	ISIL . We 're leading the global fight to combat the Ebol	284
ur men and women in uniform will spend this Christmas in	harm	's way . And as Commander in Chief , I want our troops to	285
. And we now have the chance to reverse the decades-long	erosion	of middle class jobs and incomes . We just have to invest	286
or folks who do n't need them , allowing us to offer tax	breaks	to students and families who do need them . I believe thi	287
hat 's why we 've successfully gone after countries that	break	the rules at our workers ' expense . But that does n't me	288
rls who should be in school are not . And that 's not an	accident	. It 's the direct result of barriers , large and small ,	289
use they were upset about the actions I took to make our	broken	immigration system smarter and fairer . Now they 're deny	290
Iran with phased relief from certain sanctions . If Iran	violates	the deal , sanctions can be snapped back into place . Mea	291
gest banks to discourage the kind of risky behavior that	crashed	our economy just a few years ago . Doing just that would	292
shielding our cities and our families from disaster and	harm	. It 's about keeping our kids healthy and safe . This is	293
write those rules . I 've seen towns where manufacturing	collapsed	, plants closed down , and jobs dried up . And I refuse t	294
e out . Once you 're a part of this partnership , if you	violate	your responsibilities , there are actual consequences . A	295
brate this heritage , we have to defend it by fixing our	broken	immigration system . Nearly 2 years ago , Democrats and R	296
ions , and a smarter way to crack down on countries that	break	the rules of the global economy . But that 's not all we	297
y predictions , for all the talk of death panels and job	destruction	, for all the repeal attempts , this law is helping tens	298
hear from critics that Iran faces no consequences if it	violates	this deal . That is also patently false . If Iran violate	299
olates this deal . That is also patently false . If Iran	violates	this deal , the sanctions we imposed that have helped cri	300
nson signed a law to change that . The Voting Rights Act	broke down	legal barriers that stood between millions of African Ame	301
pipeline from inadequate schools to overcrowded jails ,	wreaking	havoc on communities and families all across the country	302
as sea ice melts faster , some of the swiftest shoreline	erosion	in the world , in some places , more than 3 feet a year .	303
ty . Think about that . If another country threatened to	wipe out	an American town , we 'd do everything in our power to pr	304
they pass a budget with shortsighted sequester cuts that	harm	our military and our economy , I will veto it . If they m	305
to set our sights higher than that . We need to reverse	harmful	cuts to middle class economic priorities , close loophole	306
own growth could slow if Congress does n't do away with	harmful	austerity measures . **48;43916;TOOLONG cf0 Now , on Wedn	307
th parties agreed to put in place what have proven to be	harmful	, automatic cuts that make no distinction between spendin	308
rcut us and sell their products cheaper because they 're	violating	these rules . And unlike past trade agreements , these st	309
bill reducing the 100-to-1 sentencing disparity between	crack	and powder cocaine . I 've commuted the sentences of doze	310
, have now laid out plans to reduce their levels of the	harmful	carbon pollution that warms our planet . That gives us gr	311
s and improve care for our wounded warriors . We 've now	slashed	the disability claims backlog by nearly 90 percent from i	312
le human acts are a powerful reminder that we can not be	broken	and in the face of terror we stand as one . In the wake o	313
ere 's what he said : " Compel the crusaders to actively	destroy	the gray zone themselves . Muslims in the West will quick	314
he people of San Bernardino , another American community	shattered	by unspeakable violence . We salute the first responders'	315
Most of all , we stand with 14 families whose hearts are	broken	. We 're learning more about their loved ones'97the men a	316
s'97need to work together to prevent people from falling	victim	to these hateful ideologies . More broadly , this tragedy	317
men and women in uniform are stepping up our campaign to	destroy	ISIL . Our airstrikes are hitting ISIL harder than ever i	318
losing territory , and we 're not going to stop until we	destroy	this terrorist organization . Number four : a 21st-centur	319
keeping an irresponsible , dangerous few from inflicting	harm	on a massive scale . So I know there are a bunch of us wh	320
ars ago , the American auto industry was on the brink of	collapse	. Plants were closing . Hundreds of thousands of workers	321
orkers of all kinds need to be able to figure out how to	break	a big problem into smaller pieces and identify the right	322
Hi , everybody . This week , we continued our mission to	destroy	ISIL . This remains a difficult fight , and the situation	323
ampaign'97more than 10,000 strikes so far'97continues to	destroy	ISIL forces . And we continue to go after ISIL leaders an	324
we bomb its oil infrastructure , ISIL 's been forced to	slash	salaries of its fighters . Thanks to the work of many nat	325
I am absolutely confident that we will prevail . We will	destroy	this barbaric terrorist organization and continue to stan	326
een more optimistic that we will one day find a cure for	devastating	diseases like Alzheimer 's . And I can think of no better	327
y bombing , working side by side with first responders ,	victims	, and their families to bring justice for an unspeakable	328
e the program from the memorial service with each of the	victims	' names inside . For the last 19 years , Judge Garland ha	329
n norms and customs of our political rhetoric seem to be	corroding	, this is precisely the time we should treat the appointm	330
sul . And we will not stop until ISIL 's safe havens are	destroyed	. We 're also working to disrupt plots against the United	331
ow that the future belongs not to those who seek only to	destroy	, but to those who have the courage to build . Thanks. **	332
reshold so that working families wo n't fall through the	cracks	for decades at a time ever again . This is the single big	333
erybody . Right now there are American troops serving in	harm	's way and standing sentry around the world . There are v	334
hey need to succeed , making sure we only send them into	harm	's way when it 's absolutely necessary . And if they make	335
heir kids are graduating from high school . And it 's no	accident	. It 's because people there worked hard and sacrificed a	336
transgender . I visited with the families of many of the	victims	on Thursday . And one thing I told them is that they 're	337
r power to stop these kinds of attacks and to ultimately	destroy	ISIL . The extraordinary people in our intelligence , mil	338
Time and again , we 've observed moments of silence for	victims	of terror and gun violence . Too often , those moments ha	339
, those who comfort mourners and visit the wounded , the	victims	whose last acts on this Earth helped others to safety . T	340
at they should serve , that they had a duty . So when an	assassin	's bullet targeted the police force in Dallas , it touche	341
r memories . So while we 're being tested , we ca n't be	pulled apart	. We are America , with bonds that hold us together . We	342
think differently than we do . Otherwise , we 'll never	break	this dangerous cycle . And that 's what America 's all ab	343
deceptive practices like the ones that helped cause the	crash	. The proof is in the more than 27 million consumers who	344
rule of Advice and Consent . And that 's the rule being	violated	today by Senate Republicans . Nobody is suggesting that S	345
my . We'92ve invested in energy efficiency , and we'92re	slashing	carbon emissions from appliances , homes , and businesses	346
he one planet we'92ve got. 'a0 That'92s not something to	tear up	'96 it'92s something to build upon. 'a0 And if we keep pu	347
a Trees in Joshua Tree National Park . Rising seas could	destroy	vital ecosystems in the Everglades , even threaten Ellis	348
gon was in flames . A Pennsylvania field burned with the	wreckage	of an airplane . And nearly 3,000 innocent lives were los	349
has changed over these past 15 years . We'92ve delivered	devastating	blows to the al Qaeda leaders that attacked us on 9/11 .	350
less against terrorists like al Qaeda and ISIL . We will	destroy	them . And we'92ll keep doing everything in our power to	351
hose who would divide us . We can not react in ways that	erode	the fabric of our society . Because it'92s our diversity	352
chers and the public . But now we 're in the position to	break down	silos to change that . And the Moonshot vision report ref	353
e constantly finding ways to protect our astronauts from	harmful	radiation in space . Now , thanks to the Moonshot , the N	354
American can rest free from the fear that one illness or	accident	will derail your dreams , because discrimination against	355
s like Boston show the world that no terrorist will ever	break	the American spirit . I 've seen the hopeful faces of you	356

APPENDIX 5B: OBAMA CORPUS FREQUENCY WORDLIST

Word	Frequency	Relative Frequency
more	1558	0.62
have	1551	0.61
do	1134	0.45
be	1048	0.42
jobs	914	0.36
all	913	0.36
Americans	811	0.32
people	806	0.32
America	790	0.31
new	788	0.31
economy	774	0.31
American	727	0.29
country	666	0.26
just	640	0.25
congress	606	0.24
need	564	0.22
get	557	0.22
work	544	0.22
families	539	0.21
help	538	0.21
one	527	0.21
been	520	0.21
now	514	0.20
businesses	471	0.19
like	465	0.18
make	413	0.16
keep	412	0.16
know	390	0.15
years	379	0.15
world	371	0.15
time	368	0.15
tax	368	0.15
every	367	0.15
today	337	0.13
year	325	0.13
great	320	0.13
working	317	0.13
here	315	0.12
workers	314	0.12
week	313	0.12

even	312	0.12
good	307	0.12
job	305	0.12
have to	296	0.12
want	295	0.12
future	291	0.12
over	290	0.11
middle class	285	0.11
reform	278	0.11
most	272	0.11
pay	267	0.11
better	263	0.10
going to	262	0.10
folks	258	0.10
many	256	0.10
right	256	0.10
nation	253	0.10
economic	251	0.10
energy	251	0.10
insurance	250	0.10
republicans	250	0.10
women	249	0.10
act	248	0.10
way	247	0.10
still	247	0.10
take	245	0.10
give	242	0.10
across	238	0.09
put	236	0.09
home	233	0.09
health care	228	0.09
family	220	0.09
plan	218	0.09
made	216	0.09
back	213	0.08
health	212	0.08
crisis	211	0.08
create	209	0.08
financial	209	0.08
security	209	0.08
any	208	0.08
millions	206	0.08
system	206	0.08
means	205	0.08
Washington	204	0.08
important	199	0.08
government	199	0.08
doing	198	0.08
things	197	0.08
make sure	196	0.08

first	195	0.08
best	194	0.08
weekend	194	0.08
same	193	0.08
President	192	0.08
part	192	0.08
already	190	0.08
hard	189	0.07
cut	188	0.07
after	188	0.07
lives	187	0.07
business	187	0.07
does	187	0.07
men	186	0.07
day	186	0.07
cuts	185	0.07
veterans	182	0.07
care	181	0.07
small	180	0.07
children	178	0.07
only	177	0.07
done	176	0.07
see	176	0.07
education	175	0.07
support	174	0.07
did	172	0.07
budget	170	0.07
few	168	0.07
kids	168	0.07
past	161	0.06
law	157	0.06
must	156	0.06
opportunity	156	0.06
had	155	0.06
change	155	0.06
protect	154	0.06
continue	154	0.06
end	154	0.06
money	153	0.06
nearly	153	0.06
steps	152	0.06
growing	152	0.06
go	151	0.06
let's	151	0.06
communities	151	0.06
companies	151	0.06
college	149	0.06
costs	149	0.06
United States	149	0.06
thing	147	0.06

always	147	0.06
growth	146	0.06
responsibility	146	0.06
never	144	0.06
clean	142	0.06
lost	141	0.06
grow	141	0.06
bill	140	0.06
chance	138	0.05
build	137	0.05
making	137	0.05
meet	137	0.05
rules	137	0.05
together	136	0.05
let	136	0.05
ever	135	0.05
students	134	0.05
spending	134	0.05
again	133	0.05
afford	133	0.05
senate	133	0.05
coverage	132	0.05
able	132	0.05
fair	132	0.05
leaders	131	0.05
recovery	129	0.05
affordable	129	0.05
pass	129	0.05
recession	127	0.05
much	126	0.05
oil	126	0.05
less	125	0.05
big	125	0.05
got	125	0.05
hope	124	0.05
military	123	0.05
troops	121	0.05
start	120	0.05
find	119	0.05
finally	119	0.05
raise	119	0.05
believe	119	0.05
save	118	0.05
taxes	118	0.05
serve	118	0.05
stop	117	0.05
wages	117	0.05
took	114	0.05
life	113	0.04
progress	112	0.04

deficit	111	0.04
investments	110	0.04
federal	109	0.04
seen	108	0.04
being	108	0.04
democrats	108	0.04
come	108	0.04
republican	107	0.04
fighting	107	0.04
states	106	0.04
very	106	0.04
said	106	0.04
tell	106	0.04
office	105	0.04
power	105	0.04
created	104	0.04
stronger	102	0.04
members	102	0.04
vote	102	0.04
young	100	0.04
history	100	0.04

APPENDIX 5C: OBAMA CORPUS KEYWORD LIST COMPARED TO REFERENCE CORPUS

Item	O1	%1	O2	%2		LL	Log Ratio
1. weekend	194	0.08	0	0.00	+	576.71	10.37
2. businesses	471	0.19	454	0.05	+	350.99	1.83
3. middle class	285	0.11	160	0.02	+	347.98	2.61
4. jobs	914	0.36	1406	0.16	+	327.10	1.15
5. right now	184	0.07	81	0.01	+	262.27	2.96
6. crisis	211	0.08	137	0.02	+	230.94	2.40
7. kids	168	0.07	85	0.01	+	220.02	2.76
8. veterans	182	0.07	116	0.01	+	202.15	2.42
9. republicans	250	0.10	234	0.03	+	192.76	1.87
10. Isil	62	0.02	0	0.00	+	184.31	8.73
11. get	557	0.22	889	0.10	+	184.08	1.10
12. Wall Street	89	0.04	17	0.00	+	179.95	4.16
13. economy	774	0.31	1425	0.17	+	178.91	0.89
14. going to	262	0.10	294	0.03	+	160.70	1.61
15. financial	209	0.08	198	0.02	+	158.92	1.85
16. clean	142	0.06	95	0.01	+	151.68	2.35
17. Michelle	51	0.02	1	0.00	+	142.24	7.45
18. do	1134	0.45	2569	0.30	+	126.11	0.59
19. recession	127	0.05	94	0.01	+	124.32	2.21
20. manufacturing	80	0.03	30	0.00	+	124.29	3.19
21. energy	251	0.10	326	0.04	+	123.23	1.40
22. companies	151	0.06	136	0.02	+	121.55	1.93
23. wages	117	0.05	82	0.01	+	120.18	2.29
24. middle class families	78	0.03	30	0.00	+	119.64	3.15
25. insurance	250	0.10	330	0.04	+	119.45	1.37
26. just	640	0.25	1267	0.15	+	118.72	0.79
27. carbon	35	0.01	0	0.00	+	104.05	7.90
28. worst	86	0.03	53	0.01	+	98.05	2.47
29. 've got to	88	0.03	56	0.01	+	97.87	2.43
30. country	666	0.26	1423	0.16	+	94.34	0.68
31. rules	137	0.05	141	0.02	+	94.25	1.73
32. like	465	0.18	909	0.11	+	89.83	0.81
33. need	564	0.22	1170	0.14	+	89.16	0.72
34. making sure	74	0.03	43	0.00	+	88.15	2.56
35. wealthiest	58	0.02	23	0.00	+	87.56	3.11
36. solar	47	0.02	12	0.00	+	86.28	3.74
37. insurance companies	63	0.02	30	0.00	+	85.71	2.84
38. affordable	129	0.05	137	0.02	+	85.23	1.69
39. job	305	0.12	523	0.06	+	85.14	1.00
40. ideas	99	0.04	84	0.01	+	84.92	2.01
41. grow	141	0.06	162	0.02	+	83.65	1.57

42.	afford	133	0.05	147	0.02 +	83.30	1.63
43.	back	213	0.08	314	0.04 +	83.13	1.21
44.	make sure	196	0.08	277	0.03 +	82.94	1.28
45.	investments	110	0.04	106	0.01 +	82.00	1.83
46.	climate	58	0.02	26	0.00 +	81.81	2.93
47.	Sasha	27	0.01	0	0.00 +	80.26	7.53
48.	owners	77	0.03	54	0.01 +	79.05	2.29
49.	Malia	26	0.01	0	0.00 +	77.29	7.47
50.	looking for	60	0.02	32	0.00 +	75.89	2.68
51.	$10.10	25	0.01	0	0.00 +	74.32	7.42
52.	breaks	50	0.02	22	0.00 +	71.29	2.96
53.	got	125	0.05	150	0.02 +	69.57	1.51
54.	girls	44	0.02	16	0.00 +	69.42	3.23
55.	wind	42	0.02	14	0.00 +	69.05	3.36
56.	lenders	38	0.02	10	0.00 +	68.97	3.70
57.	planet	39	0.02	11	0.00 +	68.89	3.60
58.	banks	69	0.03	52	0.01 +	66.44	2.18
59.	small-business	71	0.03	56	0.01 +	65.50	2.12
60.	healthcare.gov	22	0.01	0	0.00 +	65.40	7.23
61.	auto industry	38	0.02	12	0.00 +	64.01	3.44
62.	idea	84	0.03	80	0.01 +	63.48	1.84
63.	Chrysler	27	0.01	3	0.00 +	62.30	4.94
64.	commonsense	64	0.03	48	0.01 +	61.90	2.19
65.	things	197	0.08	322	0.04 +	61.69	1.07
66.	oversight	26	0.01	3	0.00 +	59.54	4.89
67.	means	205	0.08	347	0.04 +	59.08	1.02
68.	infrastructure	47	0.02	26	0.00 +	57.98	2.63
69.	gas	84	0.03	87	0.01 +	57.33	1.72
70.	compromise	41	0.02	19	0.00 +	56.71	2.88
71.	credit card	32	0.01	9	0.00 +	56.59	3.60
72.	have to	296	0.12	581	0.07 +	56.44	0.80
73.	bridges	39	0.02	17	0.00 +	55.90	2.97
74.	loopholes	38	0.02	16	0.00 +	55.54	3.02
75.	preexisting	37	0.01	15	0.00 +	55.20	3.08
76.	more	1558	0.62	4265	0.49 +	54.70	0.32
77.	keep	412	0.16	895	0.10 +	54.69	0.66
78.	profits	39	0.02	18	0.00 +	54.07	2.89
79.	workers	314	0.12	638	0.07 +	53.40	0.75
80.	come together	76	0.03	77	0.01 +	53.32	1.76
81.	every single day	25	0.01	4	0.00 +	53.10	4.42
82.	Iran	51	0.02	36	0.00 +	52.06	2.28
83.	millionaires	20	0.01	1	0.00 +	51.93	6.10
84.	keeper	20	0.01	1	0.00 +	51.93	6.10
85.	shutdown	30	0.01	9	0.00 +	51.66	3.51
86.	hit	54	0.02	41	0.00 +	51.64	2.17
87.	98_percent	17	0.01	0	0.00 +	50.54	6.86
88.	2014	17	0.01	0	0.00 +	50.54	6.86
89.	foundation	65	0.03	61	0.01 +	49.97	1.87
90.	look out for	19	0.01	1	0.00 +	49.05	6.02
91.	Ebola	19	0.01	1	0.00 +	49.05	6.02

92.	lifetimes	22	0.01	3	0.00 +	48.59	4.65
93.	oil	126	0.05	187	0.02 +	48.52	1.20
94.	every day	94	0.04	119	0.01 +	48.13	1.43
95.	let's	151	0.06	245	0.03 +	48.09	1.08
96.	watchdog	16	0.01	0	0.00 +	47.56	6.77
97.	21st-century	16	0.01	0	0.00 +	47.56	6.77
98.	recover	43	0.02	28	0.00 +	46.95	2.39
99.	great	320	0.13	681	0.08 +	46.03	0.68
100.	thing	147	0.06	241	0.03 +	45.71	1.06
101.	streak	15	0.01	0	0.00 +	44.59	6.68
102.	Intel	15	0.01	0	0.00 +	44.59	6.68
103.	service members	19	0.01	2	0.00 +	44.30	5.02
104.	GM	19	0.01	2	0.00 +	44.30	5.02
105.	innovation	44	0.02	32	0.00 +	43.76	2.23
106.	actually	97	0.04	133	0.02 +	43.38	1.32
107.	deficits	96	0.04	131	0.02 +	43.30	1.33
108.	laid out	20	0.01	3	0.00 +	43.18	4.51
109.	lost	141	0.06	233	0.03 +	43.04	1.05
110.	costs	149	0.06	252	0.03 +	43.03	1.02
111.	oil companies	21	0.01	4	0.00 +	42.50	4.17
112.	plant	40	0.02	27	0.00 +	42.41	2.34
113.	ahead	99	0.04	140	0.02 +	41.85	1.27
114.	spill	14	0.01	0	0.00 +	41.62	6.58
115.	high-speed	14	0.01	0	0.00 +	41.62	6.58
116.	Zika	14	0.01	0	0.00 +	41.62	6.58
117.	doing	198	0.08	377	0.04 +	41.49	0.85
118.	care	181	0.07	335	0.04 +	41.22	0.89
119.	willing	87	0.03	116	0.01 +	40.86	1.36
120.	story	64	0.03	70	0.01 +	40.66	1.65
121.	insurance industry	19	0.01	3	0.00 +	40.49	4.44
122.	transparency	21	0.01	5	0.00 +	39.53	3.84
123.	plays	22	0.01	6	0.00 +	39.38	3.65
124.	wage	98	0.04	143	0.02 +	39.02	1.23
125.	hard work	90	0.04	126	0.01 +	38.76	1.29
126.	overseas	53	0.02	52	0.01 +	38.67	1.80
127.	Gulf Coast	13	0.01	0	0.00 +	38.65	6.47
128.	rewarded	27	0.01	12	0.00 +	38.27	2.94
129.	fair	132	0.05	223	0.03 +	38.22	1.02
130.	doors	30	0.01	16	0.00 +	37.95	2.68
131.	childcare	18	0.01	3	0.00 +	37.82	4.36
132.	pay	267	0.11	571	0.07 +	37.69	0.68
133.	a lot	138	0.05	239	0.03 +	37.57	0.98
134.	higher education	32	0.01	19	0.00 +	37.52	2.53
135.	does	187	0.07	362	0.04 +	37.25	0.82
136.	small	180	0.07	345	0.04 +	36.97	0.84
137.	consumers	71	0.03	89	0.01 +	36.93	1.45
138.	recovery	129	0.05	220	0.03 +	36.50	1.00
139.	minimum	87	0.03	124	0.01 +	36.24	1.26
140.	Main Street	16	0.01	2	0.00 +	36.03	4.77
141.	San Bernardino	12	0.00	0	0.00 +	35.67	6.36

142. $250,000	17	0.01	3	0.00 +	35.17	4.28
143. on my own	14	0.01	1	0.00 +	34.78	5.58
144. resilience	18	0.01	4	0.00 +	34.70	3.94
145. works	87	0.03	127	0.01 +	34.62	1.23
146. hiring	40	0.02	34	0.00 +	34.25	2.01
147. consumer	57	0.02	65	0.01 +	34.18	1.58
148. faster	65	0.03	81	0.01 +	34.13	1.46
149. politics	94	0.04	144	0.02 +	33.93	1.16
150. shot	45	0.02	43	0.00 +	33.88	1.84
151. corporations	32	0.01	22	0.00 +	33.41	2.31
152. families	539	0.21	1365	0.16 +	33.38	0.43
153. jump-start	15	0.01	2	0.00 +	33.30	4.68
154. trucks	27	0.01	15	0.00 +	33.21	2.62
155. renewable	27	0.01	15	0.00 +	33.21	2.62
156. serve	118	0.05	202	0.02 +	33.08	1.00
157. over	290	0.11	654	0.08 +	32.90	0.60
158. top	66	0.03	85	0.01 +	32.86	1.41
159. turbines	11	0.00	0	0.00 +	32.70	6.23
160. recklessness	11	0.00	0	0.00 +	32.70	6.23
161. foreclosures	11	0.00	0	0.00 +	32.70	6.23
162. check out	11	0.00	0	0.00 +	32.70	6.23
163. Fort Hood	11	0.00	0	0.00 +	32.70	6.23
164. Bo	11	0.00	0	0.00 +	32.70	6.23
165. BP	11	0.00	0	0.00 +	32.70	6.23
166. deals	26	0.01	14	0.00 +	32.68	2.67
167. college	149	0.06	280	0.03 +	32.47	0.86
168. hire	66	0.03	86	0.01 +	32.23	1.39
169. Friday	37	0.01	31	0.00 +	32.15	2.03
170. Obama	19	0.01	6	0.00 +	32.01	3.44
171. biofuels	13	0.01	1	0.00 +	31.95	5.47
172. bailouts	13	0.01	1	0.00 +	31.95	5.47
173. makes	81	0.03	120	0.01 +	31.31	1.21
174. create	209	0.08	441	0.05 +	31.04	0.70
175. roads	47	0.02	50	0.01 +	30.98	1.69
176. firefighters	30	0.01	21	0.00 +	30.85	2.29
177. outcompete	14	0.01	2	0.00 +	30.59	4.58
178. construction	44	0.02	45	0.01 +	30.51	1.74
179. veteran	20	0.01	8	0.00 +	30.05	3.10
180. put	236	0.09	518	0.06 +	30.04	0.64
181. billionaires	10	0.00	0	0.00 +	29.73	6.10
182. all-of-the-above	10	0.00	0	0.00 +	29.73	6.10
183. 28_million	10	0.00	0	0.00 +	29.73	6.10
184. next decade	26	0.01	16	0.00 +	29.68	2.47
185. virus	16	0.01	4	0.00 +	29.60	3.77
186. pathway	16	0.01	4	0.00 +	29.60	3.77
187. focus	68	0.03	95	0.01 +	29.40	1.29
188. sequester	12	0.00	1	0.00 +	29.13	5.36
189. pays off	12	0.00	1	0.00 +	29.13	5.36
190. if you like	12	0.00	1	0.00 +	29.13	5.36
191. lending	22	0.01	11	0.00 +	29.03	2.77

192. criminal justice	22	0.01	11	0.00 +	29.03	2.77
193. practices	44	0.02	47	0.01 +	28.85	1.68
194. holidays	39	0.02	38	0.00 +	28.69	1.81
195. hard-working	46	0.02	51	0.01 +	28.69	1.63
196. investing	54	0.02	67	0.01 +	28.55	1.46
197. graduates	20	0.01	9	0.00 +	28.15	2.93
198. covered	34	0.01	30	0.00 +	27.99	1.95
199. easier	65	0.03	91	0.01 +	27.99	1.29
200. irresponsibility	13	0.01	2	0.00 +	27.89	4.47
201. steps	152	0.06	302	0.04 +	27.87	0.78
202. uniform	80	0.03	125	0.01 +	27.70	1.13
203. fastest	32	0.01	27	0.00 +	27.61	2.02
204. calling on	22	0.01	12	0.00 +	27.41	2.65
205. rebuild	74	0.03	112	0.01 +	27.39	1.18
206. industry	53	0.02	67	0.01 +	27.20	1.44
207. Puerto Rico	15	0.01	4	0.00 +	27.09	3.68
208. boost	34	0.01	31	0.00 +	27.00	1.91
209. West Africa	9	0.00	0	0.00 +	26.75	5.94
210. self-inflicted	9	0.00	0	0.00 +	26.75	5.94
211. bubble	9	0.00	0	0.00 +	26.75	5.94
212. Newtown	9	0.00	0	0.00 +	26.75	5.94
213. 97_percent	9	0.00	0	0.00 +	26.75	5.94
214. whitehouse.gov	11	0.00	1	0.00 +	26.33	5.23
215. payday	11	0.00	1	0.00 +	26.33	5.23
216. bets	11	0.00	1	0.00 +	26.33	5.23
217. sense	69	0.03	103	0.01 +	26.27	1.20
218. decade	61	0.02	86	0.01 +	25.93	1.28
219. pollution	31	0.01	27	0.00 +	25.87	1.97
220. rebuilding	50	0.02	63	0.01 +	25.79	1.44
221. chance	138	0.05	273	0.03 +	25.66	0.79
222. panels	12	0.00	2	0.00 +	25.22	4.36
223. CEOs	12	0.00	2	0.00 +	25.22	4.36
224. cars	59	0.02	83	0.01 +	25.18	1.28
225. economists	30	0.01	26	0.00 +	25.17	1.98
226. taxpayer	34	0.01	33	0.00 +	25.13	1.82
227. smart	35	0.01	35	0.00 +	24.96	1.77
228. even	312	0.12	757	0.09 +	24.79	0.50
229. drilling	20	0.01	11	0.00 +	24.77	2.64
230. accelerate	20	0.01	11	0.00 +	24.77	2.64
231. go up	26	0.01	20	0.00 +	24.56	2.15
232. plenty	22	0.01	14	0.00 +	24.47	2.43
233. act	248	0.10	577	0.07 +	24.39	0.56
234. workforce	19	0.01	10	0.00 +	24.25	2.70
235. commander	30	0.01	27	0.00 +	24.17	1.93
236. know	390	0.15	988	0.11 +	24.10	0.43
237. generate	21	0.01	13	0.00 +	23.86	2.47
238. Sotomayor	8	0.00	0	0.00 +	23.78	5.77
239. post-9/11	8	0.00	0	0.00 +	23.78	5.77
240. Judge Garland	8	0.00	0	0.00 +	23.78	5.77
241. Jill	8	0.00	0	0.00 +	23.78	5.77

242. slowest	10	0.00	1	0.00	+	23.54	5.10
243. middle class family	10	0.00	1	0.00	+	23.54	5.10
244. drill	10	0.00	1	0.00	+	23.54	5.10
245. business	187	0.07	412	0.05	+	23.44	0.63
246. deal	66	0.03	102	0.01	+	23.39	1.15
247. mess	20	0.01	12	0.00	+	23.27	2.51
248. status quo	30	0.01	28	0.00	+	23.21	1.87
249. 1990s	22	0.01	15	0.00	+	23.13	2.33
250. generations	79	0.03	133	0.02	+	23.07	1.02

APPENDIX 5D: OBAMA CORPUS CONCORDANCE, *FINANCIAL*

209 occurrences.			Ext
Last year , Congress passed a plan to rescue the	financial	system . While the package helped avoid a financi	1
ancial system . While the package helped avoid a	financial	collapse , many are frustrated by the results , a	2
, will announce a new strategy for reviving our	financial	system that gets credit flowing to businesses and	3
we 've inherited , a trillion dollar deficit , a	financial	crisis , and a costly recession . Given this real	4
to restart the flow of credit and stabilize the	financial	markets . On Thursday , the Treasury Department a	5
iscal mess we 've inherited and the cost of this	financial	crisis , I 've proposed a budget that cuts our de	6
egan . And if we continue to let banks and other	financial	institutions around the world act recklessly and	7
s have agreed on the most sweeping reform of our	financial	regulatory framework in a generation , reform tha	8
, open up markets , and dramatically reform our	financial	regulatory system to prevent such crises from occ	9
n oversight that led to widespread abuses in the	financial	system . An epidemic of irresponsibility took hol	10
et of major reforms to the rules that govern our	financial	system ; to attack the causes of this crisis and	11
ls is a new oversight agency called the Consumer	Financial	Protection Agency . It 's charged with just one j	12
t for the interests of ordinary Americans in the	financial	system . This is essential , for this crisis may	13
ho rely on credit cards , home loans , and other	financial	instruments . It 's true that this crisis was cau	14
700,000 jobs a month , and many feared that our	financial	system was on the verge of collapse . As a result	15
nths of this year , we 've been able to pull our	financial	system and our economy back from the brink . We t	16
to families and businesses , stabilize our major	financial	institutions , and help homeowners stay in their	17
n . This is an issue that affects the health and	financial	well being of every single American and the stabi	18
e banks that borrowed money at the height of the	financial	crisis are now returning it to taxpayers with int	19
ment most families have . And the decline in the	financial	markets has led to a decline in the value of 401(	20
ations in April came at the height of the global	financial	crisis , a crisis that required unprecedented int	21
nd the world , to strengthen the rules governing	financial	markets and ensure that we never again find ourse	22
es in just 1 year ago . As I told leaders of our	financial	community in New York City earlier this week , a	23
eeds to fundamentally reform the rules governing	financial	firms and markets to meet the challenges of the 2	24
e bonuses to override the security of our entire	financial	system and leave taxpayers on the hook for cleani	25
ample , understanding that in the 21st century ,	financial	crises know no borders . All of us need to act mo	26
steps that are required to safeguard our global	financial	system and close gaps in regulation around the wo	27
ain . Central to these reforms is a new consumer	financial	protection agency . Part of what led to this cris	28
, hidden fees attached to their mortgages , and	financial	penalties'97whether through a credit card or debi	29
eached a historic agreement to reform the global	financial	system , to promote responsibility and prevent ab	30
at we 'll be taking additional steps through our	financial	stability plan to make more credit available to t	31
t power our economy . That 's why we enacted the	financial	stability plan in the first place , back when man	32
CEOs and small-business owners , economists and	financial	experts , as well as representatives from labor u	33
e no longer facing the potential collapse of our	financial	system or a second great depression . We 're no l	34
h of it was due to the irresponsibility of large	financial	institutions on Wall Street that gambled on risky	35
l Street that gambled on risky loans and complex	financial	products , seeking short-term profits and big bon	36
sified the cycle of bubble and bust and led to a	financial	crisis that threatened to bring down the entire e	37
ing . And that 's why I 've proposed a series of	financial	reforms that would target the abuses we 've seen	38
bring new transparency and accountability to the	financial	markets , so that the kind of risky dealings that	39
to ensure that the failure of one large bank or	financial	institution wo n't spread like a virus throughout	40
wo n't spread like a virus throughout the entire	financial	system . Because we should never again find ourse	41
a dozen agencies and vest them in a new consumer	financial	protection agency . This agency would have the au	42
practices by banks and institutions that market	financial	products like credit cards and debit cards , mort	43
t respond to the obvious problems exposed by the	financial	crisis . But as we 've learned so many times befo	44
use summoned more than 100 key lobbyists for the	financial	industry to a pep rally and urged them to redoubl	45
em to redouble their efforts to block meaningful	financial	reform . Not that they needed the encouragement .	46
in Congress claim that reforms like the consumer	financial	protection agency will stifle consumer choice and	47
s and oversight will frustrate innovation in the	financial	markets . But Americans do n't choose to be victi	48
hony arguments and bad habits of Washington kill	financial	reform and leave American consumers and our econo	49
was caused by the irresponsibility of banks and	financial	institutions on Wall Street . These financial fir	50
nd financial institutions on Wall Street . These	financial	firms took huge , reckless risks in pursuit of sh	51
than a year ago , many of the largest and oldest	financial	firms in the world teetered on the brink of colla	52
equences of their irresponsible decisions . This	financial	crisis nearly pulled the entire economy into a se	53
ir and unsatisfying position . Even though these	financial	firms were largely facing a crisis of their own m	54
sset Relief Program , or TARP , to provide these	financial	institutions with funds to survive the turmoil th	55
t 's why this week I proposed a new fee on major	financial	firms to compensate the American people for the e	56
he extraordinary assistance they provided to the	financial	industry . And the fee would be in place until th	57
erican taxpayer is made whole . Only the largest	financial	firms with more than $50 billion in assets will b	58
o the crisis . That 's important . The fact is ,	financial	firms play an essential role in our economy . The	59
our goal with this fee--and with the commonsense	financial	reforms we seek--is not to punish the financial i	60

financial reforms we seek--is not to punish the	financial	industry . Our goal is to prevent the abuse and e	61
timately , that 's in the shared interest of the	financial	industry and the American people . And of course	62
. So far , though , they have ferociously fought	financial	reform . The industry has even joined forces with	63
of this fee over the next 10 years . If the big	financial	firms can afford massive bonuses , they can affor	64
ral Reserve , the FDIC , and others to prevent a	financial	collapse . And it ignores a far greater unfairnes	65
to continue to work with Congress on commonsense	financial	reforms to protect people and the economy from th	66
ld that had barred corporations from using their	financial	clout to directly interfere with elections by run	67
ll be that much harder to get fair , commonsense	financial	reforms or close unwarranted tax loopholes that r	68
ifficult decisions we made last year to pull our	financial	system back from the brink and get our economy mo	69
dress the abuse and excess that led to the worst	financial	crisis in generations . These reforms are essenti	70
eely while reining in the worst practices of the	financial	industry . That 's the central lesson of this cri	71
2 years . But it was a crisis that began in our	financial	system . Large banks engaged in reckless financia	72
nancial system . Large banks engaged in reckless	financial	speculation without regard for the consequences a	73
r the consequences and without tough oversight .	Financial	firms invented and sold complicated financial pro	74
. Financial firms invented and sold complicated	financial	products to escape scrutiny and conceal enormous	75
ets . And I believe we need a strong and vibrant	financial	sector so that businesses can get loans and famil	76
he opposite . In the absence of such rules , our	financial	markets spun out of control , credit markets froz	77
ted into a second great depression . That 's why	financial	reform is so necessary . After months of bipartis	78
use . It would provide greater scrutiny of large	financial	firms to prevent any one company from threatening	79
vent any one company from threatening the entire	financial	system , and it would update the rules so that co	80
nd it would update the rules so that complicated	financial	products like derivatives are no longer bought an	81
uses . And through new tools to break up failing	financial	firms , it would help ensure that taxpayers are n	82
" Finally , these reforms include a new consumer	financial	protection agency . It would prevent predatory lo	83
mers get clear information about loans and other	financial	products before they sign on the dotted line . Be	84
fore they sign on the dotted line . Because this	financial	crisis was n't just the result of decisions made	85
s n't just the result of decisions made by large	financial	firms , it was also the result of many decisions	86
is proposal has been a source of contention with	financial	firms , who like things just the way they are . I	87
ver a year since the near collapse of the entire	financial	system , a crisis that helped wipe out more than	88
ming years and putting the program on a stronger	financial	footing . In total , we are doubling funding for	89
, this crisis was caused by the failures in the	financial	industry . What 's clear is that this crisis coul	90
if Wall Street firms were more accountable , if	financial	dealings were more transparent , and if consumers	91
vent abuse and protect consumers . In fact , the	financial	industry and its powerful lobby have opposed mode	92
. First , it would enact the strongest consumer	financial	protections ever . It would put consumers back in	93
standable information so that Americans can make	financial	decisions that work best for them . Next , these	94
, these reforms would bring new transparency to	financial	dealings . Part of what led to this crisis was fi	95
tives bought and sold with little oversight as "	financial	weapons of mass destruction . " That 's why throu	96
we 'd help ensure that these kind of complicated	financial	transactions take place on an open market . Becau	97
to put in place new rules so that big banks and	financial	institutions will pay for the bad decisions they	98
er again will taxpayers be on the hook because a	financial	company is deemed too big to fail . Finally , the	99
ountable by giving shareholders new power in the	financial	system . They 'll get a say on pay , a vote on sa	100
e . We will protect and empower consumers in our	financial	system . That 's what reform is all about . That	101
e industry shed 400,000 jobs . In the midst of a	financial	crisis and deep recession , both General Motors a	102
the emergency programs designed to stabilize the	financial	sector and restart lending so folks could finance	103
Treasury Department informed Congress that this	financial	rescue , which was absolutely necessary to preven	104
es of the economic downturn were problems in our	financial	sector . In the absence of commonsense rules , Wa	105
normous , irresponsible risks that imperiled our	financial	system and hurt just about every sector of our ec	106
dressed an audience that included leaders in the	financial	industry . And once again I called for reforms to	107
They would bring greater transparency to complex	financial	dealings . And they will empower ordinary consume	108
power ordinary consumers and shareholders in our	financial	system . Folks will get clearer and more concise	109
arer and more concise information when they make	financial	decisions , instead of having to worry about dece	110
nd protect consumers and small businesses in our	financial	system , we 've come face to face with the great	111
ll in Congress represents the strongest consumer	financial	protections in history . You 'll be empowered wit	112
rupulous lenders , helping secure your family 's	financial	future . That 's why families have a stake in it	113
is so important . With reform , we 'll make our	financial	system more transparent by bringing the kinds of	114
n the Senate will not solve every problem in our	financial	system ; no bill could . But what this strong bil	115
does , and repaying Americans who 've suffered a	financial	loss . But even as we continue to hold BP account	116
year 's G-20 summits by coordinating our global	financial	reform efforts to make sure a crisis like the one	117
ak , we are on the cusp of enacting the toughest	financial	reforms since the Great Depression. **48;9606;TOO	118
ght . We 'll put in place the strongest consumer	financial	protections in American history and create an ind	119
ear and concise information you need to make the	financial	decisions that are best for you and your family .	120
nomy in a number of other ways . We 'll make our	financial	system more transparent by bringing the kinds of	121
n firms whose collapse would threaten our entire	financial	system . Put simply , we 'll end the days of taxp	122
ries of taxpayer assistance at the height of our	financial	crisis , so we can recover every dime of taxpayer	123
ple with consumer protections and help prevent a	financial	crisis like this from ever happening again. **38;	124
finally bring the shadowy deals that caused the	financial	crisis into the light of day. **48;10114;TOOLONG	125

to continue to work with Congress on commonsense	financial	reforms to protect people and the economy from th	66
ld that had barred corporations from using their	financial	clout to directly interfere with elections by run	67
ll be that much harder to get fair , commonsense	financial	reforms or close unwarranted tax loopholes that r	68
ifficult decisions we made last year to pull our	financial	system back from the brink and get our economy mo	69
dress the abuse and excess that led to the worst	financial	crisis in generations . These reforms are essenti	70
eely while reining in the worst practices of the	financial	industry . That 's the central lesson of this cri	71
2 years . But it was a crisis that began in our	financial	system . Large banks engaged in reckless financia	72
nancial system . Large banks engaged in reckless	financial	speculation without regard for the consequences a	73
r the consequences and without tough oversight .	Financial	firms invented and sold complicated financial pro	74
. Financial firms invented and sold complicated	financial	products to escape scrutiny and conceal enormous	75
ets . And I believe we need a strong and vibrant	financial	sector so that businesses can get loans and famil	76
he opposite . In the absence of such rules , our	financial	markets spun out of control , credit markets froz	77
ted into a second great depression . That 's why	financial	reform is so necessary . After months of bipartis	78
use . It would provide greater scrutiny of large	financial	firms to prevent any one company from threatening	79
vent any one company from threatening the entire	financial	system , and it would update the rules so that co	80
nd it would update the rules so that complicated	financial	products like derivatives are no longer bought an	81
uses . And through new tools to break up failing	financial	firms , it would help ensure that taxpayers are n	82
" Finally , these reforms include a new consumer	financial	protection agency . It would prevent predatory lo	83
mers get clear information about loans and other	financial	products before they sign on the dotted line . Be	84
fore they sign on the dotted line . Because this	financial	crisis was n't just the result of decisions made	85
s n't just the result of decisions made by large	financial	firms , it was also the result of many decisions	86
is proposal has been a source of contention with	financial	firms , who like things just the way they are . I	87
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ming years and putting the program on a stronger	financial	footing . In total , we are doubling funding for	89
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vent abuse and protect consumers . In fact , the	financial	industry and its powerful lobby have opposed mode	92
. First , it would enact the strongest consumer	financial	protections ever . It would put consumers back in	93
standable information so that Americans can make	financial	decisions that work best for them . Next , these	94
, these reforms would bring new transparency to	financial	dealings . Part of what led to this crisis was fi	95
tives bought and sold with little oversight as "	financial	weapons of mass destruction . " That 's why throu	96
we 'd help ensure that these kind of complicated	financial	transactions take place on an open market . Becau	97
to put in place new rules so that big banks and	financial	institutions will pay for the bad decisions they	98
er again will taxpayers be on the hook because a	financial	company is deemed too big to fail . Finally , the	99
ountable by giving shareholders new power in the	financial	system . They 'll get a say on pay , a vote on sa	100
e . We will protect and empower consumers in our	financial	system . That 's what reform is all about . That	101
e industry shed 400,000 jobs . In the midst of a	financial	crisis and deep recession , both General Motors a	102
the emergency programs designed to stabilize the	financial	sector and restart lending so folks could finance	103
Treasury Department informed Congress that this	financial	rescue , which was absolutely necessary to preven	104
es of the economic downturn were problems in our	financial	sector . In the absence of commonsense rules , Wa	105
normous , irresponsible risks that imperiled our	financial	system and hurt just about every sector of our ec	106
dressed an audience that included leaders in the	financial	industry . And once again I called for reforms to	107
They would bring greater transparency to complex	financial	dealings . And they will empower ordinary consume	108
power ordinary consumers and shareholders in our	financial	system . Folks will get clearer and more concise	109
arer and more concise information when they make	financial	decisions , instead of having to worry about dece	110
nd protect consumers and small businesses in our	financial	system , we 've come face to face with the great	111
ll in Congress represents the strongest consumer	financial	protections in history . You 'll be empowered wit	112
rupulous lenders , helping secure your family 's	financial	future . That 's why families have a stake in it	113
is so important . With reform , we 'll make our	financial	system more transparent by bringing the kinds of	114
n the Senate will not solve every problem in our	financial	system ; no bill could . But what this strong bil	115
does , and repaying Americans who 've suffered a	financial	loss . But even as we continue to hold BP account	116
year 's G-20 summits by coordinating our global	financial	reform efforts to make sure a crisis like the one	117
ak , we are on the cusp of enacting the toughest	financial	reforms since the Great Depression. **48;9606;TOO	118
ght . We 'll put in place the strongest consumer	financial	protections in American history and create an ind	119
ear and concise information you need to make the	financial	decisions that are best for you and your family .	120
nomy in a number of other ways . We 'll make our	financial	system more transparent by bringing the kinds of	121
n firms whose collapse would threaten our entire	financial	system . Put simply , we 'll end the days of taxp	122
ries of taxpayer assistance at the height of our	financial	crisis , so we can recover every dime of taxpayer	123
ple with consumer protections and help prevent a	financial	crisis like this from ever happening again. **38;	124
finally bring the shadowy deals that caused the	financial	crisis into the light of day. **48;10114;TOOLONG	125
ealth care system have put Medicare on a sounder	financial	footing . Reform has actually added at least a do	126
uld 've been put to rest once and for all by the	financial	crisis we 've just experienced . I 'd have though	127
education by 20 percent . Cuts that would reduce	financial	aid for 8 million students ; cuts that would leav	128
d reckless gambling that nearly brought down the	financial	system . It set new rules so that taxpayers would	129
ever again be on the hook for a bailout if a big	financial	company went under . And reform included the stro	130
tilt the table against ordinary people in their	financial	dealings . It was a tough fight . The special int	131
hem than for middle class families . Some in the	financial	industry were eager to protect a status quo that	132
job : looking out for ordinary consumers in the	financial	system . And this watchdog will have the authorit	133
onomic dislocation caused by the failures in our	financial	system under the old rules , top Republicans in C	134
be a terrible mistake . Our economy depends on a	financial	system in which everyone competes on a level play	135

vers their bills . They 're looking for a little	financial	security . They want to know that if they work ha	136
n 's budget that nearly dragged our country into	financial	crisis . So our job right now has to be doing wha	137
of waiting . It was 3 years ago this week that a	financial	crisis on Wall Street made things much more diffi	138
l gridlock in Washington . The challenges facing	financial	markets around the world could have very real eff	139
e fair play , last year , we passed the toughest	financial	reform in generations . See , for too long , the	140
ior on the part of some contributed to the worst	financial	crisis since the Great Depression . So this finan	141
cial crisis since the Great Depression . So this	financial	reform refocuses the financial sector on what 's	142
ression . So this financial reform refocuses the	financial	sector on what 's really important : getting capi	143
any sense . Do Republicans in Congress think our	financial	crisis was caused by too much oversight of mortga	144
members . So I refuse to take no for an answer .	Financial	institutions have plenty of high-powered lawyers	145
e rules . We ca n't go back to the days when the	financial	system was stacking the deck against ordinary Ame	146
o protect consumers from potential abuses by the	financial	industry and to make sure that you 've got all th	147
arent information you need to make the important	financial	decisions in your lives . I nominated Richard for	148
consumers all across the country were at greater	financial	risk . So this year , I 'm going to keep doing wh	149
n economy that 's not known for paper profits or	financial	speculation , but for making and selling products	150
t working Americans from the worst abuses of the	financial	industry . These are all good steps . Now we need	151
put in place to protect the American people from	financial	schemes or malpractice . For the most part , it '	152
e endless forms . And a small fee on the largest	financial	institutions will make sure it does n't add a dim	153
s to spike even further . For years , traders at	financial	firms were able to game the energy markets , dist	154
ongress should be fighting for you . Not for big	financial	firms . Not for big oil companies . In the next f	155
hat lays out all the information they need about	financial	aid and paying for college . We 're requiring sch	156
now to help create jobs and restore some of the	financial	security that so many families have lost. **48;21	157
the part of some on Wall Street who treated our	financial	system like a casino . Not only did that behavior	158
. Not only did that behavior nearly destroy the	financial	system , it cost our economy millions of jobs , h	159
too many Republicans in Congress and an army of	financial	industry lobbyists actually have been waging an a	160
hese new rules say that if you 're a big bank or	financial	institution , you now have to hold more cash on h	161
ptive and unfair practices . So unless you run a	financial	institution whose business model is built on chea	162
reet reform . Yes , it discourages big banks and	financial	institutions from making risky bets with taxpayer	163
effects of the recent spike in gas prices to the	financial	crisis in Europe . But here 's the thing : We hav	164
een calling on Congress to reform and expand the	financial	aid that 's offered to students . I 've been aski	165
ions of Americans . I think that would be a huge	financial	hit for middle class families . That 's why I 've	166
ooms , and fewer college students with access to	financial	aid , all to pay for a massive new tax cut for mi	167
to put students before big banks , and increased	financial	aid for millions of young people , because in Ame	168
t all the information you need to make important	financial	decisions like buying a home or paying for colleg	169
om fighting these reforms . Backed by an army of	financial	industry lobbyists , they 've been waging an all-	170
assed tough reforms to protect consumers and our	financial	system from the kind of abuse that nearly brought	171
Richard Cordray to continue leading the Consumer	Financial	Protection Bureau . Mary Jo White has decades of	172
d keep going after irresponsible behavior in the	financial	industry so that taxpayers do n't pay the price .	173
t into place tough new rules of the road for the	financial	sector so that irresponsible behavior on the part	174
As part of that reform , we set up the Consumer	Financial	Protection Bureau , the first-ever independent co	175
r good . And even though more work remains , our	financial	system is more fair and much more sound than it w	176
everybody . It was 5 years ago this week that a	financial	crisis on Wall Street spread to Main Street and v	177
o buy a home , save , and retire ; and yes , the	financial	security of affordable health care . And I 'll lo	178
secure , and making sure our housing system and	financial	system work for ordinary Americans . So after a y	179
s , or keep up on their bills with a little less	financial	stress and strain . And Gap 's CEO explained thei	180
n place to protect the middle class from another	financial	crisis like the one we 've had to fight so hard t	181
e hardships her young family had faced since the	financial	crisis . She and her husband Ben were just newlyw	182
. That 's why we proposed a plan to tie Federal	financial	aid to a college 's performance and create a new	183
Hi , everybody . Nearly 6 years after the worst	financial	crisis of our lifetimes , our businesses have add	184
, more than 10 million Americans have gained the	financial	security and peace of mind that comes with health	185
or you and your families . The 6 years since the	financial	crisis have demanded hard work and sacrifice on e	186
ney , you should have the peace of mind that the	financial	advice you 're getting is sound and that your inv	187
best interests of their clients above their own	financial	interests . Middle class families can not afford	188
i , everybody . Five years ago , after the worst	financial	crisis in decades , we passed historic Wall Stree	189
that reform , we created an independent Consumer	Financial	Protection Bureau with one mission : to protect A	190
onsumers from some of the worst practices in the	financial	industry . **48;40448;TOOLONG cf0 They 've alread	191
000 in interest and fees . The step the Consumer	Financial	Protection Bureau announced this week is designed	192
d make it harder , not easier , to crack down on	financial	fraud and abuse . And this week , when Republican	193
e able to keep the benefits that flow from other	financial	aid , like Pell grants , to cover childcare , hou	194
wn economy lives up to them , especially after a	financial	crisis brought about by recklessness and greed .	195
, everybody . It 's been 7 years since the worst	financial	crisis in generations spread from Wall Street to	196
eform , there 's finally an independent Consumer	Financial	Protection Bureau with one mission : to protect A	197
tions in unrelated bills . They 're blocking the	financial	cops on the beat from doing their job . And they	198
Hi , everybody . Next week marks 7 years since a	financial	crisis on Wall Street that would usher in some ha	199
out the security of health insurance , and their	financial	well-being suffered because of it . We 've begun	200

Americans their jobs , homes , and savings . The	financial	crisis was n't an unstoppable act of nature . The	201
sumers from being cheated by tricks and traps on	financial	contracts . So when I took office in the darkest	202
ty tough grader . These new rules are making our	financial	system more transparent , getting rid of a lot of	203
h the bill . These reforms have already made our	financial	system safer and more resilient . And part of pas	204
tions meant establishing the first-ever Consumer	Financial	Protection Bureau , based on an idea that Senator	205
that tried to rip them off . Before the Consumer	Financial	Protection Bureau , you did n't have a strong all	206
s. 'a0 And another 20 million Americans know the	financial	security of health insurance . I'92ll be the firs	207
Today , 20 million more American adults know the	financial	security of health insurance . On top of that , a	208
the top . Twenty million more Americans know the	financial	security of health insurance . Our kids ' high sc	209

APPENDIX 5E: OBAMA CORPUS CONCORDANCE, *BANKS*

69 occurrences.			Ext
ave been spent without transparency or accountability .	Banks	have been extended a hand , but homeowners , students ,	1
r health care costs for American families . I know that	banks	and big student lenders wo n't like the idea that we 're	2
th is not based on real estate bubbles or overleveraged	banks	, but on a firm foundation of investments in energy , ed	3
and Minnesota who live along rivers spilling over their	banks	, this is one such moment . Rivers and streams throughou	4
s , and falling snow to build levees along the river 's	banks	to help protect against waters that have exceeded record	5
since this recession began . And if we continue to let	banks	and other financial institutions around the world act re	6
very . All of us are now moving aggressively to get our	banks	lending again . All of us are working to spur growth and	7
ented review of the conditions of our Nation 's largest	banks	to determine what additional steps are necessary to get	8
of a broad effort to get government , businesses , and	banks	to act more responsibly , so that we 're creating good j	9
osted its first gains in 18 months and that many of the	banks	that borrowed money at the height of the financial crisi	10
tements . And responsible lenders , including community	banks	, trying to do the right thing should n't have to worry	11
tors . Not surprisingly , lobbyists for big Wall Street	banks	are hard at work trying to stop reforms that would hold	12
e credit available to the small , local , and community	banks	that so many small businesses depend on , the banks who	13
ity banks that so many small businesses depend on , the	banks	who know their borrowers , who gave them their first loa	14
plan in the first place , back when many of our largest	banks	were on the verge of collapse , our credit markets were	15
. These are the very taxpayers who stood by America 's	banks	in a crisis , and now it 's time for our banks to stand	16
erica 's banks in a crisis , and now it 's time for our	banks	to stand by creditworthy small businesses and make the l	17
operations , and create new jobs . It 's time for those	banks	to fulfill their responsibility to help ensure a wider r	18
dent to pass emergency recovery programs or to bail out	banks	or to shore up auto companies . I did n't run for Presid	19
the position in which our only choices are bailing out	banks	or letting our economy collapse . And they would consoli	20
to put an end to misleading and dishonest practices by	banks	and institutions that market financial products like cre	21
of this recession was caused by the irresponsibility of	banks	and financial institutions on Wall Street . These financ	22
've now recovered most of the money we provided to the	banks	. That 's good news , but as far as I 'm concerned , it	23
$50 billion in assets will be affected , not community	banks	. And the bigger the firm , and the more debt it holds ,	24
the American people . And of course , I would like the	banks	to embrace this sense of mutual responsibility . So far	25
and prevent another crisis . Now , like clockwork , the	banks	and the politicians who curry their favor are already tr	26
t 's a sight to see . Those who oppose this fee say the	banks	ca n't afford to pay back the American people without pa	27
b0 cf0 At this time last year , amidst headlines about	banks	on the verge of collapse and job losses of 700,000 a mon	28
ss lending fund that will provide capital for community	banks	on Main Street . These are the small , local banks that	29
nity banks on Main Street . These are the small , local	banks	that will be able to give our small-business owners more	30
was a crisis that began in our financial system . Large	banks	engaged in reckless financial speculation without regard	31
er bought and sold without oversight . It would prevent	banks	from engaging in risky dealings through their own hedge	32
y met with a top executive of one of America 's largest	banks	and made thwarting reform a key part of his party 's pit	33
put consumers back in the driver 's seat by forcing big	banks	and credit card companies to provide clear , understanda	34
And we 're going to put in place new rules so that big	banks	and financial institutions will pay for the bad decision	35
's why families have a stake in it . And our community	banks	also have a stake in reform . These are banks we count o	36
community banks also have a stake in reform . These are	banks	we count on to provide the capital that lets our small b	37
d grow . The way the system is currently set up , these	banks	are at a disadvantage because while they are often playi	38
eld by making sure all our lenders , not just community	banks	, are subject to tough oversight . That 's good news for	39
o tough oversight . That 's good news for our community	banks	, which is why we 've received letters from some of thes	40
which is why we 've received letters from some of these	banks	in support of reform . What 's true for our community ba	41
s in support of reform . What 's true for our community	banks	is also true for small-business men and women like the o	42
gger this crisis into the light of day . We 'll prevent	banks	from taking on so much risk that could collapse and thre	43
'll enact what 's called the Volcker rule to make sure	banks	protected by safety nets like the FDIC ca n't engage in	44
of unfinished business . We need to impose a fee on the	banks	that were the biggest beneficiaries of taxpayer assistan	45
why we 've put an end to the wasteful subsidies to big	banks	that provide student loans . We 're going to use that mo	46
g tens of billions of dollars in wasteful subsidies for	banks	to administer student loans and using that money to make	47
ders sold loans to families who could n't afford them .	Banks	packaged those mortgages up and traded them for phony pr	48
y for the wealthiest Americans , and go back to letting	banks	and corporations write their own rules again . That 's t	49
d taxpayer dollars that were used to stabilize troubled	banks	. And we 've put in place Wall Street reform with smarte	50
. We found out that a big mistake at one of our biggest	banks	resulted in a two-billion-dollar loss . While that bank	51
While that bank can handle a loss of that size , other	banks	may not have been able to . And without Wall Street refo	52
fear from Wall Street reform . Yes , it discourages big	banks	and financial institutions from making risky bets with t	53
med the student loan program to put students before big	banks	, and increased financial aid for millions of young peop	54
brought down our entire economy . The Nation 's biggest	banks	were days away from failing . The stock market and milli	55
ors who were looking just to make a quick buck , and by	banks	that packaged and sold those risky mortgages for phony p	56
ck from never happens again . These rules mean that big	banks	are no longer going to be able to make risky bets with y	57
ing taxes for millionaires or rolling back rules on big	banks	and polluters'97they 'll push the button , throwing Amer	58
stem that gave away billions of taxpayer dollars to big	banks	and invested that money where it makes a bigger bang : i	59
stem so that more money goes to students instead of big	banks	. We expanded grants and college tax credits for student	60
ents for people wronged by some of the world 's biggest	banks	. She 's been dogged in her pursuit of public corruption	61
wealthiest investors and levy a .07% fee on the biggest	banks	to discourage the kind of risky behavior that crashed ou	62
ssness that brought our economy to its knees , from big	banks	making huge , risky bets using borrowed money , to payin	63
y of families at risk by returning to the days when big	banks	or bad actors were allowed to write their own rules . An	64
this week that one of Wall Street 's biggest investment	banks	went bankrupt , triggering a meltdown on Wall Street and	65
re 's the generosity of Americans who volunteer at food	banks	and shelters , making sure that no one goes hungry on a	66
**48;48526;TOOLONG cf0 Eight years ago , after some big	banks	made irresponsible and risky bets with your money , we a	67
e confusing but important details . Republicans and big	banks	who opposed these commonsense rules claimed they 'd hurt	68
lt by everybody . But every year , like clockwork , big	banks	and their Republican allies in Congress try to roll back	69

APPENDIX 5F: OBAMA CORPUS CONCORDANCE, *IRAN*

51 occurrences.			Ext
ur responsibilities , so must other nations , including	Iran	and North Korea . Earlier this year , we imposed tough ,	1
e United Kingdom and France in presenting evidence that	Iran	has been building a secret nuclear facility to enrich ur	2
n evasion . That 's why international negotiations with	Iran	scheduled for October 1st now take on added urgency . My	3
ngful dialogue to resolve this issue remains open . But	Iran	must now cooperate fully with the International Atomic E	4
lder to shoulder with our European allies in condemning	Iran	's program . In our meetings and public statements , Pre	5
ements , President Medvedev of Russia and I agreed that	Iran	must pursue a new course , or face consequences . All of	6
ns Security Council and Germany have made it clear that	Iran	must fulfill its responsibilities . Iran 's leaders must	7
it clear that Iran must fulfill its responsibilities .	Iran	's leaders must now choose . They can live up to their r	8
s with China and Russia in sending a unified message to	Iran	and North Korea that they must live up to their internat	9
spensable to our efforts to enforce strong sanctions on	Iran	, to secure loose nuclear material from terrorists , and	10
isk the coalition that we have built to put pressure on	Iran	and the transit route through Russia that we use to equi	11
which is essential to enforce strong sanctions against	Iran	, secure vulnerable nuclear materials from terrorists ,	12
and partners , we reached a historic understanding with	Iran	, which , if fully implemented , will prevent it from ob	13
s our core objectives , including strict limitations on	Iran	's program and cutting off every pathway that Iran could	14
s on Iran 's program and cutting off every pathway that	Iran	could take to develop a nuclear weapon . This deal denie	15
uld take to develop a nuclear weapon . This deal denies	Iran	the plutonium necessary to build a bomb . It shuts down	16
the plutonium necessary to build a bomb . It shuts down	Iran	's path to a bomb using enriched uranium . Iran has agre	17
ts down Iran 's path to a bomb using enriched uranium .	Iran	has agreed that it will not stockpile the materials need	18
ernational inspectors will have unprecedented access to	Iran	's nuclear program because Iran will face more inspectio	19
unprecedented access to Iran 's nuclear program because	Iran	will face more inspections than any other country in the	20
re inspections than any other country in the world . If	Iran	cheats , the world will know it . If we see something su	21
. And this is a long-term deal , with strict limits on	Iran	's program for more than a decade and unprecedented tran	22
d as a member of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty ,	Iran	will never be permitted to develop a nuclear weapon . In	23
e permitted to develop a nuclear weapon . In return for	Iran	's actions , the international community , including the	24
y , including the United States , has agreed to provide	Iran	with phased relief from certain sanctions . If Iran viol	25
ide Iran with phased relief from certain sanctions . If	Iran	violates the deal , sanctions can be snapped back into p	26
ck into place . Meanwhile , other American sanctions on	Iran	for its support of terrorism , its human rights abuses ,	27
er , we really only have three options for dealing with	Iran	's nuclear program : bombing Iran 's nuclear facilities	28
ions for dealing with Iran 's nuclear program : bombing	Iran	's nuclear facilities , which will only set its program	29
best with sanctions , even though that 's always led to	Iran	making more progress in its nuclear program ; or a robus	30
verifiable deal like this one that peacefully prevents	Iran	from obtaining a nuclear weapon . As President and Comma	31
opportunity to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons in	Iran	and to do so peacefully , with the international communi	32
decades of animosity has not : a deal that will prevent	Iran	from obtaining a nuclear weapon . This deal will make Am	33
ritics argue that this deal somehow makes it easier for	Iran	to obtain a nuclear weapon . Now , if you think it sound	34
ke that , you are right . This deal actually closes off	Iran	's pathway to a nuclear weapon . Today , Iran has enough	35
loses off Iran 's pathway to a nuclear weapon . Today ,	Iran	has enough nuclear material to produce up to 10 nuclear	36
sed for a nuclear weapon . So this deal actually pushes	Iran	further away from a bomb . And there is a permanent proh	37
y from a bomb . And there is a permanent prohibition on	Iran	ever having a nuclear weapon . Second , you might hear f	38
lear weapon . Second , you might hear from critics that	Iran	could just ignore everything that 's required and do wha	39
deal , we will have unprecedented , 24/7 monitoring of	Iran	's key nuclear facilities . With this deal , internation	40
his deal , international inspectors will have access to	Iran	's entire nuclear supply chain . The verification proces	41
e , and it is intrusive , precisely so we can make sure	Iran	keeps its commitments . Third , you might hear from crit	42
commitments . Third , you might hear from critics that	Iran	faces no consequences if it violates this deal . That is	43
t violates this deal . That is also patently false . If	Iran	violates this deal , the sanctions we imposed that have	44
d we got it . Does this deal resolve all of the threats	Iran	poses to its neighbors and the world ? No . Does it do m	45
oes it do more than anyone has done before to make sure	Iran	does not obtain a nuclear weapon ? Yes . And that was ou	46
Because without this deal , there would be no limits on	Iran	's nuclear program . There would be no monitoring , no i	47
anctions we rallied the world to impose would unravel .	Iran	could move closer to a nuclear weapon . Other countries	48
o stop Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon . In fact ,	Iran	has already dismantled thousands of centrifuges that enr	49
out Usama bin Laden . Through diplomacy , we shut down	Iran	's nuclear weapons program , opened up a new chapter wit	50
pened a new chapter with the people of Cuba , shut down	Iran	's nuclear weapons program without firing a single shot	51

APPENDIX 5G: OBAMA CORPUS CONCORDANCE, *LIBYA*

15 occurrences.			Ext
partners in the region to protect innocent civilians in	Libya	and hold the Qadhafi regime accountable , and we will co	1
. This is one of those times . Our military mission in	Libya	is clear and focused . Along with our allies and partner	2
s . We 're succeeding in our mission . We 've taken out	Libya	's air defenses . Qadhafi 's forces are no longer advanc	3
nses . Qadhafi 's forces are no longer advancing across	Libya	. In places like Benghazi , a city of some 700,000 that	4
een limited . We are not putting any ground forces into	Libya	. Our military has provided unique capabilities at the b	5
allies and partners are enforcing the no-fly zone over	Libya	and the arms embargo at sea . Key Arab partners like Qat	6
very American can be proud of the lives we 've saved in	Libya	and of the service of our men and women in uniform who o	7
ood up for our interests and our ideals . And people in	Libya	and around the world are seeing that the United States o	8
in Iraq will come home by the end of this year . And in	Libya	, the death of Muammar Qadhafi showed that our role in p	9
e rest of our troops will be home for the holidays . In	Libya	, our brave pilots and crews helped prevent a massacre ,	10
68;TOOLONG b cf0 **38;24007;TOOLONG b0 cf0 This week in	Libya	, we lost four of our fellow Americans . Glen Doherty ,	11
g their service providing security for our diplomats in	Libya	. They died as they lived their lives : defending their	12
s , where he inspired those of us who knew him , and in	Libya	, a country that he helped to save , where he ultimately	13
a terrorist leader in Somalia , and the ISIL leader in	Libya	. Our message to these killers is simple : We will find	14
owed with our recent strike on an ISIL training camp in	Libya	. With partners around the world , we 'll continue discr	15

APPENDIX 5H: OBAMA CORPUS CONCORDANCE, *SYRIA*

24 occurrences.			Exte
G b cf0 **38;30368;TOOLONG b0 cf0 Almost 3 weeks ago in	Syria	, more than a thousand innocent people , including hundr	1
a blind eye to images like the ones we 've seen out of	Syria	. Failing to respond to this outrageous attack would inc	2
56;TOOLONG cf0 This week when I addressed the Nation on	Syria	, I said that , in part because of the credible threat o	3
ess to join with the international community in pushing	Syria	to give up its chemical weapons , which the Asad regime	4
keeping their commitments . That means working to turn	Syria	's chemical weapons over to international control and ul	5
that it possessed chemical weapons . Today , it does .	Syria	has signaled a willingness to join with 189 other nation	6
need for action to deter the use of chemical weapons in	Syria	. And if current discussions produce a serious plan , I	7
. Right now they pose a threat to the people of Iraq ,	Syria	, and the broader Middle East . But its leaders have thr	8
e to take action against these terrorists in Iraq or in	Syria	. But this is not America 's fight alone . I wo n't comm	9
our troops to fighting another ground war in Iraq or in	Syria	. It 's more effective to use our capabilities to help p	10
rian opposition fighters so that they can fight ISIL in	Syria	. Those votes sent a powerful signal to the world : Amer	11
en in uniform began air strikes against ISIL targets in	Syria	. And they were n't alone . I made it clear that America	12
sion to degrade and ultimately destroy ISIL in Iraq and	Syria	. They 've been supporting our efforts in West Africa to	13
irstrikes are hitting ISIL harder than ever in Iraq and	Syria	. We 're taking out more of their fighters and leaders ,	14
global coalition and hitting ISIL harder than ever . In	Syria	and Iraq , ISIL is losing territory , and we 're not goi	15
. This remains a difficult fight , and the situation in	Syria	and Iraq is incredibly complex . ISIL is entrenched , in	16
re than 40 percent of the areas it once controlled . In	Syria	, a coalition of local forces is tightening the squeeze	17
y nations , the flow of foreign terrorist fighters into	Syria	finally appears to be slowing . In short , in Syria and	18
nto Syria finally appears to be slowing . In short , in	Syria	and Iraq , ISIL 's territory is shrinking , there are fe	19
L a lasting defeat is to end the civil war and chaos in	Syria	upon which ISIL thrives . A cessation of hostilities in	20
fight against ISIL . We 'll remain relentless . Beyond	Syria	and Iraq , we continue to use the full range of our tool	21
tless air campaign'97and support for forces in Iraq and	Syria	who are fighting ISIL on the ground'97has allowed us to	22
mpetitors from the Congo , Ethiopia , South Sudan , and	Syria	who personify endurance . To all of our Olympic and Para	23
San Bernardino to Orlando . So in Afghanistan , Iraq ,	Syria	and beyond , we'92ll stay relentless against terrorists	24

APPENDIX 5I: OBAMA CORPUS, RE-OCCURING FRAMES

frame	definition of problem/issue	cause of problem	consequence	solution/action	values
1. The economy in a state of recovery from crisis.	The 2007-2008 economic crisis, (increasingly called the Great Recession).	Mistakes and greed on the part of those within the financial system.	The financial crisis and ensuing recession, large-scale job loss, a disproportionately affected middle class (inc. small business).	All of Obama's major policies aim at addressing the economic recovery and creating jobs (see Ch. 6)	Obama is determined that the recovery will happen. He reinforces his belief in the country's continued progress.
2. Wall Street and the financial world as responsible for the crisis.	The economic crisis.	Mistakes, greed, unscrupulous banking practices. Specifically, the housing bubble.	The financial crisis and ensuing recession, large-scale job loss, a disproportionately affected middle class.	The Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act.	Anger over the irresponsibility, greed and recklessness of Wall Street, largely on behalf of the middle class.
3. The American health care industry as "broken".	The current health care system, which is bankrupting the country and harming the population in various ways.	Mainly dishonest insurance company practices; Washington's refusal to address the problem.	Uninsured Americans, businesses laying off workers, a further-damaged economy, the slow bankruptcy of the nation.	Implementation of the Affordable Care Act.	Anger over the abuses caused by the insurance industry and concern with the health and future of the population.
4. Washington as in need of reform and too concerned with maintaining the status quo.	The government is not accomplishing nearly as much as it should be.	Politicians refusing to work together and compromise for the good of the people – game-playing, partisan posturing, politicians serving the 'special interests'.	A lack of progress on the change that Obama wants to implement for the people.	Work together to move forward as a nation; implement the reforms that will improve people's lives.	Obama continuously stresses how difficult it is to implement real change and how fed up he is with constantly trying to compromise with those who refuse.
5. The Republicans, mainly in Congress,	The Republicans are refusing to compromise on	A focus on serving the interests of the rich and	The government shutdown, a severe lack of progress overall,	Compromise.	Particularly with regard to the sequester and shutdown,

blocking progress.	many policies, particularly budget reform and tax reform.	supporting policies that will not benefit the economy, especially the middle class.	the population's growing anger with government.		Obama describes the government as irresponsible and not working effectively.
6. The budget as in need of reform to lower the deficit.	The budget needs to be reformed to bring down the deficit, which is much too high.	Irresponsibility of politicians. Implicit: Iraq War.	Threat to the fiscal stability of the nation.	Compromise on budget. Cut what does not work, invest in what does.	Concern with making system more fair, effective, transparent.
7. Tax breaks as unfairly favoring the rich and not the middle class.	The rich do not need the tax breaks they are receiving and the 98% need tax relief.	Tax breaks that were instated under Bush; continued Republican support for them.	If more tax breaks are not given to the 98% they will struggle to an even greater degree.	End tax breaks for the rich and give more breaks to the other 98%.	The tax system is stressed as being very unfair and as serving the old status quo.
8. America's over-dependency on foreign oil as harmful.	The U.S. buys too much oil from abroad and does not produce enough domestically.	The cause is not directly stated.	High gas prices, over-reliance on foreign nations.	Raise oil and gas production domestically and increase drilling and pipelines; this will create jobs as well.	Concern with investing in America, moving toward an energy-independent future.
9. Clean energy as the future and a job creator.	Not enough investment in clean energy, specifically within the budget.	Unnecessary and unfair tax breaks for the oil and gas industries; Republicans fighting for continued tax breaks for the wealthy.	Threat of U.S. lagging behind other countries on clean energy; eventually global warming is equated.	Investment in clean energy and carbon reduction, which will also create new jobs.	Clean energy as modern, tech-savvy and a sign of progress.
10. College education as essential yet growing increasingly unaffordable for the middle class.	College costs and student loan debt are increasing; this is harming students and families.	Increased costs to universities, which cause them to raise rates and the recession, which is leaving families with less money.	Harm is being done to America's youth and the student debt rate is rising.	A series of small education reforms aimed at slightly relieving costs (see Ch. 6).	Concern with protecting the futures of young people and ensuring that they continue to attend university as it is vital for future success.

11. The auto bailout as a great success for the economy and manufacturing.	The auto industry needed to be bailed out with taxpayer money; this was controversial.	The industry being on the verge of bankruptcy and the threat of the further decline of American manufacturing.	Job-loss and further harm done to the economy and manufacturing sector.	The government bailout, which worked extremely well. Evidence of this is seen in the high number of jobs being produced now, etc.	The bailout as a sign of hope for the future.
12. Iran as dangerous.	Iran is dangerous and a threat.	Iran is attempting to build nuclear weapons.	The possibility of nuclear war.	The Iran Deal.	Obama represents himself as fighting for a diplomatic solution.
14. Libya as in need of saving from Gadhafi, a madman harming his people.	Gadhafi is attacking his own people; Libyans need help.	Gadhafi is a madman.	Libyans being harmed, the risk of increased instability in the region.	The NATO invasion of Libya, later discussed as a success.	Righteous anger at Gadhafi. America's role as a protector of the world.
15. Syria: Assad as a dictator committing chemical weapons attacks on his people (2013). **Syria is later depicted as becoming overrun by ISIL (2014).**	2013: Assad has gassed his own people, which is justification for a U.S. invasion of Syria. 2014: Terrorists are gaining power in Syria, which is justification for a U.S. invasion.	2013: Assad is a madman. 2014: It is unclear why the terrorists have suddenly begun to gain so much power in Syria.	Harmed Syrians. The growing threat of ISIL.	2013: Invade Syria. 2014: Invade Syria.	Righteous anger. America as protector of the world.
16. The low minimum wage as needing to be raised.	Those on minimum wage are struggling to survive.	The wage is too low to support a standard of living. It has not been raised for inflation since the 1970's.	The 28 million Americans making minimum wage are struggling too much.	Raise the minimum wage to $10.10/hour.	Concern with the current minimum wage being unfair to workers, concern with improving the economy.
17. The immigration system as broken.	The system is not working effectively.	The system is outdated.	Both immigrants and the economy are being harmed.	Immigration reform.	Concern with inclusion. Upholding of diversity and

					America's heritage.
18. The criminal justice system as flawed.	May are imprisoned unfairly, for too long, etc.	Issues within the justice system.	2.2. million Americans in prison at an enormous economic and financial cost.	Criminal justice reform.	Concern with fairness and justice.

CHAPTER 6

APPENDIX 6A: OBAMA *GOALS* CORPUS FREQUENCY LIST

Word	Frequency	Relative Frequency
economy	249	0.84
more	223	0.75
do	183	0.62
America	173	0.58
jobs	158	0.53
have	130	0.44
American	129	0.43
keep	125	0.42
people	120	0.40
need	117	0.39
be	113	0.38
country	111	0.37
work	103	0.35
get	97	0.33
middle class	95	0.32
make sure	94	0.32
new	89	0.30
future	89	0.30
Americans	87	0.29
help	84	0.28
make	72	0.24
families	71	0.24
good	70	0.24
every	64	0.22
going to	64	0.22
time	62	0.21
world	62	0.21
build	60	0.20
create	59	0.20
businesses	58	0.20
security	57	0.19
nation	56	0.19
better	55	0.19
opportunity	55	0.19
have_to	54	0.18
economic	52	0.18
responsibility	52	0.18
grow	51	0.17

now	48	0.16
working	47	0.16
put	47	0.16
growing	47	0.16
doing	46	0.16
president	46	0.16
want	46	0.16
hard	44	0.15
give	44	0.15
chance	43	0.14
let's	43	0.14
protect	42	0.14
rebuild	39	0.13
kids	39	0.13
fighting	39	0.13
fair	39	0.13
crisis	38	0.13
energy	37	0.12
children	37	0.12
hard_work	37	0.12
day	37	0.12
like	36	0.12
education	36	0.12
stronger	36	0.12
Washington	35	0.12
growth	35	0.12
way	35	0.12
know	35	0.12
government	34	0.11
system	34	0.11
foundation	34	0.11
works	34	0.11
best	33	0.11
women	32	0.11
right	31	0.10
change	30	0.10
workers	30	0.10

APPENDIX 6B: OBAMA *CIRCUMSTANCES CORPUS* TOP FREQUENCY LIST & KEYWORD LIST WORDS BY YEAR

2009

The top frequency list content words for 2009 include: *reform* (91), *insurance* (87), *jobs* (77), *health care* (75), *health* (74), *economy* (67), *businesses* (65), *families* (61), *work* (56), *costs* (53), *time* (50), *economic* (45), *crisis* (44), *recovery* (43) and *nation* (43).

The top keywords include: *insurance* (87), *reform* (91), *health* (74), *health care* (75), *costs* (53), *insurance companies* (29), *doctor* (19), *recovery* (43), *out-of-pocket* (10), *if you like* (10), *change* (39), *insurance industry* (11), *losing* (13), *debate* (22), *lose* (18), *recession* (18), *concerns* (10), *Fort Hood* (8), *interests* (25), *premiums* (12), *status quo* (12), *crisis* (44), *designed* (10), *drop* (9), *difficult* (18), *unprecedented* (11), *arbitrary* (6), *unsustainable* (7), *pre-existing* (12) and *insurance company* (7).

2010

Top frequency list words include: *jobs* (81), *tax* (62), *financial* (60), *economy* (58), *families* (47), *businesses* (46), *Congress* (43), *millions* (39), *Republican* (39), *help* (37), *special* (31), *Republicans* (31).

Top keywords include: *influence* (18), *financial* (60), *Republican* (39), *firms* (18), *ads* (12), *elections* (13), *special* (31), *led* (23), *treaty* (13), *interests* (28), *corporations* (13), *lobbyists* (10), *tough* (23), *foreign-controlled* (4), *Wall Street* (23), *Russia* (11), *company* (14), *corporate* (11), *practices* (14), *Medicare* (21), *times* (16), *tax* (62), *millions* (39), *turmoil* (6), *overturned* (3), *ruling* (4) and *oversight* (9).

2011

Top frequency list words include: *jobs* (110), *economy* (66), *new* (61), *work* (47), *tax* (42), *workers* (39), *families* (35), *Congress* (33), *job* (33), *businesses* (30), *Republicans* (28), *cuts* (27), *Washington* (27), *spending* (27).

Top keywords include: *Chrysler* (18), *Intel* (13), *GM* (10), *Libya* (8), *gas* (20), *spending* (27), company (12), *speaking* (8), *innovators* (5), *still* (39), *destiny* (7), *next* (17), *struggling* (12), *Al Qaida* (8), *private sector* (13) and *paychecks* (7).

2012

Top frequency words include: *Congress* (80), *jobs* (79), *economy* (66), *tax* (58), *families* (57), *middle-class* (41), *businesses* (36), *plan* (34), *pay* (34), *home* (32), *taxes* (31), *Republicans* (29), *cuts* (28), *family* (26).

Top keywords include: *wealthiest* (24), *drill* (9), *taxes* (31), *$250,000* (11), *income taxes* (9), *98 percent* (10), *right now* (39), *go up* (12), *every year* (13), *election* (13), *gas* (22), *mortgages* (12), *housing market* (9), *2 percent* (8), *rates* (15), *typical* (10), *hike* (9), *tax* (58), *come back* (7), *construction* (12), *prices* (14) and *Afghan* (5).

2013

Top frequency words include: *jobs* (88), *economy* (73), *new* (71), *Congress* (59), *businesses* (47), *middle-class* (39), *families* (39), *Republicans* (37), *world* (35), *cuts* (35), *economic* (33), *millions* (28), *government* (28), *law* (27), *energy* (27), *immigration* (27), *system* (26).

Top keywords include: *immigration* (27), *default* (11), *shutdown* (14), *pathway* (9), *chemical weapons* (8), *over the past four years* (7), *site* (9), *durable* (6), *ceiling* (6), *consistent* (5), *charge* (7), *cuts* (35), *deficits* (22), *gun* (13), *fix* (12), *buy* (16), *web* (7), *way* (42), *grit* (5), *compromise* (12), *Nate* (4), *Sandy Hook* (4), *reduction* (8), *head* (8), *affordable* (25), *sequester* (6), *border* (6), *bargain* (6), *over* (46), *shutdown* (7), *deficit* (22), *majority* (13), *housing market* (7), *citizenship* (7) and *economists* (9).

2014

Top frequency list words include: *new* (79), *jobs* (79), *economy* (61), *Congress* (54), *businesses* (54), *wage* (52), *workers* (51), *minimum* (47), *women* (46), *wages* (42), *families* (39), *raise* (39), *work* (36), *pay* (35), *working* (35), *Republicans* (27).

Top keywords include: *wage* (52), *minimum* (47), *wages* (42), *raise* (39), $10.10 (18), *raising* (23), *employees* (21), *hour* (17), *women* (46), *10 million* (9), *created* (26), *girls* (16), *lift* (10), *on my own* (9), *workers* (51), *28 million* (7), *benefit* (12), *business* (33), *full time* (7), *combat* (10), *contractors* (7), *barely* (7), *grows* (7), *grown* (7), *young* (20), *harder* (13), *states* (19), *voted* (10), *average* (12) and *opportunity* (24).

2015

Top frequency list words include: *new* (69), *economy* (56), *world* (50), *jobs* (48), *Iran* (36), *Congress* (32), *deal* (31), *working* (30), *businesses* (28), *job* (26), *workers* (24) and *trade* (24).

Top keywords include: *Iran* (36), *deal* (31), *trade* (24), *deals* (13), *Alaska* (10), *economics* (11), *nuclear weapon* (9), *four-year* (6), *degree* (9), *sanctions* (7), *everyone* (32), *16 million* (5), *sell* (12), *ISIL* (15), *nuclear* (11), *13 million* (5), *climate* (14), *TPP* (4), *world* (50), *community college* (7), *violent* (5), *community colleges* (6), *terrorist* (8), *uninsured* (7), *offenders* (4) and *heroin* (4).

2016

Top frequency words include: *jobs* (34), *families* (33), *job* (26), *economy* (24), *insurance* (23), *workers* (23), *Congress* (21).

Top keywords include: *judge* (14), *nominee* (13), *court* (19), *Warren* (7), *Cuba* (10), *cancer* (12), *supreme* (13), Garland (13), Macklemore (7), *addiction* (7), *20 million* (6), *Puerto Rico* (8), *first* (34), *story* (16), *delivered* (7), *overtime* (8), *President* (30), *opioid* (4), *cures* (4), *ISIL* (13), *transgender* (3) and *movement* (4).

APPENDIX 6C: OBAMA *VALUES* CORPUS FREQUENCY LIST

Word	Frequency	Relative Frequency
all	341	0.59
have	316	0.54
do	309	0.53
America	298	0.51
people	280	0.48
be	275	0.47
country	258	0.44
American	250	0.43
Americans	236	0.40
more	229	0.39
families	166	0.28
economy	151	0.26
world	132	0.23
keep	127	0.22
work	122	0.21
nation	117	0.20
time	116	0.20
every	110	0.19
future	108	0.19
better	108	0.19
been	107	0.18
know	103	0.18
make	102	0.18
Washington	97	0.17
like	96	0.16
women	95	0.16
was	89	0.15
hard	88	0.15
need	87	0.15
have to	85	0.15
some	84	0.14
always	84	0.14
new	81	0.14
right	78	0.13
now	77	0.13
men	76	0.13
middle class	75	0.13
working	75	0.13
help	74	0.13
going to	74	0.13
best	73	0.13

were	71	0.12
President	71	0.12
responsibility	70	0.12
same	69	0.12
lives	69	0.12
give	69	0.12
family	67	0.11
made	66	0.11
way	66	0.11
today	66	0.11
congress	65	0.11
most	65	0.11
good	63	0.11
children	63	0.11
fair	63	0.11
opportunity	62	0.11
United States	62	0.11
together	62	0.11
does	62	0.11
let's	61	0.10
want	61	0.10
make sure	61	0.10
did	59	0.10
life	58	0.10
something	58	0.10
chance	57	0.10
love	56	0.10
interests	55	0.09
day	55	0.09
still	54	0.09
rules	53	0.09
works	52	0.09
businesses	52	0.09
hard work	51	0.09
doing	51	0.09
fighting	51	0.09
spirit	51	0.09
believe	51	0.09
great	50	0.09
years	50	0.09
only	50	0.09
jobs	50	0.09
security	50	0.09
God	49	0.08
crisis	48	0.08
hope	47	0.08
build	47	0.08
system	47	0.08
take	46	0.08
serve	46	0.08

workers	46	0.08
see	46	0.08
kids	46	0.08
stronger	45	0.08
come together	44	0.08
deserve	44	0.08
special	44	0.08
many	44	0.08
financial	44	0.08
before	43	0.07
done	43	0.07
share	43	0.07
values	43	0.07
economic	42	0.07
promise	42	0.07
health care	42	0.07
against	42	0.07
honor	42	0.07
bless	42	0.07
every day	41	0.07
progress	41	0.07
change	41	0.07
government	41	0.07
ourselves	41	0.07
makes	41	0.07
political	41	0.07
part	41	0.07
forward	40	0.07
live	40	0.07
sacrifice	39	0.07
put	39	0.07
act	38	0.07
republicans	38	0.07
protect	38	0.07
pay	38	0.07
meet	38	0.07
important	38	0.07
big	37	0.06
let	37	0.06
had	37	0.06
freedom	37	0.06
afford	36	0.06
continue	36	0.06
remember	36	0.06
communities	35	0.06
reform	35	0.06
nothing	35	0.06
place	35	0.06
job	35	0.06
stop	34	0.06

come	34	0.06
veterans	34	0.06
faith	33	0.06
face	33	0.06
power	33	0.06
uniform	33	0.06
equal	32	0.05
service	32	0.05
matter	32	0.05
means	32	0.05
generations	32	0.05
millions	32	0.05
troops	32	0.05
money	31	0.05
often	31	0.05
challenges	31	0.05
greatest	31	0.05
year	31	0.05
Wall Street	30	0.05
differences	30	0.05
times	30	0.05
willing	30	0.05
free	30	0.05
story	30	0.05

APPENDIX 6D: *VALUES* CORPUS KEYWORD LIST COMPARED TO THE AMERICAN ENGLISH 2006 CORPUS

Item	O1	%1	O2	%2	LL	Log Ratio
America	298	0.51	234	0.02 +	1006.43	4.40
Americans	236	0.40	203	0.02 +	770.96	4.27
country	258	0.44	291	0.03 +	754.43	3.88
families	166	0.28	136	0.01 +	552.14	4.34
American	250	0.43	567	0.06 +	493.64	2.87
economy	151	0.26	144	0.01 +	473.95	4.12
middle class	75	0.13	13	0.00 +	357.89	6.58
keep	127	0.22	220	0.02 +	298.20	3.26
nation	117	0.20	194	0.02 +	281.75	3.32
future	108	0.19	216	0.02 +	232.13	3.05
all	341	0.59	2095	0.22 +	227.85	1.43
hard work	51	0.09	14	0.00 +	226.36	5.92
responsibility	70	0.12	62	0.01 +	226.15	4.23
come together	44	0.08	5	0.00 +	220.60	7.19
bless	42	0.07	3	0.00 +	219.15	7.86
Washington	97	0.17	187	0.02 +	213.43	3.10
fair	63	0.11	62	0.01 +	195.24	4.08
make sure	61	0.10	58	0.01 +	191.69	4.12
will	279	0.48	1701	0.18 +	188.85	1.44
do	309	0.53	2015	0.21 +	185.92	1.35
businesses	52	0.09	43	0.00 +	172.37	4.33
let's	61	0.10	76	0.01 +	170.41	3.73
deserve	44	0.08	25	0.00 +	164.88	4.87
better	108	0.19	341	0.04 +	163.81	2.39
every	110	0.19	376	0.04 +	154.96	2.28
stronger	45	0.08	35	0.00 +	152.49	4.41
interests	55	0.09	70	0.01 +	152.10	3.70
spirit	51	0.09	56	0.01 +	150.91	3.92
opportunity	62	0.11	105	0.01 +	147.51	3.29
chance	57	0.10	88	0.01 +	142.82	3.43
sacrifice	39	0.07	25	0.00 +	140.93	4.69
fighting	51	0.09	72	0.01 +	133.97	3.55
get	142	0.24	700	0.07 +	132.14	1.75
honor	42	0.07	40	0.00 +	131.90	4.12
hard	88	0.15	283	0.03 +	131.26	2.37
lives	69	0.12	167	0.02 +	130.01	2.78
veterans	34	0.06	18	0.00 +	129.99	4.97
working	75	0.13	212	0.02 +	125.17	2.55
politics	57	0.10	111	0.01 +	124.62	3.09
hard-working	24	0.04	2	0.00 +	123.76	7.64
every day	41	0.07	44	0.00 +	122.53	3.95
crisis	48	0.08	73	0.01 +	121.25	3.45
Wall Street	30	0.05	13	0.00 +	120.85	5.26

middle class families	21	0.04	0	0.00	+	120.42	9.44
congress	65	0.11	162	0.02	+	119.82	2.73
afford	36	0.06	32	0.00	+	116.15	4.22
progress	41	0.07	51	0.01	+	114.63	3.74
world	132	0.23	690	0.07	+	113.31	1.67
jobs	50	0.09	93	0.01	+	112.50	3.16
our own	34	0.06	29	0.00	+	111.42	4.28
health care	42	0.07	60	0.01	+	109.66	3.54
works	52	0.09	109	0.01	+	108.38	2.98
serve	46	0.08	80	0.01	+	107.76	3.25
have to	85	0.15	325	0.03	+	106.95	2.12
build	47	0.08	87	0.01	+	106.06	3.16
courage	29	0.05	18	0.00	+	105.84	4.74
generations	32	0.05	29	0.00	+	102.48	4.19
are	443	0.76	4274	0.44	+	101.97	0.78
rules	53	0.09	129	0.01	+	99.45	2.77
uniform	33	0.06	35	0.00	+	99.12	3.97
give	69	0.12	244	0.03	+	94.04	2.23
together	62	0.11	200	0.02	+	92.22	2.36
republicans	38	0.07	64	0.01	+	90.70	3.30
financial	44	0.08	94	0.01	+	90.54	2.96
making sure	20	0.03	5	0.00	+	90.25	6.05
blessings	19	0.03	4	0.00	+	88.17	6.30
best	73	0.13	296	0.03	+	86.19	2.03
status quo	22	0.04	11	0.00	+	85.43	5.05
celebrate	23	0.04	14	0.00	+	84.45	4.77
promise	42	0.07	93	0.01	+	84.33	2.91
grateful	25	0.04	21	0.00	+	82.39	4.30
work	122	0.21	745	0.08	+	82.36	1.44
make	102	0.18	560	0.06	+	81.52	1.60
help	74	0.13	322	0.03	+	80.57	1.93
share	43	0.07	106	0.01	+	79.92	2.75
protect	38	0.07	80	0.01	+	78.97	2.98
freedom	37	0.06	77	0.01	+	77.48	2.99
millions	32	0.05	54	0.01	+	76.29	3.30
today	66	0.11	274	0.03	+	75.89	2.00
fought	29	0.05	43	0.00	+	74.26	3.48
brighter	15	0.03	2	0.00	+	73.93	6.96
privilege	21	0.04	15	0.00	+	73.27	4.54
communities	35	0.06	73	0.01	+	73.19	2.99
need	87	0.15	469	0.05	+	71.43	1.62
going to	74	0.13	358	0.04	+	70.60	1.78
work together	15	0.03	3	0.00	+	70.15	6.37
serving	27	0.05	39	0.00	+	70.09	3.52
too many	25	0.04	31	0.00	+	70.00	3.74
reform	35	0.06	78	0.01	+	69.96	2.90
kids	46	0.08	145	0.02	+	69.87	2.40
ideals	23	0.04	24	0.00	+	69.56	3.99
confident	25	0.04	32	0.00	+	68.95	3.70
small-business	12	0.02	0	0.00	+	68.81	8.64

hope	47	0.08	156	0.02 +	68.08	2.32
Michelle	13	0.02	1	0.00 +	67.46	7.75
greatest	31	0.05	61	0.01 +	67.33	3.08
workers	46	0.08	152	0.02 +	66.91	2.33
troops	32	0.05	67	0.01 +	66.74	2.99
rewarded	18	0.03	11	0.00 +	66.01	4.76
dream	29	0.05	54	0.01 +	65.20	3.16
founding	21	0.04	21	0.00 +	64.65	4.05
rebuild	15	0.03	5	0.00 +	64.11	5.64
equal	32	0.05	72	0.01 +	63.54	2.88
President	11	0.02	0	0.00 +	63.08	8.51
ISIL	11	0.02	0	0.00 +	63.08	8.51
resilience	13	0.02	2	0.00 +	63.00	6.75
challenges	31	0.05	68	0.01 +	62.65	2.92
tough	26	0.04	44	0.00 +	61.88	3.29
every single day	12	0.02	1	0.00 +	61.88	7.64
always	84	0.14	487	0.05 +	61.73	1.52
special	44	0.08	154	0.02 +	60.58	2.24
values	43	0.07	148	0.02 +	60.17	2.27
banks	22	0.04	29	0.00 +	59.81	3.65
continue	36	0.06	103	0.01 +	59.48	2.54
sacrifices	13	0.02	3	0.00 +	59.45	6.17
live up to	13	0.02	3	0.00 +	59.45	6.17
common-sense	13	0.02	3	0.00 +	59.45	6.17
willing	30	0.05	70	0.01 +	58.05	2.83
brave	17	0.03	13	0.00 +	57.95	4.44
faith	33	0.06	88	0.01 +	57.73	2.64
know	103	0.18	701	0.07 +	57.20	1.29
meet	38	0.07	122	0.01 +	56.77	2.37
look out for	11	0.02	1	0.00 +	56.31	7.51
prosperity	18	0.03	18	0.00 +	55.42	4.05
security	50	0.09	217	0.02 +	54.61	1.93
recession	14	0.02	7	0.00 +	54.37	5.05
pay	38	0.07	130	0.01 +	53.49	2.28
believe	51	0.09	229	0.02 +	53.47	1.89
men	76	0.13	459	0.05 +	52.26	1.46
Easter	12	0.02	4	0.00 +	51.29	5.64
time	116	0.20	890	0.09 +	50.15	1.11
makes	41	0.07	161	0.02 +	50.14	2.08
succeed	17	0.03	19	0.00 +	49.91	3.89
women	95	0.16	668	0.07 +	49.48	1.24
have	316	0.54	3382	0.35 +	49.22	0.63
safer	15	0.03	13	0.00 +	48.86	4.26
solve	16	0.03	17	0.00 +	48.02	3.96
democracy	27	0.05	71	0.01 +	47.76	2.66
weekend	17	0.03	21	0.00 +	47.68	3.75
United States	62	0.11	350	0.04 +	47.50	1.55
ingenuity	12	0.02	6	0.00 +	46.60	5.05
doing	51	0.09	255	0.03 +	46.56	1.73
President	71	0.12	441	0.05 +	46.56	1.42

defend	20	0.03	36	0.00 +	45.90	3.20
prosperous	14	0.02	12	0.00 +	45.80	4.27
love	56	0.10	307	0.03 +	44.85	1.60
refuse	14	0.02	13	0.00 +	44.41	4.16
dignity	16	0.03	21	0.00 +	43.59	3.66
consumers	22	0.04	50	0.01 +	43.38	2.87
differences	30	0.05	101	0.01 +	42.88	2.30
heroes	17	0.03	26	0.00 +	42.81	3.44
proud	22	0.04	51	0.01 +	42.77	2.84
keeper	15	0.03	18	0.00 +	42.65	3.79
right	78	0.13	537	0.06 +	42.36	1.27
restore	17	0.03	27	0.00 +	41.94	3.38
stand up	11	0.02	6	0.00 +	41.71	4.93
live	40	0.07	181	0.02 +	41.54	1.87
secure	21	0.04	49	0.01 +	40.64	2.83
belief	21	0.04	49	0.01 +	40.64	2.83
destiny	15	0.03	20	0.00 +	40.55	3.64
fight	29	0.05	100	0.01 +	40.51	2.27
so many	24	0.04	67	0.01 +	40.47	2.57
responsibilities	18	0.03	34	0.00 +	40.11	3.13
generation	26	0.04	81	0.01 +	39.91	2.41
reckless	11	0.02	7	0.00 +	39.84	4.70
united	16	0.03	25	0.00 +	39.83	3.41
gratitude	12	0.02	10	0.00 +	39.67	4.31
more	229	0.39	2389	0.25 +	39.62	0.67
family	67	0.11	446	0.05 +	38.81	1.32
day	55	0.09	327	0.03 +	38.81	1.48
Medicare	16	0.03	27	0.00 +	38.14	3.30
extraordinary	18	0.03	38	0.00 +	37.34	2.97
remember	36	0.06	164	0.02 +	37.08	1.86
commander	13	0.02	16	0.00 +	36.53	3.75
stand	23	0.04	69	0.01 +	36.50	2.47
Christians	17	0.03	36	0.00 +	35.19	2.97
holidays	11	0.02	10	0.00 +	35.18	4.19
citizens	28	0.05	108	0.01 +	34.91	2.10
children	63	0.11	431	0.04 +	34.64	1.28
hold	28	0.05	109	0.01 +	34.56	2.09
preserve	13	0.02	18	0.00 +	34.49	3.58
right now	22	0.04	67	0.01 +	34.46	2.45
economic	42	0.07	229	0.02 +	33.91	1.61
shot	27	0.05	104	0.01 +	33.71	2.11
grow	18	0.03	44	0.00 +	33.67	2.76
unity	13	0.02	19	0.00 +	33.54	3.50
economics	12	0.02	15	0.00 +	33.47	3.73
compromise	15	0.03	29	0.00 +	32.95	3.10
patriots	13	0.02	20	0.00 +	32.64	3.43
cuts	12	0.02	16	0.00 +	32.44	3.64
same	69	0.12	516	0.05 +	31.58	1.15
matter	32	0.05	152	0.02 +	31.26	1.80
challenge	26	0.04	105	0.01 +	30.84	2.04

things	55	0.09	373	0.04 +	30.75	1.29
service	32	0.05	154	0.02 +	30.74	1.79
lobbyists	11	0.02	14	0.00 +	30.42	3.70
affordable	11	0.02	14	0.00 +	30.42	3.70
done	43	0.07	258	0.03 +	29.89	1.47
success	26	0.04	108	0.01 +	29.88	2.00
fear	27	0.05	116	0.01 +	29.84	1.95
ordinary	20	0.03	65	0.01 +	29.55	2.35
stop	34	0.06	179	0.02 +	28.89	1.66
growing	25	0.04	104	0.01 +	28.68	2.00
choices	15	0.03	38	0.00 +	27.31	2.71
season	21	0.04	78	0.01 +	27.24	2.16
thanksgiving	11	0.02	18	0.00 +	26.69	3.34
debt	12	0.02	23	0.00 +	26.50	3.11
God	49	0.08	339	0.04 +	26.36	1.26
worst	16	0.03	46	0.00 +	26.33	2.53
competition	16	0.03	48	0.00 +	25.39	2.47
safe	20	0.03	76	0.01 +	25.33	2.13
struggling	12	0.02	26	0.00 +	24.46	2.94
earth	22	0.04	95	0.01 +	24.17	1.94
great	50	0.09	365	0.04 +	24.11	1.18
neighbors	16	0.03	51	0.01 +	24.06	2.38
change	41	0.07	271	0.03 +	24.06	1.33
commitment	18	0.03	65	0.01 +	24.02	2.20
dreams	14	0.02	40	0.00 +	23.16	2.54
harder	13	0.02	34	0.00 +	23.09	2.66
resolve	11	0.02	23	0.00 +	22.96	2.99
system	47	0.08	345	0.04 +	22.40	1.18
determination	13	0.02	36	0.00 +	22.06	2.58
free	30	0.05	174	0.02 +	22.03	1.52
times	30	0.05	175	0.02 +	21.83	1.51
bigger	14	0.02	43	0.00 +	21.76	2.43
allow	21	0.04	96	0.01 +	21.54	1.86
win	19	0.03	80	0.01 +	21.50	1.98
built	20	0.03	88	0.01 +	21.49	1.91
easy	23	0.04	114	0.01 +	21.25	1.74
treat	13	0.02	38	0.00 +	21.09	2.50
come	34	0.06	220	0.02 +	20.75	1.36
strong	27	0.05	153	0.02 +	20.56	1.55
fellow	18	0.03	76	0.01 +	20.30	1.97
accept	15	0.03	54	0.01 +	20.08	2.20
means	32	0.05	205	0.02 +	19.88	1.37
way	66	0.11	584	0.06 +	19.85	0.91
come from	13	0.02	41	0.00 +	19.74	2.39
enjoy	12	0.02	35	0.00 +	19.51	2.51
act	38	0.07	275	0.03 +	18.66	1.20
job	35	0.06	244	0.03 +	18.54	1.25
achieve	14	0.02	51	0.01 +	18.52	2.19
powerful	20	0.03	99	0.01 +	18.51	1.74
common	29	0.05	183	0.02 +	18.50	1.39

owners	13	0.02	44	0.00 +	18.49	2.29
gets	17	0.03	75	0.01 +	18.21	1.91
sick	12	0.02	38	0.00 +	18.15	2.39
poverty	12	0.02	38	0.00 +	18.15	2.39
let	37	0.06	269	0.03 +	17.99	1.19
plays	16	0.03	68	0.01 +	17.91	1.96
greater	20	0.03	102	0.01 +	17.77	1.70
strength	17	0.03	77	0.01 +	17.63	1.87
put	39	0.07	294	0.03 +	17.54	1.14
spend	17	0.03	78	0.01 +	17.35	1.85
loved	19	0.03	96	0.01 +	17.10	1.71
innovation	11	0.02	34	0.00 +	17.00	2.42
wrong	20	0.03	107	0.01 +	16.60	1.63
harm	11	0.02	36	0.00 +	16.15	2.34
lost	27	0.05	178	0.02 +	15.92	1.33
respect	13	0.02	51	0.01 +	15.91	2.08
big	37	0.06	289	0.03 +	15.35	1.09
pass	15	0.03	69	0.01 +	15.26	1.85
expect	18	0.03	95	0.01 +	15.24	1.65
care	20	0.03	115	0.01 +	14.89	1.53
thing	40	0.07	327	0.03 +	14.87	1.02
government	41	0.07	339	0.04 +	14.81	1.00
seek	12	0.02	47	0.00 +	14.72	2.08
republican	20	0.03	116	0.01 +	14.69	1.52
never	64	0.11	618	0.06 +	14.69	0.78
a lot	27	0.05	186	0.02 +	14.65	1.27
take	46	0.08	399	0.04 +	14.63	0.94
election	16	0.03	80	0.01 +	14.61	1.73
democrats	18	0.03	98	0.01 +	14.57	1.61
raise	13	0.02	56	0.01 +	14.32	1.95
committed	13	0.02	56	0.01 +	14.32	1.95
forget	12	0.02	49	0.01 +	14.06	2.02
ever	37	0.06	300	0.03 +	14.04	1.03
political	41	0.07	347	0.04 +	13.94	0.97
absolutely	11	0.02	43	0.00 +	13.52	2.09
prevent	15	0.03	76	0.01 +	13.45	1.71
nothing	35	0.06	285	0.03 +	13.14	1.03
community	24	0.04	165	0.02 +	13.07	1.27
treated	11	0.02	45	0.00 +	12.86	2.02
problems	21	0.04	136	0.01 +	12.79	1.36
insurance	19	0.03	117	0.01 +	12.65	1.43
policies	14	0.02	71	0.01 +	12.54	1.71
girls	20	0.03	128	0.01 +	12.45	1.37
spending	13	0.02	63	0.01 +	12.37	1.78
try	22	0.04	151	0.02 +	12.02	1.27
write	17	0.03	101	0.01 +	12.01	1.48
sent	18	0.03	111	0.01 +	11.95	1.43
tomorrow	11	0.02	48	0.00 +	11.94	1.93
want	61	0.10	617	0.06 +	11.88	0.71
debate	15	0.03	83	0.01 +	11.85	1.58

helping	11	0.02	49	0.01 +	11.65	1.90
confidence	11	0.02	49	0.01 +	11.65	1.90
message	15	0.03	84	0.01 +	11.63	1.57
week	18	0.03	114	0.01 +	11.41	1.39
costs	19	0.03	125	0.01 +	11.25	1.33
basic	16	0.03	96	0.01 +	11.12	1.47
idea	28	0.05	223	0.02 +	11.09	1.06
budget	11	0.02	51	0.01 +	11.08	1.84
important	38	0.07	340	0.04 +	11.07	0.89
decisions	14	0.02	79	0.01 +	10.73	1.56
moving	19	0.03	129	0.01 +	10.60	1.29
tax	22	0.04	161	0.02 +	10.55	1.18
money	31	0.05	263	0.03 +	10.47	0.97
does	62	0.11	651	0.07 +	10.45	0.66
justice	15	0.03	91	0.01 +	10.24	1.45
am	30	0.05	254	0.03 +	10.19	0.97
takes	15	0.03	92	0.01 +	10.05	1.44
move	21	0.04	154	0.02 +	10.03	1.18
is	586	1.01	8474	0.88 +	9.91	0.20
moments	13	0.02	74	0.01 +	9.83	1.54
served	15	0.03	94	0.01 +	9.69	1.40
rights	15	0.03	94	0.01 +	9.69	1.40
determined	15	0.03	94	0.01 +	9.69	1.40
responsible	16	0.03	104	0.01 +	9.68	1.35
play	25	0.04	202	0.02 +	9.56	1.04
matters	12	0.02	66	0.01 +	9.56	1.59
save	13	0.02	76	0.01 +	9.43	1.50
ensure	12	0.02	67	0.01 +	9.35	1.57
join	11	0.02	58	0.01 +	9.33	1.65
ideas	18	0.03	127	0.01 +	9.31	1.23
simply	22	0.04	171	0.02 +	9.23	1.09
purpose	15	0.03	97	0.01 +	9.16	1.36
worry	11	0.02	59	0.01 +	9.10	1.63
leaders	20	0.03	150	0.02 +	9.10	1.15
made	66	0.11	727	0.08 +	9.06	0.59
moment	27	0.05	727	0.08 +	9.06	0.59
health	23	0.04	186	0.02 +	8.78	1.04
immigrants	12	0.02	70	0.01 +	8.73	1.51
shared	19	0.03	142	0.01 +	8.71	1.15
place	35	0.06	333	0.03 +	8.44	0.80
risk	16	0.03	112	0.01 +	8.41	1.24
steps	13	0.02	82	0.01 +	8.30	1.39
power	33	0.06	310	0.03 +	8.29	0.82
led	20	0.03	157	0.02 +	8.20	1.08
sense	26	0.04	227	0.02 +	8.12	0.93
action	19	0.03	148	0.02 +	7.93	1.09
good	63	0.11	708	0.07 +	7.88	0.56
story	30	0.05	278	0.03 +	7.87	0.84
part	41	0.07	424	0.04 +	7.34	0.68
example	13	0.02	88	0.01 +	7.29	1.29

make it	12	0.02	78	0.01 +	7.26	1.35
top	18	0.03	143	0.01 +	7.17	1.06
stay	16	0.03	121	0.01 +	7.15	1.13
remains	12	0.02	79	0.01 +	7.10	1.33
nations	11	0.02	69	0.01 +	7.09	1.40

APPENDIX 6E: OBAMA *CLAIMS FOR ACTION* CORPUS FREQUENCY LIST

Word	Frequency	Relative Frequency
more	318	0.65
congress	257	0.53
need	204	0.42
new	197	0.40
help	190	0.39
be	166	0.34
all	166	0.34
jobs	138	0.28
get	134	0.27
work	132	0.27
tax	128	0.26
American	127	0.26
people	127	0.26
America	120	0.25
Americans	115	0.24
families	111	0.23
working	107	0.22
every	98	0.20
businesses	96	0.20
make	95	0.19
now	94	0.19
keep	93	0.19
country	87	0.18
has	86	0.18
like	84	0.17
give	83	0.17
have_to	81	0.17
workers	81	0.17
pass	76	0.16
one	75	0.15
let’s	74	0.15
take	73	0.15
budget	72	0.15
economy	72	0.15
veterans	72	0.15
time	72	0.15
energy	70	0.14
support	70	0.14
put	69	0.14
reform	69	0.14

means	67	0.14
going_to	67	0.14
steps	63	0.13
job	62	0.13
week	61	0.13
pay	61	0.13
year	59	0.12
been	58	0.12
home	58	0.12
government	58	0.12
tell	58	0.12
right	57	0.12
system	55	0.11
plan	54	0.11
make_sure	54	0.11
act	54	0.11
continue	52	0.11
first	52	0.11
republicans	52	0.11
law	51	0.10
care	51	0.10
even	50	0.10
create	49	0.10
want	49	0.10
bill	48	0.10
financial	48	0.10
world	48	0.10
clean	47	0.10
companies	47	0.10
cut	46	0.09
spending	46	0.09
protect	45	0.09
cuts	45	0.09
leaders	45	0.09
federal	44	0.09
way	43	0.09
stop	43	0.09
part	43	0.09
communities	43	0.09
better	42	0.09
end	42	0.09
meet	42	0.09
doing	42	0.09
good	42	0.09
back	42	0.09
nation	41	0.08
insurance	41	0.08
students	41	0.08
know	41	0.08
college	40	0.08

small	40	0.08
education	40	0.08
family	40	0.08
senate	39	0.08
members	39	0.08
health_care	39	0.08
finally	39	0.08
use	39	0.08
years	38	0.08
health	38	0.08
business	38	0.08
money	38	0.08
security	38	0.08
women	38	0.08
today	38	0.08
vote	38	0.08
right_now	38	0.08
raise	38	0.08
middle_class	38	0.08
future	37	0.08
save	37	0.08
reforms	37	0.08
see	36	0.07
most	36	0.07
hope	36	0.07
things	36	0.07
military	36	0.07
making	35	0.07
provide	35	0.07
administration	35	0.07
go	35	0.07
important	35	0.07
prevent	35	0.07
find	34	0.07
ask	34	0.07
before	34	0.07
needs	34	0.07
over	33	0.07
Washington	33	0.07
let	33	0.07
oil	32	0.07
democrats	32	0.07
proposed	31	0.06
already	31	0.06
action	31	0.06
responsible	31	0.06
best	31	0.06
opportunity	31	0.06
serve	31	0.06
schools	30	0.06

credit	30	0.06
deficit	30	0.06
national	30	0.06
rules	30	0.06
children	30	0.06
community	30	0.06
including	30	0.06
less	30	0.06

APPENDIX 6F: *MEANS-GOAL* CORPUS SELECTED CODES

1. The Recovery & Reinvestment Act will create jobs.

nternals\\(001) 2009.1.24 - § 1 reference coded [5.20% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.20% Coverage

In short, if we do not act boldly and swiftly, a bad situation could become dramatically worse. That is why I've proposed an American recovery and reinvestment plan, to immediately jump-start job creation, as well as long-term economic growth.

Internals\\(045) 2009.11.26 - § 1 reference coded [19.85% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 19.85% Coverage

That's why we passed the Recovery Act that cut taxes for 95 percent of working people and for small businesses and that extended unemployment benefits and health coverage for millions of Americans who lost their jobs in this turmoil. That's why we are reforming the health care system so that middle class families have affordable insurance that cannot be denied because of a preexisting condition or taken away because you happen to get sick. The investments we've made and tough steps we've taken have helped break the back of the recession, and now our economy is finally growing again.

2. Cutting spending and living within the country's means will reduce the deficit.

Internals\\(128) 2011.7.2 - § 1 reference coded [15.49% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 15.49% Coverage

I ran for President because I believed in an America where ordinary folks could get ahead, where if you worked hard, you could have a better life. That's been my focus since I came into office, and that has to be our focus now. It's one of the reasons why we're working to reduce our Nation's deficit. Government has to start living within its means, just like families do. We have to cut the spending we can't afford so we can put the economy on a sounder footing and give our businesses the confidence they need to grow and create jobs.

Internals\\(108) 2011.2.12 - § 1 reference coded [9.37% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 9.37% Coverage

Families across this country understand what it takes to manage a budget. They understand what it takes to make ends meet without forgoing important investments like education. Well, it's time Washington acted as responsibly as our families do. And on Monday, I'm proposing a new budget that will help us live within our means while investing in our future.

3. Living within the country's means/compromise will reform Washington.

Internals\\(366) 2016.2.6 - § 2 references coded [28.07% Coverage]

Reference 2 - 12.17% Coverage

The point is, all across the country, folks are putting their differences aside to face this challenge as one. Washington should do the same. That's how we're going to solve this challenge: together. And that's how we're going to give our kids and grandkids the future they deserve: one with a safe, secure, and prosperous planet.

nternals\\(013) 2009.4.18 - § 2 references coded [17.46% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 10.26% Coverage

If we're going to rebuild our economy on a solid foundation, we need to change the way we do business in Washington. We need to restore the American people's confidence in their Government; that it is on their side, spending their money wisely to meet their families' needs. That starts with the painstaking work of examining every program, every entitlement, every dollar of Government spending and asking ourselves: Is this program really essential? Are taxpayers getting their money's worth? Can we accomplish our goals more efficiently or effectively some other way?

Internals\\(020) 2009.6.6 - § 1 reference coded [11.22% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 11.22% Coverage

Now, all across America, our families are making hard choices when it comes to health care. Now, it's time for Washington to make the right ones. It's time to deliver. And I am absolutely convinced that if we keep working together and living up to our mutual responsibilities, if we place the American people's interests above the special interests, we will seize this historic opportunity to finally fix what ails our broken health care system and strengthen our economy and our country now and for decades to come.

4. Wall Street reform/attacking the cause of the crisis will prevent future crises.

Internals\\(047) 2009.12.12 - § 1 reference coded [11.20% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 11.20% Coverage

I urge both Houses to act as quickly as possible to pass real reform that restores free and fair markets, in which recklessness and greed are thwarted and hard work, responsibility, and competition are rewarded, reforms that work for businesses, investors, and consumers alike. That's how we'll keep our economy and our institutions strong. That's how we'll restore a sense of responsibility and accountability to both Wall Street and Washington
And that's how we'll safeguard everything the American people are working so hard to build: a broad-based recovery, a lasting prosperity, and a renewed American Dream.

Internals\\(052) 2010.1.16 - § 1 reference coded [4.89% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.89% Coverage

We're not going to let Wall Street take the money and run. We're going to pass this fee into law. And I'm going to continue to work with Congress on commonsense financial reforms to protect people and the economy from the kind of costly and painful crisis we've just been through.

Internals\\(065) 2010.4.17 - § 4 references coded [17.31% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.09% Coverage

I believe we have to do everything we can to ensure that no crisis like this ever happens again. And that's why I'm fighting so hard to pass a set of Wall Street reforms and consumer protections.

Reference 4 - 4.60% Coverage

We will hold Wall Street accountable. We will protect and empower consumers in our financial system. That's what reform is all about. That's what we're fighting for. And that's exactly what we're going to achieve

Internals\\(066) 2010.4.24 - § 1 reference coded [16.33% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 16.33% Coverage

And once again I called for reforms to hold Wall Street accountable and to protect consumers. These reforms would put an end once and for all to taxpayer bailouts. They would bring greater transparency to complex financial dealings. And they will empower ordinary consumers and shareholders in our financial system... That's how we'll restore trust and confidence in our markets. That's how we'll help to put an end to the cycle of boom and bust that we've seen. And that's how, after 2 very difficult years, we will not only revive the economy, but help to rebuild it stronger than ever before.

Internals\\(069) 2010.5.15 - § 2 references coded [7.86% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.87% Coverage

But my responsibility as President isn't just to help our economy rebound from this recession; it's to make sure an economic crisis like the one that helped trigger this recession never happens again.
That's what Wall Street reform will help us do.

Reference 2 - 1.99% Coverage

Put simply, Wall Street reform will bring greater security to folks on Main Street.

Internals\\(338) 2015.7.25 - § 2 references coded [16.03% Coverage]

Reference 2 - 4.15% Coverage

In America, we should reward drive and innovation and fair play. And that's what reform of Wall Street does. It makes sure everybody plays by the same set of rules.

5. Health care reform will reduce health care costs and provide more security and stability, give our children a healthier future and help rebuild the economy.

Internals\\(051) 2010.1.9 - § 1 reference coded [8.17% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 8.17% Coverage

In short, once I sign health insurance reform into law, doctors and patients will have more control over their health care decisions and insurance company bureaucrats will have less. All told, these changes represent the most sweeping reforms and toughest restrictions on insurance companies that this country has ever known. That's how we'll make 2010 a healthier and more secure year for every American, for those who have health insurance and those who don't.

Internals\\(058) 2010.2.27 - § 2 references coded [9.63% Coverage]

Reference 2 - 4.38% Coverage

We need that same spirit of cooperation and bipartisanship when it comes to finally passing reform that will bring down the cost of health care and give Americans more control over their insurance.

Internals\\(364) 2016.1.23 - § 1 reference coded [6.64% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 6.64% Coverage

This is health care in America today: affordable, portable security for you and your loved ones. It's making a difference for millions of Americans every day. And it's only going to get better.

Internals\\(017) 2009.5.16 - § 2 references coded [8.07% Coverage]

Reference 2 - 3.79% Coverage

Our businesses will not be able to compete, our families will not be able to save or spend, our budgets will remain unsustainable, unless we get health care costs under control.

Internals\\(020) 2009.6.6 - § 1 reference coded [11.22% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 11.22% Coverage

Now, all across America, our families are making hard choices when it comes to health care. Now, it's time for Washington to make the right ones. It's time to deliver. And I am absolutely convinced that if we keep working together and living up to our mutual responsibilities, if we place the American people's interests above the special interests, we will seize this historic opportunity to finally fix what ails our broken health care system and strengthen our economy and our country now and for decades to come.

Internals\\(021) 2009.6.13 - § 1 reference coded [4.73% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.73% Coverage

This is the moment when we must reform health care so that we can build a new foundation for our economy to grow, for our people to thrive, and for our country to pursue a responsible and sustainable path. Thanks.

Internals\\(031) 2009.8.22 - § 1 reference coded [6.80% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 6.80% Coverage

If we pass health insurance reform, we will look back many years from now and say, this was the moment we summoned what's best in each of us to make life better for all of us. This was the moment when we built a health care system worthy of the Nation and the people we love. This was the moment we earned our place alongside the greatest generations. And that is what our generation of Americans is called to do right now.

Internals\\(034) 2009.9.12 - § 1 reference coded [10.96% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 10.96% Coverage

In the United States of America, no one should have to worry that they'll go without health insurance, not for 1 year, not for 1 month, not for 1 day. And once I sign my health reform plan into law, they won't. My plan will provide more security and stability to those who have health insurance, offer quality, affordable choices to those who currently don't, and bring health care costs for our families, our businesses, and our Government under control.

Internals\\(051) 2010.1.9 - § 1 reference coded [8.17% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 8.17% Coverage

In short, once I sign health insurance reform into law, doctors and patients will have more control over their health care decisions and insurance company bureaucrats will have less. All told, these changes represent the most sweeping reforms and toughest restrictions on insurance companies that this country has ever known. That's how we'll make 2010 a healthier and more secure year for every American, for those who have health insurance and those who don't.

6. Investment in clean energy and energy independence will better America’s future, reduce energy costs and create jobs.

Internals\\(366) 2016.2.6 - § 2 references coded [28.07% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 15.89% Coverage

As I said in my State of the Union Address, rather than subsidize the past, we should invest in the future. That's why the budget I will send to Congress this Tuesday will double funding for clean energy research and development by 2020. This will include new investments to help the private sector create more jobs faster, lower the cost of clean energy faster, and help clean,

renewable power outcompete dirty fuels in every State.

Internals\\(017) 2009.5.16 - § 2 references coded [8.07% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.28% Coverage

The nation that leads in 21st century clean energy is the nation that will lead the 21st century global economy. America can and must be that nation, and this agreement is a major step toward this goal.

Internals\\(023) 2009.6.27 - § 2 references coded [23.15% Coverage]

Reference 2 - 11.11% Coverage

This legislation will finally make clean energy the profitable kind of energy. That will lead to the creation of new businesses and entire new industries, and that will lead to American jobs that pay well and can't be outsourced. I've often talked about the need to build a new foundation for economic growth so that we don't return to the endless cycle of bubble and bust that led us to this recession. Clean energy and the jobs it creates will be absolutely critical to this new foundation.

Internals\\(046) 2009.12.5 - § 1 reference coded [9.04% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 9.04% Coverage

nd so that we don't face another crisis like this again, I am determined to meet our responsibility to do what we know will strengthen our economy in the long run. That's why I'm not going to let up in my efforts to reform our health care system, to give our children the best education in the world, to promote the jobs of tomorrow and energy independence by investing in a clean energy economy, and to deal with the mounting Federal debt.

Internals\\(115) 2011.4.2 - § 1 reference coded [14.06% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 14.06% Coverage

We know how important this is. This week, we learned that the economy added 230,000 private sector jobs last month. That makes 1.8 million private sector jobs created in the last 13 months. That's a good sign. But we have to keep up the momentum, and transitioning to a clean energy economy will help us do that. It will ensure that the United States of America is the home of the jobs and industries of tomorrow. That's how we'll win the future. That's how we'll leave our children an America that's more secure and prosperous than before.

Internals\\(119) 2011.4.30 - § 1 reference coded [11.02% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 11.02% Coverage

But I refuse to cut things like clean energy that will help America win the future by growing our economy and creating good-paying jobs, that will help make America more secure, and that will help clean up our planet in the process. An investment in clean energy today is an investment in

a better tomorrow, and I think that's an investment worth making.

7. New guide lines on carbon reduction will cut down on pollution.

Internals\\(280) 2014.5.31 - § 1 reference coded [7.86% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 7.86% Coverage

That's why, a year ago, I directed the Environmental Protection Agency to build on the efforts of many States, cities, and companies and come up with commonsense guidelines for reducing dangerous carbon pollution from our power plants. This week, we're unveiling these proposed guidelines, which will cut down on the carbon pollution, smog, and soot that threaten the health of the most vulnerable Americans, including children and the elderly.

Internals\\(324) 2015.4.18 - § 1 reference coded [23.30% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 23.30% Coverage

So climate change can no longer be denied or ignored. The world is looking to the United States—to us—to lead. And that's what we're doing. We're using more clean energy than ever before. America is number one in wind power, and every 3 weeks, we bring online as much solar power as we did in all of 2008. We're taking steps to waste less energy, with more fuel-efficient cars that save us money at the pump and more energy-efficient buildings that save us money on our electricity bills.
So thanks in part to these actions, our carbon pollution has fallen by 10 percent since 2007, even as we've grown our economy and seen the longest streak of private-sector job growth on record.

Internals\\(232) 2013.6.29 - § 1 reference coded [4.92% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.92% Coverage

The national Climate Action Plan I unveiled will cut carbon pollution, protect our country from the impacts of climate change, and lead the world in a coordinated assault on a changing climate.

8. Investing in education will better America’s future.

Internals\\(240) 2013.8.24 - § 1 reference coded [8.27% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 8.27% Coverage

We cannot price the middle class out of a college education. That's why I proposed major new reforms to make college more affordable and make it easier for folks to pay for their education.

Internals\\(326) 2015.5.2 - § 1 reference coded [21.15% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 21.15% Coverage

All of us have a responsibility to not only make sure our own children have pathways to success,

but that all children do. And a great education is the ticket to a better life like never before. Making sure all our kids receive one is the surest way to show them that their lives matter. And it's the smartest way to prove to them that in communities like this and in a country like ours, we believe in opportunity for all.

Internals\\(046) 2009.12.5 - § 1 reference coded [9.04% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 9.04% Coverage

nd so that we don't face another crisis like this again, I am determined to meet our responsibility to do what we know will strengthen our economy in the long run. That's why I'm not going to let up in my efforts to reform our health care system, to give our children the best education in the world, to promote the jobs of tomorrow and energy independence by investing in a clean energy economy, and to deal with the mounting Federal debt.

Internals\\(122) 2011.5.21 - § 2 references coded [29.60% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 17.80% Coverage

We need to encourage this kind of change all across America. We need to reward the reforms that are driven not by Washington, but by principals and teachers and parents. That's how we'll make progress in education, not from the top down, but from the bottom up. And that's the guiding principle of the Race to the Top competition my administration started 2 years ago.
The idea is simple: If States show that they're serious about reform, we'll show them the money. And it's already making a difference throughout the country.

9. … will help Veterans

Internals\\(147) 2011.11.12 - § 2 references coded [21.14% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 13.20% Coverage

But we still need to do more. That's why, as part of the "American Jobs Act," I called on Congress to pass a returning heroes tax credit, which would give businesses a tax break for each unemployed veteran they hire and a wounded warriors tax credit, which would give businesses a tax break for hiring an unemployed veteran with a disability related to their service in uniform. These proposals will go a long way towards putting our veterans back to work.

Internals\\(077) 2010.7.10 - § 1 reference coded [14.42% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 14.42% Coverage

On Monday, the Department of Veterans Affairs, led by Secretary Rick Shinseki, will begin making it easier for a veteran with PTSD to get the benefits he or she needs. This is a long-overdue step that will help veterans not just of the Afghan and Iraq Wars, but generations of their brave predecessors who proudly served and sacrificed in all our wars.
It's a step that proves that America will always be there for our veterans, just as they've always been there for us. We won't let them down. We take care of our own. And as long as I'm

Commander in Chief, that's what we're going to keep doing. Thanks

10. Tax cuts will accelerate the recovery.

Internals\\(099) 2010.12.11 - § 2 references coded [15.34% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 11.63% Coverage

So this plan is going to help millions of families to make ends meet because of tax cuts and unemployment insurance for people who've lost their jobs by no fault of their own. And we included tax relief for businesses too, making it easier for them to invest and expand. All told, this will not only directly help families and businesses. By putting more money in people's pockets and helping companies grow, we're going to see people being able to spend a little more, we're going to spur hiring, we're going to strengthen our entire economy.

Internals\\(103) 2011.1.8 - § 2 references coded [11.80% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 5.00% Coverage

Independent experts have concluded that taken together, this package of tax cuts will significantly accelerate the pace of our economic recovery, spurring additional jobs and additional growth.

11. Compromise will lead to balancing the budget.

Internals\\(182) 2012.7.14 - § 1 reference coded [10.26% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 10.26% Coverage

So let's at least agree to do what we all agree on. That's what compromise is all about. Let's not hold the vast majority of Americans and our entire economy hostage while we debate the merits of another tax cut for the wealthy. Let's skip the unnecessary drama, the needless delays, and all the partisan posturing and let's just do the right thing for the people who sent us here to serve.

Internals\\(342) 2015.8.22 - § 2 references coded [14.06% Coverage]

Reference 2 - 7.74% Coverage

When Congress gets back, they should prevent a shutdown, pass a responsible budget, and prove that this is a country that looks forward, a country that invests in our future and keeps our economy growing for all Americans.

12. Destroying ISIL will make America more safe.

Internals\\(355) 2015.11.21 - § 1 reference coded [17.39% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 17.39% Coverage

They want us to turn our backs on Muslims victimized by terrorism. But this gang of thugs peddling a warped ideology, they will never prevail. The world is united in our resolve to end their evil. And the only thing ISIL can do is spread terror in hopes that we will in turn, turn on ourselves. We will betray our ideals and take actions, actions motivated by fear that will drive more recruits into the arms of ISIL. That's how they win. We win by prioritizing our security as we've been doing. Refusing to compromise our fundamental American values: freedom, openness, tolerance. That's who we are. That's how we win.

Internals\\(358) 2015.12.12 - § 1 reference coded [12.94% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 12.94% Coverage

As I said in my speech last weekend, one of the most important things we can do is to stay true to who we are as Americans. Terrorists like ISIL are trying to divide us along lines of religion and background. That's how they stoke fear. That's how they recruit. And just as Muslims around the world have to keep rejecting any twisted interpretation of Islam, all of us have to reject bigotry, in all of its forms. I'll say it again: Prejudice and discrimination helps ISIL, and it undermines our national security.

13. Immigration reform will make America stronger.

Internals\\(231) 2013.6.22 - § 2 references coded [34.65% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 19.91% Coverage

And a few days ago, a report from the Congressional Budget Office definitively showed that this bipartisan, commonsense bill will help the middle class grow our economy and shrink our deficits by making sure that every worker in America plays by the same set of rules and pays taxes like everyone else. According to this independent report, reforming our immigration system would reduce our deficits by almost a trillion dollars over the next two decades. And it will boost our economy by more than 5 percent, in part because of businesses created, investments made, and technologies invented by immigrants.

Internals\\(331) 2015.6.6 - § 2 references coded [22.80% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 3.55% Coverage

Of course, we can't just celebrate this heritage, we have to defend it by fixing our broken immigration system.

Reference 2 - 19.25% Coverage

That's why, in the meantime, I'm going to keep doing everything I can to make our immigration system more just and more fair. Last fall, I took action to provide more resources for border security; focus enforcement on the real threats to our security; modernize the legal immigration system for workers, employers, and students; and bring more undocumented immigrants out of the shadows so they can get right with the law. Some folks are still fighting against these actions. I'm going to keep fighting for them. Because the law is on our side, it's the right thing to do, and it will make America stronger.

14. Raising the minimum wage will lift people out of poverty.

Internals\\(265) 2014.2.15 - § 2 references coded [16.35% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 2.47% Coverage

And the action I took this week will reward hard work for more Americans.

Reference 2 - 13.88% Coverage

And raising the minimum wage wouldn't just raise their wages, its effect would lift wages for about 28 million Americans. It would lift millions of Americans out of poverty and help millions more work their way out of poverty, without requiring a single dollar in new taxes or spending. It will give more businesses more customers with more money to spend, and that means growing the economy for everyone.

15. The Iran Deal will keep Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon.

Internals\\(322) 2015.4.4 - § 1 reference coded [7.36% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 7.36% Coverage

This week, together with our allies and partners, we reached a historic understanding with Iran, which, if fully implemented, will prevent it from obtaining a nuclear weapon and make our country, our allies, and our world safer.

Internals\\(203) 2012.12.8 - § 1 reference coded [10.63% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 10.63% Coverage

But if we're serious about reducing our deficit while still investing in things like education and research that are important to growing our economy, and if we're serious about protecting middle class families, then we're also going to have to ask the wealthiest Americans to pay higher tax rates. That's one principle I won't compromise on.

16. Gun control reforms will make America safer.

Internals\\(221) 2013.4.13 - § 1 reference coded [7.19% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 7.19% Coverage

We have to convince the Senate to come together and pass commonsense gun responsibility reforms that will make our communities safer and prevent more tragedies like the one we never thought would happen to us.

APPENDIX 6G: *OBAMA CORPUS*, RE-OCCURING FUNCTIONAL UNIT FRAMES

frame/topic	circumstances	goal	claims for action	values	means-goal (implicit)
1. The economy in a state of recovery from crisis.	The 2007-2008 economic crisis, which has caused widespread job loss.	Recover from the crisis and create jobs. Create a fair, competitive economy where everyone can succeed.	The Reinvestment Act & American Jobs Acts. Financial, health care, tax reform. Investment in clean energy, education and infrastructure.	Obama is determined that the recovery will happen. He reinforces his belief in the country's continued progress.	All of Obama's major policies will result in an economic recovery and job growth.
2. Wall Street and the financial world as responsible for the crisis.	The economic crisis was caused by Wall Street's mistakes, greed, unscrupulous banking practices. Specifically, the housing bubble.	Address problems in the financial system and restore responsibility; prevent future crises.	The Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act.	Anger over the irresponsibility, greed and recklessness of Wall Street, largely on behalf of the middle class.	Wall Street reform will reform the financial system and prevent future crises.
3. The American health care industry as "broken".	The current health care system, which is bankrupting the country and harming the population in various ways.	Fix the broken system.	The implementation of the Affordable Care Act.	Anger over the abuses policies caused by the insurance industry and concern with the health and future of the population.	The Affordable Care Act will solve the nation's health care crisis.
4. America as needing to be kept safe.	Terrorism and gun violence are major threats. The crisis is an economic threat to the middle class.	Keep America safe and secure.	The wars against terrorism, reducing guns in America, the Iran Deal, recovering from the crisis.	Concern with protecting citizens.	The fight against ISIL and reducing guns will make America safer.
5/6. Washington as in need of reform and too concerned with	A lack of progress; politicians refusing to	Establish a government that lives within its means, works	Work together to move forward as a nation; implement the	Obama continuously stresses how difficult it is to	Living within the country's means and compromising

maintaining the status quo. Republicans are blocking progress.	work together and compromise for the good of the people – game-playing, partisan posturing, politicians serving the 'special interests'.	for the people and not the special interests.	reforms that will improve people's lives. Compromise and vote in Congress & Senate, eliminate wasteful spending and increase transparency.	implement real change and how fed up he is with constantly trying to compromise with those who refuse.	on issues will result in progress. *By the end of his Presidency Obama admits this has not worked.
7. Tax breaks as unfairly favoring the rich and not the middle class.	The rich do not need the tax breaks they are receiving and the 98% need tax relief.	Restore fiscal responsibility and fairness, accelerate the recovery.	End tax breaks for the rich and give more breaks to the other 98%.	The tax system is stressed as being very unfair and as serving the old status quo.	Increased tax breaks for the 98% will make the system more fair, accelerate the recovery.
8. The budget as in need of reform and deficit in need of reduction. Avoid/re-open after government shutdown.	The deficit is too large; balancing the budget will reduce it.	Get America's fiscal house in order. Compromise.	Balance the budget.	The system as in need of change.	Compromise will allow us to balance the budget; this will reduce the deficit.
9. Clean energy as the future and a job creator. **10. America's over-dependency on foreign oil as harmful.**	There is not enough investment in clean energy, specifically within the budget. Threat of U.S. lagging behind other countries on clean energy; eventually global warming is equated. The U.S. buys too much oil from abroad and does not produce enough domestically resulting in high gas prices, over-reliance	Increase the amount that America produces clean energy, prepare for/win the future. Address the issue of climate change; lead the world in doing so. Make America energy independent.	Investment within the budget in clean energy and carbon reduction, which will also create new jobs. Decrease reliance on foreign oil imports; raise oil and gas production domestically and increase drilling and pipelines; this will create jobs as well.	Clean energy as modern, tech-savvy and a sign of progress and hope for the future. Concern with investing in America, moving toward an energy-independent future.	Investment and carbon reduction will improve America's clean energy output. Increasing domestic production, etc. will move America toward energy independence

	on foreign nations.				
11. College education as essential yet growing increasingly unaffordable for the middle class. Schools as in need of small reforms.	College costs and student loan debt are increasing; this is harming students and families. Harm is being done to America's youth and the student debt rate is rising.	Make college more affordable and help students and families get the chance to attend.	A series of small education reforms for college aimed at slightly relieving costs. Small reforms to the school system.	Concern with protecting the futures of young people and ensuring that they continue to attend university as it is vital for future success	Investing in education will better America's future; small reforms will make college more affordable.
12. Libya as in need of saving from Gadhafi, a madman harming his people.	Gadhafi is attacking his own people; Libyans need help. Gadhafi is a madman.	Save and protect Libyans from Gadhafi. Stop increased risk of instability in the region.	The NATO invasion of Libya, later discussed as a success.	Righteous anger at Gadhafi. America's role as a protector of the world.	The invasion made Libya more safe and saved lives.
13/14. Syria: Assad as a dictator committing chemical weapons attacks on his people (2013). **Syria is later depicted as becoming overrun by ISIL (2014).**	2013: Assad has gassed his own people, which is justification for a U.S. invasion of Syria. Assad is a madman. 2014: Terrorists are gaining power in Syria, which is justification for a U.S. invasion.	Stop Assad from gassing his people. Seek justice. Stop the growing threat of ISIL in the region.	2013: Invade Syria. 2014: Invade Syria	Righteous anger. America as protector of the world.	Argument failed to gain support from Congress and American people. Diplomatic solution was then reached. On-going.
15. The low minimum wage as needing to be raised.	Those on minimum wage are struggling to survive. The wage is too low to support a standard of living for 28 million people. It has not been raised for inflation since the 1970's.	Make the system more fair; make sure no one who works full time has to live in poverty.	Raise the minimum wage to $10.10/hour.	Concern with the current minimum wage being unfair to workers, concern with improving the economy.	Raising the minimum wage to $10.10 will lift people out of poverty.

16. The immigration system as broken.	The system is not working effectively. The system is outdated. Both immigrants and the economy are being harmed.	Fix the broken system; make it fairer.	Immigration reform.	Concern with inclusion. Upholding of diversity and America's heritage.	Immigration reform will fix the broken system.
17. The criminal justice system as flawed.	May are imprisoned unfairly, for too long, etc. There are issues within the justice system. 2.2. million Americans in prison at an enormous economic and financial cost.	Address the problems in the system.	Criminal justice reform.	Concern with fairness and justice.	Criminal justice reform will address the problems in the prison system.
18. Veterans as deserving a better America and opportunities	The country must focus on nation-building at home now that the wars are ending.	Give veterans a better economy, health care, opportunities to succeed.	Populace support them by visiting joiningforces.gov, tax breaks.	Concern with caring for heroes.	These initiatives will help veterans improve their lives after returning from abroad.

CHAPTER 7

APPENDIX 7A:
TOPIC CATEGORIES: OBAMA *WEEKLY ADDRESSES*

Topics that contain multiple arguments (see Appendix 6B) are marked with an asterisk in both categories.

1. THE ECONOMY (23):

Economic Agenda Overviews: Mar 7 2009, Jan 29 2011, Feb 5 2011, Dec 31 2011, July 1 2013, Oct 19 2013, Jan 11 2014, May 3 2014, Dec 6 2014, Dec 20 2014, Jan 10 2015, Jan 17 2015, June 4 2016, Sept 3 2016

The Recovery & Reinvestment Act: Jan 24 2009, Feb 7 2009, Feb 14 2009, Feb 21 2009, July 11 2009, Aug 1 2009, Oct 31 2009, April 10 2010

Fairness/Competition: Dec 17 2016

2. ECONOMIC SUPPORT/GROUPS (20):

Helping the Middle Class: Sept 4 2010, Feb 16 2013, May 18 2013, July 27 2013, Aug 3 2013, Jan 18 2014, July 12 2014, Aug 2 2014, Jan 24 2015, Jan 31 2015, Oct 8 2016

Supporting Small Business: Oct 24 2009, Feb 6 2010, July 31 2010, Aug 23 2014

Opportunity for All: Feb 1 2014, Feb 8 2014, Apr 5 2014, Feb 7 2015, May 16 2015

3. JOB CREATION (23):

Job Creation: Dec 5 2009, Aug 6 2011, Aug 20 201, Jan 7 2012

American Jobs Act: Sept 17 2011, Oct 1 2011, Oct 8 2011, Oct 15 2011, Oct 29 2011, June 9 2012, June 16 2012

Infrastructure & Manufacturing Jobs: Sept 3 2011, June 4 2011, June 11 2011, Feb 18 2012, Oct 13 2012, June 23 2012, Mar 1 2014, May 17 2014, July 19 2014, Mar 5 2016

Manufacturing: June 25 2011, July 7 2012*

4. WORKPLACE POLICY/WORKERS' RIGHTS (37):

Workplace Policies: Sept 5, 2009, Mar 12 2011, June 21 2014, Dec 4 2010, Dec 7 2013, Dec 21 2013, Jan 4 2014, Apr 12 2014, Nov 1 2014, Mar 15 2014, Jan 16 2016, May 21 2016, Oct 1 2016

Minimum Wage Raise: Feb 15 2014, Feb 22 2014, Mar 8 2014, Mar 22 2014, Mar 29 2014, Apr 26 2014, Aug 30 2014, Oct 4 2014, Oct 11 2014

Helping Homeowners: Aug 10 2013, Oct 20 2012, Feb 4 2012, Sept 29 2012, May 11 2013, June 1 2013

Medicare, Social Security & Retirement: June 12 2010, Aug 14 2010, Feb 28 2015

Veterans: June 10 2010, Aug 28 2010, Dec 17 2011, Apr 28 2012, Nov 8 2014, Nov 14 2015

5. FINANCIAL REFORM (18):

Jan 31 2009, May 9 2009, June 20 2009, Sept 19 2009, Dec 12 2009, Jan 16 2010, Mar 20 2010, Apr 17 2010, Apr 24 2010, May 15 2010, June 26 2010, Jul 24 2010, Oct 23 2010, May 19 2012, Oct 27 2012, Mar 28 2015, July 25 2015, July 23 2016

6. GOVERNMENT (27):
Attacks on GOP/ Call for Unity: Sept 25 2010, Oct 30 2010, Jan 1 2011, Aug 13 2011, Jan 28 2012, Sept 22 2012, Oct 6 2012, Nov 23 2013
Stop Special Interests: Jan 23 2010, May 1 2010, Aug 21 2010, Sept 18 2010
Republicans Blocking Progress: June 19 2010, July 17 2010
Earmark Reform: Nov 13 2010
Lists for Congress: May 12 2012, June 2 2012, Sept 17 2016
Voting: Aug 8 2015, Feb 13 2016
Sequester: Feb 23 2013, Mar 2 2013, Mar 9 2013
Government Shutdown: Oct 5 2013, Oct 12 2013
Fairness: Apr 9 2016
Market Fairness/cable TV: Apr 16 2016

7. THE BUDGET/DEFICIT (28):
Feb 28 2009, Mar 21 2009, Apr 18 2009, Apr 25 2009, Jan 30 2010, Feb 13 2010, Feb 12 2011, Feb 26 2011, Mar 5 2011, Apr 9 2011, Apr 16 2011, July 2 2011, July 9 2011, July 16 2011, July 23 2011, July 30 2011, Jan 5 2013, Feb 2 2013, Feb 9 2013, Apr 6 2013, April 27 2013, Sept 21 2013, Sept 28 2013*, Nov 2 2013, Aug 22 2015, Sept 5 2015, Sept 19 2015, Oct 3 2015

8. TAX POLICY (20):
Plan: Nov 6 2010
Middle Class Tax Cuts: Dec 11 2010, Jan 8 2011, Dec 3 2011, Dec 10 2011, Feb 11 2012, July 14 2012, July 28 2012, Nov 10 2012, Nov 17 2012, Dec 1 2012, Dec 8 2012, Dec 29 2012, June 28 2014
The Buffet Rule: Mar 31 2012, Apr 14 2012
Corporate Loopholes: Apr 30 2011, Jan 14 2012, Mar 17 2012, July 26 2014

9. HEALTH CARE REFORM (30):
May 16 2009*, June 6 2009, June 13 2009, July 18 2009, July 25 2009, Aug 8 2009, Aug 15 2009, Aug 22 2009, Sept 12 2009, Oct 3 2009, Oct 10 2009, Oct 17 2009, Dec 19 2009, Jan 9 2010, Feb 20 2010, Feb 27 2010, Mar 6 2010, May 8 2010, Aug 17 2013, Sept 28 2013*, Oct 26 2013, Nov 15 2014, June 27 2015, Nov 7 2015, Jan 23 2016, Nov 5 2016, Dec 10 2016
In reference to Medicare: Aug 7 2010, Aug 25 2012, Aug 1 2015

10. EDUCATION (19):
Mar 13 2010, Mar 27 2010, Oct 9 2010, Feb 19 2011, May 21 2011, Sept 24 2011, Apr 21 2012, July 7 2012*, Aug 18 2012, Aug 24 2013, June 7 2014, Aug 16 2014, Feb 14 2015, Mar 7 2015, Mar 14 2015, Apr 11 2015, May 2 2015, Sept 12 2015, Jan 30 2016

11. ENERGY & ENVIRONMENT (21):
May 16 2009*, June 27 2009, July 3 2010, Oct 2 2010, Apr 2 2011, Apr 23 2011, May 7 2011, May 14 2011, Feb 25 2012, Mar 3 2012, Mar 10 2012, Mar 16 2013, June 29 2013, Nov 16

2013, May 31 2014, Apr 18 2015, Aug 29 2015, Oct 24 2015, Feb 6 2016, Aug 13 2016, Mar 24 2012

12. GLOBAL POLICY (34):
General: Apr 4 2009**,** Apr 11 2009**,** Sept 26 2009**,** Nov 21 2009**,** Jan 2 2010**,** Jan 22 2011**,** Oct 22 2011**,** Nov 19 2011**,** Sept 27 2014, Feb 21 2015, Oct 15 2016
USA Freedom Act: May 30 2015
Terrorism: Sept 10 2011, Nov 21 2015, June 18 2016*

Specific:

Russia/START: Nov 20 2010, Dec 18 2010
Libya: Mar 26 2011
Afghanistan: May 5 2012, Jan 12 2013
Syria: Sept 7 2013, Sept 14 2013
Iraq: Aug 9 2014
ISIL: Sept 13 2014, Sept 20 2014, Dec 5 2015, Dec 12 2015, Feb 27 2016, Mar 26 2016
Iran: Apr 4 2015, July 18 2015
Cuba: Feb 20 2016
Puerto Rico: June 11 2016
Latin America/trade: Mar 19 2011

14. IMMIGRATION REFORM (6):
May 4 2013, June 1 2013, June 8 2013, June 22 2013, Jul 13 2013, Nov 22 2014

15. GUN VIOLENCE (6):
Jan 19 2013, Mar 23 2013, Apr 13 2013, Dec 5 2015, Jan 1 2016, June 18 2016*

16. CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM (5):
Sept 26 2015, Oct 17 2015, Oct 31 2015, Apr 23 2016, July 9 2016

17.TRADE POLICY (4): Apr 25 2015, Oct 10 2015, June 13 2015, June 20 2015

18. MINOR POLICIES (15):
End Sexual Assault: Jan 25 2014
Improving Policing: Aug 15 2015
Addiction: May 14 2016
America Can Do Anything: Jan 9 2016
10 Things That Happened in 2015: Dec 19 2015
Overview of accomplishments: Dec 31 2016, Jan 7 2017, Jan 14 2017
Working Together for Change: July 16 2016
Airline regulations: Oct 22 2016
Cancer (Biden): Oct 29 2016, Dec 3 2016
Tourism: Jan 21 2012
Auto industry resurgence: May 28 2011
Fair Housing Act: Jul 11 2015

19. TRAGEDIES, IN MEMORIAL, HONORING THE TROOPS, HOLIDAYS
HOLIDAYS (30):
Jul 4 2009, Nov 26 2009, Dec 24 2009, Apr 3 2010, Nov 25 2010, Dec 25 2010, June 18 2011, Nov 24 2011, Apr 7 2012, Nov 22 2012, Dec 22 2012, Mar 30 2013, June 15 2013, June 4 2013, Aug 31 2013, Nov 28 2013, Dec 25 2013, Apr 19 2014, June 14 2014, July 4 2014, Nov 27 2014, Dec 25 2014, June 6 2015, July 4 2015, Nov 26 2015, Dec 25 2015, May 7 2016, Nov 24 2016, Dec 24 2016

HONORING THE TROOPS (15):
May 23 2009, May 29 2010, Nov 12 2011, Dec 24 2011, May 26 2012, Sept 1 2012, Sept 15 2012, May 25 2013, Nov 9 2013, May 24 2014, Dec 13 2014, May 23 2015, May 28 2016, July 2 2016, Nov 12 2016

IN MEMORIAL (7):
Aug 29 2009, Sept 11 2010, Aug 27 2011, Sept 8 2012, May 8 2015, Mar 12 2016, Sept 10 2016

TRAGEDIES (8):
Nov 7 2009, Jan 15 2011, July 21 2012, Nov 3 2012, Dec 15 2012, Apr 20 2013, Dec 14 2013, May 10 2014

EMERGENCIES (10):
Flooding response: Mar 28 2009
H1N1 Flu response: May 2 2009
Fort Hood response: Nov 14 2009
BP Oil Spill: May 22 2010, June 5 2010
Ebola response: Oct 18 2014, Oct 25 2014
Wildfire response: June 30 2012
Draught response: Aug 11 2012
Zika response: Aug 27 2016

NOMINATIONS (8):
FDA food safety officer: Mar 14 2009
Confirm Judge Sotomayor: May 30 2009
Securities, CFPB: Jan 26 2013
Supreme Court Nomination: Mar 19 2016, Apr 30 2016, July 30 2016,
Rich Cordray heading CFBP: July 20 2013
Confirm Loretta Lynch: Mar 21 2015

EVENTS (5):
Olympics: Aug 4 2012, Aug 6 2016
Founding of the Stonewall Memorial: June 25 2016
National Parks 100th Anniversary: Aug 20 2016
Founding of African American Museum: Sept 24 2016

APPENDIX 7B:
OBAMA MULTI-ARGUMENT *WEEKLY ADDRESSES*

May 16th, 2009:
The arguments in this speech are on the topics of health care reform and a new clean energy initiative. Both policies have the shared goal of a new economic "foundation for lasting prosperity". Clean energy and health care are referred to as "two pillars of this new foundation".

July 7th, 2012:
In this speech Obama calls on Congress to invest in construction jobs and to reform and expand student financial aid. The two are connected through the same shared goal; "Our mission isn't just to put people back to work, it's to rebuild an economy where that work pays, an economy in which everyone who works hard has the chance to get ahead".

September 28th, 2013:
In this speech Obama urges the American people to sign up for health care, stressing that it will provide economic security. He also urges Congress to pass a budget and pay the country's bills to avert a shutdown. The two area related as Obama represents Congress as purposefully refusing to act reasonably due to their anger over the health care bill; "Unfortunately, some Republicans have suggested that unless I agree to an even longer list of demands—not just gutting the health care law, but things like cutting taxes for millionaires or rolling back rules on big banks and polluters—they'll push the button, throwing America into default for the first time in history, and risk throwing all of us back in a recession".

June 18, 2016:
This speech was made in the aftermath of the Orlando night club shooting, "the deadliest mass shooting in American history" in which the shooter attacked in the name of ISIL. Obama makes arguments on the topic of responding to worldwide terrorism in general and also uses the attack as a justification for enacting gun control measures in order to combat domestic terrorism.

APPENDIX 7C:
OBAMA *WEEKLY ADDRESS,* JUNE 6TH, 2009

Over the past few days, I've been traveling through the Middle East and Europe working to renew our alliances, enhance our common security, and propose a new partnership between the United States and the Muslim world.

But even as I'm abroad, I'm firmly focused on the other pressing challenges we face, including the urgent need to reform our health care system. Even as we speak, Congress is preparing to introduce and debate health reform legislation that is the product of many months of effort and deliberation. And if you're like any of the Americans I've met across this country, who know all too well that the soaring costs of health care make our current course unsustainable, I imagine you'll be watching their progress closely.

I'm talking about the families I've met whose spiraling premiums and out-of-pocket expenses are pushing them into bankruptcy or forcing them to go without the check-ups or prescriptions they need; business owners who fear they'll be forced to choose between keeping their doors open or covering their workers; Americans who rightly worry that the ballooning costs of Medicare and Medicaid could lead to fiscal catastrophe down the road. Simply put, the status quo is broken.

We cannot continue this way. If we do nothing, everyone's health care will be put in jeopardy. Within a decade, we'll spend $1 out of every 5 we earn on health care, and we'll keep getting less for our money. And that's why fixing what's wrong with our health care system is no longer a luxury we hope to achieve; it's a necessity we cannot postpone any longer.

The growing consensus around that reality has led an unprecedented coalition to come together for change. Unlike past attempts at reforming our health care system, everyone is at the table, patients' advocates and health insurers, business and labor, Democrats and Republicans alike.

A few weeks ago, some of these improbable allies committed to cut national health care spending by $2 trillion over the next decade. What makes this so remarkable is that it probably wouldn't have happened just a few short years ago. But today, at this historic juncture, even old adversaries are united around the same goal: quality, affordable health care for all Americans.

Now, I know that when you bring together disparate groups with differing views, there will be lively debate, and that's a debate I welcome. But what we can't accept is reform that just invests more money in the status quo, reform that throws good money after bad habits.

Instead we must attack the root causes of skyrocketing health care costs. Some of these costs are the result of unwarranted profiteering that has no place in our health care system, and in too many communities, folks are paying higher costs without receiving better care in return. And yet we know, for example, that there are places like the Mayo Clinic in Minnesota, the Cleveland Clinic in Ohio, and other institutions that offer some of the highest quality of care in the Nation at some of the lowest costs in the Nation. We should learn from their successes and promote the best practices, not the most expensive ones. That's how we'll achieve reform that fixes what doesn't work and builds on what does.

This week, I conveyed to Congress my belief that any health care reform must be built around fundamental reforms that lower costs, improve quality and coverage, and also protect consumer choice. And that means if you like the plan you have, you can keep it. If you like the doctor you have, you can keep your doctor too. The only change you'll see are falling costs as our reforms take hold.

I've also made it very clear to Congress that we must develop a plan that doesn't add to our budget deficit. My budget included a historic down payment on reform, and we'll work with Congress to fully cover the costs through rigorous spending reductions and appropriate additional revenues. We'll eliminate waste, fraud, and abuse in our health care system, but we'll also take on key causes of rising costs, saving billions while providing better care to the American people.

Now, all across America, our families are making hard choices when it comes to health care. Now, it's time for Washington to make the right ones. It's time to deliver. And I am absolutely convinced that if we keep working together and living up to our mutual responsibilities, if we place the American people's interests above the special interests, we will seize this historic opportunity to finally fix what ails our broken health care system and strengthen our economy and our country now and for decades to come.

Note: The address was recorded at approximately 1 p.m., e.d.t., on June 2 in the Roosevelt Room at the White House for broadcast on June 6. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on June 5 but was embargoed for release until 6 a.m., e.d.t., on June 6. Due to the 6-hour time difference, the address was released after the President's remarks in Caen, France.

Citation: Barack Obama: "The President's Weekly Address," June 6, 2009. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=86232.

APPENDIX 7D:
OBAMA *CIRCUMSTANTIAL PREMISES* ON THE TOPIC OF HEALTH CARE REFORM

1. June 6th, 2009: "… the soaring costs of health care will make our current course unsustainable".
2. June 13th, 2009: Health care reform is "…essential to restoring fiscal responsibility".
3. June 13th, 2009: "When it comes to the cost of health care, this much is clear: The status quo is unsustainable for families, businesses, and government".
4. June 13th, 2009: "We cannot continue down this path. I don't accept a future where Americans forego health care because they can't pay for it and more and more families go without coverage at all. And I don't accept a future where American business is hurt and our Government goes broke".
5. June 13th, 2009: "This is the moment when we must reform health care so that we can build a new foundation for our economy to grow, for our people to thrive, and for our country to pursue a responsible and sustainable path".
6. July 18th, 2009: "This is an issue that affects the health and financial well-being of every single American and the stability of our entire economy".
7. July 18th, 2009: "It's about every family unable to keep up with soaring out-of-pocket costs…"
8. July 18th, 2009: "We know that the same special interests and their agents in Congress will make the same old arguments and use the same scare tactics that have stopped reform before because they profit from this relentless escalation in health care costs".
9. July 25th, 2009: "Mom and pop businesses are "getting crushed by skyrocketing health care costs".
10. August 8th, 2009: "In the end, the debate about health insurance reform boils down to a choice between two approaches. The first is almost guaranteed to double health costs over the next decade, leave millions more Americans uninsured, leave those without insurance vulnerable to arbitrary denials of coverage, and bankrupt State and Federal government. That's the status quo. That's the health care system we have now".
11. August 15th, 2009: "And if we don't act, average family premiums will keep rising to more than $22,000 within a decade".
12. August 15th, 2009: Health care reform will help "secure America's future in this new century".
13. August 22nd, 2009: "We know what a failure to act will bring: More of the same; more of the same exploding costs; more of the same diminished coverage. If we fail to act, the crisis will grow".
14. October 10th, 2009: "…an unsustainable status quo: a status quo of rising health care costs that are crushing our families, our businesses, and our government…".
15. October 17th, 2009: "For decades, rising health care costs have unleashed havoc on families, businesses, and the economy, and for decades, whenever we have tried to reform the system, the insurance companies have done everything in their considerable power to stop us".
16. October 17th, 2009: "It's no exaggeration to say that unless we act, these costs will devastate the U.S. economy".
17. December 19th, 2009: "Let's deliver on the promise of health care reforms that will make our people healthier, our economy stronger, and our future more secure".

18. February 20th, 2010: “Over the past year, as families and small-business owners have struggled to pay soaring health care costs and as millions of Americans lost their coverage, the five largest insurance companies made a record $12 billion”.
19. February 20th, 2010: “And as bad as things are today, they’ll only get worse if we fail to act. We’ll see more and more Americans go without the coverage they need. We’ll see exploding premiums and out-of-pocket costs burn through more and more family budgets. We’ll see more and more small businesses scale back benefits, drop coverage, or close down because they can’t keep up with rising rates. And in time, we’ll see these skyrocketing health care costs become the largest driver of our Federal deficits”.
20. February 27th, 2010: “State and Federal budgets can’t sustain these rising costs”.
21. August 17th, 2013: “Your health insurance isn’t something to play politics with. Our economy isn’t something to play politics with. This is not a game. It’s about the economic security of millions of families”.

APPENDIX 7E:
AFFORDABLE CARE ACT PROMISES WITHIN OBAMA'S *CIRCUMSTANTIAL PREMISES*

C1. The ACA will lower costs/ give the best care at the lowest cost.
C2. Improve the quality of care.
C3. Improve coverage (raise the number of people insured).
C4. Protect consumer choice, which means that "if you like the plan you have, you can keep it. If you like the doctor you have, you can keep your doctor too".
C5. Eliminate waste, fraud and abuse in the system.
C7. Disallow insurance companies from creating yearly or lifetime caps on coverage.
C8. Disallow insurance companies from denying coverage due to preexisting conditions.
C9. Disallow insurance companies from dropping coverage when people become seriously ill.
C10. Cover those who have lost their jobs recently or are in the process of changing jobs.
C11. Strengthen businesses.
C12. Give families choices and security.
C13. Create an insurance exchange/marketplace to shop for competitive plans.
C14. Give small businesses tax credits to insure employees; if they do not choose to insure employees, employees can sign up on the exchange as well.
C15. Give low income workers subsidies.
C16. Limit the amount insurance companies can charge individuals "out of pocket".
C17. Implement consumer protections to "make sure those who have insurance are treated fairly and that insurance companies are held accountable" – a Patient's Bill of Rights.
C18. Require insurance companies to provide yearly checkups and preventative care, such as: mammograms, colonoscopies and eye and foot exams for diabetic patients.
C19. Give the middle class greater security, not higher taxes.
C20. Stop insurers from charging exorbitant premiums on the basis of age, health, or gender; women will not be charged more than men.
C21. Young adults will be able to stay on their parent's policy until they're 26 or 27 years old.
C22. Early retirees who receive coverage from their employers will see their coverage protected and their premiums go down.
C23. Seniors who fall into the coverage gap known as the 'doughnut hole' will receive discounts of up to 50 percent on their prescriptions.
C24. Everyone will have access to emergency care.
C25. There will be an appeals process for those who feel they have been treated unfairly by the insurance companies.

APPENDIX 7F:
CONCORDANCE, OBAMA HEALTH CARE REFORM CORPUS, *costs*

68 occurrences.

across this country , who know all too well that the soaring	costs	of health care make our current course unsustainable , I imag	
ir workers ; Americans who rightly worry that the ballooning	costs	of Medicare and Medicaid could lead to fiscal catastrophe dow	
d we must attack the root causes of skyrocketing health care	costs	. Some of these costs are the result of unwarranted profiteer	
oot causes of skyrocketing health care costs . Some of these	costs	are the result of unwarranted profiteering that has no place	
stem , and in too many communities , folks are paying higher	costs	without receiving better care in return . And yet we know , f	
highest quality of care in the Nation at some of the lowest	costs	in the Nation . We should learn from their successes and prom	
e reform must be built around fundamental reforms that lower	costs	, improve quality and coverage , and also protect consumer ch	
ep your doctor too . The only change you 'll see are falling	costs	as our reforms take hold . I 've also made it very clear to C	
on reform , and we 'll work with Congress to fully cover the	costs	through rigorous spending reductions and appropriate addition	
h care system , but we 'll also take on key causes of rising	costs	, saving billions while providing better care to the American	
doubled over the last decade , deductibles and out-of-pocket	costs	have skyrocketed , and many with preexisting conditions are d	
Americans are being priced out of the care they need . These	costs	are also hurting business , as some big businesses are at a c	
's why I 'm working with Congress to pass reform that lowers	costs	, improves quality and coverage , and protects consumer healt	
to future generations . With each passing year , health care	costs	consume a larger share of our Nation 's spending and contribu	
for the fact that health care reform will require additional	costs	in the short term , in order to reduce spending in the long t	
essary hospital stays , treatments , and tests that drive up	costs	. For more details about these and other savings , you can vi	
can keep them . The only changes that you 'll see are lower	costs	and better health care . For too long , we 've stood by while	
ut every family unable to keep up with soaring out-of-pocket	costs	and premiums rising three times faster than wages ; every wor	
e they profit from this relentless escalation in health care	costs	. And I know that once you 've seen enough ads and heard enou	
op shopping marketplace where you can compare the benefits ,	costs	, and track records of a variety of plans , including a publi	
nk about what doing nothing , in the face of ever-increasing	costs	, will do to you and your family . So today I am urging the H	
olicy goes up at least 20 percent each year , and today , it	costs	almost $1,400 per family per month'97his highest business exp	
ght now they are getting crushed by skyrocketing health care	costs	. Because they lack the bargaining power that large businesse	
r that large businesses have and faced higher administrative	costs	per person , small businesses pay up to 18 percent more for t	
o 18 percent more for the very same health insurance plans ,	costs	that eat into their profits and get passed on to their employ	
plans , many of which will provide better coverage at lower	costs	than the plans they have now . They can then pick the one tha	
sinesses , will qualify for a subsidy to help them cover the	costs	. And no matter how you get your insurance , insurance compan	
than ever before to finally passing reform that will reduce	costs	, expand coverage , and provide more choices for our families	
going work in Congress , providers have agreed to bring down	costs	. Drug companies have agreed to make prescription drugs more	
approaches . The first is almost guaranteed to double health	costs	over the next decade , leave millions more Americans uninsure	
fordable insurance to every American , and bring down rising	costs	that are swamping families , businesses , and our budgets . T	
f inaction . If you 're worried about rationed care , higher	costs	, denied coverage , or bureaucrats getting between you and yo	
company policies that limitcoverage and raise out-of-pocket	costs	. Thousands are losing their insurance coverage each day . f0	
the reforms we 're seeking will help bring down skyrocketing	costs	, which will mean real savings for families , businesses , an	
would bring : More of the same ; more of the same exploding	costs	; more of the same diminished coverage . If we fail to act ,	
" always referred to someone else , but between skyrocketing	costs	and insurance company practices , they 're beginning to worry	36
hoices to those who currently do n't , and bring health care	costs	for our families , our businesses , and our Government under	37
. And if we can successfully slow the growth of health care	costs	by just one-tenth of 1 percent each year , it will actually r	38
, many of which have been overwhelmed by rising health care	costs	. This is something I hear about from entrepreneurs I meet ,	39
have . One small-business owner wrote to me that health care	costs	are , and I quote , " stifling my business growth . " He said	40
as larger businesses because they have higher administrative	costs	and less bargaining power . Many have been forced to cut bene	41
than twice as much over the next decade . Rising health care	costs	are undermining our businesses , exploding our deficits , and	42
plans , many of which will provide better coverage at lower	costs	than the plans they have now . Ninety-five percent of small b	43
d within the system , it will slow the growth in health care	costs	without adding a dime to our deficits . This is another miles	44
nsustainable status quo : a status quo of rising health care	costs	that are crushing our families , our businesses , and our gov	45
insurance , coverage for those without insurance , and lower	costs	for everyone . From the Halls of Congress to the homes of ord	46
st . The history is clear : For decades , rising health care	costs	have unleashed havoc on families , businesses , and the econo	47
have doubled . Over the past few years , total out-of-pocket	costs	for people with insurance rose by a third . And we know that	48
panies , found that without significant reform , health care	costs	for these employers and their employees will well more than d	49
ed . It 's no exaggeration to say that unless we act , these	costs	will devastate the U.S. economy . This is the unsustainable p	50
offering consumers protections that will limit out-of-pocket	costs	and prevent discrimination based on preexisting conditions .	51
stry is making this last-ditch effort to stop reform even as	costs	continue to rise and our health care dollars continue to be p	52
be poured into their profits , bonuses , and administrative	costs	that do nothing to make us healthy , that often actually go t	53
g senior citizens hundreds of dollars a year in prescription	costs	. And reforms to target waste , inefficiency , and price goug	54
tices of the insurance industry will be forever banned . And	costs	will finally come down for families , businesses , and our Go	55
ll-business owners have struggled to pay soaring health care	costs	and as millions of Americans lost their coverage , the five l	56
they need . We 'll see exploding premiums and out-of-pocket	costs	burn through more and more family budgets . We 'll see more a	57
es . And in time , we 'll see these skyrocketing health care	costs	become the single largest driver of our Federal deficits . Th	58
in another State to give people more choices and bring down	costs	. Some Republicans have also suggested giving small businesse	59
ice-fixing and the other practices that drive up health care	costs	. We need that same spirit of cooperation and bipartisanship	60
wait . State and Federal budgets ca n't sustain these rising	costs	. It 's time for us to come together . It 's time for us to a	61
ld end the worst practices of the insurance industry , lower	costs	for millions of Americans , and give uninsured individuals an	62
of you will be eligible for tax credits that bring down your	costs	even more . Nearly 6 in 10 uninsured Americans will be able t	63
r family . In fact , most Americans will find an option that	costs	less than $75 a month . Even if you already have insurance th	64
and immunizations now come with no additional out-of-pocket	costs	. What we 're talking about is no longer just a law , and it	65
lks buying a plan on the marketplace can find an option that	costs	less than $75 a month . Even if you already have insurance ,	66
get coverage through healthcare.gov can find an option that	costs	less than $75 a month . That 's probably less than your cell	67
thcare.gov , there 's a good chance you 'll find a plan that	costs	less than $75 a month . And while the enrollment period lasts	68

APPENDIX 7G:
EVIDENCE REGARDING THE CONFLICT IN SYRIA

1. The leaked Defense Intelligence Agency ISIS memo
In this memo (Defense Intelligence Agency 2012), which was produced by the Defense Intelligence Agency in 2012, the main groups behind the Syrian uprising are named. They are The Salafists (Wahhabis), The Muslim Brotherhood and Al Qaeda. This is discussed in detail in section 7.3.2.

2. The leaked U.S. State Department 'Roebuck' memo
This is a classified U.S. State Department memo, released by WikiLeaks in 2010 (U.S. Embassy, Damascus). Written in 2006 and sent from the U.S. Embassy in Syria, the document shows that the author, *Roebuck,* is reporting on ways in which "to put pressure on the [Assad] regime". In an extensive analysis of this memo Robert Naiman, Policy Director at *Just Foreign Policy,* writes "In the case of Syria, the cables show that regime change had been a long-standing goal of U.S. policy; that the U.S. promoted sectarianism in support of its regime-change policy, thus helping lay the foundation for the sectarian civil war and massive bloodshed that we see in Syria today..." (Naiman 2015).

3. The C.I.A. de-classified regime change memo
This 24-page memo (Central Intelligence Agency 1986), written in 1986 and recently de-classified by the CIA outlines ways in which to overthrow the Assad regime. Perhaps the most notable aspect of it is the suggestion that the Muslim Brotherhood would be the most effective in doing so (Webb 2017) although the report concludes that the best option would be a Sunni-led regime "controlled by business-led moderates. Business moderates would see a strong need for Western aid and investment to build Syria's private economy". The Muslim Brotherhood called for intervention in Syria in 2012 (Alakhbar News English).

4. Evidence of ISIL's use of chemical weapons
IHS Conflict Monitor, an intelligence-collection agency in London, has reported that terrorist groups such as ISIL have used chemical weapons, including chlorine and Sulphur mustard gas at least 52 times in Iraq and Syria since 2014 (Schmidt 2016). This report includes interviews with members of the U.S. military. This is highly significant because it shows that it would be possible for these terrorist groups to have carried out the Ghouta chemical attacks.

5. The MIT report regarding the Ghouta chemical attacks
In 2014, former UN weapons inspector Richard Lloyd and MIT Professor Theodore Postal published a report after analyzing the design of the rocket which was said to have fired the gas from territory controlled by Assad (Lloyd & Postal 2014). The report concluded that the rockets "could not possibly have been fired at East Ghouta from the 'heart', or from the Eastern edge, of the Syrian government controlled area shown in the intelligence map published by the White House on August 30, 2013."

6. Evidence of Saudi and Qatar funding of terrorist groups in Syria

In 2012, the New York Times reported that "Most of the arms shipped at the behest of Saudi Arabia and Qatar to supply Syrian rebel groups fighting the government of Bashar al-Assad are going to hard-line Islamic jihadists, and not the more secular opposition groups that the West wants to bolster, according to American officials and Middle Eastern diplomats" (Sanger 2015).

7. The 'Stop Arming Terrorists Act'

In 2017, Congressional representative from Hawaii Tulsi Gabbard introduced a bill into Congress named the 'Stop Arming Terrorists Act' (Gabbard 2017). The bill calls on Congress to "prohibit the use of United States Government funds to provide assistance to Al Qaeda, Jabhat Fateh al-Sham, and the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and to countries supporting those organizations, and for other purposes". Along with the significance of Gabbard's introduction of this bill, it is further notable that even following its wide-scale rejection by Congress, she was, surprisingly, not met with criticism over its introduction. It should be surmised that were the U.S. *not* funding terrorism, Gabbard would have been vehemently criticized and that, were this the case, the bill would not have made it before Congress. It is notable that after being elected President Trump signed a bill which would stop the C.I.A. from arming the opposition to President Assad in Syria, largely ending America's involvement in the region.[234]

[234] Gaffe, G. & Entous, A. 'Trump ends covert C.I.A. program to arm anti-Assad rebels in Syria, move sought by Moscow'. *The Washington Post*. July 19th, 2017. Available: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trump-ends-covert-cia-program-to-arm-anti-assad-rebels-in-syria-a-move-sought-by-moscow/2017/07/19/b6821a62-6beb-11e7-96ab-5f38140b38cc_story.html?utm_term=.8a529fc6ea42

APPENDIX 7H:
OBAMA ADDRESS TO THE NATION, SEPTEMBER 10TH, 2013

THE PRESIDENT: My fellow Americans, tonight I want to talk to you about Syria -- why it matters, and where we go from here.

Over the past two years, what began as a series of peaceful protests against the repressive regime of Bashar al-Assad has turned into a brutal civil war. Over 100,000 people have been killed. Millions have fled the country. In that time, America has worked with allies to provide humanitarian support, to help the moderate opposition, and to shape a political settlement. But I have resisted calls for military action, because we cannot resolve someone else's civil war through force, particularly after a decade of war in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The situation profoundly changed, though, on August 21st, when Assad's government gassed to death over a thousand people, including hundreds of children. The images from this massacre are sickening: Men, women, children lying in rows, killed by poison gas. Others foaming at the mouth, gasping for breath. A father clutching his dead children, imploring them to get up and walk. On that terrible night, the world saw in gruesome detail the terrible nature of chemical weapons, and why the overwhelming majority of humanity has declared them off-limits -- a crime against humanity, and a violation of the laws of war.

This was not always the case. In World War I, American GIs were among the many thousands killed by deadly gas in the trenches of Europe. In World War II, the Nazis used gas to inflict the horror of the Holocaust. Because these weapons can kill on a mass scale, with no distinction between soldier and infant, the civilized world has spent a century working to ban them. And in 1997, the United States Senate overwhelmingly approved an international agreement prohibiting the use of chemical weapons, now joined by 189 governments that represent 98 percent of humanity.

On August 21st, these basic rules were violated, along with our sense of common humanity. No one disputes that chemical weapons were used in Syria. The world saw thousands of videos, cell phone pictures, and social media accounts from the attack, and humanitarian organizations told stories of hospitals packed with people who had symptoms of poison gas.

Moreover, we know the Assad regime was responsible. In the days leading up to August 21st, we know that Assad's chemical weapons personnel prepared for an attack near an area where they mix sarin gas. They distributed gasmasks to their troops. Then they fired rockets from a regime-controlled area into 11 neighborhoods that the regime has been trying to wipe clear of opposition forces. Shortly after those rockets landed, the gas spread, and hospitals filled with the dying and the wounded. We know senior figures in Assad's military machine reviewed the results of the attack, and the regime increased their shelling of the same neighborhoods in the days that followed. We've also studied samples of blood and hair from people at the site that tested positive for sarin.

When dictators commit atrocities, they depend upon the world to look the other way until those horrifying pictures fade from memory. But these things happened. The facts cannot be denied. The question now is what the United States of America, and the international community, is prepared to do about it. Because what happened to those people -- to those children -- is not only a violation of international law, it's also a danger to our security.

Let me explain why. If we fail to act, the Assad regime will see no reason to stop using chemical weapons. As the ban against these weapons erodes, other tyrants will have no reason to think twice about acquiring poison gas, and using them. Over time, our troops would again face the prospect of chemical

warfare on the battlefield. And it could be easier for terrorist organizations to obtain these weapons, and to use them to attack civilians.

If fighting spills beyond Syria's borders, these weapons could threaten allies like Turkey, Jordan, and Israel. And a failure to stand against the use of chemical weapons would weaken prohibitions against other weapons of mass destruction, and embolden Assad's ally, Iran -- which must decide whether to ignore international law by building a nuclear weapon, or to take a more peaceful path.

This is not a world we should accept. This is what's at stake. And that is why, after careful deliberation, I determined that it is in the national security interests of the United States to respond to the Assad regime's use of chemical weapons through a targeted military strike. The purpose of this strike would be to deter Assad from using chemical weapons, to degrade his regime's ability to use them, and to make clear to the world that we will not tolerate their use.

That's my judgment as Commander-in-Chief. But I'm also the President of the world's oldest constitutional democracy. So even though I possess the authority to order military strikes, I believed it was right, in the absence of a direct or imminent threat to our security, to take this debate to Congress. I believe our democracy is stronger when the President acts with the support of Congress. And I believe that America acts more effectively abroad when we stand together.

This is especially true after a decade that put more and more war-making power in the hands of the President, and more and more burdens on the shoulders of our troops, while sidelining the people's representatives from the critical decisions about when we use force.

Now, I know that after the terrible toll of Iraq and Afghanistan, the idea of any military action, no matter how limited, is not going to be popular. After all, I've spent four and a half years working to end wars, not to start them. Our troops are out of Iraq. Our troops are coming home from Afghanistan. And I know Americans want all of us in Washington

-- especially me -- to concentrate on the task of building our nation here at home: putting people back to work, educating our kids, growing our middle class.

It's no wonder, then, that you're asking hard questions. So let me answer some of the most important questions that I've heard from members of Congress, and that I've read in letters that you've sent to me.

First, many of you have asked, won't this put us on a slippery slope to another war? One man wrote to me that we are "still recovering from our involvement in Iraq." A veteran put it more bluntly: "This nation is sick and tired of war."

My answer is simple: I will not put American boots on the ground in Syria. I will not pursue an open-ended action like Iraq or Afghanistan. I will not pursue a prolonged air campaign like Libya or Kosovo. This would be a targeted strike to achieve a clear objective: deterring the use of chemical weapons, and degrading Assad's capabilities.

Others have asked whether it's worth acting if we don't take out Assad. As some members of Congress have said, there's no point in simply doing a "pinprick" strike in Syria.

Let me make something clear: The United States military doesn't do pinpricks. Even a limited strike will send a message to Assad that no other nation can deliver. I don't think we should remove another dictator with force -- we learned from Iraq that doing so makes us responsible for all that comes next. But a targeted strike can make Assad, or any other dictator, think twice before using chemical weapons.

Other questions involve the dangers of retaliation. We don't dismiss any threats, but the Assad regime does not have the ability to seriously threaten our military. Any other retaliation they might seek is in line with threats that we face every day. Neither Assad nor his allies have any interest in escalation that would lead to his demise. And our ally, Israel, can defend itself with overwhelming force, as well as the unshakeable support of the United States of America.

Many of you have asked a broader question: Why should we get involved at all in a place that's so complicated, and where -- as one person wrote to me -- "those who come after Assad may be enemies of human rights?"

It's true that some of Assad's opponents are extremists. But al Qaeda will only draw strength in a more chaotic Syria if people there see the world doing nothing to prevent innocent civilians from being gassed to death. The majority of the Syrian people -- and the Syrian opposition we work with -- just want to live in peace, with dignity and freedom. And the day after any military action, we would redouble our efforts to achieve a political solution that strengthens those who reject the forces of tyranny and extremism.

Finally, many of you have asked: Why not leave this to other countries, or seek solutions short of force? As several people wrote to me, "We should not be the world's policeman."

I agree, and I have a deeply held preference for peaceful solutions. Over the last two years, my administration has tried diplomacy and sanctions, warning and negotiations -- but chemical weapons were still used by the Assad regime.

However, over the last few days, we've seen some encouraging signs. In part because of the credible threat of U.S. military action, as well as constructive talks that I had with President Putin, the Russian government has indicated a willingness to join with the international community in pushing Assad to give up his chemical weapons. The Assad regime has now admitted that it has these weapons, and even said they'd join the Chemical Weapons Convention, which prohibits their use.

It's too early to tell whether this offer will succeed, and any agreement must verify that the Assad regime keeps its commitments. But this initiative has the potential to remove the threat of chemical weapons without the use of force, particularly because Russia is one of Assad's strongest allies.

I have, therefore, asked the leaders of Congress to postpone a vote to authorize the use of force while we pursue this diplomatic path. I'm sending Secretary of State John Kerry to meet his Russian counterpart on Thursday, and I will continue my own discussions with President Putin. I've spoken to the leaders of two of our closest allies, France and the United Kingdom, and we will work together in consultation with Russia and China to put forward a resolution at the U.N. Security Council requiring Assad to give up his chemical weapons, and to ultimately destroy them under international control. We'll also give U.N. inspectors the opportunity to report their findings about what happened on August 21st. And we will continue to rally support from allies from Europe to the Americas -- from Asia to the Middle East -- who agree on the need for action.

Meanwhile, I've ordered our military to maintain their current posture to keep the pressure on Assad, and to be in a position to respond if diplomacy fails. And tonight, I give thanks again to our military and their families for their incredible strength and sacrifices.

My fellow Americans, for nearly seven decades, the United States has been the anchor of global security. This has meant doing more than forging international agreements -- it has meant enforcing them. The burdens of leadership are often heavy, but the world is a better place because we have borne them.

And so, to my friends on the right, I ask you to reconcile your commitment to America's military might with a failure to act when a cause is so plainly just. To my friends on the left, I ask you to reconcile your belief in freedom and dignity for all people with those images of children writhing in pain, and going still on a cold hospital floor. For sometimes resolutions and statements of condemnation are simply not enough.

Indeed, I'd ask every member of Congress, and those of you watching at home tonight, to view those videos of the attack, and then ask: What kind of world will we live in if the United States of America sees a dictator brazenly violate international law with poison gas, and we choose to look the other way?

Franklin Roosevelt once said, "Our national determination to keep free of foreign wars and foreign entanglements cannot prevent us from feeling deep concern when ideals and principles that we have cherished are challenged." Our ideals and principles, as well as our national security, are at stake in Syria, along with our leadership of a world where we seek to ensure that the worst weapons will never be used.

America is not the world's policeman. Terrible things happen across the globe, and it is beyond our means to right every wrong. But when, with modest effort and risk, we can stop children from being gassed to death, and thereby make our own children safer over the long run, I believe we should act. That's what makes America different. That's what makes us exceptional. With humility, but with resolve, let us never lose sight of that essential truth.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.

APPENDIX 7I:
EXCERPT FROM ALJAZEERA INTERVIEW BETWEEN MEHDI HASSAN AND MICHEAL FLYNN

Mehdi Hasan: But three – we're not – but three years ago, let's just be clear for the sake of our viewers. In 2012, your agency was saying, quote: "The Salafists, the Muslim Brotherhood and al-Qaeda in Iraq are the major forces driving the insurgence in Syria." In 2012, the US was helping coordinate arms transfers to those same groups. Why did you not stop that, if you're worried about the rise of quote, unquote, "Islamic extremism"?

Michael Flynn: [TALKING OVER] Yeah, I, I mean, I hate to say it's not my job but that – my job was to ensure that the accuracy of our intelligence that was being presented was as good as it could be, and I will tell you, it goes before 2012. I mean, when we were, when we were in Iraq and we still had decisions to be made before there was a decision to pull out of Iraq in 2011. I mean, it was very clear what we were, what we were going to face.

Mehdi Hasan: Well, I admire your frankness on this subject.

Michael Flynn: [TALKING OVER] Very clear what we were gonna face.

Mehdi Hasan: Let me – let me just to, before we move on, just to clarify once more, you are basically saying that even in government at the time, you knew those groups were around. You saw this analysis -

Michael Flynn: [TALKING OVER] Sure.

Mehdi Hasan: - and you were arguing against it. But who wasn't listening?

Michael Flynn: I think the administration.

Mehdi Hasan: So the administration turned a blind eye to your analysis -

Michael Flynn: I don't know if they turned a blind eye. I think it was a decision. I think it was a willful decision.

Mehdi Hasan: A willful decision to go – support an insurgency that had Salafist, al-Qaeda and Muslim Brotherhood?

Michael Flynn: [INTERRUPTING] Well, a willful decision to do what they're doing, which, which you have to really – you have to really ask the President, what is it that he actually is doing with the, with the policy that is in place, because it is very, very confusing? I'm sitting here today, Mehdi, and I don't, I can't tell you exactly what that is, and I've been at this for a long time.

Mehdi Hasan: OK, well let's go back to Iraq. I just wanna ask you one last question about Iraq. Many would argue that the Iraq invasion was a recruiting sergeant for extremists and terrorists. You seem to have conceded partly that, earlier on in this interview. You said that we added fuel to the fire, I think was your phrase.

Michael Flynn: [TALKING OVER] I think, I think it was a strategic mistake. I think history will not be kind. It was a strategic mistake.

Mehdi Hasan: [INTERRUPTING] But let me just get very specific on Iraq. US prisons in Iraq are believed to have helped radicalize thousands of young Iraqis who passed through them.

Michael Flynn: Absolutely.

Mehdi Hasan: Not just through torture but through providing a recruiting ground, a meeting place, a training facility for the very same militants that the US is now bombing. I think 17 of the top 25 ISIL commanders -

Michael Flynn: [INTERRUPTING] Yeah, there's no, there's no doubt – there's no doubt that the prison system that was, that was the Iraqi prison system, became, you know, places, training ground, the training ground for what we're facing today.

APPENDIX 7J:
OBAMA *WEEKLY ADDRESS,* MARCH 26TH, 2011

Last week, when I ordered our Armed Forces to protect the Libyan people from the brutality of Muammar Gadhafi, I pledged to keep the American people fully informed. Since then, I've spoken about the limited scope and specific purpose of this mission. Today I can report that thanks to our brave men and women in uniform, we've made important progress.

As Commander in Chief, I face no greater decision than sending our military men and women into harm's way. And the United States should not, and cannot, intervene every time there's a crisis somewhere in the world.

But I firmly believe that when innocent people are being brutalized, when someone like Gadhafi threatens a bloodbath that could destabilize an entire region, and when the international community is prepared to come together to save many thousands of lives, then it's in our national interest to act. And it's our responsibility. This is one of those times.

Our military mission in Libya is clear and focused. Along with our allies and partners, we're enforcing the mandate of the United Nations Security Council. We're protecting the Libyan people from Gadhafi's forces. And we've put in place a no-fly zone and other measures to prevent further atrocities.

We're succeeding in our mission. We've taken out Libya's air defenses. Gadhafi's forces are no longer advancing across Libya. In places like Benghazi, a city of some 700,000 that Gadhafi threatened to show no mercy, his forces have been pushed back. So make no mistake, because we acted quickly, a humanitarian catastrophe has been avoided and the lives of countless civilians--innocent men, women, and children--have been saved.

As I pledged at the outset, the role of American forces has been limited. We are not putting any ground forces into Libya. Our military has provided unique capabilities at the beginning, but this is now a broad, international effort. Our allies and partners are enforcing the no-fly zone over Libya and the arms embargo at sea. Key Arab partners like Qatar and the United Arab Emirates have committed aircraft. And as agreed this week, responsibility for this operation is being transferred from the United States to our NATO allies and partners.

This is how the international community should work: more nations, not just the United States, bearing the responsibility and cost of upholding peace and security.

This military effort is part of our larger strategy to support the Libyan people and hold the Gadhafi regime accountable. Together with the international community, we're delivering urgent humanitarian assistance. We're offering support to the Libyan opposition. We've frozen tens of billions of dollars of Gadhafi's assets that can help meet the needs and aspirations of the Libyan people. And every day, the pressure on Gadhafi and his regime is increasing.

Our message is clear and unwavering: Gadhafi's attacks against civilians must stop. His forces must pull back. Humanitarian assistance must be allowed to reach those in need. Those responsible for violence must be held accountable. Muammar Gadhafi has lost the confidence of his people and the legitimacy to rule, and the aspirations of the Libyan people must be realized.

In recent days, we've heard the voices of Libyans expressing their gratitude for this mission. "You saved our lives," said one Libyan. Said another, "Today, there is hope."

Every American can be proud of the lives we've saved in Libya and of the service of our men and women in uniform who once again have stood up for our interests and our ideals. And people in Libya and around the world are seeing that the United States of America stands with those who hope for a future where they can determine their own destiny.

Note: The address was recorded at approximately 3:55 p.m. on March 25 in the Roosevelt Room at the White House for broadcast on March 26. In the address, the President referred to Col. Muammar Abu Minyar al-Gadhafi, leader of Libya. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on March 25, but was embargoed for release until 6 a.m. on March 26.

Citation: Barack Obama: "The President's Weekly Address," March 26, 2011. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=90184.

APPENDIX 7K:
OBAMA *WEEKLY ADDRESS,* SEPTEMBER 13TH, 2014

As Commander in Chief, my highest priority is the security of the American people. And I've made it clear that those who threaten the United States will find no safe haven. Thanks to our military and counterterrorism professionals, we took out Usama bin Laden, much of Al Qaida's leadership in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and leaders of Al Qaida affiliates in Yemen and Somalia. We've prevented terrorist attacks, saved American lives, and made our homeland more secure.

Today, the terrorist threat is more diffuse, from Al Qaida affiliates and other extremists, like ISIL in Syria and Iraq. As I said this week, our intelligence community has not yet detected specific ISIL plots against our homeland. But its leaders have repeatedly threatened the United States. And if left unchecked, these terrorists could pose a growing threat beyond the Middle East, including to the United States. So we're staying vigilant. And we're moving ahead with our strategy to degrade and ultimately destroy this terrorist organization.

To meet a threat like this, we have to be smart. We have to use our power wisely. And we have to avoid the mistakes of the past. American military power is unmatched, but this can't be America's fight alone. And the best way to defeat a group like ISIL isn't by sending a large number of American combat forces to wage a ground war in the heart of the Middle East. That wouldn't serve our interests. In fact, it would only risk fueling extremism even more.

What's needed now is a targeted, relentless counterterrorism campaign against ISIL that combines American air power, contributions from allies and partners, and more support to forces that are fighting these terrorists on the ground. And that's exactly what we're doing.

We're moving ahead with our campaign of airstrikes against these terrorists, and we're prepared to take action against ISIL in Syria as well. The additional American forces I've ordered to Iraq will help Iraqi and Kurdish forces with the training, intelligence, and equipment they need to take the fight to these terrorists on the ground. We're working with Congress to expand our efforts to train and equip the Syrian opposition. We'll continue to strengthen our defenses here at home. And we'll keep providing the humanitarian relief to help Iraqi civilians who have been driven from their homes and who remain in extreme danger.

Because we're leading the right way, more nations are joining our coalition. This week, Arab nations agreed to strengthen their support for the new Iraqi Government and to do their part in the fight against ISIL, including aspects of the military campaign. Saudi Arabia will join the effort to help train and equip moderate Syrian opposition forces. And retired Marine General John Allen, who during the Iraq war worked with Sunnis in Iraq as they fought to reclaim their communities from terrorists, will serve as our Special Envoy to help build and coordinate our growing coalition.

Today, every American can be proud of our men and women in uniform who are serving in this effort. When our airstrikes helped break the siege of the Iraq town of Amerli, one Kurdish fighter on the ground said, "It would have been absolutely impossible without the American planes." One resident of that city said, "Thank you, America."

Today, we're showing the world the best of American leadership. We will protect our people. We will stand with partners who defend their countries and rally other nations to meet a common threat. And here at home, 13 years after our country was attacked, we continue to stand tall and proud, because we are Americans and we don't give in to fear. We carry on. And we will never waver in the defense of the country that we love.

NOTE: The address was recorded at approximately 1:45 p.m. on September 12 in the State Dining Room at the White House for broadcast on September 13. In the address, the President referred to Gen. John R. Allen, USMC (Ret.), Special Presidential Envoy for the Global Coalition To Counter ISIL. He also referred to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) terrorist organization. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 12, but was embargoed for release until 6 a.m. on September 13.

Citation: Barack Obama: "The President's Weekly Address," September 13, 2014. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=107492.

APPENDIX 7L:
OBAMA *WEEKLY ADDRESS,* SEPTEMBER 20TH, 2014

Over the past week, the United States has continued to lead our friends and allies in the strategy to degrade and ultimately destroy the terrorist group known as ISIL. As I've said before, our intelligence community has not yet detected specific plots from these terrorists against America. Right now they pose a threat to the people of Iraq, Syria, and the broader Middle East. But its leaders have threatened America and our allies. And if left unchecked, they could pose a growing threat to the United States.

So, last month, I gave the order for our military to begin taking targeted action against ISIL. Since then, American pilots have flown more than 170 airstrikes against these terrorists in Iraq. And France has now joined us in these airstrikes.

And going forward, we won't hesitate to take action against these terrorists in Iraq or in Syria. But this is not America's fight alone. I won't commit our troops to fighting another ground war in Iraq or in Syria. It's more effective to use our capabilities to help partners on the ground secure their own countries' futures. We will use our air power. We will train and equip our partners. We will advise, and we will assist. And we'll lead a broad coalition of nations who have a stake in this fight. This isn't America versus ISIL, this is the people of that region versus ISIL. It's the world versus ISIL.

We've been working to secure bipartisan support for this strategy here at home, because I believe that we are strongest as a nation when the President and Congress work together. We've been consulting closely with Congress. And last week, Secretary of State Kerry, Secretary of Defense Hagel, and military leaders worked to gain their support for our strategy.

A majority of Democrats and a majority of Republicans in both the House and the Senate have now approved a first, key part of our strategy by wide margins. They've given our troops the authority they need to train Syrian opposition fighters so that they can fight ISIL in Syria. Those votes sent a powerful signal to the world: Americans are united in confronting this danger. And I hope Congress continues to make sure our troops get what they need to get the job done.

Meanwhile, because we're leading the right way, more nations are joining our coalition. Over 40 countries have offered to help the broad campaign against ISIL so far, from training and equipment to humanitarian relief, to flying combat missions. And this week, at the United Nations, I'll continue to rally the world against this threat.

This is an effort that America has the unique ability to lead. When the world is threatened, when the world needs help, it calls on America. And we call on our troops. Whether it's to degrade and ultimately destroy a group of terrorists or to contain and combat a threat like the Ebola epidemic in Africa, we ask a lot of our troops. But while our politics may be divided at times, the American people stand united around supporting our troops and their families. This is a moment of American leadership. And thanks to them, it is a moment that we will meet.

Thanks.

NOTE: The address was recorded at approximately 2:05 p.m. on September 19 in the Map Room at the White House for broadcast on September 20. In the address, the President referred to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) terrorist organization. H.J. Res. 124, Continuing Appropriations Resolution, 2015, was approved September 19 and assigned Public Law

No. 113-164. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 19, but was embargoed for release until 6 a.m. on September 20.

Citation: Barack Obama: "The President's Weekly Address," September 20, 2014. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=107540.

APPENDIX 7M:
TRAGEDY/THREAT/TERRORIST THREAT PATTERN:
INVASIONS OF SYRIA, LIBYA & IRAQ

SYRIA

Syria speech, September 10th, 2013
Tragedy: "Assad's traditional allies have propped him up, citing principles of sovereignty to shield his regime. And on August 21st, the regime used chemical weapons in an attack that killed more than 1,000 people, including hundreds of children".

Threat: "I believe it is in the security interest of the United States and in the interest of the world to meaningfully enforce a prohibition whose origins are older than the United Nations itself. The ban against the use of chemical weapons, even in war, has been agreed to by 98 percent of humanity… we consider the use of chemical weapons in Syria to be a threat to our own national security…"

Syria speech, September 13, 2014
Terrorist threat: "And if left unchecked, these terrorists could pose a growing threat beyond the Middle East, including to the United States. So we're staying vigilant. And we're moving ahead with our strategy to degrade and ultimately destroy this terrorist organization".

LIBYA

In Obama's Libya speech, a similar approach was used. Obama described Gadhafi harming his own people (potential tragedy) and threatening to destabilize the region (threat). Libya was then quickly invaded with the backing of NATO. In this instance, there was no need to rely on the threat of terrorism.

Libya speech, March 26, 2011
Tragedy/Threat: "… Gadhafi threatens a bloodbath that could destabilize an entire region…"

IRAQ

Obama also used this strategy to argue for America's re-invasion of Iraq in 2014. In this instance, both a tragedy and a terrorist threat were used:

Iraq re-entry, August 9, 2014
Terrorist Threat: "In recent days, terrorist forces neared the city (Erbil). Thursday night I made it clear that if they attempt to advance further, our military would respond with targeted strikes.

That's what we've done… We'll help prevent these terrorists from having a permanent safe haven from which to attack America".

Tragedy: "The terrorists that have taken over parts of Iraq have been especially brutal to religious minorities: rounding up families, executing men, enslaving women, and threatening the systematic destruction of an entire religious community, which would be genocide".

In Colin Powell's Iraq invasion speech at the United Nations there is a very clear pattern of describing the tragedies that Sadaam Hussein is responsible for, intertwined with the threat to the world that him being in power is causing, as well as mention of his connection to terrorism.

Iraq/UN speech, February 5, 2003 – Colin Powell

Threat: "…we know from sources that a missile brigade outside Baghdad was disbursing rocket launchers and warheads containing biological warfare agents to various locations, distributing them to various locations in western Iraq".

Threat: "The gravity of this moment is matched by the gravity of the threat that Iraq's weapons of mass destruction pose to the world. Let me now turn to those deadly weapons programs and describe why they are real and present dangers to the region and to the world".

Tragedy: "First, Saddam Hussein has used these horrific weapons on another country and on his own people".

Threat: "Saddam Hussein is determined to get his hands on a nuclear bomb".

Terrorist Threat: "But what I want to bring to your attention today is the potentially much more sinister nexus between Iraq and the al-Qaida terrorist network, a nexus that combines classic terrorist organizations and modern methods of murder. Iraq today harbors a deadly terrorist network headed by Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi, an associated collaborator of Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaida lieutenants".

"Saddam became more interested as he saw al-Qaida's appalling attacks. A detained al-Qaida member tells us that Saddam was more willing to assist al-Qaida after the 1998 bombings of our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Saddam was also impressed by al-Qaida's attacks on the USS Cole in Yemen in October 2000".

"Ambition and hatred are enough to bring Iraq and al-Qaida together, enough so al-Qaida could learn how to build more sophisticated bombs and learn how to forge documents, and enough so that al-Qaida could turn to Iraq for help in acquiring expertise on weapons of mass destruction".

Tragedy: "His campaign against the Kurds from 1987 to '89 included mass summary executions, disappearances, arbitrary jailing, ethnic cleansing and the destruction of some 2,000 villages. He has also conducted ethnic cleansing against the Shia Iraqis and the Marsh Arabs whose culture has flourished for more than a millennium".

APPENDIX 7N:
TRAGEDY/THREAT PATTERN: CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM SPEECHES

September 26, 2015
Tragedy: "… spending billions of taxpayer dollars on needlessly long prison sentences for nonviolent drug offenders".

Threat: "And we could use some of the savings to make sure the brave men and women of law enforcement have the resources they need to go after drug kingpins and violent gangs, disrupt the flow of drugs into our country, and address the real threats to our communities".

October 17, 2015
Tragedy: "Thirty years ago there were 500,000 people behind bars in America. Today, there are 2.2 million. The United States is home to 5 percent of the world's population, but 25 percent of the world's prisoners. Every year we spend $80 billion to keep people locked up… in too many cases, our criminal justice system is a pipeline from underfunded schools to overcrowded jails".

Threat: None.

October 31, 2015
Tragedy: **"**Today, there are 2.2 million people behind bars in America and millions more on parole or probation. Every year, we spend 80 billion in taxpayer dollars to keep people incarcerated. Many are nonviolent offenders serving unnecessarily long sentences".

Threat: "We know that having millions of people in the criminal justice system, without any ability to find a job after release, is unsustainable. It's bad for communities, and it's bad for our economy".

April 23, 2016
Tragedy: **"**Today, there are some 2.2 million people behind bars in America. Millions more are on parole or probation. All told, we spend 80 billion taxpayer dollars each year to keep people locked up. Many are serving unnecessarily long sentences for nonviolent crimes. Almost 60 percent have mental health problems. Almost 70 percent were regular drug users. And as a whole, our prison population is disproportionately Black and Latino. Now, plenty of people should be behind bars. But the reason we have so many more people in prison than any other developed country is not because we have more criminals. It's because we have criminal justice policies, including unfair sentencing laws, that need to be reformed".

Threat: "We know that simply locking people up doesn't make communities safer. It doesn't deal with the conditions that lead people to criminal activity in the first place or to return to prison

later… And a growing body of research suggests that the longer people stay in jail, the more likely they are to commit another crime once they get out".

July 9, 2016 – Joe Biden

The final speech on this topic was made on July 9th, 2016 by Vice President Joe Biden. This speech was given after five Dallas, Texas police officers were shot and killed at a protest against racial injustice in the prison system. Although it was not labeled a terrorist incident because the attacker did not commit the act in the name of religion or a terrorist agenda, it was responded to similarly to how a terrorist incident would be, with a great deal of outrage and national mourning.

Tragedy/Act of terror: "… when an assassin's bullet targeted the police force in Dallas, it touched the soul of the nation. Those killed and wounded were protecting the safety of those who were peacefully protesting against racial injustices in the criminal justice system".
"As Dallas Police Chief David Brown—one of the leading chiefs in America—said, "There are no words to describe the atrocity that occurred to our city, all I know is that this must stop, this divisiveness between our police and our citizens."

Tragedy/Act of terror as justification for action:
"As Americans, we are wounded by all of these deaths. It's on all of us to stand up, to speak out about disparities in our criminal justice system—just as it's on all of us to stand up for the police who protect us in our communities every day. In the days and weeks ahead, we'll continue offering our thoughts and prayers to provide comfort to the broken-hearted families. But they will only be redeemed by the courage of our actions that honor their memories".

APPENDIX 7O:
TRAGEDY/THREAT/TERRORIST THREAT PATTERN: GUN CONTROL REFORM SPEECHES

Obama's gun control arguments all employ the use of tragic domestic shootings; this is to be expected as so many of them take place in America. In his first speeches on the topic, on January 19th, 2013 and March 23rd, 2013, he addresses the Newton, Connecticut Elementary School shooting. This is followed on April 13th, 2013 by a guest speaker, Francine Wheeler, the mother of a child named Nate who was killed in the Sandy Hook elementary School shooting. The San Bernardino shooting is discussed on December 5th, 2015 and the Orlando, Florida night club shooting is as well, on June 18th, 2016. What is most notable about this trajectory is how the threats evolve into domestic terrorist threats and terrorism is then used to justify gun control measures.

January 19, 2013
Tragedy: **"**Since the tragedy in Newtown, I've gotten letters from all over the country, including many from our young people. One of them was from 8-year-old Rachel, who lives in Brooklyn, New York. She wrote: 'Please do something so that bad people cannot get guns to kill other people. Children should be safe, especially in school.' Rachel is counting on us".

Threat: "…because while we may not be able to prevent every senseless act of violence in this country, if there is even one thing that we can do to reduce it, if even one life can be saved, we've got an obligation to try".

Threat: "Ask [your member of Congress] why an A grade from the gun lobby is more important than keeping kids safe in a first grade classroom".

March 23, 2013
Tragedy: **"**It has now been 3 months since the tragic events in Newtown, Connecticut: 3 months since we lost 20 innocent children and 6 dedicated adults who had so much left to give; 3 months since we, as Americans, began asking ourselves if we're really doing enough to protect our communities and keep our children safe. For the families who lost a loved one on that terrible day, 3 months doesn't even begin to ease the pain they're feeling right now. It doesn't come close to mending the wounds that may never fully heal. But as a nation, the last 3 months have changed us. They forced us to answer some difficult questions about what we can do—what we must do—to prevent the kinds of massacres we've seen in Newtown and Aurora and Oak Creek, as well as the everyday tragedies that happen far too often in big cities and small towns all across America".

Threat: "As I've said before, we may not be able to prevent every act of violence in this country. But together, we have an obligation to try. We have an obligation to do what we can. Right now we have a real chance to reduce gun violence in America and prevent the very worst violence".

April 13, 2013 – Sandy Hook Elementary School mom, Francine Wheeler

Tragedy: **"**David and I lost our beloved son, but Nate lost his best friend… Out of the blue. I've heard people say that the tidal wave of anguish our country felt on 12/14 has receded. But not for us. To us, it feels as if it happened just yesterday. And in the four months since we lost our loved ones, thousands of other Americans have died at the end of a gun. Thousands of other families across the United States are also drowning in our grief. Please help us do something before our tragedy becomes your tragedy".

Threat: "We have to convince the Senate to come together and pass commonsense gun responsibility reforms that will make our communities safer and prevent more tragedies like the one we never thought would happen to us".

In these three speeches Obama uses these tragic shootings to argue in favor of stricter gun control laws. However, the trajectory of these arguments shows that in the following speeches he then begins to use the same terrorist threat strategy as was employed in the Syrian invasion speeches.

December 5, 2015
Tragedy: **"**This weekend, our hearts are with the people of San Bernardino, another American community shattered by unspeakable violence".

Terrorist Threat: **"**It is entirely possible that these two attackers were radicalized to commit this act of terror. And if so, it would underscore a threat we've been focused on for years: the danger of people succumbing to violent extremist ideologies. We know that ISIL and other terrorist groups are actively encouraging people—around the world and in our country—to commit terrible acts of violence, oftentimes as lone-wolf actors. And even as we work to prevent attacks, all of us—Government, law enforcement, communities, faith leaders—need to work together to prevent people from falling victim to these hateful ideologies".

Conflation of terrorist threat and gun control agenda:

"More broadly, this tragedy reminds us of our obligation to do everything in our power, together, to keep our communities safe. We know that the killers in San Bernardino used military-style assault weapons—weapons of war—to kill as many people as they could. It's another tragic reminder that here in America, it's way too easy for dangerous people to get their hands on a gun".

Guns are now being referred to as "weapons of war" and are linked to the threat of terrorism. In his next speech, Obama attacks the gun lobby.

January 1, 2016
Tragedy: **"**Three years ago, a bipartisan, commonsense bill would have required background checks for virtually everyone who buys a gun. Keep in mind, this is a policy that is supported by some 90 percent of the American people. It was supported by a majority of NRA households. But the gun lobby mobilized against it, and the Senate blocked it. Since then, tens of thousands of our fellow Americans have been mowed down by gun violence. Tens of thousands. Each time, we're told that commonsense reforms like background checks might not have stopped the last massacre

or the one before that, so we shouldn't do anything. We know we can't stop every act of violence. But what if we tried to stop even one? What if Congress did something—anything—to protect our kids from gun violence?"

Threat: "The gun lobby is loud and well organized in its defense of effortlessly available guns for anyone. The rest of us are going to have to be just as passionate and well organized in our defense of our kids. That's the work of citizenship: to stand up and fight for the change that we seek".

In this speech, Obama is representing the gun lobby as a threat to those trying to defend their children from gun violence, an explosively controversial claim. The gun lobby, after all, would argue that its support of gun ownership revolves around the need to protect the people from the overreach of the government. It is, however, Obama's final speech on the topic that is most notable:

June 18, 2016
Tragedy: "It's been less than a week since the deadliest mass shooting in American history. And foremost in all of our minds has been the loss and the grief felt by the people of Orlando, especially our friends who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender…"

Terrorist Threat: "The investigation is ongoing, but we know that the killer was an angry and disturbed individual who took in extremist information and propaganda over the Internet and became radicalized. During his killing spree, he pledged allegiance to ISIL, a group that's called on people around the world to attack innocent civilians".

Conflation of terrorist threat and gun control agenda:

"We are and we will keep doing everything in our power to stop these kinds of attacks and to ultimately destroy ISIL. The extraordinary people in our intelligence, military, homeland security, and law enforcement communities have already prevented many attacks, saved many lives, and we won't let up. Alongside the stories of bravery and healing and coming together over the past week, we've also seen a renewed focus on reducing gun violence. As I said a few days ago, being tough on terrorism requires more than talk. Being tough on terrorism, particularly the sorts of homegrown terrorism that we've seen now in Orlando and San Bernardino, means making it harder for people who want to kill Americans to get their hands on assault weapons that are capable of killing dozens of innocents as quickly as possible".

Oddly, this speech also contains a long discussion about Father's Day and the need for fathers to convince their children to support gun control:

"We need our kids to hear us speak up about the risks guns pose to our communities and against a status quo that doesn't make sense. They need to hear us say these things even when those who disagree are loud and are powerful. We need our kids to hear from us why tolerance and equality matter, about the times their absence has scarred our history and how greater understanding will better the future they will inherit. We need our kids to hear our words and also see us live our own lives with love".

CHAPTER 8

APPENDIX 8A:
OBAMA WEEKLY ADDRESS, JULY 23RD, 2016

The President. Hi, everybody. I'm here with Senator Elizabeth Warren, one of our strongest advocates for families and consumers like you. And today we want to talk you about some of the actions we've taken to protect everything you've worked so hard to build.

Eight years ago, after some big banks made irresponsible and risky bets with your money, we almost slipped into another Great Depression. While the recklessness started on Wall Street, it didn't take long before it led to real pain for folks on Main Street. It would cost millions of our fellow Americans their jobs, homes, and savings.

Senator Elizabeth A. Warren. The financial crisis wasn't an unstoppable act of nature. The whole thing could have been avoided, but we didn't have rules in place to stop Wall Street from taking enormous risks that threatened the whole economy. We didn't have strong protections to keep consumers from being cheated by tricks and traps on financial contracts.

The President. So when I took office, in the darkest days of the crisis, I promised you we wouldn't just recover from the crisis, we'd rebuild our economy on a new foundation. To make sure a crisis like that never happens again.

Sen. Warren. And President Obama delivered. He signed into law the toughest Wall Street reforms and strongest consumer protections in generations. Now, trust me, I'm a pretty tough grader, but these new rules are making our financial system more transparent. They're getting rid of a lot of fine print, and they're making sure that if the bank screws up, you have someone to call so you don't get stuck with the bill.

The President. Now, these reforms have already made our financial system safer and more resilient. And part of passing these those strong consumer protections meant establishing the first-ever Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, based on an idea that Senator Warren came up with before the crisis even began.

Sen. Warren. And every day, the good people at that independent agency crack down on dishonest and deceptive practices like the ones that helped cause the crash. The proof is in the more than 27 million consumers who, in just 5 years, have gotten refunds and other relief from credit card companies, payday lenders, debt collectors, and others who tried to rip them off.

The President. Before the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, you didn't have a strong ally to turn to if your bank took advantage of you or if you were being harassed or charged inappropriate fees. Now you do.

Sen. Warren. And the Bureau is also there to help you make better informed decisions. Before you take out a mortgage or a loan for college or a new car, check out the agency's website, CFPB.gov. It can help you sift through the confusing, but very important details.

The President. Republicans, and big banks who opposed these common sense rules, claimed they'd hurt the economy. But we've seen what happened to the economy when we didn't have these rules in place. And despite their claims, our economy is stronger today than it was before the crisis. Since we dug out from the worst of it, our businesses have added almost 15 million new jobs. Corporate profits are up, lending to businesses is up, and the stock market has hit an all-time high. So the idea this was bad for business just doesn't hold water. Now our task should be making sure we build on those gains and make sure they're felt by everybody.

Sen. Warren. But every year, like clockwork, big banks and their Republican allies in Congress try to roll back these protections and try to undermine the consumer watchdog, whose only job is to look out for you. Their nominee for President promises to dismantle all of it. Now, look, they may have forgotten about the crisis, but working families sure haven't, and we haven't either. And that's why we're not going to let them give Wall Street the ability to threaten our economy all over again.

The President. Whether you're a Democrat, a Republican, or an Independent, if you're a hard-working American who plays by the rules, you should expect Wall Street to play by the rules too. And that's what we're fighting for.

Sen. Warren. Yes. It's about basic fairness for everyone.

The President. And it's about responsibility from everyone. Thanks to leaders like Senator Warren, our country, our economy, and our families are better off. Let's keep it that way. And thanks for being here, Elizabeth.

Sen. Warren. And thanks for having me, Mr. President.

The President. Have a great weekend, everybody.

NOTE: The address was recorded at approximately 11:40 a.m. on July 15 in the Roosevelt Room at the White House for broadcast on July 23. In the address, Sen. Warren referred to Republican Presidential nominee Donald J. Trump. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on July 22, but was embargoed for release until 6 a.m. on July 23. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of this address.

APPENDIX 8B:
FIRST PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE
HOFSTRA UNIVSERITY IN HEMPSTEAD, NEW YORK
SEPTEMBER 26TH, 2016

Presidential Candidates Debates: "Presidential Debate at Hofstra University in Hempstead, New York," September 26, 2016. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*.
http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=118971

PARTICIPANTS:
Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (D) and
Businessman Donald Trump (R)

MODERATOR:
Lester Holt (NBC News)

HOLT: Good evening from Hofstra University in Hempstead, New York. I'm Lester Holt, anchor of "NBC Nightly News." I want to welcome you to the first presidential debate. The participants tonight are Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. This debate is sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates, a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization. The commission drafted tonight's format, and the rules have been agreed to by the campaigns. The 90-minute debate is divided into six segments, each 15 minutes long. We'll explore three topic areas tonight: Achieving prosperity; America's direction; and securing America. At the start of each segment, I will ask the same lead- off question to both candidates, and they will each have up to two minutes to respond. From that point until the end of the segment, we'll have an open discussion. The questions are mine and have not been shared with the commission or the campaigns. The audience here in the room has agreed to remain silent so that we can focus on what the candidates are saying. I will invite you to applaud, however, at this moment, as we welcome the candidates: Democratic nominee for president of the United States, Hillary Clinton, and Republican nominee for president of the United States, Donald J. Trump. [*applause*]

CLINTON: How are you, Donald? [*applause*]

HOLT: Good luck to you. [*applause*] Well, I don't expect us to cover all the issues of this campaign tonight, but I remind everyone, there are two more presidential debates scheduled. We are going to focus on many of the issues that voters tell us are most important, and we're going to press for specifics. I am honored to have this role, but this evening belongs to the candidates and, just as important, to the American people. Candidates, we look forward to hearing you articulate your policies and your positions, as well as your visions and your values. So, let's begin. We're calling this opening segment "Achieving Prosperity." And central to that is jobs. There are two economic realities in America today. There's been a record six straight years of job growth, and new census numbers show incomes have increased at a record rate after years of stagnation. However, income inequality remains significant, and nearly half of Americans are living paycheck to paycheck. Beginning with you, Secretary Clinton, why are you a better choice than your opponent to create the kinds of jobs that will put more money into the pockets of American works?

CLINTON: Well, thank you, Lester, and thanks to Hofstra for hosting us.
The central question in this election is really what kind of country we want to be and what kind of

future we'll build together. Today is my granddaughter's second birthday, so I think about this a lot. First, we have to build an economy that works for everyone, not just those at the top. That means we need new jobs, good jobs, with rising incomes. I want us to invest in you. I want us to invest in your future. That means jobs in infrastructure, in advanced manufacturing, innovation and technology, clean, renewable energy, and small business, because most of the new jobs will come from small business. We also have to make the economy fairer. That starts with raising the national minimum wage and also guarantee, finally, equal pay for women's work. I also want to see more companies do profit-sharing. If you help create the profits, you should be able to share in them, not just the executives at the top. And I want us to do more to support people who are struggling to balance family and work. I've heard from so many of you about the difficult choices you face and the stresses that you're under. So let's have paid family leave, earned sick days. Let's be sure we have affordable child care and debt-free college. How are we going to do it? We're going to do it by having the wealthy pay their fair share and close the corporate loopholes. Finally, we tonight are on the stage together, Donald Trump and I. Donald, it's good to be with you. We're going to have a debate where we are talking about the important issues facing our country. You have to judge us, who can shoulder the immense, awesome responsibilities of the presidency, who can put into action the plans that will make your life better. I hope that I will be able to earn your vote on November 8th.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton, thank you. Mr. Trump, the same question to you. It's about putting money—more money into the pockets of American workers. You have up to two minutes.

TRUMP: Thank you, Lester. Our jobs are fleeing the country. They're going to Mexico. They're going to many other countries. You look at what China is doing to our country in terms of making our product. They're devaluing their currency, and there's nobody in our government to fight them. And we have a very good fight. And we have a winning fight. Because they're using our country as a piggy bank to rebuild China, and many other countries are doing the same thing. So we're losing our good jobs, so many of them. When you look at what's happening in Mexico, a friend of mine who builds plants said it's the eighth wonder of the world. They're building some of the biggest plants anywhere in the world, some of the most sophisticated, some of the best plants. With the United States, as he said, not so much. So Ford is leaving. You see that, their small car division leaving. Thousands of jobs leaving Michigan, leaving Ohio. They're all leaving. And we can't allow it to happen anymore. As far as child care is concerned and so many other things, I think Hillary and I agree on that. We probably disagree a little bit as to numbers and amounts and what we're going to do, but perhaps we'll be talking about that later. But we have to stop our jobs from being stolen from us. We have to stop our companies from leaving the United States and, with it, firing all of their people. All you have to do is take a look at Carrier air conditioning in Indianapolis. They left—fired 1,400 people. They're going to Mexico. So many hundreds and hundreds of companies are doing this. We cannot let it happen. Under my plan, I'll be reducing taxes tremendously, from 35 percent to 15 percent for companies, small and big businesses. That's going to be a job creator like we haven't seen since Ronald Reagan. It's going to be a beautiful thing to watch. Companies will come. They will build. They will expand. New companies will start. And I look very, very much forward to doing it. We have to renegotiate our trade deals, and we have to stop these countries from stealing our companies and our jobs.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton, would you like to respond?

CLINTON: Well, I think that trade is an important issue. Of course, we are 5 percent of the world's population; we have to trade with the other 95 percent. And we need to have smart, fair trade deals. We also, though, need to have a tax system that rewards work and not just financial transactions. And the kind of plan that Donald has put forth would be trickle-down economics all over again. In fact, it would be the most extreme version, the biggest tax cuts for the top percent of the people in this country than we've ever had. I call it trumped-up trickle-down, because

that's exactly what it would be. That is not how we grow the economy. We just have a different view about what's best for growing the economy, how we make investments that will actually produce jobs and rising incomes. I think we come at it from somewhat different perspectives. I understand that. You know, Donald was very fortunate in his life, and that's all to his benefit. He started his business with $14 million, borrowed from his father, and he really believes that the more you help wealthy people, the better off we'll be and that everything will work out from there. I don't buy that. I have a different experience. My father was a small-businessman. He worked really hard. He printed drapery fabrics on long tables, where he pulled out those fabrics and he went down with a silkscreen and dumped the paint in and took the squeegee and kept going. And so what I believe is the more we can do for the middle class, the more we can invest in you, your education, your skills, your future, the better we will be off and the better we'll grow. That's the kind of economy I want us to see again.

HOLT: Let me follow up with Mr. Trump, if you can. You've talked about creating 25 million jobs, and you've promised to bring back millions of jobs for Americans. How are you going to bring back the industries that have left this country for cheaper labor overseas? How, specifically, are you going to tell American manufacturers that you have to come back?

TRUMP: Well, for one thing—and before we start on that—my father gave me a very small loan in 1975, and I built it into a company that's worth many, many billions of dollars, with some of the greatest assets in the world, and I say that only because that's the kind of thinking that our country needs. Our country's in deep trouble. We don't know what we're doing when it comes to devaluations and all of these countries all over the world, especially China. They're the best, the best ever at it. What they're doing to us is a very, very sad thing. So we have to do that. We have to renegotiate our trade deals. And, Lester, they're taking our jobs, they're giving incentives, they're doing things that, frankly, we don't do. Let me give you the example of Mexico. They have a VAT tax. We're on a different system. When we sell into Mexico, there's a tax. When they sell in—automatic, 16 percent, approximately. When they sell into us, there's no tax. It's a defective agreement. It's been defective for a long time, many years, but the politicians haven't done anything about it. Now, in all fairness to Secretary Clinton—yes, is that OK? Good. I want you to be very happy. It's very important to me. But in all fairness to Secretary Clinton, when she started talking about this, it was really very recently. She's been doing this for 30 years. And why hasn't she made the agreements better? The NAFTA agreement is defective. Just because of the tax and many other reasons, but just because of the fact...

HOLT: Let me interrupt just a moment, but...

TRUMP: Secretary Clinton and others, politicians, should have been doing this for years, not right now, because of the fact that we've created a movement. They should have been doing this for years. What's happened to our jobs and our country and our economy generally is—look, we owe $20 trillion. We cannot do it any longer, Lester.

HOLT: Back to the question, though. How do you bring back—specifically bring back jobs, American manufacturers? How do you make them bring the jobs back?

TRUMP: Well, the first thing you do is don't let the jobs leave. The companies are leaving. I could name, I mean, there are thousands of them. They're leaving, and they're leaving in bigger numbers than ever. And what you do is you say, fine, you want to go to Mexico or some other country, good luck. We wish you a lot of luck. But if you think you're going to make your air conditioners or your cars or your cookies or whatever you make and bring them into our country without a tax, you're wrong. And once you say you're going to have to tax them coming in, and our politicians never do this, because they have special interests and the special interests want those companies to leave, because in many cases, they own the companies. So what I'm

saying is, we can stop them from leaving. We have to stop them from leaving. And that's a big, big factor.

HOLT: Let me let Secretary Clinton get in here.

CLINTON: Well, let's stop for a second and remember where we were eight years ago. We had the worst financial crisis, the Great Recession, the worst since the 1930s. That was in large part because of tax policies that slashed taxes on the wealthy, failed to invest in the middle class, took their eyes off of Wall Street, and created a perfect storm. In fact, Donald was one of the people who rooted for the housing crisis. He said, back in 2006, "Gee, I hope it does collapse, because then I can go in and buy some and make some money." Well, it did collapse.

TRUMP: That's called business, by the way.

CLINTON: Nine million people—nine million people lost their jobs. Five million people lost their homes. And $13 trillion in family wealth was wiped out. Now, we have come back from that abyss. And it has not been easy. So we're now on the precipice of having a potentially much better economy, but the last thing we need to do is to go back to the policies that failed us in the first place. Independent experts have looked at what I've proposed and looked at what Donald's proposed, and basically they've said this, that if his tax plan, which would blow up the debt by over $5 trillion and would in some instances disadvantage middle-class families compared to the wealthy, were to go into effect, we would lose 3.5 million jobs and maybe have another recession. They've looked at my plans and they've said, OK, if we can do this, and I intend to get it done, we will have 10 million more new jobs, because we will be making investments where we can grow the economy. Take clean energy. Some country is going to be the clean- energy superpower of the 21st century. Donald thinks that climate change is a hoax perpetrated by the Chinese. I think it's real.

TRUMP: I did not. I did not. I do not say that.

CLINTON: I think science is real.

TRUMP: I do not say that.

CLINTON: And I think it's important that we grip this and deal with it, both at home and abroad. And here's what we can do. We can deploy a half a billion more solar panels. We can have enough clean energy to power every home. We can build a new modern electric grid. That's a lot of jobs; that's a lot of new economic activity. So I've tried to be very specific about what we can and should do, and I am determined that we're going to get the economy really moving again, building on the progress we've made over the last eight years, but never going back to what got us in trouble in the first place.

HOLT: Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: She talks about solar panels. We invested in a solar company, our country. That was a disaster. They lost plenty of money on that one. Now, look, I'm a great believer in all forms of energy, but we're putting a lot of people out of work. Our energy policies are a disaster. Our country is losing so much in terms of energy, in terms of paying off our debt. You can't do what you're looking to do with $20 trillion in debt. The Obama administration, from the time they've come in, is over 230 years' worth of debt, and he's topped it. He's doubled it in a course of almost eight years, seven-and-a-half years, to be semi- exact. So I will tell you this. We have to do a much better job at keeping our jobs. And we have to do a much better job at giving

companies incentives to build new companies or to expand, because they're not doing it. And all you have to do is look at Michigan and look at Ohio and look at all of these places where so many of their jobs and their companies are just leaving, they're gone. And, Hillary, I'd just ask you this. You've been doing this for 30 years. Why are you just thinking about these solutions right now? For 30 years, you've been doing it, and now you're just starting to think of solutions.

CLINTON: Well, actually...

TRUMP: I will bring—excuse me. I will bring back jobs. You can't bring back jobs.

CLINTON: Well, actually, I have thought about this quite a bit.

TRUMP: Yeah, for 30 years.

CLINTON: And I have—well, not quite that long. I think my husband did a pretty good job in the 1990s. I think a lot about what worked and how we can make it work again...

TRUMP: Well, he approved NAFTA...

[*crosstalk*]

CLINTON: ... million new jobs, a balanced budget...

TRUMP: He approved NAFTA, which is the single worst trade deal ever approved in this country.

CLINTON: Incomes went up for everybody. Manufacturing jobs went up also in the 1990s, if we're actually going to look at the facts. When I was in the Senate, I had a number of trade deals that came before me, and I held them all to the same test. Will they create jobs in America? Will they raise incomes in America? And are they good for our national security? Some of them I voted for. The biggest one, a multinational one known as CAFTA, I voted against. And because I hold the same standards as I look at all of these trade deals. But let's not assume that trade is the only challenge we have in the economy. I think it is a part of it, and I've said what I'm going to do. I'm going to have a special prosecutor. We're going to enforce the trade deals we have, and we're going to hold people accountable. When I was secretary of state, we actually increased American exports globally 30 percent. We increased them to China 50 percent. So I know how to really work to get new jobs and to get exports that helped to create more new jobs.

HOLT: Very quickly...

TRUMP: But you haven't done it in 30 years or 26 years or any number you want to...

CLINTON: Well, I've been a senator, Donald...

TRUMP: You haven't done it. You haven't done it.

CLINTON: And I have been a secretary of state...

TRUMP: Excuse me.

CLINTON: And I have done a lot...

TRUMP: Your husband signed NAFTA, which was one of the worst things that ever happened to the manufacturing industry.

CLINTON: Well, that's your opinion. That is your opinion.

TRUMP: You go to New England, you go to Ohio, Pennsylvania, you go anywhere you want, Secretary Clinton, and you will see devastation where manufacture is down 30, 40, sometimes 50 percent. NAFTA is the worst trade deal maybe ever signed anywhere, but certainly ever signed in this country. And now you want to approve Trans-Pacific Partnership. You were totally in favor of it. Then you heard what I was saying, how bad it is, and you said, I can't win that debate. But you know that if you did win, you would approve that, and that will be almost as bad as NAFTA. Nothing will ever top NAFTA.

CLINTON: Well, that is just not accurate. I was against it once it was finally negotiated and the terms were laid out. I wrote about that in...

TRUMP: You called it the gold standard.

[*crosstalk*]

TRUMP: You called it the gold standard of trade deals. You said it's the finest deal you've ever seen.

CLINTON: No.

TRUMP: And then you heard what I said about it, and all of a sudden you were against it.

CLINTON: Well, Donald, I know you live in your own reality, but that is not the facts. The facts are—I did say I hoped it would be a good deal, but when it was negotiated...

TRUMP: Not.

CLINTON: ...which I wasn't responsible for, I concluded it wasn't. I wrote about it in my book.

TRUMP: So is it President Obama's fault?

CLINTON: ... before you even announced.

TRUMP: Is it President Obama's fault?

CLINTON: Look, there are differences...

TRUMP: Secretary, is it President Obama's fault?

CLINTON: There are...

TRUMP: Because he's pushing it.

CLINTON: There are different views about what's good for our country, our economy, and our leadership in the world. And I think it's important to look at what we need to do to get the

economy going again. That's why I said new jobs with rising incomes, investments, not in more tax cuts that would add $5 trillion to the debt.

TRUMP: But you have no plan.

CLINTON: But in—oh, but I do.

TRUMP: Secretary, you have no plan.

CLINTON: In fact, I have written a book about it. It's called "Stronger Together." You can pick it up tomorrow at a bookstore...

TRUMP: That's about all you've...

[*crosstalk*]

HOLT: Folks, we're going to...

CLINTON: ... or at an airport near you.

HOLT: We're going to move to...

CLINTON: But it's because I see this—we need to have strong growth, fair growth, sustained growth. We also have to look at how we help families balance the responsibilities at home and the responsibilities at business. So we have a very robust set of plans. And people have looked at both of our plans, have concluded that mine would create 10 million jobs and yours would lose us 3.5 million jobs, and explode the debt which would have a recession.

TRUMP: You are going to approve one of the biggest tax cuts in history. You are going to approve one of the biggest tax increases in history. You are going to drive business out. Your regulations are a disaster, and you're going to increase regulations all over the place. And by the way, my tax cut is the biggest since Ronald Reagan. I'm very proud of it. It will create tremendous numbers of new jobs. But regulations, you are going to regulate these businesses out of existence. When I go around—Lester, I tell you this, I've been all over. And when I go around, despite the tax cut, the thing—the things that business as in people like the most is the fact that I'm cutting regulation. You have regulations on top of regulations, and new companies cannot form and old companies are going out of business. And you want to increase the regulations and make them even worse. I'm going to cut regulations. I'm going to cut taxes big league, and you're going to raise taxes big league, end of story.

HOLT: Let me get you to pause right there, because we're going to move into—we're going to move into the next segment. We're going to talk taxes...

CLINTON: That can't—that can't be left to stand.

HOLT: Please just take 30 seconds and then we're going to go on.

CLINTON: I kind of assumed that there would be a lot of these charges and claims, and so...

TRUMP: Facts.

CLINTON: So we have taken the home page of my website, HillaryClinton.com, and we've turned it into a fact-checker. So if you want to see in real-time what the facts are, please go and take a look. Because what I have proposed...

TRUMP: And take a look at mine, also, and you'll see.

CLINTON: ... would not add a penny to the debt, and your plans would add $5 trillion to the debt. What I have proposed would cut regulations and streamline them for small businesses. What I have proposed would be paid for by raising taxes on the wealthy, because they have made all the gains in the economy. And I think it's time that the wealthy and corporations paid their fair share to support this country.

HOLT: Well, you just opened the next segment.

TRUMP: Well, could I just finish—I think I...

[*crosstalk*]

HOLT: I'm going to give you a chance right here...

TRUMP: I think I should—you go to her website, and you take a look at her website.

HOLT: ... with a new 15-minute segment...

TRUMP: She's going to raise taxes $1.3 trillion.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, I'm going to...

TRUMP: And look at her website. You know what? It's no difference than this. She's telling us how to fight ISIS. Just go to her website. She tells you how to fight ISIS on her website. I don't think General Douglas MacArthur would like that too much.

HOLT: The next segment, we're continuing...

CLINTON: Well, at least I have a plan to fight ISIS.

HOLT: ... achieving prosperity...

TRUMP: No, no, you're telling the enemy everything you want to do.

CLINTON: No, we're not. No, we're not.

TRUMP: See, you're telling the enemy everything you want to do. No wonder you've been fighting—no wonder you've been fighting ISIS your entire adult life.

CLINTON: That's a—that's—go to the—please, fact checkers, get to work.

HOLT: OK, you are unpacking a lot here. And we're still on the issue of achieving prosperity. And I want to talk about taxes. The fundamental difference between the two of you concerns the wealthy. Secretary Clinton, you're calling for a tax increase on the wealthiest Americans. I'd

like you to further defend that. And, Mr. Trump, you're calling for tax cuts for the wealthy. I'd like you to defend that. And this next two-minute answer goes to you, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: Well, I'm really calling for major jobs, because the wealthy are going create tremendous jobs. They're going to expand their companies. They're going to do a tremendous job. I'm getting rid of the carried interest provision. And if you really look, it's not a tax—it's really not a great thing for the wealthy. It's a great thing for the middle class. It's a great thing for companies to expand. And when these people are going to put billions and billions of dollars into companies, and when they're going to bring $2.5 trillion back from overseas, where they can't bring the money back, because politicians like Secretary Clinton won't allow them to bring the money back, because the taxes are so onerous, and the bureaucratic red tape, so what—is so bad. So what they're doing is they're leaving our country, and they're, believe it or not, leaving because taxes are too high and because some of them have lots of money outside of our country. And instead of bringing it back and putting the money to work, because they can't work out a deal to—and everybody agrees it should be brought back. Instead of that, they're leaving our country to get their money, because they can't bring their money back into our country, because of bureaucratic red tape, because they can't get together. Because we have—we have a president that can't sit them around a table and get them to approve something. And here's the thing. Republicans and Democrats agree that this should be done, $2.5 trillion. I happen to think it's double that. It's probably $5 trillion that we can't bring into our country, Lester. And with a little leadership, you'd get it in here very quickly, and it could be put to use on the inner cities and lots of other things, and it would be beautiful. But we have no leadership. And honestly, that starts with Secretary Clinton.

HOLT: All right. You have two minutes of the same question to defend tax increases on the wealthiest Americans, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: I have a feeling that by, the end of this evening, I'm going to be blamed for everything that's ever happened.

TRUMP: Why not?

CLINTON: Why not? Yeah, why not? [*laughter*] You know, just join the debate by saying more crazy things. Now, let me say this, it is absolutely the case...

TRUMP: There's nothing crazy about not letting our companies bring their money back into their country.

HOLT: This is—this is Secretary Clinton's two minutes, please.

TRUMP: Yes.

CLINTON: Yeah, well, let's start the clock again, Lester. We've looked at your tax proposals. I don't see changes in the corporate tax rates or the kinds of proposals you're referring to that would cause the repatriation, bringing back of money that's stranded overseas. I happen to support that.

TRUMP: Then you didn't read it.

CLINTON: I happen to—I happen to support that in a way that will actually work to our benefit. But when I look at what you have proposed, you have what is called now the Trump

loophole, because it would so advantage you and the business you do. You've proposed an approach that has a...

TRUMP: Who gave it that name? The first I've—who gave it that name?

[*crosstalk*]

HOLT: Mr. Trump, this is Secretary Clinton's two minutes.

CLINTON: ... $4 billion tax benefit for your family. And when you look at what you are proposing...

TRUMP: How much? How much for my family?

CLINTON: ... it is...

TRUMP: Lester, how much?

CLINTON: ... as I said, trumped-up trickle-down. Trickle-down did not work. It got us into the mess we were in, in 2008 and 2009. Slashing taxes on the wealthy hasn't worked. And a lot of really smart, wealthy people know that. And they are saying, hey, we need to do more to make the contributions we should be making to rebuild the middle class. I don't think top-down works in America. I think building the middle class, investing in the middle class, making college debt-free so more young people can get their education, helping people refinance their—their debt from college at a lower rate. Those are the kinds of things that will really boost the economy. Broad-based, inclusive growth is what we need in America, not more advantages for people at the very top.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, we're...

TRUMP: Typical politician. All talk, no action. Sounds good, doesn't work. Never going to happen. Our country is suffering because people like Secretary Clinton have made such bad decisions in terms of our jobs and in terms of what's going on. Now, look, we have the worst revival of an economy since the Great Depression. And believe me: We're in a bubble right now. And the only thing that looks good is the stock market, but if you raise interest rates even a little bit, that's going to come crashing down. We are in a big, fat, ugly bubble. And we better be awfully careful. And we have a Fed that's doing political things. This Janet Yellen of the Fed. The Fed is doing political—by keeping the interest rates at this level. And believe me: The day Obama goes off, and he leaves, and goes out to the golf course for the rest of his life to play golf, when they raise interest rates, you're going to see some very bad things happen, because the Fed is not doing their job. The Fed is being more political than Secretary Clinton.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, we're talking about the burden that Americans have to pay, yet you have not released your tax returns. And the reason nominees have released their returns for decades is so that voters will know if their potential president owes money to—who he owes it to and any business conflicts. Don't Americans have a right to know if there are any conflicts of interest?

TRUMP: I don't mind releasing—I'm under a routine audit. And it'll be released. And—as soon as the audit's finished, it will be released. But you will learn more about Donald Trump by going down to the federal elections, where I filed a 104-page essentially financial statement of sorts, the forms that they have. It shows income—in fact, the income—I just looked today—the

income is filed at $694 million for this past year, $694 million. If you would have told me I was going to make that 15 or 20 years ago, I would have been very surprised. But that's the kind of thinking that our country needs. When we have a country that's doing so badly, that's being ripped off by every single country in the world, it's the kind of thinking that our country needs, because everybody—Lester, we have a trade deficit with all of the countries that we do business with, of almost $800 billion a year. You know what that is? That means, who's negotiating these trade deals? We have people that are political hacks negotiating our trade deals.

HOLT: The IRS says an audit...

TRUMP: Excuse me.

HOLT: ... of your taxes—you're perfectly free to release your taxes during an audit. And so the question, does the public's right to know outweigh your personal...

TRUMP: Well, I told you, I will release them as soon as the audit. Look, I've been under audit almost for 15 years. I know a lot of wealthy people that have never been audited. I said, do you get audited? I get audited almost every year. And in a way, I should be complaining. I'm not even complaining. I don't mind it. It's almost become a way of life. I get audited by the IRS. But other people don't. I will say this. We have a situation in this country that has to be taken care of. I will release my tax returns—against my lawyer's wishes—when she releases her 33,000 e-mails that have been deleted. As soon as she releases them, I will release. [*applause*] I will release my tax returns. And that's against—my lawyers, they say, "Don't do it." I will tell you this. No—in fact, watching shows, they're reading the papers. Almost every lawyer says, you don't release your returns until the audit's complete. When the audit's complete, I'll do it. But I would go against them if she releases her e-mails.

HOLT: So it's negotiable?

TRUMP: It's not negotiable, no. Let her release the e-mails. Why did she delete 33,000...

HOLT: Well, I'll let her answer that. But let me just admonish the audience one more time. There was an agreement. We did ask you to be silent, so it would be helpful for us. Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, I think you've seen another example of bait-and- switch here. For 40 years, everyone running for president has released their tax returns. You can go and see nearly, I think, 39, 40 years of our tax returns, but everyone has done it. We know the IRS has made clear there is no prohibition on releasing it when you're under audit. So you've got to ask yourself, why won't he release his tax returns? And I think there may be a couple of reasons. First, maybe he's not as rich as he says he is. Second, maybe he's not as charitable as he claims to be. Third, we don't know all of his business dealings, but we have been told through investigative reporting that he owes about $650 million to Wall Street and foreign banks. Or maybe he doesn't want the American people, all of you watching tonight, to know that he's paid nothing in federal taxes, because the only years that anybody's ever seen were a couple of years when he had to turn them over to state authorities when he was trying to get a casino license, and they showed he didn't pay any federal income tax.

TRUMP: That makes me smart.

CLINTON: So if he's paid zero, that means zero for troops, zero for vets, zero for schools or health. And I think probably he's not all that enthusiastic about having the rest of our country

see what the real reasons are, because it must be something really important, even terrible, that he's trying to hide. And the financial disclosure statements, they don't give you the tax rate. They don't give you all the details that tax returns would. And it just seems to me that this is something that the American people deserve to see. And I have no reason to believe that he's ever going to release his tax returns, because there's something he's hiding. And we'll guess. We'll keep guessing at what it might be that he's hiding. But I think the question is, were he ever to get near the White House, what would be those conflicts? Who does he owe money to? Well, he owes you the answers to that, and he should provide them.

HOLT: He also—he also raised the issue of your e-mails. Do you want to respond to that?

CLINTON: I do. You know, I made a mistake using a private e- mail.

TRUMP: That's for sure.

CLINTON: And if I had to do it over again, I would, obviously, do it differently. But I'm not going to make any excuses. It was a mistake, and I take responsibility for that.

HOLT: Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: That was more than a mistake. That was done purposely. OK? That was not a mistake. That was done purposely. When you have your staff taking the Fifth Amendment, taking the Fifth so they're not prosecuted, when you have the man that set up the illegal server taking the Fifth, I think it's disgraceful. And believe me, this country thinks it's—really thinks it's disgraceful, also. As far as my tax returns, you don't learn that much from tax returns. That I can tell you. You learn a lot from financial disclosure. And you should go down and take a look at that. The other thing, I'm extremely underleveraged. The report that said $650—which, by the way, a lot of friends of mine that know my business say, boy, that's really not a lot of money. It's not a lot of money relative to what I had. The buildings that were in question, they said in the same report, which was—actually, it wasn't even a bad story, to be honest with you, but the buildings are worth $3.9 billion. And the $650 isn't even on that. But it's not $650. It's much less than that. But I could give you a list of banks, I would—if that would help you, I would give you a list of banks. These are very fine institutions, very fine banks. I could do that very quickly. I am very underleveraged. I have a great company. I have a tremendous income. And the reason I say that is not in a braggadocios way. It's because it's about time that this country had somebody running it that has an idea about money. When we have $20 trillion in debt, and our country's a mess, you know, it's one thing to have $20 trillion in debt and our roads are good and our bridges are good and everything's in great shape, our airports. Our airports are like from a third world country. You land at LaGuardia, you land at Kennedy, you land at LAX, you land at Newark, and you come in from Dubai and Qatar and you see these incredible—you come in from China, you see these incredible airports, and you land—we've become a third world country. So the worst of all things has happened. We owe $20 trillion, and we're a mess. We haven't even started. And we've spent $6 trillion in the Middle East, according to a report that I just saw. Whether it's 6 or 5, but it looks like it's 6, $6 trillion in the Middle East, we could have rebuilt our country twice. And it's really a shame. And it's politicians like Secretary Clinton that have caused this problem. Our country has tremendous problems. We're a debtor nation. We're a serious debtor nation. And we have a country that needs new roads, new tunnels, new bridges, new airports, new schools, new hospitals. And we don't have the money, because it's been squandered on so many of your ideas.

HOLT: We'll let you respond and we'll move on to the next segment.

CLINTON: And maybe because you haven't paid any federal income tax for a lot of years. [*applause*] And the other thing I think is important...

TRUMP: It would be squandered, too, believe me.

CLINTON: ... is if your—if your main claim to be president of the United States is your business, then I think we should talk about that. You know, your campaign manager said that you built a lot of businesses on the backs of little guys. And, indeed, I have met a lot of the people who were stiffed by you and your businesses, Donald. I've met dishwashers, painters, architects, glass installers, marble installers, drapery installers, like my dad was, who you refused to pay when they finished the work that you asked them to do. We have an architect in the audience who designed one of your clubhouses at one of your golf courses. It's a beautiful facility. It immediately was put to use. And you wouldn't pay what the man needed to be paid, what he was charging you to do...

TRUMP: Maybe he didn't do a good job and I was unsatisfied with his work...

CLINTON: Well, to...

TRUMP: Which our country should do, too.

CLINTON: Do the thousands of people that you have stiffed over the course of your business not deserve some kind of apology from someone who has taken their labor, taken the goods that they produced, and then refused to pay them? I can only say that I'm certainly relieved that my late father never did business with you. He provided a good middle-class life for us, but the people he worked for, he expected the bargain to be kept on both sides. And when we talk about your business, you've taken business bankruptcy six times. There are a lot of great businesspeople that have never taken bankruptcy once. You call yourself the King of Debt. You talk about leverage. You even at one time suggested that you would try to negotiate down the national debt of the United States.

TRUMP: Wrong. Wrong.

CLINTON: Well, sometimes there's not a direct transfer of skills from business to government, but sometimes what happened in business would be really bad for government.

HOLT: Let's let Mr. Trump...

CLINTON: And we need to be very clear about that.

TRUMP: So, yeah, I think—I do think it's time. Look, it's all words, it's all sound bites. I built an unbelievable company. Some of the greatest assets anywhere in the world, real estate assets anywhere in the world, beyond the United States, in Europe, lots of different places. It's an unbelievable company. But on occasion, four times, we used certain laws that are there. And when Secretary Clinton talks about people that didn't get paid, first of all, they did get paid a lot, but taken advantage of the laws of the nation. Now, if you want to change the laws, you've been there a long time, change the laws. But I take advantage of the laws of the nation because I'm running a company. My obligation right now is to do well for myself, my family, my employees, for my companies. And that's what I do. But what she doesn't say is that tens of thousands of people that are unbelievably happy and that love me. I'll give you an example. We're just opening up on Pennsylvania Avenue right next to the White House, so if I don't get there one way, I'm going to get to Pennsylvania Avenue another. But we're opening the Old Post

Office. Under budget, ahead of schedule, saved tremendous money. I'm a year ahead of schedule. And that's what this country should be doing. We build roads and they cost two and three and four times what they're supposed to cost. We buy products for our military and they come in at costs that are so far above what they were supposed to be, because we don't have people that know what they're doing. When we look at the budget, the budget is bad to a large extent because we have people that have no idea as to what to do and how to buy. The Trump International is way under budget and way ahead of schedule. And we should be able to do that for our country.

HOLT: Well, we're well behind schedule, so I want to move to our next segment. We move into our next segment talking about America's direction. And let's start by talking about race. The share of Americans who say race relations are bad in this country is the highest it's been in decades, much of it amplified by shootings of African-Americans by police, as we've seen recently in Charlotte and Tulsa. Race has been a big issue in this campaign, and one of you is going to have to bridge a very wide and bitter gap. So how do you heal the divide? Secretary Clinton, you get two minutes on this.

CLINTON: Well, you're right. Race remains a significant challenge in our country. Unfortunately, race still determines too much, often determines where people live, determines what kind of education in their public schools they can get, and, yes, it determines how they're treated in the criminal justice system. We've just seen those two tragic examples in both Tulsa and Charlotte. And we've got to do several things at the same time. We have to restore trust between communities and the police. We have to work to make sure that our police are using the best training, the best techniques, that they're well prepared to use force only when necessary. Everyone should be respected by the law, and everyone should respect the law. Right now, that's not the case in a lot of our neighborhoods. So I have, ever since the first day of my campaign, called for criminal justice reform. I've laid out a platform that I think would begin to remedy some of the problems we have in the criminal justice system. But we also have to recognize, in addition to the challenges that we face with policing, there are so many good, brave police officers who equally want reform. So we have to bring communities together in order to begin working on that as a mutual goal. And we've got to get guns out of the hands of people who should not have them. The gun epidemic is the leading cause of death of young African- American men, more than the next nine causes put together. So we have to do two things, as I said. We have to restore trust. We have to work with the police. We have to make sure they respect the communities and the communities respect them. And we have to tackle the plague of gun violence, which is a big contributor to a lot of the problems that we're seeing today.

HOLT: All right, Mr. Trump, you have two minutes. How do you heal the divide?

TRUMP: Well, first of all, Secretary Clinton doesn't want to use a couple of words, and that's law and order. And we need law and order. If we don't have it, we're not going to have a country. And when I look at what's going on in Charlotte, a city I love, a city where I have investments, when I look at what's going on throughout various parts of our country, whether it's—I mean, I can just keep naming them all day long—we need law and order in our country. I just got today the, as you know, the endorsement of the Fraternal Order of Police, we just—just came in. We have endorsements from, I think, almost every police group, very—I mean, a large percentage of them in the United States. We have a situation where we have our inner cities, African- Americans, Hispanics are living in he'll because it's so dangerous. You walk down the street, you get shot. In Chicago, they've had thousands of shootings, thousands since January 1st. Thousands of shootings. And I'm saying, where is this? Is this a war-torn country? What are we doing? And we have to stop the violence. We have to bring back law and order. In a place like Chicago, where thousands of people have been killed, thousands over the last number of

years, in fact, almost 4,000 have been killed since Barack Obama became president, over— almost 4,000 people in Chicago have been killed. We have to bring back law and order. Now, whether or not in a place like Chicago you do stop and frisk, which worked very well, Mayor Giuliani is here, worked very well in New York. It brought the crime rate way down. But you take the gun away from criminals that shouldn't be having it. We have gangs roaming the street. And in many cases, they're illegally here, illegal immigrants. And they have guns. And they shoot people. And we have to be very strong. And we have to be very vigilant. We have to be—we have to know what we're doing. Right now, our police, in many cases, are afraid to do anything. We have to protect our inner cities, because African-American communities are being decimated by crime, decimated.

HOLT: Your two—your two minutes expired, but I do want to follow up. Stop-and-frisk was ruled unconstitutional in New York, because it largely singled out black and Hispanic young men.

TRUMP: No, you're wrong. It went before a judge, who was a very against-police judge. It was taken away from her. And our mayor, our new mayor, refused to go forward with the case. They would have won an appeal. If you look at it, throughout the country, there are many places where it's allowed.

HOLT: The argument is that it's a form of racial profiling.

TRUMP: No, the argument is that we have to take the guns away from these people that have them and they are bad people that shouldn't have them. These are felons. These are people that are bad people that shouldn't be—when you have 3,000 shootings in Chicago from January 1st, when you have 4,000 people killed in Chicago by guns, from the beginning of the presidency of Barack Obama, his hometown, you have to have stop-and-frisk. You need more police. You need a better community, you know, relation. You don't have good community relations in Chicago. It's terrible. I have property there. It's terrible what's going on in Chicago. But when you look—and Chicago's not the only—you go to Ferguson, you go to so many different places. You need better relationships. I agree with Secretary Clinton on this. You need better relationships between the communities and the police, because in some cases, it's not good. But you look at Dallas, where the relationships were really studied, the relationships were really a beautiful thing, and then five police officers were killed one night very violently. So there's some bad things going on. Some really bad things.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton...

TRUMP: But we need—Lester, we need law and order. And we need law and order in the inner cities, because the people that are most affected by what's happening are African-American and Hispanic people. And it's very unfair to them what our politicians are allowing to happen.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, I've heard—I've heard Donald say this at his rallies, and it's really unfortunate that he paints such a dire negative picture of black communities in our country.

TRUMP: Ugh.

CLINTON: You know, the vibrancy of the black church, the black businesses that employ so many people, the opportunities that so many families are working to provide for their kids. There's a lot that we should be proud of and we should be supporting and lifting up. But we do

always have to make sure we keep people safe. There are the right ways of doing it, and then there are ways that are ineffective. Stop-and-frisk was found to be unconstitutional and, in part, because it was ineffective. It did not do what it needed to do. Now, I believe in community policing. And, in fact, violent crime is one-half of what it was in 1991. Property crime is down 40 percent. We just don't want to see it creep back up. We've had 25 years of very good cooperation. But there were some problems, some unintended consequences. Too many young African-American and Latino men ended up in jail for nonviolent offenses. And it's just a fact that if you're a young African-American man and you do the same thing as a young white man, you are more likely to be arrested, charged, convicted, and incarcerated. So we've got to address the systemic racism in our criminal justice system. We cannot just say law and order. We have to say—we have to come forward with a plan that is going to divert people from the criminal justice system, deal with mandatory minimum sentences, which have put too many people away for too long for doing too little. We need to have more second chance programs. I'm glad that we're ending private prisons in the federal system; I want to see them ended in the state system. You shouldn't have a profit motivation to fill prison cells with young Americans. So there are some positive ways we can work on this. And I believe strongly that commonsense gun safety measures would assist us. Right now—and this is something Donald has supported, along with the gun lobby—right now, we've got too many military- style weapons on the streets. In a lot of places, our police are outgunned. We need comprehensive background checks, and we need to keep guns out of the hands of those who will do harm. And we finally need to pass a prohibition on anyone who's on the terrorist watch list from being able to buy a gun in our country. If you're too dangerous to fly, you are too dangerous to buy a gun. So there are things we can do, and we ought to do it in a bipartisan way.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton, last week, you said we've got to do everything possible to improve policing, to go right at implicit bias. Do you believe that police are implicitly biased against black people?

CLINTON: Lester, I think implicit bias is a problem for everyone, not just police. I think, unfortunately, too many of us in our great country jump to conclusions about each other. And therefore, I think we need all of us to be asking hard questions about, you know, why am I feeling this way? But when it comes to policing, since it can have literally fatal consequences, I have said, in my first budget, we would put money into that budget to help us deal with implicit bias by retraining a lot of our police officers. I've met with a group of very distinguished, experienced police chiefs a few weeks ago. They admit it's an issue. They've got a lot of concerns. Mental health is one of the biggest concerns, because now police are having to handle a lot of really difficult mental health problems on the street. They want support, they want more training, they want more assistance. And I think the federal government could be in a position where we would offer and provide that.

HOLT: Mr. Trump...

TRUMP: I'd like to respond to that.

HOLT: Please.

TRUMP: First of all, I agree, and a lot of people even within my own party want to give certain rights to people on watch lists and no- fly lists. I agree with you. When a person is on a watch list or a no-fly list, and I have the endorsement of the NRA, which I'm very proud of. These are very, very good people, and they're protecting the Second Amendment. But I think we have to look very strongly at no-fly lists and watch lists. And when people are on there, even if they shouldn't be on there, we'll help them, we'll help them legally, we'll help them get off. But I tend to agree with that quite strongly. I do want to bring up the fact that you were the one that

brought up the words super-predator about young black youth. And that's a term that I think was a—it's—it's been horribly met, as you know. I think you've apologized for it. But I think it was a terrible thing to say. And when it comes to stop-and-frisk, you know, you're talking about takes guns away. Well, I'm talking about taking guns away from gangs and people that use them. And I don't think—I really don't think you disagree with me on this, if you want to know the truth. I think maybe there's a political reason why you can't say it, but I really don't believe—in New York City, stop-and-frisk, we had 2,200 murders, and stop-and-frisk brought it down to 500 murders. Five hundred murders is a lot of murders. It's hard to believe, 500 is like supposed to be good? But we went from 2,200 to 500. And it was continued on by Mayor Bloomberg. And it was terminated by current mayor. But stop-and- frisk had a tremendous impact on the safety of New York City. Tremendous beyond belief. So when you say it has no impact, it really did. It had a very, very big impact.

CLINTON: Well, it's also fair to say, if we're going to talk about mayors, that under the current mayor, crime has continued to drop, including murders. So there is...

TRUMP: No, you're wrong. You're wrong.

CLINTON: No, I'm not.

TRUMP: Murders are up. All right. You check it.

CLINTON: New York—New York has done an excellent job. And I give credit—I give credit across the board going back two mayors, two police chiefs, because it has worked. And other communities need to come together to do what will work, as well. Look, one murder is too many. But it is important that we learn about what has been effective. And not go to things that sound good that really did not have the kind of impact that we would want. Who disagrees with keeping neighborhoods safe? But let's also add, no one should disagree about respecting the rights of young men who live in those neighborhoods. And so we need to do a better job of working, again, with the communities, faith communities, business communities, as well as the police to try to deal with this problem.

HOLT: This conversation is about race. And so, Mr. Trump, I have to ask you for five...

TRUMP: I'd like to just respond, if I might.

HOLT: Please—20 seconds.

TRUMP: I'd just like to respond.

HOLT: Please respond, then I've got a quick follow-up for you.

TRUMP: I will. Look, the African-American community has been let down by our politicians. They talk good around election time, like right now, and after the election, they said, see ya later, I'll see you in four years. The African-American community—because—look, the community within the inner cities has been so badly treated. They've been abused and used in order to get votes by Democrat politicians, because that's what it is. They've controlled these communities for up to 100 years.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, let me...

[*crosstalk*]

CLINTON: Well, I—I do think...

TRUMP: And I will tell you, you look at the inner cities—and I just left Detroit, and I just left Philadelphia, and I just—you know, you've seen me, I've been all over the place. You decided to stay home, and that's OK. But I will tell you, I've been all over. And I've met some of the greatest people I'll ever meet within these communities. And they are very, very upset with what their politicians have told them and what their politicians have done.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, I...

CLINTON: I think—I think—I think Donald just criticized me for preparing for this debate. And, yes, I did. And you know what else I prepared for? I prepared to be president. And I think that's a good thing. [*applause*]

HOLT: Mr. Trump, for five years, you perpetuated a false claim that the nation's first black president was not a natural-born citizen. You questioned his legitimacy. In the last couple of weeks, you acknowledged what most Americans have accepted for years: The president was born in the United States. Can you tell us what took you so long?

TRUMP: I'll tell you very—well, just very simple to say. Sidney Blumenthal works for the campaign and close—very close friend of Secretary Clinton. And her campaign manager, Patti Doyle, went to—during the campaign, her campaign against President Obama, fought very hard. And you can go look it up, and you can check it out. And if you look at CNN this past week, Patti Solis Doyle was on Wolf Blitzer saying that this happened. Blumenthal sent McClatchy, highly respected reporter at McClatchy, to Kenya to find out about it. They were pressing it very hard. She failed to get the birth certificate. When I got involved, I didn't fail. I got him to give the birth certificate. So I'm satisfied with it. And I'll tell you why I'm satisfied with it.

HOLT: That was...

[*crosstalk*]

TRUMP: Because I want to get on to defeating ISIS, because I want to get on to creating jobs, because I want to get on to having a strong border, because I want to get on to things that are very important to me and that are very important to the country.

HOLT: I will let you respond. It's important. But I just want to get the answer here. The birth certificate was produced in 2011. You've continued to tell the story and question the president's legitimacy in 2012, '13, '14, '15...

TRUMP: Yeah.

HOLT: .... as recently as January. So the question is, what changed your mind?

TRUMP: Well, nobody was pressing it, nobody was caring much about it. I figured you'd ask the question tonight, of course. But nobody was caring much about it. But I was the one that got him to produce the birth certificate. And I think I did a good job. Secretary Clinton also fought it. I mean, you know—now, everybody in mainstream is going to say, oh, that's not true. Look, it's true. Sidney Blumenthal sent a reporter—you just have to take a look at CNN, the last week, the interview with your former campaign manager. And she was involved. But just like she can't bring back jobs, she can't produce.

HOLT: I'm sorry. I'm just going to follow up—and I will let you respond to that, because there's a lot there. But we're talking about racial healing in this segment. What do you say to Americans, people of color who...

[*crosstalk*]

TRUMP: Well, it was very—I say nothing. I say nothing, because I was able to get him to produce it. He should have produced it a long time before. I say nothing. But let me just tell you. When you talk about healing, I think that I've developed very, very good relationships over the last little while with the African-American community. I think you can see that. And I feel that they really wanted me to come to that conclusion. And I think I did a great job and a great service not only for the country, but even for the president, in getting him to produce his birth certificate.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, just listen to what you heard. [*laughter*] And clearly, as Donald just admitted, he knew he was going to stand on this debate stage, and Lester Holt was going to be asking us questions, so he tried to put the whole racist birther lie to bed. But it can't be dismissed that easily. He has really started his political activity based on this racist lie that our first black president was not an American citizen. There was absolutely no evidence for it, but he persisted, he persisted year after year, because some of his supporters, people that he was trying to bring into his fold, apparently believed it or wanted to believe it. But, remember, Donald started his career back in 1973 being sued by the Justice Department for racial discrimination because he would not rent apartments in one of his developments to African-Americans, and he made sure that the people who worked for him understood that was the policy. He actually was sued twice by the Justice Department. So he has a long record of engaging in racist behavior. And the birther lie was a very hurtful one. You know, Barack Obama is a man of great dignity. And I could tell how much it bothered him and annoyed him that this was being touted and used against him. But I like to remember what Michelle Obama said in her amazing speech at our Democratic National Convention: When they go low, we go high. And Barack Obama went high, despite Donald Trump's best efforts to bring him down.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, you can respond and we're going to move on to the next segment.

TRUMP: I would love to respond. First of all, I got to watch in preparing for this some of your debates against Barack Obama. You treated him with terrible disrespect. And I watched the way you talk now about how lovely everything is and how wonderful you are. It doesn't work that way. You were after him, you were trying to—you even sent out or your campaign sent out pictures of him in a certain garb, very famous pictures. I don't think you can deny that. But just last week, your campaign manager said it was true. So when you tried to act holier than thou, it really doesn't work. It really doesn't. Now, as far as the lawsuit, yes, when I was very young, I went into my father's company, had a real estate company in Brooklyn and Queens, and we, along with many, many other companies throughout the country—it was a federal lawsuit—were sued. We settled the suit with zero—with no admission of guilt. It was very easy to do. I notice you bring that up a lot. And, you know, I also notice the very nasty commercials that you do on me in so many different ways, which I don't do on you. Maybe I'm trying to save the money. But, frankly, I look—I look at that, and I say, isn't that amazing? Because I settled that lawsuit with no admission of guilt, but that was a lawsuit brought against many real estate firms, and it's just one of those things. I'll go one step further. In Palm Beach, Florida, tough community, a brilliant community, a wealthy community, probably the wealthiest community there is in the world, I opened a club, and really got great credit for it. No discrimination against African- Americans, against Muslims, against anybody. And it's a tremendously successful club.

And I'm so glad I did it. And I have been given great credit for what I did. And I'm very, very proud of it. And that's the way I feel. That is the true way I feel.

HOLT: Our next segment is called "Securing America." We want to start with a 21st century war happening every day in this country. Our institutions are under cyber attack, and our secrets are being stolen. So my question is, who's behind it? And how do we fight it?

Secretary Clinton, this answer goes to you.

CLINTON: Well, I think cyber security, cyber warfare will be one of the biggest challenges facing the next president, because clearly we're facing at this point two different kinds of adversaries. There are the independent hacking groups that do it mostly for commercial reasons to try to steal information that they can use to make money. But increasingly, we are seeing cyber attacks coming from states, organs of states. The most recent and troubling of these has been Russia. There's no doubt now that Russia has used cyber attacks against all kinds of organizations in our country, and I am deeply concerned about this. I know Donald's very praiseworthy of Vladimir Putin, but Putin is playing a really...

[*crosstalk*]

...tough, long game here. And one of the things he's done is to let loose cyber attackers to hack into government files, to hack into personal files, hack into the Democratic National Committee. And we recently have learned that, you know, that this is one of their preferred methods of trying to wreak havoc and collect information. We need to make it very clear—whether it's Russia, China, Iran or anybody else—the United States has much greater capacity. And we are not going to sit idly by and permit state actors to go after our information, our private-sector information or our public-sector information. And we're going to have to make it clear that we don't want to use the kinds of tools that we have. We don't want to engage in a different kind of warfare. But we will defend the citizens of this country. And the Russians need to understand that. I think they've been treating it as almost a probing, how far would we go, how much would we do. And that's why I was so—I was so shocked when Donald publicly invited Putin to hack into Americans. That is just unacceptable. It's one of the reasons why 50 national security officials who served in Republican information—in administrations...

HOLT: Your two minutes have expired.

CLINTON: ... have said that Donald is unfit to be the commander- in-chief. It's comments like that that really worry people who understand the threats that we face.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, you have two minutes and the same question. Who's behind it? And how do we fight it?

TRUMP: I do want to say that I was just endorsed—and more are coming next week—it will be over 200 admirals, many of them here—admirals and generals endorsed me to lead this country. That just happened, and many more are coming. And I'm very proud of it. In addition, I was just endorsed by ICE. They've never endorsed anybody before on immigration. I was just endorsed by ICE. I was just recently endorsed—16,500 Border Patrol agents. So when Secretary Clinton talks about this, I mean, I'll take the admirals and I'll take the generals any day over the political hacks that I see that have led our country so brilliantly over the last 10 years with their knowledge. OK? Because look at the mess that we're in. Look at the mess that we're in. As far as the cyber, I agree to parts of what Secretary Clinton said. We should be better than anybody else, and perhaps we're not. I don't think anybody knows it was Russia that broke into the

DNC. She's saying Russia, Russia, Russia, but I don't—maybe it was. I mean, it could be Russia, but it could also be China. It could also be lots of other people. It also could be somebody sitting on their bed that weighs 400 pounds, OK? You don't know who broke in to DNC. But what did we learn with DNC? We learned that Bernie Sanders was taken advantage of by your people, by Debbie Wasserman Schultz. Look what happened to her. But Bernie Sanders was taken advantage of. That's what we learned. Now, whether that was Russia, whether that was China, whether it was another country, we don't know, because the truth is, under President Obama we've lost control of things that we used to have control over. We came in with the Internet, we came up with the Internet, and I think Secretary Clinton and myself would agree very much, when you look at what ISIS is doing with the Internet, they're beating us at our own game. ISIS. So we have to get very, very tough on cyber and cyber warfare. It is—it is a huge problem. I have a son. He's 10 years old. He has computers. He is so good with these computers, it's unbelievable. The security aspect of cyber is very, very tough. And maybe it's hardly doable. But I will say, we are not doing the job we should be doing. But that's true throughout our whole governmental society. We have so many things that we have to do better, Lester, and certainly cyber is one of them.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, I think there are a number of issues that we should be addressing. I have put forth a plan to defeat ISIS. It does involve going after them online. I think we need to do much more with our tech companies to prevent ISIS and their operatives from being able to use the Internet to radicalize, even direct people in our country and Europe and elsewhere. But we also have to intensify our air strikes against ISIS and eventually support our Arab and Kurdish partners to be able to actually take out ISIS in Raqqa, end their claim of being a Caliphate. We're making progress. Our military is assisting in Iraq. And we're hoping that within the year we'll be able to push ISIS out of Iraq and then, you know, really squeeze them in Syria. But we have to be cognizant of the fact that they've had foreign fighters coming to volunteer for them, foreign money, foreign weapons, so we have to make this the top priority. And I would also do everything possible to take out their leadership. I was involved in a number of efforts to take out Al Qaida leadership when I was secretary of state, including, of course, taking out bin Laden. And I think we need to go after Baghdadi, as well, make that one of our organizing principles. Because we've got to defeat ISIS, and we've got to do everything we can to disrupt their propaganda efforts online.

HOLT: You mention ISIS, and we think of ISIS certainly as over there, but there are American citizens who have been inspired to commit acts of terror on American soil, the latest incident, of course, the bombings we just saw in New York and New Jersey, the knife attack at a mall in Minnesota, in the last year, deadly attacks in San Bernardino and Orlando. I'll ask this to both of you. Tell us specifically how you would prevent homegrown attacks by American citizens, Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: Well, first I have to say one thing, very important. Secretary Clinton is talking about taking out ISIS. "We will take out ISIS." Well, President Obama and Secretary Clinton created a vacuum the way they got out of Iraq, because they got out—what, they shouldn't have been in, but once they got in, the way they got out was a disaster. And ISIS was formed. So she talks about taking them out. She's been doing it a long time. She's been trying to take them out for a long time. But they wouldn't have even been formed if they left some troops behind, like 10,000 or maybe something more than that. And then you wouldn't have had them. Or, as I've been saying for a long time, and I think you'll agree, because I said it to you once, had we taken the oil—and we should have taken the oil—ISIS would not have been able to form either, because the oil was their primary source of income. And now they have the oil all over the place, including the oil—a lot of the oil in Libya, which was another one of her disasters.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, I hope the fact-checkers are turning up the volume and really working hard. Donald supported the invasion of Iraq.

TRUMP: Wrong.

CLINTON: That is absolutely proved over and over again.

TRUMP: Wrong. Wrong.

CLINTON: He actually advocated for the actions we took in Libya and urged that Gadhafi be taken out, after actually doing some business with him one time. But the larger point—and he says this constantly—is George W. Bush made the agreement about when American troops would leave Iraq, not Barack Obama. And the only way that American troops could have stayed in Iraq is to get an agreement from the then-Iraqi government that would have protected our troops, and the Iraqi government would not give that. But let's talk about the question you asked, Lester. The question you asked is, what do we do here in the United States? That's the most important part of this. How do we prevent attacks? How do we protect our people? And I think we've got to have an intelligence surge, where we are looking for every scrap of information. I was so proud of law enforcement in New York, in Minnesota, in New Jersey. You know, they responded so quickly, so professionally to the attacks that occurred by Rahami. And they brought him down. And we may find out more information because he is still alive, which may prove to be an intelligence benefit. So we've got to do everything we can to vacuum up intelligence from Europe, from the Middle East. That means we've got to work more closely with our allies, and that's something that Donald has been very dismissive of. We're working with NATO, the longest military alliance in the history of the world, to really turn our attention to terrorism. We're working with our friends in the Middle East, many of which, as you know, are Muslim majority nations. Donald has consistently insulted Muslims abroad, Muslims at home, when we need to be cooperating with Muslim nations and with the American Muslim community. They're on the front lines. They can provide information to us that we might not get anywhere else. They need to have close working cooperation with law enforcement in these communities, not be alienated and pushed away as some of Donald's rhetoric, unfortunately, has led to.

HOLT: Mr. Trump...

TRUMP: Well, I have to respond.

HOLT: Please respond.

TRUMP: The secretary said very strongly about working with—we've been working with them for many years, and we have the greatest mess anyone's ever seen. You look at the Middle East, it's a total mess. Under your direction, to a large extent. But you look at the Middle East, you started the Iran deal, that's another beauty where you have a country that was ready to fall, I mean, they were doing so badly. They were choking on the sanctions. And now they're going to be actually probably a major power at some point pretty soon, the way they're going. But when you look at NATO, I was asked on a major show, what do you think of NATO? And you have to understand, I'm a businessperson. I did really well. But I have common sense. And I said, well, I'll tell you. I haven't given lots of thought to NATO. But two things. Number one, the 28 countries of NATO, many of them aren't paying their fair share. Number two—and that bothers me, because we should be asking—we're defending them, and they should at least be paying us

what they're supposed to be paying by treaty and contract. And, number two, I said, and very strongly, NATO could be obsolete, because—and I was very strong on this, and it was actually covered very accurately in the New York Times, which is unusual for the New York Times, to be honest—but I said, they do not focus on terror. And I was very strong. And I said it numerous times. And about four months ago, I read on the front page of the Wall Street Journal that NATO is opening up a major terror division. And I think that's great. And I think we should get—because we pay approximately 73 percent of the cost of NATO. It's a lot of money to protect other people. But I'm all for NATO. But I said they have to focus on terror, also. And they're going to do that. And that was—believe me—I'm sure I'm not going to get credit for it—but that was largely because of what I was saying and my criticism of NATO. I think we have to get NATO to go into the Middle East with us, in addition to surrounding nations, and we have to knock the hell out of ISIS, and we have to do it fast, when ISIS formed in this vacuum created by Barack Obama and Secretary Clinton. And believe me, you were the ones that took out the troops. Not only that, you named the day. They couldn't believe it. They sat back probably and said, I can't believe it. They said...

CLINTON: Lester, we've covered...

TRUMP: No, wait a minute.

CLINTON: We've covered this ground.

TRUMP: When they formed, when they formed, this is something that never should have happened. It should have never happened. Now, you're talking about taking out ISIS. But you were there, and you were secretary of state when it was a little infant. Now it's in over 30 countries. And you're going to stop them? I don't think so.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, a lot of these are judgment questions. You had supported the war in Iraq before the invasion. What makes your...

TRUMP: I did not support the war in Iraq.

HOLT: In 2002...

TRUMP: That is a mainstream media nonsense put out by her, because she—frankly, I think the best person in her campaign is mainstream media.

HOLT: My question is, since you supported it...

TRUMP: Just—would you like to hear...

HOLT: ... why is your—why is your judgment...

TRUMP: Wait a minute. I was against the war in Iraq. Just so you put it out.

HOLT: The record shows otherwise, but why—why was...

TRUMP: The record does not show that.

HOLT: Why was—is your judgment any...

TRUMP: The record shows that I'm right. When I did an interview with Howard Stern, very lightly, first time anyone's asked me that, I said, very lightly, I don't know, maybe, who knows? Essentially. I then did an interview with Neil Cavuto. We talked about the economy is more important. I then spoke to Sean Hannity, which everybody refuses to call Sean Hannity. I had numerous conversations with Sean Hannity at Fox. And Sean Hannity said—and he called me the other day—and I spoke to him about it—he said you were totally against the war, because he was for the war.

HOLT: Why is your judgment better than...

TRUMP: And when he—excuse me. And that was before the war started. Sean Hannity said very strongly to me and other people—he's willing to say it, but nobody wants to call him. I was against the war. He said, you used to have fights with me, because Sean was in favor of the war. And I understand that side, also, not very much, because we should have never been there. But nobody called Sean Hannity. And then they did an article in a major magazine, shortly after the war started. I think in '04. But they did an article which had me totally against the war in Iraq. And one of your compatriots said, you know, whether it was before or right after, Trump was definitely—because if you read this article, there's no doubt. But if somebody—and I'll ask the press—if somebody would call up Sean Hannity, this was before the war started. He and I used to have arguments about the war. I said, it's a terrible and a stupid thing. It's going to destabilize the Middle East. And that's exactly what it's done. It's been a disaster.

HOLT: My reference was to what you had said in 2002, and my question was...

TRUMP: No, no. You didn't hear what I said.

HOLT: Why is your judgment—why is your judgment any different than Mrs. Clinton's judgment?

TRUMP: Well, I have much better judgment than she does. There's no question about that. I also have a much better temperament than she has, you know? [*laughter*] I have a much better—she spent—let me tell you—she spent hundreds of millions of dollars on an advertising—you know, they get Madison Avenue into a room, they put names—oh, temperament, let's go after—I think my strongest asset, maybe by far, is my temperament. I have a winning temperament. I know how to win. She does not have a...

HOLT: Secretary Clinton?

TRUMP: Wait. The AFL-CIO the other day, behind the blue screen, I don't know who you were talking to, Secretary Clinton, but you were totally out of control. I said, there's a person with a temperament that's got a problem.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Whew, OK. [*laughter*] Let's talk about two important issues that were briefly mentioned by Donald, first, NATO. You know, NATO as a military alliance has something called Article 5, and basically it says this: An attack on one is an attack on all. And you know the only time it's ever been invoked? After 9/11, when the 28 nations of NATO said that they would go to Afghanistan with us to fight terrorism, something that they still are doing by our side. With respect to Iran, when I became secretary of state, Iran was weeks away from having enough nuclear material to form a bomb. They had mastered the nuclear fuel cycle under the Bush administration. They had built covert facilities. They had stocked them with centrifuges

that were whirling away. And we had sanctioned them. I voted for every sanction against Iran when I was in the Senate, but it wasn't enough. So I spent a year-and-a-half putting together a coalition that included Russia and China to impose the toughest sanctions on Iran. And we did drive them to the negotiating table. And my successor, John Kerry, and President Obama got a deal that put a lid on Iran's nuclear program without firing a single shot. That's diplomacy. That's coalition-building. That's working with other nations. The other day, I saw Donald saying that there were some Iranian sailors on a ship in the waters off of Iran, and they were taunting American sailors who were on a nearby ship. He said, you know, if they taunted our sailors, I'd blow them out of the water and start another war. That's not good judgment.

TRUMP: That would not start a war.

CLINTON: That is not the right temperament to be commander-in- chief, to be taunted. And the worst part...

TRUMP: No, they were taunting us.

CLINTON: ... of what we heard Donald say has been about nuclear weapons. He has said repeatedly that he didn't care if other nations got nuclear weapons, Japan, South Korea, even Saudi Arabia. It has been the policy of the United States, Democrats and Republicans, to do everything we could to reduce the proliferation of nuclear weapons. He even said, well, you know, if there were nuclear war in East Asia, well, you know, that's fine...

TRUMP: Wrong.

CLINTON: ... have a good time, folks.

TRUMP: It's lies.

CLINTON: And, in fact, his cavalier attitude about nuclear weapons is so deeply troubling. That is the number-one threat we face in the world. And it becomes particularly threatening if terrorists ever get their hands on any nuclear material. So a man who can be provoked by a tweet should not have his fingers anywhere near the nuclear codes, as far as I think anyone with any sense about this should be concerned.

TRUMP: That line's getting a little bit old, I must say. I would like to...

CLINTON: It's a good one, though. It well describes the problem. [*laughter*]

TRUMP: It's not an accurate one at all. It's not an accurate one. So I just want to give a lot of things—and just to respond. I agree with her on one thing. The single greatest problem the world has is nuclear armament, nuclear weapons, not global warming, like you think and your—your president thinks. Nuclear is the single greatest threat. Just to go down the list, we defend Japan, we defend Germany, we defend South Korea, we defend Saudi Arabia, we defend countries. They do not pay us. But they should be paying us, because we are providing tremendous service and we're losing a fortune. That's why we're losing—we're losing—we lose on everything. I say, who makes these—we lose on everything. All I said, that it's very possible that if they don't pay a fair share, because this isn't 40 years ago where we could do what we're doing. We can't defend Japan, a behemoth, selling us cars by the million...

HOLT: We need to move on.

TRUMP: Well, wait, but it's very important. All I said was, they may have to defend themselves or they have to help us out. We're a country that owes $20 trillion. They have to help us out.

HOLT: Our last...

TRUMP: As far as the nuclear is concerned, I agree. It is the single greatest threat that this country has.

HOLT: Which leads to my next question, as we enter our last segment here on the, still on the subject of securing America. On nuclear weapons, President Obama reportedly considered changing the nation's longstanding policy on first use. Do you support the current policy? Mr. Trump, you have two minutes on that.

TRUMP: Well, I have to say that, you know, for what Secretary Clinton was saying about nuclear with Russia, she's very cavalier in the way she talks about various countries. But Russia has been expanding their—they have a much newer capability than we do. We have not been updating from the new standpoint. I looked the other night. I was seeing B-52s, they're old enough that your father, your grandfather could be flying them. We are not—we are not keeping up with other countries. I would like everybody to end it, just get rid of it. But I would certainly not do first strike. I think that once the nuclear alternative happens, it's over. At the same time, we have to be prepared. I can't take anything off the table. Because you look at some of these countries, you look at North Korea, we're doing nothing there. China should solve that problem for us. China should go into North Korea. China is totally powerful as it relates to North Korea. And by the way, another one powerful is the worst deal I think I've ever seen negotiated that you started is the Iran deal. Iran is one of their biggest trading partners. Iran has power over North Korea. And when they made that horrible deal with Iran, they should have included the fact that they do something with respect to North Korea. And they should have done something with respect to Yemen and all these other places. And when asked to Secretary Kerry, why didn't you do that? Why didn't you add other things into the deal? One of the great giveaways of all time, of all time, including $400 million in cash. Nobody's ever seen that before. That turned out to be wrong. It was actually $1.7 billion in cash, obviously, I guess for the hostages. It certainly looks that way. So you say to yourself, why didn't they make the right deal? This is one of the worst deals ever made by any country in history. The deal with Iran will lead to nuclear problems. All they have to do is sit back 10 years, and they don't have to do much.

HOLT: Your two minutes is expired.

TRUMP: And they're going to end up getting nuclear. I met with Bibi Netanyahu the other day. Believe me, he's not a happy camper.

HOLT: All right. Mrs. Clinton, Secretary Clinton, you have two minutes.

CLINTON: Well, let me—let me start by saying, words matter. Words matter when you run for president. And they really matter when you are president. And I want to reassure our allies in Japan and South Korea and elsewhere that we have mutual defense treaties and we will honor them. It is essential that America's word be good. And so I know that this campaign has caused some questioning and worries on the part of many leaders across the globe. I've talked with a number of them. But I want to—on behalf of myself, and I think on behalf of a majority of the American people, say that, you know, our word is good. It's also important that we look at the entire global situation. There's no doubt that we have other problems with Iran. But

personally, I'd rather deal with the other problems having put that lid on their nuclear program than still to be facing that. And Donald never tells you what he would do. Would he have started a war? Would he have bombed Iran? If he's going to criticize a deal that has been very successful in giving us access to Iranian facilities that we never had before, then he should tell us what his alternative would be. But it's like his plan to defeat ISIS. He says it's a secret plan, but the only secret is that he has no plan. So we need to be more precise in how we talk about these issues. People around the word follow our presidential campaigns so closely, trying to get hints about what we will do. Can they rely on us? Are we going to lead the world with strength and in accordance with our values? That's what I intend to do. I intend to be a leader of our country that people can count on, both here at home and around the world, to make decisions that will further peace and prosperity, but also stand up to bullies, whether they're abroad or at home. We cannot let those who would try to destabilize the world to interfere with American interests and security...

HOLT: Your two minutes is...

CLINTON: ... to be given any opportunities at all.

HOLT: ... is expired.

TRUMP: Lester, one thing I'd like to say.

HOLT: Very quickly. Twenty seconds.

TRUMP: I will go very quickly. But I will tell you that Hillary will tell you to go to her website and read all about how to defeat ISIS, which she could have defeated by never having it, you know, get going in the first place. Right now, it's getting tougher and tougher to defeat them, because they're in more and more places, more and more states, more and more nations.

HOLT: Mr. Trump...

TRUMP: And it's a big problem. And as far as Japan is concerned, I want to help all of our allies, but we are losing billions and billions of dollars. We cannot be the policemen of the world. We cannot protect countries all over the world...

HOLT: We have just...

TRUMP: ... where they're not paying us what we need.

HOLT: We have just a few final questions...

TRUMP: And she doesn't say that, because she's got no business ability. We need heart. We need a lot of things. But you have to have some basic ability. And sadly, she doesn't have that. All of the things that she's talking about could have been taken care of during the last 10 years, let's say, while she had great power. But they weren't taken care of. And if she ever wins this race, they won't be taken care of.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, this year Secretary Clinton became the first woman nominated for president by a major party. Earlier this month, you said she doesn't have, quote, "a presidential look." She's standing here right now. What did you mean by that?

TRUMP: She doesn't have the look. She doesn't have the stamina. I said she doesn't have the stamina. And I don't believe she does have the stamina. To be president of this country, you need tremendous stamina.

HOLT: The quote was, "I just don't think she has the presidential look."

TRUMP: You have—wait a minute. Wait a minute, Lester. You asked me a question. Did you ask me a question? You have to be able to negotiate our trade deals. You have to be able to negotiate, that's right, with Japan, with Saudi Arabia. I mean, can you imagine, we're defending Saudi Arabia? And with all of the money they have, we're defending them, and they're not paying? All you have to do is speak to them. Wait. You have so many different things you have to be able to do, and I don't believe that Hillary has the stamina.

HOLT: Let's let her respond.

CLINTON: Well, as soon as he travels to 112 countries and negotiates a peace deal, a cease-fire, a release of dissidents, an opening of new opportunities in nations around the world, or even spends 11 hours testifying in front of a congressional committee, he can talk to me about stamina. [*applause*]

TRUMP: The world—let me tell you. Let me tell you. Hillary has experience, but it's bad experience. We have made so many bad deals during the last—so she's got experience, that I agree. [*applause*] But it's bad, bad experience. Whether it's the Iran deal that you're so in love with, where we gave them $150 billion back, whether it's the Iran deal, whether it's anything you can—name—you almost can't name a good deal. I agree. She's got experience, but it's bad experience. And this country can't afford to have another four years of that kind of experience.

HOLT: We are at—we are at the final question. [*applause*]

CLINTON: Well, one thing. One thing, Lester.

HOLT: Very quickly, because we're at the final question now.

CLINTON: You know, he tried to switch from looks to stamina. But this is a man who has called women pigs, slobs and dogs, and someone who has said pregnancy is an inconvenience to employers, who has said...

TRUMP: I never said that.

CLINTON: .... women don't deserve equal pay unless they do as good a job as men.

TRUMP: I didn't say that.

CLINTON: And one of the worst things he said was about a woman in a beauty contest. He loves beauty contests, supporting them and hanging around them. And he called this woman "Miss Piggy." Then he called her "Miss Housekeeping," because she was Latina. Donald, she has a name.

TRUMP: Where did you find this? Where did you find this?

CLINTON: Her name is Alicia Machado.

TRUMP: Where did you find this?

CLINTON: And she has become a U.S. citizen, and you can bet...

TRUMP: Oh, really?

CLINTON: ... she's going to vote this November.

TRUMP: OK, good. Let me just tell you... [*applause*]

HOLT: Mr. Trump, could we just take 10 seconds and then we ask the final question...

TRUMP: You know, Hillary is hitting me with tremendous commercials. Some of it's said in entertainment. Some of it's said—somebody who's been very vicious to me, Rosie O'Donnell, I said very tough things to her, and I think everybody would agree that she deserves it and nobody feels sorry for her. But you want to know the truth? I was going to say something...

HOLT: Please very quickly.

TRUMP: ... extremely rough to Hillary, to her family, and I said to myself, "I can't do it. I just can't do it. It's inappropriate. It's not nice." But she spent hundreds of millions of dollars on negative ads on me, many of which are absolutely untrue. They're untrue. And they're misrepresentations. And I will tell you this, Lester: It's not nice. And I don't deserve that. But it's certainly not a nice thing that she's done. It's hundreds of millions of ads. And the only gratifying thing is, I saw the polls come in today, and with all of that money...

HOLT: We have to move on to the final question.

TRUMP: ... $200 million is spent, and I'm either winning or tied, and I've spent practically nothing. [*applause*]

HOLT: One of you will not win this election. So my final question to you tonight, are you willing to accept the outcome as the will of the voters? Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, I support our democracy. And sometimes you win, sometimes you lose. But I certainly will support the outcome of this election. And I know Donald's trying very hard to plant doubts about it, but I hope the people out there understand: This election's really up to you. It's not about us so much as it is about you and your families and the kind of country and future you want. So I sure hope you will get out and vote as though your future depended on it, because I think it does.

HOLT: Mr. Trump, very quickly, same question. Will you accept the outcome as the will of the voters?

TRUMP: I want to make America great again. We are a nation that is seriously troubled. We're losing our jobs. People are pouring into our country. The other day, we were deporting 800 people. And perhaps they passed the wrong button, they pressed the wrong button, or perhaps worse than that, it was corruption, but these people that we were going to deport for good reason ended up becoming citizens. Ended up becoming citizens. And it was 800. And now it turns out it might be 1,800, and they don't even know.

HOLT: Will you accept the outcome of the election?

TRUMP: Look, here's the story. I want to make America great again. I'm going to be able to do it. I don't believe Hillary will. The answer is, if she wins, I will absolutely support her. [*applause*]

HOLT: All right. Well, that is going to do it for us. That concludes our debate for this evening, a spirit one. We covered a lot of ground, not everything as I suspected we would. The next presidential debates are scheduled for October 9th at Washington University in St. Louis and October 19th at the University of Nevada Las Vegas. The conversation will continue. A reminder. The vice presidential debate is scheduled for October 4th at Longwood University in Farmville, Virginia. My thanks to Hillary Clinton and to Donald Trump and to Hofstra University for hosting us tonight. Good night, everyone

APPENDIX 8C:
2ND PRESENTIAL DEBATE, WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
OCTOBER 9TH, 2016

Presidential Candidates Debates: "Presidential Debate at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri," October 9, 2016. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=119038.

PARTICIPANTS:
Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (D) and
Businessman Donald Trump (R)

MODERATORS:
Anderson Cooper (CNN) and
Martha Raddatz (ABC News)

1. **RADDATZ:** Ladies and gentlemen the Republican nominee for president, Donald J. Trump, and
2. the Democratic nominee for president, Hillary Clinton. [*applause*]

3. **COOPER:** Thank you very much for being here. We're going to begin with a question from one of
4. the members in our town hall. Each of you will have two minutes to respond to this question.
5. Secretary Clinton, you won the coin toss, so you'll go first. Our first question comes from Patrice
6. Brock. Patrice?

7. **QUESTION:** Thank you, and good evening. The last debate could have been rated as MA, mature
8. audiences, per TV parental guidelines. Knowing that educators assign viewing the presidential
9. debates as students' homework, do you feel you're modeling appropriate and positive behavior for
10. today's youth?

11. **CLINTON:** Well, thank you. Are you a teacher? Yes, I think that that's a very good question,
12. because I've heard from lots of teachers and parents about some of their concerns about some of
13. the things that are being said and done in this campaign. And I think it is very important for us to
14. make clear to our children that our country really is great because we're good. And we are going
15. to respect one another, lift each other up. We are going to be looking for ways to celebrate our
16. diversity, and we are going to try to reach out to every boy and girl, as well as every adult, to
17. bring them in to working on behalf of our country. I have a very positive and optimistic view
18. about what we can do together. That's why the slogan of my campaign is "Stronger Together,"
19. because I think if we work together, if we overcome the divisiveness that sometimes sets
20. Americans against one another, and instead we make some big goals—and I've set forth some big
21. goals, getting the economy to work for everyone, not just those at the top, making sure that we
22. have the best education system from preschool through college and making it affordable, and so
23. much else. If we set those goals and we go together to try to achieve them, there's nothing in my
24. opinion that America can't do. So that's why I hope that we will come together in this campaign.
25. Obviously, I'm hoping to earn your vote, I'm hoping to be elected in November, and I can
26. promise you, I will work with every American. I want to be the president for all Americans,
27. regardless of your political beliefs, where you come from, what you look like, your religion. I
28. want us to heal our country and bring it together because that's, I think, the best way for us to
29. get the future that our children and our grandchildren deserve.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, thank you. Mr. Trump, you have two minutes.

TRUMP: Well, I actually agree with that. I agree with everything she said. I began this campaign because I was so tired of seeing such foolish things happen to our country. This is a great country. This is a great land. I've gotten to know the people of the country over the last year-and-a-half that I've been doing this as a politician. I cannot believe I'm saying that about myself, but I guess I have been a politician. And my whole concept was to make America great again. When I watch the deals being made, when I watch what's happening with some horrible things like Obamacare, where your health insurance and health care is going up by numbers that are astronomical, 68 percent, 59 percent, 71 percent, when I look at the Iran deal and how bad a deal it is for us, it's a one-sided transaction where we're giving back $150 billion to a terrorist state, really, the number one terror state, we've made them a strong country from really a very weak country just three years ago. When I look at all of the things that I see and all of the potential that our country has, we have such tremendous potential, whether it's in business and trade, where we're doing so badly. Last year, we had almost $800 billion trade deficit. In other words, trading with other countries. We had an $800 billion deficit. It's hard to believe. Inconceivable. You say who's making these deals? We're going the make great deals. We're going to have a strong border. We're going to bring back law and order. Just today, policemen was shot, two killed. And this is happening on a weekly basis. We have to bring back respect to law enforcement. At the same time, we have to take care of people on all sides. We need justice. But I want to do things that haven't been done, including fixing and making our inner cities better for the African-American citizens that are so great, and for the Latinos, Hispanics, and I look forward to doing it. It's called make America great again.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump. The question from Patrice was about are you both modeling positive and appropriate behavior for today's youth? We received a lot of questions online, Mr. Trump, about the tape that was released on Friday, as you can imagine. You called what you said locker room banter. You described kissing women without consent, grabbing their genitals. That is sexual assault. You bragged that you have sexually assaulted women. Do you understand that?

TRUMP: No, I didn't say that at all. I don't think you understood what was—this was locker room talk. I'm not proud of it. I apologize to my family. I apologize to the American people. Certainly I'm not proud of it. But this is locker room talk. You know, when we have a world where you have ISIS chopping off heads, where you have—and, frankly, drowning people in steel cages, where you have wars and horrible, horrible sights all over, where you have so many bad things happening, this is like medieval times. We haven't seen anything like this, the carnage all over the world. And they look and they see. Can you imagine the people that are, frankly, doing so well against us with ISIS? And they look at our country and they see what's going on. Yes, I'm very embarrassed by it. I hate it. But it's locker room talk, and it's one of those things. I will knock the hell out of ISIS. We're going to defeat ISIS. ISIS happened a number of years ago in a vacuum that was left because of bad judgment. And I will tell you, I will take care of ISIS.

COOPER: So, Mr. Trump...

TRUMP: And we should get on to much more important things and much bigger things.

COOPER: Just for the record, though, are you saying that what you said on that bus 11 years ago that you did not actually kiss women without consent or grope women without consent?

TRUMP: I have great respect for women. Nobody has more respect for women than I do.

COOPER: So, for the record, you're saying you never did that?

TRUMP: I've said things that, frankly, you hear these things I said. And I was embarrassed by it. But I have tremendous respect for women.

COOPER: Have you ever done those things?

TRUMP: And women have respect for me. And I will tell you: No, I have not. And I will tell you that I'm going to make our country safe. We're going to have borders in our country, which we don't have now. People are pouring into our country, and they're coming in from the Middle East and other places. We're going to make America safe again. We're going to make America great again, but we're going to make America safe again. And we're going to make America wealthy again, because if you don't do that, it just—it sounds harsh to say, but we have to build up the wealth of our nation.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: Right now, other nations are taking our jobs and they're taking our wealth.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: And that's what I want to talk about.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, do you want to respond?

CLINTON: Well, like everyone else, I've spent a lot of time thinking over the last 48 hours about what we heard and saw. You know, with prior Republican nominees for president, I disagreed with them on politics, policies, principles, but I never questioned their fitness to serve. Donald Trump is different. I said starting back in June that he was not fit to be president and commander-in-chief. And many Republicans and independents have said the same thing. What we all saw and heard on Friday was Donald talking about women, what he thinks about women, what he does to women. And he has said that the video doesn't represent who he is. But I think it's clear to anyone who heard it that it represents exactly who he is. Because we've seen this throughout the campaign. We have seen him insult women. We've seen him rate women on their appearance, ranking them from one to ten. We've seen him embarrass women on TV and on Twitter. We saw him after the first debate spend nearly a week denigrating a former Miss Universe in the harshest, most personal terms. So, yes, this is who Donald Trump is. But it's not only women, and it's not only this video that raises questions about his fitness to be our president, because he has also targeted immigrants, African- Americans, Latinos, people with disabilities, POWs, Muslims, and so many others. So this is who Donald Trump is. And the question for us, the question our country must answer is that this is not who we are. That's why—to go back to your question—I want to send a message—we all should—to every boy and girl and, indeed, to the entire world that America already is great, but we are great because we are good, and we will respect one another, and we will work with one another, and we will celebrate our diversity. These are very important values to me, because this is the America that I know and love. And I can pledge to you tonight that this is the America that I will serve if I'm so fortunate enough to become your president.

RADDATZ: And we want to get to some questions from online...

TRUMP: Am I allowed to respond to that? I assume I am.

RADDATZ: Yes, you can respond to that.

TRUMP: It's just words, folks. It's just words. Those words, I've been hearing them for many years. I heard them when they were running for the Senate in New York, where Hillary was going to bring back jobs to upstate New York and she failed. I've heard them where Hillary is constantly talking about the inner cities of our country, which are a disaster education-wise, jobwise, safety-wise, in every way possible. I'm going to help the African-Americans. I'm going to help the Latinos, Hispanics. I am going to help the inner cities. She's done a terrible job for the African-Americans. She wants their vote, and she does nothing, and then she comes back four years later. We saw that firsthand when she was United States senator. She campaigned where the primary part of her campaign...

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, Mr. Trump—I want to get to audience questions and online questions.

TRUMP: So, she's allowed to do that, but I'm not allowed to respond?

RADDATZ: You're going to have—you're going to get to respond right now.

TRUMP: Sounds fair.

RADDATZ: This tape is generating intense interest. In just 48 hours, it's become the single most talked about story of the entire 2016 election on Facebook, with millions and millions of people discussing it on the social network. As we said a moment ago, we do want to bring in questions from voters around country via social media, and our first stays on this topic. Jeff from Ohio asks on Facebook, "Trump says the campaign has changed him. When did that happen?" So, Mr. Trump, let me add to that. When you walked off that bus at age 59, were you a different man or did that behavior continue until just recently? And you have two minutes for this.

TRUMP: It was locker room talk, as I told you. That was locker room talk. I'm not proud of it. I am a person who has great respect for people, for my family, for the people of this country. And certainly, I'm not proud of it. But that was something that happened. If you look at Bill Clinton, far worse. Mine are words, and his was action. His was what he's done to women. There's never been anybody in the history politics in this nation that's been so abusive to women. So you can say any way you want to say it, but Bill Clinton was abusive to women. Hillary Clinton attacked those same women and attacked them viciously. Four of them here tonight. One of the women, who is a wonderful woman, at 12 years old, was raped at 12. Her client she represented got him off, and she's seen laughing on two separate occasions, laughing at the girl who was raped. Kathy Shelton, that young woman is here with us tonight. So don't tell me about words. I am absolutely—I apologize for those words. But it is things that people say. But what President Clinton did, he was impeached, he lost his license to practice law. He had to pay an $850,000 fine to one of the women. Paula Jones, who's also here tonight. And I will tell you that when Hillary brings up a point like that and she talks about words that I said 11 years ago, I think it's disgraceful, and I think she should be ashamed of herself, if you want to know the truth. [*applause*]

RADDATZ: Can we please hold the applause? Secretary Clinton, you have two minutes.

CLINTON: Well, first, let me start by saying that so much of what he's just said is not right, but he gets to run his campaign any way he chooses. He gets to decide what he wants to talk about. Instead of answering people's questions, talking about our agenda, laying out the plans that we have that we think can make a better life and a better country, that's his choice. When I hear something like that, I am reminded of what my friend, Michelle Obama, advised us all: When

they go low, you go high. [*applause*] And, look, if this were just about one video, maybe what he's saying tonight would be understandable, but everyone can draw their own conclusions at this point about whether or not the man in the video or the man on the stage respects women. But he never apologizes for anything to anyone. He never apologized to Mr. and Mrs. Khan, the Gold Star family whose son, Captain Khan, died in the line of duty in Iraq. And Donald insulted and attacked them for weeks over their religion. He never apologized to the distinguished federal judge who was born in Indiana, but Donald said he couldn't be trusted to be a judge because his parents were, quote, "Mexican." He never apologized to the reporter that he mimicked and mocked on national television and our children were watching. And he never apologized for the racist lie that President Obama was not born in the United States of America. He owes the president an apology, he owes our country an apology, and he needs to take responsibility for his actions and his words.

TRUMP: Well, you owe the president an apology, because as you know very well, your campaign, Sidney Blumenthal—he's another real winner that you have—and he's the one that got this started, along with your campaign manager, and they were on television just two weeks ago, she was, saying exactly that. So you really owe him an apology. You're the one that sent the pictures around your campaign, sent the pictures around with President Obama in a certain garb. That was long before I was ever involved, so you actually owe an apology. Number two, Michelle Obama. I've gotten to see the commercials that they did on you. And I've gotten to see some of the most vicious commercials I've ever seen of Michelle Obama talking about you, Hillary. So, you talk about friend? Go back and take a look at those commercials, a race where you lost fair and square, unlike the Bernie Sanders race, where you won, but not fair and square, in my opinion. And all you have to do is take a look at WikiLeaks and just see what they say about Bernie Sanders and see what Deborah Wasserman Schultz had in mind, because Bernie Sanders, between super-delegates and Deborah Wasserman Schultz, he never had a chance. And I was so surprised to see him sign on with the devil. But when you talk about apology, I think the one that you should really be apologizing for and the thing that you should be apologizing for are the 33,000 e-mails that you deleted, and that you acid washed, and then the two boxes of e-mails and other things last week that were taken from an office and are now missing. And I'll tell you what. I didn't think I'd say this, but I'm going to say it, and I hate to say it. But if I win, I am going to instruct my attorney general to get a special prosecutor to look into your situation, because there has never been so many lies, so much deception. There has never been anything like it, and we're going to have a special prosecutor. When I speak, I go out and speak, the people of this country are furious. In my opinion, the people that have been long-term workers at the FBI are furious. There has never been anything like this, where e-mails—and you get a subpoena, you get a subpoena, and after getting the subpoena, you delete 33,000 e-mails, and then you acid wash them or bleach them, as you would say, very expensive process. So we're going to get a special prosecutor, and we're going to look into it, because you know what? People have been—their lives have been destroyed for doing one-fifth of what you've done. And it's a disgrace. And honestly, you ought to be ashamed of yourself.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton, I want to follow up on that.

[*crosstalk*]

RADDATZ: I'm going to let you talk about e-mails.

CLINTON: ... because everything he just said is absolutely false, but I'm not surprised.

TRUMP: Oh, really?

CLINTON: In the first debate...[*laughter*]

RADDATZ: And really, the audience needs to calm down here.

CLINTON: ... I told people that it would be impossible to be fact-checking Donald all the time. I'd never get to talk about anything I want to do and how we're going to really make lives better for people. So, once again, go to HillaryClinton.com. We have literally Trump—you can fact check him in real time. Last time at the first debate, we had millions of people fact checking, so I expect we'll have millions more fact checking, because, you know, it is—it's just awfully good that someone with the temperament of Donald Trump is not in charge of the law in our country.

TRUMP: Because you'd be in jail. [*applause*]

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton...

COOPER: We want to remind the audience to please not talk out loud. Please do not applaud. You're just wasting time.

RADDATZ: And, Secretary Clinton, I do want to follow up on e- mails. You've said your handing of your e-mails was a mistake. You disagreed with FBI Director James Comey, calling your handling of classified information, quote, "extremely careless." The FBI said that there were 110 classified e-mails that were exchanged, eight of which were top secret, and that it was possible hostile actors did gain access to those e-mails. You don't call that extremely careless?

CLINTON: Well, Martha, first, let me say—and I've said before, but I'll repeat it, because I want everyone to hear it—that was a mistake, and I take responsibility for using a personal e-mail account. Obviously, if I were to do it over again, I would not. I'm not making any excuses. It was a mistake. And I am very sorry about that. But I think it's also important to point out where there are some misleading accusations from critics and others. After a year-long investigation, there is no evidence that anyone hacked the server I was using and there is no evidence that anyone can point to at all—anyone who says otherwise has no basis—that any classified material ended up in the wrong hands. I take classified materials very seriously and always have. When I was on the Senate Armed Services Committee, I was privy to a lot of classified material. Obviously, as secretary of state, I had some of the most important secrets that we possess, such as going after bin Laden. So I am very committed to taking classified information seriously. And as I said, there is no evidence that any classified information ended up in the wrong hands.

RADDATZ: OK, we're going to move on.

TRUMP: And yet she didn't know the word—the letter C on a document. Right? She didn't even know what that word—what that letter meant. You know, it's amazing. I'm watching Hillary go over facts. And she's going after fact after fact, and she's lying again, because she said she—you know, what she did with the e-mail was fine. You think it was fine to delete 33,000 e-mails? I don't think so. She said the 33,000 e-mails had to do with her daughter's wedding, number one, and a yoga class. Well, maybe we'll give three or three or four or five or something. 33,000 e-mails deleted, and now she's saying there wasn't anything wrong. And more importantly, that was after getting a subpoena. That wasn't before. That was after. She got it from the United States Congress. And I'll be honest, I am so disappointed in congressmen, including Republicans, for allowing this to happen. Our Justice Department, where our husband goes on to the back of a airplane for 39 minutes, talks to the attorney general days before a ruling is going to be made on her case. But for you to say that there was nothing wrong

with you deleting 39,000 e-mails, again, you should be ashamed of yourself. What you did—
and this is after getting a subpoena from the United States Congress.

COOPER: We have to move on.

TRUMP: You did that. Wait a minute. One second.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, you can respond, and then we got to move on.

RADDATZ: We want to give the audience a chance.

TRUMP: If you did that in the private sector, you'd be put in jail, let alone after getting a
subpoena from the United States Congress.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, you can respond. Then we have to move on to an audience
question.

CLINTON: Look, it's just not true. And so please, go to...

TRUMP: Oh, you didn't delete them?

COOPER: Allow her to respond, please.

CLINTON: It was personal e-mails, not official.

TRUMP: Oh, 33,000? Yeah.

CLINTON: Not—well, we turned over 35,000, so...

TRUMP: Oh, yeah. What about the other 15,000?

COOPER: Please allow her to respond. She didn't talk while you talked.

CLINTON: Yes, that's true, I didn't.

TRUMP: Because you have nothing to say.

CLINTON: I didn't in the first debate, and I'm going to try not to in this debate, because I'd
like to get to the questions that the people have brought here tonight to talk to us about.

TRUMP: Get off this question.

CLINTON: OK, Donald. I know you're into big diversion tonight, anything to avoid talking
about your campaign and the way it's exploding and the way Republicans are leaving you. But
let's at least focus...

TRUMP: Let's see what happens...[*crosstalk*]

COOPER: Allow her to respond.

CLINTON: ... on some of the issues that people care about tonight. Let's get to their questions.

COOPER: We have a question here from Ken Karpowicz. He has a question about health care. Ken?

TRUMP: I'd like to know, Anderson, why aren't you bringing up the e-mails? I'd like to know. Why aren't you bringing...

COOPER: We brought up the e-mails.

TRUMP: No, it hasn't. It hasn't. And it hasn't been finished at all.

COOPER: Ken Karpowicz has a question.

TRUMP: It's nice to—one on three.

QUESTION: Thank you. Affordable Care Act, known as Obamacare, it is not affordable. Premiums have gone up. Deductibles have gone up. Copays have gone up. Prescriptions have gone up. And the coverage has gone down. What will you do to bring the cost down and make coverage better?

COOPER: That first one goes to Secretary Clinton, because you started out the last one to the audience.

CLINTON: If he wants to start, he can start. No, go ahead, Donald.

TRUMP: No, I'm a gentlemen, Hillary. Go ahead. [*laughter*]

COOPER: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, I think Donald was about to say he's going to solve it by repealing it and getting rid of the Affordable Care Act. And I'm going to fix it, because I agree with you. Premiums have gotten too high. Copays, deductibles, prescription drug costs, and I've laid out a series of actions that we can take to try to get those costs down. But here's what I don't want people to forget when we're talking about reining in the costs, which has to be the highest priority of the next president, when the Affordable Care Act passed, it wasn't just that 20 million got insurance who didn't have it before. But that in and of itself was a good thing. I meet these people all the time, and they tell me what a difference having that insurance meant to them and their families. But everybody else, the 170 million of us who get health insurance through our employees got big benefits. Number one, insurance companies can't deny you 231. coverage because of a pre-existing condition. Number two, no lifetime limits, which is a big deal if you have serious health problems. Number three, women can't be charged more than men for our health insurance, which is the way it used to be before the Affordable Care Act. Number four, if you're under 26, and your parents have a policy, you can be on that policy until the age of 26, something that didn't happen before. So I want very much to save what works and is good about the Affordable Care Act. But we've got to get costs down. We've got to provide additional help to small businesses so that they can afford to provide health insurance. But if we repeal it, as Donald has proposed, and start over again, all of those benefits I just mentioned are lost to everybody, not just people who get their health insurance on the exchange. And then we would have to start all over again. Right now, we are at 90 percent health insurance coverage. That's the highest we've ever been in our country.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, your time is up.

CLINTON: So I want us to get to 100 percent, but get costs down and keep quality up.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, you have two minutes.

TRUMP: It is such a great question and it's maybe the question I get almost more than anything else, outside of defense. Obamacare is a disaster. You know it. We all know it. It's going up at numbers that nobody's ever seen worldwide. Nobody's ever seen numbers like this for health care. It's only getting worse. In '17, it implodes by itself. Their method of fixing it is to go back and ask Congress for more money, more and more money. We have right now almost $20 trillion in debt. Obamacare will never work. It's very bad, very bad health insurance. Far too expensive. And not only expensive for the person that has it, unbelievably expensive for our country. It's going to be one of the biggest line items very shortly. We have to repeal it and replace it with something absolutely much less expensive and something that works, where your plan can actually be tailored. We have to get rid of the lines around the state, artificial lines, where we stop insurance companies from coming in and competing, because they want—and President Obama and whoever was working on it—they want to leave those lines, because that gives the insurance companies essentially monopolies. We want competition. You will have the finest health care plan there is. She wants to go to a single-payer plan, which would be a disaster, somewhat similar to Canada. And if you haven't noticed the Canadians, when they need a big operation, when something happens, they come into the United States in many cases because their system is so slow. It's catastrophic in certain ways. But she wants to go to single payer, which means the government basically rules everything. Hillary Clinton has been after this for years. Obamacare was the first step. Obamacare is a total disaster. And not only are your rates going up by numbers that nobody's ever believed, but your deductibles are going up, so that unless you get hit by a truck, you're never going to be able to use it.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, your time...

TRUMP: It is a disastrous plan, and it has to be repealed and replaced.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, let me follow up with you. Your husband called Obamacare, quote, "the craziest thing in the world," saying that small-business owners are getting killed as premiums double, coverage is cut in half. Was he mistaken or was the mistake simply telling the truth?

CLINTON: No, I mean, he clarified what he meant. And it's very clear. Look, we are in a situation in our country where if we were to start all over again, we might come up with a different system. But we have an employer-based system. That's where the vast majority of people get their health care. And the Affordable Care Act was meant to try to fill the gap between people who were too poor and couldn't put together any resources to afford health care, namely people on Medicaid. Obviously, Medicare, which is a single-payer system, which takes care of our elderly and does a great job doing it, by the way, and then all of the people who were employed, but people who were working but didn't have the money to afford insurance and didn't have anybody, an employer or anybody else, to help them. That was the slot that the Obamacare approach was to take. And like I say, 20 million people now have health insurance. So if we just rip it up and throw it away, what Donald's not telling you is we just turn it back to the insurance companies the way it used to be, and that means the insurance companies...

COOPER: Secretary Clinton...

CLINTON: ... get to do pretty much whatever they want, including saying, look, I'm sorry, you've got diabetes, you had cancer, your child has asthma...

COOPER: Your time is up.

CLINTON: ... you may not be able to have insurance because you can't afford it. So let's fix what's broken about it, but let's not throw it away and give it all back to the insurance companies and the drug companies. That's not going to work.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, let me follow up on this.

TRUMP: Well, I just want—just one thing. First of all, Hillary, everything's broken about it. Everything. Number two, Bernie Sanders said that Hillary Clinton has very bad judgment. This is a perfect example of it, trying to save Obamacare, which is a disaster.

COOPER: You've said you want to end Obamacare...

TRUMP: By the way...

COOPER: You've said you want to end Obamacare. You've also said you want to make coverage accessible for people with pre-existing conditions. How do you force insurance companies to do that if you're no longer mandating that every American get insurance?

TRUMP: We're going to be able to. You're going to have plans...

COOPER: What does that mean?

TRUMP: Well, I'll tell you what it means. You're going to have plans that are so good, because we're going to have so much competition in the insurance industry. Once we break out—once we break out the lines and allow the competition to come...

COOPER: Are you going—are you going to have a mandate that Americans have to have health insurance?

TRUMP: President Obama—Anderson, excuse me. President Obama, by keeping those lines, the boundary lines around each state, it was almost gone until just very toward the end of the passage of Obamacare, which, by the way, was a fraud. You know that, because Jonathan Gruber, the architect of Obamacare, was said—he said it was a great lie, it was a big lie. President Obama said you keep your doctor, you keep your plan. The whole thing was a fraud, and it doesn't work. But when we get rid of those lines, you will have competition, and we will be able to keep pre-existing, we'll also be able to help people that can't get—don't have money because we are going to have people protected. And Republicans feel this way, believe it or not, and strongly this way. We're going to block grant into the states. We're going to block grant into Medicaid into the states...

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: ... so that we will be able to take care of people without the necessary funds to take care of themselves.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

RADDATZ: We now go to Gorbah Hamed with a question for both candidates.

QUESTION: Hi. There are 3.3 million Muslims in the United States, and I'm one of them. You've mentioned working with Muslim nations, but with Islamophobia on the rise, how will you help people like me deal with the consequences of being labeled as a threat to the country after the election is over?

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, you're first.

TRUMP: Well, you're right about Islamophobia, and that's a shame. But one thing we have to do is we have to make sure that—because there is a problem. I mean, whether we like it or not, and we could be very politically correct, but whether we like it or not, there is a problem. And we have to be sure that Muslims come in and report when they see something going on. When they see hatred going on, they have to report it. As an example, in San Bernardino, many people saw the bombs all over the apartment of the two people that killed 14 and wounded many, many people. Horribly wounded. They'll never be the same. Muslims have to report the problems when they see them. And, you know, there's always a reason for everything. If they don't do that, it's a very difficult situation for our country, because you look at Orlando and you look at San Bernardino and you look at the World Trade Center. Go outside. Look at Paris. Look at that horrible—these are radical Islamic terrorists. And she won't even mention the word and nor will President Obama. He won't use the term "radical Islamic terrorism." Now, to solve a problem, you have to be able to state what the problem is or at least say the name. She won't say the name and President Obama won't say the name. But the name is there. It's radical Islamic terror. And before you solve it, you have to say the name.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, thank you for asking your question. And I've heard this question from a lot of Muslim-Americans across our country, because, unfortunately, there's been a lot of very divisive, dark things said about Muslims. And even someone like Captain Khan, the young man who sacrificed himself defending our country in the United States Army, has been subject to attack by Donald. I want to say just a couple of things. First, we've had Muslims in America since George Washington. And we've had many successful Muslims. We just lost a particular well-known one with Muhammad Ali. My vision of America is an America where everyone has a place, if you're willing to work hard, you do your part, you contribute to the community. That's what America is. That's what we want America to be for our children and our grandchildren. It's also very short-sighted and even dangerous to be engaging in the kind of demagogic rhetoric that Donald has about Muslims. We need American Muslims to be part of our eyes and ears on our front lines. I've worked with a lot of different Muslim groups around America. I've met with a lot of them, and I've heard how important it is for them to feel that they are wanted and included and part of our country, part of our homeland security, and that's what I want to see. It's also important I intend to defeat ISIS, to do so in a coalition with majority Muslim nations. Right now, a lot of those nations are hearing what Donald says and wondering, why should we cooperate with the Americans? And this is a gift to ISIS and the terrorists, violent jihadist terrorists. We are not at war with Islam. And it is a mistake and it plays into the hands of the terrorists to act as though we are. So I want a country where citizens like you and your family are just as welcome as anyone else.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Secretary Clinton. Mr. Trump, in December, you said this. "Donald J. Trump is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what the hell is going on. We have no choice. We have no choice." Your running mate said this week that the Muslim ban is no longer your position. Is that correct? And if it is, was it a mistake to have a religious test?

TRUMP: First of all, Captain Khan is an American hero, and if I were president at that time, he would be alive today, because unlike her, who voted for the war without knowing what she was doing, I would not have had our people in Iraq. Iraq was disaster. So he would have been alive today. The Muslim ban is something that in some form has morphed into a extreme vetting from certain areas of the world. Hillary Clinton wants to allow hundreds of thousands—excuse me. Excuse me..

RADDATZ: And why did it morph into that? No, did you—no, answer the question. Do you still believe...

TRUMP: Why don't you interrupt her? You interrupt me all the time.

RADDATZ: I do.

TRUMP: Why don't you interrupt her?

RADDATZ: Would you please explain whether or not the Muslim ban still stands?

TRUMP: It's called extreme vetting. We are going to areas like Syria where they're coming in by the tens of thousands because of Barack Obama. And Hillary Clinton wants to allow a 550 percent increase over Obama. People are coming into our country like we have no idea who they are, where they are from, what their feelings about our country is, and she wants 550 percent more. This is going to be the great Trojan horse of all time. We have enough problems in this country. I believe in building safe zones. I believe in having other people pay for them, as an example, the Gulf states, who are not carrying their weight, but they have nothing but money, and take care of people. But I don't want to have, with all the problems this country has and all of the problems that you see going on, hundreds of thousands of people coming in from Syria when we know nothing about them. We know nothing about their values and we know nothing about their love for our country.

RADDATZ: And, Secretary Clinton, let me ask you about that, because you have asked for an increase from 10,000 to 65,000 Syrian refugees. We know you want tougher vetting. That's not a perfect system. So why take the risk of having those refugees come into the country?

CLINTON: Well, first of all, I will not let anyone into our country that I think poses a risk to us. But there are a lot of refugees, women and children—think of that picture we all saw of that 4-year-old boy with the blood on his forehead because he'd been bombed by the Russian and Syrian air forces. There are children suffering in this catastrophic war, largely, I believe, because of Russian aggression. And we need to do our part. We by no means are carrying anywhere near the load that Europe and others are. But we will have vetting that is as tough as it needs to be from our professionals, our intelligence experts and others. But it is important for us as a policy, you know, not to say, as Donald has said, we're going to ban people based on a religion. How do you do that? We are a country founded on religious freedom and liberty. How do we do what he has advocated without causing great distress within our own county? Are we going to have religious tests when people fly into our country? And how do we expect to be able to implement those? So I thought that what he said was extremely unwise and even dangerous. And indeed, you can look at the propaganda on a lot of the terrorists sites, and what Donald Trump says about Muslims is used to recruit fighters, because they want to create a war between us. And the final thing I would say, this is the 10th or 12th time that he's denied being for the war in Iraq. We have it on tape. The entire press corps has looked at it. It's been debunked, but it never stops him from saying whatever he wants to say.

TRUMP: That's not been debunked.

CLINTON: So, please...

TRUMP: That has not been debunked.

CLINTON: ... go to HillaryClinton.com and you can see it.

TRUMP: I was against—I was against the war in Iraq. Has not been debunked. And you voted for it. And you shouldn't have. Well, I just want to say...

RADDATZ: There's been lots of fact-checking on that. I'd like to move on to an online question...

TRUMP: Excuse me. She just went about 25 seconds over her time.

RADDATZ: She did not.

TRUMP: Could I just respond to this, please?

RADDATZ: Very quickly, please.

TRUMP: Hillary Clinton, in terms of having people come into our country, we have many criminal illegal aliens. When we want to send them back to their country, their country says we don't want them. In some cases, they're murderers, drug lords, drug problems. And they don't want them. And Hillary Clinton, when she was secretary of state, said that's OK, we can't force it into their country. Let me tell you, I'm going to force them right back into their country. They're murderers and some very bad people. And I will tell you very strongly, when Bernie Sanders said she had bad judgment, she has really bad judgment, because we are letting people into this country that are going to cause problems and crime like you've never seen. We're also letting drugs pour through our southern border at a record clip. At a record clip. And it shouldn't be allowed to happen. ICE just endorsed me. They've never endorsed a presidential candidate. The Border Patrol agents, 16,500, just recently endorsed me, and they endorsed me because I understand the border. She doesn't. She wants amnesty for everybody. Come right in. Come right over. It's a horrible thing she's doing. She's got bad judgment, and honestly, so bad that she should never be president of the United States. That I can tell you.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Mr. Trump. I want to move on. This next question from the public through the Bipartisan Open Debate Coalition's online forum, where Americans submitted questions that generated millions of votes. This question involves WikiLeaks release of purported excerpts of Secretary Clinton's paid speeches, which she has refused to release, and one line in particular, in which you, Secretary Clinton, purportedly say you need both a public and private position on certain issues. So, Tu, from Virginia asks, is it OK for politicians to be two-faced? Is it acceptable for a politician to have a private stance on issues? Secretary Clinton, your two minutes.

CLINTON: Well, right. As I recall, that was something I said about Abraham Lincoln after having seen the wonderful Steven Spielberg movie called "Lincoln." It was a master class watching President Lincoln get the Congress to approve the 13th Amendment. It was principled, and it was strategic. And I was making the point that it is hard sometimes to get the Congress to do what you want to do and you have to keep working at it. And, yes, President Lincoln was trying to convince some people, he used some arguments, convincing other people, he used

other arguments. That was a great—I thought a great display of presidential leadership. But, you know, let's talk about what's really going on here, Martha, because our intelligence community just came out and said in the last few days that the Kremlin, meaning Putin and the Russian government, are directing the attacks, the hacking on American accounts to influence our election. And WikiLeaks is part of that, as are other sites where the Russians hack information, we don't even know if it's accurate information, and then they put it out. We have never in the history of our country been in a situation where an adversary, a foreign power, is working so hard to influence the outcome of the election. And believe me, they're not doing it to get me elected. They're doing it to try to influence the election for Donald Trump. Now, maybe because he has praised Putin, maybe because he says he agrees with a lot of what Putin wants to do, maybe because he wants to do business in Moscow, I don't know the reasons. But we deserve answers. And we should demand that Donald release all of his tax returns so that people can see what are the entanglements and the financial relationships that he has...

RADDATZ: We're going to get to that later. Secretary Clinton, you're out of time.

CLINTON: ... with the Russians and other foreign powers.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: Well, I think I should respond, because—so ridiculous. Look, now she's blaming—she got caught in a total lie. Her papers went out to all her friends at the banks, Goldman Sachs and everybody else, and she said things—WikiLeaks that just came out. And she lied. Now she's blaming the lie on the late, great Abraham Lincoln. That's one that I haven't...[*laughter*] OK, Honest Abe, Honest Abe never lied. That's the good thing. That's the big difference between Abraham Lincoln and you. That's a big, big difference. We're talking about some difference. But as far as other elements of what she was saying, I don't know Putin. I think it would be great if we got along with Russia because we could fight ISIS together, as an example. But I don't know Putin. But I notice, anytime anything wrong happens, they like to say the Russians are—she doesn't know if it's the Russians doing the hacking. Maybe there is no hacking. But they always blame Russia. And the reason they blame Russia because they think they're trying to tarnish me with Russia. I know nothing about Russia. I know—I know about Russia, but I know nothing about the inner workings of Russia. I don't deal there. I have no businesses there. I have no loans from Russia. I have a very, very great balance sheet, so great that when I did the Old Post Office on Pennsylvania Avenue, the United States government, because of my balance sheet, which they actually know very well, chose me to do the Old Post Office, between the White House and Congress, chose me to do the Old Post Office. One of the primary area things, in fact, perhaps the primary thing was balance sheet. But I have no loans with Russia. You could go to the United States government, and they would probably tell you that, because they know my sheet very well in order to get that development I had to have. Now, the taxes are a very simple thing. As soon as I have—first of all, I pay hundreds of millions of dollars in taxes. Many of her friends took bigger deductions. Warren Buffett took a massive deduction. Soros, who's a friend of hers, took a massive deduction. Many of the people that are giving her all this money that she can do many more commercials than me gave her—took massive deductions. I pay hundreds of millions of dollars in taxes. But—but as soon as my routine audit is finished, I'll release my returns. I'll be very proud to. They're actually quite great.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

COOPER: We want to turn, actually, to the topic of taxes. We have a question from Spencer Maass. Spencer?

QUESTION: Good evening. My question is, what specific tax provisions will you change to ensure the wealthiest Americans pay their fair share in taxes?

COOPER: Mr. Trump, you have two minutes.

TRUMP: Well, one thing I'd do is get rid of carried interest. One of the greatest provisions for people like me, to be honest with you, I give up a lot when I run, because I knock out the tax code. And she could have done this years ago, by the way. She's a United States—she was a United States senator. She complains that Donald Trump took advantage of the tax code. Well, why didn't she change it? Why didn't you change it when you were a senator? The reason you didn't is that all your friends take the same advantage that I do. And I do. You have provisions in the tax code that, frankly, we could change. But you wouldn't change it, because all of these people gave you the money so you can take negative ads on Donald Trump. But—and I say that about a lot of things. You know, I've heard Hillary complaining about so many different things over the years. "I wish you would have done this." But she's been there for 30 years she's been doing this stuff. She never changed. And she never will change. She never will change. We're getting rid of carried interest provisions. I'm lowering taxes actually, because I think it's so important for corporations, because we have corporations leaving—massive corporations and little ones, little ones can't form. We're getting rid of regulations which goes hand in hand with the lowering of the taxes. But we're bringing the tax rate down from 35 percent to 15 percent. We're cutting taxes for the middle class. And I will tell you, we are cutting them big league for the middle class. And I will tell you, Hillary Clinton is raising your taxes, folks. You can look at me. She's raising your taxes really high. And what that's going to do is a disaster for the country. But she is raising your taxes and I'm lowering your taxes. That in itself is a big difference. We are going to be thriving again. We have no growth in this country. There's no growth. If China has a GDP of 7 percent, it's like a national catastrophe. We're down at 1 percent. And that's, like, no growth. And we're going lower, in my opinion. And a lot of it has to do with the fact that our taxes are so high, just about the highest in the world. And I'm bringing them down to one of the lower in the world. And I think it's so important—one of the most important things we can do. But she is raising everybody's taxes massively.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, you have two minutes. The question was, what specific tax provisions will you change to ensure the wealthiest Americans pay their fair share of taxes?

CLINTON: Well, everything you've heard just now from Donald is not true. I'm sorry I have to keep saying this, but he lives in an alternative reality. And it is sort of amusing to hear somebody who hasn't paid federal income taxes in maybe 20 years talking about what he's going to do. But I'll tell you what he's going to do. His plan will give the wealthy and corporations the biggest tax cuts they've ever had, more than the Bush tax cuts by at least a factor of two. Donald always takes care of Donald and people like Donald, and this would be a massive gift. And, indeed, the way that he talks about his tax cuts would end up raising taxes on middle-class families, millions of middle-class families. Now, here's what I want to do. I have said nobody who makes less than $250,000 a year—and that's the vast majority of Americans as you know—will have their taxes raised, because I think we've got to go where the money is. And the money is with people who have taken advantage of every single break in the tax code. And, yes, when I was a senator, I did vote to close corporate loopholes. I voted to close, I think, one of the loopholes he took advantage of when he claimed a billion-dollar loss that enabled him to avoid paying taxes. I want to have a tax on people who are making a million dollars. It's called the Buffett rule. Yes, Warren Buffett is the one who's gone out and said somebody like him should not be paying a lower tax rate than his secretary. I want to have a surcharge on incomes above $5 million. We have to make up for lost times, because I want to invest in you. I want to invest in hard-working families. And I think it's been unfortunate, but it's happened, that since the Great Recession, the gains have all gone to the top. And we need to reverse that.

People like Donald, who paid zero in taxes, zero for our vets, zero for our military, zero for health and education, that is wrong.

COOPER: Thank you, Secretary.

CLINTON: And we're going to make sure that nobody, no corporation, and no individual can get away without paying his fair share to support our country.

COOPER: Thank you. I want to give you—Mr. Trump, I want to give you the chance to respond. I just wanted to tell our viewers what she's referring to. In the last month, taxes were the number-one issue on Facebook for the first time in the campaign. The New York Times published three pages of your 1995 tax returns. They show you claimed a $916 million loss, which means you could have avoided paying personal federal income taxes for years. You've said you pay state taxes, employee taxes, real estate taxes, property taxes. You have not answered, though, a simple question. Did you use that $916 million loss to avoid paying personal federal income taxes for years?

TRUMP: Of course I do. Of course I do. And so do all of her donors, or most of her donors. I know many of her donors. Her donors took massive tax write-offs.

COOPER: So have you paid personal federal income tax?

TRUMP: A lot of my—excuse me, Anderson—a lot of my write- off was depreciation and other things that Hillary as a senator allowed. And she'll always allow it, because the people that give her all this money, they want it. That's why. See, I understand the tax code better than anybody that's ever run for president. Hillary Clinton—and it's extremely complex—Hillary Clinton has friends that want all of these provisions, including they want the carried interest provision, which is very important to Wall Street people. But they really want the carried interest provision, which I believe Hillary's leaving. Very interesting why she's leaving carried interest. But I will tell you that, number one, I pay tremendous numbers of taxes. I absolutely used it. And so did Warren Buffett and so did George Soros and so did many of the other people that Hillary is getting money from. Now, I won't mention their names, because they're rich, but they're not famous. So we won't make them famous.

COOPER: So can you—can you say how many years you have avoided paying personal federal income taxes?

TRUMP: No, but I pay tax, and I pay federal tax, too. But I have a write-off, a lot of it's depreciation, which is a wonderful charge. I love depreciation. You know, she's given it to us. Hey, if she had a problem—for 30 years she's been doing this, Anderson. I say it all the time. She talks about health care. Why didn't she do something about it? She talks about taxes. Why didn't she do something about it? She doesn't do anything about anything other than talk. With her, it's all talk and no action.

COOPER: In the past...

TRUMP: And, again, Bernie Sanders, it's really bad judgment. She has made bad judgment not only on taxes. She's made bad judgments on Libya, on Syria, on Iraq. I mean, her and Obama, whether you like it or not, the way they got out of Iraq, the vacuum they've left, that's why ISIS formed in the first place. They started from that little area, and now they're in 32 different nations, Hillary. Congratulations. Great job.

COOPER: Secretary—I want you to be able to respond, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: Well, here we go again. I've been in favor of getting rid of carried interest for years, starting when I was a senator from New York. But that's not the point here.

TRUMP: Why didn't you do it? Why didn't you do it?

COOPER: Allow her to respond.

CLINTON: Because I was a senator with a Republican president.

TRUMP: Oh, really?

CLINTON: I will be the president and we will get it done. That's exactly right.

TRUMP: You could have done it, if you were an effective—if you were an effective senator, you could have done it. If you were an effective senator, you could have done it. But you were not an effective senator.

COOPER: Please allow her to respond. She didn't interrupt you.

CLINTON: You know, under our Constitution, presidents have something called veto power. Look, he has now said repeatedly, "30 years this and 30 years that." So let me talk about my 30 years in public service. I'm very glad to do so. Eight million kids every year have health insurance, because when I was first lady I worked with Democrats and Republicans to create the Children's Health Insurance Program. Hundreds of thousands of kids now have a chance to be adopted because I worked to change our adoption and foster care system. After 9/11, I went to work with Republican mayor, governor and president to rebuild New York and to get health care for our first responders who were suffering because they had run toward danger and gotten sickened by it. Hundreds of thousands of National Guard and Reserve members have health care because of work that I did, and children have safer medicines because I was able to pass a law that required the dosing to be more carefully done. When I was secretary of state, I went around the world advocating for our country, but also advocating for women's rights, to make sure that women had a decent chance to have a better life and negotiated a treaty with Russia to lower nuclear weapons. Four hundred pieces of legislation have my name on it as a sponsor or cosponsor when I was a senator for eight years. I worked very hard and was very proud to be re-elected in New York by an even bigger margin than I had been elected the first time. And as president, I will take that work, that bipartisan work, that finding common ground, because you have to be able to get along with people to get things done in Washington.

COOPER: Thank you, secretary.

CLINTON: I've proven that I can, and for 30 years, I've produced results for people.

COOPER: Thank you, secretary.

RADDATZ: We're going to move on to Syria. Both of you have mentioned that.

TRUMP: She said a lot of things that were false. I mean, I think we should be allowed to maybe...

RADDATZ: No, we can—no, Mr. Trump, we're going to go on. This is about the audience.

TRUMP: Excuse me. Because she has been a disaster as a senator. A disaster.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, we're going to move on. The heart-breaking video of a 5-year-old Syrian boy named Omran sitting in an ambulance after being pulled from the rubble after an air strike in Aleppo focused the world's attention on the horrors of the war in Syria, with 136 million views on Facebook alone. But there are much worse images coming out of Aleppo every day now, where in the past few weeks alone, 400 people have been killed, at least 100 of them children. Just days ago, the State Department called for a war crimes investigation of the Syrian regime of Bashar al-Assad and its ally, Russia, for their bombardment of Aleppo. So this next question comes through social media through Facebook. Diane from Pennsylvania asks, if you were president, what would you do about Syria and the humanitarian crisis in Aleppo? Isn't it a lot like the Holocaust when the U.S. waited too long before we helped? Secretary Clinton, we will begin with your two minutes.

CLINTON: Well, the situation in Syria is catastrophic. And every day that goes by, we see the results of the regime by Assad in partnership with the Iranians on the ground, the Russians in the air, bombarding places, in particular Aleppo, where there are hundreds of thousands of people, probably about 250,000 still left. And there is a determined effort by the Russian air force to destroy Aleppo in order to eliminate the last of the Syrian rebels who are really holding out against the Assad regime. Russia hasn't paid any attention to ISIS. They're interested in keeping Assad in power. So I, when I was secretary of state, advocated and I advocate today a no-fly zone and safe zones. We need some leverage with the Russians, because they are not going to come to the negotiating table for a diplomatic resolution, unless there is some leverage over them. And we have to work more closely with our partners and allies on the ground. But I want to emphasize that what is at stake here is the ambitions and the aggressiveness of Russia. Russia has decided that it's all in, in Syria. And they've also decided who they want to see become president of the United States, too, and it's not me. I've stood up to Russia. I've taken on Putin and others, and I would do that as president. I think wherever we can cooperate with Russia, that's fine. And I did as secretary of state. That's how we got a treaty reducing nuclear weapons. It's how we got the sanctions on Iran that put a lid on the Iranian nuclear program without firing a single shot. So I would go to the negotiating table with more leverage than we have now. But I do support the effort to investigate for crimes, war crimes committed by the Syrians and the Russians and try to hold them accountable.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Secretary Clinton. Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: First of all, she was there as secretary of state with the so-called line in the sand, which...

CLINTON: No, I wasn't. I was gone. I hate to interrupt you, but at some point...

TRUMP: OK. But you were in contact—excuse me. You were...

CLINTON: At some point, we need to do some fact-checking here.

TRUMP: You were in total contact with the White House, and perhaps, sadly, Obama probably still listened to you. I don't think he would be listening to you very much anymore. Obama draws the line in the sand. It was laughed at all over the world what happened. Now, with that being said, she talks tough against Russia. But our nuclear program has fallen way behind, and they've gone wild with their nuclear program. Not good. Our government shouldn't have

allowed that to happen. Russia is new in terms of nuclear. We are old. We're tired. We're exhausted in terms of nuclear. A very bad thing. Now, she talks tough, she talks really tough against Putin and against Assad. She talks in favor of the rebels. She doesn't even know who the rebels are. You know, every time we take rebels, whether it's in Iraq or anywhere else, we're arming people. And you know what happens? They end up being worse than the people. Look at what she did in Libya with Gadhafi. Gadhafi's out. It's a mess. And, by the way, ISIS has a good chunk of their oil. I'm sure you probably have heard that. It was a disaster. Because the fact is, almost everything she's done in foreign policy has been a mistake and it's been a disaster. But if you look at Russia, just take a look at Russia, and look at what they did this week, where I agree, she wasn't there, but possibly she's consulted. We sign a peace treaty. Everyone's all excited. Well, what Russia did with Assad and, by the way, with Iran, who you made very powerful with the dumbest deal perhaps I've ever seen in the history of deal-making, the Iran deal, with the $150 billion, with the $1.7 billion in cash, which is enough to fill up this room. But look at that deal. Iran now and Russia are now against us. So she wants to fight. She wants to fight for rebels. There's only one problem. You don't even know who the rebels are. So what's the purpose?

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, Mr. Trump, your two minutes is up.

TRUMP: And one thing I have to say.

RADDATZ: Your two minutes is up.

TRUMP: I don't like Assad at all, but Assad is killing ISIS. Russia is killing ISIS. And Iran is killing ISIS. And those three have now lined up because of our weak foreign policy.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, let me repeat the question. If you were president...[*laughter*]...what would you do about Syria and the humanitarian crisis in Aleppo? And I want to remind you what your running mate said. He said provocations by Russia need to be met with American strength and that if Russia continues to be involved in air strikes along with the Syrian government forces of Assad, the United States of America should be prepared to use military force to strike the military targets of the Assad regime.

TRUMP: OK. He and I haven't spoken, and I disagree. I disagree.

RADDATZ: You disagree with your running mate?

TRUMP: I think you have to knock out ISIS. Right now, Syria is fighting ISIS. We have people that want to fight both at the same time. But Syria is no longer Syria. Syria is Russia and it's Iran, who she made strong and Kerry and Obama made into a very powerful nation and a very rich nation, very, very quickly, very, very quickly. I believe we have to get ISIS. We have to worry about ISIS before we can get too much more involved. She had a chance to do something with Syria. They had a chance. And that was the line. And she didn't.

RADDATZ: What do you think will happen if Aleppo falls?

TRUMP: I think Aleppo is a disaster, humanitarian-wise.

RADDATZ: What do you think will happen if it falls?

TRUMP: I think that it basically has fallen. OK? It basically has fallen. Let me tell you something. You take a look at Mosul. The biggest problem I have with the stupidity of our

foreign policy, we have Mosul. They think a lot of the ISIS leaders are in Mosul. So we have announcements coming out of Washington and coming out of Iraq, we will be attacking Mosul in three weeks or four weeks. Well, all of these bad leaders from ISIS are leaving Mosul. Why can't they do it quietly? Why can't they do the attack, make it a sneak attack, and after the attack is made, inform the American public that we've knocked out the leaders, we've had a tremendous success? People leave. Why do they have to say we're going to be attacking Mosul within the next four to six weeks, which is what they're saying? How stupid is our country?

RADDATZ: There are sometimes reasons the military does that. Psychological warfare.

TRUMP: I can't think of any. I can't think of any. And I'm pretty good at it.

RADDATZ: It might be to help get civilians out.

TRUMP: And we have General Flynn. And we have—look, I have 200 generals and admirals who endorsed me. I have 21 Congressional Medal of Honor recipients who endorsed me. We talk about it all the time. They understand, why can't they do something secretively, where they go in and they knock out the leadership? How—why would these people stay there? I've been reading now...

RADDATZ: Tell me what your strategy is.

TRUMP: ... for weeks—I've been reading now for weeks about Mosul, that it's the harbor of where—you know, between Raqqa and Mosul, this is where they think the ISIS leaders are. Why would they be saying—they're not staying there anymore. They're gone. Because everybody's talking about how Iraq, which is us with our leadership, goes in to fight Mosul. Now, with these 200 admirals and generals, they can't believe it. All I say is this. General George Patton, General Douglas MacArthur are spinning in their grave at the stupidity of what we're doing in the Middle East.

RADDATZ: I'm going to go to Secretary Clinton. Secretary Clinton, you want Assad to go. You advocated arming rebels, but it looks like that may be too late for Aleppo. You talk about diplomatic efforts. Those have failed. Cease-fires have failed. Would you introduce the threat of U.S. military force beyond a no-fly zone against the Assad regime to back up diplomacy?

CLINTON: I would not use American ground forces in Syria. I think that would be a very serious mistake. I don't think American troops should be holding territory, which is what they would have to do as an occupying force. I don't think that is a smart strategy. I do think the use of special forces, which we're using, the use of enablers and trainers in Iraq, which has had some positive effects, are very much in our interests, and so I do support what is happening, but let me just...

RADDATZ: But what would you do differently than President Obama is doing?

CLINTON: Well, Martha, I hope that by the time I—if I'm fortunate...

TRUMP: Everything.

CLINTON: I hope by the time I am president that we will have pushed ISIS out of Iraq. I do think that there is a good chance that we can take Mosul. And, you know, Donald says he knows more about ISIS than the generals. No, he doesn't. There are a lot of very important planning going on, and some of it is to signal to the Sunnis in the area, as well as Kurdish Peshmerga

fighters, that we all need to be in this. And that takes a lot of planning and preparation. I would go after Baghdadi. I would specifically target Baghdadi, because I think our targeting of Al Qaida leaders—and I was involved in a lot of those operations, highly classified ones—made a difference. So I think that could help. I would also consider arming the Kurds. The Kurds have been our best partners in Syria, as well as Iraq. And I know there's a lot of concern about that in some circles, but I think they should have the equipment they need so that Kurdish and Arab fighters on the ground are the principal way that we take Raqqa after pushing ISIS out of Iraq.

RADDATZ: Thank you very much. We're going to move on...

TRUMP: You know what's funny? She went over a minute over, and you don't stop her. When I go one second over, it's like a big deal.

RADDATZ: You had many answers.

TRUMP: It's really—it's really very interesting.

COOPER: We've got a question over here from James Carter. Mr. Carter?

QUESTION: My question is, do you believe you can be a devoted president to all the people in the United States?

COOPER: That question begins for Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: Absolutely. I mean, she calls our people deplorable, a large group, and irredeemable. I will be a president for all of our people. And I'll be a president that will turn our inner cities around and will give strength to people and will give economics to people and will bring jobs back.

Because NAFTA, signed by her husband, is perhaps the greatest disaster trade deal in the history of the world. Not in this country. It stripped us of manufacturing jobs. We lost our jobs. We lost our money. We lost our plants. It is a disaster. And now she wants to sign TPP, even though she says now she's for it. She called it the gold standard. And by the way, at the last debate, she lied, because it turned out that she did say the gold standard and she said she didn't say it. They actually said that she lied. OK? And she lied. But she's lied about a lot of things. I would be a president for all of the people, African-Americans, the inner cities. Devastating what's happening to our inner cities. She's been talking about it for years. As usual, she talks about it, nothing happens. She doesn't get it done. Same with the Latino Americans, the Hispanic Americans. The same exact thing. They talk, they don't get it done. You go into the inner cities and—you see it's 45 percent poverty. African- Americans now 45 percent poverty in the inner cities. The education is a disaster. Jobs are essentially nonexistent. I mean, it's—you know, and I've been saying at big speeches where I have 20,000 and 30,000 people, what do you have to lose? It can't get any worse. And she's been talking about the inner cities for 25 years. Nothing's going to ever happen. Let me tell you, if she's president of the United States, nothing's going to happen. It's just going to be talk. And all of her friends, the taxes we were talking about, and I would just get it by osmosis. She's not doing any me favors. But by doing all the others' favors, she's doing me favors.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, thank you.

TRUMP: But I will tell you, she's all talk. It doesn't get done. All you have to do is take a look at her Senate run. Take a look at upstate New York.

COOPER: Your two minutes is up. Secretary Clinton, two minutes?

TRUMP: It turned out to be a disaster.

COOPER: You have two minutes, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: Well, 67 percent of the people voted to re-elect me when I ran for my second term, and I was very proud and very humbled by that. Mr. Carter, I have tried my entire life to do what I can to support children and families. You know, right out of law school, I went to work for the Children's Defense Fund. And Donald talks a lot about, you know, the 30 years I've been in public service. I'm proud of that. You know, I started off as a young lawyer working against discrimination against African-American children in schools and in the criminal justice system. I worked to make sure that kids with disabilities could get a public education, something that I care very much about. I have worked with Latinos—one of my first jobs in politics was down in south Texas registering Latino citizens to be able to vote. So I have a deep devotion, to use your absolutely correct word, to making sure that an every American feels like he or she has a place in our country. And I think when you look at the letters that I get, a lot of people are worried that maybe they wouldn't have a place in Donald Trump's America. They write me, and one woman wrote me about her son, Felix. She adopted him from Ethiopia when he was a toddler. He's 10 years old now. This is the only one country he's ever known. And he listens to Donald on TV and he said to his mother one day, will he send me back to Ethiopia if he gets elected? You know, children listen to what is being said. To go back to the very, very first question. And there's a lot of fear—in fact, teachers and parents are calling it the Trump effect. Bullying is up. A lot of people are feeling, you know, uneasy. A lot of kids are expressing their concerns. So, first and foremost, I will do everything I can to reach out to everybody.

COOPER: Your time, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: Democrats, Republicans, independents, people across our country. If you don't vote for me, I still want to be your president.

COOPER: Your two minutes is up.

CLINTON: I want to be the best president I can be for every American.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, your two minutes is up. I want to follow up on something that Donald Trump actually said to you, a comment you made last month. You said that half of Donald Trump's supporters are, quote, "deplorables, racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic." You later said you regretted saying half. You didn't express regret for using the term "deplorables." To Mr. Carter's question, how can you unite a country if you've written off tens of millions of Americans?

CLINTON: Well, within hours I said that I was sorry about the way I talked about that, because my argument is not with his supporters. It's with him and with the hateful and divisive campaign that he has run, and the inciting of violence at his rallies, and the very brutal kinds of comments about not just women, but all Americans, all kinds of Americans. And what he has said about African-Americans and Latinos, about Muslims, about POWs, about immigrants, about people with disabilities, he's never apologized for. And so I do think that a lot of the tone and tenor that he has said—I'm proud of the campaign that Bernie Sanders and I ran. We ran a campaign based on issues, not insults. And he is supporting me 100 percent.

COOPER: Thank you.

CLINTON: Because we talked about what we wanted to do. We might have had some differences, and we had a lot of debates...

COOPER: Thank you, Secretary.

TRUMP: ... but we believed that we could make the country better. And I was proud of that.

COOPER: I want to give you a minute to respond.

TRUMP: We have a divided nation. We have a very divided nation. You look at Charlotte. You look at Baltimore. You look at the violence that's taking place in the inner cities, Chicago, you take a look at Washington, D.C. We have an increase in murder within our cities, the biggest in 45 years. We have a divided nation, because people like her—and believe me, she has tremendous hate in her heart. And when she said deplorables, she meant it. And when she said irredeemable, they're irredeemable, you didn't mention that, but when she said they're irredeemable, to me that might have been even worse.

COOPER: She said some of them are irredeemable.

TRUMP: She's got tremendous—she's got tremendous hatred. And this country cannot take another four years of Barack Obama, and that's what you're getting with her.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, let me follow up with you. In 2008, you wrote in one of your books that the most important characteristic of a good leader is discipline. You said, if a leader doesn't have it, quote, "he or she won't be one for very long." In the days after the first debate, you sent out a series of tweets from 3 a.m. to 5 a.m., including one that told people to check out a sex tape. Is that the discipline of a good leader?

TRUMP: No, there wasn't check out a sex tape. It was just take a look at the person that she built up to be this wonderful Girl Scout who was no Girl Scout.

COOPER: You mentioned sex tape.

TRUMP: By the way, just so you understand, when she said 3 o'clock in the morning, take a look at Benghazi. She said who is going to answer the call at 3 o'clock in the morning? Guess what? She didn't answer it, because when Ambassador Stevens...

COOPER: The question is, is that the discipline of a good leader?

TRUMP: ... 600—wait a minute, Anderson, 600 times. Well, she said she was awake at 3 o'clock in the morning, and she also sent a tweet out at 3 o'clock in the morning, but I won't even mention that. But she said she'll be awake. Who's going—the famous thing, we're going to answer our call at 3 o'clock in the morning. Guess what happened? Ambassador Stevens—Ambassador Stevens sent 600 requests for help. And the only one she talked to was Sidney Blumenthal, who's her friend and not a good guy, by the way. So, you know, she shouldn't be talking about that. Now, tweeting happens to be a modern day form of communication. I mean, you can like it or not like it. I have, between Facebook and Twitter, I have almost 25 million people. It's a very effective way of communication. So you can put it down, but it is a very effective form of communication. I'm not un-proud of it, to be honest with you.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, does Mr. Trump have the discipline to be a good leader?

CLINTON: No.

TRUMP: I'm shocked to hear that. [*laughter*]

CLINTON: Well, it's not only my opinion. It's the opinion of many others, national security experts, Republicans, former Republican members of Congress. But it's in part because those of us who have had the great privilege of seeing this job up close and know how difficult it is, and it's not just because I watched my husband take a $300 billion deficit and turn it into a $200 billion surplus, and 23 million new jobs were created, and incomes went up for everybody. Everybody. African-American incomes went up 33 percent. And it's not just because I worked with George W. Bush after 9/11, and I was very proud that when I told him what the city needed, what we needed to recover, he said you've got it, and he never wavered. He stuck with me. And I have worked and I admire President Obama. He inherited the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. That was a terrible time for our country.

COOPER: We have to move along.

CLINTON: Nine million people lost their jobs.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton, we have to...

CLINTON: Five million homes were lost.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton, we're moving.

CLINTON: And $13 trillion in family wealth was wiped out. We are back on the right track. He would send us back into recession with his tax plans that benefit the wealthiest of Americans.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton, we are moving to an audience question. We're almost out of time. We have another...

TRUMP: We have the slowest growth since 1929.

RADDATZ: We're moving to an audience question.

TRUMP: It is—our country has the slowest growth and jobs are a disaster.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, Secretary Clinton, we want to get to the audience. Thank you very much both of you. [*laughter*] We have another audience question. Beth Miller has a question for both candidates.

QUESTION: Good evening. Perhaps the most important aspect of this election is the Supreme Court justice. What would you prioritize as the most important aspect of selecting a Supreme Court justice?

RADDATZ: We begin with your two minutes, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: Thank you. Well, you're right. This is one of the most important issues in this election. I want to appoint Supreme Court justices who understand the way the world really works, who have real-life experience, who have not just been in a big law firm and maybe clerked for a judge and then gotten on the bench, but, you know, maybe they tried some more

cases, they actually understand what people are up against. Because I think the current court has gone in the wrong direction. And so I would want to see the Supreme Court reverse Citizens United and get dark, unaccountable money out of our politics. Donald doesn't agree with that. I would like the Supreme Court to understand that voting rights are still a big problem in many parts of our country, that we don't always do everything we can to make it possible for people of color and older people and young people to be able to exercise their franchise. I want a Supreme Court that will stick with Roe v. Wade and a woman's right to choose, and I want a Supreme Court that will stick with marriage equality. Now, Donald has put forth the names of some people that he would consider. And among the ones that he has suggested are people who would reverse Roe v. Wade and reverse marriage equality. I think that would be a terrible mistake and would take us backwards. I want a Supreme Court that doesn't always side with corporate interests. I want a Supreme Court that understands because you're wealthy and you can give more money to something doesn't mean you have any more rights or should have any more rights than anybody else. So I have very clear views about what I want to see to kind of change the balance on the Supreme Court. And I regret deeply that the Senate has not done its job and they have not permitted a vote on the person that President Obama, a highly qualified person, they've not given him a vote to be able to be have the full complement of nine Supreme Court justices. I think that was a dereliction of duty. I hope that they will see their way to doing it, but if I am so fortunate enough as to be president, I will immediately move to make sure that we fill that, we have nine justices that get to work on behalf of our people.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Secretary Clinton. Thank you. You're out of time. Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: Justice Scalia, great judge, died recently. And we have a vacancy. I am looking to appoint judges very much in the mold of Justice Scalia. I'm looking for judges—and I've actually picked 20 of them so that people would see, highly respected, highly thought of, and actually very beautifully reviewed by just about everybody. But people that will respect the Constitution of the United States. And I think that this is so important. Also, the Second Amendment, which is totally under siege by people like Hillary Clinton. They'll respect the Second Amendment and what it stands for, what it represents. So important to me. Now, Hillary mentioned something about contributions just so you understand. So I will have in my race more than $100 million put in—of my money, meaning I'm not taking all of this big money from all of these different corporations like she's doing. What I ask is this. So I'm putting in more than—by the time it's finished, I'll have more than $100 million invested. Pretty much self-funding money. We're raising money for the Republican Party, and we're doing tremendously on the small donations, $61 average or so. I ask Hillary, why doesn't—she made $250 million by being in office. She used the power of her office to make a lot of money. Why isn't she funding, not for $100 million, but why don't you put $10 million or $20 million or $25 million or $30 million into your own campaign? It's $30 million less for special interests that will tell you exactly what to do and it would really, I think, be a nice sign to the American public. Why aren't you putting some money in? You have a lot of it. You've made a lot of it because of the fact that you've been in office. Made a lot of it while you were secretary of state, actually. So why aren't you putting money into your own campaign? I'm just curious.

CLINTON: Well...[*crosstalk*]

RADDATZ: Thank you very much. We're going to get on to one more question.

CLINTON: The question was about the Supreme Court. And I just want to quickly say, I respect the Second Amendment. But I believe there should be comprehensive background checks, and we should close the gun show loophole, and close the online loophole.

COOPER: Thank you.

RADDATZ: We have—we have one more question, Mrs. Clinton.

CLINTON: We have to save as many lives as we possibly can.

COOPER: We have one more question from Ken Bone about energy policy. Ken?

QUESTION: What steps will your energy policy take to meet our energy needs, while at the same time remaining environmentally friendly and minimizing job loss for fossil power plant workers?

COOPER: Mr. Trump, two minutes?

TRUMP: Absolutely. I think it's such a great question, because energy is under siege by the Obama administration. Under absolutely siege. The EPA, Environmental Protection Agency, is killing these energy companies. And foreign companies are now coming in buying our—buying so many of our different plants and then re-jiggering the plant so that they can take care of their oil. We are killing—absolutely killing our energy business in this country. Now, I'm all for alternative forms of energy, including wind, including solar, et cetera. But we need much more than wind and solar. And you look at our miners. Hillary Clinton wants to put all the miners out of business. There is a thing called clean coal. Coal will last for 1,000 years in this country. Now we have natural gas and so many other things because of technology. We have unbelievable—we have found over the last seven years, we have found tremendous wealth right under our feet. So good. Especially when you have $20 trillion in debt. I will bring our energy companies back. They'll be able to compete. They'll make money. They'll pay off our national debt. They'll pay off our tremendous budget deficits, which are tremendous. But we are putting our energy companies out of business. We have to bring back our workers. You take a look at what's happening to steel and the cost of steel and China dumping vast amounts of steel all over the United States, which essentially is killing our steelworkers and our steel companies. We have to guard our energy companies. We have to make it possible. The EPA is so restrictive that they are putting our energy companies out of business. And all you have to do is go to a great place like West Virginia or places like Ohio, which is phenomenal, or places like Pennsylvania and you see what they're doing to the people, miners and others in the energy business. It's a disgrace.

COOPER: Your time is up. Thank you.

TRUMP: It's an absolute disgrace.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, two minutes.

CLINTON: And actually—well, that was very interesting. First of all, China is illegally dumping steel in the United States and Donald Trump is buying it to build his buildings, putting steelworkers and American steel plants out of business. That's something that I fought against as a senator and that I would have a trade prosecutor to make sure that we don't get taken advantage of by China on steel or anything else. You know, because it sounds like you're in the business or you're aware of people in the business—you know that we are now for the first time ever energy-independent. We are not dependent upon the Middle East. But the Middle East still controls a lot of the prices. So the price of oil has been way down. And that has had a damaging effect on a lot of the oil companies, right? We are, however, producing a lot of natural gas, which serves as a bridge to more renewable fuels. And I think that's an important transition. We've got to remain energy-independent. It gives us much more power and freedom than to be worried about what goes on in the Middle East. We have enough

worries over there without having to worry about that. So I have a comprehensive energy policy, but it really does include fighting climate change, because I think that is a serious problem. And I support moving toward more clean, renewable energy as quickly as we can, because I think we can be the 21st century clean energy superpower and create millions of new jobs and businesses. But I also want to be sure that we don't leave people behind. That's why I'm the only candidate from the very beginning of this campaign who had a plan to help us revitalize coal country, because those coal miners and their fathers and their grandfathers, they dug that coal out. A lot of them lost their lives. They were injured, but they turned the lights on and they powered their factories. I don't want to walk away from them. So we've got to do something for them.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton...

CLINTON: But the price of coal is down worldwide. So we have to look at this comprehensively.

COOPER: Your time is up.

CLINTON: And that's exactly what I have proposed. I hope you will go to HillaryClinton.com and look at my entire policy.

COOPER: Time is up. We have time for one more...

RADDATZ: We have...

COOPER: One more audience question.

RADDATZ: We've sneaked in one more question, and it comes from Karl Becker.

QUESTION: Good evening. My question to both of you is, regardless of the current rhetoric, would either of you name one positive thing that you respect in one another? [*applause*]

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, would you like to go first?

CLINTON: Well, I certainly will, because I think that's a very fair and important question. Look, I respect his children. His children are incredibly able and devoted, and I think that says a lot about Donald. I don't agree with nearly anything else he says or does, but I do respect that. And I think that is something that as a mother and a grandmother is very important to me. So I believe that this election has become in part so—so conflict-oriented, so intense because there's a lot at stake. This is not an ordinary time, and this is not an ordinary election. We are going to be choosing a president who will set policy for not just four or eight years, but because of some of the important decisions we have to make here at home and around the world, from the Supreme Court to energy and so much else, and so there is a lot at stake. It's one of the most consequential elections that we've had. And that's why I've tried to put forth specific policies and plans, trying to get it off of the personal and put it on to what it is I want to do as president. And that's why I hope people will check on that for themselves so that they can see that, yes, I've spent 30 years, actually maybe a little more, working to help kids and families. And I want to take all that experience to the White House and do that every single day.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: Well, I consider her statement about my children to be a very nice compliment. I don't know if it was meant to be a compliment, but it is a great—I'm very proud of my children. And they've done a wonderful job, and they've been wonderful, wonderful kids. So I consider that a compliment. I will say this about Hillary. She doesn't quit. She doesn't give up. I respect that. I tell it like it is. She's a fighter. I disagree with much of what she's fighting for. I do disagree with her judgment in many cases. But she does fight hard, and she doesn't quit, and she doesn't give up. And I consider that to be a very good trait.

RADDATZ: Thanks to both of you.

COOPER: We want to thank both the candidates. We want to thank the university here. This concludes the town hall meeting. Our thanks to the candidates, the commission, Washington University, and to everybody who watched.

RADDATZ: Please tune in on October 19th for the final presidential debate that will take place at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Good night, everyone

APPENDIX 8D:
3RD PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE, UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA, LAS VEGAS
OCTOBER 19TH, 2016

Presidential Candidates Debates: "Presidential Debate at the University of Nevada in Las Vegas," October 19, 2016. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=119039.

PARTICIPANTS:
Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (D) and
Businessman Donald Trump (R)

MODERATOR:
Chris Wallace (Fox News)

WALLACE: Good evening from the Thomas and Mack Center at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. I'm Chris Wallace of Fox News, and I welcome you to the third and final of the 2016 presidential debates between Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Donald J. Trump. This debate is sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates. The commission has designed the format: Six roughly 15-minute segments with two-minute answers to the first question, then open discussion for the rest of each segment. Both campaigns have agreed to those rules. For the record, I decided the topics and the questions in each topic. None of those questions has been shared with the commission or the two candidates. The audience here in the hall has promised to remain silent. No cheers, boos, or other interruptions so we and you can focus on what the candidates have to say. No noise, except right now, as we welcome the Democratic nominee for president, Secretary Clinton, and the Republican nominee for president, Mr. Trump. [*applause*] Secretary Clinton, Mr. Trump, welcome. Let's get right to it. The first topic is the Supreme Court. You both talked briefly about the court in the last debate, but I want to drill down on this, because the next president will almost certainly have at least one appointment and likely or possibly two or three appointments. Which means that you will, in effect, determine the balance of the court for what could be the next quarter century. First of all, where do you want to see the court take the country? And secondly, what's your view on how the Constitution should be interpreted? Do the founders' words mean what they say or is it a living document to be applied flexibly according to changing circumstances? In this segment, Secretary Clinton, you go first. You have two minutes.

CLINTON: Thank you very much, Chris. And thanks to UNLV for hosting us. You know, I think when we talk about the Supreme Court, it really raises the central issue in this election, namely, what kind of country are we going to be? What kind of opportunities will we provide for our citizens? What kind of rights will Americans have? And I feel strongly that the Supreme Court needs to stand on the side of the American people, not on the side of the powerful corporations and the wealthy. For me, that means that we need a Supreme Court that will stand up on behalf of women's rights, on behalf of the rights of the LGBT community, that will stand up and say no to Citizens United, a decision that has undermined the election system in our country because of the way it permits dark, unaccountable money to come into our electoral system. I have major disagreements with my opponent about these issues and others that will be before the Supreme Court. But I feel that at this point in our country's history, it is important that we not reverse marriage equality, that we not reverse Roe v. Wade, that we stand up against Citizens United, we stand up for the rights of people in the workplace, that we stand up and basically say: The

Supreme Court should represent all of us. That's how I see the court, and the kind of people that I would be looking to nominate to the court would be in the great tradition of standing up to the powerful, standing up on behalf of our rights as Americans. And I look forward to having that opportunity. I would hope that the Senate would do its job and confirm the nominee that President Obama has sent to them. That's the way the Constitution fundamentally should operate. The president nominates, and then the Senate advises and consents, or not, but they go forward with the process.

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton, thank you. Mr. Trump, same question. Where do you want to see the court take the country? And how do you believe the Constitution should be interpreted?

TRUMP: Well, first of all, it's great to be with you, and thank you, everybody. The Supreme Court: It's what it's all about. Our country is so, so—it's just so imperative that we have the right justices. Something happened recently where Justice Ginsburg made some very, very inappropriate statements toward me and toward a tremendous number of people, many, many millions of people that I represent. And she was forced to apologize. And apologize she did. But these were statements that should never, ever have been made. We need a Supreme Court that in my opinion is going to uphold the Second Amendment, and all amendments, but the Second Amendment, which is under absolute siege. I believe if my opponent should win this race, which I truly don't think will happen, we will have a Second Amendment which will be a very, very small replica of what it is right now. But I feel that it's absolutely important that we uphold, because of the fact that it is under such trauma. I feel that the justices that I am going to appoint—and I've named 20 of them—the justices that I'm going to appoint will be pro-life. They will have a conservative bent. They will be protecting the Second Amendment. They are great scholars in all cases, and they're people of tremendous respect. They will interpret the Constitution the way the founders wanted it interpreted. And I believe that's very, very important. I don't think we should have justices appointed that decide what they want to hear. It's all about the Constitution of—of—and so important, the Constitution the way it was meant to be. And those are the people that I will appoint.

WALLACE: Mr. Trump, thank you. We now have about 10 minutes for an open discussion. I want to focus on two issues that, in fact, by the justices that you name could end up changing the existing law of the land. First is one that you mentioned, Mr. Trump, and that is guns. Secretary Clinton, you said last year, let me quote, "The Supreme Court is wrong on the Second Amendment." And now, in fact, in the 2008 Heller case, the court ruled that there is a constitutional right to bear arms, but a right that is reasonably limited. Those were the words of the Judge Antonin Scalia who wrote the decision. What's wrong with that?

CLINTON: Well, first of all, I support the Second Amendment. I lived in Arkansas for 18 wonderful years. I represented upstate New York. I understand and respect the tradition of gun ownership. It goes back to the founding of our country. But I also believe that there can be and must be reasonable regulation. Because I support the Second Amendment doesn't mean that I want people who shouldn't have guns to be able to threaten you, kill you or members of your family. And so when I think about what we need to do, we have 33,000 people a year who die from guns. I think we need comprehensive background checks, need to close the online loophole, close the gun show loophole. There's other matters that I think are sensible that are the kind of reforms that would make a difference that are not in any way conflicting with the Second Amendment. You mentioned the Heller decision. And what I was saying that you referenced, Chris, was that I disagreed with the way the court applied the Second Amendment in that case, because what the District of Columbia was trying to do was to protect toddlers from guns and so they wanted people with guns to safely store them. And the court didn't accept that reasonable regulation, but they've accepted many others. So I see no conflict between saving people's lives and defending the Second Amendment.

WALLACE: Let me bring Mr. Trump in here. The bipartisan Open Debate Coalition got millions of votes on questions to ask here, and this was, in fact, one of the top questions that they got. How will you ensure the Second Amendment is protected? You just heard Secretary Clinton's answer. Does she persuade you that, while you may disagree on regulation, that, in fact, she supports a Second Amendment right to bear arms?

TRUMP: Well, the D.C. vs. Heller decision was very strongly—and she was extremely angry about it. I watched. I mean, she was very, very angry when upheld. And Justice Scalia was so involved. And it was a well-crafted decision. But Hillary was extremely upset, extremely angry. And people that believe in the Second Amendment and believe in it very strongly were very upset with what she had to say.

WALLACE: Well, let me bring in Secretary Clinton. Were you extremely upset?

CLINTON: Well, I was upset because, unfortunately, dozens of toddlers injure themselves, even kill people with guns, because, unfortunately, not everyone who has loaded guns in their homes takes appropriate precautions. But there's no doubt that I respect the Second Amendment, that I also believe there's an individual right to bear arms. That is not in conflict with sensible, commonsense regulation. And, you know, look, I understand that Donald's been strongly supported by the NRA. The gun lobby's on his side. They're running millions of dollars of ads against me. And I regret that, because what I would like to see is for people to come together and say: Of course we're going to protect and defend the Second Amendment. But we're going to do it in a way that tries to save some of these 33,000 lives that we lose every year.

WALLACE: Let me bring Mr. Trump back into this, because, in fact, you oppose any limits on assault weapons, any limits on high- capacity magazines. You support a national right to carry law. Why, sir?

TRUMP: Well, let me just tell you before we go any further. In Chicago, which has the toughest gun laws in the United States, probably you could say by far, they have more gun violence than any other city. So we have the toughest laws, and you have tremendous gun violence. I am a very strong supporter of the Second Amendment. And I am—I don't know if Hillary was saying it in a sarcastic manner, but I'm very proud to have the endorsement of the NRA. And it's the earliest endorsement they've ever given to anybody who ran for president. So I'm very honored by all of that. We are going to appoint justices—this is the best way to help the Second Amendment. We are going to appoint justices that will feel very strongly about the Second Amendment, that will not do damage to the Second Amendment.

WALLACE: Well, let's pick up on another issue which divides you and the justices that whoever ends up winning this election appoints could have a dramatic effect there, and that's the issue of abortion.

TRUMP: Right.

WALLACE: Mr. Trump, you're pro-life. But I want to ask you specifically: Do you want the court, including the justices that you will name, to overturn Roe v. Wade, which includes—in fact, states—a woman's right to abortion?

TRUMP: Well, if that would happen, because I am pro-life, and I will be appointing pro-life judges, I would think that that will go back to the individual states.

WALLACE: But I'm asking you specifically. Would you like to...

TRUMP: If they overturned it, it will go back to the states.

WALLACE: But what I'm asking you, sir, is, do you want to see the court overturn—you just said you want to see the court protect the Second Amendment. Do you want to see the court overturn Roe v. Wade?

TRUMP: Well, if we put another two or perhaps three justice on, that's really what's going to be—that will happen. And that'll happen automatically, in my opinion, because I am putting pro-life justices on the court. I will say this: It will go back to the states, and the states will then make a determination.

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, I strongly support Roe v. Wade, which guarantees a constitutional right to a woman to make the most intimate, most difficult, in many cases, decisions about her health care that one can imagine. And in this case, it's not only about Roe v. Wade. It is about what's happening right now in America. So many states are putting very stringent regulations on women that block them from exercising that choice to the extent that they are defunding Planned Parenthood, which, of course, provides all kinds of cancer screenings and other benefits for women in our country. Donald has said he's in favor of defunding Planned Parenthood. He even supported shutting the government down to defund Planned Parenthood. I will defend Planned Parenthood. I will defend Roe v. Wade, and I will defend women's rights to make their own health care decisions.

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton...

CLINTON: And we have come too far to have that turned back now. And, indeed, he said women should be punished, that there should be some form of punishment for women who obtain abortions. And I could just not be more opposed to that kind of thinking.

WALLACE: I'm going to give you a chance to respond, but I want to ask you, Secretary Clinton, I want to explore how far you believe the right to abortion goes. You have been quoted as saying that the fetus has no constitutional rights. You also voted against a ban on late-term, partial-birth abortions. Why?

CLINTON: Because Roe v. Wade very clearly sets out that there can be regulations on abortion so long as the life and the health of the mother are taken into account. And when I voted as a senator, I did not think that that was the case. The kinds of cases that fall at the end of pregnancy are often the most heartbreaking, painful decisions for families to make. I have met with women who toward the end of their pregnancy get the worst news one could get, that their health is in jeopardy if they continue to carry to term or that something terrible has happened or just been discovered about the pregnancy. I do not think the United States government should be stepping in and making those most personal of decisions. So you can regulate if you are doing so with the life and the health of the mother taken into account.

WALLACE: Mr. Trump, your reaction? And particularly on this issue of late-term, partial-birth abortions.

TRUMP: Well, I think it's terrible. If you go with what Hillary is saying, in the ninth month, you can take the baby and rip the baby out of the womb of the mother just prior to the birth of the baby. Now, you can say that that's OK and Hillary can say that that's OK. But it's not OK with me, because based on what she's saying, and based on where she's going, and where she's

been, you can take the baby and rip the baby out of the womb in the ninth month on the final day. And that's not acceptable.

CLINTON: Well, that is not what happens in these cases. And using that kind of scare rhetoric is just terribly unfortunate. You should meet with some of the women that I have met with, women I have known over the course of my life. This is one of the worst possible choices that any woman and her family has to make. And I do not believe the government should be making it. You know, I've had the great honor of traveling across the world on behalf of our country. I've been to countries where governments either forced women to have abortions, like they used to do in China, or forced women to bear children, like they used to do in Romania. And I can tell you: The government has no business in the decisions that women make with their families in accordance with their faith, with medical advice. And I will stand up for that right.

WALLACE: All right. But just briefly, I want to move on to another segment...

TRUMP: And, honestly, nobody has business doing what I just said, doing that, as late as one or two or three or four days prior to birth. Nobody has that.

WALLACE: All right. Let's move on to the subject of immigration. And there is almost no issue that separates the two of you more than the issue of immigration. Actually, there are a lot of issues that separate the two of you. Mr. Trump, you want to build a wall. Secretary Clinton, you have offered no specific plan for how you want to secure our southern border. Mr. Trump, you are calling for major deportations. Secretary Clinton, you say that within your first 100 days as president you're going to offer a package that includes a pathway to citizenship. The question, really, is, why are you right and your opponent wrong? Mr. Trump, you go first in this segment. You have two minutes.

TRUMP: Well, first of all, she wants to give amnesty, which is a disaster and very unfair to all of the people that are waiting on line for many, many years. We need strong borders. In the audience tonight, we have four mothers of—I mean, these are unbelievable people that I've gotten to know over a period of years whose children have been killed, brutally killed by people that came into the country illegally. You have thousands of mothers and fathers and relatives all over the country. They're coming in illegally. Drugs are pouring in through the border. We have no country if we have no border. Hillary wants to give amnesty. She wants to have open borders. The border—as you know, the Border Patrol agents, 16,500-plus ICE last week, endorsed me. First time they've ever endorsed a candidate. It means their job is tougher. But they know what's going on. They know it better than anybody. They want strong borders. They feel we have to have strong borders. I was up in New Hampshire the other day. The biggest complaint they have—it's with all of the problems going on in the world, many of the problems caused by Hillary Clinton and by Barack Obama. All of the problems—the single biggest problem is heroin that pours across our southern border. It's just pouring and destroying their youth. It's poisoning the blood of their youth and plenty of other people. We have to have strong borders. We have to keep the drugs out of our country. We are—right now, we're getting the drugs, they're getting the cash. We need strong borders. We need absolute—we cannot give amnesty. Now, I want to build the wall. We need the wall. And the Border Patrol, ICE, they all want the wall. We stop the drugs. We shore up the border. One of my first acts will be to get all of the drug lords, all of the bad ones—we have some bad, bad people in this country that have to go out. We're going to get them out; we're going to secure the border. And once the border is secured, at a later date, we'll make a determination as to the rest. But we have some bad hombres here, and we're going to get them out.

WALLACE: Mr. Trump, thank you. Same question to you, Secretary Clinton. Basically, why are you right and Mr. Trump is wrong?

CLINTON: Well, as he was talking, I was thinking about a young girl I met here in Las Vegas, Carla, who is very worried that her parents might be deported, because she was born in this country but they were not. They work hard, they do everything they can to give her a good life. And you're right. I don't want to rip families apart. I don't want to be sending parents away from children. I don't want to see the deportation force that Donald has talked about in action in our country. We have 11 million undocumented people. They have 4 million American citizen children, 15 million people. He said as recently as a few weeks ago in Phoenix that every undocumented person would be subject to deportation. Now, here's what that means. It means you would have to have a massive law enforcement presence, where law enforcement officers would be going school to school, home to home, business to business, rounding up people who are undocumented. And we would then have to put them on trains, on buses to get them out of our country. I think that is an idea that is not in keeping with who we are as a nation. I think it's an idea that would rip our country apart. I have been for border security for years. I voted for border security in the United States Senate. And my comprehensive immigration reform plan of course includes border security. But I want to put our resources where I think they're most needed: Getting rid of any violent person. Anybody who should be deported, we should deport them. When it comes to the wall that Donald talks about building, he went to Mexico, he had a meeting with the Mexican president. Didn't even raise it. He choked and then got into a Twitter war because the Mexican president said we're not paying for that wall. So I think we are both a nation of immigrants and we are a nation of laws and that we can act accordingly. And that's why I'm introducing comprehensive immigration reform within the first 100 days with the path to citizenship.

WALLACE: Thank you, Secretary Clinton. I want to follow up...

TRUMP: Chris, I think it's...

WALLACE: OK.

TRUMP: I think I should respond to that. First of all, I had a very good meeting with the president of Mexico. Very nice man. We will be doing very much better with Mexico on trade deals. Believe me. The NAFTA deal signed by her husband is one of the worst deals ever made of any kind, signed by anybody. It's a disaster. Hillary Clinton wanted the wall. Hillary Clinton fought for the wall in 2006 or thereabouts. Now, she never gets anything done, so naturally the wall wasn't built. But Hillary Clinton wanted the wall.

WALLACE: Well, let me—wait, wait, sir, let me...

TRUMP: We are a country of laws. We either have—and by the way...

WALLACE: Now, wait. I'd like to hear from...

TRUMP: Well—well, but she said one thing.

WALLACE: I'd like to hear—I'd like to hear from Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: I voted for border security, and there are...

TRUMP: And the wall.

CLINTON: There are some limited places where that was appropriate. There also is necessarily going to be new technology and how best to deploy that. But it is clear, when you

look at what Donald has been proposing, he started his campaign bashing immigrants, calling Mexican immigrants rapists and criminals and drug dealers, that he has a very different view about what we should do to deal with immigrants. Now, what I am also arguing is that bringing undocumented immigrants out from the shadows, putting them into the formal economy will be good, because then employers can't exploit them and undercut Americans' wages. And Donald knows a lot about this. He used undocumented labor to build the Trump Tower. He underpaid undocumented workers, and when they complained, he basically said what a lot of employers do: "You complain, I'll get you deported." I want to get everybody out of the shadows, get the economy working, and not let employers like Donald exploit undocumented workers, which hurts them, but also hurts American workers.

WALLACE: Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: President Obama has moved millions of people out. Nobody knows about it, nobody talks about it. But under Obama, millions of people have been moved out of this country. They've been deported. She doesn't want to say that, but that's what's happened, and that's what happened big league. As far as moving these people out and moving—we either have a country or we don't. We're a country of laws. We either have a border or we don't. Now, you can come back in and you can become a citizen. But it's very unfair. We have millions of people that did it the right way. They're on line. They're waiting. We're going to speed up the process, big league, because it's very inefficient. But they're on line and they're waiting to become citizens. Very unfair that somebody runs across the border, becomes a citizen, under her plan, you have open borders. You would have a disaster on trade, and you will have a disaster with your open borders.

WALLACE: I want to...

TRUMP: But what she doesn't say is that President Obama has deported millions and millions of people just the way it is.

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton, I want to...

CLINTON: We will not have open borders. That is...

WALLACE: Well, let me—Secretary...

CLINTON: That is a rank mischaracterization.

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton...

CLINTON: We will have secure borders, but we'll also have reform. And this used to be a bipartisan issue. Ronald Reagan was the last president...

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton, excuse me. Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: ... to sign immigration reform, and George W. Bush supported it, as well.

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton, I want to clear up your position on this issue, because in a speech you gave to a Brazilian bank, for which you were paid $225,000, we've learned from the WikiLeaks, that you said this, and I want to quote. "My dream is a hemispheric common market with open trade and open borders." So that's the question...

TRUMP: Thank you.

WALLACE: That's the question. Please quiet, everybody. Is that your dream, open borders?

CLINTON: Well, if you went on to read the rest of the sentence, I was talking about energy. You know, we trade more energy with our neighbors than we trade with the rest of the world combined. And I do want us to have an electric grid, an energy system that crosses borders. I think that would be a great benefit to us. But you are very clearly quoting from WikiLeaks. And what's really important about WikiLeaks is that the Russian government has engaged in espionage against Americans. They have hacked American websites, American accounts of private people, of institutions. Then they have given that information to WikiLeaks for the purpose of putting it on the Internet. This has come from the highest levels of the Russian government, clearly, from Putin himself, in an effort, as 17 of our intelligence agencies have confirmed, to influence our election. So I actually think the most important question of this evening, Chris, is, finally, will Donald Trump admit and condemn that the Russians are doing this and make it clear that he will not have the help of Putin in in this election, that he rejects Russian espionage against Americans, which he actually encouraged in the past? Those are the questions we need answered. We've never had anything like this happen in any of our elections before.

WALLACE: Well?

TRUMP: That was a great pivot off the fact that she wants open borders, OK? How did we get on to Putin?

WALLACE: Hold on—hold on, wait. Hold on, folks. Because we—this is going to end up getting out of control. Let's try to keep it quiet so—for the candidates and for the American people.

TRUMP: So just to finish on the borders...

WALLACE: Yes?

TRUMP: She wants open borders. People are going to pour into our country. People are going to come in from Syria. She wants 550 percent more people than Barack Obama, and he has thousands and thousands of people. They have no idea where they come from. And you see, we are going to stop radical Islamic terrorism in this country. She won't even mention the words, and neither will President Obama. So I just want to tell you, she wants open borders. Now we can talk about Putin. I don't know Putin. He said nice things about me. If we got along well, that would be good. If Russia and the United States got along well and went after ISIS, that would be good. He has no respect for her. He has no respect for our president. And I'll tell you what: We're in very serious trouble, because we have a country with tremendous numbers of nuclear warheads—1,800, by the way—where they expanded and we didn't, 1,800 nuclear warheads. And she's playing chicken. Look, Putin...

WALLACE: Wait, but...

TRUMP: ... from everything I see, has no respect for this person.

CLINTON: Well, that's because he'd rather have a puppet as president of the United States.

TRUMP: No puppet. No puppet.

CLINTON: And it's pretty clear...

TRUMP: You're the puppet!

CLINTON: It's pretty clear you won't admit...

TRUMP: No, you're the puppet.

CLINTON: ... that the Russians have engaged in cyberattacks against the United States of America, that you encouraged espionage against our people, that you are willing to spout the Putin line, sign up for his wish list, break up NATO, do whatever he wants to do, and that you continue to get help from him, because he has a very clear favorite in this race. So I think that this is such an unprecedented situation. We've never had a foreign government trying to interfere in our election. We have 17—17 intelligence agencies, civilian and military, who have all concluded that these espionage attacks, these cyberattacks, come from the highest levels of the Kremlin and they are designed to influence our election. I find that deeply disturbing.

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton...

CLINTON: And I think it's time you take a stand...

TRUMP: She has no idea whether it's Russia, China, or anybody else.

CLINTON: I am not quoting myself.

TRUMP: She has no idea.

CLINTON: I am quoting 17...

TRUMP: Hillary, you have no idea.

CLINTON: ... 17 intelligence—do you doubt 17 military and civilian...

TRUMP: And our country has no idea.

CLINTON: ... agencies.

TRUMP: Yeah, I doubt it. I doubt it.

CLINTON: Well, he'd rather believe Vladimir Putin than the military and civilian intelligence professionals who are sworn to protect us. I find that just absolutely...[*crosstalk*]

TRUMP: She doesn't like Putin because Putin has outsmarted her at every step of the way.

WALLACE: Mr. Trump...

TRUMP: Excuse me. Putin has outsmarted her in Syria.

WALLACE: Mr. Trump...[*crosstalk*]

TRUMP: He's outsmarted her every step of the way.

WALLACE: I do get to ask some questions.

TRUMP: Yes, that's fine.

WALLACE: And I would like to ask you this direct question. The top national security officials of this country do believe that Russia has been behind these hacks. Even if you don't know for sure whether they are, do you condemn any interference by Russia in the American election?

TRUMP: By Russia or anybody else.

WALLACE: You condemn their interference?

TRUMP: Of course I condemn. Of course I—I don't know Putin. I have no idea.

WALLACE: I'm not asking—I'm asking do you condemn?

TRUMP: I never met Putin. This is not my best friend. But if the United States got along with Russia, wouldn't be so bad. Let me tell you, Putin has outsmarted her and Obama at every single step of the way. Whether it's Syria, you name it. Missiles. Take a look at the "start up" that they signed. The Russians have said, according to many, many reports, I can't believe they allowed us to do this. They create warheads, and we can't. The Russians can't believe it. She has been outsmarted by Putin. And all you have to do is look at the Middle East. They've taken over. We've spent $6 trillion. They've taken over the Middle East. She has been outsmarted and outplayed worse than anybody I've ever seen in any government whatsoever.

WALLACE: We're a long way away from immigration, but I'm going to let you finish this topic. You got about 45 seconds.

TRUMP: And she always will be.

CLINTON: I—I find it ironic that he's raising nuclear weapons. This is a person who has been very cavalier, even casual about the use of nuclear weapons. He's...

TRUMP: Wrong.

CLINTON: ... advocated more countries getting them, Japan, Korea, even Saudi Arabia. He said, well, if we have them, why don't we use them, which I think is terrifying. But here's the deal. The bottom line on nuclear weapons is that when the president gives the order, it must be followed. There's about four minutes between the order being given and the people responsible for launching nuclear weapons to do so. And that's why 10 people who have had that awesome responsibility have come out and, in an unprecedented way, said they would not trust Donald Trump with the nuclear codes or to have his finger on the nuclear button.

TRUMP: I have 200 generals...

WALLACE: Very quickly.

TRUMP: ... and admirals, 21 endorsing me, 21 congressional Medal of Honor recipients. As far as Japan and other countries, we are being ripped off by everybody in the—we're defending

other countries. We are spending a fortune doing it. They have the bargain of the century. All I said is, we have to renegotiate these agreements, because our country cannot afford to defend Saudi Arabia, Japan, Germany, South Korea, and many other places. We cannot continue to afford—she took that as saying nuclear weapons.

WALLACE: OK.

TRUMP: Look, she's been proven to be a liar on so many different ways. This is just another lie.

CLINTON: Well, I'm just quoting you when you were asked...

TRUMP: There's no quote. You're not going to find a quote from me.

CLINTON: ... about a potential nuclear—nuclear competition in Asia, you said, you know, go ahead, enjoy yourselves, folks. That kind...

TRUMP: And defend yourselves.

CLINTON: ... of language—well...

TRUMP: And defend yourselves. I didn't say nuclear. And defend yourself.

CLINTON: The United States has kept the peace—the United States has kept the peace through our alliances. Donald wants to tear up our alliances. I think it makes the world safer and, frankly, it makes the United States safer. I would work with our allies in Asia, in Europe, in the Middle East, and elsewhere. That's the only way we're going to be able to keep the peace.

WALLACE: We're going to—no, we are going to move on to the next topic, which is the economy. And I hope we handle that as well as we did immigration. You also have very different ideas about how to get the economy growing faster. Secretary Clinton, in your plan, government plays a big role. You see more government spending, more entitlements, more tax credits, more tax penalties. Mr. Trump, you want to get government out with lower taxes and less regulation.

TRUMP: Yes.

WALLACE: We're going to drill down into this a little bit more. But in this overview, please explain to me why you believe that your plan will create more jobs and growth for this country and your opponent's plan will not. In this round, you go first, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: Well, I think when the middle class thrives, America thrives. And so my plan is based on growing the economy, giving middle-class families many more opportunities. I want us to have the biggest jobs program since World War II, jobs in infrastructure and advanced manufacturing. I think we can compete with high-wage countries, and I believe we should. New jobs and clean energy, not only to fight climate change, which is a serious problem, but to create new opportunities and new businesses. I want us to do more to help small business. That's where two- thirds of the new jobs are going to come from. I want us to raise the national minimum wage, because people who live in poverty should not—who work full-time should not still be in poverty. And I sure do want to make sure women get equal pay for the work we do. I feel strongly that we have to have an education system that starts with preschool and goes through college. That's why I want more technical education in high schools and in community colleges, real apprenticeships to prepare young people for the jobs of the future. I want to make

college debt-free and for families making less than $125,000, you will not get a tuition bill from a public college or university if the plan that I worked on with Bernie Sanders is enacted. And we're going to work hard to make sure that it is, because we are going to go where the money is. Most of the gains in the last years since the Great Recession have gone to the very top. So we are going to have the wealthy pay their fair share. We're going to have corporations make a contribution greater than they are now to our country. That is a plan that has been analyzed by independent experts which said that it could produce 10 million new jobs. By contrast, Donald's plan has been analyzed to conclude it might lose 3.5 million jobs. Why? Because his whole plan is to cut taxes, to give the biggest tax breaks ever to the wealthy and to corporations, adding $20 trillion to our debt, and causing the kind of dislocation that we have seen before, because it truly will be trickle-down economics on steroids. So the plan I have I think will actually produce greater opportunities. The plan he has will cost us jobs and possibly lead to another Great Recession.

WALLACE: Secretary, thank you. Mr. Trump, why will your plan create more jobs and growth than Secretary Clinton's?

TRUMP: Well, first of all, before I start on my plan, her plan is going to raise taxes and even double your taxes. Her tax plan is a disaster. And she can say all she wants about college tuition. And I'm a big proponent. We're going to do a lot of things for college tuition. But the rest of the public's going to be paying for it. We will have a massive, massive tax increase under Hillary Clinton's plan. But I'd like to start off where we left, because when I said Japan and Germany, and I'm—not to single them out, but South Korea, these are very rich, powerful countries. Saudi Arabia, nothing but money. We protect Saudi Arabia. Why aren't they paying? She immediately—when she heard this, I questioned it, and I questioned NATO. Why aren't the NATO questioned—why aren't they paying? Because they weren't paying. Since I did this—this was a year ago—all of a sudden, they're paying. And I've been given a lot—a lot of credit for it. All of a sudden, they're starting to pay up. They have to pay up. We're protecting people, they have to pay up. And I'm a big fan of NATO. But they have to pay up. She comes out and said, we love our allies, we think our allies are great. Well, it's awfully hard to get them to pay up when you have somebody saying we think how great they are. We have to tell Japan in a very nice way, we have to tell Germany, all of these countries, South Korea, we have to say, you have to help us out. We have, during his regime, during President Obama's regime, we've doubled our national debt. We're up to $20 trillion. So my plan—we're going to renegotiate trade deals. We're going to have a lot of free trade. We're going to have free trade, more free trade than we have right now. But we have horrible deals. Our jobs are being taken out by the deal that her husband signed, NAFTA, one of the worst deals ever. Our jobs are being sucked out of our economy. You look at all of the places that I just left, you go to Pennsylvania, you go to Ohio, you go to Florida, you go to any of them. You go upstate New York. Our jobs have fled to Mexico and other places. We're bringing our jobs back. I am going to renegotiate NAFTA. And if I can't make a great deal—then we're going to terminate NAFTA and we're going to create new deals. We're going to have trade, but we're going—we're going to terminate it, we're going to make a great trade deal. And if we can't, we're going to do it—we're going to go a separate way, because it has been a disaster. We are going to cut taxes massively. We're going to cut business taxes massively. They're going to start hiring people. We're going to bring the $2.5 trillion...

WALLACE: Time, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: ... that's offshore back into the country. We are going to start the engine rolling again, because...

WALLACE: Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: ... right now, our country is dying at 1 percent GDP.

CLINTON: Well, let me translate that, if I can, Chris, because...

TRUMP: You can't.

CLINTON: ... the fact is, he's going to advocate for the largest tax cuts we've ever seen, three times more than the tax cuts under the Bush administration. I have said repeatedly throughout this campaign: I will not raise taxes on anyone making $250,000 or less. I also will not add a penny to the debt. I have costed out what I'm going to do. He will, through his massive tax cuts, add $20 trillion to the debt. Well, he mentioned the debt. We know how to get control of the debt. When my husband was president, we went from a $300 billion deficit to a $200 billion surplus and we were actually on the path to eliminating the national debt. When President Obama came into office, he inherited the worst economic disaster since the Great Depression. He has cut the deficit by two-thirds. So, yes, one of the ways you go after the debt, one of the ways you create jobs is by investing in people. So I do have investments, investments in new jobs, investments in education, skill training, and the opportunities for people to get ahead and stay ahead. That's the kind of approach that will work.

WALLACE: Secretary...

CLINTON: Cutting taxes on the wealthy, we've tried that. It has not worked the way that it has been promised.

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton, I want to pursue your plan, because in many ways it is similar to the Obama stimulus plan in 2009, which has led to the slowest GDP growth since 1949.

TRUMP: Correct.

WALLACE: Thank you, sir. You told me in July when we spoke that the problem is that President Obama didn't get to do enough in what he was trying to do with his stimulus. So is your plan basically more—even more of the Obama stimulus?

CLINTON: Well, it's a combination, Chris. And let me say that when you inherit the level of economic catastrophe that President Obama inherited, it was a real touch-and-go situation. I was in the Senate before I became secretary of state. I've never seen people as physically distraught as the Bush administration team was because of what was happening to the economy. I personally believe that the steps that President Obama took saved the economy. He doesn't get the credit he deserves for taking some very hard positions. But it was a terrible recession. So now we've dug ourselves out of it, we're standing, but we're not yet running. So what I am proposing is that we invest from the middle out and the ground up, not the top down. That is not going to work. That's why what I have put forward doesn't add a penny to the debt, but it is the kind of approach that will enable more people to take those new jobs, higher-paying jobs. We're beginning to see some increase in incomes, and we certainly have had a long string of increasing jobs. We've got to do more to get the whole economy moving, and that's what I believe I will be able to do.

WALLACE: Mr. Trump, even conservative economists who have looked at your plan say that the numbers don't add up, that your idea, and you've talked about 25 million jobs created, 4 percent...

TRUMP: Over a 10-year period.

WALLACE: ... growth is unrealistic. And they say—you talk a lot about growing the energy industry. They say with oil prices as low as they are right now, that's unrealistic, as well. Your response, sir?

TRUMP: So I just left some high representatives of India. They're growing at 8 percent. China is growing at 7 percent. And that for them is a catastrophically low number. We are growing—our last report came out—and it's right around the 1 percent level. And I think it's going down. Last week, as you know, the end of last week, they came out with an anemic jobs report. A terrible jobs report. In fact I said, is that the last jobs report before the election? Because if it is, I should win easily, it was so bad. The report was so bad. Look, our country is stagnant. We've lost our jobs. We've lost our businesses. We're not making things anymore, relatively speaking. Our product is pouring in from China, pouring in from Vietnam, pouring in from all over the world. I've visited so many communities. This has been such an incredible education for me, Chris. I've gotten to know so many—I've developed so many friends over the last year. And they cry when they see what's happened. I pass factories that were thriving 20, 25 years ago, and because of the bill that her husband signed and she blessed 100 percent, it is just horrible what's happened to these people in these communities. Now, she can say that her husband did well, but, boy, did they suffer as NAFTA kicked in, because it didn't really kick in very much, but it kicked in after they left. Boy, did they suffer. That was one of the worst things that's ever been signed by our country. Now she wants to sign Trans-Pacific Partnership. And she wants it. She lied when she said she didn't call it the gold standard in one of the debates. She totally lied. She did call it the gold standard. And they actually fact checked, and they said I was right. I was so honored.

WALLACE: I want you to give you a chance to briefly speak to that, and then I want to pivot to one-sixth of the economy...

TRUMP: And that will be as bad as NAFTA.

WALLACE: ... which is Obamacare. But go ahead, briefly.

CLINTON: Well, first, let me say, number one, when I saw the final agreement for TPP, I said I was against it. It didn't meet my test. I've had the same test. Does it create jobs, raise incomes, and further our national security? I'm against it now. I'll be against it after the election. I'll be against it when I'm president. There's only one of us on this stage who's actually shipped jobs to Mexico, because that's Donald. He's shipped jobs to 12 countries, including Mexico. But he mentioned China. And, you know, one of the biggest problems we have with China is the illegal dumping of steel and aluminum into our markets. I have fought against that as a senator. I've stood up against it as secretary of state. Donald has bought Chinese steel and aluminum. In fact, the Trump Hotel right here in Las Vegas was made with Chinese steel. So he goes around with crocodile tears about how terrible it is, but he has given jobs to Chinese steelworkers, not American steelworkers.

WALLACE: Mr. Trump?

CLINTON: That's the kind of approach that is just not going to work.

TRUMP: Well, let me just say—let me just say.

CLINTON: We're going to pull the country together. We're going to have trade agreements that we enforce. That's why I'm going to have a trade prosecutor for the first time in history.

And we're going to enforce those agreements, and we're going to look for businesses to help us by buying American products.

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton? Go ahead, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: Let me ask a simple question. She's been doing this for 30 years. Why the hell didn't you do it over the last 15, 20 years?

CLINTON: No, I voted.

TRUMP: You were very much involved—excuse me. My turn. You were very much involved in every aspect of this country. Very much. And you do have experience. I say the one thing you have over me is experience, but it's bad experience, because what you've done has turned out badly. For 30 years, you've been in a position to help, and if you say that I use steel or I use something else, I—make it impossible for me to do that. I wouldn't mind. The problem is, you talk, but you don't get anything done, Hillary. You don't. Just like when you ran the State Department, $6 billion was missing. How do you miss $6 billion? You ran the State Department, $6 billion was either stolen. They don't know. It's gone, $6 billion. If you become president, this country is going to be in some mess. Believe me.

CLINTON: Well, first of all, what he just said about the State Department is not only untrue, it's been debunked numerous times. But I think it's really an important issue. He raised the 30 years of experience, so let me just talk briefly about that. You know, back in the 1970s, I worked for the Children's Defense Fund. And I was taking on discrimination against African-American kids in schools. He was getting sued by the Justice Department for racial discrimination in his apartment buildings. In the 1980s, I was working to reform the schools in Arkansas. He was borrowing $14 million from his father to start his businesses. In the 1990s, I went to Beijing and I said women's rights are human rights. He insulted a former Miss Universe, Alicia Machado, called her an eating machine.

TRUMP: Give me a break.

CLINTON: And on the day when I was in the Situation Room, monitoring the raid that brought Osama bin Laden to justice, he was hosting the "Celebrity Apprentice." So I'm happy to compare my 30 years of experience, what I've done for this country, trying to help in every way I could, especially kids and families get ahead and stay ahead, with your 30 years, and I'll let the American people make that decision.

TRUMP: Well, I think I did a much better job. I built a massive company, a great company, some of the greatest assets anywhere in the world, worth many, many billions of dollars. I started with a $1 million loan. I agree with that. It's a $1 million loan. But I built a phenomenal company. And if we could run our country the way I've run my company, we would have a country that you would be so proud of. You would even be proud of it. And frankly, when you look at her real record, take a look at Syria. Take a look at the migration. Take a look at Libya. Take a look at Iraq. She gave us ISIS, because her and Obama created this huge vacuum, and a small group came out of that huge vacuum because when—we should never have been in Iraq, but once we were there, we should have never got out the way they wanted to get out. She gave us ISIS as sure as you are sitting there. And what happened is now ISIS is in 32 countries. And now I listen how she's going to get rid of ISIS. She's going to get rid of nobody.

WALLACE: All right. We are going to get to foreign hot spots in a few moments, but the next segment is fitness to be president of the United States. Mr. Trump, at the last debate, you said

your talk about grabbing women was just that, talk, and that you'd never actually done it. And since then, as we all know, nine women have come forward and have said that you either groped them or kissed them without their consent. Why would so many different women from so many different circumstances over so many different years, why would they all in this last couple of weeks make up—you deny this—why would they all make up these stories? Since this is a question for both of you, Secretary Clinton, Mr. Trump says what your husband did and that you defended was even worse. Mr. Trump, you go first.

TRUMP: Well, first of all, those stories have been largely debunked. Those people—I don't know those people. I have a feeling how they came. I believe it was her campaign that did it. Just like if you look at what came out today on the clips where I was wondering what happened with my rally in Chicago and other rallies where we had such violence? She's the one and Obama that caused the violence. They hired people—they paid them $1,500, and they're on tape saying be violent, cause fights, do bad things. I would say the only way—because those stories are all totally false, I have to say that. And I didn't even apologize to my wife, who's sitting right here, because I didn't do anything. I didn't know any of these—I didn't see these women. These women—the woman on the plane, the—I think they want either fame or her campaign did it. And I think it's her campaign. Because what I saw what they did, which is a criminal act, by the way, where they're telling people to go out and start fist-fights and start violence. And I'll tell you what, in particular in Chicago, people were hurt and people could have been killed in that riot. And that was now all on tape, started by her. I believe, Chris, that she got these people to step forward. If it wasn't, they get their 10 minutes of fame. But they were all totally—it was all fiction. It was lies, and it was fiction.

CLINTON: Well...

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: At the last debate, we heard Donald talking about what he did to women. And after that, a number of women have come forward saying that's exactly what he did to them. Now, what was his response? Well, he held a number of big rallies where he said that he could not possibly have done those things to those women because they were not attractive enough for them to be assaulted.

TRUMP: I did not say that. I did not say that.

CLINTON: In fact, he went on to say...

WALLACE: Her two minutes—sir, her two minutes. Her two minutes.

TRUMP: I did not say that.

WALLACE: It's her two minutes.

CLINTON: He went on to say, "Look at her. I don't think so." About another woman, he said, "That wouldn't be my first choice." He attacked the woman reporter writing the story, called her "disgusting," as he has called a number of women during this campaign. Donald thinks belittling women makes him bigger. He goes after their dignity, their self-worth, and I don't think there is a woman anywhere who doesn't know what that feels like. So we now know what Donald thinks and what he says and how he acts toward women. That's who Donald is. I think it's really up to all of us to demonstrate who we are and who our country is, and to stand up and be very clear about what we expect from our next president, how we want to bring our country

together, where we don't want to have the kind of pitting of people one against the other, where instead we celebrate our diversity, we lift people up, and we make our country even greater. America is great, because America is good. And it really is up to all of us to make that true, now and in the future, and particularly for our children and our grandchildren.

WALLACE: Mr. Trump...

TRUMP: Nobody has more respect for women than I do. Nobody. [*laughter*] Nobody has more respect...

WALLACE: Please, everybody.

TRUMP: And frankly, those stories have been largely debunked. And I really want to just talk about something slightly different. She mentions this, which is all fiction, all fictionalized, probably or possibly started by her and her very sleazy campaign. But I will tell you what isn't fictionalized are her e-mails, where she destroyed 33,000 e-mails criminally, criminally, after getting a subpoena from the United States Congress. What happened to the FBI, I don't know. We have a great general, four-star general, today you read it in all of the papers, going to potentially serve five years in jail for lying to the FBI. One lie. She's lied hundreds of times to the people, to Congress, and to the FBI. He's going to probably go to jail. This is a four-star general. And she gets away with it, and she can run for the presidency of the United States? That's really what you should be talking about, not fiction, where somebody wants fame or where they come out of her crooked campaign.

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, every time Donald is pushed on something which is obviously uncomfortable, like what these women are saying, he immediately goes to denying responsibility. And it's not just about women. He never apologizes or says he's sorry for anything. So we know what he has said and what he's done to women. But he also went after a disabled reporter, mocked and mimicked him on national television.

TRUMP: Wrong.

CLINTON: He went after Mr. and Mrs. Khan, the parents of a young man who died serving our country, a Gold Star family, because of their religion. He went after John McCain, a prisoner of war, said he prefers "people who aren't captured." He went after a federal judge, born in Indiana, but who Donald said couldn't be trusted to try the fraud and racketeering case against Trump University because his parents were Mexican. So it's not one thing. This is a pattern, a pattern of divisiveness, of a very dark and in many ways dangerous vision of our country, where he incites violence, where he applauds people who are pushing and pulling and punching at his rallies. That is not who America is. And I hope that as we move in the last weeks of this campaign, more and more people will understand what's at stake in this election. It really does come down to what kind of country we are going to have.

TRUMP: So sad when she talks about violence at my rallies, and she caused the violence. It's on tape.

WALLACE: During the last...

TRUMP: The other things are false, but honestly, I'd love to talk about getting rid of ISIS, and I'd love to talk about other things...

WALLACE: OK.

TRUMP: ... but those other charges, as she knows, are false.

WALLACE: In this bucket about fitness to be president, there's been a lot of developments over the last 10 days since the last debate. I'd like to ask you about them. These are questions that the American people have. Secretary Clinton, during your 2009 Senate confirmation hearing, you promised to avoid even the appearance of a conflict of interest with your dealing with the Clinton Foundation while you were secretary of state, but e-mails show that donors got special access to you. Those seeking grants for Haiti relief were considered separately from non-donors, and some of those donors got contracts, government contracts, taxpayer money. Can you really say that you kept your pledge to that Senate committee? And why isn't what happened and what went on between you and the Clinton Foundation, why isn't it what Mr. Trump calls pay to play?

CLINTON: Well, everything I did as secretary of state was in furtherance of our country's interests and our values. The State Department has said that. I think that's been proven. But I am happy, in fact I'm thrilled to talk about the Clinton Foundation, because it is a world-renowned charity and I am so proud of the work that it does. You know, I could talk for the rest of the debate—I know I don't have the time to do that. But just briefly, the Clinton Foundation made it possible for 11 million people around the world with HIV-AIDS to afford treatment, and that's about half all the people in the world who are getting treatment. In partnership with the American Health Association...

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton...

CLINTON: ... we have made environments in schools healthier for kids, including healthier lunches...

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton, respectfully, this is—this is an open discussion.

CLINTON: Well, it is an open discussion. And you...

WALLACE: And the specific question went to pay for play. Do you want to talk about that?

CLINTON: Well, but there is no—but there is no evidence—but there is...[*crosstalk*]

TRUMP: I think that it's been very well...

WALLACE: Let's ask Mr. Trump.

CLINTON: There is a lot of evidence about the very good work...

TRUMP: It's been very well studied.

CLINTON: ... and the high rankings...[*crosstalk*]

WALLACE: Please let Mr. Trump speak.

TRUMP: ... and it's a criminal enterprise, and so many people know it.

WALLACE: Please let Mr. Trump speak.

[*crosstalk*]

TRUMP: It's a criminal enterprise. Saudi Arabia giving $25 million, Qatar, all of these countries. You talk about women and women's rights? So these are people that push gays off business—off buildings. These are people that kill women and treat women horribly. And yet you take their money. So I'd like to ask you right now, why don't you give back the money that you've taken from certain countries that treat certain groups of people so horribly? Why don't you give back the money? I think it would be a great gesture. Because she takes a tremendous amount of money. And you take a look at the people of Haiti. I was at a little Haiti the other day in Florida. And I want to tell you, they hate the Clintons, because what's happened in Haiti with the Clinton Foundation is a disgrace. And you know it, and they know it, and everybody knows it.

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, very quickly, we at the Clinton Foundation spend 90 percent—90 percent of all the money that is donated on behalf of programs of people around the world and in our own country. I'm very proud of that. We have the highest rating from the watchdogs that follow foundations. And I'd be happy to compare what we do with the Trump Foundation, which took money from other people and bought a six- foot portrait of Donald. I mean, who does that? It just was astonishing. But when it comes to Haiti, Haiti is the poorest country in our hemisphere. The earthquake and the hurricanes, it has devastated Haiti. Bill and I have been involved in trying to help Haiti for many years. The Clinton Foundation raised $30 million to help Haiti after the catastrophic earthquake and all of the terrible problems the people there had. We have done things to help small businesses, agriculture, and so much else. And we're going to keep working to help Haiti...

WALLACE: All right.

CLINTON: ... because it's an important part of the American experience.

TRUMP: They don't want you to help them anymore.

[*crosstalk*]

TRUMP: I'd like to mention one thing. Trump Foundation, small foundation. People contribute, I contribute. The money goes 100 percent—100 percent goes to different charities, including a lot of military. I don't get anything. I don't buy boats. I don't buy planes. What happens—the money goes to them.

WALLACE: Wasn't some of the money used to settle your lawsuits, sir?

TRUMP: No, it was—we put up the American flag. And that's it. They put up the American flag. We fought for the right in Palm Beach to put up the American flag.

WALLACE: Right. But there was a penalty that was imposed by Palm Beach County, and the money came from your foundation...

TRUMP: There was. There was. And, by the way...

WALLACE: ... instead of Mar-a-Lago or yourself, sir.

TRUMP: ... the money—the money went to Fisher House, where they build houses—the money that you're talking about went to Fisher House, where they build houses for veterans and disabled vets.

WALLACE: I want to get into one...

CLINTON: But, of course, there's no way we can know whether any of that is true, because he hasn't released his tax returns. He is the first candidate ever to run for president in the last 40-plus years who has not released his tax returns, so everything he says about charity or anything else, we can't prove it. You can look at our tax returns. We've got them all out there. But what is really troubling is that we learned in the last debate he has not paid a penny in federal income tax. And we were talking about immigrants a few minutes ago, Chris. You know, half of all immigrants—undocumented immigrants in our country—actually pay federal income tax. So we have undocumented immigrants in America who are paying more federal income tax than a billionaire. I find that just astonishing.

WALLACE: I want...

TRUMP: So let me just tell you very quickly, we're entitled because of the laws that people like her passed to take massive amounts of depreciation on other charges, and we do it. And all of her donors—just about all of them—I know Buffett took hundreds of millions of dollars, Soros, George Soros, took hundreds of millions of dollars...

WALLACE: We...

TRUMP: Let me just explain.

WALLACE: But, no, we heard this...

TRUMP: Most of her donors have done the same thing as I do.

WALLACE: Mr. Trump, we—OK.

TRUMP: You know what she should have done?

WALLACE: Folks, we heard this...

TRUMP: And you know, Hillary, what you should have done, you should have changed the law when you were a United States senator...

WALLACE: Folks, we heard this...

TRUMP: ... because your donors and your special interests are doing the same thing as I do, except even more so.

CLINTON: Well, you know...

TRUMP: You should have changed the law. But you won't change the law, because you take in so much money. I mean, I sat in my apartment today on a very beautiful hotel down the street known as Trump...

CLINTON: Made with Chinese steel.

TRUMP: But I will tell you, I sat there...[*laughter*]... I sat there watching ad after ad after ad, false ad. All paid for by your friends on Wall Street that gave so much money because they know you're going to protect them. And, frankly, you should have changed the laws.

WALLACE: Mr. Trump...

TRUMP: If you don't like what I did, you should have changed the laws.

WALLACE: Mr. Trump, I want to ask you about one last question in this topic. You have been warning at rallies recently that this election is rigged and that Hillary Clinton is in the process of trying to steal it from you. Your running mate, Governor Pence, pledged on Sunday that he and you—his words—"will absolutely accept the result of this election." Today your daughter, Ivanka, said the same thing. I want to ask you here on the stage tonight: Do you make the same commitment that you will absolutely—sir, that you will absolutely accept the result of this election?

TRUMP: I will look at it at the time. I'm not looking at anything now. I'll look at it at the time. What I've seen—what I've seen is so bad. First of all, the media is so dishonest and so corrupt, and the pile-on is so amazing. The New York Times actually wrote an article about it, but they don't even care. It's so dishonest. And they've poisoned the mind of the voters. But unfortunately for them, I think the voters are seeing through it. I think they're going to see through it. We'll find out on November 8th. But I think they're going to see through it.

WALLACE: But, sir, there's...

TRUMP: If you look—excuse me, Chris—if you look at your voter rolls, you will see millions of people that are registered to vote—millions, this isn't coming from me—this is coming from Pew Report and other places—millions of people that are registered to vote that shouldn't be registered to vote. So let me just give you one other thing. So I talk about the corrupt media. I talk about the millions of people—tell you one other thing. She shouldn't be allowed to run. It's crooked—she's—she's guilty of a very, very serious crime. She should not be allowed to run. And just in that respect, I say it's rigged, because she should never...

WALLACE: But...

TRUMP: Chris, she should never have been allowed to run for the presidency based on what she did with e-mails and so many other things.

WALLACE: But, sir, there is a tradition in this country—in fact, one of the prides of this country—is the peaceful transition of power and that no matter how hard-fought a campaign is, that at the end of the campaign that the loser concedes to the winner. Not saying that you're necessarily going to be the loser or the winner, but that the loser concedes to the winner and that the country comes together in part for the good of the country. Are you saying you're not prepared now to commit to that principle?

TRUMP: What I'm saying is that I will tell you at the time. I'll keep you in suspense. OK?

CLINTON: Well, Chris, let me respond to that, because that's horrifying. You know, every time Donald thinks things are not going in his direction, he claims whatever it is, is rigged against him. The FBI conducted a year-long investigation into my e-mails. They concluded there was no case; he said the FBI was rigged. He lost the Iowa caucus. He lost the Wisconsin primary. He said the Republican primary was rigged against him. Then Trump University gets sued for fraud and racketeering; he claims the court system and the federal judge is rigged against him. There was even a time when he didn't get an Emmy for his TV program three years in a row and he started tweeting that the Emmys were rigged against him.

TRUMP: Should have gotten it. [*laughter*]

CLINTON: This is—this is a mindset. This is how Donald thinks. And it's funny, but it's also really troubling.

WALLACE: OK.

CLINTON: So that is not the way our democracy works. We've been around for 240 years. We've had free and fair elections. We've accepted the outcomes when we may not have liked them. And that is what must be expected of anyone standing on a debate stage during a general election. You know, President Obama said the other day when you're whining before the game is even finished... [*applause*]

WALLACE: Hold on. Hold on, folks. Hold on, folks.

CLINTON: ... it just shows you're not up to doing the job. And let's—you know, let's be clear about what he is saying and what that means. He is denigrating—he's talking down our democracy. And I, for one, am appalled that somebody who is the nominee of one of our two major parties would take that kind of position.

TRUMP: I think what the FBI did and what the Department of Justice did, including meeting with her husband, the attorney general, in the back of an airplane on the tarmac in Arizona, I think it's disgraceful. I think it's a disgrace.

WALLACE: All right.

TRUMP: I think we've never had a situation so bad in this country. [*applause*]

WALLACE: Hold on, folks. This doesn't do any good for anyone. Let's please continue the debate, and let's move on to the subject of foreign hot spots. The Iraqi offensive to take back Mosul has begun. If they are successful in pushing ISIS out of that city and out of all of Iraq, the question then becomes, what happens the day after? And that's something that whichever of you ends up—whoever of you ends up as president is going to have to confront. Will you put U.S. troops into that vacuum to make sure that ISIS doesn't come back or isn't replaced by something even worse? Secretary Clinton, you go first in this segment. You have two minutes.

CLINTON: Well, I am encouraged that there is an effort led by the Iraqi army, supported by Kurdish forces, and also given the help and advice from the number of special forces and other Americans on the ground. But I will not support putting American soldiers into Iraq as an occupying force. I don't think that is in our interest, and I don't think that would be smart to do. In fact, Chris, I think that would be a big red flag waving for ISIS to reconstitute itself. The goal here is to take back Mosul. It's going to be a hard fight. I've got no illusions about that. And then continue to press into Syria to begin to take back and move on Raqqa, which is the ISIS

headquarters. I am hopeful that the hard work that American military advisers have done will pay off and that we will see a real—a really successful military operation. But we know we've got lots of work to do. Syria will remain a hotbed of terrorism as long as the civil war, aided and abetted by the Iranians and the Russians, continue. So I have said, look, we need to keep our eye on ISIS. That's why I want to have an intelligence surge that protects us here at home, why we have to go after them from the air, on the ground, online, why we have to make sure here at home we don't let terrorists buy weapons. If you're too dangerous to fly, you're too dangerous to buy a gun. And I'm going to continue to push for a no-fly zone and safe havens within Syria not only to help protect the Syrians and prevent the constant outflow of refugees, but to, frankly, gain some leverage on both the Syrian government and the Russians so that perhaps we can have the kind of serious negotiation necessary to bring the conflict to an end and go forward on a political track.

WALLACE: Mr. Trump, same question. If we are able to push ISIS out of Mosul and out of Iraq, will—would you be willing to put U.S. troops in there to prevent their return or something else?

TRUMP: Let me tell you, Mosul is so sad. We had Mosul. But when she left, when she took everybody out, we lost Mosul. Now we're fighting again to get Mosul. The problem with Mosul and what they wanted to do is they wanted to get the leaders of ISIS who they felt were in Mosul. About three months ago, I started reading that they want to get the leaders and they're going to attack Mosul. Whatever happened to the element of surprise, OK? We announce we're going after Mosul. I have been reading about going after Mosul now for about—how long is it, Hillary, three months? These people have all left. They've all left. The element of surprise. Douglas MacArthur, George Patton spinning in their graves when they see the stupidity of our country. So we're now fighting for Mosul, that we had. All she had to do was stay there, and now we're going in to get it. But you know who the big winner in Mosul is going to be after we eventually get it? And the only reason they did it is because she's running for the office of president and they want to look tough. They want to look good. He violated the red line in the sand, and he made so many mistakes, made all the mistakes. That's why we have the great migration. But she wanted to look good for the election. So they're going in. But who's going to get Mosul, really? We'll take Mosul eventually. But the way—if you look at what's happening, much tougher than they thought. Much, much tougher. Much more dangerous. Going to be more deaths that they thought. But the leaders that we wanted to get are all gone because they're smart. They say, what do we need this for? So Mosul is going to be a wonderful thing. And Iran should write us a letter of thank you, just like the really stupid—the stupidest deal of all time, a deal that's going to give Iran absolutely nuclear weapons. Iran should write us yet another letter saying thank you very much, because Iran, as I said many years ago, Iran is taking over Iraq, something they've wanted to do forever, but we've made it so easy for them. So we're now going to take Mosul. And do you know who's going to be the beneficiary? Iran. Oh, yeah, they're making—I mean, they are outsmarting—look, you're not there, you might be involved in that decision. But you were there when you took everybody out of Mosul and out of Iraq. You shouldn't have been in Iraq, but you did vote for it. You shouldn't have been in Iraq, but once you were in Iraq, you should have never left the way.

WALLACE: Sir, your two minutes are up.

TRUMP: The point is, the big winner is going to be Iran.

CLINTON: Well, you know, once again, Donald is implying that he didn't support the invasion of Iraq. I said it was a mistake. I've said that years ago. He has consistently denied what is...

TRUMP: Wrong.

CLINTON: ... a very clear fact that...

TRUMP: Wrong.

CLINTON: ... before the invasion, he supported it. And, you know, I just want everybody to go Google it. Google "Donald Trump Iraq." And you will see the dozens of sources which verify that he was for the invasion of Iraq.

TRUMP: Wrong.

CLINTON: And you can actually hear the audio of him saying that. Now, why does that matter? Well, it matters because he has not told the truth about that position. I guess he believes it makes him look better now to contrast with me because I did vote for it. But what's really important here is to understand all the interplay. Mosul is a Sunni city. Mosul is on the border of Syria. And, yes, we do need to go after Baghdadi, and—just like we went after bin Laden, while you were doing "Celebrity Apprentice," and we brought him to justice. We need to go after the leadership. But we need to get rid of them, get rid of their fighters. There are an estimated several thousand fighters in Mosul. They've been digging underground. They've been prepared to defend. It's going to be tough fighting. But I think we can take back Mosul, and then we can move on into Syria and take back Raqqa. This is what we have to do. I'm just amazed that he seems to think that the Iraqi government and our allies and everybody else launched the attack on Mosul to help me in this election, but that's how Donald thinks. You know, he always is looking for some conspiracy.

TRUMP: Chris, we don't gain anything.

CLINTON: He has all the conspiracy theories...[*crosstalk*]

TRUMP: Iran is taking over Iraq.

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton, it's...[*crosstalk*]

TRUMP: Iran is taking over Iraq. We don't gain anything.

CLINTON: This conspiracy theory, which he's been spewing out for quite some time.

TRUMP: If they did it by surprise...[*crosstalk*]

WALLACE: Wait, wait, wait, Secretary Clinton, it's an open discussion.

CLINTON: He says...[*crosstalk*]

TRUMP: We could have gained if they did it by surprise.

WALLACE: Secretary, please let Mr. Trump speak.

CLINTON: ... unfit, and he proves it every time he talks.

TRUMP: No, you are the one that's unfit. You know, WikiLeaks just actually came out—John Podesta said some horrible things about you, and, boy, was he right. He said some beauties. And you know, Bernie Sanders, he said you have bad judgment. You do. And if you think that

going into Mosul after we let the world know we're going in, and all of the people that we really wanted—the leaders—they're all gone. If you think that was good, then you do. Now, John Podesta said you have terrible instincts. Bernie Sanders said you have bad judgment. I agree with both.

CLINTON: Well, you should ask Bernie Sanders who he's supporting for president. And he has said...

TRUMP: Which is a big mistake.

CLINTON: ... as he has campaigned for me around the country, you are the most dangerous person to run for president in the modern history of America. I think he's right.

WALLACE: Let's turn to Aleppo. Mr. Trump, in the last debate, you were both asked about the situation in the Syrian city of Aleppo. And I want to follow up on that, because you said several things in that debate which were not true, sir. You said that Aleppo has basically fallen. In fact, there—in fact, there are...

TRUMP: It's a catastrophe. I mean...

WALLACE: It's a catastrophe, but there...

TRUMP: ... it's a mess.

WALLACE: There are a quarter of...

TRUMP: Have you seen it? Have you seen it?

WALLACE: Sir...

TRUMP: Have you seen what's happening to Aleppo?

WALLACE: Sir, if I may finish my question...

TRUMP: OK, so it hasn't fallen. Take a look at it.

WALLACE: Well, there are a quarter of a million people still living there and being slaughtered.

TRUMP: That's right. And they are being slaughtered...

WALLACE: Yes.

TRUMP: ... because of bad decisions.

WALLACE: If I may just finish here, and you also said that—that Syria and Russia are busy fighting ISIS. In fact, they have been the ones who've been bombing and shelling eastern Aleppo, and they just announced a humanitarian pause, in effect, admitting that they have been bombing and shelling Aleppo. Would you like to clear that up, sir?

TRUMP: Well, Aleppo is a disaster. It's a humanitarian nightmare. But it has fallen from the— from any standpoint. I mean, what do you need, a signed document? Take a look at Aleppo. It is so sad when you see what's happened. And a lot of this is because of Hillary Clinton, because what's happened is, by fighting Assad, who turned out to be a lot tougher than she thought, and now she's going to say, oh, he loves Assad, she's—he's just much tougher and much smarter than her and Obama. And everyone thought he was gone two years ago, three years ago. He—he aligned with Russia. He now also aligned with Iran, who we made very powerful. We gave them $150 billion back. We give them $1.7 billion in cash. I mean, cash. Bundles of cash as big as this stage. We gave them $1.7 billion. Now they have—he has aligned with Russia and with Iran. They don't want ISIS, but they have other things, because we're backing—we're backing rebels. We don't know who the rebels are. We're giving them lots of money, lots of everything. We don't know who the rebels are. And when and if, and it's not going to happen, because you have Russia and you have Iran now. But if they ever did overthrow Assad, you might end up with—as bad as Assad is, and he's a bad guy, but you may very well end up with worse than Assad. If she did nothing, we'd be in much better shape. And this is what's caused the great migration, where she's taking in tens of thousands of Syrian refugees, who probably in many cases—not probably, who are definitely...

WALLACE: Let me...

TRUMP: ...in many cases, ISIS-aligned, and we now have them in our country, and wait until you see—this is going to be the great Trojan horse. And wait until you see what happens in the coming years. Lots of luck, Hillary. Thanks a lot for doing a great job.

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton, you have talked about—and in the last debate and again today—that you would impose a no-fly zone to try to protect the people of Aleppo and to stop the killing there. President Obama has refused to do that because he fears it's going to draw us closer or deeper into the conflict. And General Joseph Dunford, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, says you impose a no-fly zone, chances are you're going to get into a war—his words—with Syria and Russia. So the question I have is, if you impose a no-fly zone, first of all, how do you respond to their concerns? Secondly, if you impose a no-fly zone and a Russian plane violates that, does President Clinton shoot that plane down?

CLINTON: Well, Chris, first of all, I think a no-fly zone could save lives and could hasten the end of the conflict. I'm well aware of the really legitimate concerns that you have expressed from both the president and the general. This would not be done just on the first day. This would take a lot of negotiation. And it would also take making it clear to the Russians and the Syrians that our purpose here was to provide safe zones on the ground. We've had millions of people leave Syria and those millions of people inside Syria who have been dislocated. So I think we could strike a deal and make it very clear to the Russians and the Syrians that this was something that we believe was in the best interests of the people on the ground in Syria, it would help us with our fight against ISIS. But I want to respond to what Donald said about refugees. He's made these claims repeatedly. I am not going to let anyone into this country who is not vetted, who we do not have confidence in. But I am not going to slam the door on women and children. That picture of that little 4-year-old boy in Aleppo, with the blood . coming down his face while he sat in an ambulance, is haunting. And so we are going to do very careful, thorough vetting. That does not solve our internal challenges with ISIS and our need to stop radicalization, to work with American Muslim communities who are on the front lines to identify and prevent attacks. In fact, the killer of the dozens of people at the nightclub in Orlando, the Pulse nightclub, was born in Queens, the same place Donald was born. So let's be clear about what the threat is and how we are best going to be able to meet it. And, yes, some of that threat emanates from over in Syria and Iraq, and we've got to keep fighting, and I will defeat ISIS, and some of it is we have to up our game and be much smarter here at home.

WALLACE: Folks, I want to get into our final segment.

TRUMP: But I just have to...

WALLACE: Real quick.

TRUMP: It's so ridiculous what she—she will defeat ISIS. We should have never let ISIS happen in the first place. And right now, they're in 32 countries.

WALLACE: OK.

TRUMP: We should have—wait one second. They had a cease-fire three weeks ago. A cease-fire, the United States, Russia, and Syria. And during the cease-fire, Russia took over vast swatches of land, and then they said we don't want the cease-fire anymore. We are so outplayed on missiles, on cease-fires. They are outplayed. Now, she wasn't there. I assume she had nothing to do with it. But our country is so outplayed by Putin and Assad, and by the way—and by Iran. Nobody can believe how stupid our leadership is.

WALLACE: Mr. Trump, Secretary Clinton—no, we need to move on to our final segment, and that is the national debt, which has not been discussed until tonight. Our national debt, as a share of the economy, our GDP, is now 77 percent. That's the highest since just after World War II. But the nonpartisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget says, Secretary . Clinton, under your plan, debt would rise to 86 percent of GDP over the next 10 years. Mr. Trump, under your plan, they say it would rise to 105 percent of GDP over the next 10 years. The question is, why are both of you ignoring this problem? Mr. Trump, you go first.

TRUMP: Well, I say they're wrong, because I'm going to create tremendous jobs. And we're bringing GDP from, really, 1 percent, which is what it is now, and if she got in, it will be less than zero. But we're bringing it from 1 percent up to 4 percent. And I actually think we can go higher than 4 percent. I think you can go to 5 percent or 6 percent. And if we do, you don't have to bother asking your question, because we have a tremendous machine. We will have created a tremendous economic machine once again. To do that, we're taking back jobs. We're not going to let our companies be raided by other countries where we lose all our jobs, we don't make our product anymore. It's very sad. But I'm going to create a—the kind of a country that we were from the standpoint of industry. We used to be there. We've given it up. We've become very, very sloppy. We've had people that are political hacks making the biggest deals in the world, bigger than companies. You take these big companies, these trade deals are far bigger than these companies, and yet we don't use our great leaders, many of whom back me and many of whom back Hillary, I must say. But we don't use those people. Those are the people—these are the greatest negotiators in the world. We have the greatest businesspeople in the world. We have to use them to negotiate our trade deals. We use political hacks. We use people that get the position because they gave—they made a campaign contribution and they're dealing with China and people that are very much smarter than they are. So we have to use our great people. But that being said, we will create an economic machine the likes of which we haven't seen in many decades. And people, Chris, will again go back to work and they'll make a lot of money. And we'll have companies that will grow and expand and start from new.

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, first, when I hear Donald talk like that and know that his slogan is "Make America Great Again,"I wonder when he thought America was great. And before he rushes and

says, "You know, before you and President Obama were there," I think it's important to recognize that he has been criticizing our government for decades. You know, back in 1987, he took out a $100,000 ad in the New York Times, during the time when President Reagan was president, and basically said exactly what he just said now, that we were the laughingstock of the world. He was criticizing President Reagan. This is the way Donald thinks about himself, puts himself into, you know, the middle and says, "You know, I alone can fix it," as he said on the convention stage. But if you look at the debt, which is the issue you asked about, Chris, I pay for everything I'm proposing. I do not add a penny to the national debt. I take that very seriously, because I do think it's one of the issues we've got to come to grips with. So when I talk about how we're going to pay for education, how we're going to invest in infrastructure, how we're going to get the cost of prescription drugs down, and a lot of the other issues that people talk to me about all the time, I've made it very clear we are going where the money is. We are going to ask the wealthy and corporations to pay their fair share. And there is no evidence whatsoever that that will slow down or diminish our growth. In fact, I think just the opposite. We'll have what economists call middle-out growth. We've got to get back to rebuilding the middle class, the families of America. That's where growth will come from. That's why I want to invest in you. I want to invest in your family. And I think that's the smartest way to grow the economy, to make the economy fairer. And we just have a big disagreement about this. It may be because of our experiences. You know, he started off with his dad as a millionaire...

TRUMP: Yeah, yeah, we've heard—we've heard this before, Hillary.

CLINTON: I started off with—my dad was a small-business man.

TRUMP: We've heard this before.

CLINTON: And I think it—you know, it's a difference that affects how we see the world and what we want to do with the economy.

WALLACE: Time.

TRUMP: Thank you, Hillary. Could I just respond?

WALLACE: Well, no, sir, because we're running out of time...

TRUMP: Because I did disagree with Ronald Reagan very strongly on trade. I disagreed with him. We should have been much tougher on trade even then. I've been waiting for years. Nobody does it right.

WALLACE: OK.

TRUMP: And frankly, now we're going to do it right.

WALLACE: All right. The one last area I want to get into with you in this debate is the fact that the biggest driver of our debt is entitlements, which is 60 percent of all federal spending. Now, the Committee for federal—a Responsible Federal Budget has looked at both of your plans and they say neither of you has a serious plan that is going to solve the fact that Medicare's going to run out of money in the 2020s, Social Security is going to run out of money in the 2030s, and at that time, recipients are going to take huge cuts in their benefits. So, in effect, the final question I want to ask you in this regard is—and let me start with you,

Mr. Trump, would President Trump make a deal to save Medicare and Social Security that included both tax increases and benefit cuts, in effect, a grand bargain on entitlements?

TRUMP: I'm cutting taxes. We're going to grow the economy. It's going to grow at a record rate of growth.

WALLACE: That's not going to help in the entitlements.

TRUMP: No, it's going to totally help you. And one thing we have to do: Repeal and replace the disaster known as Obamacare. It's destroying our country. It's destroying our businesses, our small business and our big businesses. We have to repeal and replace Obamacare. You take a look at the kind of numbers that that will cost us in the year '17, it is a disaster. If we don't repeal and replace—now, it's probably going to die of its own weight. But Obamacare has to go. It's—the premiums are going up 60 percent, 70 percent, 80 percent. Next year they're going to go up over 100 percent. And I'm really glad that the premiums have started—at least the people see what's happening, because she wants to keep Obamacare and she wants to make it even worse, and it can't get any worse. Bad health care at the most expensive price. We have to repeal and replace Obamacare.

WALLACE: And, Secretary Clinton, same question, because at this point, Social Security and Medicare are going to run out, the trust funds are going to run out of money. Will you as president entertain—will you consider a grand bargain, a deal that includes both tax increases and benefit cuts to try to save both programs?

CLINTON: Well, Chris, I am on record as saying that we need to put more money into the Social Security Trust Fund. That's part of my commitment to raise taxes on the wealthy. My Social Security payroll contribution will go up, as will Donald's, assuming he can't figure out how to get out of it. But what we want to do is to replenish the Social Security Trust Fund...

TRUMP: Such a nasty woman.

CLINTON: ... by making sure that we have sufficient resources, and that will come from either raising the cap and/or finding other ways to get more money into it. I will not cut benefits. I want to enhance benefits for low-income workers and for women who have been disadvantaged by the current Social Security system. But what Donald is proposing with these massive tax cuts will result in a $20 trillion additional national debt. That will have dire consequences for Social Security and Medicare. And I'll say something about the Affordable Care Act, which he wants to repeal. The Affordable Care Act extended the solvency of the Medicare Trust Fund. So if repeals it, our Medicare problem gets worse. What we need to do is go after...

TRUMP: Your husband disagrees with you.

CLINTON: ... the long-term health care drivers. We've got to get costs down, increase value, emphasize wellness. I have a plan for doing that. And I think that we will be able to get entitlement spending under control by with more resources and harder decisions.

WALLACE: This is—this is the final time, probably to both of your delight, that you're going to be on a stage together in this campaign. I would like to end it on a positive note. You had not agreed to closing statements, but it seems to me in a funny way that might make it more interesting because you haven't prepared closing statements. So I'd like you each to take—and we're going to put a clock up, a minute, as the final question in the final debate, to tell the

American people why they should elect you to be the next president. This is another new mini-segment. Secretary Clinton, it's your turn to go first.

CLINTON: Well, I would like to say to everyone watching tonight that I'm reaching out to all Americans—Democrats, Republicans, and independents—because we need everybody to help make our country what it should be, to grow the economy, to make it fairer, to make it work for everyone. We need your talents, your skills, your commitments, your energy, your ambition. You know, I've been privileged to see the presidency up close. And I know the awesome responsibility of protecting our country and the incredible opportunity of working to try to make life better for all of you. I have made the cause of children and families really my life's work. That's what my mission will be in the presidency. I will stand up for families against powerful interests, against corporations. I will do everything that I can to make sure that you have good jobs, with rising incomes, that your kids have good educations from preschool through college. I hope you will give me a chance to serve as your president.

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton, thank you. Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: She's raising the money from the people she wants to control. Doesn't work that way. But when I started this campaign, I started it very strongly. It's called "Make America Great Again." We're going to make America great. We have a depleted military. It has to be helped, has to be fixed. We have the greatest people on Earth in our military. We don't take care of our veterans. We take care of illegal immigrants, people that come into the country illegally, better than we take care of our vets. That can't happen. Our policemen and women are disrespected. We need law and order, but we need justice, too. Our inner cities are a disaster. You get shot walking to the store. They have no education. They have no jobs. I will do more for African-Americans and Latinos than she can ever do in 10 lifetimes. All she's done is talk to the African-Americans and to the Latinos, but they get the vote, and then they come back, they say, we'll see you in four years. We are going to make America strong again, and we are going to make America great again, and it has to start now. We cannot take four more years of Barack Obama, and that's what you get when you get her.

WALLACE: Thank you both. [*applause*] Secretary Clinton—hold on just a moment, folks. Secretary Clinton, Mr. Trump, I want to thank you both for participating in all three of these debates. That brings to an end this year's debates sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates. We want to thank the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, and its students for having us. Now the decision is up to you. While millions have already voted, Election Day, November 8th, is just 20 days away. One thing everyone here can agree on: We hope you will go vote. It is one of the honors and obligations of living in this great country. Thank you, and good night.

APPENDIX 8E:
TRUMP DEBATE EXCERPTS ON FOREIGN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

TRUMP: ... you've been fighting ISIS your entire adult life (B, 87).

TRUMP: Well, first I have to say one thing, very important. Secretary Clinton is talking about taking out ISIS. "We will take out ISIS." Well, President Obama and Secretary Clinton created a vacuum the way they got out of Iraq, because they got out—what, they shouldn't have been in, but once they got in, the way they got out was a disaster. And ISIS was formed. So she talks about taking them out. She's been doing it a long time. She's been trying to take them out for a long time. But they wouldn't have even been formed if they left some troops behind, like 10,000 or maybe something more than that. And then you wouldn't have had them. Or, as I've been saying for a long time, and I think you'll agree, because I said it to you once, had we taken the oil—and we should have taken the oil—ISIS would not have been able to form either, because the oil was their primary source of income. And now they have the oil all over the place, including the oil—a lot of the oil in Libya, which was another one of her disasters (B 839-849).

TRUMP: ... You look at the Middle East, it's a total mess. Under your direction, to a large extent (B, 883-884).

TRUMP: ... to knock the hell out of ISIS, and we have to do it fast, when ISIS formed in this vacuum created by Barack Obama and Secretary Clinton. And believe me, you were the ones that took out the troops. Not only that, you named the day. They couldn't believe it (B, 904-907).

TRUMP: When they formed, when they formed, this is something that never should have happened. It should have never happened. Now, you're talking about taking out ISIS. But you were there, and you were secretary of state when it was a little infant. Now it's in over 30 countries. And you're going to stop them? I don't think so (B, 911-914).

TRUMP: I will go very quickly. But I will tell you that Hillary will tell you to go to her website and read all about how to defeat ISIS, which she could have defeated by never having it, you know, get going in the first place. Right now, it's getting tougher and tougher to defeat them, because they're in more and more places, more and more states, more and more nations (B, 1071-074).

TRUMP: ... knock the hell out of ISIS. We're going to defeat ISIS. ISIS happened a number of years ago in a vacuum that was left because of bad judgment. And I will tell you, I will take care of ISIS (C, 66-67).

TRUMP: First of all, Captain Khan is an American hero, and if I were president at that time, he would be alive today, because unlike her, who voted for the war without knowing what she was doing, I would not have had our people in Iraq. Iraq was a disaster. So he would have been alive today (C, 440-442).

TRUMP: And, again, Bernie Sanders, it's really bad judgment. She has made bad judgment not only on taxes. She's made bad judgments on Libya, on Syria, on Iraq. I mean, her and Obama, whether you like it or not, the way they got out of Iraq, the vacuum they've left, that's why ISIS formed in the first place. They started from that little area, and now they're in 32 different nations, Hillary. Congratulations. Great job (C, 653-657).

TRUMP: ... 200 admirals and generals, they can't believe it. All I say is this. General George Patton, General Douglas MacArthur are spinning in their grave at the stupidity of what we're doing in the Middle East (C, 797-799).

TRUMP: And frankly, when you look at her real record, take a look at Syria. Take a look at the migration. Take a look at Libya. Take a look at Iraq. She gave us ISIS, because her and Obama created this huge vacuum, and a small group came out of that huge vacuum because when—we should never have been in Iraq, but once we were there, we should have never got out the way they wanted to get out. She gave us ISIS as sure as you are sitting there. And what happened is now ISIS is in 32 countries. And now I listen how she's going to get rid of ISIS. She's going to get rid of nobody (D, 599-605).

TRUMP: It's a criminal enterprise. Saudi Arabia giving $25 million, Qatar, all of these countries. You talk about women and women's rights? So these are people that push gays off business—off buildings. These are people that kill women and treat women horribly. And yet you take their money. So I'd like to ask you right now, why don't you give back the money that you've taken from certain countries that treat certain groups of people so horribly? (D, 726-730).

TRUMP: Iraq. You shouldn't have been in Iraq, but you did vote for it. You shouldn't have been in Iraq, but once you were in Iraq, you should have never left the way (D, 914-915).

TRUMP: It's so ridiculous what she—she will defeat ISIS. We should have never let ISIS happen in the first place. And right now, they're in 32 countries (D, 1038-1039).

APPENDIX/CONCLUSION:
EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT *NEW WORLD ORDER THEORY*

Evidence to support *New World Order Theory* and Trump's rejection of this paradigm

This study has found that the following strategies have been found to be employed by the establishment paradigm; they are listed here along with whether or not Trump rejected them in his debate performances.

a. The use of the CIA to carry out a regime-change agenda (Appendix 7G)
This thesis has discussed this well-known strategy (Shipp 2017; Chapters 1 and 7). Trump criticized the funding of 'rebels' in Syria, stating that America had no idea who these individuals being funded were; they were not properly vetted.

b. The vilification of the leaders of countries targeted for regime-change years in advance (Appendix 7G)
As outlined in Chapter 5, the Weekly Addresses show that Libya, Syria and Iran have been discussed negatively since the Reagan administration; this is in-line with the regime-change planning being undertaken since that time, as described in the evidence in (a).
While Trump criticized Iran in the debates, mainly in reference to Obama's Iran Deal, he attacked the NATO-led regime-change carried out in Libya, supported decreased aggression in Syria and condemned the Iraq War.

c. The use of falsified/unverified 'facts' as evidence
This strategy has been used in the first Iraq War, the second Iraq War and in the NATO intervention in Libya. While – interestingly – Assad's alleged bombing of Syrian civilians went unmentioned in the debates, Clinton instead accused Assad and Russia of committing war crimes in their bombing of Aleppo. Russia and Assad have contested that Aleppo was a western-backed terrorist stronghold. This is another instance of the U.S. accusing foreign powers of criminal activity without evidence. Trump refused to align with this narrative.

d. The tragedy/threat/terrorist threat argument pattern
As discussed in Chapter 7, this pattern was employed by:

The George W. Bush administration in the UN speech by Colin Powell to justify the invasion of Iraq > *tragedy/threat/terrorist threat* (see Chapter 7)

Obama in the March 26th, 2011 Libya speech > *tragedy/threat* (Appendix 7J)

Obama in the September 10th, 2013 Syria speech > *tragedy/threat/terrorist threat* (Appendix 7H)

Additionally, an overview of George W. Bush's Presidential policies shows that Gadhafi had been previously been accused of producing Weapons of Mass Destruction and as having links to terrorism.[2]

Obama in the September 13th and September 20th, 2014 Syria speeches > *tragedy/threat/terrorist threat* (Appendix 7K, 7L)

Obama's criminal justice reform argument trajectory > *conflation of criminal justice reform and threat of terrorism* (Appendix 7N)

Obama's gun control argument trajectory > *tragedy/threat/terrorist threat* (Appendix 7O)

Hillary Clinton's debate performance:
Russia and Assad in Aleppo > *tragedy/threat* (Appendix C, 707-725)
Gun control > *tragedy/threat/terrorist threat* (Appendix D, 1015-1034 and B, 595-611).

Hillary Clinton also argues repeatedly in the debates that America needs to pursue ISIS on the internet (B818-832, D 878-881). This was in-line with statements Obama made as well and his agenda at the UN at the time.[3] Considering the pattern of using terrorism to justify unpopular policies, it is possible that ISIS was being used here to justify censoring the internet.

Additionally, within the Presidential debates, the moderator asks a question regarding Syria which reinforces this pattern:

Mainstream media debate question framing:
Russia and Assad in Aleppo > *tragedy/threat* (Appendix C, 696-706)

This data shows that the strategy of using terrorism to justify foreign interventions and gun control measures was employed by the new world order paradigm. The media, who framed the debate questions, followed this agenda as well. While Trump supported attacking ISIS online in agreement with Clinton, he rejected Clinton's use of the tragedy/threat pattern on Syria and gun control.

e. The equation of war with peace and/or America as a savior
This strategy, whereby the population is told that war will make the world safer, is used in the following speeches:

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[2] George W. Bush White House Archives (2018). 'Policies of the Bush administration'. *White House Office of Communications.* Available: https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/infocus/bushrecord/documents/Policies_of_the_Bush_Administration.pdf
[3] Newman, A. 'UN and Obama launch global war on 'ideologies''. *The New American.* October 1st, 2015. Available: https://www.thenewamerican.com/world-news/north-america/item/21682-un-and-obama-launch-global-war-on-ideologies

George Bush Sr. *First Iraq War speech*, January 5th, 1991 Weekly Address:
"As a result, America and her partners in this unprecedented coalition are sharing the burden of this important mission, and we are ready to use force to defend a new order emerging among the nations of the world - a world of sovereign nations living in peace... At stake is the kind of world we will inhabit".

George W. Bush, *Address to the Nation Announcing Allied Military Action in the Persian Gulf*, January 16th, 1991:
"[The first invasion of Iraq] is an historic moment. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war. We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order - a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. When we are successful - and we will be - we have a real chance at this New World Order, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders".

George W. Bush, *Second Iraq War speech*, December 7th, 2002 Weekly Address:
"Americans seek peace in the world. War is the last option for confronting threats, yet the temporary peace of denial and looking away from danger would only be a prelude to a broader war and greater horror. America will confront gathering dangers early. By showing our resolve today, we are building a future of peace".

Obama, March 26th 2011 *Libya Weekly Address:*
"In recent days, we've heard the voices of Libyans expressing their gratitude for this mission. 'You saved our lives,' said one Libyan. Said another, 'Today, there is hope'.

Obama, September 10th, 2013 *Syria Address to the Nation:*
"But al Qaeda will only draw strength in a more chaotic Syria if people there see the world doing nothing to prevent innocent civilians from being gassed to death. The majority of the Syrian people - and the Syrian opposition we work with - just want to live in peace, with dignity and freedom. And the day after any military action, we would redouble our efforts to achieve a political solution that strengthens those who reject the forces of tyranny and extremism".

Obama, September 20th, 2014 *Weekly Address:*
"When the world is threatened, when the world needs help, it calls on America".

Hillary Clinton, *First Presidential Debate:*
"Are we going to lead the world with strength and in accordance with our values? That's what I intend to do. I intend to be a leader of our country that people can count on, both here at home and around the world, to make decisions that will further peace and prosperity, but also stand up to bullies, whether they're abroad

> or at home. We cannot let those who would try to destabilize the world to interfere with American interests and security..."

These speeches reinforce the idea that this globalized, centralized model is what is best for the world. Trump did not support the 'war is peace' agenda.

f. Terrorism as an excuse for unpopular foreign invasions and unpopular policies
This was partially discussed in (d.) but it is important to stress that under Constitutional law, the U.S. should not invade a foreign nation unless Congress approves of this action. The need for actors promoting war to subsequently depict the target nation as a threat to America is therefore imperative as Congress much be convinced to support war, which is often unpopular with the populace. The threat of terrorism, which can be argued to be a risk to all nations, is consequently a highly effective strategy. This strategy, which was most clearly illustrated in Obama's 2014 speech on Syria (see Chapter 7), is only directly used in reference to two policy agendas: foreign invasions and gun control. Clinton continued this trajectory; Trump did not.

g. Partnership with Saudi Arabia and Qatar, the major funders of global terrorism
This partnership was established following World War I; it remained consistent through the Obama administration and both countries heavily funded the Clinton Global Initiative. Trump strongly criticized this relationship and Saudi's human rights record, specifically in reference to the country's appalling treatment of women and homosexuals.

h. The creation of terrorism (knowingly or unknowingly)
Along with the use of the CIA to carry out the training of terrorists in Syria (see a.), policies which additionally created terrorism have been employed by the George W. Bush and Obama administrations. Under George W. Bush, prisons such as Abu Ghraib in which torture was being used were set-up across the Middle East. The drone-warfare program is also widely criticized as creating terrorism. In relation to the other strategies outlined in this section, along with the testimony of General Wesley Clark and General Flynn, there is a highly probable chance that terrorism was being purposefully created in order to carry out the new world order regime-change agenda in the Middle East. Trump repeatedly questioned how ISIS had successfully grown and spread into 32 countries during the Obama administration.

i. Control of the media
These institutions were used to promote language in which terrorism was re-defined; terrorists became 'rebels'. This label is at odds with the definition of 'terrorist' (see Chapters 7 and 8). Trump aggressively attacked the media; during the third debate he went as far as saying (C810-814):

> First of all, the media is so dishonest and so corrupt, and the pile-on is so amazing... It's so dishonest. And they've poisoned the mind of the voters. But unfortunately for them, I think the voters are seeing through it. I think they're going to see through it. We'll find out on November 8th. But I think they're going to see through it.

It is very important to reiterate that the mainstream media is the mouthpiece of the CFR.

j. The further re-definition of America as a permanent war state

Under George W. Bush "the most extensive security reorganization of the Federal Government since 1947" (George W. Bush White House Archives 2018: 4) was carried out, creating the Department of Homeland Security, the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, the National Counterterrorism Center, the Terrorist Screening Center, the Homeland Security Council, U.S. Northern Command and the Transportation Authority (TSA). Obama did not disband any of these institutions. The latest Gallup polls show Americans have a near-zero concern with terrorism.[4] Despite this unconcern with the terrorist threat, Obama and Clinton continued the War on Terror; Trump did not argue to increase intervention in Syria.

j. Attacks on the Constitution

The Patriot Act was signed into law by George W. Bush. Hillary Clinton voted in favor of it at the time. Obama re-signed it. U.S. intervention in Libya and Syria, the ACA, the bank bailouts, the continuing existence of the Federal Reserve and the gun control agenda are all now being argued to be un-Constitutional. With the exception of the bank bailouts which went undiscussed in the debates, Trump criticized all of the above.

[4] Zerohedge. 'Gallup shows how much America really cares about the 'situation with Russia'". July 19th, 2018. Available: https://www.zerohedge.com/news/2018-07-19/gallup-shows-how-much-americans-really-care-about-situation-russia

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