

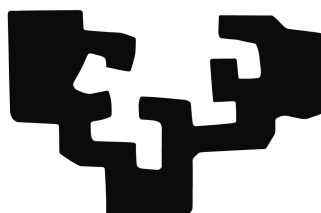


Ingeles Ikasketak
Topics in Semantics IV

**HILLARY CLINTON, DONALD TRUMP,
AND LAKOFF'S CONCEPTUAL
METAPHOR THEORY**

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Abstract

Our understanding of metaphor in language and thought has been reshaped, and the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), proposed by Lakoff and Johnson has become one of the most widely accepted views. The CMT claims that our conceptual system is organised in metaphors, and that these are reflected in language. According to Lakoff (1995), in the domain of American politics, there are a number of basic metaphor schemas that underlie the conceptual systems of Democrats and Republicans. For instance, MORALITY AS EMPATHY, and MORALITY AS STRENGTH, respectively.

This paper aimed at finding linguistic evidence of those conceptual systems in Hillary Clinton's and Donald Trump's speeches in a corpus comprising two speeches by each. To that effect, I have grouped the five most pervasive metaphor schemas in the language they use, and observed to what extent they fit in with Lakoff's schemas. Results showed that none of the ten coincided with Lakoff's lists of source metaphors for either party. Instead, the schemas identified dealt with more basic conceptual domains such as WAR and SPATIAL DIRECTIONS. For example, the POLITICS IS WAR metaphor is portrayed in Clinton's phrase: 'Those rules have been *under assault* by Republicans in Congress and those running for president.'

The data appeared to suggest that the incoherence between my findings and Lakoff's theory was due to the discrepancy in an important premise: his metaphors systematically have MORALITY as the target domain. Thus, I resolved to perform a second examination in which I accepted MORALITY as the target domain of the discourses. The aim was to, having taken a step closer to his theory, newly attempt to find linguistic evidence of Lakoff's underlying conceptual schemas. The results indicate that his concepts are evident in the general content of the speeches. However, most of the expressions instantiating the schemas are not conveyed in a language that involves mapping between a source domain and a more abstract target domain, in this case MORALITY, and so cannot be said to be metaphorical in his own terms. On the basis of the findings, I suggest that although Lakoff states that the metaphors structuring our conceptual systems are mirrored in language, when he offers a description of the prototypical conceptual systems of Clinton and Trump, the metaphors constituting them

are meagerly manifested in the respective speeches. I therefore haven't found evidence to support Lakoff's proposal to apply CMT to political discourse.

Key words: metaphor, target domain, source domain, metaphor schema, conceptual system.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Metaphor

Metaphor is defined as “a figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them” (Merriam-Webster). Its significance derives from the Greek term *metapherein*, meaning to “transfer, carry over; change, alter” (Online Etymology Dictionary).

In other words, metaphors map meanings across domains; wherewith, a target domain is structured and understood by virtue of a source domain. For instance, in “*look how far we've come*” we conceptualise LOVE (target domain) as a JOURNEY (source domain), (Evans & Green 2006).

1.2. The Traditional Approach

The traditional approach to metaphor merely attributes the function of language embellishment to this figure of speech; it argues that it only serves as decoration. It was believed to belong exclusively to poetic language, with no influence on thought at all (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). The theory was founded on creative metaphors: these are unusual metaphors which hardly ever go unnoticed by native speakers; and for their correct interpretation, both context and creativity from the hearer are required (Fraser 1993). An example of them is “we have built cathedrals out of spite”, from “Another Rape Poem” by Brenna Twohy.

However, this viewpoint is being increasingly questioned, for our understanding of metaphor has undergone significant change in the past few decades. Different theories have been developed on the matter, and cognitive linguists have proposed the most widely accepted one.

1.3. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

Cognitive Linguistics claims the existence of a direct correlation between our embodied experience and language. Embodied experience is human interaction with the world through our bodies, which is species-specific (due to our exclusive physical characteristics). This experience is abstractly reflected in our cognition in image schemas, also known as embodied concepts (Evans & Green 2006).

Image schemas are hence, primal concepts derived only from our embodied experience, and they systematically work as the basis to construct and understand more abstract concepts, which is a process named “conceptual projection”. This is presented as a metaphorical organisation of our understanding of concepts: image schemas function as source domains (accurately delineated by embodied experience), and abstract concepts as target domains, (for example, feelings, ideas, time, etc.) This is clearly instantiated in expressions such as “he is feeling *down*”, or “she is in *high* spirits”. In them, spatial directions serve as a source domain to understand the more complex concept of emotional states (target domain) (Evans & Green 2006; Lakoff & Johnson 1980).

According to cognitive linguists, the conceptual projection is the ground upon which we constitute our conceptual systems. These systems are echoed in language, and therefore, “to study language is studying patterns of conceptualisation” (Evans & Green 2006:20).

The theory is known as the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, first put forward by Lakoff and Johnson in their pioneering work *Metaphors We Live by*, (1980). The idea is that because the conceptual system is fundamentally organised in terms of metaphors, our everyday experiences, thoughts and actions are largely influenced by them, too. To give their own example, ARGUMENT is experienced in terms of WAR, the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor is mirrored in various expressions, such as “Your claims are *indefensible*”. And not only do we speak about ARGUMENT as if it were WAR, but we also experience it that way, I quote: “We can actually win or lose arguments. We see the person we are arguing with as an opponent. We attack his position and we defend our own”, etc. (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:4).

As advanced above, cognitive linguists defend that language represents thought, and as a result of metaphors forming to a significant extent our conceptual systems, they also consider that metaphors in speech are natural and pervasive. Nevertheless, even though conceptual metaphors play a defining role in how we perceive the world, we are normally unaware of them (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

Furthermore, the existence of the so-called dead metaphors is worth remarking. Contrary to what the name implies, these metaphors have been so regularly and

repeatedly used, that they have camouflaged themselves into the language's lexicon. As a result, their interpretation does not require particular attention, and their use goes unnoticed. Thus, they influence our cognition while keeping us ignorant of the effect (Goatly 2007).

Lending further support to the suggested experience-cognition-language association, Lakoff and Johnson assert that metaphors will coincide with cultural values (1980). The TIME IS SPACE metaphor provides a clear example of differences among cultures: in English, the FUTURE IS IN FRONT, and PAST IS BEHIND, due to which we use the following expressions: “You have to look *forward*, you are stuck in the past”. However, in Aymara, an Amerindian language from North America, their conceptual system is inversely structured. Conforming to their logic, what is in front of us we can see, and what we can see, we know. Because the past has already been experienced, and the future is unknown, they conceptualise the FUTURE as being BEHIND, and the PAST IN FRONT. For instance, to mean “last year”, they say “nayra mara”, which literally means: “eye/sight/front year” (E. Núñez & Sweetser 2006).

1.4. Metaphor and Relevance Theory

It should be underlined that the CMT is not the only suggested alternative to the traditional approach: Relevance Theorists Sperber and Wilson have also developed their own view on the matter. They put forward the idea that communication is a continuum from literal to non-literal talk, and metaphor is placed towards the non-literal end. This has been presented as a complementary rather than an opposing proposal to CMT by Wilson (2010). One of her contributions, for example, is that while CMT defends that metaphors originate in cognition, Wilson accepts that some do, but explains how others have their roots in language (2010).

2. Metaphor and Politics

In the political arena, communication can be an essential key to success. Due to that, political rhetoric has been studied from the Sophists, down to the present. Most previous work on this art has studied it generally rather than focusing particularly on metaphor; nonetheless, there seems to be an increasing interest in looking into political discourses

in a more detailed way. Various linguists (Jonathan Charteris-Black, Jeffrey Scott Mio), political scientists (Murray Edelman), philosophers (Hans Blumenberg), and psychologists (Shelley E. Taylor) have analysed metaphor in this kind of speech. The approaches have been diverse: for instance, Mio examines contexts in which metaphor achieves a persuasive function.

From the perspective of Cognitive Linguistics, Lakoff provides a particularly interesting thesis, where he combines the CMT and politics. He believes that because, as stated in the CMT, we think and act in coherence with our conceptual systems, its most dramatic impact comes in ordinary reasoning: and this is the ground upon which we judge politics. He also observes that unlike liberals, conservatives are aware of their conceptual system, thanks to which they have succeeded in presenting it to the public and “have left liberals in the dust”, if I may use his own expression. Given this imbalance in the awareness of the systems, he aims to provide an accurate description of the patterns of thought underlying each party (Lakoff 2009). Therefore, he suggests two lists of metaphors constituting the prototypical conceptual systems of Democrats on the one hand, and Republicans on the other (to be explained in the proceeding section).

3. Lakoff's Models

The information in this section is a summary of Lakoff's article “Metaphor, Morality, and Politics – Or, Why Conservatives Have Left Liberals in the Dust” (1995).

3.1. Metaphor and Morality

According to the cognitive linguist, prototypical conservatives and liberals share most of the metaphors regarding morality, but each ideology prioritises them differently, and as a consequence, they have “radically different moral systems” (Lakoff 1995:5). A description of the most relevant metaphors follows, but only a few examples are included, the ones that the author provides.

3.1.1. Conservative Morality

- Conservatives give the highest priority to **Morality is Strength**. This metaphor presupposes that the world is divided into Good and Evil, and thus, being moral is having the courage to face external evils and the self-control for internal ones. Moral strength is built through self-discipline and self-denial, which implies that punishment can be beneficial. Besides, given that Evil must never be respected, it is estimated that the adversary should not either. This results in the dismissal of social programmes and helps, because they are thought to contribute to increasing moral weakness.
- **Moral Bounds**: Moral bounds are prescribed and separate Good from Evil. Crossing the boundaries with sinful acts or trying to make them ambiguous is regarded as immoral and dangerous to society.
- **Moral Authority**: This is based on paternal authority. Obeying the father is the moral thing to do for children, and similarly, obeying moral authorities for citizens, (religious, political, etc.)
- **Moral Essence**: Moral essence is the character of a person, whether they are morally strong or not. Once someone's moral essence is figured out, their behaviour will be predictable. This is portrayed in the fixed expressions “having a heart of gold” and “to know what someone is made of”.
- **Moral Health**: Moral people are seen as healthy and clean, whereas immorality is related to contagious diseases, from which we must protect ourselves.
- **Moral Wholeness**: Moral wholeness is the basis of moral strength, and “tearing” it is damaging and weakening moral strength. An example: “he is a *degenerate* person”.

3.1.1. Liberal Morality

- **Morality as Empathy**: Empathy is the ability to feel what other people feel. Thus, we must “do unto others as they would have you done unto them”, and not “do unto others as we would do unto ourselves” (Lakoff 1995:14).
- **Morality as Nurturance**: This metaphor presents the community as a family, the needy as children in need, and moral action and responsibility as nurturance.
- **Morality as Social Nurturance**: Social ties are seen as children in need, and in a community built by empathetic members, these ties must be nurtured and cared for; that will be regarded as the moral action.

- **Morality as Happiness:** You should be as happy as possible, for your unhappiness can get in the way of your empathy and nurturance for others.
- **Morality as Fairness:** Fairness is conceptualised as the distribution of material objects. Moral action will be fair if it is carried out following one of these criteria: “equal distribution; impartial rule-based distribution; and rights-based distribution” (Lakoff 1995:15).
- **Moral Growth:** Morality is metaphorically understood as uprightness, so the degree of morality is measured in terms of physical height.

The reflection of these metaphors in the speeches of Clinton and Trump will be discussed in section 6.

3.2. The NATION IS A FAMILY Metaphor

The NATION IS A FAMILY metaphor clusters the previous ones about MORALITY. In it, the NATION is presented as a FAMILY, the government as parents and the citizens as children. Thus, we speak about having “Founding Fathers”, and sending “our *sons and daughters* to war”; etc. (Lakoff 2006:65). This metaphor plays a decisive role in shaping American politics, for what we believe a family should be will be akin to our idea of the nation. Besides, it provides common ground to liberals and conservatives, although their ideal family and its moral obligations differ, (Lakoff 1995; Lakoff 2006) as will be shown below.

3.2.1. Conservatives: The Strict Father

Conservatives share a general ideal model of a family, which necessarily includes a mother and a father. In their view, the world is fundamentally dangerous, and it is the father's job to protect his family from Evil. This implies that the father knows right from wrong best, and the highest responsibilities about the overall well-being of the household are on him, because he is the authority. On the other hand, the mother should take care of the house, raise the children, and support the father's ideals and decisions, (Lakoff 1995; Lakoff 2006).

The father must be strict and tough to teach discipline and moral strength. The children have to grow up to be self-disciplined and self-reliant, working against internal evils through self-denial and hard work (Lakoff 1995).

3.2.2. Liberals: The Nurturant Parents

As opposed to the conservatives', liberals' ideal family accepts untraditional family models: one parent or two parents of the same gender are as valid as the rest. Moreover, there is no hierarchical relation between heterosexual partners. Their criterion is nurturance; they are not authoritarian, they teach to obey out of respect instead. Protection is highly relevant, and children are educated to develop empathy, responsibility, self-discipline, and self-nurturance, among others (Lakoff 2006).

Interaction and positive relationships are significantly valued, and children are taught to contribute to their community. Based on their secure attachments and support, children can develop their potential, meet their love needs, and find joy in life (Lakoff 1995).

4. The Study

In short, cognitive linguists, including Lakoff, defend that our conceptual system is organised in metaphors, which are echoed in language (cf. section 1). Further, he worked on the conceptual systems of prototypical Democrats and Republicans, describing how, summing up, the formers' is based on the MORALITY AS EMPATHY/NURTURANCE metaphor; and the latter's' on MORALITY AS STRENGTH, (cf. section 3).

Combining both ideas, I wanted to find evidence of how those underlying metaphors are reflected in political speeches and lend linguistic evidence to the theory. To that end, I decided to study Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. I believed them to be especially interesting: on the one hand, Clinton relies on her communicative skills to a larger extent than her opponents, because she is less likely to attract voters with her public image owing to her sex. On the other, Trump has indeed become a scandal because of what he says, the freedom with which he allows himself to speak about delicate topics, or any topic for that matter, is his hallmark. My research aimed to analyse to what extent these two particular cases correspond with Lakoff's models. Thus, I chose two speeches from each politician and grouped five of the most repeated metaphor schemas in them. The discourses are Clinton's Campaign Launch Speech

(6/12/2015), and “Building the ‘Growth and Fairness Economy’” (7/13/2015); and Trump's Presidential Announcement Speech (6/16/2015), and “Iowa Freedom Summit” (1/24/2015). I considered The Campaign Launch Speeches to be distinctly meaningful in terms of content for what I was searching for; and the other two were chosen randomly (as long as they were recent and political).

Given the gist of the corpus, I expected the metaphors about morality in section 3 to be obvious. However, the data indicated that none of them coincided with the most common five of either politician. Thus, in section 5, those 10 metaphor schemas will be explained, which are based on the conceptual domains of MOTION, WEALTH/POVERTY, BUILDING, MACHINE, WAR, SPORTS, and JOURNEY. For instance, the PAST/BACKWARD MOVEMENT IS BAD metaphor can be seen in “By solving problems that *hold us back*”; and POOR IS WEAK/ SICK/ DEAD in “We’re *dying*. We need money.” My criterion to group metaphors in schemas was to make them as general or specific as the examples themselves have allowed them to be.

A possible explanation for my findings will be explored, and a new attempt to study how Lakoff's thesis is reflected in the corpus will proceed in section 6.

5. Five Most Pervasive Metaphors in Clinton and Trump

5.1. Hillary Clinton

I must point out in advance that some examples in other sections apart from MOTION may recall MOTION as well, both UP/DOWN and BACK/FRONT. In fact, it is often difficult to tease apart the different metaphor schemas in the same expressions; such is the case of: “we’re going *up against some pretty powerful forces*”, where the domains MOTION (GOING UP IS CONFRONTING THREATS) and WAR (INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT IS WAR) are combined.

1. MOTION

Metaphors involving motion forward and backwards constitute the most prominent group in Clinton's speeches. In this category, all schemas are interrelated. Examples:

- LIFE IS A JOURNEY: ‘The best possible *start* in life.’
- A NATION'S HISTORY IS MOTION: ‘We’re still working our *way back* from a crisis (...)’
- A PRESIDENCY IS A JOURNEY: ‘I want to be a President for all Americans. And *along the way* (...)’

The TIME IS SPACE metaphor underlies motion metaphors, among others, for it is a base for English conceptualisation, (a dead metaphor, cf. section 1). Thus, TIME is seen as SPACE: BACK and BEHIND are the target domains of the PAST, for example: ‘(...) we can’t *go back* to the old policies that failed us before (...)’; and FUTURE IS FORWARD, as in ‘Americans have *come too far* to see our *progress* ripped away’.

Two other metaphors in this domain are PAST IS BAD, and FUTURE IS GOOD.

- PAST/BACKWARD MOVEMENT IS BAD: Past political measures and mistakes are often brought back to discredit her opponents' intentions:
 - ‘(...) we *go back* to the top-down economic policies that failed us before (...)’
 - ‘(...) there may be some new voices in the presidential Republican choir, but they’re all singing the same *old* song... A song called “*Yesterday*.”’
 - ‘(...) By solving problems that *hold us back* (...)’
 - ‘(...) we can’t *go back* to the old policies that failed us before (...)’
 - ‘It’s not about left, right or center; it’s about the *future versus the past*.’
 - ‘I’m running for president to build an America for *tomorrow*, not *yesterday*, (...)’ .
- FUTURE/FORWARD MOVEMENT IS GOOD: As opposed to the previous metaphor, going forward is presented as a positive aim linked to success and going up on the social scale, for instance:
 - ‘(...) take college courses to *get ahead*.’

In this goal, Clinton includes every American:

 - ‘How many families *get ahead* and *stay ahead*.’
 - ‘Americans have *come too far* to see our *progress* ripped away.’
 - ‘We should welcome the support of all Americans who want to *go forward* together with us.’

‘(...) if you work hard and do your part, you should be able to *get ahead*.’

‘I want to have principled and pragmatic and progressive policies that really *move us forward* together, (...)’

Difficulties are mapped onto the following domains:

- DIFFICULTIES ARE BARRIERS/HURDLES: Some metaphors involve difficulties and problems in life presented as barriers to movement, which can be broken or got over:

‘You have to *push through the setbacks* and disappointments and keep at it.’

‘(...) we *pulled back* from the *brink* of Depression, (...)’

‘(...) *breaking down barriers* so more Americans participate more fully in the workforce, especially women.’

‘(...) to really help parents, particularly parents who are facing a lot of *obstacles*, (...)’

‘We also have to *go beyond* Dodd-Frank.’, (recalls jumping over a fence)

‘(...) to avoid the *difficulties* that *stand in the way* (...)’

- DIFFICULTIES ARE PHYSICAL ACCIDENTS (particularly when walking):

‘These Republicans *trip over* themselves (...)’

‘We Americans may differ, bicker, *stumble, and fall*; but we are at our best when we *pick each other up*, (...)’

- DEALING WITH DIFFICULTIES IS LACK OF MOVEMENT: Difficulties in life are presented as the inability to continue the journey:

‘Our political system is so *paralyzed* by gridlock and dysfunction (...)’

or getting out of the pathway:

“‘(...) so *get back out there*.’” (quoting her mother.)

- SOCIAL SCALE IS A JOURNEY: The pathway with a destination is the target domain of life opportunities to succeed, as in:

‘(...) we want to generate more *pathways into* the middle class’

‘(...) we need to provide *pathways* to get skills and credentials for new occupations (...)’

According to this schema, things out of the pathway are things left behind while lives or countries *move forward*:

‘And we can't afford to *leave talent on the sidelines*.’

Also, refusing to go the same path as others is disagreeing with their political ideas and not allowing them to come to order:

‘We should support them if they create jobs, raise wages and advance our national security. And we should be prepared to *walk away* if they don't.’

2. WEALTH/ POVERTY

SPATIAL DIRECTIONS are used to understand the oppositions of the abstract concepts GOOD and BAD. Two examples of UP IS GOOD are:

‘(...) and the first time in decades we all *grew* together, (...)’

‘So we're *standing* again.’

And another two of DOWN IS BAD are:

‘(...) and *drowning* out the voices of our people.’

‘(...) and the promise of America *dims*.’

The previous schema can be perceived as underlying the metaphors RICH IS UP, and POOR IS DOWN:

- RICH IS UP: Clinton repeatedly refers to the rich as being “at the top”, and the poor “below”. For instance:

‘(...) those *at the top* pay lower taxes and bend the rules, their success would *trickle down* to everyone else.’

‘(...) to make the economy work for everyday Americans, not just those *at the top*.’

‘(...) how many children *climb out of poverty*...’

Following the same path, EXPENSIVE PRICES are mapped onto UP too, as in:

‘(...) the *rise* of global trade (...)’

‘(...) the new World Trade Center *soaring skyward*.’

‘We should support them if they create jobs, *raise wages* and advance our national security.’

‘(...) *incomes rose across the board*, not just for those already *at the top*.’

‘Corporate profits are at near *record highs* (...)’

POOR IS DOWN: At the same time, the poor, debts, cheap prices, incomes, wages, etc. are mapped onto DOWN:

‘(...) family incomes *dropped*.’

‘How many young people go to college without *drowning in debt*...?’

‘(...) that lets wealthy financiers pay an artificially *low* rate.’

As we have seen, both RICH and GOOD are mapped onto UP, (and so, POOR and BAD onto DOWN). On further examination, when grouping RICH and GOOD together (as source domains of UP), there lays a possibility for the RICH IS GOOD metaphor to be included as part of our conceptual mapping as well, (and thus, POOR IS BAD). This can lead the audience to perceive wealth as a positive aim, and contribute to attitudes that look down on the poor.

3. BUILDING

Clinton talks about building nations, prosperity and economy. Most commonly, the entities are built by the inclusive plural pronoun *we*, which attracts people to join the work that aims for everyone's interest. The examples are below:

- NATION IS A BUILDING: In her speech, improving a nation in economic, political and social terms, is understood as building it. For example:

‘(...) *build* a strong and prosperous America (...)’

‘I wish she could have seen the America *we*’re going to *build* together.’

- PROSPERITY/ ECONOMY IS A BUILDING: Similarly, when economy, prosperity and social classes are developed they are mapped onto the building field:

‘(...) prosperity must be *built* by all, and shared by all.’

‘Fundamentally, they reject what it takes to *build* an inclusive economy.’

‘Previous generations of Americans *built* the greatest economy and strongest middle class (...)’

4. UNITY, SOLIDARITY AND EFFORT

A united and prosperous nation implies ensuring the well-being of all citizens, which justifies her social reforms and evokes empathy among citizens. This idea is shown in various expressions: ‘And when everybody does their part, America gets ahead too.’; ‘America can’t succeed unless you succeed.’; ‘Now, the second fight is to strengthen America’s families, because when our families are strong, America is strong.’; ‘Like

any family, our American family is strongest when we cherish what we have in common, and fight back against those who would drive us apart.’

Nevertheless, it is a widespread belief among Republicans that some end up working and others taking advantage of the benefits. To fight against this idea, she remarks the need for everyone's participation and effort: ‘President Roosevelt called on every American to do his or her part, (...)’; ‘An America, where if you do your part, you reap the rewards.’; ‘(...) if you work hard and do your part, you should be able to get ahead.’; ‘And I’m inviting everyone to please join me to do your part.’

In the domain of UNITY, the NATION IS A MACHINE metaphor emerges, in which citizens are its parts, and for the machine to work, everyone's work and well-being must be verified. Thus, engines and drivers are presented as political reforms that will help the country start working again:

‘(...) but another *engine* of strong growth should be comprehensive immigration reform.’

‘(...) the second *key driver* of raising incomes.’

‘I’ll also push for broader business tax reform to *spur* investment in America.’

‘You know, when we get Americans *moving*, we get our country *moving*.’

5. WAR

POLITICS IS WAR is another particularly common metaphor in English. This metaphor needs a hero, an evil enemy, and someone to save from the threat. In Clinton's speeches, the hero is usually herself, but she also includes the citizens in some examples:

‘We can *defend* our country (...)’

In the international arena, the evils are adversary nations and certain politicians from other countries; and, inside the country, the threats are Republicans and national problems, such as poverty.

- INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT IS WAR: In this metaphor, Clinton is the fighter who will protect the nation and confront international evils:

‘I’ve *stood up to* adversaries like Putin and reinforced allies like Israel.’

‘As your president, I’ll do whatever it takes to keep Americans *safe*.’

‘(...) we’re going up *against some pretty powerful forces* (...)’

- NATIONAL PROBLEM IS WAR: Internal problems are mapped onto threats:

‘No other country is better prepared to meet emerging *threats* from cyber attacks, (...)’

She presents the Republicans and their measures as dangers to democracy and the citizens' rights. For instance:

‘We need Justices on the Supreme Court who will *protect* every citizen’s right to vote, (...)’

‘I’ll *fight back* against Republican efforts to disempower and disenfranchise young people, poor people, people with disabilities, and people of color.’

‘I will *fight back against* these mean-spirited, misguided *attacks*.’

‘Those rules have been *under assault* by Republicans in Congress and those running for president.’

- Her presidential campaign is based on four FIGHTS that she endeavours to win, which are socio-political measures to help citizens' life-standards improve:

‘If you’ll give me the chance, I’ll wage and win *Four Fights* for you.’

‘Now, the *second fight* is to strengthen America’s families (...)’

‘So we have a *third fight*: to harness all of America’s power, (...)’

‘(...) we can *win these four fights*.’

- SOLIDARITY IS GOOD/ STRENGTH: On the other hand, she never presents a of citizens as the evil from which others need to protect themselves. She avoids inside confrontations among citizens by using the plural pronoun *we* to include and identify everyone as the fighters who will save the nation (from other dangers):

‘We Americans may differ, bicker, stumble, and fall; but *we* are at our best when we pick each other up, when *we have each other’s back*.’

‘Like any family, our American family is *strongest* when we cherish what we have in common, and *fight back* against those who would drive us apart.’

Furthermore, she gives examples of herself facing social problems to highlight the need for inside aid:

‘But I’ve spent my life *fighting for* children, families, and our country.’

‘I will *fight back* against these *attacks* and protect the reforms we have made.’

‘As president, I’ll *fight* to put families first (...)’

‘(...) by *defending* and enhancing Social Security (...)’

- HISTORY OF THE NATION IS WAR: The history of America is presented as a battle towards progress (while GOING FORWARD linked to her political measures, as explained above), in which the heroes are the citizens and certain previous presidents:

‘(...) all the progress that was *won* because Americans refused to give up or back down.’

‘The story of America is a story of *hard-fought, hard-won* progress.’

‘She lived to be 92 years old, and I often think about all the *battles* she witnessed (...)’

5.2. Donald Trump

Working on Trump I had an interesting start, for when going through his speeches, I found the following statement: “I watch the speeches of these people, and they say the sun will rise, the moon will set, all sorts of wonderful things will happen. And people are saying, ‘What’s going on? I just want a job. Just get me a job. I don’t need the rhetoric. I want a job’”, (Trump, Presidential Announcement Speech). From this, I presumed he would not take the time to work on creative metaphorical language, which may have given me direct access to the conceptual metaphors he is unaware of.

1. WAR

WAR metaphors make up the largest group in Trump's speeches. As mentioned in the case of Clinton, this metaphor needs a hero, someone in danger, and an evil.

- INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS/ CONFLICTS ARE WAR: By this, he describes a problematic scenario caused by previous politicians, in which the rest of the countries are *killing* the United States, mostly in economic terms:

‘When do we *beat* Mexico at the border? (...) And now they are *beating* us economically. They are not our friend, believe me. But they’re *killing* us economically.’

‘When did we *beat* Japan at anything? (...) They *beat* us all the time.’

‘Our country is in serious trouble. We don’t have *victories* anymore. (...) When was the last time anybody saw us *beating*, let’s say, China in a trade deal? They *kill* us.’

‘When was the last time you heard China is *killing* us? (...) They’re *killing* us.’

Moreover, he presents himself as the hero who has already defeated the enemies on previous occasions, implying he could save the nation from them, one more time:

‘I *beat* China all the time.’

He aggravates the situation with the RICH IS STRONG metaphor (to be explained):

‘Our enemies are getting *stronger* and *stronger* by the way, and we as a country are getting *weaker*.’

But giving the audience the merit they supposedly deserve, due to which Trump is on their side:

‘Because you've done so much; you've *beaten* so many people; (...)’

- NATIONAL CONFLICT IS WAR: In internal conflicts, people's rights need to be saved from other politicians' threats (like Obamacare):

‘It's an issue that you're not going to *win*’

‘*Save* Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security without cuts.’

‘You *save* it by making the United States, by making us rich again, by taking back all of the money that’s being lost.’

2. SPORTS

SPORTS metaphors in Trump's discourses have already been discussed by Andrew J. Gallegher in his "Metaphors in American Politics" website. Metaphors belonging to this domain overlap to some extent with WAR schemas, for war terminology is commonly resorted to to talk about sports in English. However, I have tried to make a distinction. Thus, certain issues are discussed in terms of competition, opponents, winners, losers, and even cheerleaders. As Mio argues, Howe had already found this metaphor and regretted to admit that it excludes women, as it is a field generally identified with men (Howe 1988, cited in Mio 1997:124). That is why it came as no surprise that someone who says: "Women, you have to treat them like shit!" (Trump, *New York Magazine*, 2015) would make use of them.

- PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS ARE SPORTS GAMES: This is a dead and widespread metaphor in English. In it, politicians *run* for president one against the other, some lose or fail, and the elected one wins:

‘It' can't be Mitt because Mitt *ran* and *failed*. He *failed*.’

‘If it's not me in the position, it's one of these politicians that we're *running against*, (...)’

‘And I am serious thinking of *running* for president because I can do the job.’

‘Cause Abraham Lincoln (...) could not have *won the election*, (...)’

When politicians compete, they beat each other:

‘I think *beating* Obama would have been a much easier one than the one that's coming up, which is sad to say but true.’

But they also seek support from one another, in this case from Trump:

‘They all want me to *support* them. They don't know how to bring it about.’

- INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS ARE BASKETBALL GAMES: In international conflicts, Trump talks about big leagues, being pushed around, and bringing back jobs, money, and so on, which have been taken away from the nation, as if basketballs stolen from opponents:

‘Iran is taking over Iraq, and they're taking it over *big league*.’

‘I’ll *bring back* our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan, from so many places. I’ll *bring back* our jobs, and I’ll *bring back* our money.’

‘We need a leader that can *bring back* our jobs, can *bring back our* manufacturing, can *bring back* our military, can take care of our vets.’

(These metaphors recall a basketball player bringing back the ball to the team after it has been stolen by the opponents, as pointed out by Gallegher.)

‘Nobody, nobody will be *pushing us* around.’

- On the same path, he calls previous politicians losers, due to which the Americans have to get strong in order to be able to compete against international adversaries:

‘We have *losers*. We have *losers*.’

‘We really do have to *get strong*, and we have to *get strong* fast.’

‘Now, we have a *game changer* now, and the *game changer* is nuclear weapons.’

- INTERNAL CONFLICT IS SPORTS: His biggest national problem is Obama. He compares him to a cheerleader:

‘You know, when President Obama was elected, I said, “Well, the one thing, I think he’ll do well. I think he’ll be a great *cheerleader* for the country.” (...) I really thought that he would be a great *cheerleader*. He’s not a leader. (...) But he wasn’t a *cheerleader*. He’s actually a negative force.’

He ironically talks about Obamacare as being in a big league:

‘But Obamacare kicks in in 2016. *Really big league*.’

And he repeatedly uses the expression *kick in*:

‘Obamacare really *kicks in* in ’16, 2016.’

‘You look at Obamacare. A total catastrophe and by the way it really *kicks in* in '16 and it is going to be a disaster.’

3. MOTION

Trump makes use of MOTION metaphors too, although a lot less systematically than Clinton. In truth, various metaphors are found, but few of them belong to the same schema.

- NATIONAL HISTORY IS A JOURNEY:
 ‘And we have a *long way to go*.’
 ‘(...) our country is really *headed in the wrong direction* with a president who is doing an absolutely terrible job.’
 ‘(...) we’re very close— that’s the point of *no return*. \$24 trillion. We will *be there soon*. That’s when we become Greece. (...) And we’re gonna *be there very soon*.’
- NOT PAYING FOR MISTAKES IS GETTING AWAY WITH THEM: The expression “get away with murder” is regularly used to express how Obama does something harmful (Obamacare), without paying for it:
 ‘Because they let the president *get away with absolute murder*.’
 ‘He got away with *murder*.’
 The expression also describes how other nations do unfair business with the United States without any consequences:
 ‘And they say, we can't believe what we're *getting away with*. And *they're getting away with it*.’

4. WEALTH/ POVERTY

Trump relates many of his political aims and disagreements to the economic domain, and consequently, his speeches reflect various metaphors regarding WEALTH/ POVERTY:

- POOR IS BAD:
 ‘Our labor participation rate was the *worst* since 1978. But think of it, GDP *below zero*, *horrible* labor participation rate.’
- POOR IS DOWN: Poverty and cheaper prices are mapped onto DOWN, as in Clinton's case:
 ‘We have people that are morally corrupt. We have people that are selling this country *down the drain*.’
 ‘(...) way *below cost*, way *below* what anyone ever thought.’

Metaphors belonging to this domain are also related to HEALTH:

- RICH IS STRONG:

‘Last quarter, it was just announced our *gross domestic product*— a sign of *strength*, right?’

‘And when you hear the *dollar is getting stronger*, it sounds good.’

- POOR IS WEAK/ SICK/ DEAD:

‘(...) but now they feel we're so *weak* and we have so many different problems all over the world that they can do it.’

‘There is so much wealth out there that can make our country so rich again, and therefore make it *great* again. Because we need money. We're *dying*.’

‘(...) the American dream is *dead*.’

5. Make America Great Again: GREAT IS RICH

His well-known mantra is the goal to “Make America Great Again”. In his speeches, he has revealed the target domain of GREAT:

‘There is so much *wealth* out there that can make our country so *rich* again, *and therefore make it great again*. Because we need *money*. We're *dying*.’

‘Sadly, the American dream is dead. (...) But if I get elected president I will bring it back *bigger and better and stronger* than ever before, and we will make America *great* again.’

From these instances, we can conclude that the conceptual metaphor he bases on is GREAT IS RICH.

6. Reanalysis of Lakoff's Models in Clinton and Trump: Morality as the Target Domain

In the previous section, I have analysed the five most fruitful metaphor schemas in Clinton's and Trump's speeches. As shown in the data, they are related to conceptual domains such as MOTION, WAR, and WEALTH; there is thus no direct proof to support Lakoff's theory. A comparison between the two politicians in the explained metaphors will be drawn in the second part of the concluding section, (cf. section 7.2.)

Concerning Lakoff, the study suggested his models of conceptual mappings were evident in the overall speeches; to provide one example, the way Clinton plays upon the ground of the FAMILY IS A NATION metaphor will be examined in section 6.1. Nevertheless, the number of metaphors instantiating the mappings was relatively small, (to be discussed in section 6.2.) Given the results, I wanted to explore the reason for their incongruity, and in the attempt to conduct the analysis, I discerned two major questions:

In this kind of discourses, politicians are meant to defend ideas in coherence with their principles and values, which may allow us to perceive every suggestion they make as a source domain of MORALITY. In other words, is MORALITY the target domain of all language used in political speeches?

Secondly, I found a personal criterion that led me to overlook some possible metaphor examples in the speeches: is every example of a concept the source domain of that concept? For instance, in “I want to call for a great outpouring of support from our faith community, our business community, our academic institutions, (...) to really help parents, particularly parents who are facing a lot of obstacles”, could supporting parents be regarded as (an example and) a source domain of NURTURANCE?

I did not assume the answer to these two questions was positive when I first carried out the examination in section 5. However, I have considered the first to be the key issue that showed my findings to be incoherent with Lakoff's theory. Therefore, I have decided to conduct a second analysis, taking MORALITY as the target domain of the language in the political speeches (cf. section 6.2.) I believe this assumption needs further explanation to be considered genuine for scientific purposes, but I have taken it for granted only to observe the speeches with “Lakoff's glasses”, and try to find evidence this way.

6.1. The NATION IS A FAMILY Metaphor, Clinton

As aforementioned, in this section I intend to show how Lakoff's metaphors are palpable in the speeches, looking specifically into the NATION IS A FAMILY metaphor in Hillary Clinton's Campaign Launch Speech.

Hillary Clinton faces a crucial challenge due to her sex: for the first time in the FAMILY IS A NATION metaphor of the United States, she will ask Americans to grant the decisive and powerful position to the mother. Although as stated by Lakoff, this should not be an issue for ordinary Democrats, it is a very particular social problem she confronts: sexism, with which not every liberal necessarily disagrees. Let alone conservatives: the Strict Father metaphor that Lakoff describes leaves no room for women in power positions.

In order to overcome this difficulty, first, she mentions a list of men who she is related to in different ways, presenting them as people from whom she has learned and whose ideas she supports. Identifying herself with a list of *admirable* men may ease the opposition to women leading the country, and attract the audience whose only reason to reject her would be her being a woman. Secondly, she provides personal evidence to demonstrate the capacity of women.

- **Male Backups:** The examples she offers are fathers in her family and metaphorical fathers of the Nation, that is, previous presidents: her father and grandfather, her husband and President Bill Clinton, and Presidents Roosevelt and Obama.
 - Both her grandfather and father worked hard to support their families, and America responded by letting them get ahead. She remarks she is very much aware of the required efforts to prosper, for she is a result of them.
 - She recalls her husband's achievements as a President, such as peace, and a time when “we all grew together”. She has witnessed his work first-hand and has a personal relationship with him, which leads us to conclude that they share moral values; and for those mistrustful of a woman's capacity, that at least she must have been able to learn from him. Furthermore, she has proven to fit into conservatives' ideal mother model, who supports and respects the father's moral values. Consequently, it would not be contradictory to believe that she is prepared to defend them herself.
 - She lists Obama's accomplishments while she was by his side: for example, the financial crisis was overcome. With this, she justifies her capacity because she took part in Obama's success, (apart from repeating the idea that she has seen another President work from up close).

- Hillary parallels her goals as a president with those of Roosevelt. He is the only President in the US History to win four elections straight. Thus, having been the President for 16 years, his devotion to serving the country and the trust he inspired are unquestionable. It is also undeniable that Americans thought he fought for the best of their country, so she reminds her audience of his ideas, and asserts that she wants to continue the work he had begun: “equality of opportunity, jobs, security, ending of special privileges, preservation of civil liberties for all, and a constantly rising standard of living”. Those values recall the Nurturing Parent described by Lakoff. Moreover, she states that he has served as an inspiration for Obama and Mr Clinton, two powerful men with whom she has connected herself.

To put it simply, in the metaphorical dimension, the mother (Clinton) has learned from the father (Mr. Clinton, her father, her grandfather, Obama, and Roosevelt), and is ready to lead the family (the nation).

- **Mother:** Self-discipline is a key element in both the liberal and conservative conceptual systems because it is crucial to building Moral Strength. As advanced above, in Lakoff's description of conservatives' Family Model, the duty to set the limits and distinguish right from wrong is awarded to the Strict Father. Therefore, Hillary proves the capacity of women's self-discipline by giving the example of her own mother. She explains how hard her life has been: she was abandoned by her parents and had to make a living on her own by the age of 14. Under no circumstances could someone learn better about self-discipline. Thus, if gender should be a reason to question Clinton's moral strength, it should be left behind when learning that she has been brought up by a woman with such a lesson in self-discipline.
- **Professional Experience:** She also describes her work, always in coherence with the moral values she would defend as a president: she contributed with her Methodist Church, helped Mexican families and defended their conditions; fought for poor people to have the right for a lawyer; lent help to improve schools and health care; represented the US in the United Nations; and so on. Those prove her loyalty as a Nurturing Mother to her children, that is, to the citizens.

- **Grandmother:** Since the shift from the father to the mother can be problematic for the voters' conceptual system, she discreetly identifies herself with the figure of a grandmother instead. She makes references to her age: “well, I may not be the youngest candidate in this race”; and she directly states that she is a grandmother: “And the first (President) grandmother...” Grandparents are a symbol of stability in a family, valued for their experience and nurturance. Thus, presenting herself as the first grandmother rather than the mother in the FAMILY IS A NATION metaphor might be a way to dodge the unconscious sexist bullet.

6.2. Conceptual Mappings

It has been previously explained that a question raised when I studied the data of my examination:

Is MORALITY the target domain of all language used to make political proposals?

Even though the answer to this controversy will not be solved in this work, the analysis that proceeds has been conducted having assumed the answer is positive; only because this allowed a deeper insight into the study. In other words, every metaphor that follows will be considered to have MORALITY as its target domain. Thus, next, the metaphor schemas listed in section 3 about each prototypical politician will be inquired into: such as Morality is Empathy, and Morality is Strength.

6.2.1. Hillary Clinton

Morality as Empathy, Nurturance, and Social Nurturance: As pointed out in the NATION AS A MACHINE metaphor, Clinton triggers empathy and social-nurturance. This idea can be seen in:

‘What are the best ways to *nurture* startups outside the successful corridors, like Silicon Valley?’

‘Like any family, our American family is strongest when we cherish what we have *in common*, and fight back against those who would *drive us apart*.’

‘Parents need more support and flexibility to do their job at work and home. I *believe you should have the right to earn paid sick days*.’

Morality as Fairness and Growth: Growth and fairness are frequent concepts used in Hillary's speeches, particularly in the economic field: the expression "Building the "Growth and Fairness" Economy" even provides the title to the second speech. In these cases, fairness can be regarded as the impartial distribution of the country's wealth; meaning, the moral thing to do is to share it justly:

'(...) *I believe* we have to build a *growth and fairness* economy.'

However, I would not suggest the "growth" in the "growth and fairness economy" represents Moral Growth. Even though making the economy fair would be more ethical, the expression does not suggest consequence, but rather addition. In fact, given the previously examined metaphor RICH IS UP, I suggest that this means a *wealthier* economy fairly distributed:

'The middle class needs more *growth* and more fairness.'

'(...) when all Americans have the chance to study hard, work hard and share in our country's prosperity, that's *fair growth*.'

In the following examples the defended meaning of GROWTH is more evident and straightforward:

'(...) because that leads to *higher growth* for the economy (...).'

'(...) and the first time in decades we all *grew* together, with the bottom 20 percent of workers *increasing their incomes* by the same percentage as the top 5 percent.'

6.2.2. Donald Trump

Morality is Strength: In expressions involving strength, it is difficult to differentiate when Trump means, MORAL IS STRONG, and RICH IS STRONG.

In the former's division of Good and Evil, immigration could be seen as an external evil and Bush as incapable of dealing with it, when Trump describes the ex-President as:

'He's very, very *weak* on immigration.'

Examples of the latter are provided above, in the RICH IS STRONG section, such as:

'And when you hear the dollar is getting *stronger*, it sounds good.'

However, the limit between the two can be blurred in other cases:

‘Our enemies are getting *stronger and stronger* by the way, and we as a country are getting *weaker*.’

‘And they wouldn't have even done it two years ago, but now they feel we're so *weak* and we have so many different problems all over the world that they can do it.’

‘But if I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and *stronger* than ever before, and we will make America great again.’

Those examples could signify that the United States is not economically powerful enough to face global challenges; or that they are not morally strong enough to deal with external evils.

Given that immigration is most commonly a matter of poverty, (at least immigration Trump describes, focusing on Mexico), and that being both RICH and MORAL are mapped onto STRONG, a metaphor derived from this could be: MORAL IS RICH.

Moral Authority and Essence: Even though obeying authorities would be the moral thing to do in the conservatives' conceptual map, in Trump's view, its importance is diminished according to the authorities' Moral Essence. He presents leaders as “stupid”, due to which he justifies disrespect towards them:

‘How *stupid* are our leaders? How *stupid* are these politicians to allow this to happen? How *stupid* are they?’

‘You know, leadership of other places never respect *stupid* people, okay, that's one thing you're going to find.’

Moral Health: As explained, Lakoff believes conservatives conceptualise moral people as clean and healthy; and immoral people as sick. Likewise, it has been studied above that Trump uses the metaphor POOR IS SICK:

‘There is so much wealth out there that can make our country so rich again, and therefore make it great again. Because we need money. We're *dying*. We're *dying*. We need money.’

Lending support to the previous suggestion, this could also lead to the conceptualizations of MORAL IS RICH, and IMMORAL IS POOR.

Note: The examples gathered above illustrate the domains set forth by Lakoff, but the fact that they are mapped onto MORALITY is not directly perceived. In fact, as mentioned above, the only justification for this assumption would be that their topic is related to politics.

7. Conclusion

In this final section, I will first summarise my work, then draw a general comparison between Clinton's and Trump's metaphors, and finish with an observation of Lakoff's theory.

7.1 Summary

Lakoff has developed a model of politicians' conceptual systems, and my work's purpose has been to find their reflection in the metaphorical language of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. My results were not coherent with his theory, and I tried to identify the reason why. Lakoff presents MORALITY as the target domain of the metaphors making up the conceptual systems of the afore mentioned politicians, something I did not assume when I carried out my first examination. Thus, I decided to conduct a second analysis with this premise in mind, and I obtained partial evidence to support Lakoff's theory. In fact, the conceptual domains that Lakoff talked about were noticeable in the content of the discourses, but they were not manifested in the form of metaphors –I found no way of matching the language either of them uses to the source domains that he proposed.

7.2. First Analysis

In contrasting the data, it is clear that both politicians use metaphorical language most regularly to convey ideas about competition. Clinton uses the metaphor PAST IS BAD, while presenting Republicans singing The Beatle's song “Yesterday”. She also conceptualises them in schemas of WAR, along with other international problems, as threats and evils against which she needs to fight in order to protect the country.

On the other hand, Trump is a little less subtle. He makes use of WAR metaphors to say that other countries are becoming richer than the United States by

making unfair deals, and so he conceptualises them as, *killing* and *beating* the country. To talk about political opponents, such as Obama, he makes use of schemas concerning SPORTS, calling them “losers” and “cheerleaders”; or just “stupid”, straightaway.

Moreover, both conceptualise RICH IS UP/ GOOD, and POOR IS DOWN/ BAD, which can be seen in the language they use. Their competitions are mostly seen in terms of WEALTH. In the case of Trump, he is basically saying, Obamacare is going to bankrupt the country, and other countries are taking advantage of our politics and becoming richer at America's expense. Therefore, MAKING AMERICA GREAT AGAIN means making it rich, and so a strong competitor in international affairs.

In contrast, even though many of Clinton's rivals are also presented in economic terms, she focuses on the struggle of the lower social classes of the country. She implies poverty is an unfair situation in which people are stuck and from which they deserve to get out, and the main evil is conservative politicians who let that happen.

7.3. Reanalysis and Lakoff

I must assert that the most pervasive metaphor schemas first found in the corpus do not coincide with those proposed by him.

As explained, the suggested conceptual domains are present in the speeches, which is the case of the NATION IS A FAMILY metaphor in Clinton's speech (cf. section 6.1.) In short, this presents the President as the father of the nation; thus, she has to justify her competence for the post by identifying herself with both metaphorical fathers, that is, previous presidents; and literal ones: her husband, father, and grandfather. Besides, she brings back her mother's hard life and strength to move forward, which leaves little doubt about her Moral Strength (highly prioritised by conservatives). To finish, in case it is still too big a step for voters to shift the weight of the authority from the father to the mother, she ends up presenting herself as the grandmother of the country. By this, Clinton seems to try to fit in both conservatives' and liberals' models. This was only an example of how it is evident that Lakoff's conceptual domains have been drawn in coherence with their political ideas. However, as we have seen, their linguistic expression is not metaphorical. That is, there is no mapping from a source domain to a target domain.

It is also true that partial evidence can be extracted once it is assumed that MORALITY is the target domain of all language in political speeches: for example, the Morality is Strength metaphor can be identified in Trump's expression: "He's very, very *weak* on immigration." Nevertheless, it simply is not obvious in what sense we can talk about the language used as metaphorical, even in the CMT sense; hence my conclusion is that, the evidence found was insufficient for me to determine to what extent each politician adjusts to the models proposed. Furthermore, in my view, the presumption that MORALITY can be the target domain of this language is controversial and deserves further examination. It has to be justified if it is to be considered valid, and allow us to do scientific research based on it. In fact, Lakoff and Johnson's choice of schemas, and their overextended criteria to decide what counts as metaphor have been found to be very problematic by other linguists (Aaron & Jackendoff 1991). Further work would therefore be necessary to refine both the CMT and Lakoff's choice of underlying conceptual metaphors in American politics so that they can be more fruitfully applied to the analysis of political discourse.

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Appendix. Transcription of Speeches.

1. Hillary Clinton

1.1. Hillary Clinton's Campaign Launch Speech, June 13th 2015

Thank you! Oh, thank you all! Thank you so very, very much.

It is wonderful to be here with all of you.

To be in New York with my family, with so many friends, including many New Yorkers who gave me the honor of serving them in the Senate for eight years.

To be right across the water from the headquarters of the United Nations, where I represented our country many times.

To be here in this beautiful park dedicated to Franklin Roosevelt's enduring vision of America, the nation we want to be.

And in a place... with absolutely no ceilings.

You know, President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms are a testament to our nation's unmatched aspirations and a reminder of our unfinished work at home and abroad. His legacy lifted up a nation and inspired presidents who followed. One is the man I served as Secretary of State, Barack Obama, and another is my husband, Bill Clinton.

Two Democrats guided by the — Oh, that will make him so happy. They were and are two Democrats guided by the fundamental American belief that real and lasting prosperity must be built by all and shared by all.

President Roosevelt called on every American to do his or her part, and every American answered. He said there's no mystery about what it takes to build a strong and prosperous America: "Equality of opportunity... Jobs for those who can work... Security for those who need it... The ending of special privilege for the few... The preservation of civil liberties for all... a wider and constantly rising standard of living."

That still sounds good to me.

It's America's basic bargain. If you do your part you ought to be able to get ahead. And when everybody does their part, America gets ahead too.

That bargain inspired generations of families, including my own.

It's what kept my grandfather going to work in the same Scranton lace mill every day for 50 years.

It's what led my father to believe that if he scrimped and saved, his small business printing drapery fabric in Chicago could provide us with a middle-class life. And it did.

When President Clinton honored the bargain, we had the longest peacetime expansion in history, a balanced budget, and the first time in decades we all grew together, with the bottom 20 percent of workers increasing their incomes by the same percentage as the top 5 percent.

When President Obama honored the bargain, we pulled back from the brink of Depression, saved the auto industry, provided health care to 16 million working people, and replaced the jobs we lost faster than after a financial crash.

But, it's not 1941, or 1993, or even 2009. We face new challenges in our economy and our democracy.

We're still working our way back from a crisis that happened because time-tested values were replaced by false promises.

Instead of an economy built by every American, for every American, we were told that if we let those at the top pay lower taxes and bend the rules, their success would trickle down to everyone else.

What happened?

Well, instead of a balanced budget with surpluses that could have eventually paid off our national debt, the Republicans twice cut taxes for the wealthiest, borrowed money from other countries to pay for two wars, and family incomes dropped. You know where we ended up.

Except it wasn't the end.

As we have since our founding, Americans made a new beginning.

You worked extra shifts, took second jobs, postponed home repairs... you figured out how to make it work. And now people are beginning to think about their future again – going to college, starting a business, buying a house, finally being able to put away something for retirement.

So we're standing again. But, we all know we're not yet running the way America should.

You see corporations making record profits, with CEOs making record pay, but your paychecks have barely budged.

While many of you are working multiple jobs to make ends meet, you see the top 25 hedge fund managers making more than all of America's kindergarten teachers combined. And, often paying a lower tax rate.

So, you have to wonder: "When does my hard work pay off? When does my family get ahead?"

"When?"

I say now.

Prosperity can't be just for CEOs and hedge fund managers.

Democracy can't be just for billionaires and corporations.

Prosperity and democracy are part of your basic bargain too.

You brought our country back.

Now it's time — your time to secure the gains and move ahead.

And, you know what?

America can't succeed unless you succeed.

That is why I am running for President of the United States.

Here, on Roosevelt Island, I believe we have a continuing rendezvous with destiny. Each American and the country we cherish.

I'm running to make our economy work for you and for every American.

For the successful and the struggling.

For the innovators and inventors.

For those breaking barriers in technology and discovering cures for diseases.

For the factory workers and food servers who stand on their feet all day.

For the nurses who work the night shift.

For the truckers who drive for hours and the farmers who feed us.

For the veterans who served our country.

For the small business owners who took a risk.

For everyone who's ever been knocked down, but refused to be knocked out.

I'm not running for some Americans, but for all Americans.

Our country's challenges didn't begin with the Great Recession and they won't end with the recovery.

For decades, Americans have been buffeted by powerful currents.

Advances in technology and the rise of global trade have created whole new areas of economic activity and opened new markets for our exports, but they have also displaced jobs and undercut wages for millions of Americans.

The financial industry and many multi-national corporations have created huge wealth for a few by focusing too much on short-term profit and too little on long-term value... too much on complex trading schemes and stock buybacks, too little on investments in new businesses, jobs, and fair compensation.

Our political system is so paralyzed by gridlock and dysfunction that most Americans have lost confidence that anything can actually get done. And they've lost trust in the ability of both government and Big Business to change course.

Now, we can blame historic forces beyond our control for some of this, but the choices we've made as a nation, leaders and citizens alike, have also played a big role.

Our next President must work with Congress and every other willing partner across our entire country. And I will do just that — to turn the tide so these currents start working for us more than against us.

At our best, that's what Americans do. We're problem solvers, not deniers. We don't hide from change, we harness it.

But we can't do that if we go back to the top-down economic policies that failed us before.

Americans have come too far to see our progress ripped away.

Now, there may be some new voices in the presidential Republican choir, but they're all singing the same old song...

A song called "Yesterday."

You know the one — all our troubles look as though they're here to stay... and we need a place to hide away... They believe in yesterday.

And you're lucky I didn't try singing that, too, I'll tell you!

These Republicans trip over themselves promising lower taxes for the wealthy and fewer rules for the biggest corporations without regard for how that will make income inequality even worse.

We've heard this tune before. And we know how it turns out.

Ask many of these candidates about climate change, one of the defining threats of our time, and they'll say: "I'm not a scientist." Well, then, why don't they start listening to those who are?

They pledge to wipe out tough rules on Wall Street, rather than rein in the banks that are still too risky, courting future failures. In a case that can only be considered mass amnesia.

They want to take away health insurance from more than 16 million Americans without offering any credible alternative.

They shame and blame women, rather than respect our right to make our own reproductive health decisions.

They want to put immigrants, who work hard and pay taxes, at risk of deportation.

And they turn their backs on gay people who love each other.

Fundamentally, they reject what it takes to build an inclusive economy. It takes an inclusive society. What I once called "a village" that has a place for everyone.

Now, my values and a lifetime of experiences have given me a different vision for America.

I believe that success isn't measured by how much the wealthiest Americans have, but by how many children climb out of poverty...

How many start-ups and small businesses open and thrive...

How many young people go to college without drowning in debt...

How many people find a good job...

How many families get ahead and stay ahead.

I didn't learn this from politics. I learned it from my own family.

My mother taught me that everybody needs a chance and a champion. She knew what it was like not to have either one.

Her own parents abandoned her, and by 14 she was out on her own, working as a housemaid. Years later, when I was old enough to understand, I asked what kept her going.

You know what her answer was? Something very simple: Kindness from someone who believed she mattered.

The 1st grade teacher who saw she had nothing to eat at lunch and, without embarrassing her, brought extra food to share.

The woman whose house she cleaned letting her go to high school so long as her work got done. That was a bargain she leapt to accept.

And, because some people believed in her, she believed in me.

That's why I believe with all my heart in America and in the potential of every American.

To meet every challenge.

To be resilient... no matter what the world throws at you.

To solve the toughest problems.

I believe we can do all these things because I've seen it happen.

As a young girl, I signed up at my Methodist Church to babysit the children of Mexican farmworkers, while their parents worked in the fields on the weekends. And later, as a law student, I advocated for Congress to require better working and living conditions for farm workers whose children deserved better opportunities.

My first job out of law school was for the Children's Defense Fund. I walked door-to-door to find out how many children with disabilities couldn't go to school, and to help build the case for a law guaranteeing them access to education.

As a leader of the Legal Services Corporation, I defended the right of poor people to have a lawyer. And saw lives changed because an abusive marriage ended or an illegal eviction stopped.

In Arkansas, I supervised law students who represented clients in courts and prisons, organized scholarships for single parents going to college, led efforts for better schools and health care, and personally knew the people whose lives were improved.

As Senator, I had the honor of representing brave firefighters, police officers, EMTs, construction workers, and volunteers who ran toward danger on 9/11 and stayed there, becoming sick themselves.

It took years of effort, but Congress finally approved the health care they needed.

There are so many faces and stories that I carry with me of people who gave their best and then needed help themselves.

Just weeks ago, I met another person like that, a single mom juggling a job and classes at community college, while raising three kids.

She doesn't expect anything to come easy. But she did ask me: What more can be done so it isn't quite so

hard for families like hers?

I want to be her champion and your champion.

If you'll give me the chance, I'll wage and win Four Fights for you.

The first is to make the economy work for everyday Americans, not just those at the top.

To make the middle class mean something again, with rising incomes and broader horizons. And to give the poor a chance to work their way into it.

The middle class needs more growth and more fairness. Growth and fairness go together. For lasting prosperity, you can't have one without the other.

Is this possible in today's world?

I believe it is or I wouldn't be standing here.

Do I think it will be easy? Of course not.

But, here's the good news: There are allies for change everywhere who know we can't stand by while inequality increases, wages stagnate, and the promise of America dims. We should welcome the support of all Americans who want to go forward together with us.

There are public officials who know Americans need a better deal.

Business leaders who want higher pay for employees, equal pay for women and no discrimination against the LGBT community either.

There are leaders of finance who want less short-term trading and more long-term investing.

There are union leaders who are investing their own pension funds in putting people to work to build tomorrow's economy. We need everyone to come to the table and work with us.

In the coming weeks, I'll propose specific policies to:

Reward businesses who invest in long term value rather than the quick buck – because that leads to higher growth for the economy, higher wages for workers, and yes, bigger profits, everybody will have a better time.

I will rewrite the tax code so it rewards hard work and investments here at home, not quick trades or stashing profits overseas.

I will give new incentives to companies that give their employees a fair share of the profits their hard work earns.

We will unleash a new generation of entrepreneurs and small business owners by providing tax relief, cutting red tape, and making it easier to get a small business loan.

We will restore America to the cutting edge of innovation, science, and research by increasing both public and private investments.

And we will make America the clean energy superpower of the 21st century.

Developing renewable power – wind, solar, advanced biofuels...

Building cleaner power plants, smarter electric grids, greener buildings...

Using additional fees and royalties from fossil fuel extraction to protect the environment...

And ease the transition for distressed communities to a more diverse and sustainable economic future from coal country to Indian country, from small towns in the Mississippi Delta to the Rio Grande Valley to our inner cities, we have to help our fellow Americans.

Now, this will create millions of jobs and countless new businesses, and enable America to lead the global fight against climate change.

We will also connect workers to their jobs and businesses. Customers will have a better chance to actually get where they need and get what they desire with roads, railways, bridges, airports, ports, and broadband brought up to global standards for the 21st century.

We will establish an infrastructure bank and sell bonds to pay for some of these improvements.

Now, building an economy for tomorrow also requires investing in our most important asset, our people, beginning with our youngest.

That's why I will propose that we make preschool and quality childcare available to every child in America.

And I want you to remember this, because to me, this is absolutely the most-compelling argument why we should do this. Research tells us how much early learning in the first five years of life can impact lifelong success. In fact, 80 percent of the brain is developed by age three.

One thing I've learned is that talent is universal – you can find it anywhere – but opportunity is not. Too many of our kids never have the chance to learn and thrive as they should and as we need them to.

Our country won't be competitive or fair if we don't help more families give their kids the best possible start in life.

So let's staff our primary and secondary schools with teachers who are second to none in the world, and receive the respect they deserve for sparking the love of learning in every child.

Let's make college affordable and available to all ...and lift the crushing burden of student debt.

Let's provide lifelong learning for workers to gain or improve skills the economy requires, setting up many more Americans for success.

Now, the second fight is to strengthen America's families, because when our families are strong, America is strong.

And today's families face new and unique pressures. Parents need more support and flexibility to do their job at work and at home.

I believe you should have the right to earn paid sick days.

I believe you should receive your work schedule with enough notice to arrange childcare or take college

courses to get ahead.

I believe you should look forward to retirement with confidence, not anxiety.

That you should have the peace of mind that your health care will be there when you need it, without breaking the bank.

I believe we should offer paid family leave so no one has to choose between keeping a paycheck and caring for a new baby or a sick relative.

And it is way past time to end the outrage of so many women still earning less than men on the job — and women of color often making even less.

This isn't a women's issue. It's a family issue. Just like raising the minimum wage is a family issue. Expanding childcare is a family issue. Declining marriage rates is a family issue. The unequal rates of incarceration is a family issue. Helping more people with an addiction or a mental health problem get help is a family issue.

In America, every family should feel like they belong.

So we should offer hard-working, law-abiding immigrant families a path to citizenship. Not second-class status.

And, we should ban discrimination against LGBT Americans and their families so they can live, learn, marry, and work just like everybody else.

You know, America's diversity, our openness, our devotion to human rights and freedom is what's drawn so many to our shores. What's inspired people all over the world. I know. I've seen it with my own eyes.

And these are also qualities that prepare us well for the demands of a world that is more interconnected than ever before.

So we have a third fight: to harness all of America's power, smarts, and values to maintain our leadership for peace, security, and prosperity.

No other country on Earth is better positioned to thrive in the 21st century. No other country is better equipped to meet traditional threats from countries like Russia, North Korea, and Iran — and to deal with the rise of new powers like China.

No other country is better prepared to meet emerging threats from cyber attacks, transnational terror networks like ISIS, and diseases that spread across oceans and continents.

As your President, I'll do whatever it takes to keep Americans safe.

And if you look over my left shoulder you can see the new World Trade Center soaring skyward.

As a Senator from New York, I dedicated myself to getting our city and state the help we needed to recover. And as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I worked to maintain the best-trained, best-equipped, strongest military, ready for today's threats and tomorrow's.

And when our brave men and women come home from war or finish their service, I'll see to it that they

get not just the thanks of a grateful nation, but the care and benefits they've earned.

I've stood up to adversaries like Putin and reinforced allies like Israel. I was in the Situation Room on the day we got bin Laden.

But, I know — I know we have to be smart as well as strong.

Meeting today's global challenges requires every element of America's power, including skillful diplomacy, economic influence, and building partnerships to improve lives around the world with people, not just their governments.

There are a lot of trouble spots in the world, but there's a lot of good news out there too.

I believe the future holds far more opportunities than threats if we exercise creative and confident leadership that enables us to shape global events rather than be shaped by them.

And we all know that in order to be strong in the world, though, we first have to be strong at home. That's why we have to win the fourth fight – reforming our government and revitalizing our democracy so that it works for everyday Americans.

We have to stop the endless flow of secret, unaccountable money that is distorting our elections, corrupting our political process, and drowning out the voices of our people.

We need Justices on the Supreme Court who will protect every citizen's right to vote, rather than every corporation's right to buy elections.

If necessary, I will support a constitutional amendment to undo the Supreme Court's decision in Citizens United.

I want to make it easier for every citizen to vote. That's why I've proposed universal, automatic registration and expanded early voting.

I'll fight back against Republican efforts to disempower and disenfranchise young people, poor people, people with disabilities, and people of color.

What part of democracy are they afraid of?

No matter how easy we make it to vote, we still have to give Americans something worth voting for.

Government is never going to have all the answers – but it has to be smarter, simpler, more efficient, and a better partner.

That means access to advanced technology so government agencies can more effectively serve their customers, the American people.

We need expertise and innovation from the private sector to help cut waste and streamline services.

There's so much that works in America. For every problem we face, someone somewhere in America is solving it. Silicon Valley cracked the code on sharing and scaling a while ago. Many states are pioneering new ways to deliver services. I want to help Washington catch up.

To do that, we need a political system that produces results by solving problems that hold us back, not one

overwhelmed by extreme partisanship and inflexibility.

Now, I'll always seek common ground with friend and opponent alike. But I'll also stand my ground when I must.

That's something I did as Senator and Secretary of State — whether it was working with Republicans to expand health care for children and for our National Guard, or improve our foster care and adoption system, or pass a treaty to reduce the number of Russian nuclear warheads that could threaten our cities — and it's something I will always do as your President.

We Americans may differ, bicker, stumble, and fall; but we are at our best when we pick each other up, when we have each other's back.

Like any family, our American family is strongest when we cherish what we have in common, and fight back against those who would drive us apart.

People all over the world have asked me: “How could you and President Obama work together after you fought so hard against each other in that long campaign?”

Now, that is an understandable question considering that in many places, if you lose an election you could get imprisoned or exiled – even killed – not hired as Secretary of State.

But President Obama asked me to serve, and I accepted because we both love our country. That's how we do it in America.

With that same spirit, together, we can win these four fights.

We can build an economy where hard work is rewarded.

We can strengthen our families.

We can defend our country and increase our opportunities all over the world.

And we can renew the promise of our democracy.

If we all do our part. In our families, in our businesses, unions, houses of worship, schools, and, yes, in the voting booth.

I want you to join me in this effort. Help me build this campaign and make it your own.

Talk to your friends, your family, your neighbors.

Text “JOIN” J-O-I-N to 4-7-2-4-6.

Go to hillaryclinton.com and sign up to make calls and knock on doors.

It's no secret that we're going up against some pretty powerful forces that will do and spend whatever it takes to advance a very different vision for America. But I've spent my life fighting for children, families, and our country. And I'm not stopping now.

You know, I know how hard this job is. I've seen it up close and personal.

All our Presidents come into office looking so vigorous. And then we watch their hair grow grayer and

grayer.

Well, I may not be the youngest candidate in this race. But I will be the youngest woman President in the history of the United States!

And the first grandmother as well.

And one additional advantage: You're won't see my hair turn white in the White House. I've been coloring it for years!

So I'm looking forward to a great debate among Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. I'm not running to be a President only for those Americans who already agree with me. I want to be a President for all Americans.

And along the way, I'll just let you in on this little secret. I won't get everything right. Lord knows I've made my share of mistakes. Well, there's no shortage of people pointing them out!

And I certainly haven't won every battle I've fought. But leadership means perseverance and hard choices. You have to push through the setbacks and disappointments and keep at it.

I think you know by now that I've been called many things by many people — “quitter” is not one of them.

Like so much else in my life, I got this from my mother.

When I was a girl, she never let me back down from any bully or barrier. In her later years, Mom lived with us, and she was still teaching me the same lessons. I'd come home from a hard day at the Senate or the State Department, sit down with her at the small table in our breakfast nook, and just let everything pour out. And she would remind me why we keep fighting, even when the odds are long and the opposition is fierce.

I can still hear her saying: “Life's not about what happens to you, it's about what you do with what happens to you – so get back out there.”

She lived to be 92 years old, and I often think about all the battles she witnessed over the course of the last century — all the progress that was won because Americans refused to give up or back down.

She was born on June 4, 1919 — before women in America had the right to vote. But on that very day, after years of struggle, Congress passed the Constitutional Amendment that would change that forever.

The story of America is a story of hard-fought, hard-won progress. And it continues today. New chapters are being written by men and women who believe that all of us – not just some, but all – should have the chance to live up to our God-given potential.

Not only because we're a tolerant country, or a generous country, or a compassionate country, but because we're a better, stronger, more prosperous country when we harness the talent, hard work, and ingenuity of every single American.

I wish my mother could have been with us longer. I wish she could have seen Chelsea become a mother herself. I wish she could have met Charlotte.

I wish she could have seen the America we're going to build together.

An America, where if you do your part, you reap the rewards.

Where we don't leave anyone out, or anyone behind.

An America where a father can tell his daughter: yes, you can be anything you want to be. Even President of the United States.

Thank you all. God bless you. And may God bless America.

1.2. Building the 'Growth and Fairness Economy', July 13th 2015.

"Thank you. Thank you so much. Thank you very much, President Van Zant, and thanks to everyone at the New School for welcoming us today. I'm delighted to be back.

You know, over the past few months, I have had the opportunity to listen to Americans' concerns about an economy that still isn't delivering for them. It's not delivering the way that it should. It still seems, to most Americans that I have spoken with, that it is stacked for those at the top.

But I've also heard about the hopes that people have for their future — going to college without drowning in debt; starting that small business they've always dreamed about; getting a job that pays well enough to support a family and provide for a secure retirement.

Previous generations of Americans built the greatest economy and strongest middle class the world has ever known on the promise of a basic bargain: if you work hard and do your part, you should be able to get ahead. And when you get ahead, America gets ahead. But over the past several decades, that bargain has eroded. Our job is to make it strong again.

For 35 years, Republicans have argued that if we give more wealth to those at top by cutting their taxes and letting big corporations write their own rules, it will trickle down, it will trickle down to everyone else. Yet every time they have a chance to try that approach, it explodes the national debt, concentrates wealth even more and does practically nothing to help hard-working Americans.

Twice now in the past 20 years, a Democratic president has had to come in and clean up the mess left behind.

(APPLAUSE)

I think the results speak for themselves. Under President Clinton — I like the sound of that — America saw the longest peacetime expansion in our history.

(APPLAUSE)

Nearly 23 million jobs, a balanced budget and a surplus for the future, and most importantly, incomes rose across the board, not just for those already at the top. Eight years later, President Obama and the American people's hard work pulled us back from the brink of depression. President Obama saved the auto industry, imposed new rules on Wall Street and provided health care to 16 million Americans.

(APPLAUSE)

Now today — today, as the shadow of crisis recedes and longer-term challenges come into focus, I believe we have to build a growth and fairness economy. You can't have one without the other. We can't create enough jobs and new businesses without more growth, and we can't build strong families and support our consumer economy without more fairness. We need both.

Because while America standing again, we are not yet running the way we should. Corporate profits are at near record highs and Americans are working as hard as ever. But paychecks had nearly budged in real terms. Families today are stretched in so many directions, and so are their budgets. Out of pocket costs of health care, child care, hearing for aging parents, are rising a lot faster than wages.

I hear this everywhere I go. A single mom talked about juggling a job and classes at community college while raising three kids. She doesn't expect anything to come easy. But if she got a raise, everything would not be quite so hard.

The grandmother who works around the clock providing child care to other people's kids. She's proud of her work, but the pay is fairly enough to live on, especially with the soaring price of her prescription drugs.

The young entrepreneur whose dream of buying a bowling alley where he worked as a teenager was nearly derailed by his student debt. If he can grow his business, he can pay off his debt and pay his employees, including himself, more, too.

Millions of hardworking Americans tell similar stories. Wages need to rise to keep up with cost, paychecks need to grow. Families who work hard and do their part deserve to get ahead and stay ahead. The defining economic challenge of our time clear. We must raise incomes for hard-working Americans, so they can afford a middle-class life. We must drive steady income growth that lifts up families, and lifts up our country. And that...

(APPLAUSE)

And that will be my mission, from the first day I am president to the last. I...

(APPLAUSE)

I will get up every day thinking about the families of America, like the family I came from, with a hard-

working dad who started a small business and scrimped, and saved, and gave us a good middle- class life. I will be thinking about all the people that I represented in New York and the stories that they told me, and that I worked with them to improve. I will, as your president take on this challenge against the backdrop of major changes in our economy and the global economy that did not start with the Recession and will not end with the recovery.

You know, advances in technology and expanding global trade have created new areas of commercial activity and opened new markets for our exports. Too often they are polarizing our economy, benefiting high skilled workers, but displacing and downgrading blue-collar jobs and other mid-level jobs that used to provide solid incomes for millions of Americans.

Today's marketplace focuses too much on the short-term, like second to second financial trading, and quarterly earnings reports, and too little on long-term investments. Meanwhile, many Americans are making extra money renting out a small room, designing websites, selling products they design themselves at home, or even driving their own car. This on-demand, or so-called gig economy is creating exciting economies and unleashing innovation.

But it is also raising hard questions about work-place protections and what a good job will look like in the future.

So, all of these trends are real and none, none is going away. But they do not determine our destiny. The choices we make as a nation matter. And the choices we make in the years ahead will set the stage for what American life in the middle class and our economy will be like in this century.

As president, I will work with every possible partner to turn the tide to make these currents of change start working for us more than against us, to strengthen, not hollow out, the American middle class. Because I think at our best, that's what Americans do. We are problem solvers, not deniers. We don't hide from change; we harness it.

The measure of our success must be how much incomes rise for hardworking families, not just for successful CEOs and money managers and not some just arbitrary growth targets untethered to people's lives and livelihoods.

(APPLAUSE)

I want to see our economy work for the struggling, the striving and the successful. We're not going to find all the answers we need today in the playbooks of the past, we can't go back to the old policies that failed us before, nor can we just replay the successes.

Today is not 1993. It's not 2009. So we need solutions for the big challenges we face now.

So today, I'm proposing an agenda to raise incomes for hardworking Americans, an agenda for strong

growth, fair growth and long-term growth.

Let me begin with strong growth. More growth means more jobs and more new businesses. More jobs give people choices about where to work.

And employers have to offer higher wages and better benefits in order to compete with each other to hire new workers and keep the productive ones. That's why economists tell us that getting closer to full employment is crucial for raising incomes.

Small businesses create more than 60 percent of new American jobs on net, so they have to be a top priority. I've said I want to be the small-business president, and I mean it. And throughout this campaign, I'm going to be talking about how we empower entrepreneurs with less red tape, easier access to capital, tax relief and simplification.

I'll also push for broader business tax reform to spur investment in America, closing those loopholes that reward companies for sending jobs and profits overseas.

(APPLAUSE)

And I know it's not always how we think about this, but another engine of strong growth should be comprehensive immigration reform.

(APPLAUSE)

I want you to hear this. Bringing millions of hardworking people into the formal economy would increase our gross domestic product by an estimated \$700 billion over 10 years.

(APPLAUSE)

Then there are the new public investments that will help establish businesses and entrepreneurs, create the next generation of high-paying jobs.

You know, when we get Americans moving, we get our country moving. So let's establish an infrastructure bank that can channel more public and private funds...

(APPLAUSE)

... channel those funds to finance world-class airports, railways, roads, bridges and ports.

(APPLAUSE)

And let's built those faster broadband networks and make sure there's a greater diversity of providers so consumers have more choice.

(APPLAUSE)

And really, there's no excuse not to make greater investments in cleaner renewable energy right now.

(APPLAUSE)

Our economy obviously runs on energy, and the time has come to make America the clean-energy superpower. I advocate that because these investments will create millions of jobs, save us money in the long run and help us meet the threats of climate change.

And let's fund the scientific and medical research that spawns innovative companies and creates entire new industries, just as the project to sequence the human genome did in the 1990s and President Obama's initiatives on precision medicine and brain research will do in the coming years.

I will set ambitious goals in all of these areas in the months ahead.

But today, let me emphasize another key ingredient of strong growth that often goes overlooked and undervalued: breaking down barriers so more Americans participate more fully in the workforce, especially women.

(APPLAUSE)

We are in a global competition, as I'm sure you have noticed. And we can't afford to leave talent on the sidelines. But that's exactly what we're doing today. When we leave people out or write them off, we not only shortchange them and their dreams, we shortchange our country and our future.

The movement of women into the American workforce over the past 40 years was responsible for more than \$3.5 trillion in economic growth. But that progress has stalled.

The United States used to rank 7th out of 24 advanced countries in women's labor force participation. By 2013, we had dropped to 19th. That represents a lot of unused potential for our economy and for American families.

Studies show that nearly a third of this decline relative to other countries is because they're expanding family-friendly policies like paid leave and we are not.

We should be making it easier for Americans to be both good workers and good parents and caregivers. Women who want to work should be able to do so without worrying every day about how they're going to take care of their children or what will happen if a family member gets sick.

You know, last year –

(APPLAUSE)

– last year while I was at the hospital here in Manhattan, waiting for little Charlotte to make her grand entrance, one of the nurses said, thank you for fighting for paid leave. And we began to talk about it. She sees firsthand what it means for herself and her colleagues as well as for the working parents that she helps take care of.

It's time to recognize that quality, affordable childcare is not a luxury. It's a growth strategy. And it's way past time to end the outrage of so many women still earning less than men on the job and women of color making even less.

(APPLAUSE)

You know, all this lost money adds up. And for some women, it's thousands of dollars every year. Now I am well aware that for far too long these challenges have been dismissed by some as women's issues. Well, those days are over.

(APPLAUSE)

Fair pay and fair scheduling, paid family leave and earned sick days, childcare are essential to our competitiveness and our growth. And we can do this in a way that doesn't impose unfair burdens on businesses, especially small businesses. As president, I'll fight to put families first, just like I have my entire career.

(APPLAUSE)

Now beyond strong growth, we also need fair growth and that will be the second key driver of raising incomes. The evidence is in. Inequality is a drag on our entire economy. So this is the problem we need to tackle. Now, you may have heard Governor Bush say Americans just need to work longer hours. Well, he must not have met very many American workers.

(APPLAUSE)

Let him tell that to the nurse who stands on her feet all day, or the teacher who in that classroom or the trucker who drives all night. Let him tell that to the fast worker marching in the streets for better pay. They do not need a lecture. They need a raise.

(APPLAUSE)

The truth is the current rules for our economy do reward some work, like financial trading, for example much more than other work, like actually building and selling things, the work that has always been the backbone of our economy. To get all incomes rising again, we need to strike a better balance. If you work hard, you ought to be a fairly. So, we do have to raise the minimum wage, and implement President Obama's new rules on overtime, and then we have to go further.

(APPLAUSE)

I will crack down on bosses who exploit employees by mis-classifying them as contractors or even steal their wages. To make paychecks stretch, we need to take on the major strains on family budgets. I will protect the Affordable Care Act and build on it to lower out-of-pocket health care costs.

(APPLAUSE)

And to make prescription drugs more affordable. We will help families look forward to retirement by defending and enhancing Social Security and making it easier to save for the future. Now, many of these proposals are time-tested and more than a little battle scarred. We need new ideas, as well, and one I believe in and will fight for is profit-sharing. Hard-working Americans deserve to benefit from the record corporate earnings they help produce.

So, I will produce ways to encourage companies to share profits with their employees. That is good for workers and good businesses. Studies show that profit sharing that gives everyone a stake in the company's success can boost productivity and put money directly into employees' pockets. It's a win-win. Later this week in New Hampshire, I will have more to say about how we do this.

Another priority must be reforming our tax code. Now, we hear Republican candidates talk a lot about tax reform. But take a good look at their plans. Senator Rubio's would cut taxes for households making around \$3 million a year by almost \$240,000, which is way more than three times the earnings of a typical family.

Well, that is a sure budget busting giveaway to the super wealthy, and that's the kind of bad economics you are likely to hear from any of the candidates on the other side. I have a different take...

(APPLAUSE)

... guided license principles. First, hard-working families need and deserve tax relief and simplification. Second, those at the top have to pay their fair share. That's why I support the Buffet Rule, which makes sure millionaires do not pay lower rates than their secretaries. I have called for closing the carried interest loophole, that lets wealthy financiers pay an artificially low rate.

And let's agree that hugely successful companies that benefit from everything that America has to offer, should not be able to game the system and avoid paying their fair share, especially while companies who can't afford high-priced lawyers and lobbyists end up paying more.(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: Alongside tax reform, it's time to stand up to efforts across our country to undermine worker bargaining power, which has been proven again and again to drive up wages. Republican governors like Scott Walker have made their names stomping on workers' rights, and practically all the Republican candidates hope to do the same as president. I will fight back against these mean-spirited, misguided

attacks. Evidence –

(APPLAUSE)

– evidence shows that the decline of unions may be responsible for a third of the increase of inequality among men, so if we want to get serious about raising incomes, we have to get serious about supporting union workers.

(APPLAUSE)

And let me just say a word here about trade. The Greek crisis as well as the Chinese stock market have reminded us that growth here at home and growth an ocean away are linked in a common global economy. Trade has been a major driver of the economy over recent decades, but it has also contributed to hollowing out our manufacturing base and many hard-working communities.

So we do need to set a high bar for trade agreements. We should support them if they create jobs, raise wages and advance our national security. And we should be prepared to walk away if they don't. To create fair growth, we need to create opportunity for more Americans.

I love the saying by Abraham Lincoln who, in many ways, was not only the president who saved our union but the president who understood profoundly the importance of the middle class and the importance of government playing its role in providing opportunities. He talked about giving Americans a fair chance in the race of life. I believe that with all my heart, but I also believe it has to start really early, at birth.

High quality early learning, especially in the first five years, can set children on the course for future success and raise lifetime incomes by 25 percent. And –

(APPLAUSE)

– and I'm committed to seeing every 4-year-old in America have access to high quality pre-school in the next 10 years. But I want to do more. I want to call for a great outpouring of support from our faith community, our business community, our academic institutions, from philanthropy and civic groups and concerned citizens, to really help parents, particularly parents who are facing a lot of obstacles, to really help prepare their own children in that 0 to 4 age group.

Eighty percent of your brain is physically formed by the age of 3. That's why families like mine read, talk and sing endlessly to our granddaughter. I've said that her first words are going to be enough with the reading and the talking and the singing.

(LAUGHTER)

But we do it not only because we love doing it, even though, I'll admit, it's embarrassing, you know, reading a book to a two-week-old or a six-week-old or a 10-week-old, but we do it because we understand

it's building her capacity for learning. And the research shows by the time she enters kindergarten, she will have heard 30 million more words than a child from a less advantaged background.

Think of what we are losing because we're not doing everything we can to reach out to those families, and we know, again, from so much research here in the United States and around the world that that early help, that mentoring, that intervention to help those often stressed-out young moms understand more about what they can do and to avoid the difficulties that stand in the way of their being able to really get their child off to the best possible start.

We also have to invest in our students and our teachers at every level, and in the coming weeks and months, I will lay out specific steps to improve our schools, make college truly affordable and help Americans refinance their student debt.

And let's embrace –

(APPLAUSE)

– let's embrace the idea of lifelong learning. In an age of technological change, we need to provide pathways to get skills and credentials for new occupations and create online platforms to connect workers to jobs.

There are exciting efforts underway and I want to support and scale the ones that show results.

As we pursue all these policies, we can't forget our fellow Americans hit so hard and left behind by this changing world from the inner cities to coal country to Indian country.

Talent is universal; you find it everywhere. But opportunity is not. There are nearly 6 million young people aged 16 to 24 in America today who are not in school or at work. The numbers for young people of color are particularly staggering.

A quarter of young black men and nearly 15 percent of all Latino youth cannot find a job. We've got to do a better way of coming up to match the growing middle class incomes we want to generate with more pathways into the middle class.

I firmly believe that the best anti-poverty program is a job but that's hard to say if there aren't enough jobs for people that were trying to help lift themselves out of poverty.

That's why I've called for reviving the new markets tax credit and empowerment zones to create greater incentives to invest in poor and remote areas. When –

(APPLAUSE)

– when all Americans have the chance to study hard, work hard and share in our country's prosperity,

that's fair growth. It's what I've always believed in and it's what I will fight for as president.

Now the third key driver of income, alongside strong growth and fair growth, must be long-term growth. Too many pressures in our economy push us toward short-termism. Many business leaders see this. They've talked to me about it.

One has called it the problem of quarterly capitalism. They say everything is focused on the next earnings report or the short-term share price and the result is too little attention on the sources of long-term growth: research and development, physical capital and talent.

Net business investment, which includes things like factories, machines and research labs, have declined as a share of the economy.

In recent years some of our biggest companies have spent more than half their earnings to buy back their own stock and another third or more to pay dividends. That doesn't leave a lot left to raise pay or invest in the workers who made those profits possible or to make new investments necessary to ensure a company's future success.

These trends need to change. And I believe many business leaders are eager to embrace their responsibilities, not just to today's share price but also to workers, communities and ultimately to our country and, indeed, our planet.

Now I'm not talking about charity; I'm talking about clear-eyed capitalism. Many companies have prospered by improving wages and training their workers that then yield higher productivity, better service and larger profits.

Now it's easy to try to cut costs by holding down or even decreasing pay and other investments to inflate quarterly stock prices but I would argue that's bad for business in the long run and it's really bad for our country.

Workers are assets. Investing in them pays off; higher wages pay off. Training pays off. To help more companies do that, I proposed a \$1,500 tax credit for every worker they train and hire. And I will soon be proposing a new plan to reform capital gains taxes to reward longer-term investments that create jobs, more than just quick trades.

(APPLAUSE)

I will also propose reforms to help CEOs and shareholders alike to focus on the next decade rather than just the next day.

(APPLAUSE)

Making sure stock buybacks aren't being used only for an immediate boost in share prices; empowering

outside investors who want to build companies, but discouraging cut and run shareholders who act more like old-school corporate raiders. And nowhere will the shift from short-term to long-term be more important than on Wall Street.

As a former senator from New York, I know firsthand the role that Wall Street can and should play in our economy, helping main street grow and prosper, and boosting new companies that make America more competitive globally.

But as we all know in the years before the crash, financial firms piled risk upon risk, and regulators in Washington either could not or would not keep up. I was alarmed by this gathering storm and called for addressing the risks of derivatives, cracking down on subprime mortgages and improving financial oversight.

Under President Obama's leadership we have imposed tough new rules that deal with some of the challenges on Wall Street. Those rules have been under assault by Republicans in Congress and those running for president. I will fight back against these attacks and protect the reforms we have made. We can do that, and still ease burdens on community banks to encourage responsible loans to local people and businesses they know and trust.

We also have to go beyond Dodd-Frank. Too many of our major financial institutions are still too complex and too risky. And the problems are not limited to the big banks that get all the headlines. Serious risks are emerging from institutions in the so-called shadow banking system, including hedge funds, high-frequency traders, non-bank finance companies. So many new kinds of entities, which receive little oversight at all.

Stories of misconduct by individuals and institutions in the financial industry are shocking. HSBC allowing drug cartels to launder money, five major banks pleading guilty to felony charges for conspiring to manipulate currency exchange and interest rates. There can be no justification or tolerance for this kind of criminal behavior.

(APPLAUSE)

And while institutions have paid large fines and in some cases admitted guilt, too often it has seemed that the human beings responsible get off with limited consequences or none at all, even when they have already pocketed the gains. This is wrong, and on my watch it will change. Over the course...

(APPLAUSE)

... over the course of this campaign, I will offer plans to rein in excessive risks on Wall Street and ensure that stock markets work for everyday investors, not just high-frequency traders and those with the best or fastest connections. I will appoint and empower regulators who understand that too big to fail is still too big a problem. We will ensure...

(APPLAUSE)

We will ensure that no firm is too complex to manage or oversee. And we will also process individuals as well as firms when they commit fraud or other criminal wrongdoing.

(APPLAUSE)

When the government recovers money from corporations or individuals for harming the public, it should go into a separate trust fund to benefit the public. It could, for example, help modernize infrastructure or even be returned directly to taxpayers.

Now, reform is never easy, but we've done it before in our country, and we have to get it right this time. And yes, we need leadership from the financial industry and across the private sector to join with us.

Two years ago, the head of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, Terry Duffy, published an op-ed in the Wall Street Journal that really caught my attention.

He wrote, and I quote, "I'm concerned that those of us in financial services have forgotten who they serve and that the public knows it. Some Wall Streeters can too easily slip into regarding their work as a kind of moneymaking game divorced from concerns of the Main Street," unquote.

I think we should listen to Terry Duffy. Of course, long-term growth is only possible if the public sector steps up as well.

So it's time to end the era of budget brinkmanship and stop careening from one self-inflicted crisis to another. It's time to stop having debates over the small stuff and focus how we're going to tackle the big stuff together.

How do we respond to technological change in a way that creates more good jobs than it displaces or destroys? Can we sustain a boom in advanced manufacturing? What are the best ways to nurture startups outside the successful corridors, like Silicon Valley?

Questions like these demand thoughtful and mature debate from our policymakers and government, from our leaders in the private sector, our economists, our academics, others who can come together to the table and on behalf of America perform their patriotic duty to make sure our economy keeps working and our middle class keeps growing.

(APPLAUSE)

So government has to be smarter, simpler, more focused itself on long-term investments than short-term politics and be a better partner to cities, states and the private sector. Washington has to be a better steward of America's tax dollars and Americans' trust. And please, let's get back to making decisions that rely on evidence more than ideology.

(APPLAUSE)

That's what I'll do as president. I will seek out and welcome any good idea that is actually based on reality.

(LAUGHTER)

(APPLAUSE)

I want to have principled and pragmatic and progressive policies that really move us forward together, and I will propose ways to ensure that our fiscal outlook is sustainable, including by continuing to restrain health care costs, which remain one of the key drivers of long-term deficits.

I will make sure Washington learns from how well local governments, businesses and nonprofits are working together in successful cities and towns across America.

You know, passing legislation is not the only way to drive progress. As president, I will use the power to convene, connect and collaborate to build partnerships that actually get things done, because above all, we have to break out of the poisonous partisan gridlock and focus on the long-term needs of our country.

(APPLAUSE)

I confess, maybe it's the grandmother in me, but I believe that part of public service is planting trees under whose shade you'll never sit, and the vision I've laid out here today for strong growth, fair growth and long-term growth all working together will get incomes rising again, will help working families get ahead and stay ahead. That is the test of our time.

And I'm inviting everyone to please join me to do your part. That's what great countries do. That's what our country always has done. We rise to challenges. It's not about left, right or center; it's about the future versus the past.

I'm running for president to build an America for tomorrow, not yesterday, an America built on growth and fairness, an America where if you do your part, you will reap the rewards, where we don't leave anyone behind.

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you all. Thank you. I just want to leave you with one more thought. I want every child, not just the granddaughter of a former president or former secretary of state, but every child to be able to reach for her God-given potential. Please join me in that mission — let's do it together.

Thank you all so much.

(APPLAUSE)

2. Donald Trump

2.1. Donald Trump's Presidential Announcement Speech , June 16th 2015.

Wow. Whoa. That is some group of people. Thousands.

So nice, thank you very much. That's really nice. Thank you. It's great to be at Trump Tower. It's great to be in a wonderful city, New York. And it's an honor to have everybody here. This is beyond anybody's expectations. There's been no crowd like this.

And, I can tell, some of the candidates, they went in. They didn't know the air-conditioner didn't work. They sweated like dogs.

They didn't know the room was too big, because they didn't have anybody there. How are they going to beat ISIS? I don't think it's gonna happen.

Our country is in serious trouble. We don't have victories anymore. We used to have victories, but we don't have them. When was the last time anybody saw us beating, let's say, China in a trade deal? They kill us. I beat China all the time. All the time.

When did we beat Japan at anything? They send their cars over by the millions, and what do we do? When was the last time you saw a Chevrolet in Tokyo? It doesn't exist, folks. They beat us all the time.

When do we beat Mexico at the border? They're laughing at us, at our stupidity. And now they are beating us economically. They are not our friend, believe me. But they're killing us economically.

The U.S. has become a dumping ground for everybody else's problems.

Thank you. It's true, and these are the best and the finest. When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.

But I speak to border guards and they tell us what we're getting. And it only makes common sense. It only makes common sense. They're sending us not the right people.

It's coming from more than Mexico. It's coming from all over South and Latin America, and it's coming probably— probably— from the Middle East. But we don't know. Because we have no protection and we have no competence, we don't know what's happening. And it's got to stop and it's got to stop fast.

Islamic terrorism is eating up large portions of the Middle East. They've become rich. I'm in competition with them.

They just built a hotel in Syria. Can you believe this? They built a hotel. When I have to build a hotel, I pay interest. They don't have to pay interest, because they took the oil that, when we left Iraq, I said we should've taken.

So now ISIS has the oil, and what they don't have, Iran has. And in 19— and I will tell you this, and I said it very strongly, years ago, I said— and I love the military, and I want to have the strongest military that

we've ever had, and we need it more now than ever. But I said, "Don't hit Iraq," because you're going to totally destabilize the Middle East. Iran is going to take over the Middle East, Iran and somebody else will get the oil, and it turned out that Iran is now taking over Iraq. Think of it. Iran is taking over Iraq, and they're taking it over big league.

We spent \$2 trillion in Iraq, \$2 trillion. We lost thousands of lives, thousands in Iraq. We have wounded soldiers, who I love, I love — they're great — all over the place, thousands and thousands of wounded soldiers.

And we have nothing. We can't even go there. We have nothing. And every time we give Iraq equipment, the first time a bullet goes off in the air, they leave it.

Last week, I read 2,300 Humvees— these are big vehicles— were left behind for the enemy. 2,000? You would say maybe two, maybe four? 2,300 sophisticated vehicles, they ran, and the enemy took them.

Last quarter, it was just announced our gross domestic product— a sign of strength, right? But not for us. It was below zero. Whoever heard of this? It's never below zero.

Our labor participation rate was the worst since 1978. But think of it, GDP below zero, horrible labor participation rate.

And our real unemployment is anywhere from 18 to 20 percent. Don't believe the 5.6. Don't believe it.

That's right. A lot of people up there can't get jobs. They can't get jobs, because there are no jobs, because China has our jobs and Mexico has our jobs. They all have jobs.

But the real number, the real number is anywhere from 18 to 19 and maybe even 21 percent, and nobody talks about it, because it's a statistic that's full of nonsense.

Our enemies are getting stronger and stronger by the way, and we as a country are getting weaker. Even our nuclear arsenal doesn't work.

It came out recently they have equipment that is 30 years old. They don't know if it worked. And I thought it was horrible when it was broadcast on television, because boy, does that send signals to Putin and all of the other people that look at us and they say, "That is a group of people, and that is a nation that truly has no clue. They don't know what they're doing. They don't know what they're doing."

We have a disaster called the big lie: Obamacare. Obamacare.

Yesterday, it came out that costs are going for people up 29, 39, 49, and even 55 percent, and deductibles are through the roof. You have to be hit by a tractor, literally, a tractor, to use it, because the deductibles are so high, it's virtually useless. It's virtually useless. It is a disaster.

And remember the \$5 billion website? \$5 billion we spent on a website, and to this day it doesn't work. A \$5 billion website.

I have so many websites, I have them all over the place. I hire people, they do a website. It costs me \$3. \$5 billion website.

Well, you need somebody, because politicians are all talk, no action. Nothing's gonna get done. They will not bring us— believe me— to the promised land. They will not.

As an example, I've been on the circuit making speeches, and I hear my fellow Republicans. And they're wonderful people. I like them. They all want me to support them. They don't know how to bring it about. They come up to my office. I'm meeting with three of them in the next week. And they don't know— "Are you running? Are you not running? Could we have your support? What do we do? How do we do it?"

I like them. And I hear their speeches. And they don't talk jobs and they don't talk China. When was the last time you heard China is killing us? They're devaluing their currency to a level that you wouldn't believe. It makes it impossible for our companies to compete, impossible. They're killing us.

But you don't hear that from anybody else. You don't hear it from anybody else. And I watch the speeches.

I watch the speeches of these people, and they say the sun will rise, the moon will set, all sorts of wonderful things will happen. And people are saying, "What's going on? I just want a job. Just get me a job. I don't need the rhetoric. I want a job."

And that's what's happening. And it's going to get worse, because remember, Obamacare really kicks in in '16, 2016. Obama is going to be out playing golf. He might be on one of my courses. I would invite him, I actually would say. I have the best courses in the world, so I'd say, you what, if he wants to— I have one right next to the White House, right on the Potomac. If he'd like to play, that's fine.

In fact, I'd love him to leave early and play, that would be a very good thing.

But Obamacare kicks in in 2016. Really big league. It is going to be amazingly destructive. Doctors are quitting. I have a friend who's a doctor, and he said to me the other day, "Donald, I never saw anything like it. I have more accountants than I have nurses. It's a disaster. My patients are beside themselves. They had a plan that was good. They have no plan now."

We have to repeal Obamacare, and it can be— and— and it can be replaced with something much better for everybody. Let it be for everybody. But much better and much less expensive for people and for the government. And we can do it.

So I've watched the politicians. I've dealt with them all my life. If you can't make a good deal with a politician, then there's something wrong with you. You're certainly not very good. And that's what we have representing us. They will never make America great again. They don't even have a chance. They're controlled fully— they're controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully.

Yes, they control them. Hey, I have lobbyists. I have to tell you. I have lobbyists that can produce anything for me. They're great. But you know what? it won't happen. It won't happen. Because we have to stop doing things for some people, but for this country, it's destroying our country. We have to stop, and it has to stop now.

Now, our country needs— our country needs a truly great leader, and we need a truly great leader now. We need a leader that wrote “The Art of the Deal.”

We need a leader that can bring back our jobs, can bring back our manufacturing, can bring back our military, can take care of our vets. Our vets have been abandoned.

And we also need a cheerleader.

You know, when President Obama was elected, I said, “Well, the one thing, I think he’ll do well. I think he’ll be a great cheerleader for the country. I think he’d be a great spirit.”

He was vibrant. He was young. I really thought that he would be a great cheerleader.

He’s not a leader. That’s true. You’re right about that.

But he wasn’t a cheerleader. He’s actually a negative force. He’s been a negative force. He wasn’t a cheerleader; he was the opposite.

We need somebody that can take the brand of the United States and make it great again. It’s not great again.

We need— we need somebody— we need somebody that literally will take this country and make it great again. We can do that.

And, I will tell you, I love my life. I have a wonderful family. They’re saying, “Dad, you’re going to do something that’s going to be so tough.”

You know, all of my life, I’ve heard that a truly successful person, a really, really successful person and even modestly successful cannot run for public office. Just can’t happen. And yet that’s the kind of mindset that you need to make this country great again.

So ladies and gentlemen...I am officially running... for president of the United States, and we are going to make our country great again.

It can happen. Our country has tremendous potential. We have tremendous people.

We have people that aren’t working. We have people that have no incentive to work. But they’re going to have incentive to work, because the greatest social program is a job. And they’ll be proud, and they’ll love it, and they’ll make much more than they would’ve ever made, and they’ll be— they’ll be doing so well, and we’re going to be thriving as a country, thriving. It can happen.

I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created. I tell you that.

I’ll bring back our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan, from so many places. I’ll bring back our jobs, and I’ll bring back our money.

Right now, think of this: We owe China \$1.3 trillion. We owe Japan more than that. So they come in, they take our jobs, they take our money, and then they loan us back the money, and we pay them in interest, and then the dollar goes up so their deal’s even better.

How stupid are our leaders? How stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen? How stupid are

they?

I'm going to tell you— thank you. I'm going to tell you a couple of stories about trade, because I'm totally against the trade bill for a number of reasons.

Number one, the people negotiating don't have a clue. Our president doesn't have a clue. He's a bad negotiator.

He's the one that did Bergdahl. We get Bergdahl, they get five killer terrorists that everybody wanted over there.

We get Bergdahl. We get a traitor. We get a no-good traitor, and they get the five people that they wanted for years, and those people are now back on the battlefield trying to kill us. That's the negotiator we have.

Take a look at the deal he's making with Iran. He makes that deal, Israel maybe won't exist very long. It's a disaster, and we have to protect Israel. But...

So we need people— I'm a free trader. But the problem with free trade is you need really talented people to negotiate for you. If you don't have talented people, if you don't have great leadership, if you don't have people that know business, not just a political hack that got the job because he made a contribution to a campaign, which is the way all jobs, just about, are gotten, free trade terrible.

Free trade can be wonderful if you have smart people, but we have people that are stupid. We have people that aren't smart. And we have people that are controlled by special interests. And it's just not going to work.

So, here's a couple of stories happened recently. A friend of mine is a great manufacturer. And, you know, China comes over and they dump all their stuff, and I buy it. I buy it, because, frankly, I have an obligation to buy it, because they devalue their currency so brilliantly, they just did it recently, and nobody thought they could do it again.

But with all our problems with Russia, with all our problems with everything— everything, they got away with it again. And it's impossible for our people here to compete.

So I want to tell you this story. A friend of mine who's a great manufacturer, calls me up a few weeks ago. He's very upset. I said, "What's your problem?"

He said, "You know, I make great product."

And I said, "I know. I know that because I buy the product."

He said, "I can't get it into China. They won't accept it. I sent a boat over and they actually sent it back. They talked about environmental, they talked about all sorts of crap that had nothing to do with it."

I said, "Oh, wait a minute, that's terrible. Does anyone know this?"

He said, "Yeah, they do it all the time with other people."

I said, "They send it back?"

"Yeah. So I finally got it over there and they charged me a big tariff. They're not supposed to be doing

that. I told them.”

Now, they do charge you tariff on trucks, when we send trucks and other things over there.

Ask Boeing. They wanted Boeing’s secrets. They wanted their patents and all their secrets before they agreed to buy planes from Boeing.

Hey, I’m not saying they’re stupid. I like China. I sell apartments for— I just sold an apartment for \$15 million to somebody from China. Am I supposed to dislike them? I own a big chunk of the Bank of America Building at 1290 Avenue of the Americas, that I got from China in a war. Very valuable.

I love China. The biggest bank in the world is from China. You know where their United States headquarters is located? In this building, in Trump Tower. I love China. People say, “Oh, you don’t like China?”

No, I love them. But their leaders are much smarter than our leaders, and we can’t sustain ourself with that. There’s too much— it’s like— it’s like take the New England Patriots and Tom Brady and have them play your high school football team. That’s the difference between China’s leaders and our leaders.

They are ripping us. We are rebuilding China. We’re rebuilding many countries. China, you go there now, roads, bridges, schools, you never saw anything like it. They have bridges that make the George Washington Bridge look like small potatoes. And they’re all over the place.

We have all the cards, but we don’t know how to use them. We don’t even know that we have the cards, because our leaders don’t understand the game. We could turn off that spigot by charging them tax until they behave properly.

Now they’re going militarily. They’re building a military island in the middle of the South China sea. A military island. Now, our country could never do that because we’d have to get environmental clearance, and the environmentalist wouldn’t let our country— we would never build in an ocean. They built it in about one year, this massive military port.

They’re building up their military to a point that is very scary. You have a problem with ISIS. You have a bigger problem with China.

And, in my opinion, the new China, believe it or not, in terms of trade, is Mexico.

So this man tells me about the manufacturing. I say, “That’s a terrible story. I hate to hear it.”

But I have another one, Ford.

So Mexico takes a company, a car company that was going to build in Tennessee, rips it out. Everybody thought the deal was dead. Reported it in the Wall Street Journal recently. Everybody thought it was a done deal. It’s going in and that’s going to be it, going into Tennessee. Great state, great people.

All of a sudden, at the last moment, this big car manufacturer, foreign, announces they’re not going to Tennessee. They’re gonna spend their \$1 billion in Mexico instead. Not good.

Now, Ford announces a few weeks ago that Ford is going to build a \$2.5 billion car and truck and parts manufacturing plant in Mexico. \$2.5 billion, it’s going to be one of the largest in the world. Ford. Good

company.

So I announced that I'm running for president. I would...

... one of the early things I would do, probably before I even got in— and I wouldn't even use— you know, I have— I know the smartest negotiators in the world. I know the good ones. I know the bad ones. I know the overrated ones.

You get a lot of them that are overrated. They're not good. They think they are. They get good stories, because the newspapers get buffaloed. But they're not good.

But I know the negotiators in the world, and I put them one for each country. Believe me, folks. We will do very, very well, very, very well.

But I wouldn't even waste my time with this one. I would call up the head of Ford, who I know. If I was president, I'd say, "Congratulations. I understand that you're building a nice \$2.5 billion car factory in Mexico and that you're going to take your cars and sell them to the United States zero tax, just flow them across the border."

And you say to yourself, "How does that help us," right? "How does that help us? Where is that good?" It's not.

So I would say, "Congratulations. That's the good news. Let me give you the bad news. Every car and every truck and every part manufactured in this plant that comes across the border, we're going to charge you a 35-percent tax, and that tax is going to be paid simultaneously with the transaction, and that's it.

Now, here's what is going to happen. If it's not me in the position, it's one of these politicians that we're running against, you know, the 400 people that we're (inaudible). And here's what's going to happen. They're not so stupid. They know it's not a good thing, and they may even be upset by it. But then they're going to get a call from the donors or probably from the lobbyist for Ford and say, "You can't do that to Ford, because Ford takes care of me and I take care of you, and you can't do that to Ford."

And guess what? No problem. They're going to build in Mexico. They're going to take away thousands of jobs. It's very bad for us.

So under President Trump, here's what would happen:

The head of Ford will call me back, I would say within an hour after I told them the bad news. But it could be he'd want to be cool, and he'll wait until the next day. You know, they want to be a little cool.

And he'll say, "Please, please, please." He'll beg for a little while, and I'll say, "No interest." Then he'll call all sorts of political people, and I'll say, "Sorry, fellas. No interest," because I don't need anybody's money. It's nice. I don't need anybody's money.

I'm using my own money. I'm not using the lobbyists. I'm not using donors. I don't care. I'm really rich. I (inaudible).

And by the way, I'm not even saying that's the kind of mindset, that's the kind of thinking you need for this country.

So— because we got to make the country rich.

It sounds crass. Somebody said, “Oh, that’s crass.” It’s not crass.

We got \$18 trillion in debt. We got nothing but problems.

We got a military that needs equipment all over the place. We got nuclear weapons that are obsolete.

We’ve got nothing. We’ve got Social Security that’s going to be destroyed if somebody like me doesn’t bring money into the country. All these other people want to cut the hell out of it. I’m not going to cut it at all; I’m going to bring money in, and we’re going to save it.

But here’s what’s going to happen:

After I’m called by 30 friends of mine who contributed to different campaigns, after I’m called by all of the special interests and by the— the donors and by the lobbyists— and they have zero chance at convincing me, zero— I’ll get a call the next day from the head of Ford. He’ll say. “Please reconsider,” I’ll say no.

He’ll say, “Mr. President, we’ve decided to move the plant back to the United States, and we’re not going to build it in Mexico.” That’s it. They have no choice. They have no choice.

There are hundreds of things like that. I’ll give you another example.

Saudi Arabia, they make \$1 billion a day. \$1 billion a day. I love the Saudis. Many are in this building. They make a billion dollars a day. Whenever they have problems, we send over the ships. We say “we’re gonna protect.” What are we doing? They’ve got nothing but money.

If the right person asked them, they’d pay a fortune. They wouldn’t be there except for us.

And believe me, you look at the border with Yemen. You remember Obama a year ago, Yemen was a great victory. Two weeks later, the place was blown up. Everybody got out— and they kept our equipment.

They always keep our equipment. We ought to send used equipment, right? They always keep our equipment. We ought to send some real junk, because, frankly, it would be— we ought to send our surplus. We’re always losing this gorgeous brand-new stuff.

But look at that border with Saudi Arabia. Do you really think that these people are interested in Yemen? Saudi Arabia without us is gone. They’re gone.

And I’m the one that made all of the right predictions about Iraq. You know, all of these politicians that I’m running against now— it’s so nice to say I’m running as opposed to if I run, if I run. I’m running.

But all of these politicians that I’m running against now, they’re trying to disassociate. I mean, you looked at Bush, it took him five days to answer the question on Iraq. He couldn’t answer the question. He didn’t know. I said, “Is he intelligent?”

Then I looked at Rubio. He was unable to answer the question, is Iraq a good thing or bad thing? He didn’t know. He couldn’t answer the question.

How are these people gonna lead us? How are we gonna— how are we gonna go back and make it great

again? We can't. They don't have a clue. They can't lead us. They can't. They can't even answer simple questions. It was terrible.

But Saudi Arabia is in big, big trouble. Now, thanks to fracking and other things, the oil is all over the place. And I used to say it, there are ships at sea, and this was during the worst crisis, that were loaded up with oil, and the cartel kept the price up, because, again, they were smarter than our leaders. They were smarter than our leaders.

There is so much wealth out there that can make our country so rich again, and therefore make it great again. Because we need money. We're dying. We're dying. We need money. We have to do it. And we need the right people.

So Ford will come back. They'll all come back. And I will say this, this is going to be an election, in my opinion, that's based on competence.

Somebody said — thank you, darlin'.

Somebody said to me the other day, a reporter, a very nice reporter, "But, Mr. Trump, you're not a nice person."

That's true. But actually I am. I think I am a nice person. People that know me, like me. Does my family like me? I think so, right. Look at my family. I'm proud of my family.

By the way, speaking of my family, Melania, Barron, Kai, Donnie, Don, Vanessa, Tiffany, Ivanka did a great job. Did she do a great job?

Great. Jared, Laura and Eric, I'm very proud of my family. They're a great family.

So the reporter said to me the other day, "But, Mr. Trump, you're not a nice person. How can you get people to vote for you?"

I said, "I don't know." I said, "I think that number one, I am a nice person. I give a lot of money away to charities and other things. I think I'm actually a very nice person."

But, I said, "This is going to be an election that's based on competence, because people are tired of these nice people. And they're tired of being ripped off by everybody in the world. And they're tired of spending more money on education than any nation in the world per capita, than any nation in the world, and we are 26th in the world, 25 countries are better than us in education. And some of them are like third world countries. But we're becoming a third world country, because of our infrastructure, our airports, our roads, everything. So one of the things I did, and I said, you know what I'll do. I'll do it. Because a lot of people said, "He'll never run. Number one, he won't want to give up his lifestyle."

They're right about that, but I'm doing it.

Number two, I'm a private company, so nobody knows what I'm worth. And the one thing is that when you run, you have to announce and certify to all sorts of governmental authorities your net worth.

So I said, "That's OK." I'm proud of my net worth. I've done an amazing job.

I started off— thank you— I started off in a small office with my father in Brooklyn and Queens, and my

father said — and I love my father. I learned so much. He was a great negotiator. I learned so much just sitting at his feet playing with blocks listening to him negotiate with subcontractors. But I learned a lot.

But he used to say, “Donald, don’t go into Manhattan. That’s the big leagues. We don’t know anything about that. Don’t do it.”

I said, “I gotta go into Manhattan. I gotta build those big buildings. I gotta do it, Dad. I’ve gotta do it.”

And after four or five years in Brooklyn, I ventured into Manhattan and did a lot of great deals— the Grand Hyatt Hotel. I was responsible for the convention center on the west side. I did a lot of great deals, and I did them early and young. And now I’m building all over the world, and I love what I’m doing.

But they all said, a lot of the pundits on television, “Well, Donald will never run, and one of the main reasons is he’s private and he’s probably not as successful as everybody thinks.”

So I said to myself, you know, nobody’s ever going to know unless I run, because I’m really proud of my success. I really am.

I’ve employed— I’ve employed tens of thousands of people over my lifetime. That means medical. That means education. That means everything.

So a large accounting firm and my accountants have been working for months, because it’s big and complex, and they’ve put together a statement, a financial statement, just a summary. But everything will be filed eventually with the government, and we don’t [use] extensions or anything. We’ll be filing it right on time. We don’t need anything.

And it was even reported incorrectly yesterday, because they said, “He had assets of \$9 billion.” So I said, “No, that’s the wrong number. That’s the wrong number. Not assets.”

So they put together this. And before I say it, I have to say this. I made it the old-fashioned way. It’s real estate. You know, it’s real estate.

It’s labor, and it’s unions good and some bad and lots of people that aren’t in unions, and it’s all over the place and building all over the world.

And I have assets— big accounting firm, one of the most highly respected— 9 billion 240 million dollars.

And I have liabilities of about \$500 million. That’s long-term debt, very low interest rates.

In fact, one of the big banks came to me and said, “Donald, you don’t have enough borrowings. Could we loan you \$4 billion?” I said, “I don’t need it. I don’t want it. And I’ve been there. I don’t want it.”

But in two seconds, they give me whatever I wanted. So I have a total net worth, and now with the increase, it’ll be well-over \$10 billion. But here, a total net worth of—net worth, not assets, not— a net worth, after all debt, after all expenses, the greatest assets— Trump Tower, 1290 Avenue of the Americas, Bank of America building in San Francisco, 40 Wall Street, sometimes referred to as the Trump building right opposite the New York— many other places all over the world.

So the total is \$8,737,540,00.

Now I’m not doing that...

I'm not doing that to brag, because you know what? I don't have to brag. I don't have to, believe it or not.

I'm doing that to say that that's the kind of thinking our country needs. We need that thinking. We have the opposite thinking.

We have losers. We have losers. We have people that don't have it. We have people that are morally corrupt. We have people that are selling this country down the drain.

So I put together this statement, and the only reason I'm telling you about it today is because we really do have to get going, because if we have another three or four years— you know, we're at \$8 trillion now. We're soon going to be at \$20 trillion.

According to the economists— who I'm not big believers in, but, nevertheless, this is what they're saying — that \$24 trillion— we're very close— that's the point of no return. \$24 trillion. We will be there soon. That's when we become Greece. That's when we become a country that's unsalvageable. And we're gonna be there very soon. We're gonna be there very soon.

So, just to sum up, I would do various things very quickly. I would repeal and replace the big lie, Obamacare.

I would build a great wall, and nobody builds walls better than me, believe me, and I'll build them very inexpensively, I will build a great, great wall on our southern border. And I will have Mexico pay for that wall.

Mark my words.

Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump. Nobody.

I will find — within our military, I will find the General Patton or I will find General MacArthur, I will find the right guy. I will find the guy that's going to take that military and make it really work. Nobody, nobody will be pushing us around.

I will stop Iran from getting nuclear weapons. And we won't be using a man like Secretary Kerry that has absolutely no concept of negotiation, who's making a horrible and laughable deal, who's just being tapped along as they make weapons right now, and then goes into a bicycle race at 72 years old, and falls and breaks his leg. I won't be doing that. And I promise I will never be in a bicycle race. That I can tell you.

I will immediately terminate President Obama's illegal executive order on immigration, immediately.

Fully support and back up the Second Amendment.

Now, it's very interesting. Today I heard it. Through stupidity, in a very, very hard core prison, interestingly named Clinton, two vicious murderers, two vicious people escaped, and nobody knows where they are. And a woman was on television this morning, and she said, "You know, Mr. Trump," and she was telling other people, and I actually called her, and she said, "You know, Mr. Trump, I always was against guns. I didn't want guns. And now since this happened"— it's up in the prison area— "my husband and I are finally in agreement, because he wanted the guns. We now have a gun on every table. We're ready to start shooting."

I said, "Very interesting."

So protect the Second Amendment.

End— end Common Core. Common Core should— it is a disaster. Bush is totally in favor of Common Core. I don't see how he can possibly get the nomination. He's weak on immigration. He's in favor of Common Core. How the hell can you vote for this guy? You just can't do it. We have to end education has to be local.

Rebuild the country's infrastructure.

Nobody can do that like me. Believe me. It will be done on time, on budget, way below cost, way below what anyone ever thought.

I look at the roads being built all over the country, and I say I can build those things for one-third. What they do is unbelievable, how bad.

You know, we're building on Pennsylvania Avenue, the Old Post Office, we're converting it into one of the world's great hotels. It's gonna be the best hotel in Washington, D.C. We got it from the General Services Administration in Washington. The Obama administration. We got it. It was the most highly sought after— or one of them, but I think the most highly sought after project in the history of General Services. We got it. People were shocked, Trump got it.

Well, I got it for two reasons. Number one, we're really good. Number two, we had a really good plan. And I'll add in the third, we had a great financial statement. Because the General Services, who are terrific people, by the way, and talented people, they wanted to do a great job. And they wanted to make sure it got built.

So we have to rebuild our infrastructure, our bridges, our roadways, our airports. You come into La Guardia Airport, it's like we're in a third world country. You look at the patches and the 40-year-old floor. They throw down asphalt, and they throw.

You look at these airports, we are like a third world country. And I come in from China and I come in from Qatar and I come in from different places, and they have the most incredible airports in the world. You come to back to this country and you have LAX, disaster. You have all of these disastrous airports. We have to rebuild our infrastructure.

Save Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security without cuts. Have to do it.

Get rid of the fraud. Get rid of the waste and abuse, but save it. People have been paying it for years. And now many of these candidates want to cut it. You save it by making the United States, by making us rich again, by taking back all of the money that's being lost.

Renegotiate our foreign trade deals.

Reduce our \$18 trillion in debt, because, believe me, we're in a bubble. We have artificially low interest rates. We have a stock market that, frankly, has been good to me, but I still hate to see what's happening. We have a stock market that is so bloated.

Be careful of a bubble because what you've seen in the past might be small potatoes compared to what happens. So be very, very careful.

And strengthen our military and take care of our vets. So, so important.

Sadly, the American dream is dead.

But if I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before, and we will make America great again.

Thank you. Thank you very much.

2.2. Iowa Freedom Summit, January 24, 2015

...Thank you so much. That's so nice. Isn't he a great guy. He doesn't get a fair press; he doesn't get it. It's just not fair. And I have to tell you I'm here, and very strongly here, because I have great respect for Steve King and have great respect likewise for Citizens United, David and everybody, and tremendous respect for the Tea Party. Also, also the people of Iowa. They have something in common. Hard-working people. They want to work, they want to make the country great. I love the people of Iowa. So that's the way it is. Very simple.

With that said, our country is really headed in the wrong direction with a president who is doing an absolutely terrible job. The world is collapsing around us, and many of the problems we've caused. Our president is either grossly incompetent, a word that more and more people are using, and I think I was the first to use it, or he has a completely different agenda than you want to know about, which could be possible. In any event, Washington is broken, and our country is in serious trouble and total disarray. Very simple. Politicians are all talk, no action. They are all talk and no action. And it's constant; it never ends.

And I'm a conservative, actually very conservative, and I'm a Republican. And I'm very disappointed by our Republican politicians. Because they let the president get away with absolute murder. You see always, oh we're going to do this, we're going to--. Nothing ever happens; nothing ever happens.

You look at Obamacare. A total catastrophe and by the way it really kicks in in '16 and it is going to be a disaster. People are closing up shops. Doctors are quitting the business. I have a friend of mine who's a doctor, a very good doctor, a very successful guy. He said, I have more accountants than I have patients. And he needs because it is so complicated and so terrible and he's never had that before and he's going to close up his business. And he was very successful guy. But it's happening more and more.

Look at Obamacare with a \$5 billion website. I have many websites, many, many websites. They're all over the place. But for \$10, okay?

Now everything about Obamacare was a lie. It was a filthy lie. And when you think about it, lies, I mean are they prosecuted? Does anyone do anything? And what are the Republican politicians doing about it? He lied about the doctor, he lied about every aspect. You can keep your plan. And you've all heard that hundreds of times. That's like the real estate location, location. I don't even say it anymore because

everybody goes location, location. But you have heard this about Obamacare.

And it's disgraceful. It's a big, fat, horrible lie. Your deductibles are going through the roof. You're not going to get--unless you're hit by an army tank, you're not going to get coverage. And people that had plans that they loved, that they really loved, don't have those plans anymore. So it's a real, real disaster. And somebody has to repeal and replace Obamacare. And they have to do it fast and not just talk about it.

Now, we have to build a fence. And it's got to be a beauty. Who can build better than Trump? I build; it's what I do. I build; I build nice fences, but I build great buildings. Fences are easy, believe me. I saw the other day on television people just walking across the border. They're walking. The military is standing there holding guns and people are just walking right in front, coming into our country. It is so terrible. It is so unfair. It is so incompetent. And we don't have the best coming in. We have people that are criminals, we have people that are crooks. You can certainly have terrorists. You can certainly have Islamic terrorists. You can have anything coming across the border. We don't do anything about it. So I would say that if I run and if I win, I would certainly start by building a very, very powerful border.

Again, the politicians talk about it and they do nothing about it. Benghazi. Oh, Benghazi, Benghazi. Everything is Benghazi. What happens? Nothing.

IRS, e-mails. I get sued all the time, okay. I run a big business. You know I've always said it's very, very hard for a person who is very successful. I have done so many deals. Almost all of them have been tremendously successful. You'll see that when I file my statements. I mean you will see; you will be very proud of me, okay. But I've always said, and I said it strongly, it's very hard for somebody that does tremendous numbers of deals to run for politics, run for political office, any office, let alone president. Because you've done so much; you've beaten so many people; you've created so many-- Look, Obama, what did he do? No deal. He never did a deal. He did one deal. A house. And if you did that house you'd be in jail right now, okay. He got away with murder. But I can tell you, e-mails. IRS, the e-mails, thousands of them, they were lost; they were lost. If you were in my world you would know that e-mails can't be lost; they can't be lost. So why aren't our politicians finding out where those e-mails are?

They talk about executive orders and they talk about immigration and they talk about oh well we have to stop the border; that's the end of it. Believe me if I did something you would have a border that would be great. But they talk about it. And then you have a president that does an executive order. Nobody even heard of an executive order. He does it to let people come in and nobody does anything about executive orders. Why didn't they go to court and ask for declaratory judgment--which is something that when you know somebody is going to go after you and when it's in writing, and he's been saying it for a long time; he said, I'm going to approve this and that--why didn't our Republicans go in and get a declaratory judgment from the courts because you could have started the process six months earlier. Instead they have a weak lawsuit, that probably the time it's finished, I know so much about this, six, seven, eight years from now everyone's going to forget about it. We'll be into a different mode, and our country will be further destroyed. So we have to do something.

Jobs. China. I mean I've made so much money fighting against the Chinese. One of the best deals I ever did was against the Chinese, and they respect me for it. And I know them. And they say, we can't believe

what we're getting away with. We can't believe how stupid your leaders are. They tell me that. Now they don't know I'm going to go and make a speech about it, but why not. But they tell me that.

And by the way, especially for the folks here that sell so much--goods, I mean the goods you sell are incredible; I don't know if you've been watching what's happening with the devaluations of so many countries. The Euro, China is going crazy with the devaluation. I never thought that they'd have the guts to do what they're doing. They are devaluing down to nothing. And what it's going to do is make it impossible for you to sell your product; it's going to make it impossible for you to compete. And they're getting away with it. And they wouldn't have even done it two years ago, but now they feel we're so weak and we have so many different problems all over the world that they can do it. But you watch this devaluation of all of it. I mean the Euro, China, Mexico; everybody is devaluing. And when you hear the dollar is getting stronger, it sounds good. You know it's one of those things, sounds good. Be very careful. Be very careful. Because we're just going to lose more and more business to these foreign countries that really know what they are doing. They have it set. Don't forget another thing. China became the number one economic power a year ago. That was unthinkable; to think that that was going to happen. It was absolutely unthinkable. So it happened and it's very, very sad.

Now we spent \$2 trillion in Iraq. We got nothing. They don't even respect us; they don't even care about us. Until they started getting their ass kicked, and call, oh please come back and help us. We want you out; then all of the sudden a new group forms, ISIS. By the way, you know how they formed. They took the oil. And for those of you that know and love Donald Trump--there are some of you--have I been saying for four years, keep the oil. So now ISIS has the oil. And the stuff that ISIS doesn't have, Iran is going to take. So we get nothing. We have \$2 trillion and we have thousands of lives lost, thousands, and we have, what do we have. I mean I walk down the streets of New York and I see so many wounded warriors, incredible people. And we have to help those people, we have to help our vets, we have to help our military, we have to build our military. But, and we have to do it fast; we have to do it fast. We have incompetent people. They put people in charge that have no clue what they're doing. It needs money.

We have to make our country rich again so we do that, so we can save Social Security. 'Cause I'm not a cutter; I'll probably be the only Republican that does not want to cut Social Security. I'm not a cutter of Social Security; I want to make the country rich so that Social Security can be afforded, and Medicare and Medicaid. Get rid of the waste, get rid of the fraud, but you deserve your Social Security; you've been paying your Security. And like, I like Congressman Ryan, I like a lot of the people that are talking about you know cutting Social Security, and by the way the Democrats are eating your lunch on this issue. It's an issue that you're not going to win; you've got to make the country rich again and strong again so that you can afford it, and so you can afford military, and all of the other things.

Now, we have a game changer now, and the game changer is nuclear weapons. We really do have to get strong, and we have to get strong fast. We can't let Iran get a nuclear weapon. We can't do it. Can't do it. We cannot let that happen. You know in the old days, I would have said 100 years ago, 50 years ago, 30 years ago, pull out and let them fight each other.

Here we are in Syria. We're fighting people that want to overturn Syria. Think of this. We're fighting

ISIS, but ISIS wants to overturn the government. Maybe you let them fight for a little while and then you take out the one that remains, okay. But think of it; think of it. ISIS is fighting them and we are bombing the hell out of them, but we want Syria to fall. There are so many things; there are so many things.

But the one game changer that we have to be careful with, that we never really had to think about too much before, other than a certain number of years ago, is the nuclear. Nuclear today, it's not like soldiers in uniforms shooting rifles. You can take out the East Coast of this country, you can take out large sections of the Midwest, you can take out things that were unthinkable. The power. And we have to be in a position where that never, ever, ever, every happens. We've never had this before.

We have a situation in Afghanistan; we're spending tremendous amounts of money there. We're trying to do the right thing. We have leadership, again--no leadership respects us. You know, leadership of other places never respect stupid people, okay, that's one thing you're going to find. The same thing is happening there. And I never knew that Afghanistan until a year ago or so, Afghanistan has tremendous wealth in minerals, different, not the oil, but minerals. And we're fighting here, and on the other side of the mountain China is taking out all the minerals. They're taking it out. Trillion of dollars and millions of dollars of minerals. So we're fighting here and they are taking it out, looking at us and saying thank you very much sucker. It's really, really crazy.

So we have to rebuild quickly our infrastructure of this country. If we don't-- The other day in Ohio a bridge collapsed. Bridges are collapsing all over the country. The reports on bridges and the like are unbelievable, what's happening with our infrastructure.

I go to Saudi Arabia, I go to Dubai; I am doing big jobs in Dubai. I go to various different places. I go to China. They are building a bridge on every corner. They have bridges that make the George Washington Bridge like small time stuff. They're building the most incredible things you have ever seen. They are building airports in Qatar--which they like to say "cutter" but I've always said "qatar" so I'll keep it "qatar" what the hell. But they're building, they're building an airport and have just completed an airport the likes of which you have never seen, in Dubai an airport the likes of which you have never seen. And then I come back to LaGuardia where the runways have potholes. The place is falling apart. You go into the main terminal and they have a terraza floor that's so old it's falling apart. And they have a hole in it, and they replace it with asphalt. So you have a white terraza floor and they put asphalt all over the place. This is inside, not outside. And I just left Dubai where they have the most incredible thing you've ever seen. In fact my pilot said oh Mr. Trump this is such an honor. I said it's not an honor; they're just smart. But you look at LAX, and you look at Kennedy Airport, and you look at our airports generally, you look at our roadways where they're crumbling.

You look at all of the things that are bad-- I'll give you an example. And this isn't part of what I was going to say, but I ride down the highways and somebody makes those guard rails. You know the guard rails. The ones that sort of go like this [demonstrates with hand] that are always bent, rusted and horrible. Did you ever see more than like 20 feet which isn't corroded, or bent or the heat, if it gets too hot, it just crushes. Now they've been selling this thing for 25 years. Why doesn't someone stop them and get something that works. Because they don't know; they don't know what's happening. Somebody made

a lot of money on that. They don't know what is happening.

So we have to make our country great again. We have to rebuild our country. And we have a long way to go. We are just in such serious trouble because we owe so much money. Now we owe it to the Chinese, a lot of it. We owe it to other countries. They're the ones that hold the debt. And then we give them money. We have countries that we owe money to and yet we're giving them subsidies. I just ordered thousands of television sets and between LG and Samsung and I mean you know-- No American company comes to see and comes to bid. It's South Korea, and whenever they have a problem we send the battleships, we send the destroyers, we send our airplanes, we're going to protect them. What are we doing; why aren't they paying us? Why aren't they paying us; what are we doing? I order thousands and thousands of sets all the time, for some reason it's South Korea. You know whether it's China, South Korea, but in this case televisions, South Korea. Why aren't they doing something to justify what is going on?

Now, we have a very important election coming up. We have a presidential election coming up. And we have some good people. Nobody like Trump of course, but these are minor details. We have some good people.

It can't be Mitt because Mitt ran and failed. He failed. I mean I liked him. Look--like him, dislike him-- the 47% statement that he made, that's not going away. The Romneycare from Massachusetts, that's not going away. What do you think they're going to say oh we won't bring that up this time. It's not fair because it was a long t-- That doesn't work. But more importantly, he choked. Something happened to him in the last month. He had that election won. And let me tell you something. That election, sort of like a dealmaker that can't close the deal. I know many of those guys; they get it up to the one-yard line, they go ah, ah I can't close it. Or a golfer that can't sink the three-footer to win the tournament. And there are many of them. Most people are like that; I mean most people are like that. You can't give somebody another chance, 'cause actually I think this election is tougher to win than beating a failed president. I really do. I think beating Obama would have been a much easier one than the one that's coming up, which is sad to say but true. So you can't have Romney. He choked.

You can't have Bush. The last thing we need is another Bush. Now I made that statement very strongly, and now every one says the last thing-- You know they copied it. I'll be accused of copying the statement; that's the bad thing. But I said it. I was the one that said it first, and I mean it. The last thing we need is another Bush. Now, he's totally in favor of Common Core; that's a disaster, that's bad, it should be local and all of that. But he's totally in favor of Common Core. He's very, very weak on immigration. Don't forget--remember his statement--they come for love. I say, what? Come for love? You've got these people coming, half of them are criminals. They're coming for love? They're coming for a lot of other reasons, and it's not love. And when he runs, you got to remember his brother really gave us Obama. I was never a big fan, but his brother gave us Obama. 'Cause Abraham Lincoln coming home back from the dead could not have won the election because it was going so badly and the economy was just absolutely in shambles that last couple of months. And then he appointed Justice Roberts. And Jeb wanted Justice Roberts. And Justice Roberts basically approved Obamacare in a shocking decision that nobody believes. So you can't have Jeb Bush. And he's going to lose aside from that; he's not going

to win. So Mitt and--you just can't have those two. That's it. That's it. It's so simple.

So just in summing up and I just wrote a few of these little points down because it's very important. And I watch these teleprompters, and by the way I think any president candidate that runs should not be allowed to use a teleprompter, because we got one that uses teleprompters. And people say, oh he is so quick on his feet. He is reading it. I mean give me a break. Everything is read. You don't really test the mettle of a man or a woman unless they can get up on stage and talk. And that's what we ended up getting--the king of teleprompters. But, so when I look at these things here I say you know what, it's so much easier, it would be so nice, just bah, pa, bah, pa, bah, bing, bing, bing. No problems, get off stage, everybody falls asleep and that's the end of that. But we have to do something about these teleprompters.

But in looking at these situations-- I built an incredible company. And you'll see that. An incredible company; a wonderful company. I employ thousands of people and I love doing what I'm doing. And in a certain way, I wish I weren't doing this, but our country is in such trouble and would be so easy to fix. We have such great potential.

So if I run for president and if I win, I would totally succeed in:

creating jobs;

defeating ISIS and stopping the Islamic terrorists--and you have to do that;

reducing the budget deficit--so important, have to do it;

securing our Southern border--and I mean seriously securing it;

stopping nuclear weapons in Iran and elsewhere;

saving Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid, without cutting it down to the bone because it's not fair to people that have been paying for their whole lives and other people and it's not fair to future people coming up, and we can do it;

repealing Obamacare and replacing it with something far better for the people, and far less expensive, both for the people and for the country. And believe me there are plans that are so much better for everybody. And everybody can be covered. I'm not saying leave 50-percent of the people out. Everybody can be c-- This plan is just a basic disaster. Nobody knows. As bad as the website was, this is how bad the plan itself is;

fixing our country's infrastructure, our bridges, our schools, our highways, our airports. And that, I can tell you, nobody is close to Trump. I just got the best hotel in North America. I'm building, which is sort of interesting, think of this one. I'm building one of the great hotels of the world on Pennsylvania Avenue, right opposite the White House, between the White House and Congress. Right on Penn.-- The Old Post Office site, and I got it from Obama. Do you believe that? And everybody wanted it. So, I can't believe it myself. But it's going to be fantastic;

and so many other things.

I know what needs to be done to make America great again. We can make this country great again. The potential is enormous. And I am serious thinking of running for president because I can do the job.

Thank you all very much. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much,
everybody. Thank you. Beautiful. Thank you.