

# A CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR ANALYSIS OF NATION & SOCIETY ON SELECTED DONALD TRUMP'S SPEECHES AND REMARKS 2017

### **THESIS**

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UNIVERSITAS JEMBER
2019



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## **THESIS**

A Thesis Presented to the English Department, Faculty of Humanities,
Univeritas Jember as One of the Requirements to Obtain
Sarjana Sastra Degree in English Studies.

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## **DEDICATION**

I express my deepest some of gratitude to my big family and everyone around me who always support me in any condition, especially for YASMIN occupants thanks for making me better. Every lecturer that had taught me and also academic staff until getting Sarjana Degree in Faculty of Humanities. Thanks a lot.



### **MOTTO**

"The worst illiterate is the political illiterate. He hears nothing, sees nothing, takes no part in political life. He doesnt seem to know that the cost of living, the price of beans, of flour, of rent, of medicines, all depend on political decissions. He even prides himself on his political ignorance, sticks out his chest and says he hates politics. He doesnt know, the imbecile, that from his political non – participation comes the prostitute, the abandoned child, the robber and, worst of all, corrupt officials, the lackeys of exploitative multinational corporation."

Bertolt Brecht, Theatre director, playwright, and poet.

### **DECLARATION**

I hereby stated that the thesis entitled A CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR ANALYSIS OF *NATION & SOCIETY* ON SELECTED DONALD TRUMP'S SPEECHES & REMARKS 2017 is an original piece of writing. I do certify that the analysis and the research described of this thesis has never been submitted for any other degree or any publication. I also certify that the best of my knowledge that all sources used and any help received in the preparation on this thesis have been acknowledge.

Jember, June 21st 2019

Dwi Aida Rachmawati 130110101004

### APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis has been approved and received by the examination committee of the English Department, Faculty of Humanities, Jember University.

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#### **SUMMARY**

A Conceptual Metaphor Analysis Of *Nation* And *Society* On Selected Donald Trump's Speeches And Remarks 2017, Dwi Aida Rachmawati, 130110101004; 2019: 44 Pages; English Department, Faculty Of Humanities, Universitas Jember.

Political communication usually refers to speeches or remarks done by politicians especially president. Politicians give the speech to interlace the relationship between the officials and society and any information from the government. The daily activity of giving the speech can gain audience interest about public problems. Webster (2017) states that speech is the power of expressing or communicating thoughts by speaking in public discourse. While, remarks are the act of remarking or expressing an opinion or judgement which deserves attention or notice. Politicians usually have rethoric and particular terms such one of them is metaphor to establish public perceptions (Edelman cited in Mio 1964:113) and persuade society by applying a shortcut between the familiar and the literal terms. It means that politicians are capable of persuading society to establish society perception and audience's opinion by applying metaphor. Nevertheles, society who has difficulty to understand the metaphor used by politicians. Thus, this research aims to know how to reveal a true meaning by interpreting the metaphorical expressions under pragmatics study. In the part of pragmatics, metaphor is a figure of speech in which an expression used to refer to something that does not literally denote in order to suggest a similarity. It also talks about how metaphor or figure of speech is built and additionally, it gives a meaning which is understood by audiences in daily activities because metaphor is not merely word of poetic device. Kovecses (2010)

The data of metaphorical expressions were taken from Trump's speeches and remarks on <a href="www.whitehouse.gov">www.whitehouse.gov</a>. The data were analyzed by descriptive qualitative method. There are nine data which were analyzed by classifying and determining the dominant source domain used by Trump based on target domain NATION and SOCIETY. Target domain NATION has source domain <a href="mailto:person">person</a> and <a href="family">family</a> while, target domain SOCIETY has source domain <a href="mailto:mailto:person">machine</a> and <a href="mailto:human">human</a> body. As a result, the mostly used source domain on target domain of NATION is

person (60 %) and machine (20%) on target domain of SOCIETY. Furthermore, the data were interpreted by applying the comparison theory from G.A. Miller (cited in Levinson, 1983) to alter the source domain to be the simile – like form and find the hidden meaning.

Finally, metaphor does not only occur in literary work but also in daily activity especially in the politics realm. Trump as the politicians used the conceptual metaphor of Nation and Society. The result of dominant sources used by Trump indicates that he will subject the nation and the society of U.S. Trump subjects the nation as the person who can do anything individually while, the society as the machine which can be used by a person. Based on the interpretation, the researcher found aesthetic effect in his rethorical way when delivering the speeches. Based on the explanation above, it means that Trump will colaborate the role play of the nation and the society jointly.

### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I gratefully say thanks to ALLAH that gives me enjoyment to live better with Islam. So that, I can survive with high spirit to solve many problems in my life under Allah's Protection. Then, I do appreciate to the following people that have given best support and assistance to reach my sarjana degree in the Faculty of Humanity, Universitas Jember.

- 1. Prof. Dr. Akhmad Sofyan, M.Hum, the Dean of Faculty of Humanity and Dra. Supiastutik, M.P.d., the Head of English Department for giving permission to compose this thesis.
- 2. Drs. Syamsul Anam, M.A., as my first supervisor who gives me many advices and guides me carefully to complete this thesis.
- 3. Sabta Diana, S.S., M.A., as my second supervisor, for painstaking and patiently guides in writing this thesis well.
- 4. Drs. Wisasongko M.A. and Riskia Setiarini S.S., M.Hum. as the examiners who gives me good suggestions to revise this thesis.
- 5. All the lecturers and academic staff in Faculty of Humanities.

Hopefully, this thesis could give contribution to English Language studies especially for linguistic realm in the study of Conceptual Metaphor.

Jember, June 21st 2019

Dwi Aida Rachmawati

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#### **CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION**

This chapter provides an overview of the whole thesis to give the readers a clear explanation about the reason of doing the research and brief theories used. This chapter is also divided into subchapters. They are the topic of research, the research problem, the research questions, the goals of the research and the organization of the thesis.

# 1.1 The Background of Study

Political communication is a necessary activity to rekindle and connect the whole function of society (Graber in Mio, 1993:305). The activity of political communication is like affording official information such as speech and remark, etc. given by politicians to inform any rulers from government and to illustrate the developing world. In detail, both activities are almost similar as Merriam Webster (2017) explained that speech is the power of expressing or communicating thoughts by speaking in public discourse. Meanwhile, remarks are the act of remarking or expressing an opinion or judgement which deserves attention or notice. Briefly, both are official information expressed by politicians to gain audience interest about public problems.

To rekindle society cognitively, politicians express their speech by applying rhetoric and particular terms such as metaphor to show their communication ability in building potential tendencies among society such as establish public perceptions (Edelman cited in Mio 1964:113) and also to persuade society by applying a shortcut between the familiar and the literal terms. In the same opinion, (Ritchie in Greve's, 2015: 26) stated that metaphor can influence thought in two ways. They are to change views if new metaphor will be invented and to give distinctive influence on the thoughts and audience's responses. Related to explanations above, politician is able to persuade society to build society perception and audience's opinion by applying metaphor.

Besides, giving speeches and remarks are one of government ways in intimating himself with society in a country because both activities involve the action of government and society directly. Government is usually identical with the president. Thus, the speeches and remarks of president always become a heading topic around society especially in America as superpower country in the world.

Nowadays, the US president is Donald Trump who is always enticed and capable of delivering his thought by speaking to public. He can bring many topics into a line well in order to interest the Americans with his speeches. As Mio and Katz (1996:131) explained that politician persuades society to comply with the prescription suggested by his complex words or speech. It means that politicians make their audiences to follow his command because audience thought is changed by the ways of listening his speeches that are applied a metaphor. Several mass media as like Independent.co.uk had report that Trump psychologically has language tricks to convince the society in choosing him by making many slogans and metaphorical expressions in his good rhetorical speeches. For instance, in his victory speech on November, 9<sup>th</sup> 2016 said that

"Now it's time for America to bind the wounds of division."

His statement above contains a deep metaphorical promise specially uttered to society in order to convince them. Indirectly, it makes many societies getting reliance although, Trump's victory was also caused by electoral vote. As a result, many people voted him with the highest voting result, 239,851 votes. It means that, Trump had changed society thought from hating to loving him by convincing them with his speeches contained metaphor indirectly. Thus, Donald Trump used metaphor in others speeches to catch society interest.

Donald Trump is categorized as the next president who uses a metaphor in his political speeches based on Lakoff's blog, on May, 2<sup>nd</sup> 2017 entitled "Don't underestimate Trump" written on Goerge Lakoff's site that is <a href="http://www.BerkeleyauthorGeorgeLakoffsays,">http://www.BerkeleyauthorGeorgeLakoffsays,</a>, Don'tunderestimateTrump'Berkeley side/. He explains that Trump was not stupid. He was a super salesman and he knew

how to change our brain and used it to his advantage. Whereas people regard him that he usually has bad habits such as more interrupting, speaking ridiculous words loudly, and being arrogant in delivering speech since he did some campaigns before being an elected president nowadays. On another blog entitled "Showing One's True Colors" on May, 17<sup>th</sup> 2017, the writers mentioned the example of Trump's metaphor such as applying domain "POLICY is LITERATURE" on website address <a href="http://DonaldTrumpMetaphorsinAmericanPolitics/">http://DonaldTrumpMetaphorsinAmericanPolitics/</a> in several speeches before being president officially. For instance, he mentioned Trump's statement about policies in America.

"I am here tonight to deliver a message of unity and strength, and it is a message deeply deliver from my heart. A New chapter – (applause) – American Greatness is now beginning." said Trump.

It means that policies are going to start a new life as if America's history is a book that is being written by them as the author. It is then interesting to examine the usage of figurative language or metaphor in his speeches and remarks during his period leading America. Because, metaphor is one of persuading strategies which is unique but powerful in his political speeches. Simply, knowing the correlation between the speech and the speaker is needed by analyzing the metaphors used as the artistic style in order to know the hidden meaning.

Related to phenomenon above, linguistic has a way to break it down. Linguistics has a branch called metaphor theory in Pragmatics as the study of language use. In the part of pragmatics, metaphor is a figure of speech in which an expression used to refer to something that does not literally denote in order to suggest a similarly. It also talks about how metaphor or figure of speech is built and give a meaning which is understood by audiences in daily activities such as in speeches because metaphor is not merely word of poetic device. Based on Kovecses, (2010:ix) stated that,

"Metaphor is a figure of speech in which one thing is compared with another by saying that one is the other, as in *He is a lion*. Or, as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* puts it: "*metaphor* [is a] figure of speech that implies comparison between two unlike entities, as distinguished from *simile*, an explicit comparison signalled by the words 'like' or 'as' "[emphases in the original]."

The explanation above means that metaphor is asserted as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain that consists of source domain and target domain as the concept of comparison. It means that one domain is understood in terms of another and pointed out as a mapping. As Lakoff and Turner (1998:58) said that part of a concept's structure can be understood metaphorically using structure imported from another domain. Meanwhile, part of the concept may be understood directly, that is without metaphor. The note above means that mapping is the strategy to set our conception in one understanding through different domains which gives an idea or experiences between two different domains. The instance of mapping is "LIFE is GAMBLING GAME" (Kovecses, 2010:82). This concept means that this life is like a game, gambling game. It represents about uncertain condition whether the player is winning or losing in a game and it is based on the consequences received while playing the game. This concept shows a similar relation between the gambling game and life. It is the activity that always has consequences directly or not.

Thus, by applying this research, I attempt to analyze metaphorical expressions in Donald Trump's speeches and remarks to know his strategies in expressing the concept of *nation* and *society* and to broaden the sight of conceptual metaphor in political activities. To analyze and interpret the metaphorical expressions in this research, I apply the theory of conceptual metaphor written by Lakoff (1980), and comparison theory on metaphor written by Miller cited in the book of Levinson (1983). I hope, those theories can facilitate these phenomena to be analyzed and comprehended in detail by researcher or even everyone who studies hard in metaphorical expressions.

## 1.2 Research Topic

This research is about analyzing conceptual metaphor as the branch of pragmatics study which is applying concepts of *nation* and *society* as the target domains used to represent Donald Trump's expressions in his speeches and remarks.

### 1.3 Research Problem(s)

The usage of metaphor on politician's speeches is difficult to understand by society who comes from different background. Thus, society should know how to reveal a true meaning by interpreting the metaphorical expression based on linguists' theories. As in the case of Donald Trump's speeches and remarks, there are hidden meaning behind the concept of *nation* and *society* as target domain that must be interpreted. These domains most commonly use source domains including person and family for *nation* and machines or human body for *society* (Kovecses, 2003:24).

### 1.4 Research Questions

According to the research problems stated above, there are three questions to discuss further:

- 1. What types of metaphor are applied in Trump's selected speeches and remark about *nation* and *society*?
- 2. What source domains are most applied in Trump's selected speeches and remarks about *nation* and *society*?
- 3. What are the meanings of those metaphorical expressions based on Miller's (cited in Levinson, 1983) comparison theory on metaphor?

#### 1.5 The Goals of The Research

- 1. To know the types of metaphor applied in selected Trump's speeches and remarks about *nation* and *society*.
- 2. To know the source domains most applied in selected Trump's speeches and remarks about *nation* and *society*.
- 3. To know the meanings of those metaphorical expressions based on Miller's (cited in Levinson, 1983) comparison theory on metaphor.

### 1.6 The Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is organized into five main chapters. The first chapter includes the background of the study explaining an overview of the whole thesis to give the readers a clear explanation about the reason of doing the research and brief theories used. This chapter also divided into subchapters. They are the topic of research, the research problem, the research questions, the goals of the research and the organization of the thesis. The second chapter comprises three previous studies dealing with this research and the theories used to conduct this research, such as pragmatics as the tools doing this research, metaphor, conceptual metaphor, and the comparison theory. Then, the third chapter deals with the research design and methology which are divided into several subchapter; type of research, research strategy, data collection which explains how the data are selected, data processing telling about how the data are classified by using the theory of comparison, and data analysis explaining the process of analyzing the data, such as interpretation and explanation. The fourth chapter presents an analysis and discussion. Then, the last chapter provides the conclusion of this research. The appendixes is also enclosured.

#### **CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE RIVIEW**

This chapter comprises the theories employed in this research and several previous studies dealing with this research. The primary theories applied to examine the data are pragmatics as the tools doing this research, metaphor, conceptual metaphor, the comparison theory, and the context of Donald Trump's issues about nation and society, and America condition.

#### 2.1 Previous Studies

The first previous study is conducted by Diana (2013). She analysed metaphorical expression from Semantics field on the Kahlil Gibran's work and interpreted it by The Comparison Theory proposed by Miller cited in Levinson (1983). She did her research using descriptive method applied to qualitative data using library research. The aim of this journal was to apply Semantics theory in the process of establishing the appropriate meaning of metaphors in *Kahlil Gibran's Nymphs of the Valley* and to apply the perceptual system built in human mind along with cultural concept. She also distinguished types of metaphor and commuted them into simile-like form to get the meaning of metaphorical expression by using the comparison theory. As the result, she found that the interpretation gained showing the process of comprehending metaphor which involves the transfer of the meaning of entities compared in the metaphor.

The second previous study is conducted by Pratama *et.al.* (2014). The aims are to prove and know the function the systematic of conceptual metaphor, and also the meaning on every metaphorical expressions in those speeches and remarks using qualitative method. He used Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor (1980) to analysis metaphorical expressions. Kovecses' *economy* domains of metaphor were applied to determine the source domain of the metaphors. He also used the Comparison theory proposed by Miller to identify the kinds of metaphor in Barack Obama's speeches and remarks. In brief, he found that target and source domain are mapped and connected systematically and naturally in Obama's speeches and remarks.

The third previous study is conducted by Kurniawati (2015). He uses qualitative and quantitative research to get the purposes that is to get share a way of conceptual metaphor which can transfer the concept of emotion metaphorically in the story of the novel of "Hunger Games". The theories used are Lakoff and Johnson theory to classify the metaphorical expressions based on the target and source domain and Miller's comparison theory to interpret the metaphorical expressions. As a result, she got three dominant target domains of EMOTION such as SADNESS, FEAR, and ANGER. She also got the dominant source domain such as NATURAL, FORCE, FIRE, TORMENTOR, DOWN, and CAPTIVE ANIMAL. The conclusion of her research is metaphor can construct elements of story that are systematically related to the daily construction in human brain. It is because perception of a concept in human daily knowledge builds language from literal into figurative. As a result, metaphor is not only used as a rhetorical strategy but also can build the meaning situated in the novel. (Kurniawati, 2015:51).

The fourth previous study is conducted by Supriadi (2017). He used qualitative research to get the purposes that is to get knowledge on analysing the types and meaning of metaphor in a political discourse through metaphor in a political discourse using metaphor's theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). He also used cognitive semantic approach intends to explore the hidden missions behind refining the language use of conceptualizing through metaphor as well as to describe how the forms and meaning of metaphors used in the speech by Joko Widodo in The Fifth Extraordinary OIC (The Organization of Islamic Corporation) Summit 2016. In short, he found that the President's style in suggesting people have the true meaning that is impressed and contained ambitious hegemony in the international world because provocation for furthering the Islamic world are allied in his figurative language expressions.

Briefly, this study has different data as the object of research from those previous studies above that is Donald Trump's speeches and remarks. This study also has different of target domain that is NATION and SOCIETY based on Kovecses's target domain. But this study has several sameness theories from those previous studies. First theory is conceptual metaphor by Lakoff and Johnson

(1980) applied to know Trump's concept about NATION and SOCIETY based on ontological cognitive process in order to comprehend the sentential metaphor and using the Comparison theory proposed by Miller (cited in Levinson's, 1983) to investigate the intended meaning of metaphor by analysing the types.

#### 2.2 Theoretical Reviews

#### 2.2.1 Pragmatics

Pragmatics as the branch of linguistics field teaches us to know how this "meaning beyond the words" can be understood without ambiguity in communication. It also occurs in metaphor because metaphor belongs to a figurative expression that contains hidden meaning as its messages indirectly. Thus, metaphor relates to pragmatics study.

Grundy (2000: 275) said that pragmatics is the study of language used in contextualized communication and the usage principles associated with it. Related to the explanation above, context is needed in language to understand the meaning because written or spoken sentences and context are associated. Horn and Ward (2006: xiii) also mention that the study of meaning in pragmatics belongs to the relation from a context into a proposition functioned from a possible world into a truth-value; pragmatics aspect of meaning belongs to the relation between the context in which an utterance is made and the proposition expressed by the utterances. Based on the note above, the audience should know the context surrounding the speaker correlated with the proposition that uttered to know the meaning of utterances truthfully.

In this case, the speaker intended meaning is out of the sentences, because it does not describe but interpreted (Grice, 1975:44). Based on the explanation above, the speaker gives an essential message behind the sentences uttered. People should dig the intended meaning deeply to figure out the metaphorical expressions behind the sentences uttered in Trump's speeches and remarks. This phenomenon also is suited by the correlation of target and source domains while referred to the context. Thus, to do a scientific research and obtain trustworthiness result in analyzing metaphorical expressions, it needs pragmatics approach consequently.

### 2.2.2 Metaphor

Metaphor in pragmatic comes from semantic field. It has basic structure to understand clearly that is tenor and vehicle. Ullman (1972) cited in Diana (2013) and Richards cited in Sumarsono (2007:265) simply define that the tenor is the thing we are talking about and the vehicle is its comparison. Ortony cited in Ottati's and Renstrom (2010:1) stated that A metaphor contains a topic as the object or phenomenon being described and a vehicle as some other object or phenomenon that conveys a certain meaning about the topic. He also gave simple example such as "Juliet is The Sun" thus, "Juliet" as the topic and "Sun" as the vehicle. Thus, we can see metaphor from the connection of tenor and vehicle.

In pragmatic, Lakoff and Johnson (2003:4) stated that metaphor is only words used to show a poetic imagination and unusual language rhetorically than show about the ability of thought or action in creating a word. Related to the explanation above, most people regard that metaphor tend to a poetic thing in expressing unusual thing in daily activity and the words are produced only to create a rhetorical rather than showing a matter of thought or action of human. Besides, metaphor is one of artistic language used for people in getting an aesthetic result in making sentence as figure of speech which transferring or reconstructing one concepts to another concept through a simple way but it still produces one meaning. It is usually used in literary work such as poetry etc.

As Kovecses, (2010:4) stated that metaphor defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain. It means that one domain as the source domain and another as target domain. Both have similarity concept to understand in same perception. Thus, the readers or hearers must struggle in the process of figuring out the metaphorical expression than literal expression.

Metaphor is known as the term used on poetic or other kind of literary works but Lakoff and Johnson, (2003) found that metaphor is permeated in everyday life whether we are aware or not in our language, thought, and action. The statement above supported by Lakoff and Johnson, (2003:4) that

"Our conceptual system is not something we are normally aware of. In most of the little things we do every day, we simply think and act more or less automatically along certain lines. Because our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature."

Based on the explanation above, the conceptual metaphors are usually done in our daily life consciously. Moreover, metaphor is in contact of the way human perception establish certain concepts to the new form of literal meaning. In the same line with Lakoff and Johnson (1980) that our conceptual system defines our everyday realities. It means that they are metaphorical matters. Thus, metaphor structure is how we perceive, how we think, and what we do every day.

### 2.2.3 Theory of Conceptual Metaphor

This theory of metaphor developed by Lakoff (1980) helps us to comprehend metaphor through the concept of mapping. It has applied on the study of particular subjects as scientific discovery, design, mathematical thinking, and the computer interfaces. The concept of mapping is to lay down our understanding about metaphor cognitively. It also supported by Kovecses (2010: 4) that a conventional shorthand way of capturing this view of metaphor is the following: conceptual domain A is conceptual domain B, which is what called a conceptual metaphor. The concept of metaphor is written in capital letters based on convention. Related to the explanation above the people must comprehend the metaphor by knowing the correlation of domain A and domain B to comprehend the meaning behind the concept.

Lakoff (cited in Ortony, 1993) noted that "the general theory on metaphor is given by-characterizing such cross-domain mappings". The explanation above means that the conceptual metaphor provides us to know the ways in qualifying the cross-domain mappings or the different domains in one concept and guide us into the same comprehension of crossing domains mapping. As a result, we comprehend a property of something to conceptualize and to draw something else. Cruse, (2006:38) also stated that

"..... metaphor is essentially a relation between conceptual domains, whereby ways of talking about one domain (the 'source domain') can be applied to another domain (the 'target domain') by

virtue of 'correspondences' between the two. Typically, the source domain is relatively familiar and conceptually well-structured, and the structures are used to articulate the target domain".

By the theory above, metaphor is not tied to particular linguistic expressions: a given conceptual metaphor in its principle underlie any number of metaphorical expressions, some of which may be conventionalised, others not. An example of a conceptual metaphor is LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Below explanation, the source domain is journey and the target domain is life as what the metaphorical expression refers to. The following are some of the relevant correspondences between these domains:

Journey life Beginning of journey life
Beginning of journey birth End of journey death, etc.

In addition, there are three kinds of metaphor which are categorized by its cognitive function and functioned to know how people thinking about and seeing the world. As Kovecses, (2010: 37) said that in this case, conceptual metaphor can give a clearer exposition by classifying a source and target domain according to the cognitive function that they point out. They are structural, ontological, and orientational.

First, the Structural metaphor is the source domain allows a relatively overwhelming knowledge structure for the target concept. On the other hand, the cognitive function of these metaphors is to allow speakers to comprehend the target A by means of the structure of source B. Mapping domain in structural metaphor not only provides the reason of particular expressions used but also provides a basic overall structure created by the user. The researcher will be difficult to imagine the concept without understanding a metaphor structurally.

Second, As Koveses, (2010:38) said that philosophy has a branch called ontological which is related to the nature of the existence. It means that, the ontological metaphor discusses about an elaboration structure of abstract concepts which gives much less cognitive structuring than structural metaphor to target concepts. Hence, ontology seemingly works only for providing new ontological

status on general categories from abstract target concept and for producing new abstract entities. It means, the researcher can comprehend his experience in a thing, substance, and container generally without deciding the precise object aimed. Thus, it is like an abstraction such as activity, emotion, or idea, then represented into the concrete one as like an object, substances, container, or person. This field teaches us to see an unspecific object in more specific one.

Third, the orientational metaphor also called as coherence metaphor by Kovecses (2010: 40) relates to the cognitive function. It works to make a set of target concepts coherent in our conceptual system because it serves its function to do with basic human spatial orientations, such as up-down, center-periphery, and the like. It means that the cognitive function makes the people understand about the target concepts in metaphorical concepts based on conceptual system in the uniform manner of universal concept of human orientation. For instance, "I see your heart up". It means that the source domain "up" used to review the characteristic of the target concept of "heart" and it occurs reversely for source domain "down".

In this case, the terms of metaphorical expressions are formed as a linguistics expression as like words, phrases, or even sentence. Thus, we can also find the conceptual metaphor not only in literary works but also in everyday activities such as the political speech as a formal language which sometimes uses a metaphorical expression.

### 2.2.4 The Comparison Theory

The comparison theory of conceptual metaphor comes from Miller (1979) who claims that any particular syntactic or semantic will present a version of comparison theory as a psychological theory in order to understand a metaphor. As a result, we can identify the kinds of metaphor presented by Miller (cited in Levinson, 1983) based on his statement as follows:

The claim is that in order to comprehend metaphors they must be converted into a complex simile-like form – complex because there are always a number of extra implicit predicates or variable which have to be reconstructed by the listener. (1983: 152)

In brief, Miller informs us that the form of metaphor will be comprehended if the structure is changed into the complex simile-like form. Next, the particular features or entities relate each other to show other entities. It also occurs when we change the form of implicit predicates into explicit form. As a result, to know the ways of interpreting the hidden meaning of metaphor, we should apply three rules of the structure of metaphor. They stand as the conversion of metaphor into "simile-like form" (Levinson, 1983: 152). The rules of these kinds of metaphor are below:

a. Nominal metaphor is the metaphor whose the recipient (listener or reader) is constructed in line with this following rule (where +> should be understood as 'is interpreted'). Later, metaphor is in the form of BE (x,y), the rule is signed into:

## BE $(x,y) + > \Im F \Im G (SIMILAR (F(x), G(y)))$

i.e. metaphors of the x is a y kind are interpreted as: "There are two properties F and G such that x having property F is like y having property G' (Levinson, 1983:152)

Here, the recipient will interpret what kind of property of x emerged in the entity of y property. Levinson (1983:152) gave instance, "*Iago is an ell*" This sentence has the form BE (x,y). To interpret them, we should know that there are some properties of x that are like the properties of y. The x, here is a Iago; where the y is an ell. Therefore, the sentence might be decoded into "Iago's ability getting out from difficult situation is like an ell's ability to wriggle off hooks".

b. Predicative metaphors means the interpreter reconstructs and compares the predicate with the other entity. The relation of BE is predicative rather than an identity relation. The G and F are predicate variables not predicate constant in a second-order predicate logic and should properly be distinguished. In short, Miller draws the rules into the formula as follows:

### $G(x) + > \Im F \Im y (SIMILAR(F(x), G(y)))$

i.e. metaphors of the xGs kind (i.e with metaphorical predicates) are interpreted as: "there is a properties of F and an entity y such that x F ing is like y Ging' (Levinson, 1983:153).

For instance, Anna roasted up on the way home.

Based on the rule, the sentence reconstructs into the two sentences below:

- a. Anna is doing something that is like something roasted up.
- b. Anna's anger is like a meat roasted up.
  - c. Sentential metaphor is analyzed by being irrelevant utterances around the discourse when literary text built. It is not categorized false. Thus, constructing the context to get the hidden meaning in the metaphor is necessary. Miller draws the rule of this metaphor into this formula:

### $G(y) + > \Im F \Im x (SIMILAR (F(x), G(y)))$

i.e. given an irrelevant proposition y Gs interpret as: 'There is another entity x such that the proposition 'x Fs' is similar to 'y Gs' (and 'x Fs' is relevant to the discourse)' (Levinson, 1983: 153)

For example (taken from Levinson, 1983: 153):

A: what kind of mood did you find the boss in?

B: the lion roared

The recipient should reconstruct the structure of 'B' might be reconstruct contextually below (taken from Levinson, 1983: 153):

- 1. The lion's roaring is like something doing something.
- 2. The lion's roaring is like the boss displaying anger.

Thus, this theory is used to classify the metaphorical expression in Donald Trump's speeches and remarks as a tool to classify and interpret the meaning of those metaphorical expressions in order to be understood in general cognitive ability.

#### **2.2.5** Context

The Condition of America before Trump becoming president was not in prosperity but American has made many countries in prosperity (DetikFinance.com, 2017). Many unsolved problems occurred especially in economic and education field. Although, some economy areas had changed slowly but surely, America remained permanently feared by the recession. Hence, many structural problems such as inequality, better incomes for men, whites and Asians than for other Americans still remain. In other realms such as immigration, health

care, politics, foreign policy, environment, crime, and justice also were in weak point (Npr.org 2017).

So that Trump will overcome it by increasing a sector of manufacture industry, reconstructing well infrastructure, cutting the taxes for business and individual, creating new jobs, rearranging many treaties specially with China and Mexico, avoiding radicalism in Islam, and repairing education system. Meanwhile, his wife will help America in solving the problem of children and women insulting and the cabinets are going to synergize according to their respective fields.

Based on the problems mentioned above, Trump creates popular slogans, first, "America First" means that Trump will give priority to America prosperity, so that he pushed his society to buy America products and employ Americans as employee (DetikFinance.com, 2017). Second, "America Great Again" means that he promises will return the country to its former glory days (TheNation.com, 2016). Third, Buy America, Hire America means that Trump promised to ensure Americans worker will not be jobless because they will produce many products. He was also planned that

"He would tighten rules that award visas to skilled foreign workers and direct the federal government to enforce rules that bar foreign contractors from bidding on federal projects" (Washingtonpost.com, 2017).

Those slogans always yell out in his speeches to motivate his cabinet and Americans while describing that America as Nation can do anything to drum America up as like people can drum any potential up. Although, survey on 37 nations conducted by Pew Research had found that only 22 percent respondent had counted on Trump to do best thing for America (TheGuardian.com).

In addition, some media had reported about predictions that are going to occur about the American fates in Trump Period. They are such as the fate of the America middle class that will be in the difficult condition, the America Anti-Terrorism policy that will be internal or external Muslim inhabitant. the fate of America Democracy Institution that will be autocrat or dictator, the fate of America journalists will be in crisis because last year, it had opened amount of challenges

structurally, professionally, and technologically, the American's fate when Trump conducting war because he had nuclear treaties with Russia, and Iran (Liputan6.com,2017).



#### CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLGY

The third chapter provides the design and methodology to conduct this research. It consists of several subchapters. They are type of research, research strategy, data collection, data processing, and data analysis.

### 3.1 Type of Research

This study employs qualitative and quantitative research to analyze the data. Flick (2009: 32) stated that mixed methodologies related to pragmatics combination of qualitative and quantitative research. This method is appeared as a third methodological movement. It means that a set of two kinds of methodologies called as mixed methodologies. Besides, Denscombe (2010: 248) defines that qualitative research tended to be associated with words or images as the unit of analysis while quantitative research tended to be associated with numbers as the unit of analysis to show the dominant kinds and source of metaphors used on the data.

### 3.2 Research Strategy

This research applies a documentary research strategy. According to Denscombe (2007: 230), documentary research involves such "home pages that can be treated as a form of document and their content analyzed in terms of text and images they contain". Thus, the researcher takes the data from the internet that contain a transcript of speeches and remarks on the official website, <a href="www.whitehouse.gov">www.whitehouse.gov</a>. The researcher accessed and gathered it via online on the laptop. Everyone can check the data to reduce a hesitation of truthfulness data because the sources of data are available and permanent that can be checked by others as well" Denscombe (2007:244).

#### 3.3. Data Collection

Denscombe (2007:227) stated that documentary data are the written sources such as newspaper, magazine, journal, brochure, etc. The researcher collects the data from documentary data that is the transcript of Donald Trump in speeches and remarks on official website, <a href="www.whitehouse.gov">www.whitehouse.gov</a> during his 1st 100 days as elected president precisely between January 20th until 30th April 2017. There are approximately 7 nominal, 5 predicative, and 3 sentential selected metaphorical expressions provisionally from certain title related to target domain (Nation and Society) spreading out on speeches and remarks. The researcher uses purposive strategy to collect the data as the researcher purposes, Denscombe, (2007:17) that the data are 'hand picked' to the specific issues, people or events deliberately in order to get the most valuable data based on its quantity and quality that is relevants to the topic of the investigation.

### 3.4 Data Processing

Briefly, after doing research strategy and collecting the data from the internet, the researcher processes the data by:

- 1. Specifying those source domains by the theory of conceptual metaphor developed by Lakoff and Johnson, (1980).
- 2. Measuring the data to find out how often a particular phenomenon of using metaphor occurred. The data are counted to know how many percentages of each target domain appearance over the number of all metaphorical expression or the percentages of data frequency by applying the basic formula below:

 $\sum option$ x 100% = n%  $\sum alloption$  option: the sum total of each option alloption: the sum total of all option n%: the result in percentage.

- 3. Classified data will be taken into three types of metaphor based on the Comparison Theory proposed by Miller (cited in Levinson,1983).
- 4. Interpreting the source domain into the target domain to be comprehended in general meaning based on the comparison theory proposed by Miller (cited in Levinson, 1983), and helped by Merriam-Webster's Essential Learner's English Dictionary (2017) and other version of dictionaries in order to get the precise meaning from America language style itself.

## 3.5 Data Analysis

The data are analyzed in several steps based on the theory of Conceptual Metaphor and the Comparison Theory of Metaphor The process is going to discuss in details below:

- Data are interpreted based on their types on the Comparison theory proposed Miller (cited in Levinson,1983). The interpretation will be done in converting metaphorical expression into simile-like form.
- 2. The metaphorical expressions are interpreted by processing the data in mapping based on the target domains and source domains to get the meaning using Conceptual Metaphor's theory of Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Mapping process is applied to support the interpretation by the three types of metaphor through changing the structures and the features of the metaphors. Mapping process is done to get the similar concept of the domain and to restructure the metaphors into the most general concept to be understood.

Finally, the result of dominant source domain will be demonstrated. Then, it will show the conclusion on how metaphor as the media in conveying a concept of NATION and SOCIETY uttered by Donald Trump's speeches and remarks done in simple understanding.

#### **CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION**

This chapter provides answers for the research questions of thesis research. This research discusses about metaphorical analysis of Donald Trump speeches and remarks since 1<sup>st</sup> 100 days he occupied as the president. Trump is important and influenced person in the world. Every single word should be noticed especially selected words belong to metaphorical expression. It means that the speeches taken from <a href="www.whitehouse.gov">www.whitehouse.gov</a> have figurative language. It should be described linguistically.

The researcher chooses NATION and SOCIETY as the target domain. It has source domain that is PERSON and FAMILY for target domain nation, and HUMAN BODY and MACHINE for target domain society. All analyzed data are 15 utterances. There are 5 utterances for nominal metaphors of nation, 4 predicative metaphors of nation, 1 predicative metaphor of society, 1 sentential metaphor of nation, and 2 sentential metaphors of society. The detail process of finding the result is in the previous chapter and concluded here.

Firstly, Donald Trump is mostly used nominal metaphor in his daily speech. The research shows that the source domain PERSON is mostly used in the target domain of nation. It is showed in the utterances belong to person such as *beacon*, *symbol of resilience*, *friends*, *torch*, *problem*, *monument*, and so forth. It can be interpreted that he presumes nation as person. It refers the living things. Nation is human being who can be a partner to do activities and reach a success. He wants to show the listeners or the readers that this is the time to change the world with him. The result also shows that the source domain MACHINE is mostly used in the target domain of society. It shows in the utterances belong to machine such *passes*. It can be interpreted that he presumes society as machine. It refers non-living things. Society is a tool which can be used by human manually or automatically. Thus, he treats his society as machine that can be subjected and functioned according to the needs.

Secondly, after mapping the utterances based on the source domain of nation and society, Trump speeches and remarks utterances analyzed structurally with the formula proposed by Levinson (1983). Then, it is interpreted to obtain the clear meaning contextually. The researcher also gets more information about the condition of America, American, and other countries in front of Trump as the president and in front of several nations in the world. It is conceptualized metaphorically in the features of person and family for nation. While, the features of human body and machine for society. The concept of person as dominant source domain is physically concrete living things. Besides, nation is abstract things that can be comprehended by both conceptual metaphor. They are the source domain of person and family. On the other hand, the concept of machine as dominant source is physically concrete thing but non-living things. It cannot do anything without user. While, society is concrete thing that can be understood by both conceptual metaphor. They are human body and machine.

Finally, it can be concluded that Trump really wants to make the U.S. successful as a person who struggle with his society as machine which can be moved jointly. They complete each other and collaborate properly. The U.S. is considered as the rescuer while, the people of U.S. as a tool used to rescue the condition of U.S. from adversity to glory. U.S. is also supported by many partners in the world especially with developing and developed countries.

The conclusion, metaphor is not only used in literature but also in daily activities especially in politics realm. It is proven in Trump speeches. He tries to deliver implicitly how he conceptualizes U.S. as the nation with the source domain of person. Then, he also tries to deliver how he subjected the Americans as the inhabitant with the source domain of machine implicitly. Thus, he as the person who leads U.S., will never stop to employ the people of U.S. and establish relationship with others countries. He, as the politician is capable to build and push ahead the society perception to reach one mission that makes Ameerica great again. He does this by making many slogans and metaphorical expressions in his good rhetorical speeches.

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#### **APPENDICES**

Table 1. Target and Source Domain Metaphor of Nation & Society

NO	TEXT	Type of Metaphor	NATION		SOCIETY	
			Person	Family	Human Body	Machine
1.	President Trump and Prime Minister Mays's Opening Remarks,					
	January 27 <sup>th</sup> 2017.					
	1. America and the United Kingdom are a beacon for prosperity	Nominal				
	and the rule of law.					
	2. Madam Prime Minister, we look forward to working closely with	Sentential		$\sqrt{}$		
	you as we strengthen our mutual ties in commerce, business and					
	foreign affairs. Great days lie ahead for our two peoples and our					
	two countries.					
2.	Remarks by President America at National Prayer Breakfast,					
	February 2 <sup>nd</sup> 2017		/			
	1. America will <i>flourish</i> as long as our liberty and, in particular, our	Predicative	. //			
	religious liberty is allowed to flourish.					
3.	(President Trump's Weekly Address, February 3 <sup>rd</sup> , 2017).					

	1. America can really never, ever <i>rest</i> until children of every color are fully included in the American Dream – so important.	Predicative	V		
4.	Remarks by President Trump at MCCA Winter Conference,				
	February 8 <sup>th</sup> 2017				
	1. The wall is getting designed right now. A lot of people say, oh,	Sentential	$\sqrt{}$		
	oh. Trump was only kidding with the wall. I wasn't kidding. I don't				
	kid. I don't kid. I watch this, and they say I was kidding. No, I don't				
	kid. I don't kid about things like that. I can tell you. No, we will have				
	a wall.				
5.	Remarks by President Trump and Prime Minister Netanyahu of	7/()			
	Israel in Joint Press Conference, February 15 <sup>th</sup> 2017.				
	1. The state of Israel is a symbol to the world of resilience in the	Nominal	$\sqrt{}$		
	face of oppression.	7 /			
	2. These are the building blocks of democracy.	Nominal		$\sqrt{}$	
6.	Remarks by President Trump in Meeting with National Governors				
	Association, February 27 <sup>th</sup> 2017				
	1.With \$20 trillion in debt can you imagine that The government	Predicative	$\sqrt{}$		
	must learn to tighten its belt,				

7.	Remarks by President Trump in Joint Address to Congress,				
	February, 28 <sup>th</sup> 2017				
	1. America is friends today with former enemies.	Nominal	$\sqrt{}$		
	2 American generation passes the torch of truth,	Nominal			$\sqrt{}$
		Predicate			
		Sentential			V
8.	Remarks by President Trump in Meeting with I - 85 Bridge First		MO		
	Responders, April 13 2017				
	1. <i>North Korea is a problem</i> . The problem will be taken care of	Nominal	$\sqrt{}$		
9.	President Donald J. Trump's Weekly Address, April 14 <sup>th</sup> 2017		1		
	1. And now, <i>the State of Israel stands</i> as a monument to their faith	Nominal	√		
	and endurance.	Predicative	$\sqrt{}$		

**Table 2. Symbol and Notational Convention** 

NO.	The Symbol	Name	Meaning
1.	A, B, C	(In set theory)	A number or collection of things or entities of any kind. Simply,
		(in predicate logic) predicate constants.	it is a number of elements or members.
2.	x, y, z	Individual variables	Stand for any individual or stand for an arbitrary individual.
3.	3	Existential quantifier	Something like 'someone or something' or 'there is someone or something'.
4.	F, H, G, A	Tense operators or tense logic	Similar to modal logic, both in syntax and in its semantics. One adds to the ordinary syntax of propositional or predicate logic a set of four temporal operators.
5.	+>	Implication	Expresses a 'casual tie' between the antecedent and consequent clause.

#### The Selected Speeches and Remarks of Donald Trump

**Text 1. President Trump and Prime Minister May's Opening Remarks** - Issued on January 27, 2017

**President Donald J. Trump:** "Thank you very much. I am honored to have Prime Minister Theresa May here for our first official visit from a foreign leader. This is our first visit, so — great honor. The special relationship between our two countries has been one of the great forces in history for justice and for peace. And, by the way, my mother was born in Scotland — Stornoway — which is serious Scotland. Today, the United States renews our deep bond with Britain — military, financial, cultural, and political. We have one of the great bonds. We pledge our lasting support to this most special relationship. Together, America and the United Kingdom are a beacon for prosperity and the rule of law. That is why the United States respects the sovereignty of the British people and their right of selfdetermination. A free and independent Britain is a blessing to the world, and our relationship has never been stronger. Both America and Britain understand that governments must be responsive to everyday working people, that governments must represent their own citizens. Madam Prime Minister, we look forward to working closely with you as we strengthen our mutual ties in commerce, business and foreign affairs. Great days lie ahead for our two peoples and our two countries. On behalf of our nation, I thank you for joining us here today. It's a really great honor. Thank you very much."

Prime Minister Theresa May: "Well, thank you very much, Mr. President. And can I start by saying that I'm so pleased that I've been able to be here today. And thank you for inviting me so soon after your inauguration. And I'm delighted to be able to congratulate you on what was a stunning election victory. And, as you say, the invitation is an indication of the strength and importance of the special relationship that exists between our two countries — a relationship based on the bonds of history, of family, kinship and common interest. And in a further sign of the importance of that relationship, I have today been able to convey Her Majesty The Queen's hope that President Trump and the First Lady would pay a state visit

to the United Kingdom later this year. And I'm delighted that the President has accepted that invitation. Now, today, we're discussing a number of topics, and there's much on which we agree. The President has mentioned foreign policy. We're discussing how we can work even more closely together in order to take on and defeat Daesh and the ideology of Islamist extremism wherever it's found.

Our two nations are already leading efforts to face up to this challenge, and we're making progress with Daesh losing territory and fighters, but we need to redouble our efforts. And today, we are discussing how we can do this by deepening intelligence and security cooperation and, critically, by stepping up our efforts to counter Daesh in cyberspace. Because we know we will not eradicate this threat until we defeat the idea — the ideology that lies behind it. Our talks will be continuing later. I'm sure we'll discuss other topics — Syria and Russia.

On defense and security cooperation, we are united in our recognition of NATO as the bulwark of our collective defense. And today, we've reaffirmed our unshakeable commitment to this alliance. Mr. President, I think you said — you confirmed that you're 100 percent behind NATO. But we're also discussing the importance of NATO continuing to ensure it is as equipped to fight terrorism and cyber warfare as it is to fight more conventional forms of war. And I've agreed to continue my efforts to encourage my fellow European leaders to deliver on their commitments to spend 2 percent of their GDP on defense so that the burden is more fairly shared. It's only by investing properly in our defense that we can ensure we're properly equipped to face our shared challenges together. And finally, the President and I have mentioned future economic cooperation and trade. Trade between our two countries is already worth over \$150 billion pounds a year. The U.S. is the singlebiggest source of inward investment to the UK, and together we've around \$1 trillion invested in each other's economies. And the UK-U.S. defense relationship is the broadest, deepest, and most advanced of any two countries sharing military hardware and expertise. And I think the President and I are ambitious to build on this relationship in order to grow our respective economies, provide the highskilled, high-paid jobs of the future for working people across America and across

the UK. And so we are discussing how we can establish a trade negotiation agreement, take forward immediate, high-level talks, lay the groundwork for a UK-U.S. trade agreement, and identify the practical steps we can take now in order to enable companies in both countries to trade and do business with one another more easily. And I'm convinced that a trade deal between the U.S. and the UK is in the national interest of both countries and will cement the crucial relationship that exists between us, particularly as the UK leaves the European Union and reaches out to the world. Today's talks I think are a significant moment for President Trump and I to build our relationship. And I look forward to continuing to work with you as we deliver on the promises of freedom and prosperity for all the people of our respective countries."

# **Text 2. Remarks by President Trump at National Prayer Breakfast -** Issued on: February 2, 2017

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Mark. So nice. (Applause.) Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you very much. It's a great honor to be here this morning. And so many faith leaders — very, very important people to me — from across our magnificent nation, and so many leaders from all across the globe. Today we continue a tradition begun by President Eisenhower some 64 years ago. This gathering is a testament to the power of faith, and is one of the great customs of our nation, and I hope to be here seven more times with you. (Laughter and applause.) I want very much to thank our co-chairs, Senator Bowzman and Senator Coons, and all of the congressional leadership — they're all over the place. We have a lot of very distinguished guests. And we have one guest who was just sworn in last night — Rex Tillerson, Secretary of State. (Applause.) Going to do a great job. Some people didn't like Rex because he actually got along with leaders of the world. I said, no, you have to understand, that's a good thing. (Laughter.) That's a good thing, not a bad thing. He's respected all over the world, and I think he's going to go down as one of our great, great secretaries. We appreciate it. Thank you, thank you, Rex. (Applause.) Thank you as well to Senate Chaplain Barry Black for his

moving words. And I don't know, Chaplain, whether or not that's an appointed position. Is that an appointed position? I don't even know if you're a Democrat or if you're a Republican, but I'm appointing you for another year — the hell with it. (Laughter and applause.) And I think it's not even my appointment, it's the Senate's appointment, but we'll talk to them. Your son is here. Your job is very, very secure, okay? (Laughter.) Thank you, Barry. Appreciate it very much.

I also want to thank my great friends, though, Roma. Where's Roma? Beautiful Roma Downey. The voice of an angel. She's got the voice — every time I hear it, that voice is so beautiful. Everything is so beautiful about Roma, including her husband because he's a special, special friend, Mark Burnett — for the wonderful introduction. So true. So true. I said to the agent, I'm sorry. The only thing more — I actually got on the phone and fired him myself because he said, you don't want to do it, it'll never work, it'll never, ever work. You don't want to do it. I said, listen — but I really fired him after it became the number-one show. It became so successful, and he wanted a commission, and he didn't want to do it. That's what I really said. (Laughter.)

But we had tremendous success on "The Apprentice." And when I ran for President, I had to leave the show. That's when I knew for sure I was doing it. And they hired a big, big movie star — Arnold Schwarzenegger — to take my place. And we know how that turned out. (Laughter.) The ratings went right down the tubes. It's been a total disaster. And Mark will never, ever bet against Trump And I want to just pray for Arnold, if we can, for those ratings, again. okay? (Laughter.) But we've had an amazing life together, the last 14, 15 And an outstanding man, and thank you very much for introducing years. me. Appreciate it. It's a great honor. (Applause.) I also want to thank my dear friend, Vice President Mike Pence, who has been incredible. (Applause.) And incredible wife, Karen. And every time I was in a little trouble with something, where they were questioning me, they'd say, but he picked Mike Pence — (laughter) — so he has to know what he's doing. And it's true, he's been — you know, on the scale of 0 to 10, I rate him a 12, okay? So I want to thank you. Thank

you very much. Apprentice it. (Applause.) But most importantly today, I want to thank the American people. Your faith and prayers have sustained me and inspired me through some very, very tough times. All around America, I have met amazing people whose words of worship and encouragement have been a constant source of strength. What I hear most often as I travel the country are five words that never, ever fail to touch my heart. That's: "I am praying for you." I hear it so often — "I am praying for you, Mr. President." (Applause.)

No one has inspired me more in my travels than the families of the United States military, men and women who have put their lives on the line every day for their country and their countrymen. I just came back yesterday from Dover Air Force Base to join the family of Chief William "Ryan" Owens, as America's fallen hero was returned home. Very, very sad, but very, very beautiful. Very, very beautiful. His family was there. Incredible family, loved him so much. So devastated — he was so devastated. But the ceremony was amazing. He died in defense of our nation. He gave his life in defense of our people. Our debt to him and our debt to his family is eternal and everlasting.

"Greater love hath no man than this: that a man lay down his life for his friends." We will never forget the men and women who wear the uniform, believe me. (Applause.) Thank you. From generation to generation, their vigilance has kept our liberty alive. Our freedom is won by their sacrifice, and our security has been earned with their sweat and blood and tears. God has blessed this land to give us such incredible heroes and patriots. They are very, very special, and we are going to take care of them. (Applause.)

Our soldiers understand that what matters is not party or ideology or creed, but the bonds of loyalty that link us all together as one. America is a nation of believers. In towns all across our land, it's plain to see what we easily forget — so easily we forget this — that the quality of our lives is not defined by our material success, but by our spiritual success. I will tell you that. And I tell you that from somebody that has had material success and knows tremendous numbers of people with great

material success — the most material success. Many of those people are very, very miserable, unhappy people. And I know a lot of people without that, but they have great families, they have great faith. They don't have money — at least not nearly to the extent — and they're happy. Those to me are the successful people, I have to tell you. (Applause.) I was blessed to be raised in a churched home. My mother and father taught me that to whom much is given much is expected. I was sworn in on the very bible from which my mother would teach us as young children. And that faith lives on in my heart every single day.

The people in this room come from many, many backgrounds. You represent so many religions and so many views. But we are all united by our faith in our Creator and our firm knowledge that we are all equal in His eyes. We are not just flesh and bone and blood. We are human beings, with souls. Our Republic was formed on the basis that freedom is not a gift from government, but that freedom is a gift from God. (Applause.) It was the great Thomas Jefferson who said, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty." Jefferson asked, "Can the liberties of a nation be secure when we have removed a conviction that these liberties are the gift of God?" Among those freedoms is the right to worship according to our own beliefs. That is why I will get rid of, and totally destroy, the Johnson Amendment and allow our representatives of faith to speak freely and without fear of retribution. I will do that — remember. (Applause.)

Freedom of religion is a sacred right, but it is also a right under threat all around us, and the world is under serious, serious threat in so many different ways. And I've never seen it so much and so openly as since I took the position of President. The world is in trouble, but we're going to straighten it out. Okay? That's what I do. I fix things. We're going to straighten it out. (Applause.) Believe me. When you hear about the tough phone calls I'm having, don't worry about it. Just don't worry about it. (Laughter.) They're tough. We have to be tough. It's time we're going to be a little tough, folks. We're taken advantage of by every nation in the world, virtually. It's not going to happen anymore. It's not going to happen anymore. We have seen unimaginable violence carried out in the name of religion. Acts of

wanton slaughter against religious minorities. Horrors on a scale that defy description. Terrorism is a fundamental threat to religious freedom. It must be stopped, and it will be stopped. It may not be pretty for a little while. It will be stopped. (Applause.)

We have seen — and, by the way, General, as you know, James "Mad Dog" — I shouldn't say it in this room — Mattis. Now, there's a reason they call him "Mad Dog Mattis" — he never lost a battle. Always wins them and always wins them fast. He's our new Secretary of Defense who will be working with Rex. He's right now in South Korea, going to Japan, going to some other spots. And I'll tell you what, I've gotten to know him really well. He's the real deal. We have somebody who's the real deal working for us, and that's what we need. So, you watch. You just watch. (Applause.) Things will be different. We have seen peace-loving Muslims brutalized, victimized, murdered and oppressed by ISIS killers. We have seen threats of extermination against the Jewish people. We have seen a campaign of ISIS and genocide against Christians, where they cut off heads. Not since the Middle Ages have we seen that. We haven't seen that, the cutting off of heads. Now they cut off their heads, they drown people in steel cages. Haven't seen this — I haven't seen this. Nobody has seen this for many, many years. All nations have a moral obligation to speak out against such violence. All nations have a duty to work together to confront it and to confront it viciously, if we have to. So I want to express clearly today to the American people that my administration will do everything in its power to defend and protect religious liberty in our land. America must forever remain a tolerant society where all faiths are respected, and where all of our citizens can feel safe and secure. We have to feel safe and secure.

In recent days, we have begun to take necessary action to achieve that goal. Our nation has the most generous immigration system in the world. But these are those and there are those that would exploit that generosity to undermine the values that we hold so dear. We need security. There are those who would seek to enter our country for the purpose of spreading violence or oppressing other people based

upon their faith or their lifestyle. Not right. We will not allow a beachhead of intolerance to spread in our nation. You look all over the world and you see what's happening.

So in the coming days, we will develop a system to help ensure that those admitted into our country fully embrace our values of religious and personal liberty, and that they reject any form of oppression and discrimination. We want people to come into our nation, but we want people to love us and to love our values — not to hate us and to hate our values. We will be a safe country. We will be a free country. And we will be a country where all citizens can practice their beliefs without fear of hostility or fear of violence. America will *flourish* as long as our liberty and, in particular, our religious liberty is allowed to flourish. (Applause.) America will succeed as long as our most vulnerable citizens — and we have some that are so vulnerable — have a path to success. And America will thrive as long as we continue to have faith in each other and faith in God. (Applause.)

That faith in God has inspired men and women to sacrifice for the needy, to deploy to wars overseas, and to lock arms at home, to ensure equal rights for every man, woman and child in our land. It's that faith that sent the pilgrims across the oceans, the pioneers across the plains, and the young people all across America to chase their dreams. They are chasing their dreams. We are going to bring those dreams back. As long as we have God, we are never, ever alone. Whether it's the soldier on the night watch or the single parent on the night shift, God will always give us solace and strength and comfort. We need to carry on and to keep carrying on. For us here in Washington, we must never, ever stop asking God for the wisdom to serve the public according to his will. That's why — (applause) — thank you. That's why President Eisenhower and Senator Carlson had the wisdom to gather together 64 years ago to begin this truly great tradition. But that's not all they did together. Let me tell you the rest of the story. Just one year later, Senator Carlson was among the members of Congress to send to the President's desk a joint resolution that added "under God" to our Pledge of Allegiance. That's a great thing. (Applause.) Because that's what we are and that is what we will always be,

and that is what our people want: one beautiful nation, under God. Thank you. God bless you. And God bless America. Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you. (Applause.) END 9:30 A.M. EST

#### Text 3. President Trump's Weekly Address - Issued on: February 3, 2017

My fellow Americans, This week I nominated Neil Gorsuch for the United States Supreme Court. Judge Gorsuch is one of the most qualified people ever to be nominated for this post. He is a graduate of Columbia, Harvard and Oxford. He is a man of principle. He has an impeccable resume. He is widely respected by everyone. And, Judge Gorsuch's proven track record upholding the Constitution makes him the ideal person to fill the vacancy left by the late, great Antonin Scalia, a truly fabulous justice. Ten years ago, the Senate unanimously approved Judge Gorsuch's nomination to serve on the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals. I urge members of both parties to support Judge Gorsuch and, in so doing, to protect our laws and our freedoms. This week we also took significant action to roll back the massive regulation that is devastating our economy and crippling American companies and jobs. That's why I have issued a new executive order to create a permanent structure of regulatory reduction. This order requires that for every 1 new regulation, 2 old regulations must—and I mean must—be eliminated. It's out of control.

The January employment report shows that the private sector added 237,000 jobs last month. A lot of that has to do with the spirit our country now has. Job growth far surpassed expectations in January, and the labor force participation also grew, so you can be encouraged about the progress of our economy. It's going to be a whole new ball game. But there is still much work to do. That I can tell you. Also this week, on the first day of Black History Month, I was pleased to host African American leaders at the White House. We are determined to deliver more opportunity, jobs and safety for the African-American citizens of our country.

America can really never, ever *rest* until children of every color are fully included in the American Dream—so important. I think, probably, one of my most and maybe my most important goal. It is our mutual duty and obligation to make sure this happens.

At Dover Air Force Base on Wednesday I joined the family of Chief Special Warfare Operator William "Ryan" Owens as our fallen hero was returned home. A great man. Chief Owens gave his life for his country and for our people. Our debt to him and his family, a beautiful family, is eternal. God has truly blessed this nation to have given us such a brave and selfless patriot as Ryan. We will never forget him. We will never ever forget those who serve. Believe me. And I will never forget that my responsibility is to keep you—the American people—safe and free. That's why last week I signed an executive order to help keep terrorists out of our country. The executive order establishes a process to develop new vetting and mechanisms to ensure those coming into America love and support our people. That they have good intentions. On every single front, we are working to deliver for American workers and American families. You, the law-abiding citizens of this country, are my total priority. Your safety, your jobs and your wages guide our decisions. We are here to serve you, the great and loyal citizens of the United States of America. The forgotten men and women will be never be forgotten again. Because from now on, it's going to be America First. That's how I got elected, that's why you voted for me, and I will never forget it. God Bless You, and God Bless America.

# **Text 4. Remarks by President Trump at MCCA Winter Conference** - February 8, 2017

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. This is — great to be with people I truly feel comfortable with. Please sit down. They'll say I didn't get a standing ovation because they never sat down. (Laughter.) And I say, I got one standing ovation because they never sat down. But I want to thank you. I have great, great love for

what you do and the way you do it. And when I'm with the police chiefs and I'm with the sheriffs of our country — and these are the big ones. These are the really big ones. I just want to thank you very much. And I thought before I spoke about what we're really here to speak about, I would read something to you. Because you can be a lawyer, or you don't have to be a lawyer; if you were a good student in high school or a bad student in high school, you can understand this. And it's really incredible to me that we have a court case that's going on so long. As you know, in Boston, we won it with a highly respected judge and a very strong opinion, but now we're in an era that, let's just say, they are interpreting things differently than probably 100 percent of the people in this room. I'd like to almost know, does anybody disagree when I read this. But I'm going to read what's in dispute, what's in question. And you will see this — it's INA 212(f) 8 U.S.C. 1182(f): "Suspension of entry or imposition of restrictions by the President" — okay, now, this isn't just me, this is for Obama, for Ronald Reagan, for the President. And this was done, very importantly, for security — something you people know more about than all of us. It was done for the security of our nation, the security of our citizens, so that people come in who aren't going to do us harm. And that's why it was done. And it couldn't have been written any more precisely. It's not like, oh, gee, we wish it were written better. It was written beautifully. So just listen, here's what it says. This is what they're arguing: "Whenever the President finds that the entry of any aliens" — okay, the entry, the entry of any aliens — "or of any class of aliens" so any aliens, any class of aliens — "into the United States" — so the entry of people into the United States. Let's say, just to be precise, of aliens into the United States.

So any time — "whenever the President finds that the entry of any alien or any class of aliens into the United States would be detrimental to the interests of the United States" — right? So if I find, as President, that a person or group of people will be detrimental to the interests of the United States — and certainly there's lots of examples that we have, but you shouldn't even have them, necessarily — he may be — and "he may by proclamation, and for such period as he shall deem necessary..." Now, the only mistake is they should have said "he or she." But

hopefully, it won't be a she for at least another seven years. After that, I'm all—(laughter and applause.) See? I just noticed that, actually. I just noticed it. I'm saying, whoa, this is not politically correct. It's correct, but it's not politically correct, you know, this is the old days.

He may by proclamation and for such period as he shall deem necessary — so here it is, people coming in — suspend the entry of all aliens. Right? That's what it says. It's not like — again, a bad high school student would understand this. Anybody would understand this. Suspend the entry of all aliens or any class of aliens as immigrants or non-immigrants, or impose on the entry of aliens. Okay, so you can suspend the aliens, right? You can suspend the aliens from coming in — very strong — or impose on the entry of aliens any restrictions he may deem to be appropriate. Okay. So you can suspend, you can put restrictions, you can do whatever you want. And this is for the security of the country — which, again, you're the chiefs, you're the sheriffs. You understand this. And I listened to lawyers on both sides last night, and they were talking about things that had just nothing to do with it. I listened to a panel of judges, and I'll comment on that — I will not comment on the statements made by certainly one judge. But I have to be honest that if these judges wanted to, in my opinion, help the court in terms of respect for the court, they'd what they should be doing. I mean, it's so sad.

They should be — when you read something so simple and so beautifully written, and so perfectly written — other than the one statement, of course, having to do with he or she — but when you read something so perfectly written and so clear to anybody, and then you have lawyers and you watched — I watched last night in amazement, and I heard things that I couldn't believe, things that really had nothing to do with what I just read. And I don't ever want to call a court biased, so I won't call it biased. And we haven't had a decision yet. But courts seem to be so political, and it would be so great for our justice system if they would be able to read a statement and do what's right. And that has to do with the security of our country, which is so important.

Right now, we are at risk because of what happened. General Kelly is an extremely talented man and a very good man — now Secretary Kelly, Homeland Security. We are doing our job. He's a great man. (Applause.) We're doing our job. And one of the reasons you probably heard that we did it so quickly — in fact, I said, let's give a one-month notice, and then law enforcement — and General Kelly was so great because he said, we totally knew about it. We knew about everything. We do things well. We did things right. But the law enforcement people said to me, oh, you can't give a notice, because if you give a notice that you're going to be really tough in one month from now, or in one week from now — I suggested a month and I said, well, what about a week? They said, no, you can't do that, because then people are going to pour in before the toughness goes on. Do you people agree? I mean, you know more about law than anybody, law enforcement. (Applause.)

So I wanted to give, like, a month. Then I said, well, what about a week? They said, well, then you're going to have a whole pile of people perhaps — perhaps — with very evil intentions coming in before the restrictions. So there it is, folks. It's as plain as you can have it. I didn't — and I was a good student. I understand things. I comprehend very well, okay? Better than I think almost anybody. And I want to tell you, I listened to a bunch of stuff last night on television that was disgraceful. It was disgraceful. Because what I just read to you is what we have, and it just can't be written any plainer or better. And for us to be going through this — and, by the way, a highly, highly respected judge in Boston ruled very strongly in our favor. You heard that. In fact, I said to my people, why don't you use the Boston case? And there were reasons why they couldn't use the Boston case. This one came later for various reasons. But use the Boston case. And I won't read that, but there were statements made by that judge — who, again, highly respected — that were right on. They were perfect. They were perfect.

So I think it's sad. I think it's a sad day. I think our security is at risk today. And it will be at risk until such time as we are entitled and get what we are entitled to as citizens of this country. As chiefs, as sheriffs of this country, we want security. One of the reasons I was elected was because of law and order and security. It's one of

the reasons I was elected. Also jobs and lots of other things. But I think one of the strongest reasons is security. And they're taking away our weapons one by one, that's what they're doing. And you know it and I know it, and you people have been very unhappy for a long period of time. And I can read the polls maybe better than anybody because it seems that I understood the polls a lot better than many of the pollsters understood the polls — assuming they were honest polls, which I think probably many of them weren't. I really believe that. (Applause.) But we need security in our country. We have to allow you folks to do your job. You're great people, great people. Great men and women. And we have to allow you to do your job. And we have to give you the weapons that you need. And this is a weapon that you need. And they're trying to take it away from you, maybe because of politics or maybe because of political views. We can't let that happen. So with that, let's get on to business, right? It's really something. Thank you. (Applause.)

I want to thank Sheriff Sandra Hutchens and Chief Tom Manger for your leadership and, frankly, for the service. You have had great service. Everyone has told me about you two legendary people. All of us here today are united by one shared mission: to serve and protect the public of the United States. During my campaign for President, I had the chance to spend time with law enforcement officials all across our country. They are the most incredible people you will ever meet. And I just wanted to say to all of them right now, from the bottom of my heart, thank you, thank you, thank you. (Applause.) There are many actions we in the federal government can take to help improve safety in your communities. But I believe that community safety begins with moral leadership. Our police officers, sheriffs and deputies risk their lives every day. And they're entitled to an administration that has their back. (Applause.) The first step in restoring public safety is affirming our confidence in the men and women charged with upholding our laws. And I'm going to add justices, judges in that category. And I'm very proud to have picked Judge Gorsuch, who I think is going to be an outstanding member of the Supreme Court — outstanding. (Applause.) So I'd like to begin my remarks with a declaration issued to all of you, and delivered to every member of the law enforcement community all across the United States. My message today is that you have a true,

true friend in the White House. You have. (Applause.) I stand with you. I support our police. I support our sheriffs. And we support the men and women of law enforcement. (Applause.)

Right now, many communities in America are facing a public safety crisis. Murders in 2015 experienced their largest single-year increase in nearly half a century. In 2016, murders in large cities continued to climb by double digits. In many of our biggest cities, 2016 brought an increase in the number of homicides, rapes, assaults and shootings. In Chicago, more than 4,000 people were shot last year alone, and the rate so far this year has been even higher. What is going on in Chicago? We cannot allow this to continue. We've allowed too many young lives to be claimed — and you see that, you see that all over — claimed by gangs, and too many neighborhoods to be crippled by violence and fear. Sixty percent of murder victims under the age of 22 are African American. This is a national tragedy, and it requires national action. This violence must end, and we must all work together to end it. Whether a child lives in Detroit, Chicago, Baltimore, or anywhere in our country, he or she has the right to grow up in safety and in peace. No one in America should be punished because of the city where he or she is born. Every child in America should be able to play outside without fear, walk home without danger, and attend a school without being worried about drugs or gangs or violence.

So many lives and so many people have been cut short. Their potential, their life has been cut short. So much potential has been sidelined. And so many dreams have been shattered and broken, totally broken. It's time to stop the drugs from pouring into our country. And, by the way, we will do that. And I will say this: General, now Secretary, Kelly will be the man to do it, and we will give him a wall. And it will be a real wall. (Applause.) And a lot of things will happen very positively for your cities, your states, believe me. *The wall is getting designed right now. A lot of people say, oh, oh, Trump was only kidding with the wall.* I wasn't kidding. I don't kid. I don't kid. I watch this, and they say I was kidding. No, I don't kid. I don't kid about things like that, I can tell you. No, we will have a wall. It will be a great wall, and it will do a lot of — will be a big help. Just ask Israel about walls.

Do walls work? Just ask Israel. They work — if it's properly done. It's time to dismantle the gangs terrorizing our citizens, and it's time to ensure that every young American can be raised in an environment of decency, dignity, love and support. You have asked for the resources, tools and support you need to get the job done. We will do whatever we can to help you meet those demands. That includes a zero tolerance policy for acts of violence against law enforcement. (Applause.) We all see what happens. We all see what happens and what's been happening to you. It's not fair.

We must protect those who protect us. The number of officers shot and killed in the line of duty last year increased by 56 percent from the year before. Last year, in Dallas, police officers were targeted for execution — think of this. Who ever heard of this? They were targeted for execution. Twelve were shot and five were killed. These heroic officers died as they lived — protecting the innocent, rushing into danger, risking their lives for people they did not even know, but for people that they were determined to save. Hats off to you people. These slain officers are an eternal monument to all of the men and women who protect our streets and serve our public. We will not forget them, and we will not forget all of the others who made that final sacrifice in the line of duty. God has blessed our nation to put these heroes among us. Those who serve in law enforcement work long hours. You work long hours. I know so many sheriffs, so many chiefs, so many police who work long hours and dangerous hours, oftentimes in difficult conditions and for not that much pay relative to what you're doing. They do it because they care.

We must work with them, not against them. They're working against you. For many years they've been working against you. We must support them, not undermine them. And instead of division and disunity — and which is so much disunity — we must build bridges of partnership and of trust. Those who demonize law enforcement or who use the actions of a few to discredit the service of many are hurting the very people they say that they want to help. When policing is reduced, crime is increased, and our poorest citizens suffer the most. And I see it all the time. When the number of police goes down, crime goes up.

To build needed trust between law enforcement and the communities they serve, it is not enough for us to merely talk to each other. We must listen to each other. All of us share the view that those in uniform must be held to the highest possible standard of conduct — so important. You're the role models to young Americans all across this country, many of whom want to go into law enforcement, many of whom want to be a sheriff or a police chief, many of whom — they have great respect for you. Tremendous respect. You don't even realize it, but I will tell you, they have great respect and admiration for the people in this room and the people that you represent. And don't let anyone ever tell you different. Don't let the dishonest media try and convince you that it's different than that, because it's not. (Applause.) That is why our commitment to law and law enforcement also includes ensuring that we are giving departments the resources they need to train, recruit and retain talent. As part of our commitment to safe communities, we will also work to address the mental health crisis. Prisons should not be a substitute for treatment. We will fight to increase access to life-saving treatment to battle the addiction to drugs, which is afflicting our nation like never ever before — ever. (Applause.)

I've been here two weeks. I've met a lot of law enforcement officials. Yesterday, I brought them into the Oval Office. I asked a group, what impact do drugs have in terms of a percentage on crime? They said, 75 to 80 percent. That's pretty sad. We're going to stop the drugs from pouring in. We're going to stop those drugs from poisoning our youth, from poisoning our people. We're going to be ruthless in that fight. We have no choice. (Applause.) And we're going to take that fight to the drug cartels and work to liberate our communities from their terrible grip of violence. You have the power and knowledge to tell General Kelly — now Secretary Kelly — who the illegal immigrant gang members are. Now, you have that power because you know them, you're there, you're local. You know the illegals, you know them by their first name, you know them by their nicknames. You have that power. The federal government can never be that precise. But you're in the neighborhoods — you know the bad ones, you know the good ones.

I want you to turn in the bad ones. Call Secretary Kelly's representatives and we'll get them out of our country and bring them back where they came from, and we'll do it fast. You have to call up the federal government, Homeland Security, because so much of the problems — you look at Chicago and you look at other places. So many of the problems are caused by gang members, many of whom are not even legally in our country. And we will work with you on the frontlines to keep America safe from terrorism, which is what I began this with. Terrorism — a tremendous threat, far greater than people in our country understand. Believe me. I've learned a lot in the last two weeks. And terrorism is a far greater threat than the people of our country understand. But we're going to take care of it. We're going to win. We're going to take care of it, folks. Let today be the beginning of a great national partnership. Let today serve as a great call to action. And let this moment represent a new beginning in relations between law enforcement and our communities. I want you to know the American public totally stands with you. I want you to know the American people support you. I want you to know how proud we are, truly proud, to know you. We applaud your efforts. We thank you for your service. And we promise that you will always find an open door at the White House — an open invitation to our great cops and sheriffs nationwide. They're great people. You are great people. Thank you. God bless you. And God bless America. Thank you very much. Thank you. (Applause.) END 9:44 A.M. EST

# Text 5. Remarks by President Trump and Prime Minister Netanyahu of Israel in Joint Press Conference Issued on: February 15, 2017

PRESIDENT TRUM: Thank you very much. Thank you. Today I have the honor of welcoming my friend, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, to the White House. With this visit, the United States again reaffirms our unbreakable bond with our cherished ally, Israel. The partnership between our two countries built on our shared values has advanced the cause of human freedom, dignity and peace. *These are the building blocks of democracy*. *The state of Israel is a symbol* to the world of

resilience in the face of oppression — I can think of no other state that's gone through what they've gone — and of survival in the face of genocide. We will never forget what the Jewish people have endured. Your perseverance in the face of hostility, your open democracy in the face of violence, and your success in the face of tall odds is truly inspirational. The security challenges faced by Israel are enormous, including the threat of Iran's nuclear ambitions, which I've talked a lot about. One of the worst deals I've ever seen is the Iran deal. My administration has already imposed new sanctions on Iran, and I will do more to prevent Iran from ever developing — I mean ever — a nuclear weapon. Our security assistance to Israel is currently at an all-time high, ensuring that Israel has the ability to defend itself from threats of which there are unfortunately many. Both of our countries will continue and grow. We have a long history of cooperation in the fight against terrorism and the fight against those who do not value human life. America and Israel are two nations that cherish the value of all human life.

This is one more reason why I reject unfair and one-sided actions against Israel at the United Nations — just treated Israel, in my opinion, very, very unfairly — or other international forums, as well as boycotts that target Israel. Our administration is committed to working with Israel and our common allies in the region towards greater security and stability. That includes working toward a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. The United States will encourage a peace and, really, a great peace deal. We'll be working on it very, very diligently. Very important to me also — something we want to do. But it is the parties themselves who must directly negotiate such an agreement. We'll be beside them; we'll be working with them. As with any successful negotiation, both sides will have to make compromises. You know that, right? (Laughter.)

PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU: Both sides. PRESIDENT TRUMP: I want the Israeli people to know that the United States stands with Israel in the struggle against terrorism. As you know, Mr. Prime Minister, our two nations will always condemn terrorist acts. Peace requires nations to uphold the dignity of human life and to be a voice for all of those who are endangered and forgotten. Those are the

ideals to which we all, and will always, aspire and commit. This will be the first of many productive meetings. And I, again, Mr. Prime Minister, thank you very much for being with us today. Mr. Prime Minister, thank you.

PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU: President Trump, thank you for the truly warm hospitality you and Melania have shown me, my wife Sara, our entire delegation. I deeply value your friendship. To me, to the state of Israel, it was so clearly evident in the words you just spoke — Israel has no better ally than the United States. And I want to assure you, the United States has no better ally than Israel. Our alliance has been remarkably strong, but under your leadership I'm confident it will get even stronger. I look forward to working with you to dramatically upgrade our alliance in every field — in security, in technology, in cyber and trade, and so many others. And I certainly welcome your forthright call to ensure that Israel is treated fairly in international forums, and that the slander and boycotts of Israel are resisted mightily by the power and moral position of the United States of America.

As you have said, our alliance is based on a deep bond of common values and common interests. And, increasingly, those values and interests are under attack by one malevolent force: radical Islamic terror. Mr. President, you've shown great clarity and courage in confronting this challenge head-on. You call for confronting Iran's terrorist regime, preventing Iran from realizing this terrible deal into a nuclear arsenal. And you have said that the United States is committed to preventing Iran from getting nuclear weapons. You call for the defeat of ISIS. Under your leadership, I believe we can reverse the rising tide of radical Islam. And in this great task, as in so many others, Israel stands with you and I stand with you.

Mr. President, in rolling back militant Islam, we can seize an historic opportunity — because, for the first time in my lifetime, and for the first time in the life of my country, Arab countries in the region do not see Israel as an enemy, but, increasingly, as an ally. And I believe that under your leadership, this change in our region creates an unprecedented opportunity to strengthen security and advance

peace. Let us seize this moment together. Let us bolster security. Let us seek new avenues of peace. And let us bring the remarkable alliance between Israel and the United States to even greater heights. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. President. PRESIDENT TRUMP: Thank you. Again, thank you. We'll take a couple of questions. David Brody, Christian Broadcasting. David.

Q Thank you, Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister. Both of you have criticized the Iran nuclear deal, and at times even called for its repeal. I'm wondering if you're concerned at all as it relates to not just the National Security Advisor, Michael Flynn, who is recently no longer here, but also some of those events that have been going on with communication in Russia — if that is going to hamper this deal at all, and whether or not it would keep Iran from becoming a nuclear state. And secondly, on the settlement issue, are you both on the same page? How do you exactly term that as it relates to the settlement issue? Thank you.

PRESIDENT TRUMP: Michael Flynn, General Flynn is a wonderful man. I think he's been treated very, very unfairly by the media — as I call it, the fake media, in many cases. And I think it's really a sad thing that he was treated so badly. I think, in addition to that, from intelligence — papers are being leaked, things are being leaked. It's criminal actions, criminal act, and it's been going on for a long time before me. But now it's really going on, and people are trying to cover up for a terrible loss that the Democrats had under Hillary Clinton. I think it's very, very unfair what's happened to General Flynn, the way he was treated, and the documents and papers that were illegally — I stress that — illegally leaked. Very, very unfair. As far as settlements, I'd like to see you hold back on settlements for a little bit. We'll work something out. But I would like to see a deal be made. I think a deal will be made. I know that every President would like to. Most of them have not started until late because they never thought it was possible. And it wasn't possible because they didn't do it. But Bibi and I have known each other a long time — a smart man, great negotiator. And I think we're going to make a deal. It might be a bigger and better deal than people in this room even understand. That's a possibility. So let's see what we do.

PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU: Let's try it. PRESIDENT TRUMP: Doesn't sound too optimistic, but — (laughter) — he's a good negotiator. PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU: That's the "art of the deal." (Laughter.) PRESIDENT TRUMP: I also want to thank — I also want to thank — Sara, could you please stand up? You're so lovely and you've been so nice to Melania. I appreciate it very much. (Applause.) Thank you. Your turn. PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU: Yes, please. Go ahead. Q Thank you very much. Mr. President, in your vision for the new Middle East peace, are you ready to give up the notion of two-state solution that was adopted by previous administration? And will you be willing to hear different ideas from the Prime Minister, as some of his partners are asking him to do, for example, annexation of parts of the West Bank and unrestricted settlement constructions? And one more question: Are you going to fulfill your promise to move the U.S. embassy in Israel to Jerusalem? And if so, when? And, Mr. Prime Minister, did you come here tonight to tell the President that you're backing off the two-state solution? Thank you.

PRESIDENT TRUMP: So I'm looking at two-state and one-state, and I like the one that both parties like. (Laughter.) I'm very happy with the one that both parties like. I can live with either one. I thought for a while the two-state looked like it may be the easier of the two. But honestly, if Bibi and if the Palestinians — if Israel and the Palestinians are happy, I'm happy with the one they like the best. As far as the embassy moving to Jerusalem, I'd love to see that happen. We're looking at it very, very strongly. We're looking at it with great care — great care, believe me. And we'll see what happens. Okay?

PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU: Thank you. I read yesterday that an American official said that if you ask five people what two states would look like, you'd get eight different answers. Mr. President, if you ask five Israelis, you'd get 12 different answers. (Laughter.) But rather than deal with labels, I want to deal with substance. It's something I've hoped to do for years in a world that's absolutely fixated on labels and not on substance. So here's the substance: There are two prerequisites for peace that I laid out two years — several years ago, and they haven't changed.

First, the Palestinians must recognize the Jewish state. They have to stop calling for Israel's destruction. They have to stop educating their people for Israel's destruction. Second, in any peace agreement, Israel must retain the overriding security control over the entire area west of the Jordan River. Because if we don't, we know what will happen — because otherwise we'll get another radical Islamic terrorist state in the Palestinian areas exploding the peace, exploding the Middle East. Now, unfortunately, the Palestinians vehemently reject both prerequisites for peace. First, they continue to call for Israel's destruction — inside their schools, inside their mosques, inside the textbooks. You have to read it to believe it. They even deny, Mr. President, our historical connection to our homeland. And I suppose you have to ask yourself: Why do — why are Jews called Jews? Well, the Chinese are called Chinese because they come from China. The Japanese are called Japanese because they come from Japan. Well, Jews are called Jews because they come from Judea. This is our ancestral homeland. Jews are not foreign colonialists in Judea. So, unfortunately, the Palestinians not only deny the past, they also poison the present. They name public squares in honor of mass murderers who murdered Israelis, and I have to say also murdered Americans. They fund — they pay monthly salaries to the families of murderers, like the family of the terrorist who killed Taylor Force, a wonderful young American, a West Point graduate, who was stabbed to death while visiting Israel.

So this is the source of the conflict — the persistent Palestinian refusal to recognize the Jewish state in any boundary; this persistent rejection. That's the reason we don't have peace. Now, that has to change. I want it to change. Not only have I not abandoned these two prerequisites of peace; they've become even more important because of the rising tide of fanaticism that has swept the Middle East and has also, unfortunately, infected Palestinian society. So I want this to change. I want those two prerequisites of peace — substance, not labels — I want them reinstated. But if anyone believes that I, as Prime Minister of Israel, responsible for the security of my country, would blindly walk into a Palestinian terrorist state that seeks the destruction of my country, they're gravely mistaken. The two prerequisites of peace — recognition of the Jewish state, and Israel's security needs west of the Jordan —

they remain pertinent. We have to look for new ways, new ideas on how to reinstate them and how to move peace forward. And I believe that the great opportunity for peace comes from a regional approach from involving our newfound Arab partners in the pursuit of a broader peace and peace with the Palestinians. And I greatly look forward to discussing this in detail with you, Mr. President, because I think that if we work together, we have a shot.

PRESIDENT TRUMP: And we have been discussing that, and it is something that is very different, hasn't been discussed before. And it's actually a much bigger deal, a much more important deal, in a sense. It would take in many, many countries and it would cover a very large territory. So I didn't know you were going to be mentioning that, but that's — now that you did, I think it's a terrific thing and I think we have some pretty good cooperation from people that in the past would never, ever have even thought about doing this. So we'll see how that works out. Katie from Townhall. Where's Katie? Right there. Katie. Q Thank you, Mr. President. You said in your earlier remarks that both sides will have to make compromises when it comes to a peace deal. You've mentioned a halt on settlements. Can you lay out a few more specific compromises that you have in mind, both for the Israelis and for the Palestinians? And, Mr. Prime Minister, what expectations do you have from the new administration about how to either amend the Iran nuclear agreement or how to dismantle it altogether, and how to overall work with the new administration to combat Iran's increased aggression, not only in the last couple of months but the past couple of years as well?

PRESIDENT TRUMP: It's actually an interesting question. I think that the Israelis are going to have to show some flexibility, which is hard, it's hard to do. They're going to have to show the fact that they really want to make a deal. I think our new concept that we've been discussing actually for a while is something that allows them to show more flexibility than they have in the past because you have a lot bigger canvas to play with. And I think they'll do that.

I think they very much would like to make a deal or I wouldn't be happy and I wouldn't be here and I wouldn't be as optimistic as I am. I really think they — I can tell you from the standpoint of Bibi and from the standpoint of Israel, I really believe they want to make a deal and they'd like to see the big deal. I think the Palestinians have to get rid of some of that hate that they're taught from a very young age. They're taught tremendous hate. I've seen what they're taught. And you can talk about flexibility there too, but it starts at a very young age and it starts in the school room. And they have to acknowledge Israel — they're going to have to do that. There's no way a deal can be made if they're not ready to acknowledge a very, very great and important country. And I think they're going to be willing to do that also. But now I also believe we're going to have, Katie, other players at a very high level, and I think it might make it easier on both the Palestinians and Israel to get something done. Okay? Thank you. Very interesting question. Thank you.

PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU: You asked about Iran. One thing is preventing Iran from getting nuclear weapons — something that President Trump and I think are deeply committed to do. And we are obviously going to discuss that. I think, beyond that, President Trump has led a very important effort in the past few weeks, just coming into the presidency. He pointed out there are violations, Iranian violations on ballistic missile tests. By the way, these ballistic missiles are inscribed in Hebrew, "Israel must be destroyed." The Palestinian — rather the Iranian Foreign Minister Zarif said, well, our ballistic missiles are not intended against any country. No. They write on the missile in Hebrew, "Israel must be destroyed." So challenging Iran on its violations of ballistic missiles, imposing sanctions on Hezbollah, preventing them, making them pay for the terrorism that they foment throughout the Middle East and beyond, well beyond — I think that's a change that is clearly evident since President Trump took office. I welcome that. I think it's let me say this very openly: I think it's long overdue, and I think that if we work together — and not just the United States and Israel, but so many others in the region who see eye to eye on the great magnitude and danger of the Iranian threat, then I think we can roll back Iran's aggression and danger. And that's something

that is important for Israel, the Arab states, but I think it's vitally important for America. These guys are developing ICBMs. They're developing — they want to get to a nuclear arsenal, not a bomb, a hundred bombs. And they want to have the ability to launch them everywhere on Earth, and including, and especially, eventually, the United States. So this is something that is important for all of us. I welcome the change, and I intend to work with President Trump very closely so that we can thwart this danger. PRESIDENT TRUMP: Great. Do you have somebody? PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU: Moav (ph)?

Q Mr. President, since your election campaign and even after your victory, we've seen a sharp rise in anti-Semitic incidents across the United States. And I wonder what you say to those among the Jewish community in the States, and in Israel, and maybe around the world who believe and feel that your administration is playing with xenophobia and maybe racist tones. And, Mr. Prime Minister, do you agree to what the President just said about the need for Israel to restrain or to stop settlement activity in the West Bank? And a quick follow-up on my friend's questions — simple question: Do you back off from your vision to the end of the conflict of two-state solution as you laid out in Bar-Ilan speech, or you still support it? Thank you.

PRESIDENT TRUMP: Well, I just want to say that we are very honored by the victory that we had — 306 Electoral College votes. We were not supposed to crack 220. You know that, right? There was no way to 221, but then they said there's no way to 270. And there's tremendous enthusiasm out there. I will say that we are going to have peace in this country. We are going to stop crime in this country. We are going to do everything within our power to stop long-simmering racism and every other thing that's going on, because lot of bad things have been taking place over a long period of time. I think one of the reasons I won the election is we have a very, very divided nation. Very divided. And, hopefully, I'll be able to do something about that. And, you know, it was something that was very important to me. As far as people — Jewish people — so many friends, a daughter who happens to be here right now, a son-in-law, and three beautiful grandchildren. I think that you're going to see a lot different United States of America over the next three,

four, or eight years. I think a lot of good things are happening, and you're going to see a lot of love. You're going to see a lot of love. Okay? Thank you.

PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU: I believe that the issue of the settlements is not the core of the conflict, nor does it really drive the conflict. I think it's an issue, it has to be resolved in the context of peace negotiations. And I think we also are going to speak about it, President Trump and I, so we can arrive at an understanding so we don't keep on bumping into each other all the time on this issue. And we're going to discuss this. On the question you said, you just came back with your question to the problem that I said. It's the label. What does Abu Mazen mean by two states, okay? What does he mean? A state that doesn't recognize the Jewish state? A state that basically is open for attack against Israel? What are we talking about? Are we talking about Costa Rica, or are we talking about another Iran? So obviously it means different things. I told you what are the conditions that I believe are necessary for an agreement: It's the recognition of the Jewish state and it's Israel's — Israel's — security control of the entire area. Otherwise we're just fantasizing. Otherwise we'll get another failed state, another terrorist Islamist dictatorship that will not work for peace but work to destroy us but also destroy any hope — any hope — for a peaceful future for our people. So I've been very clear about those conditions, and they haven't changed. I haven't changed. If you read what I said eight years ago, it's exactly that. And I repeated that again, and again, and again. If you want to deal with labels, deal with labels. I'll deal with substance. And finally, if I can respond to something that I know from personal experience. I've known President Trump for many years, and to allude to him, or to his people — his team, some of whom I've known for many years, too. Can I reveal, Jared, how long we've known you? (Laughter.) Well, he was never small. He was always big. He was always tall. But I've known the President and I've known his family and his team for a long time, and there is no greater supporter of the Jewish people and the Jewish state than President Donald Trump. I think we should put that to rest. PRESIDENT TRUMP: Thank you very much. Very nice. I appreciate that very **MINISTER** NETANYAHU: Thank much. **PRIME** you. **END** 12:42 P.M. EST

#### Text 6. Remarks by President Trump in Meeting with the National Governors Association

Issued on: February 27, 2017

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. (Applause.) That is pretty good, I'll tell you. Coming from governors, I can't really — I can't even believe it. That's so impressive. And I very much appreciate you being here. And thank you to Vice President Pence. He has been so wonderful to work with. He's a real talent, a real guy. And he is central casting, do we agree? Central casting. He's been great. (Applause.) Good morning, everybody, and welcome back to the White House. The First Lady and I were very, very happy last night to host you. We saw some real talent, military talent, musicians who were fantastic. And everybody enjoyed it. (Applause.) I'm very proud to have so many former governors in my Cabinet. Vice President Pence, as you know, big governor from a very great state — I state I like very much — Indiana. Nikki Haley at the U.N. — is Nikki here someplace? I think so — yes. We have Rick Perry — is going before. We're trying to get people approved, we can't get them out. But Rick is going to do a fantastic job. Sonny Purdue will be joining the Cabinet very soon. Terry Branstad will be our ambassador to China. And an interesting story on Terry — every time I spoke in Iowa, he'd say, please don't say anything bad about China. (Laughter.) I said, what do you mean? What do you mean? He said, I like China and we do a lot of business with China. "And really, just don't" — and I said, "hmm." So when it came down to picking an ambassador, I called him up, I said, you like China. And I can tell you, China is very, very happy with our choice. So we made everybody happy. (Applause.) Right? These governors — thank you. And thank you, Terry.

These governors have been bold reformers, and their success shows why we need to make states the laboratories of democracy once again. Many of you have shared past frustrations with waiting for permission from the federal government and agencies — and I understand that, and I've had many people tell me about it, and it's been catastrophic for some of your states. You know your citizens and you know they want things done. But they don't get things done and it's not your fault.

Sometimes it's your fault, but they understand that. But sometimes it's not your fault. We're going to speed it up. Because that's not how a partnership is supposed to work. The government should not stand in your way in delivering needed reforms and services — and it won't. We're going to move very, very quickly, environmentally, with Scott and so many others that are involved in the process of regulation. We are going to be cutting — we're going to be doing the right thing. We're going to be protecting people environmentally and safety-wise, but we're going to be moving it quickly, very quickly. (Applause.) And speaking of that, I know many of you — and I've spoken to some of you last night about it — have many projects that are — I mean, just literally tied up because of environmental concerns, and it's been in for years and years and years the project your state wants, great for employment — everybody wants them — and they couldn't get them out of environmental protection. And we will get them out. Now, that doesn't mean they're going to be approved, but they'll be rejected quickly one way or the other. They'll be either rejected quickly or they're going to get approved. I would say most will be approved, but you're going to know you're not going to wait nine years or eleven years — some of the horror stories that I've heard. Under my administration, we're going to have a true partnership of collaboration and cooperation. We will get to the answers and we will get them quickly, and the flexibility you need to implement the reforms that you are going to have in order to make decision-making proper and decision-making fast. So we're going to do both those things — proper and fast.

One of the most important responsibilities for the federal government is the budget of the United States. My first budget will be submitted to the Congress next month. This budget will be a public safety and national security budget, very much based on those two with plenty of other things, but very strong. And it will include a historic increase in defense spending to rebuild the depleted military of the United States of America at a time we most need it. (Applause.) And you'll be hearing about that tomorrow night in great detail. This is a landmark event, a message to the world, in these dangerous times, of American strength, security and resolve. We must ensure that our courageous servicemen and women have the tools they need

to deter war, and when called upon to fight in our name only do one thing: Win. We have to win. We have to start winning wars again. I have to say, when I was young, in high school and college, everybody used to say "we haven't lost a war" — we never lost a war — you remember. Some of you were right there with me, and you remember we never lost a war. America never lost. And now we never win a war. We never win. And we don't fight to win. We don't fight to win. So we either got to win, or don't fight it at all. But where we are — 17 years — almost 17 years of fighting in the Middle East. I saw a chart the other day — as of about a month ago, \$6 trillion we've spent in the Middle East — \$6 trillion. And I want to tell you, that's just unacceptable. And we're nowhere. Actually, if you think about it, we're less than nowhere. The Middle East is far worse than it was 16, 17 years ago. There's not even a contest. So we've spent \$6 trillion. We have a hornet's nest. It's a mess like you've never seen before. We're nowhere. So we're going to straighten it out.

This defense spending increase will be offset and paid for by finding greater savings and efficiencies across the federal government. We're going to do more with less. I got involved in an airplane contract, I got involved in some other contracts, and we cut the hell out of the prices. I mean, we saved a lot of money, tremendous amount of money, beyond anything that the generals that were involved — they said they'd never seen anything like this before. On one plane, on a small order of one plane, I saved \$725 million. And I would say I devoted about, if I added it up, all those calls, probably about an hour. So I think that might be my highest and best use. (Laughter.) Because if we can do that, our budget will be — might be my highest and best. (Applause.) And there are many other places; it's all the same. And in one way, that's a good thing because we have an answer. And David is going to do a fantastic job at the VA. I see David is sitting there, shaking his head. Stand up, David. (Applause.) So we can't get our people through Cabinet, but he went through — was it 95 to nothing? SECRETARY SHULKIN: A hundred to zero.

THE PRESIDENT: How the hell did you do that? (Laughter.) Boy, oh boy. He must be good. You were the one. One hundred to zero, wow. Chose you — hey, we can

do it. But we do — we have still quite a few Cabinet members, and they're just in limbo waiting and waiting. It's like obstruction. It's obstruction. But eventually we'll get them, and they'll put their people in, and we'll get those agencies, et cetera, to work. We're going to do more with less and make the government lean and accountable to the people. We can do so much more with the money we spend. With \$20 trillion in debt — can you imagine that — the government must *learn to tighten its belt*, something families all across the country have had to learn to do, unfortunately. But they've had to learn to do it, and they've done it well.

My budget increases spending, and the increase in all spending, for federal law enforcement also. And activities having to do with law enforcement will be substantially increased. And we will fight violent crime. If you look at what's happening in our cities, you look at what's happening in Chicago, what's going on in Chicago — we will fight violent crime, and we will win. And we'll win that one fairly quickly. Once we give the local police, the local law enforcement the right to go in and fight it, and we back them monetarily and also otherwise, we're going to win that one. We're going to win it fairly quickly, I believe. My budget also puts America first by keeping tax dollars in America to help veterans and first responders. So important. This budget follows through on my promise to focus on keeping Americans safe, keeping out terrorists, keeping out criminals, and putting violent offenders behind bars, or removing them from our country altogether. And I must say that we've been treated very well — very, very well — on the job that General Kelly has done at the border. It's tough, it's strong. I was talking last night to Terry McAuliffe, and he said, you have to mention this — because he met with — where is Terry? He's around here someplace. Terry — he met with General Kelly, and I think I can say you were impressed with General Kelly. And he said, you have to get the point out that they're removing the bad ones. And that's where our focus is — it's the bad ones. We're getting some very, very bad players out of this country — drug lords, gang members, heads of gangs, killers, murderers we're getting them out. That's what we're focused on.

The press isn't covering that, unfortunately, but it's something that is very important. We're getting the bad ones out. And that's always where I said I was going to start. I was going to start with these bad players. And they are bad. They are rough and tough, and we're getting them the hell out of our country, and we're bringing them to where they started out. Let their country do what they have to do with them. So the budget, which is going to be a very big part of tomorrow night's speech, it's going to be I think a budget of great rationality. But it's going to have to do with military, safety, economic development, and things such as that. Great detail tomorrow night. We're also going to do whatever we can to restore the authority of the states when that is the appropriate thing to do. We're going to give you back a lot of the powers that have been taken away from states and great people and great governors. And you can control it better than the federal government because you're right on top of it. You have something that's controllable. So I think that's going to be very important. You see that already taking effect.

We have to let the states compete and to see who has the best solutions. They know the best how to spend their dollars and how to take care of the people within each state. And the states are different, and people are different. So the governors are going to have a lot more decision-making ability than they have right now. All states will benefit from our economic agenda. We will reduce taxes very, very substantially, and simplify the tax code. We're also going to make taxes between countries much more fair. We're one of the only countries in the world that people can sell their product into us and have no tax, no nothing, and they get rich. And yet if you want to do business with them, you'll have taxes, I've seen, as high as 100 percent. So they sell into us, no problem; we sell into them — because we don't sell them because the tax is so high that they don't want us to sell into them. So I know that's always been a point of contention, but to me it's just fair. It's just fair. It's reciprocal. It's fair. And so we're going to be doing a lot of work on that, and that's becoming a very, very important factor — fairness. Because I believe in free trade. I want so much trade — somebody said, oh, maybe he's a total nationalist which I am, in a true sense — but I want trade. I want great trade between countries. But the word "free" is very deceiving, because it's good for them, it's not good for

us. I want fair trade. And if we're going to be taxed, they should be taxed at the same amount, the other countries. And one of two things is going to happen: We're going to make a lot of money or the other country is going to get rid of its tax. And that's good, too, because now the product, like Harley-Davidson — I was talking to them — the product will now flow into other countries where right now they can't do it.

So we're going to make it easier for states to invest in infrastructure, and I'm going to have a big statement tomorrow night on infrastructure. We spent \$6 trillion in the Middle East, and we have potholes all over our highways and our roads. I have a friend who is in the trucking business. He said, my trucks are destroyed going from New York to Los Angeles. They're destroyed. He said, I'm not going to get the good trucks. He always prided himself on buying the best equipment. He said, the roads are so bad that, by the time we make the journey from New York to Los Angeles or back, he said the equipment is just beat to hell. I said, when has it been like that before? He said, it's never — he's been in the business for 40 years — he said it's never been like that. Forty years — never been like that. So we're going to take care of that.

Infrastructure — we're going to start spending on infrastructure big. And it's not like we have a choice. It's not like, oh, gee, let's hold it off. Our highways, our bridges are unsafe. Our tunnels — I mean, we have tunnels in New York where the tiles are on the ceiling, and you see many tiles missing. And you wonder, you know, you're driving at 40 miles an hour, 50 miles an hour through a tunnel. Take a look at the Lincoln Tunnel and the Queens-Midtown Tunnel, and you're driving, and you see all this loose material that's heavy. And it was made many years ago, so it's heavy. Today, it's light. It used to be better. The problem is, you got to hold it up. And I say to myself — every time I drive through, I say, I wonder how many people are hurt or injured when they are driving at 40, 50 miles an hour through a tunnel, and the tile falls off. And there are so many missing tiles and such loose concrete. So we have to fix our infrastructure. It's not like we have a choice. We have no choice, and we're going to do it, and it also happens to mean jobs, which

is a good thing. We're going to repeal and replace Obamacare, and get states the flexibility that they need to make the end result really, really good for them. A very complicated issue. We have Tom Price, just got confirmed — sitting here. (Applause.) Stand up, Tom. And I spent a lot of time with Governor Walker and Governor Rick Scott the other day — we were talking about it. They're really very expert on the subject, and I want to thank them. They spent a lot of time with me. Governor Christie who's here someplace. Where's Chris? Governor Christie, thank you. And so we have a lot of talent and a lot of expertise here, I will tell you. And we have come up with a solution that's really, really, I think, very good.

Now, I have to tell you, it's an unbelievably complex subject. Nobody knew that healthcare could be so complicated. And statutorily and for budget purposes, as you know, we have to do healthcare before we do the tax cut. The tax cut is going to be major, it's going to be simple, and the whole tax plan is wonderful. But I can't do it until we do healthcare because we have to know what the healthcare is going to cost. And, statutorily, that's the way it is. So for those people that say, oh, gee, I wish we could do the tax first — it just doesn't work that way. I would like to do that first. It's actually — tax cutting has never been that easy, but it's a tiny, little ant compared to what we're talking about with Obamacare. And you have to remember — and I say this to Democrats in the room — of which we have many — Obamacare has failed. If you go to Minnesota, where they had a 66-percent increase, and the governor of Minnesota, who is with us today, said, Obamacare — the Affordable Care Act — is no longer affordable — something to that effect. I think that might be it exactly. But the Affordable Care Act is no longer affordable. Obamacare has failed.

I say to the Republicans, if you really want to do politically something good, don't do anything. Sit back for a period of two years, because '17 is going to be a disaster — a disaster — for Obamacare if we don't do something. Let it be a disaster because we can blame that on the Dems that are in our room, and we can blame that on the Democrats and President Obama. Let it implode, and then let it implode in '18 even worse. Don't do anything, and they will come begging for us to do something. But

that's not the fair thing to do for the people. It's not the fair thing. Politically, I think it would be a great solution, because as soon as we touch it, if we do the most minute thing — just a tiny, little change — what's going to happen? They're going to say, it's the Republicans' problem. That's the way it is. But we have to do what's right because Obamacare is a failed disaster. And it's interesting, it's sort of like, when you see — you see it with politicians, you see it with President Obama — when you know he's getting out of office and the clock is ticking, and he's not going to be there, his approval rating goes way up, even though, you know, not that active in the last period of time. The approval rating goes up. That's not him; that's like almost everybody. I see it happening with Obamacare. People hate it, but now they see that the end is coming, and they're saying, oh, maybe we love it. There's nothing to love. It's a disaster, folks, okay? So you have to remember that. And, very importantly, we are going to work to restore local control to our nation's education system. Betsy is here someplace, and she is going to be, I think, fantastic. (Applause.) I think she's going to be fantastic. Stand up, Betsy. Betsy feels so strongly, and she has had such support from so many people. You know, you don't see that too much because you see the anti, you never see the positive. But I can tell you, I've had so many calls while she was going through that horrible process. That was a tough, tough, nasty process. And she hung in, she was as strong as you get. But so many people were calling Betsy, saying you will do such a fantastic job once you get it.

It's like sometimes I'd say, it's much tougher to get into Harvard than it is to stay there. Does that make sense? It's tougher to get into the Wharton School of Finance — you can't get in. But if you get in, it's fine, you get through, right? I think you're going to do a fantastic job, and we're very proud of you. And you took a lot of heat, but you're going to do great. So she wants to bring decision-making powers back to parents, back to the families and back to the states, where they can really control education. And just finally, I'm looking forward to working with you on these projects and so much more. We're going to do these projects and so many more. And I thank you all again for being here. It's going to be a really productive discussion — so productive that I'm going to ask the press to start leaving because

I wouldn't want them to see any great, productive session. (Laughter.) But they'll be seeing it and hearing about it. Again, thank you very much all for being at the White House. We'll do this many times. I want the opinions of the governors of the states of the United States. So I want to just thank you all for being here, and let's take some questions, okay? (Applause.) Thank you. END 10:05 A.M. EST

**Text 7. Remarks by President Trump in Joint Address to Congress -** Issued on: February 28, 2017

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of Congress, the First Lady of the United States — (applause) — and citizens of America: Tonight, as we mark the conclusion of our celebration of Black History Month, we are reminded of our nation's path towards civil rights and the work that still remains to be done. (Applause.) Recent threats targeting Jewish community centers and vandalism of Jewish cemeteries, as well as last week's shooting in Kansas City, remind us that while we may be a nation divided on policies, we are a country that stands united in condemning hate and evil in all of its very ugly forms. (Applause.)

Each American generation passes the torch of truth, liberty and justice in an unbroken chain all the way down to the present. That torch is now in our hands. And we will use it to light up the world. I am here tonight to deliver a message of unity and strength, and it is a message deeply delivered from my heart. A new chapter — (applause) — of American Greatness is now beginning. A new national pride is sweeping across our nation. And a new surge of optimism is placing impossible dreams firmly within our grasp. What we are witnessing today is the renewal of the American spirit. Our allies will find that America is once again ready to lead. (Applause.) All the nations of the world — friend or foe — will find that America is strong, America is proud, and America is free. In nine years, the United States will celebrate the 250th anniversary of our founding — 250 years

since the day we declared our independence. It will be one of the great milestones in the history of the world. But what will America look like as we reach our 250th year? What kind of country will we leave for our children? I will not allow the mistakes of recent decades past to define the course of our future. For too long, we've watched our middle class shrink as we've exported our jobs and wealth to foreign countries. We've financed and built one global project after another, but ignored the fates of our children in the inner cities of Chicago, Baltimore, Detroit, and so many other places throughout our land. We've defended the borders of other nations while leaving our own borders wide open for anyone to cross and for drugs to pour in at a now unprecedented rate. And we've spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas, while our infrastructure at home has so badly crumbled. Then, in 2016, the Earth shifted beneath our feet. The rebellion started as a quiet protest, spoken by families of all colors and creeds — families who just wanted a fair shot for their children and a fair hearing for their concerns. But then the quiet voices became a loud chorus as thousands of citizens now spoke out together, from cities small and large, all across our country. Finally, the chorus became an earthquake, and the people turned out by the tens of millions, and they were all united by one very simple, but crucial demand: that America must put its own citizens first. Because only then can we truly make America great again. (Applause.)

Dying industries will come roaring back to life. Heroic veterans will get the care they so desperately need. Our military will be given the resources its brave warriors so richly deserve. Crumbling infrastructure will be replaced with new roads, bridges, tunnels, airports and railways gleaming across our very, very beautiful land. Our terrible drug epidemic will slow down and, ultimately, stop. And our neglected inner cities will see a rebirth of hope, safety and opportunity. Above all else, we will keep our promises to the American people. (Applause.) It's been a little over a month since my inauguration, and I want to take this moment to update the nation on the progress I've made in keeping those promises. Since my election, Ford, Fiat-Chrysler, General Motors, Sprint, Softbank, Lockheed, Intel, Walmart and many others have announced that they will invest billions and billions of dollars

in the United States, and will create tens of thousands of new American jobs. (Applause.)

The stock market has gained almost \$3 trillion in value since the election on November 8th, a record. We've saved taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars by bringing down the price of a fantastic — and it is a fantastic — new F-35 jet fighter, and we'll be saving billions more on contracts all across our government. We have placed a hiring freeze on non-military and non-essential federal workers. We have begun to drain the swamp of government corruption by imposing a five-year ban on lobbying by executive branch officials and a lifetime ban — (applause) — thank you — and a lifetime ban on becoming lobbyists for a foreign government. We have undertaken a historic effort to massively reduce job-crushing regulations, creating a deregulation task force inside of every government agency. (Applause.) And we're imposing a new rule which mandates that for every one new regulation, two old regulations must be eliminated. (Applause.) We're going to stop the regulations that threaten the future and livelihood of our great coal miners. (Applause.) We have cleared the way for the construction of the Keystone and Dakota Access Pipelines — (applause) — thereby creating tens of thousands of jobs. And I've issued a new directive that new American pipelines be made with American steel. (Applause.)

We have withdrawn the United States from the job-killing Trans-Pacific Partnership. (Applause.) And with the help of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, we have formed a council with our neighbors in Canada to help ensure that women entrepreneurs have access to the networks, markets and capital they need to start a business and live out their financial dreams. (Applause.) To protect our citizens, I have directed the Department of Justice to form a Task Force on Reducing Violent Crime. I have further ordered the Departments of Homeland Security and Justice, along with the Department of State and the Director of National Intelligence, to coordinate an aggressive strategy to dismantle the criminal cartels that have spread all across our nation. (Applause.) We will stop the drugs from pouring into our

country and poisoning our youth, and we will expand treatment for those who have become so badly addicted. (Applause.)

At the same time, my administration has answered the pleas of the American people for immigration enforcement and border security. (Applause.) By finally enforcing our immigration laws, we will raise wages, help the unemployed, save billions and billions of dollars, and make our communities safer for everyone. (Applause.) We want all Americans to succeed, but that can't happen in an environment of lawless chaos. We must restore integrity and the rule of law at our borders. (Applause.) For that reason, we will soon begin the construction of a great, great wall along our southern border. (Applause.) As we speak tonight, we are removing gang members, drug dealers, and criminals that threaten our communities and prey on our very innocent citizens. Bad ones are going out as I speak, and as I promised throughout the campaign. To any in Congress who do not believe we should enforce our laws, I would ask you this one question: What would you say to the American family that loses their jobs, their income, or their loved one because America refused to uphold its laws and defend its borders? (Applause.)

Our obligation is to serve, protect, and defend the citizens of the United States. We are also taking strong measures to protect our nation from radical Islamic terrorism. (Applause.) According to data provided by the Department of Justice, the vast majority of individuals convicted of terrorism and terrorism-related offenses since 9/11 came here from outside of our country. We have seen the attacks at home — from Boston to San Bernardino to the Pentagon, and, yes, even the World Trade Center. We have seen the attacks in France, in Belgium, in Germany, and all over the world. It is not compassionate, but reckless to allow uncontrolled entry from places where proper vetting cannot occur. (Applause.) Those given the high honor of admission to the United States should support this country and love its people and its values. We cannot allow a beachhead of terrorism to form inside America. We cannot allow our nation to become a sanctuary for extremists. (Applause.) That is why my administration has been working on improved vetting procedures, and we will shortly take new steps

to keep our nation safe and to keep out those out who will do us harm. (Applause.) As promised, I directed the Department of Defense to develop a plan to demolish and destroy ISIS — a network of lawless savages that have slaughtered Muslims and Christians, and men, and women, and children of all faiths and all beliefs. We will work with our allies, including our friends and allies in the Muslim world, to extinguish this vile enemy from our planet. (Applause.) I have also imposed new sanctions on entities and individuals who support Iran's ballistic missile program, and reaffirmed our unbreakable alliance with the State of Israel. (Applause.) Finally, I have kept my promise to appoint a justice to the United States Supreme Court, from my list of 20 judges, who will defend our Constitution. (Applause.)

I am greatly honored to have Maureen Scalia with us in the gallery tonight. (Applause.) Thank you, Maureen. Her late, great husband, Antonin Scalia, will forever be a symbol of American justice. To fill his seat, we have chosen Judge Neil Gorsuch, a man of incredible skill and deep devotion to the law. He was confirmed unanimously by the Court of Appeals, and I am asking the Senate to swiftly approve his nomination. (Applause.) Tonight, as I outline the next steps we must take as a country, we must honestly acknowledge the circumstances we inherited. Ninety-four million Americans are out of the labor force. Over 43 million people are now living in poverty, and over 43 million Americans are on food stamps. More than one in five people in their prime working years are not working. We have the worst financial recovery in 65 years. In the last eight years, the past administration has put on more new debt than nearly all of the other Presidents combined. We've lost more than one-fourth of our manufacturing jobs since NAFTA was approved, and we've lost 60,000 factories since China joined the World Trade Organization in 2001. Our trade deficit in goods with the world last year was nearly \$800 billion dollars. And overseas we have inherited a series of tragic foreign policy disasters. Solving these and so many other pressing problems will require us to work past the differences of party. It will require us to tap into the American spirit that has overcome every challenge throughout our long and storied history. But to accomplish our goals at home and abroad, we must restart the engine of the American economy — making it easier for companies to

do business in the United States, and much, much harder for companies to leave our country. (Applause.)

Right now, American companies are taxed at one of the highest rates anywhere in the world. My economic team is developing historic tax reform that will reduce the tax rate on our companies so they can compete and thrive anywhere and with anyone. (Applause.) It will be a big, big cut. At the same time, we will provide massive tax relief for the middle class. We must create a level playing field for American companies and our workers. We have to do it. (Applause.) Currently, when we ship products out of America, many other countries make us pay very high tariffs and taxes. But when foreign companies ship their products into America, we charge them nothing, or almost nothing. I just met with officials and workers from a great American company, Harley-Davidson. In fact, they proudly displayed five of their magnificent motorcycles, made in the USA, on the front lawn of the White House. ((Laughter and applause.) And they wanted me to ride one and I said, "No, thank you." (Laughter.) At our meeting, I asked them, how are you doing, how is business? They said that it's good. I asked them further, how are you doing with other countries, mainly international sales? They told me — without even complaining, because they have been so mistreated for so long that they've become used to it — that it's very hard to do business with other countries because they tax our goods at such a high rate. They said that in the case of another country, they taxed their motorcycles at 100 percent. They weren't even asking for a change. But I am. (Applause.)

I believe strongly in free trade but it also has to be fair trade. It's been a long time since we had fair trade. The first Republican President, Abraham Lincoln, warned that the "abandonment of the protective policy by the American government... will produce want and ruin among our people." Lincoln was right — and it's time we heeded his advice and his words. (Applause.) I am not going to let America and its great companies and workers be taken advantage of us any longer. They have taken advantage of our country. No longer. (Applause.) I am going to bring back millions of jobs. Protecting our workers also means reforming our system of legal

immigration. (Applause.) The current, outdated system depresses wages for our poorest workers, and puts great pressure on taxpayers. Nations around the world, like Canada, Australia and many others, have a merit-based immigration system. (Applause.) It's a basic principle that those seeking to enter a country ought to be able to support themselves financially. Yet, in America, we do not enforce this rule, straining the very public resources that our poorest citizens rely upon. According to the National Academy of Sciences, our current immigration system costs American taxpayers many billions of dollars a year. Switching away from this current system of lower-skilled immigration, and instead adopting a meritbased system, we will have so many more benefits. It will save countless dollars, raise workers' wages, and help struggling families — including immigrant families — enter the middle class. And they will do it quickly, and they will be very, very happy, indeed. (Applause.) I believe that real and positive immigration reform is possible, as long as we focus on the following goals: To improve jobs and wages for Americans; to strengthen our nation's security; and to restore respect for our laws. If we are guided by the wellbeing of American citizens, then I believe Republicans and Democrats can work together to achieve an outcome that has eluded our country for decades. (Applause.) Another Republican President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, initiated the last truly great national infrastructure program — the building of the Interstate Highway System. The time has come for a new program of national rebuilding. (Applause.) America has spent approximately \$6 trillion in the Middle East — all the while our infrastructure at home is crumbling. With this \$6 trillion, we could have rebuilt our country twice, and maybe even three times if we had people who had the ability to negotiate. (Applause.) To launch our national rebuilding, I will be asking Congress to approve legislation that produces a \$1 trillion investment in infrastructure of the United States — financed through both public and private capital — creating millions of new jobs. (Applause.) This effort will be guided by two core principles: buy American and hire American. (Applause.) Tonight, I am also calling on this Congress to repeal and replace Obamacare — (applause) — with reforms that expand choice, increase access, lower costs, and, at the same time, provide better healthcare. (Applause.)

Mandating every American to buy government-approved health insurance was never the right solution for our country. (Applause.) The way to make health insurance available to everyone is to lower the cost of health insurance, and that is what we are going do. (Applause.) Obamacare premiums nationwide have increased by double and triple digits. As an example, Arizona went up 116 percent last year alone. Governor Matt Bevin of Kentucky just said Obamacare is failing in his state — the state of Kentucky — and it's unsustainable and collapsing. Onethird of counties have only one insurer, and they are losing them fast. They are losing them so fast. They are leaving, and many Americans have no choice at all. There's no choice left. Remember when you were told that you could keep your doctor and keep your plan? We now know that all of those promises have been totally broken. Obamacare is collapsing, and we must act decisively to protect all Americans. (Applause.) Action is not a choice, it is a necessity. So I am calling on all Democrats and Republicans in Congress to work with us to save Americans from this imploding Obamacare disaster. (Applause.) Here are the principles that should guide the Congress as we move to create a better healthcare system for all Americans:

First, we should ensure that Americans with preexisting conditions have access to coverage, and that we have a stable transition for Americans currently enrolled in the healthcare exchanges. (Applause.) Secondly, we should help Americans purchase their own coverage through the use of tax credits and expanded Health Savings Accounts — but it must be the plan they want, not the plan forced on them by our government. (Applause.) Thirdly, we should give our great state governors the resources and flexibility they need with Medicaid to make sure no one is left out. (Applause.) Fourth, we should implement legal reforms that protect patients and doctors from unnecessary costs that drive up the price of insurance, and work to bring down the artificially high price of drugs, and bring them down immediately. (Applause.) And finally, the time has come to give Americans the freedom to purchase health insurance across state lines — (applause) — which will create a truly competitive national marketplace that will bring costs way down and provide far better care. So important. Everything that is broken in our country can

be fixed. Every problem can be solved. And every hurting family can find healing and hope. Our citizens deserve this, and so much more — so why not join forces and finally get the job done, and get it done right? (Applause.) On this and so many other things, Democrats and Republicans should get together and unite for the good of our country and for the good of the American people. (Applause.)

My administration wants to work with members of both parties to make childcare accessible and affordable, to help ensure new parents that they have paid family leave — (applause) — to invest in women's health, and to promote clean air and clean water, and to rebuild our military and our infrastructure. (Applause.) True love for our people requires us to find common ground, to advance the common good, and to cooperate on behalf of every American child who deserves a much brighter future. An incredible young woman is with us this evening, who should serve as an inspiration to us all. Today is Rare Disease Day, and joining us in the gallery is a rare disease survivor, Megan Crowley. (Applause.) Megan was diagnosed with Pompe disease, a rare and serious illness, when she was 15 months old. She was not expected to live past five. On receiving this news, Megan's dad, John, fought with everything he had to save the life of his precious child. He founded a company to look for a cure, and helped develop the drug that saved Megan's life. Today she is 20 years old and a sophomore at Notre Dame. (Applause.) Megan's story is about the unbounded power of a father's love for a daughter. But our slow and burdensome approval process at the Food and Drug Administration keeps too many advances, like the one that saved Megan's life, from reaching those in need. If we slash the restraints, not just at the FDA but across our government, then we will be blessed with far more miracles just like Megan. (Applause.) In fact, our children will grow up in a nation of miracles. But to achieve this future, we must enrich the mind and the souls of every American child. Education is the civil rights issue of our time. (Applause.) I am calling upon members of both parties to pass an education bill that funds school choice for disadvantaged youth, including millions of African American and Latino children. (Applause.) These families should be free to choose the public, private, charter, magnet, religious, or home school that is right for them. (Applause.)

Joining us tonight in the gallery is a remarkable woman, Denisha Merriweather. As a young girl, Denisha struggled in school and failed third grade twice. But then she was able to enroll in a private center for learning — a great learning center — with the help of a tax credit and a scholarship program. Today, she is the first in her family to graduate, not just from high school, but from college. Later this year she will get her master's degree in social work. We want all children to be able to break the cycle of poverty just like Denisha. (Applause.) But to break the cycle of poverty, we must also break the cycle of violence. The murder rate in 2015 experienced its largest single-year increase in nearly half a century. In Chicago, more than 4,000 people were shot last year alone, and the murder rate so far this year has been even higher. This is not acceptable in our society. (Applause.)

Every American child should be able to grow up in a safe community, to attend a great school, and to have access to a high-paying job. (Applause.) But to create this future, we must work with, not against — not against — the men and women of law enforcement. (Applause.) We must build bridges of cooperation and trust — not drive the wedge of disunity and, really, it's what it is, division. It's pure, unadulterated division. We have to unify. Police and sheriffs are members of our community. They're friends and neighbors, they're mothers and fathers, sons and daughters — and they leave behind loved ones every day who worry about whether or not they'll come home safe and sound. We must support the incredible men and women of law enforcement. (Applause.) And we must support the victims of crime. I have ordered the Department of Homeland Security to create an office to serve American victims. The office is called VOICE — Victims of Immigration Crime Engagement. We are providing a voice to those who have been ignored by our media and silenced by special interests. (Applause.) Joining us in the audience tonight are four very brave Americans whose government failed them. Their names are Jamiel Shaw, Susan Oliver, Jenna Oliver, and Jessica Davis. Jamiel's 17-yearold son was viciously murdered by an illegal immigrant gang member who had just been released from prison. Jamiel Shaw, Jr. was an incredible young man, with unlimited potential who was getting ready to go to college where he would have excelled as a great college quarterback. But he never got the chance. His father,

who is in the audience tonight, has become a very good friend of mine. Jamiel, thank you. Thank you. (Applause.) Also with us are Susan Oliver and Jessica Davis. Their husbands, Deputy Sheriff Danny Oliver and Detective Michael Davis, were slain in the line of duty in California. They were pillars of their community. These brave men were viciously gunned down by an illegal immigrant with a criminal record and two prior deportations. Should have never been in our country. Sitting with Susan is her daughter, Jenna. Jenna, I want you to know that your father was a hero, and that tonight you have the love of an entire country supporting you and praying for you. (Applause.) To Jamiel, Jenna, Susan and Jessica, I want you to know that we will never stop fighting for justice. Your loved ones will never, ever be forgotten. We will always honor their memory. (Applause.) Finally, to keep America safe, we must provide the men and women of the United States military with the tools they need to prevent war — if they must — they have to fight and they only have to win. (Applause.)

I am sending Congress a budget that rebuilds the military, eliminates the defense sequester — (applause) — and calls for one of the largest increases in national defense spending in American history. My budget will also increase funding for our veterans. Our veterans have delivered for this nation, and now we must deliver for them. (Applause.) The challenges we face as a nation are great, but our people are even greater. And none are greater or braver than those who fight for America in uniform. (Applause.) We are blessed to be joined tonight by Carryn Owens, the widow of a U.S. Navy Special Operator, Senior Chief William "Ryan" Owens. Ryan died as he lived: a warrior and a hero, battling against terrorism and securing our nation. (Applause.) I just spoke to our great General Mattis, just now, who reconfirmed that — and I quote — "Ryan was a part of a highly successful raid that generated large amounts of vital intelligence that will lead to many more victories in the future against our enemies." Ryan's legacy is etched into eternity. Thank you. (Applause.) And Ryan is looking down, right now — you know that and he is very happy because I think he just broke a record. (Laughter and applause.) For as the Bible teaches us, "There is no greater act of love than to lay down one's life for one's friends." Ryan laid down his life for his friends, for his

country, and for our freedom. And we will never forget Ryan. (Applause.) To those allies who wonder what kind of a friend America will be, look no further than the heroes who wear our uniform. Our foreign policy calls for a direct, robust and meaningful engagement with the world. It is American leadership based on vital security interests that we share with our allies all across the globe.

We strongly support NATO, an alliance forged through the bonds of two world wars that dethroned fascism, and a Cold War, and defeated communism. (Applause.) But our partners must meet their financial obligations. And now, based on our very strong and frank discussions, they are beginning to do just that. In fact, I can tell you, the money is pouring in. Very nice. (Applause.) We expect our partners — whether in NATO, the Middle East, or in the Pacific — to take a direct and meaningful role in both strategic and military operations, and pay their fair share of the cost. Have to do that. We will respect historic institutions, but we will respect the foreign rights of all nations, and they have to respect our rights as a nation also. (Applause.) Free nations are the best vehicle for expressing the will of the people, and America respects the right of all nations to chart their own path. My job is not to represent the world. My job is to represent the United States of America. (Applause.) But we know that America is better off when there is less conflict, not more. We must learn from the mistakes of the past. We have seen the war and the destruction that have ravaged and raged throughout the world — all across the world. The only long-term solution for these humanitarian disasters, in many cases, is to create the conditions where displaced persons can safely return home and begin the long, long process of rebuilding. (Applause.)

America is willing to find new friends, and to forge new partnerships, where shared interests align. We want harmony and stability, not war and conflict. We want peace, wherever peace can be found. *America is friends today with former enemies*. Some of our closest allies, decades ago, fought on the opposite side of these terrible, terrible wars. This history should give us all faith in the possibilities for a better world. Hopefully, the 250th year for America will see a world that is more peaceful, more just, and more free. On our 100th anniversary, in 1876, citizens

from across our nation came to Philadelphia to celebrate America's centennial. At that celebration, the country's builders and artists and inventors showed off their wonderful creations. Alexander Graham Bell displayed his telephone for the first time. Remington unveiled the first typewriter. An early attempt was made at electric light. Thomas Edison showed an automatic telegraph and an electric pen. Imagine the wonders our country could know in America's 250th year. (Applause.)

Think of the marvels we can achieve if we simply set free the dreams of our people. Cures to the illnesses that have always plagued us are not too much to hope. American footprints on distant worlds are not too big a dream. Millions lifted from welfare to work is not too much to expect. And streets where mothers are safe from fear, schools where children learn in peace, and jobs where Americans prosper and grow are not too much to ask. (Applause.) When we have all of this, we will have made America greater than ever before — for all Americans. This is our vision. This is our mission. But we can only get there together. We are one people, with one destiny. We all bleed the same blood. We all salute the same great American flag. And we all are made by the same God. (Applause.) When we fulfill this vision, when we celebrate our 250 years of glorious freedom, we will look back on tonight as when this new chapter of American Greatness began. The time for small thinking is over. The time for trivial fights is behind us. We just need the courage to share the dreams that fill our hearts, the bravery to express the hopes that stir our souls, and the confidence to turn those hopes and those dreams into action. From now on, America will be empowered by our aspirations, not burdened by our fears; inspired by the future, not bound by the failures of the past; and guided by our vision, not blinded by our doubts. I am asking all citizens to embrace this renewal of the American spirit. I am asking all members of Congress to join me in dreaming big, and bold, and daring things for our country. I am asking everyone watching tonight to seize this moment. Believe in yourselves, believe in your future, and believe, once more, in America. Thank you, God bless you, and God bless the United States. (Applause.) END 10:09 P.M. EST

Text 8. Remarks by President Trump in Meeting with I-85 Bridge First Responders - April 13, 2017

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, everybody. Sit down, please. Come on, get up here with me, everybody. CHIEF BAKER: Sir, I bring you greetings on behalf of our honorable mayor, Mayor Kasim Reed. & our men & women of the Atlanta Fire Rescue Department would like to present you with a token of our appreciation. THE PRESIDENT: That is beautiful. I think I should leave it right here, right? It fits so well. Thank you. CHIEF BAKER: Thank you, sir. THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. I didn't know I was going to get such a nice — that is fantastic. Thank you, how are you? CHIEF BAKER: I'm fine, sir. THE PRESIDENT: We're going to go around & introduce ourselves, okay? We'll do this first. You know, these folks back here, they're very famous — most of them — it's called the media. (Laughter.) They're very honorable people. But you are more honorable, I can tell you that. CHIEF BAKER: Thank you, sir. THE PRESIDENT: So I'm honored to be here with you today & welcome you to the White House. The heroes who responded to the terrible bridge collapse on I-85 two weeks ago in Atlanta. That was something. The whole world was watching that one. Today we're joined by members of the Georgia State Patrol, the Atlanta Fire Rescue Department, & the Atlanta Police Department — great people. On that day, Georgia State police & Atlanta police took fast action to get motorists away from danger. Then, our brave firefighters battled 40-foot flames, which was incredible. What was the reason for those flames? It was something underneath that just was very combustible? CHIEF BAKER: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Yeah, those flames were amazing. They pulled back, by battalion chiefs, & just minutes before the bridge itself collapsed & everybody was safe. That was an amazing thing, & everybody was watching. Your skill & courage saved many lives & represented true strength, & the true strength of America. Really great job, fellas. I'm proud of you. Great job. To the people of Georgia who were affected by the collapse, my administration st&s with you. We've already made a \$10 million emergency relief fund available. & I called your governor, who

I know very well — he's a terrific guy — & I approved it literally the day that it happened. I had a feeling you'd need a little money — (laughter) — because I look like a big money deal, right, Elaine? But I approved it immediately, & Elaine took care of it, & we gave fast action. What happened in Atlanta is a painful reminder of the critical importance of infrastructure. We're going to be doing a lot with infrastructure. You'll be seeing that over the coming weeks — a tremendous amount. I'm committed to funding a massive nationwide infrastructure program to rebuild, repair, & construct the roads & bridges of the future of this country. This is necessary as a matter of both safety & economic growth, & it's necessary to improve our quality of life as Americans. We will also continue to seek proper funding for law enforcement & public safety in our country. On behalf of the entire nation, I salute you — you're really amazing people — & I honor your service. I pledge that you will have the support of our country — the police, the firefighters, first responders — you will always have the support of President Trump. I think you know that very well. & I thank you for the great job & the fast action. Really fantastic. A lot of bravery. Maybe we could just go around & introduce yourselves. &, who knows, maybe you'll become a movie star after this. (Laughter.) After all this, you'll become a movie star. If they like the way you look or sound, you'll become a star. Go ahead.

CHIEF BAKER: Well, thank you again, sir. My name is Joel Baker, the fire chief of the city of Atlanta Fire Rescue Department. THE PRESIDENT: & how tall are you, Joel? CHIEF BAKER: I'm 6'6", sir. THE PRESIDENT: That's all? I thought it was much more than that. I think you're taller than that. (Laughter.) Okay, good. Thank you very much. I appreciate it. Go ahead. MR. BURKETT: I'm Trooper Thomas Burkett with the Georgia State Patrol. MR. HEALD: & I'm Sergeant Ryan Heald from the Atlanta Police Department. MR. MCLEMORE: I'm Battalion Chief James McLemore from the Atlanta Fire Rescue Department. MR. GIUNTA: I'm Trooper John Giunta with the Georgia State Patrol. MR. CAMPBELL: I'm Sergeant Anthony Campbell, Atlanta Fire Rescue Airport Division. MR. BAKER: I'm senior police officer Michael Baker from the Atlanta Police Department. SECRETARY CHAO: Elaine Chao, Secretary of Transportation. MR. ADKINS:

Captain Arthur Adkins, Atlanta Fire Rescue Department. MR. TISDALE: I'm Trooper Harold Tisdale, Jr. with the Georgia State Patrol. MR. MCKOY: Trooper First Class Kendell McKoy, Georgia State Patrol. MR. BOSSERT: I'm Tom Bossert. I'm the President's Homel& Security Advisor. MR. HATCHER: Battalion Chief Douglas Hatcher, Atlanta Fire Rescue Department. MR. KUSRA: Sergeant First Class Thomas Kustra with Georgia State Patrol. MR. BRYANT: Assistant Chief of Atlanta Police Department, Rodney Bryant. THE PRESIDENT: Great, Rodney. Well, thank you very much. So who's the bravest person in this room? That's what I want to know. Raise your h&s if you're the bravest person. Huh? Maybe it's — (laughter) — I thought so. I thought so. SECRETARY CHAO: Do you want — THE PRESIDENT: Go ahead. MR. CRONIN: Sergeant First Class John Cronin, Georgia State Patrol. MR. SEVERANCE: Officer Ryan Severance with the Atlanta Police Department. THE PRESIDENT: Elaine, would you like to say something? SECRETARY CHAO: Mr. President, beside you & around you are true heroes of our country. They demonstrate courage, steadfastness, commitment, & fealty to their oaths to serve our communities in need. This fire was reported at 6:12 p.m., right in the middle of rush hour, on March 30th. By 6:20, this team was on site addressing the issues. Governor Nathan Deal also deserves some credit because he has, as a matter of policy, pre-positioned state troopers around I-85 to move any traffic incident right out of the way. So that helped a great deal. By 7:00, the bridge had collapsed. By 8:00, these brave men, leaders of their own communities, basically had the fire under control. The U.S. Department of Transportation was on site, & we worked h&-in-h& with these great heroes. & as you mentioned, \$10 million from your administration went out within one hour of the governor making this request. The good story following all of this is also that the repairs & recovery of this whole scene will occur very quickly. You will like them, because they will come in under budget & on time.

THE PRESIDENT: That's good. I love to hear the words "under budget" & "under schedule," right? (Laughter.) We used to call it "ahead of schedule." Now we say "under schedule." But that will be great. & I have to tell you, Governor Nathan Deal did call me immediately as this was happening, & he sort of said, could you be

ready? Because we're going to need some emergency money fast. & we were ready & we got him the money immediately. & again, we want to thank everybody in the room very much. &, Secretary, congratulations. SECRETARY CHAO: Not at all. Again, I told them that you are really approachable & that you would enjoy meeting them so much. They were a little bit apprehensive about meeting you, so they're just so thrilled. & Chief Baker & also Chief Bryant, these are the two leaders here, & they both said what an honor it is to be at the White House, to be with you. & you have done the first responder community a tremendous honor by honoring them. & they want to make sure — because they're saying that you are sending a message to all the first responders that you value them. So, Chief Bryant, why don't you say that to the President? (Laughter.) CHIEF BRYANT: Yes, ma'am. I st& with her, Mr. President, that this is not only a great day for the city of Atlanta & Atlanta Fire Rescue Department, but it's a great day for all the public safety personnel throughout the country to include the department of fire, police, state patrols throughout the country, corrections department. But all the public safety really appreciate the opportunity that you're recognizing public safety members. THE PRESIDENT: Well, Chief, I have great respect for the people that do what you do. It's amazing bravery. & the speed is incredible. So, again, I want to thank you. & I think what we'll do is, when we're finished here we'll talk, & then, unless you don't want to do this, but I know you do, we'll go right across the hall to the Oval Office & we'll have some pictures. Is that okay? The Oval Office. It is believe me, I've been in a lot of good offices. (Laughter.) It is a special office, okay? So we'll go over there, we'll take some pictures, okay? CHIEF BRYANT: Yes, sir. THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. Q (Inaudible) bomb in Afghanistan? THE PRESIDENT: It was really another successful job. We're very, very proud of our military. Just like we're proud of the folks in this room, we're so proud of our military. & it was another successful event. Q Did you authorize this — THE PRESIDENT: Everybody knows exactly what happened. & what I do is I authorize my military. We have the greatest military in the world, & they've done their job as usual. So we have given them total authorization, & that's what they're doing. &, frankly, that's why they've been so successful lately. If you look at what's happened over the last eight weeks & compare that really to what's happened over

the last eight years, you'll see there's a tremendous difference — tremendous difference. So we have incredible leaders in the military, & we have incredible military. & we are very proud of them. & this was another very, very successful mission. Thank you very much. Q Does this send a message to North Korea? THE PRESIDENT: I don't know if this sends a message. It doesn't make any difference if it does or not. *North Korea is a problem*. The problem will be taken care of. I will say this: I think China has really been working very hard. I have really gotten to like & respect, as you know, President Xi. He's a terrific person. We spent a lot of time together in Florida. & he's a very special man, so we'll see how it goes. I think he's going to try very hard. Thank you. END 2:37 P.M. EDT

### Text 9. President Donald J. Trump's Weekly Address - April 14, 2017

The President's Weekly Address is now available to watch on **YouTube**. **Transcript:** 

My fellow Americans, This is a season of great hope. This week, Jewish families across our country, and around the world, celebrate Passover and retell the story of God's deliverance of the Jewish people. The story of the Exodus is a story of freedom. It is the story of an incredible people who were liberated from oppression and raised up the face of humankind. Down through the centuries, the Jewish People have lived through one persecution after another-and yet, they persevered and thrived and uplifted the world beyond measure. And now, the State of Israel stands as a monument to their faith and endurance. Another day of faith and celebration is also upon us. This Easter Sunday, Christians celebrate the resurrection of Christ and the promise of eternal salvation. It is a holy day of reverence and worship; it is a sacred time that fills the spirit of our Nation with the faith of our people. America is a Nation of believers. As families gather in houses of worship across the Nation, we are grateful for the tremendous blessings of this land, our home. We have a beautiful country, an abundant countryside, and an amazing people with a truly bright and wonderful future. From the beginning, America has been a place that has cherished the freedom of worship. That is the

promise the first settlers saw in our vast continent—and it is the promise that our bravest warriors have protected for all of our citizens in centuries since, a long time ago. Sadly, many around the globe do not enjoy this freedom—and one of the gravest threats to religious freedom remains the threat of terror. On Palm Sunday, as Christians around the world celebrate the beginning of Holy Week, ISIS murdered at least 45 people and injured over 100 others at two Christian churches in Egypt.

We condemn this barbaric attack. We mourn for those who lost loved ones. And we pray for the strength and wisdom to achieve a better tomorrow—one where good people of all faiths, Christians and Muslims and Jewish and Hindu, can follow their hearts and worship according to their conscience. With God's grace, life always triumphs over death, freedom overcomes oppression, and faith extinguishes fear. This is the source of our hope—and our confidence in the future. I also want to give a special message to those struggling Americans who have felt for too long the bitter taste of hardship. I want you to know: this White House is fighting for you. We are fighting for every American who has been left behind. We are fighting for the right of all citizens to enjoy safety and peace—and to work and live with the dignity that all Children of God are entitled to know. As long as we have faith in each other, and trust in God, we will succeed. Thank you. Have a Happy Easter, and a Happy Passover. God bless you. And God bless America.