

## Online Appendix for “The Ideational Approach to Populism”

Following are the documents used in training coders and coding speeches. The first is a blank copy of the coding rubric (2 pages). Coders are asked to use the rubric as a record of their code for each speech, as well as a guide in assigning a score. A rubric is completed for each speech by each coder separately. In addition to providing basic information to identify the speech, coders select the final score for the speech (by deleting the unused scores at the top), provide a paragraph of explanation for their score at the bottom, and paste illustrative quotes from the speech in corresponding cells of the table. Not all cells of the table have to be filled. Although the table conveys a more analytic feel that breaks the discourse down into its components, coders are instructed to avoid merely summing up the results of the table and instead provide a truly holistic grade that reflects the descriptions next to each score at the top of the table.

The remaining documents are copies of the anchor texts used in training. We use speeches by Robert Mugabe (Statement on the occasion of the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, 2 September 2002, scored a 2), Evo Morales (I believe only in the power of the people, delivered in 2003, scored a 2), Tony Blair (Speech on the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and EU enlargement, delivered on 19 April 2004, scored a 0), Stephen Harper (The Federal Accountability Act, delivered on 4 November 2005, scored a 1), Barack Obama (President Obama’s State of the Union address, delivered on 24 January 2012, scored between a 0 and 1), Sarah Palin (Sarah Palin Speaks at Tea Party Convention, delivered 6 February 2010, scored between a 1 and a 2), and George Bush (Address of the President to the joint session of Congress, delivered on 20 September 2001, scored a 0).

These same anchor texts have been used in all of our coding exercises. The first speech, by Mugabe, is read and discussed during the first training session; this is an easily grasped example of a 2 speech that helps introduce the concept of populist discourse. The speeches by Morales, Blair, and Harper are given as homework in preparation for the second day and are also relatively easy to code; we intentionally provide speeches that clearly exemplify each score (2, 1, and 0). The speeches by Palin, Obama, and Bush are given in preparation for the third day and are meant to be challenging. The speech of Obama is the most straightforward and is usually given a 0, although some coders feel it deserves a 1. That of Palin is also an “in between” speech, receiving either a 1 or a 2. The Bush speech is the most challenging and is used to highlight the importance of content over tone; its Manichaeian outlooks suggests something strongly populist (many coders first give it a 2), but the absence of a conspiring elite (Islamic fundamentalists are not a meaningful international or domestic elite) or any references to restoring a subverted system demonstrate that it deserves something closer to a 0.

Note that all of the anchor texts—and training—are in English. Most coders receive a fourth day of training, and in preparation for this receive an additional set of three speeches to code that are in the language of the speeches they will eventually be coding for the study. This set of speeches varies by coder and is not included here, but we attempt to select speeches for this final exercise that are likely to receive different scores.

**Name of politician:**

**Title of Speech:**

**Date of Speech:**

**Category:**

**Grader:**

**Date of grading:**

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

2 A speech in this category is extremely populist and comes very close to the ideal populist discourse. Specifically, the speech expresses all or nearly all of the elements of ideal populist discourse, and has few elements that would be considered non-populist.

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

0 A speech in this category uses few if any populist elements. Note that even if a manifesto expresses a Manichaeian worldview, it is not considered populist if it lacks some notion of a popular will.

<b>Populist</b>	<b>Pluralist</b>
It conveys a Manichaeian vision of the world, that is, one that is moral (every issue has a strong moral dimension) and dualistic (everything is in one category or the other, “right” or “wrong,” “good” or “evil”) The implication—or even the stated idea—is that there can be nothing in between, no fence-sitting, no shades of grey. This leads to the use of highly charged, even bellicose language.	The discourse does not frame issues in moral terms or paint them in black-and-white. Instead, there is a strong tendency to focus on <b>narrow, particular issues</b> . The discourse will emphasize or at least not eliminate the possibility of natural, justifiable differences of opinion.
The moral significance of the items mentioned in the speech is heightened by ascribing <b>cosmic proportions</b> to them, that is, by claiming that they affect people everywhere (possibly but not necessarily across the world) and across time. Especially in this last regard, frequent references may be made to a reified notion of “history.” At the same time, the speaker will justify the moral significance of his or her ideas by tying them to <b>national and religious leaders</b> that are generally revered.	The discourse will probably not refer to any reified notion of history or use any cosmic proportions. References to the spatial and temporal consequences of issues will be limited to the material reality rather than any mystical connections.
Although Manichaeian, the discourse is still democratic, in the sense that the good is	Democracy is simply the calculation of votes. This should be respected and is seen as the

<p>embodied in the will of the majority, which is seen as a unified whole, perhaps but not necessarily expressed in references to the “voluntad del pueblo”; however, the speaker ascribes a kind of unchanging essentialism to that will, rather than letting it be whatever 50 percent of the people want at any particular moment. Thus, this good majority is romanticized, with some notion of the common man (urban or rural) seen as the embodiment of the national ideal.</p>	<p>foundation of legitimate government, but it is not meant to be an exercise in arriving at a preexisting, knowable “will.” The majority shifts and changes across issues. The common man is not romanticized, and the notion of citizenship is broad and legalistic.</p>
<p>The evil is embodied in a minority whose specific identity will vary according to context. Domestically, in Latin America it is often an economic elite, perhaps the “oligarchy,” but it may also be a racial elite; internationally, it may be the United States or the capitalist, industrialized nations or international financiers or simply an ideology such as neoliberalism and capitalism.</p>	<p>The discourse avoids a conspiratorial tone and does not single out any evil ruling minority. It avoids labeling opponents as evil and may not even mention them in an effort to maintain a positive tone and keep passions low.</p>
<p>Crucially, the evil minority is or was recently in charge and subverted the system to its own interests, against those of the good majority or the people. Thus, systemic change is/was required, often expressed in terms such as “revolution” or “liberation” of the people from their “immiseration” or bondage, even if technically it comes about through elections.</p>	<p>The discourse does not argue for systemic change but, as mentioned above, focuses on particular issues. In the words of Laclau, it is a politics of “differences” rather than “hegemony.”</p>
<p>Because of the moral baseness of the threatening minority, non-democratic means may be openly justified or at least the minority’s continued enjoyment of these will be seen as a generous concession by the people; the speech itself may exaggerate or abuse data to make this point, and the language will show a bellicosity towards the opposition that is incendiary and condescending, lacking the decorum that one shows a worthy opponent.</p>	<p>Formal rights and liberties are openly respected, and the opposition is treated with courtesy and as a legitimate political actor. The discourse will not encourage or justify illegal, violent actions. There will be great respect for institutions and the rule of law. If data is abused, it is either an innocent mistake or an embarrassing breach of democratic standards.</p>

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

# **ZIMBABWE**

## **Statement**

**by**

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF ZIMBABWE  
COMRADE R.G. MUGABE,**

**on the occasion of the  
World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD),**

Johannesburg,  
2 September, 2002

Your Excellency, Thabo Mbeki, President of the Republic of South Africa,  
Your Excellency, Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations,  
Majesties,  
Your Excellencies, Heads of State and Government,  
Mr. Nitin Desai, the Secretary General of the World Summit on Sustainable  
Development,  
Distinguished Delegates,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Comrades and Friends.

Comrade President, let me begin by congratulating you and the people of South Africa on hosting this mammoth and yet historic Earth Summit- on the southern tip of our continent. It is a great honour and source of African pride to all of us who live, belong and rightfully own this great corner of the Earth.

Ten years ago, we gathered in Rio de Janeiro, in the same numbers and were moved by the same developmental anxieties that many of us have today. We worried about our troubled Earth and its dangerously diminishing flora and fauna. We worried about the variegated poor of our societies, in their swelling numbers and ever deepening, distressful social conditions. We complained about the unequal economic power that existed and still exists between the North and the South and had historically reposed itself in our international institutions, including the United Nations. We spoke against unequal terms of trade that made rich and powerful nations enjoy undeserved rewards

from world trade.

Indeed, we denounced the debt burden by which the rich North continued to take away the impoverished South even that little which they still had.

Your Excellencies, we must examine why, 10 years after Rio, the poor remain very much with us, poorer and far more exposed and vulnerable than ever before. Our children suffer from malnutrition, hunger and diseases, compounded now by the deadly HIV-Aids pandemic. No, the World is not like it was at Rio; it is much worse and much more dangerous. Today Rio stands out in history as a milestone betrayed.

The multilateral programme of action we set for ourselves at Rio has not only been unfulfilled but it has also been ignored, sidelined and replaced by a half-baked unilateral agenda of globalisation in the service of big corporate interests of the North. The focus is profit, not the poor, the process is globalisation, not sustainable development, while the objective is exploitation, not liberation.

Comrade President, 10 years after Rio, the time has come for all of us to state quite categorically that the agenda of sustainable development is not compatible with the current dominant market fundamentalism coming from the proponents of globalisation.

The betrayal of the collective agenda we set at Rio is a compelling manifestation of bad global governance, lack of real political will by the North and a total absence of a just rule of law in international affairs. The unilateralism of the unipolar world has reduced the rest of mankind to collective underdogs, chattels of a rich, the wilful few in the North who beat, batter and bully us under the dirty cover of democracy, rule of law and good governance. Otherwise how would they undermine at global level the same values of good governance and rule of law they arrogantly demand from the South?

Institutionally, we have relied for much too long on structures originally set to recover and rebuild Europe after a devastating war against Nazism. Over the years, these outdated institutions have been unilaterally transformed to dominate the world for the realisation of the strategic national goals of the rich North. That is why, for example, the International Monetary Fund has never been a fund for poor peasants seeking sustainable development. Even the United Nations, a body that is supposed to give us equal voices, remains unreformed and undemocratic, largely because of resistance from the powerful and often selfish North.

Comrade President, it has become starkly clear to us that the failure of sustainable development is a direct and necessary outcome of a neo-liberal model of development propelled by runaway market forces that have been defended in the name of globalisation. Far from putting people first, this model rests on entrenching inequities; give away privatisation of public enterprises and banishing of the State from the public sphere for the benefit of big business. This has been a vicious, all-out, assault on the poor and their instruments of sustainable development. In Zimbabwe, we have, with a

clear mind and vision, resolved to bring -to an end this neo-liberal model.

For us in Zimbabwe, the agenda for sustainable development has to be reasserted, with a vigorous, democratic and progressive interventionist State and public sector capable of playing a full and responsible developmental role. We are ready to defend the agenda of the poor and we are clear that we can only do that if we do not pander to foreign interests or answer to false imperatives that are not only clearly alien and inimical to the interests of the poor who have given us the mandate to govern them but are also hostile to the agenda for sustainable development.

For these reasons, we join our brothers and sisters in the Third World in rejecting completely manipulative and intimidatory attempts by some countries and regional blocks that are bent on subordinating our sovereignty to their hegemonic ambitions and imperial interests, falsely presented as matters of rule of law, democracy and good governance. The rule of law, democracy and governance are values that we cherish because we fought for them against the very same people who today seek to preach to us. The sustainable empowerment of the poor cannot take place in circumstances where democratic national sovereignties are assaulted and demonised on a daily basis. The poor should be able to use their sovereignty to fight poverty and preserve their heritage in their corner of the earth.

That is why we, in Zimbabwe, understand only too well that sustainable development is not possible without agrarian reforms that acknowledges, in our case, that land comes first before all else, and that all else grows from and off it. This is the one asset that not only defines the Zimbabwean personality and demarcates sovereignty but also that has a direct bearing on the fortunes of the poor and prospects for their immediate empowerment and sustainable development. Indeed, ours is an agrarian economy, an imperative that renders the issue of access to land paramount. Inequitable access to land is at the heart of poverty, food insecurity and lack of development in Zimbabwe. Consequently, the question of agrarian reforms has, in many developing countries, to be high on the agenda of sustainable development if we are to meet the targets that are before us for adoption at this Summit.

In our situation in Zimbabwe, this fundamental question has pitted the black majority who are the right-holders, and, therefore, primary stakeholders, to our land against an obdurate and internationally well-connected racial minority, largely of British descent and brought in and sustained by British colonialism. Economically, we are an occupied country, 22 years after our Independence. Accordingly, my Government has decided to do the only right and just thing by taking back land and giving it to its rightful indigenous, black owners who lost it in circumstances of colonial pillage. This process is being done in accordance with the rule of law as enshrined in our national Constitution and laws. It is in pursuit of true justice as we know and understand it, and so we have no apologies to make to any one.

Finally Comrade President, Zimbabwe has alongside other Southern African countries suffered a severe drought, itself a reminder that all is not well on our Earth. We

continue to import food to sustain all our citizens during this period of drought. I join other Heads of State or Government in our SADC region in expressing my gratitude and appreciation to those countries and organisations that pledged to assist us.

Mr Chairman, as we look at the next decade we must honestly acknowledge those of our actions which have served mankind and those many others which have undermined our collective well-being. Clearly there has to be a paradigm shift from the globalised corporate model to a people centred paradigm that reaffirms that people must always come first in any process of sustainable development.

I thank you.

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Weekend Edition December 30-32, 2005  
Our Struggle is Against US Imperialism  
I Believe Only in the Power of the People  
by EVO MORALES

*This is the text of a speech given on December 24 at the "In Defense of Humanity" conference [kah: the speech/conference was in 2003, shortly after the events mentioned in the speech.]*

What happened these past days in Bolivia was a great revolt by those who have been oppressed for more than 500 years. The will of the people was imposed this September and October, and has begun to overcome the empire's cannons. We have lived for so many years through the confrontation of two cultures: the culture of life represented by the indigenous people, and the culture of death represented by West. When we the indigenous people—together with the workers and even the businessmen of our country—fight for life and justice, the State responds with its "democratic rule of law."

What does the "rule of law" mean for indigenous people? For the poor, the marginalized, the excluded, the "rule of law" means the targeted assassinations and collective massacres that we have endured. Not just this September and October, but for many years, in which they have tried to impose policies of hunger and poverty on the Bolivian people. Above all, the "rule of law" means the accusations that we, the Quechuas, Aymaras and Guaranties of Bolivia keep hearing from our governments: that we are narcos, that we are anarchists. This uprising of the Bolivian people has been not only about gas and hydrocarbons, but an intersection of many issues: discrimination, marginalization , and most importantly, the failure of neoliberalism.

The cause of all these acts of bloodshed, and for the uprising of the Bolivian people, has a name: neoliberalism. With courage and defiance, we brought down Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada—the symbol of neoliberalism in our country—on October 17, the Bolivians' day of dignity and identity. We began to bring down the symbol of corruption and the political mafia.

And I want to tell you, companeras and companeros, how we have built the consciousness of the Bolivian people from the bottom up. How quickly the Bolivian people have reacted, have said—as Subcomandante Marcos says—ya basta!, enough policies of hunger and misery.

For us, October 17th is the beginning of a new phase of construction. Most importantly, we face the task of ending selfishness and individualism, and creating—from the rural campesino and indigenous communities to the urban slums—other forms of living, based on solidarity and mutual aid. We must think about how to redistribute the wealth that is concentrated among few hands. This is the great task we Bolivian people face after this great uprising.

It has been very important to organize and mobilize ourselves in a way based on transparency, honesty, and control over our own organizations. And it has been important not only to organize but also to unite. Here we are now, united intellectuals in defense of humanity—I think we must have not only unity among the social movements, but also that we must coordinate with the intellectual movements. Every gathering, every event of this nature for we labor leaders who come from the social struggle, is a great lesson that allows us to exchange experiences and to keep strengthening our people and our grassroots organizations.

Thus, in Bolivia, our social movements, our intellectuals, our workers—even those political parties which support the popular struggle joined together to drive out Gonzalo Sánchez Lozada. Sadly, we paid the price with many of our lives, because the empire's arrogance and tyranny continue humiliating the Bolivian people.

It must be said, compañeras and compañeros, that we must serve the social and popular movements rather than the transnational corporations. I am new to politics; I had hated it and had been afraid of becoming a career politician. But I realized that politics had once been the science of serving the people, and that getting involved in politics is important if you want to help your people. By getting involved, I mean living for politics, rather than living off of politics. We have coordinated our struggles between the social movements and political parties, with the support of our academic institutions, in a way that has created a greater national consciousness. That is what made it possible for the people to rise up in these recent days.

When we speak of the "defense of humanity," as we do at this event, I think that this only happens by eliminating neoliberalism and imperialism. But I think that in this we are not so alone, because we see, every day that anti-imperialist thinking is spreading, especially after Bush's bloody "intervention" policy in Iraq. Our way of organizing and uniting against the system, against the empire's aggression towards our people, is spreading, as are the strategies for creating and strengthening the power of the people.

I believe only in the power of the people. That was my experience in my own region, a single province—the importance of local power. And now, with all that has happened in Bolivia, I have seen the importance of the power of a whole people, of a whole nation. For those of us who believe it important to defend humanity, the best contribution we can make is to help create that popular power. This happens when we check our personal interests with those of the group. Sometimes, we commit to the social movements in order to win power. We need to be led by the people, not use or manipulate them.

We may have differences among our popular leaders—and it's true that we have them in Bolivia. But when the people are conscious, when the people know what needs to be done, any difference among the different local leaders ends. We've been making progress in this for a long time, so that our people are finally able to rise up, together.

What I want to tell you, compañeras and compañeros—what I dream of and what we as leaders from Bolivia dream of is that our task at this moment should be to strengthen anti-imperialist thinking. Some leaders are now talking about how we—the intellectuals, the social and political

movements—can organize a great summit of people like Fidel, Chávez, and Lula to say to everyone: "We are here, taking a stand against the aggression of the US imperialism."

A summit at which we are joined by compañera Rigoberta Menchú, by other social and labor leaders, great personalities like Pérez Ezquivel. A great summit to say to our people that we are together, united, and defending humanity. We have no other choice, compañeros and compañeras—if we want to defend humanity we must change systems and this means overthrowing US imperialism.

*EVO MORALES is the newly elected president of Bolivia.*

**Tony Blair**

**Speech on the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and EU enlargement  
19 April 2004**

When the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development was set up in 1991, there was a unique opportunity to develop a new wider Europe, based on plural democracy and market-based economies.

Today, only twelve days before the accession to the EU of 10 new member states, we can say with pride that the opportunity has been successfully seized. It is a credit to the Governments of the region, and a credit to the EBRD, which has played a vital role in the process thanks to its unique mandate.

The extent and speed of change has been impressive. It may have been slower than some optimists hoped for at the start. And it has sometimes been painful for those losing the security and certainty of an old system and not seeing the early benefits of a new one. But the completion of the Europe's biggest ever enlargement, with the prospect of more countries joining in the years ahead, is the clearest sign that the reform journey has been worthwhile.

The 1st May will be a genuinely historic day. The day that the division of Europe - the legacy of the Second World War and the Cold War - will be erased. The first day for new reunited Europe, for an EU of 25. It is a transformation which we can see for ourselves, whether in the high streets of Prague or Budapest, or in the conference rooms of Brussels. Europe has changed in a thousand ways, and for the better.

From the outset, there has been no stronger supporter of the enlargement process than Britain. It has been a rather rare point of cross-party consensus in Britain, where Europe is concerned. This government has championed it energetically. We are proud of the part we have played - both up front and behind the scenes - to help the accession countries along the path to membership. You, the members and the staff of the EBRD also deserve to be proud. But the real achievement belongs to the ten countries which themselves have managed this transition.

Enlargement will increase stability, security and prosperity in our region. It will help prevent conflict in Europe ever reoccurring. It will entrench and help spread democracy, the rule of law and human rights. It will widen our co-operation to face new threats - from environmental degradation to terrorism - together.

It will create a vast free trade market of 450 million consumers is an enormous achievement, with immense potential for the future. Increased trade, investment, and competition will benefit us all - in the new EU countries and the existing members alike.

In Britain, the Treasury estimates that 100,000 British jobs are already linked to the export of goods and services to the new EU member states. Our trade with the eight largest accession states has grown by almost 200% in the last decade. Studies predict that this trade will continue to expand, creating more jobs in the future.

Of course enlargement also bring new challenges. It will force the EU to review its processes, institutions and ideas. It means that the EU has new neighbours, with whom we must strengthen our relationships. We must adapt to reflect our expanded membership, as well as the changing world in which we live.

In particular, Europe must press ahead with the process of economic reform. I am convinced that the entry of ten new members will be a boost for this agenda. The record of modernisation which the new members have demonstrated in the last decade and a half is an inspiring example to all of us. Their proven determination and commitment to reform will be an asset to the whole of the EU.

Ten years ago, few of us would have envisaged the shape of Europe we now live in. But few could deny that Europe is today a more secure, stable and prosperous place.

This enlargement has undoubtedly been one of the European project's greatest success stories. Now we must sustain the process so future generations can continue to reap the benefits.

We hope to complete negotiations with Bulgaria and Romania by end of this year. Then we have a crucial decision on Turkey in December, with the chance to anchor Turkey's place in Europe. And we have the prospect of future membership for the Western Balkans.

That is why the EBRD will still have a very important role in the years ahead.

The EBRD has been at the heart of the process of transition, supporting the economic and political transformation of many nations over the last thirteen years.

The Bank was not set up to exist for ever. It is there to help countries make the transition, to a point where their own domestic institutions and investors and international business provide the basis for their economic growth.

The transition is not yet finished in the countries which are about to join the EU. The EBRD will still help them complete this process. But as they gain a new framework of support as EU members, and as the interest of international investors grows, the EBRD's role should naturally fall away over the years to come.

Nevertheless, there is still a major role for the Bank in countries further east and south. You are already playing a key role in Bulgaria and Romania. The Bank has assisted international efforts for stabilization and reconstruction in the Balkans. It has become an increasingly important partner in Russia's reform efforts. This vital work must continue.

The Bank needs to make a more concerted effort in those countries of the region which are at an early stage of transition. These countries require substantial help to reduce poverty, to promote growth and tackle corruption, organised crime and HIV/AIDS.

The EBRD can bring its unique mix of private sector expertise, institutional experience and finance to bear. But it needs the commitment of the countries themselves, new interest from domestic and international investors, effective coordination with the international community and grant support.

We strongly welcome the Bank's new initiative to support the early transition countries. The UK is ready to engage with the Bank in shaping this initiative and in giving new financial support. Within the Bank this agenda needs to be promoted as a core priority.

The Bank must continue to search for ways to engage constructively in countries where problems exist over political reform. This is not about imposing a particular form of democracy from outside. Rather, it reflects the beliefs of the Bank's founders, confirmed in practice, that political reform and economic progress are inextricably linked.

The EBRD has much to be proud of - and there could be no better time to recognise that than the eve of the EU's enlargement. It is also well positioned to meet the new challenges. Its location in the City of London enables it to benefit from a huge range of expertise and experience close to hand. Its leadership and its staff have shown themselves ready to take on the next set of challenges with vigour.

It remains for me only to congratulate President Lemierre, the management and staff of the Bank on your achievements, and to wish you a very successful Annual Meeting here in London, and every success in the years ahead.

<http://www.number10.gov.uk/output/Page5654.asp>

## **The Federal Accountability Act**

**04 November 2005**

**Address by the Hon. Stephen Harper, P.C., M.P.  
Leader of the Conservative Party of Canada  
Leader of the Official Opposition**

**OTTAWA**

**Friday November 4, 2005**

**\*\*CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY \*\***

Dear Friends,

Earlier this week, Justice John Gomery confirmed what many Canadians suspected:

- The Liberal party established the Sponsorship program,
- The Liberal party ran the Sponsorship program, and
- And the Liberal party used the Sponsorship program to enrich Liberals and finance Liberal election campaigns.

The judge was clear. He said there was, quote: "clear evidence of political involvement in the administration of the sponsorship program"

Quote: "A complex web of financial transactions... involving kickbacks and illegal contributions" to the Liberal party.

And, quote: "A culture of entitlement among political officials and bureaucrats involved with the sponsorship program"

- Illegal cash and kickbacks
- Fake contracts for no work
- A culture of entitlement and corruption

These are no longer media speculations or partisan statements. These are findings of fact in a judicial inquiry.

Quebeckers, especially, are rightfully angry and outraged. This government lied to them! This government betrayed them!

But to people at home this is about more than the specific sordid details of this particular scandal.

It's about accountability. Accountability is what Canadians expect when they send their hard-earned tax dollars to Ottawa. It's what they deserve.

Government exists to serve the public.

- To serve ordinary Canadians
- To serve the people who work hard, pay their taxes and play by the rules.

It's their money that was stolen. It's their trust that was broken. And no one has been held accountable.

When I become Prime Minister I will undertake an unprecedented overhaul of the federal government, introducing sweeping reforms to make Ottawa accountable.

That is my commitment to you. Cleaning up government begins at the top.

Paul Martin said he was mad as hell about sponsorship. He went on to blame federal public servants. He blamed former ministers. He blamed his predecessor.

But under Paul Martin's watch, the waste, mismanagement and corruption has continued. We've seen Art Eggleton, a man Jean Chretien fired for giving an untendered contract to a former girlfriend; get rewarded by Paul Martin with a seat in the senate.

We've seen Paul Martin working on a half-million dollar severance deal with David Dingwall The guy who hired Chuck Guité to run government advertising, who as an unregistered lobbyist who accepted improper payments, and as a patronage champion who quit his job.

We've seen lobbyists making their pitch to Paul Martin and his ministers at \$5000 per person cocktail parties. It has to stop. And it will. Most Canadians don't think that political office should be a guaranteed, permanent career. It should be a worthy form of limited public service. We all know people in our communities who have served for a term or two on city council, the provincial legislature, as a member of parliament or as one of any of their dedicated staff.

And I think we admire most those who after having done what they came to do, simply decide to return to their former jobs and their former lives. Rather than hanging on in office or around government as lobbyists or political appointees.

I think we all have more respect for those citizens who run for office to change politics, not to have politics change them. And that is how I want to treat my time in public office

I'm here to do a job, not to join a club, not to buy into a lifestyle. And there is no more important job to do than cleaning up government and bringing accountability back to Ottawa.

If we don't clean up government, it will compromise our ability to use government as a force for good in this country.

- To ensure people get timely access to health care.
- To crack down on crime.
- To reduce taxes and reward hard work.

- To improve the quality of our life in communities.
- And yes, to keep our country united.

Canada's unity is not a reserve of money hidden in the Prime Minister's office. Not about contracts given to some friends to capitalize on our flag. Not about advertising agencies that created and built Canada.

It is about generations of men and women, from different cultures and backgrounds, who shared, and still do, common ambitions and values.

It is about a Quebec government, over 30 years ago, adopting the most severe and most equitable laws against election corruption.

The federal Liberals didn't understand that message.

I am telling you today that I will follow this example, as Prime Minister of Canada.

As I've already said, as Prime Minister, I will ensure to follow-up Justice Gomery's findings. We will not only prosecute agencies and individuals; but, as the judge said, the Liberal Party of Canada is responsible as an institution. And the Liberal party will be prosecuted.

Even this exercise will be meaningless unless our government is different. We must clean up corruption and lift the veils of secrecy that allow it to flourish. We must do nothing less than replace the culture of entitlement with the culture of accountability.

As Prime Minister the first piece of legislation I will introduce will be the Federal Accountability Act. The Federal Accountability Act will change the way business is done in Ottawa.

It will give more power to the auditor general, the ethics commissioner, the information commissioner, and the lobbyist registrar.

To make sure that these independent officers of parliament can hold the government accountable. It will make sure that all of the over \$30 billion in federal grants, contributions and contracts are awarded fairly and provide value for taxpayers' money. It will give real protection to those who blow the whistle on unethical behaviour.

It will open the windows on government with long overdue reforms to access to information laws. It will make sure that appointments to public office are fair and based on merit and qualifications.

As some of you may already know: I am not in politics because I am a good dancer or particularly funny. What I want, with the trust of my party, and with the support of all Canadians who want change, is to give a dynamic and honest government to the country we all love.

Nothing more. And nothing less.

I want to highlight three areas of the Federal Accountability Act today.

First and most importantly, this act will end the influence of big money and crack down on a lobbying culture that has thrived under Paul Martin.

As Prime Minister, I will ban all remaining corporate and union donations to federal political parties, period.

People vote, not corporations and unions. And only voters should be funding political parties.

Politics will no longer be a stepping stone to a lucrative career lobbying government.

I will close the loopholes that allow MPs and candidates to create secret personal trust funds. And I will cap all donations to federal political parties at a maximum of \$1,000 per year.

This means no more big interests lobbying the Prime Minister at behind closed doors \$5,000 a ticket cocktail parties.

This means no more hidden slush funds controlled by MPs and riding associations. All political campaigns will be funded by modest personal donations from people who believe in their cause not by special interests who think they can buy influence with politicians.

Second, we are going to crackdown on the revolving door between ministers' offices, the senior public service, and the lobbying industry.

We will ban all former ministers, ministerial staffers, or senior public officials from lobbying government for five years. We will require all ministers and senior officials to record their contacts with lobbyists. And we will make sure that there are real teeth and real penalties to enforce the Lobbyist Registration Act.

Taken together, our changes would have prevented a Liberal candidate and Martin insider like Richard Mahoney from lobbying for his clients at Liberal fundraisers without registering. And, they would have prevented David Dingwall from lobbying his old colleagues in government and accepting unethical contingency fee contracts.

Politics will no longer be a stepping stone to a lucrative career lobbying government. Make no mistake, if there are MPs in the room who want to use public office for their own benefit, if there are hill staffers who dream of making it rich trying to lobby a future Conservative government,

If that's true of any of you, you had better make different plans. Or leave.

Third, as I've said we are going to mandate the Auditor General to do a complete review of all of the more than 30 billion dollars in federal grants, contributions, and contracts. The Federal Accountability Act will give her the power to "follow the money" to the end recipients.

She must be able to find out whether money has been stolen, misused, or kicked back to political parties after it has left the federal treasury. Had she had this authority, she might have uncovered the depth of the sponsorship scandal three years ago or more. These and many more changes explained in detail in the Federal Accountability Act will change the way

that politics and government is done in this country.

Friends, no government is perfect because none of us are perfect. We cannot “dream of a system so perfect that no one will have to be good.” Whatever the system of rules, we have a duty to do what’s best for the public good when we take the oath of public office.

When I become Prime Minister, those in government will have to serve the public interest, not their personal interests. We are going to change the way government works, not just change the colour on the letterhead.

Now the liberals will say that they too are committed to reform. They say they will bring in changes to the administration of the public service. And they say that the second Gomery report will have even more ideas for reforming institutions.

We will listen to those ideas for reform.

But this scandal did not happen because of bad public servants or poor auditing. It is a scandal that happened because of the culture of entitlement and corruption in the Liberal party. And the veils of secrecy it has allowed to close around our federal government. The Liberal party has proved incapable of reforming itself.

It only acts after it has been caught.

And its actions are always half measures.

We cannot change the system by asking the opinions of judges and accountants.

As a democratic society, we must hold accountable the party and the people who allowed this to happen under their watch. Creating a different way of doing government must begin by electing a different government. The time has passed for weak reforms, promises, excuses, crocodile tears

It is time to change governments

Only a new government can ensure that those responsible are held accountable to the full extent of the law. And only a new government will be able to impose real reforms that will weed out the remaining problems root and branch.

When I am prime minister we will bring in the Federal Accountability Act. It will not make things perfect, but it will ensure that people are held to account for their actions. This plan which I have introduced is my commitment to Canadians to clean up government and change it forever.

I am proud to be the leader of the new Conservative Party of Canada – very proud. But I don’t want to be the Prime Minister of the Conservatives.

I am also very proud to live in Alberta. But I don’t want to be the Prime Minister of western Canada.

I want to be the Prime Minister of all Canadians. Of all those who work hard to give a better life to their children, to their communities and to their country

It is my personal word as a taxpayer, as a father, and as a fellow citizen.

I want to get this job done.

When my political career is over, I want to leave knowing that future governments will have to be more honest, more ethical, and more accountable.

But I need your help to do so.

If we want to make the Federal Accountability Act a reality, if we want to change the way the system works, we have to begin by changing this government.

Join me.

Stand up for clean government. Stand up for accountability.

Stand up for Canada.

Thank you.

God bless Canada.

<http://www.conservative.ca/EN/1004/29522>

## CNN NEWSROOM

### Sarah Palin Speaks at Tea Party Convention

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DON LEMON, CNN ANCHOR: Hello, everyone. Don Lemon here at the CNN world headquarters in Atlanta.

Moments from now, former Republican vice presidential nominee, Sarah Palin, will address a national tea party convention in Nashville, Tennessee. You are looking at live pictures from the room. She should step up to the podium at any moment. We are being told by our people on the ground that Sarah Palin is in the room. And she's going to be introduced in a little bit by Andrew Bipart (ph) in that room.

We are going to get a preview of what is going on as we take a look at these pictures. You won't miss a moment of the speech.

We want to go to Mary Snow and Juan Carlos Lopez with CNN in Espanol. They're standing by for us in Nashville tonight.

Guys, we're hearing that Sarah Palin is in the room. People are anticipating her speech.

I'll start with you, Mary. These people who are gathering in this room tonight, if you have been able to attend any of the events, this one will probably be the most well attended event of this convention.

MARY SNOW, CNN NEWS CORRESPONDENT: Yes. Absolutely, Don. There are about 1,100 people in that room, that's 500 more than attended this conversation over the last couple of days. Some people told me a few days ago, they came to this convention because of Sarah Palin. They wanted to hear her speak tonight.

In terms of what they want to hear from her, is how the tea party moves forward. Don, we have already heard from Sarah Palin this week. She wrote an op-ed for "USA Today" pointing out that she is going to be participating in other tea party events, the Tea Party Express and a Boston rally moving forward. She said in the op-ed, the people here, the movement is the soul of this movement, and that she shares the same principles, so aligning herself with the people gathered here tonight.

LEMON: I want to ask Juan Carlos about Hispanics, when it comes to their support of tea parties. We have been talking about a lot of Independent voters. We know there has been a lot of support among Latinos, Hispanics for Republicans in the past, but then immigration issues may

have changed that. What about now with this tea party movement and at the tea party convention? What is the presence there, if any?

JUAN CARLOS LOPEZ, CNN NEWS CORRESPONDENT: Well, it's -- I just found one person who spoke Spanish. Someone who came from Utah. She was of Cuban descent.

I think it is important to clear out that, first of all, this isn't a party. This isn't a real convention. This is a slice of the tea party movement. So maybe outside in the states you will see Hispanics joining the tea party people and gather with the tea party people, but not here. We didn't see a big presentation of minorities discussing issues. Immigration was discussed. It was presented in a different tone. It was presented as a problem of legal and illegal issues. So a lot of interesting arguments but obviously not a party, not a big presence of minorities here.

LEMON: Listen, I just to ask you guys...

(CROSSTALK)

LEMON: Go ahead, Mary. Sorry. I didn't mean to cut you off. Go ahead.

SNOW: Just to add to what Juan was saying, in terms of age groups too, we spoke to one couple in their 30s and they felt they were among the youngest attending this convention. Most of the people we've been seeing are middle aged and older.

LEMON: OK.

Listen, I'm going to tell our viewers, just to remind them, any minute now Sarah Palin is going to step up to the podium and give the keynote speech at the tea party convention in Nashville, Tennessee. Two of our finest are on the ground there, Mary Snow, part of the best political team on television, as were as Juan Carlos, with CNN en Espanol. Again, Sarah Palin speaking at any moment.

Often, I'm with you guys reporting on stories. And there are always moments that really kind of catch me. Since you have been there reporting on this, Mary, have you noticed anything -- is there anything that stands out to you about the crowd, about the convention, about the circumstances surrounding it?

SNOW: Yes. The one thing that has really struck me is the fact the people who came here said they weren't politically active up until now. They came here to learn. This is a very different tone from some of the protests and rallies we've seen over the past year. However, while there were all these...

LEMON: Mary? Mary, I'm going to have to cut you off.

Sarah Palin is taking the stage in Nashville. She is about to give the keynote address at this dinner tonight in Nashville.

Let's listen in, everyone.

(JOINED IN PROGRESS) SARAH PALIN, FORMER VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE:

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you very much. Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you so much. God bless you.

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you. Thank you so much.

(APPLAUSE)

I am so proud to be an American.

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you so much for being here tonight.

(APPLAUSE)

Do you love your freedom? If you love your freedom, think of it. Any of you here serving in uniform, past or present, raise your hand? We are going to thank you for our freedom. God bless you guys. We salute you. We honor you. Thank you.

(APPLAUSE)

I am so proud to be American. Thank you. Gosh. Thank you. Happy birthday, Ronald Reagan.

(APPLAUSE)

Well, a special hello to the C-SPAN viewers. You may not be welcome in those health care negotiations but you have an invitation to the tea party.

(APPLAUSE)

Very good to be here in Tennessee, the volunteer state. It's the home of good country music and good southern barbecue, and great to be at the tea party convention. I guess down here that's some southern sweet tea. In Alaska, we have a smaller version of tea party up there. And we call it iced tea.

(LAUGHTER)

And I am a big supporter of this movement. I believe in this movement. Got lots of friends and family in the lower 48 attending these events across the country, and just knowing that this is the movement, and America is ready for another revolution, and you are a part of this.

(APPLAUSE)

I look forward to attending more tea party events in the near future. It is so inspiring to see real people, not politicians --

(LAUGHTER)

-- not inside the beltway professionals come out and stand up and speak out for commonsense, conservative principles.

And today, I want to start off with a special shout out to America's newest Senator. Thanks to you, Scott Brown.

(APPLAUSE)

Now in many ways Scott Brown represents what this beautiful movement is all about. He was just a guy with a truck and a passion to serve our country. He looked around and he saw that things weren't quite right in Washington, so he stood up and he decided he was going to do his part to put our government back on the side of the people. And it took guts and it took a lot of hard work, but with grassroots support, Scott Brown carried the day. It has been so interesting now to watch the aftermath of the Massachusetts shout-out revolution.

The White House blames the candidate. Their candidate. And Nancy Pelosi, she blamed the Senate Democrats. And Rahm Emanuel, he criticized a pollster.

(LAUGHTER)

And yet again, President Obama found some way to make this all about George Bush.

(LAUGHTER)

You know considering the reason conservative elections sweep, it is time to stop that they blaming everyone else. When you are zero for three, you better stop lecturing and start listening.

(APPLAUSE)

The only place that the left hasn't placed the blame is on their agenda. So some advice for our friends on that side of the aisle. That's where you've got to look because that's what got you into this mess. The Obama/Pelosi/Reid agenda will leave us less secure, more in debt and under the thumb of big government. That is out of touch and is out of date. And if Scott Brown is any

indication, it is running out of time.

(LAUGHTER)

Because from Virginia to New Jersey to Massachusetts, voters are sending a message up and down the east coast, and in good places like Nevada and Connecticut and Colorado, Michigan, North Dakota, they've got the liberal left, that establishment running scared.

The bottom line is this. It's been a year now. They own this now. and voters are going to hold them accountable. Because out here in the cities and in the towns across this great country we know that we've got some big problems to solve. We've gotten tired now of looking backward. We want to look forward and, from here, my friends, the future, it looks really good. It looks really good. Because if there is hope in Massachusetts, there's hope everywhere.

(LAUGHTER)

Brown's victory, it's exciting and it's a sign of more good things to come. A lot of great common-sense conservative candidates are going to put it all on the line in 2010. This year, there are going to be tough primaries. And I think that's good. Competition in these primaries is good. Competition makes us work harder and be more efficient and produce more. I hope you will get out there and work hard for the candidates who reflect your values, your priorities, because despite what the pundits want you to think, contested primaries aren't civil war. They're democracy at work and that's beautiful.

(APPLAUSE)

I was the product of a competitive primary running for governor. I faced five guys in the party and we put our ideas and our experience out there on the table for debate. And then we allowed, of course, the voters to decide. That is a healthy process. And it gives Americans the kind of leadership that they want and they deserve. And so in 2010, I tip my hat to anyone with the courage to throw theirs in the ring and may the best ideas and candidates win.

But while I hope you give the candidates that you choose your best effort, please understand they're human. There's no perfect candidate. And they're going to disappoint occasionally. And when they do, let them know, but don't get discouraged and sit it out, because the stakes are too high. The stakes are too high right now, and your voice is too important, so work hard for these candidates but put your faith in ideas.

And in that spirit, I caution against allowing this movement to be defined by any one leader or politician. The tea party movement is not a top-down operation. It's a ground-up call to action that is forcing both parties to change the way they're doing business, and that's beautiful.

(LAUGHTER)

This is about the people. This is about the people. And it's bigger than any king or queen of a tea party. And it's a lot bigger than any charismatic guy with a teleprompter.

(LAUGHTER)

The soul of this movement is the people, everyday Americans, who grow our food and run our small businesses, who teach our kids and fight our wars. They're folks in small towns and cities across this great nation who saw what was happening and they saw and were concerned and they got involved. Like you, they go to town hall meetings and they write op-eds. They run for local office. You all have the courage to stand up and speak out. You have a vision for the future, one that values conservative principles and commonsense solutions. And if that sounds like you, then you probably, too, are feeling a bit discouraged by what you see in Washington, D.C.

Now in recent weeks, many of us have grown even more uneasy about our administration's approach to national security, the most important role ascribed to our federal government.

(APPLAUSE)

Let me say, too, it's not politicizing our security to discuss our concerns because Americans deserve to know the truth about the threats that we face and what the administration is or isn't doing about them. So let's talk about them. New terms used like "overseas contingency operation" instead of the word "war." That reflects a world view that is out of touch with the enemy that we face. We can't spin our way out of this threat. It is one thing to call a pay raise a job created or saved. It is quite another to call the devastation that a homicide bomber can inflict a "manmade disaster." I just say, come on, Washington, if no where else, national security, that is one place where you've got to call it like it is.

(APPLAUSE)

And in that spirit, in that spirit, we should acknowledge that, on Christmas day, the system did not work. Abdulmutallab passed through airport security with a bomb. and he boarded a flight hell bent on killing innocent passengers. This terrorist trained in Yemen with al Qaeda. His American visa was not revoked until after he tried to kill hundreds of passengers. On Christmas day, the only thing that stopped this terrorist is blind luck and brave passengers. It was a Christmas miracle. And that is not the way that the system is supposed to work.

(APPLAUSE)

What followed was equally disturbing after he was captured. He was questioned for only 50 minutes. We have a choice in how to do this. The choice was only question him for 50 minutes and then read his Miranda rights. The administration says then there are no downsides or upsides to treating terrorists like civilian criminal defendants. But a lot of us would beg to differ. For example, there are questions we would have liked this foreign terrorist to answer before he lawyered up and invoked our U.S. constitutional right to remain silent.

(APPLAUSE)

Our U.S. constitutional rights.

(APPLAUSE)

Our rights that you, sir, fought and were willing to die for to protect in our Constitution.

(APPLAUSE)

The rights that my son, as an infantryman in the United States Army, is willing to die for. The protections provided, thanks to you, sir, we're going to bestow them on a terrorist who hates our Constitution and tries to destroy our Constitution and our country. This makes no sense because we have a choice in how we're going to deal with the terrorists. We don't have to go down that road. There are questions that we would have liked answered before he lawyered up, like where exactly were you trained and by whom. You are bragging about all these other terrorists just like you, who are they? When and where will they try to strike next?

The events surrounding the Christmas day plot reflect the kind of thinking that led to September 11th. The threat then, as the "USS Cole" was attacked, our embassies were attacked, it was treated like an international crime spree not like an act of war. We are seeing that mindset again settle into Washington again. That scares me for my children, for your children. Treating this as a mere law enforcement matter places our country at great risks because that is not how radical Islamic extremists look at this. They know we are at war. To win that war, we need a commander in chief, not a professor of law standing at the lectern.

(APPLAUSE)

It's that same kind of misguided thinking that is seen throughout the administration's foreign policy decisions. Our president spent a year reaching out to hostile regimes, writing personal letters to dangerous dictators and apologizing for America, and what do we have to show for that? Here's what we have to show. North Korea tested nuclear weapons and longer-range ballistic missiles. Israel, a friend and critical ally, now questions the strength of our support. Plans for a missile defense system in Europe, they've been scrapped. Relations with China and Russia are no better. and relations with Japan, that key Asian ally, they are in the worst shape in years. And around the world, people who are seeking freedom from oppressive regimes wonder if Alaska is still that beacon of hope for their cause. The administration cut support for democracy programs. And where the president has not been clear, I ask where is his clear and where his strong voice of support for the Iranians who are risking all in their opposition to Ahmadinejad?

(APPLAUSE)

Just that short list, that short list. And you know, it is no wonder that our president only spent 9 percent of his State of the Union address discussing national security, foreign policy, because there aren't a lot of victories he could talk about that night. And that is a short list. There are so many challenges in front of us. And it can seem overwhelming. But despite these challenges, we have hope that we can move things in the right direction but it is going to require the administration to change course. We need a foreign policy that distinguishes America's friends

from her enemies and recognizes the true nature of the threats that we face.

(APPLAUSE) We need a strong national defense. I think you would agree with me. As Reagan used to talk about that peace through strength. In that respect, I applaud the president for following at least a part of the recommendations made by our commanders on the ground to send in some more reinforcements to Afghanistan. Now, though, he, we, must spend less time courting our adversaries and working with our allies. And we must build coalitions capable of confronting dangerous regimes like Iran and North Korea. It is time for more than just tough talk. I'm just like you, probably so tired of hearing the talk, talk, talk.

(APPLAUSE)

Tired of hearing the talk.

(APPLAUSE)

It's time for some tough actions, like sanctions on Iran. And in places in the world where people are struggling and oppressed and they're fighting for freedom, America must stand with them. We need a clear foreign policy that stands with the people and for democracy, one that reflects both our values and our interests. And it is in our best interest because democracies, they don't go to war with each other. They can settle their differences peacefully.

The lesson of the last year is this. Foreign policy can't be managed through the politics of personality. And our president would do well to take note of an observation John F. Kennedy made once he was in office, that all of the world's problems aren't his predecessor's fault.

(APPLAUSE)

The problems that we face in the real world require real solutions and we'd better get to it because the risks that they pose are great and they're grave. However, as Barry Goldwater said, we can be conquered by bombs, but we can also be conquered by neglect, by ignoring our Constitution and disregarding the principles of limited government. And in the past year, his words ring true. Washington has now replaced private irresponsibility with public irresponsibility. The list of companies and industries that the government is crowding out and bailing out and taking over, it continues to grow. First, it was the banks, mortgage companies, financial institutions, then automakers. Soon, if they had their way, health care, student loans. Today, in the words of Congressman Paul Ryan, the \$700 billion TARP has morphed into crony capitalism at its worse. It is becoming a slush fund for the Treasury Department's favorite big players, just as we had been warned about. While people on main street look for jobs, people on Wall Street, they're collecting billions and billions in your bailout bonuses. Among the top 17 companies that received your bailout money, 92 percent of the senior officers and directors, they still have their good jobs. And everyday Americans are wondering, where are the consequences for them helping to get us into this worst economic situation since the great depression? Where are the consequences?

(APPLAUSE) When Washington passed a \$787 billion stimulus bill, we were nervous because

they just spent \$700 billion to bailout Wall Street. On the state level, as a governor, we knew a lot of that money came with fat strings attached. The federal government was going to have more control over our states. They were going to disrespect the Tenth Amendment of our Constitution by essentially bribing with us. Take this federal money and then we going to be able to mandate a few more things on you though. I joined with other conservative governors around the nation in rejecting some of those dollars. Legislators --

(APPLAUSE)

Turned out to be, though, nothing to applaud, because legislators then were threatening lawsuits if governors didn't take the money. And I vetoed some of the funds that I knew we couldn't maintain the programs that we were going to pay for with these borrowed, printed up, invented dollars out of nowhere, but lawsuits were threatened. Even in Alaska, in a Republican-controlled legislature, my veto was overridden, and the money poured into those states. And I believe we will see this play out in our states. The federal government will have taken more control over the people who live in our states.

Now I understand wanting to believe that this is all free money and for some, I guess, it is tough to tell people "no" in tough times. Plus, remember our administration promise that it would be good stewards of taxpayer dollars. Remember? Remember, Vice President Biden? He was put in charge of a tough, unprecedented oversight effort. That's how it was introduced. You know why? Because nobody messes with Joe.

(LAUGHTER)

Now, this was all part of that hope and change and transparency. And now a year later, I got to ask the supporters of all that, how is that hopey-changey stuff working out for you?

(LAUGHTER)

See, I tried to look into that transparency thing but Joe's meetings with the transparency and accountability board, it was closed to the public.

(LAUGHTER)

Yes. They held a transparency meeting behind closed doors.

(LAUGHTER)

So I'm not sure if anybody's messing with Joe. But here is what I do know. A lot of that stimulus cash, it ended up in some pretty odd places, including districts that didn't even exist.

(LAUGHTER)

And programs that really don't have a whole lot to do with stimulating the economy. Nearly \$6 million was given to a Democrat pollster, who had already made millions during the Democrats'

presidential primary. Nearly \$10 million was spent to update the stimulus web site. And one state even spent a million bucks to put up signs that advertised they were spending the federal stimulus projects or, as someone put it, this was a \$1 million effort to tell you it is spending your money.

(LAUGHTER)

And it didn't create a single job.

Those uses of stimulus funds don't sound targeted and they don't sound timely as we were promised. They just sound wasteful and, in the case of those signs, kind of ridiculous. All of that stimulus. I don't know about you but seeing those checks written for pet projects of congressmen and those in the White House, did you feel very stimulated?

(LAUGHTER)

And then it turns out that Washington got the price tag wrong. All of these projects and programs, they cost tens and tens of billions more than we were told. It is now closer to \$860 billion. Add this to the fact that the White House can't even tell us how many jobs were actually created. Depending on who you ask, it is anywhere from thousands to two million.

But one number we are sure of is the unemployment number. That is 9.7, which is well above the 8 percent mark that we were promised our stimulus package would go to avoid. And unemployment now is -- underemployment now is 16.5 percent. You have got all these people who have just kind of given up right now. and they are not even enrolling in some of these programs. Tough to count them.

Folks, I won't go into all of it tonight, but the list of broken promises is long. Candidate Obama pledged to end closed-door, sweetheart deals and no-bid contracts once and for all, but just last month his administration awarded a \$25 million no-bid contract to a Democrat donor? Is that hope? Nope. It's not hope.

(LAUGHTER)

That's the same old, same old in Washington, D.C. And instead of changing the way Washington does business, we got the cornhusker kickback and the Louisiana Purchase and millions of tax breaks for union boss' desires. The promised ban on lobbyist in this new administration, he handed out waivers left and right, and there are more than 40 former lobbyists who now work at the top levels in this administration. And these days, most members of Congress, they don't get to read the bill before they have to vote on it, much less the pledged that a bill wouldn't be signed into law before we all had five days to review it online.

So, see, it's easy to understand why Americans are shaking their heads when Washington has broken trust with the people that these politicians are to be serving. We're drowning in national debt and many of us have had enough. Now the foundational principles in all of this, it's easy to understand. It really is even I though I think D.C. would just love for us to believe that this is all

way over our heads. Somebody in Tennessee, somebody up there in Alaska, she'll never understand what we are talking about here in D.C. No, this is all pretty simple stuff. When our families, when our small businesses, we start running our finances in to the red, what do we do? We tighten our belts and we cut back budgets. That is what we teach our children, to live within our means. That is what Todd and I do when we have to make payroll, buy new equipment for our commercial fishing business. We have to plan for the future, meet a budget.

But in Washington, why is it just the opposite of that? This week, they unveiled a record busting, mind boggling \$3.8 trillion federal budget and they keep borrowing and they keep printing these dollars and they keep making us more and more beholden to foreign countries and they keep making us take these steps towards insolvency. Now what they are doing in proposing these big new programs with giant price tags, they're sticking our kids with the bill. And that is immoral. That is generational theft. We are stealing the opportunities from our children.

And freedom lovers around this country need to be aware this makes us more beholden to other countries, it makes us less secure. It makes us less free and that should tick us off. So, folks, with all these serious challenges ahead, we've got private-sector job creation that has got to take place and economic woes and health care, the war on terror.

But as the saying goes, if you can't ride two horses at once, you shouldn't be in the circus. So here's some advice for those in D.C. who want to shine in the greatest show on earth. Too often when big government and big business get together and cronyism sets in, well, it benefits insiders not everyday Americans. The administration and Congress should do what we did up there in Alaska when the good old boys started making back room deals that were benefiting big oil and not the citizens of the state. And the citizens of the state then, Alaskans, we got together and we put government back on the side of the people. And a lot of the big wigs, they started getting in trouble and some of the big wigs ended up going to jail over their back room deals.

Our government needs to adopt a pro-market agenda that doesn't pick winners and losers but it invites competition and it levels the playing field for everyone. Washington has got to across the board, lower taxes for small businesses so that our mom and pops can reinvest and hire people so that our businesses can thrive. They should support competition, support innovation, reward hard work.

And they should do all that they can to make sure that the game is fair without the undo corrupt influence. And then they need to get government out of the way. If they would do this -- if they would do this, our economy, it would roar back to life and for instance on health care, we need bipartisan solutions to help families not increase taxes. Remember that red reset button that America through Secretary Clinton, she gave to Putin. Remember that? I think we should ask for that back and hand it instead to Congress. And say, no, start all over on this health care scheme and pass meaningful, market-based reforms that incorporate some simple steps that have broad support. The best ideas, not back room deals but insurance purchases across state lines and the tort reform that we've talked about.

Those things that are common sense steps towards reform that the White House and leaders on the Democrats' side of the aisle in Congress, they don't want to consider. So it makes you

wonder, what truly is their motivation? What is their intention if they won't consider even these common sense, broad based support ideas that would work? And to create jobs. Washington should jump start energy projects. I said it during the campaign and I'll say it now, we need an all of the above approach to energy policy. That means proven conventional resource development and support for nuclear power. And I was thankful that the president at least mentioned nuclear power in his State of the Union.

But, again, we need more than words. We need a plan to turn that goal into a reality and that way we can pave the way for projects that will create jobs, those are real job creators and deliver carbon free energy. And while we're at it, let's expedite the regulatory and permitting and legal processes for on and offshore drilling.

Instead of paying billions of dollars, hundreds of billions of dollars that now are being sent to foreign regimes, we should be drilling here and drilling now instead of relying on them to develop their resources for us. So what we've got to do is axe that plan for cap-and-tax, that policy is going to kill jobs and it's going to pass the burden of paying for it onto our working families.

And finally, if we are going to get serious about fiscal restraint, then we've got to make Washington start walking the walk. After putting us on a track to quadruple the deficit, the proposed spending freeze, maybe it is a start, but it's certainly not enough. As Senator John Thune said, it's like putting a Band-Aid on a self-inflicted gunshot wound.

We need to go further. Cut spending. Don't just simply slow down a spending spree and we've got to axe the plans for a second stimulus when the first hasn't even been measured for any success yet. Kill the plans for the second stimulus and be aware that now that second stimulus is being referred to as a jobs bill. Now these aren't the only ways to rein in spending, and alone, they're not going to be enough, not enough to tackle the insane debt and the deficits that we face. But they are a good way to start and to show that we're serious about getting our financial house in order.

Now like a lot of you, perhaps, I have spent the last year thinking about how to best serve. How can I help our country? How can I make sure that I, that you, that we're in a position of nobody being able to succeed. When they try to tell us to sit down and shut up, how can we best serve? In 2008, I had the honor really of a lifetime, the honor of a lifetime, running alongside John McCain. I look at him as an American hero. And nearly 60 million Americans voted for us. They cast their ballot for the things that we are talking about tonight. Lower taxes, smaller government, transparency, energy independence and strong national security. And while no, our votes did not carry the day, it was still a call to serve our country. Those voters wanted us to keep on fighting and take the gloves off and they wanted common sense conservative solutions and they wanted us to keep on debating. And each of us who is here today, we're living proof that you don't need an office or a title to make a difference and you don't need a proclaimed leader as if we are all just a bunch of sheep and we're looking for a leader to progress this movement.

That is what we are fighting for. It is what we are fighting about. It is what we believe in and that's what this movement is all about. When people are willing to meet halfway and stand up for

common sense solutions and values, then we want to work with them. And in that spirit, I applaud Independents and Democrats like Bart Stupak who stood up to tough partisan pressure and he wanted to protect the sanctity of life and the rights of the soon to be born. I applaud him for that.

When we can work together, we will. But when the work of Washington violates our consciences and when the work and effort in Washington, D.C., violate our Constitution, then we will stand up and we will be counted. Because we are the loyal opposition. And we have a vision for the future of our country, too, and it is a vision anchored in time tested truths.

That the government that governs least, governs best. And that the Constitution provides the best road map towards a more perfect union. And that only limited government can expand prosperity and opportunity for all and that freedom is a God given right and it is worth fighting for. God bless you. And that America's finest, our men and women in uniform, are a force for good throughout the world and that is nothing to apologize for.

These are enduring truths and these enduring truths have been passed down from Washington to Lincoln to Reagan and now to you. But while this movement, our roots there, in our spirit, too, they are historic. The current form of this movement is fresh and it's young and it's fragile. We are now the keepers of an honorable tradition of conservative values and good works. And we must never forget that it is a sacred trust to carry these ideas forward. It demands civility and it requires decent constructive issue-oriented debate.

Opponents of this message, they are seeking to marginalize this movement. They want to paint us as ideologically extreme and the counterpoint to liberal intolerance and outrageous conspiracy theorists aimed at our own government and unethical shameless tactics like considering a candidate's children fair game.

But unlike the elitists who denounce this movement, they just don't want to hear the message. I've traveled across this great country and I've talked to the patriotic men and women who make up the Tea Party movement, and they are good and kind and selfless and they are deeply concerned about our country. And today I ask only this, let's make this movement a tribute to their good example and make it worthy of their hard work and their support.

Do not let us have our heads turned from the important work before us and do not give others an excuse to be able to turn their eyes from this. Let us not get bogged down in the small squabbles. Let us get caught up in the big ideas. To do so would be a fitting tribute to Ronald Reagan, especially tonight, as he would have turned 99. No longer with us. His spirit lives on and his American dream endures. He knew the best of our country is not all gathered in Washington, D.C. It is here in our communities where families live and children learn and children with special needs are welcomed in this world and embraced. And thank you for that.

The best of America can be found in places where patriots are brave enough and free enough to be able to stand up and speak up and where small businesses grow our economy one job at a time and folks like Reagan, we know that America is still that shining city on a hill. I do believe that God shed his grace on thee. We know that our best days are yet to come. Tea Party nation, we

know that there is nothing wrong with America that together we can't fix as Americans.

So from the bottom of my heart and speaking on behalf of millions and millions and millions of Americans who want to encourage this movement, this movement is about the people. Who can argue of a movement that is about the people and for the people? Remember, all political power is inherent in the people and government is supposed to be working for the people. That is what this movement is about.

From the bottom of my heart, I thank you for being part of the solution. God bless you, Tea Partiers and God bless the USA. Thank you. God bless you.

(END OF COVERAGE)

LEMON: You're just listening to Sarah Palin speaking at the National Tea Party Convention in Nashville, Tennessee, really making some very strong points, and some strong words for the administration and for the president. She is supposed to take questions. And we are going to carry that Q & A part of it live.

But there you see Sarah Palin there on the stage, Opryland Hotel, Gaylord Opryland Hotel. And she again talked about the administration, talked about the current administration, I should say, talked about what the Tea Party movement is all about, getting thunderous applause especially towards the end. It appears that she may have gotten a little teary eyed when talking about her special needs child saying that she likes to be part of a group that welcomes a special needs child into the world, welcomes and accepts. Sarah Palin taking questions now.

We are going to go back there live and listen in.

(JOINED IN PROGRESS)

QUESTION: A few weeks ago, we worked out something where there would be a brief question and answer session. And we asked some folks on Tea Party Nation that we could ask Governor Palin tonight. And she has graciously agreed to answer a few questions. So we're going to take a few minutes and ask and answer a few questions.

PALIN: Thank you.

QUESTION: By the way, is this your first time in Nashville?

PALIN: It is. I haven't even been here for a concert yet which Piper, I brought Piper with me, and she's just going crazy wanting to get out there and see if she can go out and find Miley Cyrus and Taylor Swift. My first time here though.

QUESTION: Well, I hate to tell her this, Miley Cyrus lives not too far from where we are. So I'm sorry we couldn't work that out for you. Next time. All right, a few questions real quick. And again, these have been submitted by folks on Tea Party Nation. First of all, how do you see the future of the Tea Party movement? Do you see this Tea Party movement becoming a part of the

Republican Party or do you see it becoming a third Independent party?

PALIN: The Republican Party would be really smart to start trying to absorb as much of the Tea Party movement as possible because this is the future of our country. The Tea Party movement is the future of politics and as I said before, this is a beautiful movement because it is shaping the way politics are conducted. You've got really both party machines running scared because they are not knowing what are we going to do if we don't have Tea Party support? They know that they won't succeed.

QUESTION: Outstanding. At the convention here, we have at least three people I know who are running for Congress. So let me ask you this, if you had the chance to interview some of these people, what questions would you ask them to determine whether or not you would support them?

PALIN: I'm going to ask them if they think that we're taxed enough already. And if they say yes, I'm going to say well what are you going to do about it. Because really, we don't want to just hear the talk. We want to know that they walk the walk, either via a record that perhaps they can prove to us in other elected office they have had. But I want to encourage people who don't have any elected office experience, not some kind of fat elite resume in their back pocket. I want the fresh folks to come out and run for office and start changing the world via these state and local and national offices.

But if they feel that they've been taxed enough already and that they make us a commitment that they are going to do something about it and if they just believe in that constitutional limited government that the federal government has got to start abiding by, a lot of the things that perhaps the details, the things on the periphery that perhaps I wouldn't agree with very single aspect of their agenda that they would like to implement, they have got the basics down, I think it would be wise for us to be supportive. QUESTION: I'm going to have to learn to wait to let people applaud. Yeah! It goes without saying, the in game for the Tea Party movement for 2010 is a conservative House and a conservative Senate, or as I had the chance to tell some people earlier today, next year at this time we need to see the title former Speaker Nancy Pelosi and former Senator Harry Reid.

PALIN: We will.

QUESTION: When we are successful and we have a conservative House and a conservative Senate, as soon as that happens, what do you think are the top three things that have got to be done?

PALIN: We've got to rein in the spending, obviously, and not raise it extremely high budgets and then say, OK, we are going to freeze a couple programs here. That doesn't do us any good really. We've got to start reining in the spending. We have got to jump start these energy projects that, again, we have heard so much about because it is ridiculous that we have just sitting warehoused under God's green earth here in the United States of America, rich resources, oil, and gas, and our coal and all of the conventional resources. We have got to actually walk that walk, to allow them to come to development.

And then, I think, it is kind of tougher to -- kind of tougher to put our arms around, but allowing America's spirit to rise again by not being afraid -- not being afraid to kind of go back to some of our roots as a God-fearing nation where we are not afraid to say, especially in times of potential trouble in the future here, we are not afraid to say, you know, we don't have all the answers as fallible men and women.

So it would be wise of us to start seeking some divine intervention again in this country so that we can be safe and secure and prosperous again. To have people involved in government who aren't afraid to go that route, not so afraid of the political correctness that, you know, they have to be afraid of what the media would say about them if they were to proclaim their reliance on our creator.

QUESTION: That's right.

QUESTION: Amen. Now, we know conservatives are never harassed in the media, so the following is clearly a hypothetical question. In the instance that there were ever to be a conservative who were harassed in the media, what would you say to them?

PALIN: Plow right on through it. Really, at the end of the day, who cares what an irrelevant, mainstream media is going to say about you? Who cares? The political hot shots that they want to take at you for standing up and saying what you believe in and proclaiming the patriotic love that you have for country and a lot of those in the mainstream media, they don't want to hear that. At the end of the day, it really doesn't matter what they have to say about you because I really believe that there are more of us than they want us to believe. That should empower us, that should strengthen us and plow right on through it, please. QUESTION: We've mentioned today is Ronald Reagan's -- or would have been his 99th birthday, the 99th anniversary of his birth. And one of the amazing things Ronald Reagan did when he was in the White House, he created this great majority that was based not on Republicans and Democrats, but he had a conservative majority in Congress. What do you think we can do to get conservative Democrats, conservative libertarians, conservative Independents, on board with the Tea Party movement so that in 2011 when a new Congress and a new Senate is sworn in, it's conservative?

PALIN: Hey, they are already peeking in. It is pretty cool to see some of the blue dog Democrats peeking under the tent, you know, and finding out, what is this movement all about and holy geez, I'm scared if I'm not a part of this.

And the nice thing about the Tea Party movement, it's not just a bunch of hard core registered Republicans. I'll make a confession right now. My husband, he's not a registered Republican. He's much too independent, but probably more conservative than I am, even, but I think he is kind of an example of so many other American who don't choose to be a part of a registered party because they see the problems within the machine.

They see some of the idiosyncrasies of the personalities who control the political machines and they don't want to waste time dealing with that, so they are independent, but they are believers in the movement and I think you're going to see a whole lot of the Independents and more

conservative Democrats finally be empowered and emboldened and say, yes, I'll come out of the closet now and I'll let them know I believe in it too.

Now, as I talk about Todd explaining that he's not a registered Republican, I guess I need to apologize to the Republican Party because some people have said, you're a pretty weak Republican spokesperson that if you can't even get your own husband to convert, but he's much too independent.

QUESTION: Don't feel bad, my wife left the Republican Party, too. We hear about the Obama plan. What's the Palin plan?

PALIN: The Palin plan is quite simple and I kind of get a kick out of it. I think it probably drives some of the elitists crazy that I don't get angry out about it, I get a kick out of it when they say that I'm too simple minded and too plain spoken, but my plan is quite simple and that is to support those who understand the foundation of our country.

When it comes to the economy, it is free market principles that reward hard work and personal responsibility. And when it comes to national security, as I ratchet down the message on national security, it's easy to just kind of sum it up by repeating Ronald Reagan when he talked about the Cold War. And we can apply this now to our war on terrorism, you know. Bottom line, we win, they lose. We do all that we can to win.

QUESTION: For you, national security is a little more of a personal issue. You have a son in the army. How is he doing?

PALIN: He's doing awesome. And I'm so proud of him and the decision that he has made along with all the many, many men and women in uniform who -- I look at, especially these young men and women and think, they could be doing anything or nothing else in our world, and they have chosen to serve something greater than self. They are not just biting time or wasting time in their young years of their lives. They get it. They understand the need to protect our security and to really be willing to die for our freedom. And when I talk about my son, and he doesn't like me to talk about him, as a matter of fact, he'll chew me out if he hears about this, but --

QUESTION: He may be watching.

PALIN: I don't think he's ever turned on C-SPAN in his entire young life. But I'm proud of him and the decision that he has made because, again, they are serving something greater than self, but as Track, as my son would tell me, he says, don't pick me up, mom to thank me. Thank the troops I serve with and thank those who have gone on before me to allow me to do what I'm doing, yeah.

QUESTION: 2010 is an amazing year because it is an election year. We are rolling through the primaries. We just got through Illinois and I'm not even sure what's coming up next. Are you going to be endorsing specific candidates?

PALIN: I will. And I will be attending as many events for these candidates as possible. I'll

probably tick off some people as I get involved, even in a few of the primaries, but I do want to encourage these contested competitive primaries. Truly, this is how we are going to find the cream of the crop to rise to be able to face a challenger in the general. Let's not be afraid of contested primaries. I'm going to assist in some of those, but I'll get out there and campaign and if not in all the races, campaigning for specific candidates, I'm going to be campaigning for the message, this common sense conservative message.

QUESTION: I can think of two words right now that scare liberals, President Palin.

(APPLAUSE)

CROWD: Go Sarah.

(END OF COVERAGE)

New York Times

January 24, 2012

# President Obama's State of the Union Address

*Following is the transcript of President Obama's State of the Union address on Jan. 24, 2012, as released by the White House:*

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of Congress, distinguished guests, and fellow Americans:

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

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

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

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

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

The two of them shared the optimism of a nation that had triumphed over a depression and fascism. They understood they were part of something larger; that they were contributing to a

story of success that every American had a chance to share — the basic American promise that if you worked hard, you could do well enough to raise a family, own a home, send your kids to college, and put a little away for retirement.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now, this blueprint begins with American manufacturing.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I want every American looking for work to have the same opportunity as Jackie did. Join me in a national commitment to train 2 million Americans with skills that will lead directly to a job. (Applause.) My administration has already lined up more companies that want to help. Model partnerships between businesses like Siemens and community colleges in places like Charlotte, and Orlando, and Louisville are up and running. Now you need to give more community colleges the resources they need to become community career centers -- places that teach people skills that businesses are looking for right now, from data management to high-tech manufacturing.

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

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

For less than 1 percent of what our nation spends on education each year, we've convinced nearly every state in the country to raise their standards for teaching and learning — the first time that's happened in a generation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

That doesn't make sense.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There's no question that some regulations are outdated, unnecessary, or too costly. In fact, I've approved fewer regulations in the first three years of my presidency than my Republican predecessor did in his. (Applause.) I've ordered every federal agency to eliminate rules that

don't make sense. We've already announced over 500 reforms, and just a fraction of them will save business and citizens more than \$10 billion over the next five years. We got rid of one rule from 40 years ago that could have forced some dairy farmers to spend \$10,000 a year proving that they could contain a spill — because milk was somehow classified as an oil. With a rule like that, I guess it was worth crying over spilled milk. (Laughter and applause.)

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

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

So if you are a big bank or financial institution, you're no longer allowed to make risky bets with your customers' deposits. You're required to write out a "living will" that details exactly how you'll pay the bills if you fail — because the rest of us are not bailing you out ever again. (Applause.) And if you're a mortgage lender or a payday lender or a credit card company, the days of signing people up for products they can't afford with confusing forms and deceptive practices — those days are over. Today, American consumers finally have a watchdog in Richard Cordray with one job: To look out for them. (Applause.)

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

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

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

Right now, our most immediate priority is stopping a tax hike on 160 million working Americans while the recovery is still fragile. (Applause.) People cannot afford losing \$40 out of each paycheck this year. There are plenty of ways to get this done. So let's agree right here, right

now: No side issues. No drama. Pass the payroll tax cut without delay. Let's get it done. (Applause.)

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

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

The American people know what the right choice is. So do I. As I told the Speaker this summer, I'm prepared to make more reforms that rein in the long-term costs of Medicare and Medicaid, and strengthen Social Security, so long as those programs remain a guarantee of security for seniors.

But in return, we need to change our tax code so that people like me, and an awful lot of members of Congress, pay our fair share of taxes. (Applause.)

Tax reform should follow the Buffett Rule. If you make more than \$1 million a year, you should not pay less than 30 percent in taxes. And my Republican friend Tom Coburn is right: Washington should stop subsidizing millionaires. In fact, if you're earning a million dollars a year, you shouldn't get special tax subsidies or deductions. On the other hand, if you make under \$250,000 a year, like 98 percent of American families, your taxes shouldn't go up. (Applause.) You're the ones struggling with rising costs and stagnant wages. You're the ones who need relief.

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

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

Now, I recognize that people watching tonight have differing views about taxes and debt, energy and health care. But no matter what party they belong to, I bet most Americans are thinking the

same thing right about now: Nothing will get done in Washington this year, or next year, or maybe even the year after that, because Washington is broken.

Can you blame them for feeling a little cynical?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ending the Iraq war has allowed us to strike decisive blows against our enemies. From Pakistan to Yemen, the al Qaeda operatives who remain are scrambling, knowing that they can't escape the reach of the United States of America. (Applause.)

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

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

How this incredible transformation will end remains uncertain. But we have a huge stake in the outcome. And while it's ultimately up to the people of the region to decide their fate, we will advocate for those values that have served our own country so well. We will stand against violence and intimidation. We will stand for the rights and dignity of all human beings — men and women; Christians, Muslims and Jews. We will support policies that lead to strong and stable democracies and open markets, because tyranny is no match for liberty.

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

Let there be no doubt: America is determined to prevent Iran from getting a nuclear weapon, and I will take no options off the table to achieve that goal. (Applause.)

But a peaceful resolution of this issue is still possible, and far better, and if Iran changes course and meets its obligations, it can rejoin the community of nations.

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

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

Anyone who tells you otherwise, anyone who tells you that America is in decline or that our influence has waned, doesn't know what they're talking about. (Applause.)

That's not the message we get from leaders around the world who are eager to work with us. That's not how people feel from Tokyo to Berlin, from Cape Town to Rio, where opinions of America are higher than they've been in years. Yes, the world is changing. No, we can't control every event. But America remains the one indispensable nation in world affairs -- and as long as I'm President, I intend to keep it that way. (Applause.)

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

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

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

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

One of my proudest possessions is the flag that the SEAL Team took with them on the mission to get bin Laden. On it are each of their names. Some may be Democrats. Some may be Republicans. But that doesn't matter. Just like it didn't matter that day in the Situation Room, when I sat next to Bob Gates -- a man who was George Bush's defense secretary -- and Hillary Clinton -- a woman who ran against me for president.

All that mattered that day was the mission. No one thought about politics. No one thought about themselves. One of the young men involved in the raid later told me that he didn't deserve credit

for the mission. It only succeeded, he said, because every single member of that unit did their job — the pilot who landed the helicopter that spun out of control; the translator who kept others from entering the compound; the troops who separated the women and children from the fight; the SEALs who charged up the stairs. More than that, the mission only succeeded because every member of that unit trusted each other — because you can't charge up those stairs, into darkness and danger, unless you know that there's somebody behind you, watching your back.

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

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

## ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS

September 20, 2001

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Speaker, Mr. President Pro Tempore, members of Congress, and fellow Americans:

In the normal course of events, Presidents come to this chamber to report on the state of the Union. Tonight, no such report is needed. It has already been delivered by the American people.

We have seen it in the courage of passengers, who rushed terrorists to save others on the ground -- passengers like an exceptional man named Todd Beamer. And would you please help me to welcome his wife, Lisa Beamer, here tonight. (Applause.)

We have seen the state of our Union in the endurance of rescuers, working past exhaustion. We have seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers -- in English, Hebrew, and Arabic. We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made the grief of strangers their own.

My fellow citizens, for the last nine days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of our Union -- and it is strong. (Applause.)

Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done. (Applause.)

I thank the Congress for its leadership at such an important time. All of America was touched on the evening of the tragedy to see Republicans and Democrats joined together on the steps of this Capitol, singing "God Bless America." And you did more than sing; you acted, by delivering \$40 billion to rebuild our communities and meet the needs of our military.

Speaker Hastert, Minority Leader Gephardt, Majority Leader Daschle and Senator Lott, I thank you for your friendship, for your leadership and for your service to our country. (Applause.)

And on behalf of the American people, I thank the world for its outpouring of support. America will never forget the sounds of our National Anthem playing at Buckingham Palace, on the streets of Paris, and at Berlin's Brandenburg Gate.

We will not forget South Korean children gathering to pray outside our embassy in Seoul, or the prayers of sympathy offered at a mosque in Cairo. We will not forget moments of silence and days of mourning in Australia and Africa and Latin America.

Nor will we forget the citizens of 80 other nations who died with our own: dozens of Pakistanis; more than 130 Israelis; more than 250 citizens of India; men and women from El Salvador, Iran, Mexico and Japan; and hundreds of British citizens. America has no truer friend than Great Britain. (Applause.) Once again, we are joined together in a great cause -- so honored the British Prime Minister has crossed an ocean to show his unity of purpose with America. Thank you for coming, friend. (Applause.)

On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country. Americans have known wars -- but for the past 136 years, they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war -- but not at the center of a great city on a peaceful morning. Americans have known surprise attacks -- but never before on thousands of civilians. All of this was brought upon us in a single day -- and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack.

Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking: Who attacked our

country? The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al Qaeda. They are the same murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, and responsible for bombing the USS Cole.

Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world -- and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere. The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics -- a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam. The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans, and make no distinction among military and civilians, including women and children.

This group and its leader -- a person named Osama bin Laden -- are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries. They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan, where they are trained in the tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction.

The leadership of al Qaeda has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan, we see al Qaeda's vision for the world.

Afghanistan's people have been brutalized -- many are starving and many have fled. Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough.

The United States respects the people of Afghanistan -- after all, we are currently its largest source of humanitarian aid -- but we condemn the Taliban regime. (Applause.) It is not only repressing its own people, it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder.

And tonight, the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban: Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda who hide in your land. (Applause.) Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities. (Applause.) Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating.

These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. (Applause.) The Taliban must act, and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share in their fate.

I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It's practiced freely by many millions of Americans, and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah. (Applause.) The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends; it is not our many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports

them. (Applause.)

Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated. (Applause.) Americans are asking, why do they hate us? They hate what we see right here in this chamber -- a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms -- our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.

They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa.

These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They stand against us, because we stand in their way.

We are not deceived by their pretenses to piety. We have seen their kind before. They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions -- by abandoning every value except the will to power -- they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends: in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies.

(Applause.)

Americans are asking: How will we fight and win this war? We will direct every resource at our command -- every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war -- to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network.

This war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo two years ago, where no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat. Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes, visible on TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest. And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. (Applause.) From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.

Our nation has been put on notice: We are not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans. Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security. These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me -- the Office of Homeland Security.

And tonight I also announce a distinguished American to lead this effort, to strengthen American security: a military veteran, an effective governor, a true patriot, a trusted friend -- Pennsylvania's Tom Ridge. (Applause.) He will lead, oversee and coordinate a comprehensive national strategy to safeguard our country against terrorism, and respond to any attacks that may come.

These measures are essential. But the only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it, and destroy it where it grows. (Applause.)

Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI agents to intelligence operatives to the reservists we have called to active duty. All deserve our thanks, and all have our prayers. And tonight, a few miles from the damaged Pentagon, I have a message for our military: Be ready. I've called the Armed Forces to alert, and there is a reason. The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud. (Applause.) This is not, however, just America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom.

We ask every nation to join us. We will ask, and we will need, the help of police forces, intelligence services, and banking systems around the world. The United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded - with sympathy and with support. Nations from Latin America, to Asia, to Africa, to Europe, to the Islamic world. Perhaps the NATO Charter reflects best the attitude of the world: An attack on one is an attack on all.

The civilized world is rallying to America's side. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror, unanswered, can not only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments. And you know what -- we're not going to allow it. (Applause.)

Americans are asking: What is expected of us? I ask you to live your lives, and hug your children. I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat.

I ask you to uphold the values of America, and remember why so many have come here. We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith. (Applause.)

I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, [libertyunites.org](http://libertyunites.org), to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation, and I ask you to give it.

I ask for your patience, with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tighter security; and for your patience in what will be a long struggle.

I ask your continued participation and confidence in the American economy. Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity. They did not touch its source. America is successful because of the hard work, and creativity, and enterprise of our people. These were the true strengths of our economy before September 11th, and they are our strengths today. (Applause.)

And, finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform, and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow, and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead.

Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do. And ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, I thank you, their representatives, for what you have already done and for what we will do together.

Tonight, we face new and sudden national challenges. We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights, and take new measures to prevent hijacking. We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying, with direct assistance during this emergency. (Applause.)

We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home. (Applause.) We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of terrorists before they act, and find them before they strike. (Applause.)

We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America's economy, and put our people back to work.

Tonight we welcome two leaders who embody the extraordinary spirit of all New Yorkers: Governor George Pataki, and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. (Applause.) As a symbol of America's resolve, my administration will work with Congress, and these two leaders, to show the world that we will rebuild New York City. (Applause.)

After all that has just passed -- all the lives taken, and all the possibilities and hopes that died with them -- it is natural to wonder if America's future is one of fear. Some speak of an age of terror. I know there are struggles ahead, and dangers to face. But this country will define our times, not be defined by them. As long as the United States of America is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror; this will be an age of liberty, here and across the world. (Applause.)

Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger we have found our mission and our moment. Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom -- the great achievement of our time, and the great hope of every time -- now depends on us. Our nation -- this generation -- will lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage. We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail. (Applause.)

It is my hope that in the months and years ahead, life will return almost to normal. We'll go back to our lives and routines, and that is good. Even grief recedes with time and grace. But our resolve must not pass. Each of us will remember what happened that day, and to whom it happened. We'll remember the moment the news came -- where we were and what we were doing. Some will remember an image of a fire, or a story of rescue. Some will carry memories of a face and a voice gone forever.

And I will carry this: It is the police shield of a man named George Howard, who died at the World Trade Center trying to save others. It was given to me by his mom, Arlene, as a proud memorial to her son. This is my reminder of lives that ended, and a task that does not end. (Applause.)

I will not forget this wound to our country or those who inflicted it. I will not yield; I will not rest; I will not relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people.

The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them. (Applause.)

Fellow citizens, we'll meet violence with patient justice -- assured of the rightness of our cause, and confident of the victories to come. In all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom, and may He watch over the United States of America.

Thank you. (Applause.)

[http://www.c-span.org/executive/transcript.asp?cat=current\\_event&code=bush\\_admin&year=0901](http://www.c-span.org/executive/transcript.asp?cat=current_event&code=bush_admin&year=0901)

