

## ***Thesis American Studies***

### Cover page for examination assignment

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<b>Teacher: Jørn Brøndal</b>		

<b>Title of assignment:</b> America First – The concept and its historical development analysed through the speeches of Charles Lindbergh and Donald Trump	
<b>Min./Max. number of characters:</b> 60-80 standard pages, excluding cover page, table of contents, abstract, notes, and bibliography and appendices  (1 norm page = 2400 characters incl. blank spaces)	<b>Number of characters in assignment<sup>1</sup>:</b> XXXXXX
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## Abstract

This thesis analyzed the differences and similarities between the America First of Aviator Charles Lindbergh, who opposed US intervention in the conflict that would grow into WW2, and the TV celebrity and President Donald Trump. The study of their America First was constructed around the analysis of speeches by the two men.

Methodologically the analysis used a combination of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and a general historical method. A full CDA analysis was not conducted, but it added structure to the analysis.

What spurred this analysis was that journalists were quick to point out the historical connotations the term carried when Trump introduced his slogan America First. These connotations were based on Lindbergh's best-known speech, the Des Moines Speech, in which Lindbergh singled out Jewish Americans because they supported US involvement in WW2. Because of this "othering" of Jewish Americans, Lindbergh was called anti-Semitic. Lindbergh did not use America First as Trump did, but he was a member of a group called the America First Committee, who, like Lindbergh, opposed US involvement in the war in Europe.

The analysis of the two men's America First was conducted with CDA adding structure and general points for what could be analyzed, but as mentioned above, America First was not a term that was defined other than the already mentioned racist connotations.

Some concepts/elements were needed for the analysis; racism was obvious, as it bound the two men's America First together. Isolationism or non-intervention became a central term when reading Lindbergh's speeches. Finally, a third aspect, American Exceptionalism, became clear, as Lindbergh often referred to how the US was better than the rest of the world.

The analysis of each speech was segmented into three categories, Text, Discursive Practice, and Social Practice, based on Fairclough's three-dimensional model for Critical Discourse Analysis. Text and Discursive Practice followed more traditional CDA conventions while keeping the three theories in mind, where part three Social Practice departed somewhat from what is often seen as CDA, as it studied the three elements more deeply.

Lindbergh was the first to be analyzed. The general theme of Lindbergh's speeches was that the US should not be dragged into another war against the will of the American people. The analysis of Lindbergh's speeches revealed that his racism was initially not directed at any group of people. He was much more concerned with maintaining the supremacy of white individuals and thought that it

was in everyone's best interest if the European conflict could handle itself, without US interference, so that stability could be achieved again. Lindbergh's wish for non-intervention was partially bound to maintaining the white race, but it was also what inclusion in the current conflict would cost the US, both in lives and money. Regarding exceptionalism, Lindbergh worried that what made the US special would be lost again if the country entered another European war. Lindbergh stayed relatively consistent in his, at times, eloquent argumentation.

Trump's reasoning and argumentation changed through his speeches; in his first two included speeches, he was focused on how previous administrations had let down the American people and how he would be different by thinking of the people. While studying the time leading up to Trump running for president, it was discovered that he had stated that he did not believe the US was exceptional, but that he would like to make it exceptional again. This theme carried over into his speeches, where he argued that the international community had abused the US and stated that he would think of America First to make the US great again. The race aspect of Trump's early speeches revealed a general opposition to undocumented immigrants. That may not be racist as such, but he portrayed this group of people as criminals who were only in the US to exploit the system. Building a wall at the Mexican border to secure the US was his solution. Trump's UN speeches introduced a new relevant concept, sovereignty. Trump used the concept to argue that there should be less globalism and more patriotism. In the UN speeches, Trump did not express much racist sentiment, but he did believe that refugees should stay as close to their home country because it was cheaper than them coming to the US. Regarding exceptionalism, Trump bragged about how good things were going in the US since he had become president.

The most evident difference between Lindbergh and Trump was why America First was relevant. Whereas Lindbergh wanted to maintain the US of the forefathers, as he believed what made the US unique could be lost, Trump believed that the US had fallen from grace and wanted to make America great again.

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## Introduction

“The past is always compromised by the present: many of the assurances of long ago, on re-examination, turn into questions and speculations” (Lindbergh 1970).

The slogan “America First” was brought up by Donald Trump during his presidential campaign in 2016. Journalists and others were quick to point out that he was, however, not the first to use the term.

The term was attributed to the famous pilot, Charles A. Lindbergh, and his affiliation with the America First Committee, an anti-war movement that was often referred to as isolationist because of its opposition to US involvement in the conflict that would become World War 2 (WW2). The fear was that the US would be dragged into another European conflict as had happened with World War 1 (WW1).

Lindbergh and, by proxy, the America First Committee were labeled as anti-Semites by many Americans following his Des Moines Speech in early September 1941. The trouble was that he claimed that some American Jews were war agitators, and what they were doing was “not American.” The Des Moines speech was the first and only speech in which Lindbergh attacked Jewish Americans (Cole 172). His usual targets were the Roosevelt administration and the British. The Des Moines speech is usually the only speech referred to when comparing Lindbergh and Trump’s America First(Thomas), which is why it is interesting to look deeper into other speeches by both of them, to see if there are other themes the two men could have in common.

On a basic level, it is evident that Trump’s America First is about putting America first concerning international trade. His America First functions as an appeal to a subset of the American public. In many ways, Trump is both a populist and an isolationist; some of Trump’s critics have even stated that his policies are more Trump first than America First (Milbank).

This thesis posits that America First cannot be considered a defined subject or theory, but some elements are often seen in America First rhetoric.

## Thesis Statement

This thesis aims to analyze the concept of America First by comparing how Charles Lindbergh, Jr. applied it in the years 1939 to 1941 with how Donald Trump has used it from his 2016 presidential campaign to February 2019.

This question is an interesting topic of study as it seeks to uncover whether it makes sense to compare their usage, differences, and similarities of the concept of America First.

## Methodology

In order to make this comparison, this thesis uses a combination of historical and linguistic methods, which is not uncommon:

“Rather than think of American Studies as a discipline, ... it is more accurate to see American Studies as a crossroads, or meeting point between disciplines” (Nye 67). This quote means that American Studies as a field of study is not limited by a narrow field of methods and theories.

The thesis uses a qualitative method, as can be seen in the inclusion of elements of Norman Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as well as a general historical method.

## Working Qualitatively

The qualitative approach has been used as the number of speeches are limited, and an in-depth analysis is necessary to identify elements of America First

It has only been possible to gain access to a limited amount of Lindbergh’s speeches and the published version of Lindbergh’s diary, whereas there is an abundance of transcriptions of Trump’s speeches. The scope of this thesis means that only select speeches will be analyzed. There is a selection bias associated with only using select speeches, but this cannot be avoided because no matter how hard objectivity has been sought, there is always a personal bias.

## Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis

This thesis uses elements of Norman Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), specifically his three-dimensional model. His approach is usable and relevant as he has developed a model for discourse where both linguistic and social perspectives are essential.

Fairclough’s book *Discourse and Social Change* from 1992 is used as the primary resource for this approach in the thesis. The reason for using this book and not a more recent one is that in the second edition of his book *Critical Discourse Analysis The Critical Study of Language*, Fairclough mentions that if the reader needs explanations for his framework, his book from 1992 is more elaborative in its approach (Fairclough, “*Critical Discourse*” 91). Parts of Marianne Jørgensen’s and Louise J. Phillips’ book *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* will also be used to substantiate the analysis further.

Fairclough’s approach is a text-oriented discourse analysis well suited for both the analysis of the select speeches and the two men’s’ interpretation of America First.

Fairclough’s three-dimensional analysis model incorporates three different dimensions of discourse, which are equally important (Fairclough “*Discourse and Social Change*” 72). The three dimensions are 1. Text 2. Discursive practice, and 3. Social practice. These will be explained below.

A full CDA has not been made, but elements that fit the research question and the scope of the thesis have been selected, as other researchers have done before. In their book Jørgensen and Phillips state that: “The selection and application of the tools depend on the research questions and the scope of the project. For the majority of discourse analytical approaches ... there is no fixed procedure for the production of material or for analysis: the research design should be tailored to match the special characteristics of the project” (76).

In this thesis, the following elements will be used when relevant:

### Text

Text analysis is made to reveal the text's attitude to its subjects'; Fairclough believes different aspects can be studied when working with a text on this level. These aspects of the text are vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and structure (Fairclough "*Discourse and Social Change*" 75).

When looking at the vocabulary of a text, Fairclough believes that the context words are used in plays an important role. Words and phrases can have a secondary meaning concerning politics or ideology. If, for example, a text is political, a word that, in other situations, is inoffensive or neutral could have alternative meanings depending on the context (79).

The grammar of a text is vital to keep in mind, as the writer has to make choices concerning the design and structure of sentences actively. This "amount to choices about how to signify (and construct) social identities, social relationships, and knowledge and belief" (76).

The cohesion of text is also important and can be studied by analyzing individual sentences of a text and comparing them to each other. The Cohesion of a text can be found by analyzing the word choice, repetitions, the use of certain words, or sentence structure between sentences (77).

The overall structure of the text is also relevant, as it depends on the genre of the text, i.e., speeches are different from tweets, as individual types of texts serve different purposes (77-78).

### Discursive practice

The response to and interpretation of a text can vary based on the social context (79), which is why it is important to find connections between the various relevant discourses and the social situations or connections they are part of.

One way to look at intertextuality is that texts always contain fragments or elements of other texts, so no text is entirely original; put in another way, intertextuality connects the past to the present (84-85). In that way, all present texts draw on past literature or experiences from the past. Fairclough "sees texts historically as transforming the past - existing conventions and prior texts - into the present." So, one is never entirely starting from scratch when writing text, and there are always influences that affect the present (85).

When studying the discursive practice of a text, Fairclough believes it is important to look at the processes of production, distribution, and consumption associated with it. All texts draw on existing discourses and genres, and the same applies to the reader of the text (79).

The references to other texts, it is called "manifest intertextuality" (117). Another element that refers to existing discourse is called "interdiscursivity" (124). Both are intertextual elements, as general intertextuality denotes the relationship that shows how a text draws on elements and discourses from other texts (Jørgensen and Phillips 74).

## Social practice

“Texts can never be understood or analyzed in isolation - they can only be understood in relation to webs of other texts and in relation to the social context” (Jørgensen and Phillips 70).

This part of Fairclough’s three-dimensional model is a more in-depth analysis of the text’s contexts and discourses in a broader context. In this thesis, a general historical method is used to substantiate the historical context in which the speech is situated.

## Historical method

This thesis uses a historical approach in the analysis of Lindbergh’s and Trump’s speeches and substantiates it with literature from other academics who have studied the two men and how they communicate. The historical method is more prevalent regarding Lindbergh as there is much historical literature written about him. The thesis tries to substantiate and define the America First of Trump and Lindbergh in their contemporary context. This substantiation and definition are done by looking at the speeches. The speeches offer a unique opportunity to observe changes in Lindbergh’s and Trump’s attitudes and ideas. Methodically, therefore, the analysis will consist mainly of the normative elements of the speeches. In this way, the focus is first and foremost on the two authors’ subjectively colored views of conditions in the public debate.

## The structure of the analysis

The analysis is divided into three major parts: the first part consists of an analysis of Lindbergh’s America First, as seen in his speeches; the second part contains an analysis of Trump’s version of the concept. The analysis of Trump’s individual speeches will contain a brief comparison with Lindbergh’s America First. The third part will summarize what is found and elaborate on differences and similarities

## Primary sources

This thesis will compare the concept America First as used by Charles A. Lindbergh from 1939 to 1941 and by Donald J. Trump from 2015 to February 2019.

The primary literary sources used are speeches, journal entries, and tweets.

Lindbergh wrote and co-wrote several books in his lifetime. However, as the focus of this thesis is his concept of America First, it was natural to limit the scope to material written in the period before the American involvement in WW2, as this was the period when Lindbergh was associated with the America First Committee.

The primary sources about Lindbergh and his ideas about America First available to the public are his speeches and journal. The Lindbergh radio speeches used in this thesis are: “America and European Wars,” “Neutrality and War,” “The Air Defense of America,” “Our Drift Towards War.” These speeches were public addresses: “Our Relationship with Europe,” “Election Promises Should Be Kept

We Lack Leadership That Places America First,” and “The Des Moines Speech.” These speeches were held at “America First” rallies.

All the Included speeches have been read and, when possible, been listened to as well. It has only been possible to find fragmented audio recordings of a few of Lindbergh’s speeches. All transcripts of Lindbergh’s speeches used in this thesis came from the Lindbergh fan site charleslindbergh.com. This is different regarding Trump; both transcripts and recordings have been used, most of which have been found on the official White House web page, whitehouse.gov.

Lindbergh’s speeches give insight into issues of the day and document how the United States (US) became increasingly involved in WW2. The primary focus of his speeches in opposition to the US’ involvement in the war.

The book *The Wartime Journals of Charles A. Lindbergh* by Charles A. Lindbergh will be used, as it offers direct insight into his thoughts and opinions, and can, therefore, be used to gain a better understanding of his version of “America first.”

This book was a personal journal that Lindbergh kept in the years leading up to WW2. In the introduction, Lindbergh wrote that “In the first place, when I wrote them I had no intention of publication. They held a private record” (x). Using a personal journal as a source can be problematic, as it will contain inherent bias. The publisher of the book stated that some irrelevant parts had been removed, but apart from that, nothing had been edited. Lindbergh had the published version verified to ensure credibility (xv). Historian Andrew Scott Berg found out that much of the excluded material concerned Jews, and that most of it were positive, but as Berg wrote: “in so writing about a single tribe, he was segregating them in his mind from the rest of the nation; and to that extent, he was, like many of his countrymen, anti-Semitic.” (Berg 385).

Concerning Trump, he appeared to be picking older isolationist talking points to support his electorate campaign. As a result, his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention in 2016, which is supposed to unite the Republican Party, is included. His inaugural speech, held when he was sworn in as President of the US in 2017, is included as it was supposed to unite the country.

His first two State of the Union (SOTU) speeches from 2018 and 2019 are included as SOTU Addresses are the only addresses required by the Constitution. These should, therefore, reflect the President in a unique role as the representative for the whole nation (Pruitt). They are also included to see the development of America First domestically. Finally, Trump’s first two speeches he made at the United Nations in 2017, 2018, are included to illustrate how Trump interpreted America First in an international context. Elements from other texts/speeches may be included if relevant.

The autobiographical sources for both Trump and Lindbergh help to understand the two men better. As Trump does not keep a journal, his tweets are probably the closest anyone can get to his unfiltered opinion and will be included when relevant.

The speeches of the two men have been sorted into appendices chronologically, Lindbergh’s speeches have been sorted from A-H, and Trump I-N, and will be referenced like so “...” (Appendix C 30) when making direct references to quotes from the speech. The stated number refers to the line number of the individual speech. If a quote covers more than one line, the second line number marks the end of the quote.

One additional Lindbergh speech (Appendix F) is included as an appendix. It contained a few interesting phrases but did not offer enough to warrant an individual analysis, mostly because of space constraints.

## Secondary Sources

The fact that Lindbergh and Trump live(d) in two different historical periods has had an important influence on the amount of available relevant literature.

Lindbergh is history - it was possible to find relevant biographies about Lindbergh, whereas few other sources, for instance, news articles, were available. Trump is a contemporaneous historical actor - he and his America First cannot be analyzed with the benefit of hindsight. It has been hard to find unbiased literature regarding Trump, who is either described as a hero or a villain.

Regarding documenting Lindbergh's version of America First, most opposing viewpoints have been found in the secondary sources. These sources have already been through at least one interpretation before they are analyzed here. Finding any relevant contemporary news articles about Lindbergh and his America First has been impossible; more recent articles mention Lindbergh briefly and focus on Trump and his America First.

The book *Those Angry Days* by Lynne Olson will be used to add an objective perspective to the period leading up to the US' entry into WW2. Andrew Scott Berg's book *Lindbergh* is also used to add to historical events and enable a more in-depth discussion of these events and Lindbergh's opinions of them. Finally, Wayne S. Cole's *Charles A. Lindbergh and the battle against American intervention in World War II* as it is one of the seminal works regarding Lindbergh and his non-interventionism.

There are numerous available sources regarding Trump and his opinions, but only a few of them are neutral. Most of the US domestic press is either completely opposed to or in favor of Trump and his version of America First.

The book *A Very Stable Genius* by Philip Rucker and Carol Leonnig is used as a supplement to his speeches. It documents significant issues of the Trump presidency from his first day in office to the start of his impeachment trial.

The book *How Trump Thinks* by Osborne and Roberts is used as it contains relevant information concerning Trump and documents most of his tweets leading up to him being President.

Most academic sources about Trump have investigated whether he is isolationist, populist, or shows fascist tendencies and have not analyzed his concept of America First. For that reason, this part of the thesis has used other sources such as news articles, from, for instance, *The Atlantic*, *The Washington Post*, and *The New York Times*.

## The Coronavirus and its consequences

The outbreak of the corona pandemic and subsequent lockdown of universities and libraries has limited the possibilities of searching for and obtaining sources that were not available online. More material about Lindbergh is available in the US at Yale University, but for Yale students only and seemingly only at the physical library.

This thesis has had to resort to using digital editions of some books that do not have page numbers. As a result, some references are made to chapter numbers instead of page numbers.

## Theory: Central Concepts

The following part of the thesis will elaborate on central concepts that are relevant for the following analysis.

### America First

The history of the term America First is longer than documented in this thesis. In 1889 a Wisconsin congressman declared, "we will fight for America whenever necessary; America first, last and all the time; America against Germany; America against the world; America, right or wrong; always America" (Churchwell Ch. 2). President Woodrow Wilson also used the term at the outbreak of WW1 to define his version of neutrality (Ch. 2).

Many of the racist connotations associated with the term today are because of Lindbergh's "Des Moines Speech," which he held on September 11, 1941 (Ch. 13).

Interestingly, neither Trump nor Lindbergh define their attitudes and thoughts as America First from the start. Based on the available speeches, it seemed Lindbergh only started using the term America First, after he was introduced to the America First Committee (Appendix F 32). Trump got introduced to the term either through politician Patrick Buchanan or in an interview with some journalists who interviewed him about his politics (Greenfield; Sanger and Haberman).

Lindbergh argued for non-interventionism. The main idea was that the US should participate as little as possible in European conflicts. Trump was unilateral. The US should not be controlled by anyone or anything, such as energy deals and trade agreements. He wanted to intervene but did not want others to intervene in "strong, sovereign nations" (Appendix K 52-53).

America First appears to be a slogan or an idea rather than a fully-fledged concept, and its meaning has changed and developed over time. However, the term may contain various elements that will be elaborated on below.

### Isolationism or non-interventionism

Since the US was founded, it has followed a national policy of avoiding political or economic entanglements with Europe. This can be seen in Washington's Farewell Address from 1796, where he warned the country against permanent alliances with other countries, as he wanted to maintain neutrality with both France and Britain (Washington's Farewell Address 1796). The policy was

further supported by the Monroe doctrine from 1823 and can be seen in Lindbergh's and Trump's speeches.

According to the editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, this avoidance of political and economic entanglement with other nations defines Isolationism. The term non-interventionism is closely linked with isolationism, but non-interventionists advocated non-involvement in the affairs of other nations while maintaining diplomacy and trade. Non-interventionists avoid foreign conflict unless it is in self-defense (Carpenter).

Isolationism or non-interventionism are not synonyms but are often used as such. Historian Wayne S. Cole used the two terms interchangeably when describing the America First Committee as: "the most powerful isolationist or noninterventionist pressure group in the United States" (Cole 115).

Neither Trump nor Lindbergh considered themselves isolationists. Trump has stated: "I'm not isolationist, but I am 'America First'" (Sanger and Haberman). Lindbergh did not like the term isolationist as he did not want the US to be completely isolated (Cole 87). Lindbergh never used the term non-interventionism in his journal.

In his journal, Lindbergh did, however, state: "I have adopted a policy of 'isolation'" (Lindbergh 438). So, because Lindbergh's speeches are the first to be studied, the header "Isolationism" will be used when discussing isolationism or non-intervention, and the terms will be used interchangeably in accordance with the connotation in which they are used.

## American Exceptionalism and The City upon a Hill

A notion essential to many Americans is the idea of American exceptionalism, which builds on the idea that the US is a unique nation. The belief is based on the idea that the US: is good and selfless, fighting for the common good as a symbol of freedom and an example for the rest of the world (Foner A58).

The idea of the US being something special or unique is reflected in the concept of "the city upon a hill," which generally speaking, boils down to the idea that America should be a shining example for the rest of the world to follow. The idea goes back to the Puritans and John Winthrop, who came to the American continent in the 1600s (Litke 198, 200).

## Racism

### Nativism

Nativism can be described as a sense of national pride and the idea that natives are the only ones welcome. Nativists believe that "there is a native population or a native culture that should be given priority over other kinds of cultures" (Friedman).

Historian John Higham defines nativism "as intense opposition to an internal minority on the grounds of its foreign (i.e., 'un-American') connections" (Higham 4).

## Whiteness

In American history, being “white” did not merely mean having white skin. The concept of whiteness has changed over time to accommodate the demands of social change.

The “original” Americans, the white Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASP), considered immigrant groups such as Hebrews and Italians to be on the bottom of the social hierarchy at the beginning of the 20th century (Foner 745). However, like so many other immigrants, these immigrants “‘became white’ by becoming very similar to WASPs culturally, economically, and structurally. Once the WASPs decided not to stigmatize them for being ethnically different, these European groups were allowed into American whiteness” (Yang and Koshy 14).

At the beginning of the 20th century, many people from Eastern Europe, including many Jews, immigrated to the US. The immigration was so massive that the government decided to limit the number of visas given (Foner 793; Kennedy 14).

The Immigration Act of 1924 limited immigration to two percent of each nationality in the US a year based on the 1890 national census (“The Immigration Act of 1924”). The Act meant that immigration from Southern and Eastern European countries was limited. As many Eastern Europeans were Jews, the act did, in effect, set quotas on how many European Jews were allowed.

It was not much different for American Jews, as there were quotas in universities on how many could be enrolled at one time, as there was a fear that Jews would come to dominate American universities (Synott 185-186).

In the introduction to his book *Tropical Zion*, Allen Wells writes that even as things were growing grimmer for European Jews in the 1930s, there was a general unwillingness in the US towards letting in more Jews and that there were nativist sentiments in society (Wells 6). Anti-Semitism was visible as President Roosevelt met opposition because he had Jews in his administration. The famous radio host Father Coughlin referred to the president as “President Rosenfeld,” and his New Deal was referred to as “Jew Deal.” At the height of his popularity, Coughlin had between thirty and forty million listeners. In his broadcasts, Coughlin would talk about how “Jewish financiers were in cahoots with either international communism or the Bank of England had tempered with the money supply, dragging the United States into the First World War” (Wells 7).

In his text *Becoming Caucasian*, Matthew Frye Jacobson also discussed the topic of whiteness as a constructed concept that has changed over time. Though he wrote about multiple immigrant groups that had white skin but were not considered “white,” in this thesis, the focus will be on the Jewish.

Jacobson exemplified being Jewish in the US in the 1940s with references to the book “Gentleman’s Agreement” by Laura Z. Hobson from 1947. While the main point of the novel was that there was no such thing as a “Jewish race,” there were still examples of differentiation between Jews and non-Jews and discrimination of Jews. The gentile protagonist compared his appearance to that of his Jewish friend and believed that he could pass as a Jew, but he has to try to convince people that he is Jewish before anyone thinks he is, whereas the actual Jewish people he believes he looks like, get verbally assaulted at the least (Jacobson 97). Another character in the book, Lieberman, who is described as looking like a Jew in a Nazi caricature, states that he is not Jewish by religion and that he could just as well be Egyptian or Turkish (98).

## Charles Lindbergh's America First

This section will provide a brief overview of significant historical events in the first 40 years of the twentieth century that may be of importance for Lindbergh's and many other Americans' desires for non-interventionism. After that follows a brief description of Lindbergh and his life in the years leading up to WW2.

### Historical Background

Both before and at the beginning of WW2, a conflict arose over which role the US should take in the world. Some people, often referred to as "isolationists" or "noninterventionists," believed that the US should be a fortress, staying out of international commitments and remaining isolated from the world (Olson 148). Others, known as the interventionists, argued that the US could no longer stray away from its responsibilities in the world; the US had to help Britain and France fight off Nazi Germany (156). This division in opinion may have developed as a result of the following events in the early to mid-twentieth century.

### The First World War

As WW1 was raging in Europe, the US was trying to stay neutral. On August 14, 1914, President Woodrow Wilson declared the US neutral, but American support for the war was split. Many immigrant communities had their own newspapers in their native language and still felt connected to their country of origin. The German American community supported the Central Powers the same did the Jewish community as many of them had fled persecution in Eastern Europe and especially Russia and Irish Americans generally supported the central powers, but there was a large anglophile elite; Wilson was pro-British, and he saw Germany as "the natural enemy of liberty" (Foner 734-735).

There was a general worry that involvement in the war would be at the cost of domestic affairs. In 1916, Wilson ran for President on the slogan "he kept us out of war."

It is most likely a combination of multiple factors that led Wilson to abandon his ideas of American isolationism/non-interventionism in favor of helping the British. One of which may be affinity to Britain. Another reason might be the sinking of the American ship Lusitania by German submarines or the fact that the US had lent Britain more than 2 billion dollars (734-735).

On April 2, 1917, Wilson went before Congress to ask for a declaration of war on Germany. It passed on April 6. and the US actively entered WW1 (735). WW1 can be seen as the first modern war, as it changed the way wars were fought with the introduction of weapons of mass destruction such as gas and machine guns. At its end, more than 10 million soldiers had died as well as many uncounted millions of civilians (733).

Some Americans believed that the US had been lured into joining WW1 through British and American propaganda. This opinion was so strong that a senate committee led by the US Senator Gerald P. Nye (A supporter of isolationism) was formed in 1934. The committee conducted hearings into the topic of US entry into the war and found that bankers and arms exporters had pressed

President Woodrow Wilson and his administration to join the war, netting them a handsome profit (Foner 855).

### The Great Depression

The 1920s had been a time of economic growth. Mass production spread new consumer goods into most US households; the US victory in WW1 had given the country its first experience of being a global power while Europe was still recovering (Foner 771-773).

In the 1930s, the world suffered an economic downturn that began with the stock market crash in the US in October 1929. In 1932 the unemployment rate reached over 11 million, about 25 percent of the workforce (Foner 800).

The Great Depression and the collective traumatic memories of WW1 pushed the American people toward favoring isolationism. Isolationists argued against US involvement in European and Asian conflicts as well as politics ("American Isolationism in the 1930s").

### The Neutrality Acts

In the mid-1930s, events in Europe and Asia indicated that a new war was imminent. Germany had built a strong army, although the Treaty of Versailles prohibited this, and Hitler had established his Nazi regime.

The US Congress passed the first Neutrality Act in 1935 to keep the US neutral if a new war started in Europe or Asia. The law prohibited the US from exporting arms to all belligerent nations during wartime (Kennedy 394).

In February, the following year, the Neutrality Act of 1936 renewed the provisions of the 1935 act and prohibited all loans or credits to belligerents - both attacking and attacked countries (Kennedy 397).

The Neutrality Act of 1937 included the provision for the previous Neutrality Acts and extended them to cover civil wars (i.e., the Spanish civil war), American ships were prohibited from taking passengers or materials to belligerent countries, and US citizens were barred from traveling to these countries either (400).

A "cash-and-carry" provision, which was set to expire after two years, was added to enable the President to permit the sale of materials and supplies except for weapons to European countries as long as the material was paid for immediately and transported back to the European country (400).

The Cash-and-carry system was not limited to the Allies. However, Historian Wayne S. Cole writes that "British control of the seas would, in effect, deny the Axis powers access to American munitions" (Cole 91). As will be seen in Lindbergh's speeches, many Americans still advocated for neutrality. However, in spring 1939, Roosevelt tried to have the expiring "cash-and-carry" provision renewed and removed the trade embargo. Roosevelt was rebuffed, but in September 1939, after Germany invaded Poland, he defeated the isolationists, and on November 4, he signed the

Neutrality Act of 1939, again allowing for arms trade with belligerent nations on a cash-and-carry basis (Kennedy 433-434).

## Background Lindbergh

Charles Augustus Lindbergh, Jr., was born on February 4, 1902, in Michigan. His father, Charles August Lindbergh, had a law office and was a US Congressman from 1907 to 1917. He strongly opposed the entry of the US into WW1, arguing that the war only served the interests of wealthy bankers. This opinion earned him many enemies:

Berg documents in his book that in the foreword of his book Lindbergh, Sr. wrote, "It is impossible according to the big press to be a true American unless you are pro-British. If you are really for America first, last, and all the time, and solely for America and for the masses primarily, then you are classed as pro-German by the big press which are supported by the speculators," Berg stated these were "words that would resonate in the life of his son twenty years later" (Berg 49).

In 1924, Charles Lindbergh began a year of military flight training with the United States Army Air Service. When graduating in March 1925, Lindbergh earned his Army pilot's wings and the rank of 2nd Lieutenant in the Air Service Reserve Corps (Berg 79).

The Robertson Aircraft Corporation hired Lindbergh in October 1925; to serve as chief pilot for the Contract Air Mail Route #2 to fly between St. Louis and Chicago (Berg 84).

Lindbergh became a famous flying ace after his non-stop solo transatlantic flight from New York to Paris in 1927 and was awarded the Medal of Honor, the US' highest military decoration (Berg 175).

However, the transatlantic flight was not the only reason the press took an interest in his person. In 1932 his little son Charles Lindbergh Jr. was kidnapped and murdered (Olson 10). After this, sympathy followed and made Lindbergh a more public figure and even more attractive to the media and criminals and other less savory types (Berg 7).

The Lindbergh family was being hounded and harassed by reporters (Olson 8). It was so bad that the Lindbergh family went to Europe in late 1935, "where for a time he became one of America's most effective unofficial ambassadors" (Berg 7).

Being a famous aviation pioneer and an unofficial American ambassador, he was invited to inspect the British, French, and German Aircraft facilities.

From 1936-1938 Lindbergh gathered information about the German air force at the behest of the American military attaché in Germany. Lindbergh believed that "Britain's glory days were over..." he was convinced that "Germany's had just begun" (Olson 14).

While in Europe, Lindbergh was given the Service Cross of the German Eagle by Herman Goering, who was responsible for the Nazi air force. Lindbergh was criticized for accepting the medal after he returned to the US (20).

Lindbergh strongly opposed US entry into WW2 as his father had opposed WW1. On September 3, 1939, he wrote the following in his diary: "Anne and I listened to Roosevelt's address at 10:00. ... I

wish I trusted him more. He [Roosevelt] warned people to beware of propaganda — pledged himself to an attempt to keep this country neutral“(Lindbergh 250). Shortly after that, he started making his first radio address.

Lindbergh supported the noninterventionist America First Committee and resigned from the US Army Air Forces in April 1941 after President Roosevelt publicly denounced him for his views (Olson 316; Berg, 418).

## Lindbergh Speeches

The following text contains the critical discourse analysis of Lindbergh’s speeches. The speeches have been divided into two groups, five speeches before he became a member of the America First Committee and two speeches held as a member of the America First Committee. Historical context will be added as an introduction to each speech when relevant.

All of Lindbergh’s speeches served the same purpose: to keep the US out of the war in Europe. Lindbergh brought up the same topics and arguments against intervention in many of his speeches but did, however, use various angles. Each group of speeches will have a short partial conclusion .

## America and European Wars

On September 3, 1939, England and France declared war on Germany as a response to the German invasion of Poland. Roosevelt made a radio address to the American people in which he pledged himself to keep the US neutral. (Kennedy 426-427)

Lindbergh did not believe Roosevelt would keep that promise. He knew Roosevelt was already lobbying for US involvement because of his wish to change the Neutrality Acts and decided to make a radio speech (Lindbergh 248).

This speech was Lindbergh’s first radio address. It was called “America and European Wars” and was delivered nationwide on September 15, 1939. (Lindbergh 254)

The key message of the speech was that the US must remain neutral concerning the war in Europe, as shown by the following quote “ the destiny of this country [the US] does not call for our involvement in European wars”(Appendix A 3-4).

## Text

Words and phrases may lose the subtlety of meaning and context when translated from one language to another. This loss may also occur over time. Today, eighty-one years after this speech was written, words and phrases may have different connotations.

The focus of this thesis is not a thorough linguistic analysis of the speeches. Still, different words and terms reveal Lindbergh’s ideas of what might later be seen as his version of America First, as will be shown in the following.

In this speech, as in his other radio speeches, Lindbergh addressed all Americans using inclusive “we” and “our.”

Lindbergh’s initial words, “In times of great emergency” (Appendix A 1), signaled pressing urgency - the non-interventionists must unite to keep America out of the war. The urgency was also clearly reflected in his vocabulary - the modal verb “must” was used 15 times to show that various actions were necessary, as in “men of the same belief must gather together for mutual counsel and action” (1).

Lindbergh banalized the war in Europe, describing it as “internal struggles” (5), “quarrels” (15), and “old quarrels within our family of nation[sic]” (43-44). At the same time, he warned that the war in Europe might have monumental consequences. The use of the verb “prostrate,” which can be interpreted as “overthrown” or “weak,” but also as “lying face down on the ground, as a token of humility, submission, or adoration,” is interesting. Europe may be prostrated by war, and war is prostrating. The sense of dystopia was reinforced by his description of the war and postwar era in the sentence “If war brings more Dark Ages to Europe...” (87).

The Europeans were not the only ones described with strong and powerful words. Lindbergh foresaw that the US would be “deluged” with foreign as well as domestic propaganda. The verb “deluge” means to overwhelm with something, particularly water, but in this case, propaganda, and the propaganda was described as no less than “insidious.” Lindbergh believed that few had learned anything from the last war, and now interventionist propaganda was something the American people must worry about again “We must keep foreign propaganda from pushing our country blindly into another war” (6).

### Discursive practice

Like the rest of Lindbergh’s speeches, this speech was part of the debate of whether the US should join the European war or stay neutral. The speech was broadcast over the radio by several major broadcasting companies.

It is hard to say anything specific about who listened to Lindbergh’s speech. More than 50 percent of Americans had radios, and the American public had become used to hearing Roosevelt’s fireside chats (“Radio 1929-1941”), and as Lindbergh was famous and had knowledge about European military affairs because of his travels, many probably wanted to hear what he had to say. It is also worth mentioning that Lindbergh got many letters and telegrams that showed him support (Berg 397).

There are various examples of intertextuality in the speech, both in the form of manifest intertextuality (explicit references to other texts) as well as interdiscursivity (references to existing discussions). Lindbergh referred to George Washington, who “solemnly warned the people of America against becoming entangled in European alliances” (Appendix A 20-21), which is an example of interdiscursivity. At the same time, he referred to the “Monroe Doctrine” (22), an example of manifest intertextuality as he mentioned a specific text by name. Most of this intertextuality are references to American history as well as discussions concerning US involvement in the ongoing war in Europe and the conflict about this involvement in the US.

## Social practice

Three topics that appear to relate to Lindbergh's concept of America First are discussed in this speech, isolationism, exceptionalism, and racism.

### Isolationism

The central theme of the speech was isolationism or non-intervention. Lindbergh and many others had seen the devastation of WW1, and most Americans were opposed to going to war in Europe. A Gallup poll from September 1939 showed that 84 % of the American people were against declaring war on Germany and sending troops abroad. However, 58% supported the idea that airplanes and other war materials could be sold to England and France, and 74% supported sending food supplies (Reinhart).

Lindbergh feared that the US could be drawn into the current conflict the same way it happened in WW1 when domestic and international propaganda was used to sway, and from Lindbergh's perspective, misled the American public. (Appendix A 6, 74)

Another worry was that though Roosevelt promised neutrality, selling munitions to France and England would not be enough, as the US "cannot count on victory merely by shipping abroad several thousand airplanes and cannon" (56). This would lead to military involvement, so in Lindbergh's opinion, the US "are likely to lose a million men, possibly several million – the best of American youth" (56-57).

The speech showed an evident fear that if the US entered the conflict, it could lead to domestic changes: "If we enter the fighting for democracy abroad, we may end by losing it at home" (60-61). It is not clear what, precisely, Lindbergh meant. A possible interpretation could be that if Roosevelt pushed for war, he would be going against the will of the people .

Lindbergh did not want the US involved in European conflicts (8-9). To him, the current conflict in Europe posed no immediate danger to the US as the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans functioned as natural defenses as "An ocean is a formidable barrier, event [ sic] for modern aircraft" (67).

To maintain the welfare of the United States, Lindbergh argued in support of strong defenses: "Let us look to our own defenses and to our own character. If we attend to them, we have no need to fear what happens elsewhere. If we do not attend to them, nothing can save us" (84-86).

As the text above shows, Lindbergh expressed typical isolationist rhetoric. The US should keep out of the problems of Europe, as established in the Monroe Doctrine. Lindbergh referred to the Monroe Doctrine, which concerns the defense of the Western Hemisphere and how the US wanted to avoid European colonies on the two American continents, as well as entanglement in Europe in general. The Doctrine is often referred to when legitimizing non-intervention, along with Washington's Farewell Address.

### Exceptionalism

One can find examples of American exceptionalism, i.e., that America is exceptional compared to Europe and other parts of the world.

The speech had references to both the Founding Fathers and forefathers. The forefathers left Europe behind to escape the persecution and hatred that existed there; they “preferred the Wilderness and the Indians to the problems of Europe” (Appendix A 12).

There are more overt examples as well. Lindbergh seemed to believe that the US was something special and unique, different from the old world (16). He emphasized that the settlers came from many different countries, and in the US they, “found a means of living peacefully together – the same nationalities that are fighting abroad today” (13-14). Another example that shows exceptionalism is when he said that if Europe were to be destroyed, “the greatest hope for our Western civilization lies in America” (82-83).

### Racism

This speech showed indications of racism, or, at least, an older, less nuanced view on race. The US should not get involved in the wars in Europe because they “are not wars in which our civilization is defending itself against some Asiatic intruder” (40-41). Olson suggests that Lindbergh could be referring to the Russians, whom he did not consider ethnically pure whites like the Northern Europeans, as they had mixed with Mongols (Olson 72)

Another argument as to why the US should not join the conflicts in Europe was that the ongoing conflict was not a conflict that tried to “defend the white race against foreign invasion” (Appendix A 42-43).

### Neutrality and War

Since late September 1939, Roosevelt had wanted to remove the arms embargo the Neutrality Acts had put in place. In November, he managed to convince Congress that the trade embargos should be removed, allowing all belligerent nations to sail to the US and buy what they needed, as US ships were banned from transporting goods to belligerent nations. The Neutrality Acts also allowed the President to determine combat zones in the oceans where the US was not allowed to be in and made it illegal for Americans to travel on ships owned by belligerent nations (Kennedy 433-434).

Lindbergh’s second speech, “Neutrality and War,” was delivered on October 13, 1939, as a reaction to the ongoing revisions of the Neutrality Acts. This speech aimed to discuss the legislation, which involved the embargo of arms, the restriction of shipping, and the allowance of credit and to present Lindbergh’s proposal for a policy of neutrality. He opposed the US selling military equipment such as planes and ships to Britain and France; the two countries should, however, be allowed to buy defensive weapons to protect them against enemy airplanes (Olson 74).

The speech was also a reaction to Canada’s declaration of war against Germany on September 10.

This second speech was more concrete than the first, and in his diary, Lindbergh indicated that he knew it would be criticized: "This talk is going to create more criticism than the last one. It is more detailed and more controversial" (Lindbergh 275).

The general reaction to the speech was more negative than the previous one, even among those who had previously supported Lindbergh (Olson 75). The adverse reaction was mainly directed at Lindbergh's critique of the British and French but not of Germany. According to American journalist Dorothy Thompson, "it was his cool, unemotional rationalization of German aggression that really maddened her" (Olson 78).

### Text

In this speech, "our" was used more than "we," but both were still used as unifying terms. Lindbergh appealed to his listeners for action and support using "let us" as in "Let us give no one the impression that America's love for peace means that she is afraid of war..." (Appendix B 6-8).

He stressed the unity of the countries in America using the term "sister American nations." He used a few (rhetorical) questions instead of direct statements to make the audience think and take a stand on his views as in "Can we rightfully permit any country in America to give bases to foreign warships, or to send its army abroad to fight while it remains secure in our protection at home?" (30-32). In this case, he criticized Canada for its involvement in the war.

Lindbergh's use of "intelligently" in "Before we can intelligently enact regulations for the control of our armaments" (10) indicated that he did not consider the decision-making process very intelligent.

The term "Uncle Shylock" in "They [France and Britain] called us 'Uncle Shylock'" (111) is interesting. Uncle Shylock was a Jewish merchant and moneylender in Shakespeare's play, *The Merchant of Venice*, who lent money to a Christian rival and set the security at a pound of his flesh. When his rival could not pay, uncle Shylock was prepared to cut out a pound of flesh from his body (Shakespeare). The quote verifies that racism against Jews existed not only in America but also in Europe outside Germany and that it had existed for many centuries.

### Discursive practice

The form was the same as in the last speech, but the speech was only broadcast through MBS. There were examples of interdiscursivity, as Lindbergh stated that the US should "make no meaningless assurances to an Ethiopia, a Czechoslovakia, or a Poland" (Appendix B 16-17), referring to the promises of protection France and England made to these nations but did not keep.

The speech contained several references to the Monroe Doctrine, stating that the US should "protect our sister American nations from foreign invasion" (28), and "Sooner or later we must demand the freedom of this continent and its surrounding islands from the dictates of European power" (36-37).

An example of manifest intertextuality to the Monroe Doctrine was apparent when Lindbergh stated that "This western hemisphere is our domain. It is our right to trade freely within it" (19).

There was also manifest intertextuality involving the Neutrality Acts, as Lindbergh mentioned that Congress discussed issues concerning “the embargo of arms, the restriction of shipping, and the allowance of credit” (Appendix B 42). It is also these three issues that serve as the main structure of the speech for Lindbergh.

## Social practice

### Isolationism

“A neutrality built on pacifism alone will eventually fail” (Appendix B 9).

In this speech, Lindbergh stated that the US should remain neutral but should fight if attacked, invoking the Monroe doctrine and its idea of the US controlling and protecting the Western Hemisphere and not interfering in Europe (19-21).

Lindbergh believed that European interference in the business of the Western Hemisphere was what bound the American countries to Europe (37-38), which is why the entire Western hemisphere (Canada included) should remain neutral.

The speech focused on three central issues that were discussed at the time. The first of these issues was the potential repeal of the US embargo on selling munitions to Europe.

Lindbergh was in favor of keeping the embargo, as lifting it would not secure peace and democracy in Europe as he did “not believe this is a war for democracy” (50-51). To him, the conflict was over the balance of power on the European continent, and sending offensive weapons would only prolong the conflict (53).

It was hard for Lindbergh “to understand how the US could contribute to civilization and humanity by sending offensive instruments of destruction to European battlefields” (68-69). He did not want American bombs killing European civilians but stated that he was “perfectly willing to see American anti-aircraft guns shooting American shells at invading bombers over any European country” (90-91). Contributing would involve the US in the devastation of Europe, making the US partially responsible. He referred to WW1 and stated that even though the US and its allies won, “neither the democracy nor the justice for which we fought grew in the peace that followed our victory” (72-73).

Lindbergh believed that “America have not yet reached a point where we wish to capitalize on the destruction and death of war” (64-65). He also believed that selling weapons to one side of the European conflict would mean taking a side in the conflict, and this could snowball into the US sending troops to Europe (60-62).

The second major topic was the restrictions placed on US shipping. Lindbergh believed that the existing rules and regulations did not account for submarines and airplanes, making it harder to know the intention of other vessels (96-101). Therefore, the US should stay out of European waters where there is a risk of loss of American lives (103-104)

The third issue Lindbergh discussed was why the US should not lend more money to the European powers, one reason being that “They not only refused to pay the wartime loans we made, but they refused to pay back what we loaned them after the war was over”(108-109). Lindbergh also worried

that if US industry lent money to a belligerent European nation, some people might be very interested in securing victory for that country, making it even harder for the US to avoid further involvement (Appendix B 117-119).

### Race

To Lindbergh, what bound the US to Europe was a racial bond: “Racial strength is vital – politics, a luxury. If the white race is ever seriously threatened, it may then be time for us to take our part in its protection” (Appendix B 76-77). As mentioned earlier, under Whiteness, immigrant groups such as Jews, Italians, and Eastern Europeans were considered inferior whites, but they were still above other minorities such as Chinese or African Americans (Jacobsen 87).

Lindbergh believed that only if the white race was threatened, the US should get involved “to fight side by side with the English, French, and Germans, but not with one against the other for our mutual destruction” (Appendix B 77-78).

### The Air Defense of America

Lindbergh’s third speech, “The Air Defense of America,” was delivered on May 19, 1940. The central theme was airpower and national defense. Lindbergh was an expert in this field, as he had seen and tested both the German, the Russian, the British, and the French military aircrafts during his three year stay in Europe, as mentioned earlier. Lindbergh “spoke with firsthand knowledge and experience that other non-interventionist leaders could not equal” (Cole 88).

The massive German offensive against the Western front had started: the invasion of Luxembourg, Belgium, the Netherlands, and France had begun. “Until May, 1940, most Americans had viewed the war in Europe as if it were a movie—a drama that, while interesting to watch, had nothing to do with their own lives.” (Olson xvi). In his speech to Congress on May 16, Roosevelt mentioned the risk of a possible invasion through South America (Olson 99), and people were frightened: “The press is hysterical. The newspapers give one the impression that the United States will be invaded next week!” (Lindbergh 348).

The isolationists in Congress believed that the talk of a German invasion of the US was “a smoke screen by the administration to disguise what its critics felt were its plans to lead America into the war against Germany” (Olson 100).

### Text

In this speech, “our” and “we” were still used as unifying terms, and “let us” was used several times to appeal to his listeners for action and support.

Lindbergh was very reassuring concerning US defense: “In fact there is hardly a natural element contributing to air strength and impregnability that we do not now possess. Aviation is for us an asset. It adds to our national safety” (Appendix C 20-22). This will be a recurring theme for Lindbergh.

In this speech, no derogatives were used about Europe. The focus was on the US, the press, propaganda, the politicians, and “the blind selfishness of party politics” ( Appendix C 9-10). His use of “hysterical chatter of calamity and invasion...” (81) scorned some Americans’ fear of invasion; “hysterical” is usually attributed to women, and “chattering” means purposeless or foolish talk .

The interventionists were referred to as “they.” They were described as “powerful elements” but also as a “small minority” that tried to push the US closer to war. In later speeches, it became clear that the personal pronoun “they” was also used for the Roosevelt administration (Cole 158).

The main message in this speech was that a defense policy was needed. The use of the words “intelligent” and “consistent” and the following quote indicated that Lindbergh considered the existing policies lacking these: “Air strength depends more upon the establishment of intelligent and consistent policies than upon the sudden construction of huge numbers of airplanes” (Appendix C 5-7);

At the same time, Lindbergh tried to reassure the American people that the US cannot be attacked: “From the standpoint of defense, we still have two great oceans between us and the warring armies of Europe and Asia ”(19-20)

### Discursive practice

The genre was the same as the previous speeches, but only one broadcaster, MBS, was mentioned in the transcript. In his diary, Lindbergh mentioned Columbia Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) as well (Lindbergh 348).

Intertextuality was evident through interdiscursivity as the Monroe Doctrine was indirectly referenced to when Lindbergh talked about the defense of the Western hemisphere: “As long as American nations work together, as long as we maintain reasonable defense forces, there will be no invasion...” (Appendix C 54-55).

Later in the speech, Lindbergh made an interdiscursive reference to the Nye Committee's findings that bankers and arms exporters had pushed for US engagement in WW1 as he stated, “It is time for the underlying character of this country to rise and assert itself, to strike down these elements of personal profit and foreign interest” (92-93).

### Social Practice

Regarding social practice, not much new was happening. As in his first speech, Lindbergh has references to the natural defenses of the US. What was new in this speech was the focus on internal strength and struggle in the US.

## Isolationism

Lindbergh's first interesting statement was about what the US could learn about national strength from Europe: "national strength must be built within a nation itself and cannot be achieved by limiting the strength of others" (Appendix C 60-61).

He warned the Americans who wanted the US involved in the ongoing conflict that entering the war would cause animosity in Europe: "It will leave us hated by victor and vanquished alike, regardless of which way the tide of battle turns" (71-72).

To Lindbergh, the solution was clear, "If we desire peace, we need only stop asking for war" (85-86). The US should turn to isolationism: "Let us turn our eyes to our own nation. We cannot aid others until we have first placed our own country in a position of spiritual and material leadership and strength" (95-97).

## Exceptionalism

Like the first speech, this speech contained examples of exceptionalism: "Our people have natural ability in the design, construction, and operation of aircraft" (Appendix C 16-17).

Another example of exceptionalism was used to make the Americans pull themselves together and instill courage: "Let us guard America today as our forefathers guarded it in the past" (66-67). The quote showed reverence for how past generations guarded the US and should also inspire the audience to trust that the US could defend itself: "They won this country from Europe with a handful of revolutionary soldiers. We certainly can hold it now ... If we cannot, we are unworthy to have it" (67-69).

## Our Drift Towards War

This speech, called "Our Drift Towards War," was delivered on June 15, 1940. It continued the central theme from the last speech, the importance of national defense and opposition against US entrance into a European war. Lindbergh argued that the national defense of the US could be improved by producing defensive armaments, as well as establishing more bases in the Western Hemisphere.

In Europe, the German army had conquered Paris two days earlier, and Hitler's Germany seemed invincible. Lindbergh feared that war was imminent "Tonight, as his [Roosevelt's] voice came over the radio, I felt he would like to declare war, and was held back only by his knowledge that the country would not stand for it" (Lindbergh 356).

According to Lindbergh's diary, this day was also the first time he met an unnamed Yale student, who was trying to organize the college against American intervention in Europe (Lindbergh 358).

## Text

In this speech, "we" and "our" were still used as unifying terms. The most frequent word combination was "we must," which indicated necessity or urgency. The imperative "let" was used

twice to appeal to his listeners for action. The second occurrence of “let” was followed by the imperatives “speak” and “organize” that strengthened his plea: “Let them know how you feel about this. Speak to your friends and organize in your community” (Appendix D 109-110).

Lindbergh acknowledged that there were “perfectly sincere” people who believed that sending weapons to Europe would not involve America in the European war (14). Their counterparts were the “men among us of less honesty” (17), the interventionists who had “baited the trap of war” (19). Traps are used for animals, here they are used to trap the American people, and the bait is the idea of helping Europe without getting involved.

In his speech, Lindbergh used an interesting metaphor to illustrate that it was too late to get involved in the war in Europe and that America did not have the military strength to do so: “Our present danger results from making gestures with an empty gun after we have already lost the [sic] draw” (25-26). Later in the speech, he used the same metaphor to advocate for building a stronger national defense: “We must stop these gestures with an empty gun” (71).

For the first time, Lindbergh stated that the government was guilty of pushing the US towards war: “We cannot continue for long to follow the course our Government has taken without becoming involved in war with Germany” (12-13). Lindbergh was moreover very critical concerning the Government policy: the aid to their allies in the European war had been “ineffective,” but worse still, the defense of the US had been “inexcusably neglected”: “In fact we have let our own affairs drift along until we have not even a plan of defense for the continent of North America” (35-36).

According to Lindbergh, the drift towards war was a “disaster,” and his use of the words “suicidal conflict” added extra negative connotations; joining the European war would be detrimental for the US as it was not ready. (49-50). The war might be suicidal for the Western nations /white races that are in war against each other (98).

The personal pronoun “you” often appeared in the last paragraphs of the speech, where he addressed the listeners directly in a very strong plea for action. The most interesting use was the double address “you men and women” in the following quote: “You men and women of America ... to you I say that we must act now to stop this trend toward war” (101-102).

### Discursive practice

In this speech, Lindbergh mentioned various shortcomings in US policy:

Lindbergh used a new angle in his argument against involvement in the war: “We demand that foreign nation [sic] refrain from interfering in our hemisphere, yet we constantly interfere in theirs” (Appendix D 33-34).

He compared the political situation in the US to that of France and England, who had promised aid to the invaded countries of Europe without the ability to help: “We have been doing to England and France what they did to Abyssinia, ... and to Norway – we have encouraged them to hope for help we cannot send” (36-38). Lindbergh believed this action would lead “to a disastrous and unsuccessful war” (39-40).

This speech was also a radio address and was recorded at the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) (Lindbergh 358).

In this speech, Lindbergh referred to his previous speeches as he referred to the natural defense of America: “the wide wall of the Atlantic stands between us and the shooting that is going on.” (Appendix D 26-27). Another element that echoed the previous speech was the idea of investing in defenses (72).

Lindbergh tried to show how monumental war between America and Hitler's Europe would be, making a simile for how the war would develop if the US interfered, “It would be more comparable to the struggle which took place between Athens and Sparta, or Rome and Carthage” and continued “It would involve the destiny of America and of western civilization as far into the future as we can see.” (67-69).

## Social Practice

### Isolationism

Lindbergh tried to describe what he believed would happen if the US entered the European war. He painted a bleak picture.

It was no use sending the small existing US army to Europe, as: “We start at a disadvantage because we are not a military nation. Our is not a land of guns and marching men” (Appendix D 60-61). Moreover, before the US would have troops to send to Europe, “German armies may have brought all Europe under their control” (53).

He described Germany as an invincible enemy and predicted that a war would last generations “This is a question of mortgaging the lives of our children and our grandchildren” (59-60). Involvement in the war would require the US “to build an army of several million men. We will need several hundred thousand airplanes before the battling is over. And we must have a navy large enough to transport this force across the sea” (64-66).

According to Lindbergh, the US should plan and build its defenses of the Western hemisphere with the cooperation of the other American countries (72-73). He substantiated the idea further: “We must insist upon military bases being placed whatever they are needed for our safety, regardless of who owns the territory involved” (73-75).

At the end of the speech, Lindbergh urged his listeners to fight against intervention in the European war, stating that a small, powerful minority agitated for war: “They are spending large sums of money in advertisements. They are telegraphing, writing, and talking every hour of the day, pushing us closer and closer to the edge” (103-105). Lindbergh took care not to mention who the powerful minority were, but urged the listeners to organize in their local communities and to contact their representatives in Washington to put pressure on them if they wanted to avoid US involvement in the war (108-112).

### Exceptionalism

Lindbergh used the story of the pioneers in the old west for several reasons. He tried to deter the US from entering the war, and at the same time, he referred to the exceptionalism in the wisdom of the American pioneers: "There is a saying that grew in the old west to the effect that a man who enjoys life should never touch his gun unless he means business" (Appendix D 21-22).

He criticized the politicians of the day and their edging towards war by comparing them to the pioneers stating that "the red-blooded wisdom of the old west is gone from American politics today" (24-35).

As in the previous speeches, it was crucial to Lindbergh to stay out of the European conflict "shall we throw away the independent American destiny which our forefathers gave their lives to win" (95-96).

### Racism

Like many of his contemporaries, Lindbergh believed that there was more than one white race: "Shall we continue this suicidal conflict between western nations and white races" (Appendix D 98). The following quote does, however, indicate that there were only two white races, the European and the American: "the greatest struggle the world has yet known – a conflict between hemispheres, one half of the white race against the other half" (45-46).

### Our Relationship with Europe

This speech was delivered on August 4, 1940, was called "Our Relationship with Europe." It was Lindbergh's first speech concerning nonintervention at a public gathering (Berg 408). A non-interventionist group organized the gathering from Chicago called "the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee." There were approximately 35,000-40,000 spectators at a sunny stadium in Chicago (Lindbergh 375, Cole 106).

In Europe, France had been defeated by Germany on June 25, 1940, so England was the only significant European force left to oppose the Nazi regime. The battle of Britain started July 10 and was still ongoing at the time of this speech.

At the beginning of the speech, Lindbergh seemed more confident and optimistic than in the previous speeches, probably because many people organized in grassroots movements against intervention in the European war (Berg 408), and because "Both political parties had declared against our entry into the war" (Appendix E 20-21). However, Lindbergh did warn the audience that "There are still interests in this country and abroad who will do their utmost to draw us into the war" (18-19).

On August 2, Lindbergh wrote the following about this speech. "It will not be popular but, I think, covers subjects which must be brought out and discussed." (Lindbergh 374) This turned out to be accurate. The speech "provoked more criticism than any earlier statement in his battle against intervention" (Cole 107).

## Text

As in the previous speeches, “we” and “our” are used as unifying terms. In the following quote, Lindbergh used “we” instead of “you” even though he knew more than the listeners: “we have also been misled about political conditions. It has seemed obvious to me for many years that the situation in Europe would have to change” (Appendix E 55-56).

Lindbergh showed more personal involvement than in the previous speeches using the personal pronoun “I” and talked about his personal experiences from his years in Europe: “I found conditions in Europe to be very different from our concept of them here in the United States” (43). He indicated that his points of views were not popular: “I have a different outlook toward Europe than most people in America. In consequence, I am advised to speak guardedly on the subject of the war” (29-30).

He did, however, give his opinion about the European countries. The German military strength was described as “phenomomenal,” which must be a misspelling of “phenomenal,” whereas England and France were described less positive: “I saw the phenomomenal [sic] military strength of Germany growing like a giant at the side of an aged, and complacent England.”(64-65). He went as far as to state that “In England there was organization without spirit. In France there was spirit without organization. In Germany there were both” (67-68).

There was no doubt that Lindbergh thought Germany had not been treated fairly after WW1: “When I saw the wealth of the British Empire, I felt that the rich had become too rich. When I saw the poverty of Central Europe, I felt that the poor had become too poor” (60-62).

In the transcript of the speech, the word “democratic” was in quotes twice. The following quote indicated that Lindbergh ascribed “democratic” the opposite connotation: “It [the issue] was not the support of ‘democracy,’ or the so-called democratic nations would have given more assistance to the struggling republic of post-war Germany” (74-75).

In the following quote, Lindbergh explained charges against Germany of barbarism and aggression as hypocrisy: “Our accusations of aggression and barbarism on the part of Germany, simply bring back echoes of hypocrisy and Versailles” (108-109). The use of “have to” in the following quotation did, however, indicate that Lindbergh did not want Germany to win the war: “In the future we may have to deal with a Europe dominated by Germany” (91-92).

## Discursive practice

This speech was Lindbergh's first public speech concerning nonintervention. He presented himself as a layman, who spoke to the audience as “to close friends...” and was more outspoken, stating: “I prefer to say what I believe, or not to speak at all” (Appendix E 33, 35).

President Washington’s farewell address was referred to when Lindbergh stated that the US had not “escaped the foreign entanglements and favoritisms that Washington warned us against” (15-16).

There were references to foreign propaganda and intertextual references to the previous speech, as Lindbergh still believed there were forces at play trying to get the US involved in the European war

(4-9). Lindbergh referred to European propaganda, stating that the people who did not believe in it were called “a Nazi agent” (Appendix E 53).

## Social practice

### Isolationism

In this speech, Lindbergh stated that the US population were overwhelmingly against involvement in the European war: “When the danger of foreign war was fully realized by our people, the underlying tradition of American independence arose, and in recent weeks its voice has thundered through the weaker cries for war” (Appendix E 12-14).

Lindbergh was happy about the US increase in defense: “our eyes are turned once more in the direction of security and peace, for if our own military forces are strong, no foreign nation can invade us, and, if we do not interfere with their affairs, none will desire to” (23-25).

As previously mentioned, Lindbergh was a non-interventionist rather than an isolationist. He believed it is of “utmost importance for us to cooperate with Europe... It is only by cooperation that we can maintain the supremacy of our western civilization” (87-89).

### Exceptionalism

Lindbergh invoked American exceptionalism stating that America should offer the Europeans “a plan for the progress and protection of the western civilization” (Appendix E 116). He took the exceptionalism further in the following quote “let us carry on the American destiny of which our forefathers dreamed as they cut their farm lands from the virgin forests” (117-118).

Exceptionalism was also invoked when Lindbergh stated: “Our nation was born of courage and hardship. It grew on the fearless spirit of the pioneer” (123).

### Race

In the previous speech, Lindbergh mentioned that if the US entered the war, it would be a conflict between two parts of the white race and western civilization. In this speech, Lindbergh expanded further on the idea of an interdependence of western civilization in Europe and America because he believed that the US could not maintain the superiority of western civilization alone (Appendix E 90).

## Lindbergh’s five speeches - partial conclusion

All of Lindbergh's speeches serve one single purpose, to keep the US out of what became WW2. All the speeches were included to investigate how he would argue against the war.

In his speech “America and European Wars,” Lindbergh stated his fear that the US would be drawn into the war through propaganda as had happened in WW1. He tried to banalize the war calling it “quarrels” but warned the listeners that a war might bring “Dark ages” to Europe and loss of

democracy at home. Lindbergh did show indications of racism but spoke about the white races and an Asiatic race only.

The Second speech, "Neutrality and War," was more detailed and controversial. It discussed the legislation, which involved the embargo of arms, the restriction of shipping, and the allowance of credit and presented Lindbergh's proposal for a policy of neutrality. He opposed the US selling military equipment such as planes and ships to Britain and France; the two countries should, however, be allowed to buy defensive weapons to protect them against enemy airplanes.

The speech was also a comment to the revisions of the Neutrality Acts and to the fact that Canada had joined the war.

In "The Air Defense of America," Lindbergh was trying to appeal to the listeners' common sense. The German offensive against the Western front had started. Roosevelt had mentioned that a German invasion through South America was possible, and people were frightened. Many isolationists believed that the talk of a German invasion of the US was part of the Government's plans to lead America into the war against Germany.

The central theme was airpower and national defense. Lindbergh was an expert in this field as he had seen and tested both the German, the Russian, the British, and the French military aircrafts during his three years of stay in Europe. The main message in this speech was that a defense policy was needed. At the same time, Lindbergh tried to reassure the American people that the US could not be attacked because it was protected by the two great oceans between them and the warring armies of Europe and Asia.

The speech called "Our Drift Towards War" continued the central theme from the last speech, the importance of national defense and opposition against US entrance into a European war. Lindbergh argued that the planning and building of the national defense of the US could be improved by producing defensive armaments, as well as establishing more bases in the Western Hemisphere.

"Our Relationship with Europe" was Lindbergh's first speech concerning nonintervention at a public gathering. The gathering was organized by a noninterventionist group called "the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee." There were approximately 35,000-40,000 spectators.

In Europe, England was the only significant European force left to oppose the Nazi regime. The battle of Britain started July 10 and was still ongoing at the time of this speech.

At the beginning of the speech, Lindbergh seemed more confident and optimistic than in the previous speeches, probably because many people organized grassroots movements against intervention in the European war and because both political parties had declared against US entry into the war. However, Lindbergh did warn the audience that "There are still interests in this country and abroad who will do their utmost to draw us into the war."

On August 2, Lindbergh wrote the following about this speech in his diary. "It will not be popular but, I think, covers subjects which must be brought out and discussed." This turned out to be accurate. The speech "provoked more criticism than any earlier statement in his battle against intervention" (Cole 107).

## Lindbergh and the America First Committee

The reason for this departure from the speeches is that all the previous ones were delivered before Lindbergh was an official member of the organization; it seems like a fitting interlude between the speeches.

Today the concept of America First is associated with right-wing ideas. Although people on the political right may have adopted the term, it was not so when it started. The America First Committee was formed at Yale University in the summer of 1940 and quickly became the “most powerful, vocal, and effective isolationist organization in the country” (Olson 220). The organization’s main goal was to avoid US involvement in the European war, even if it meant that the British lost. Many of the original members were students, born during or just after WW1, which meant that their youth had been influenced by the disillusionment of the war and its aftermath (220).

It seemed logical to assume that only select parts of the US population would support the committee, but it had supporters from all over the political spectrum, at least to begin with (226).

The organization traveled all over the US, urging everyone who shared their beliefs to show their support. However, Charles Lindbergh was the man they wanted the most. He was one of the most outspoken non-interventionists in the country, and his flight over the Atlantic in 1927 had made him a role model for many young boys (Olson 224).

Another reason why the founders of the organization were drawn to Lindbergh was that he was a rebel who, with “his courage and straightforwardness,” defied authority and could not be bought or intimidated. He was, in other words, what they aspired to be (225).

On October 1, 1940, Lindbergh wrote in his diary that the America First Committee’s views were seen as “controversial issues” and they were having a hard time getting radio time, and made the following comment: “It is a fine state of affairs if the question of war and peace cannot be debated before the American people because it is a ‘controversial issue’!” (394).

Later that month, Lindbergh spoke about isolationism at Yale. This speech appeared to be the first time Lindbergh spoke in front of the America First Committee (411). It has been impossible to gain access to this speech, which is archived at Yale (“Charles Augustus Lindbergh Papers”).

Lindbergh was surprised that the Yale students liked his address and stated that “it was by far the most successful and satisfying meeting of this kind in which I have ever taken part” (Lindbergh 411). After much consideration, Lindbergh officially became a member of the America First Committee in April 1941 (Olson 311).

## Between the speeches

No accessible Lindbergh speeches were found between August 1940 and April 1941, while the war continued in Europe, and the non-interventionists worked to keep the US out of war.

September 16, the first-ever US peacetime draft was signed into law (Kennedy 459). Shortly before winning his third term as president in November 1940, Roosevelt did, however, promise that “no American boys are going to be sent into any foreign wars” (Berg 407).

Early January 1941, Roosevelt urged Congress to pass the Lend-Lease bill that would allow him to transfer US military goods such as ships and weapons to any country he deemed necessary, without asking Congress. The bill also allowed deferring payments until later, as well as for deciding if and how it should be repaid (Olson 267).

The non-interventionist were against the Lend-Lease bill. The America First committee organized a large part of the opposition (Cole 46-47).

Lindbergh testified against Lend-Lease on January 23. His testimony had several examples of his strong belief in non-intervention. Representative Luther A. Johnson of Texas asked Lindbergh if he had “sympathy with England’s efforts to defeat Hitler?” Lindbergh answered: “I am in sympathy with the people on both sides, but I think that it would be disadvantageous for England herself, if a conclusive victory is sought.” When asked to elaborate further, Lindbergh stated: “I am in sympathy with the people and not with their aims” (Berg 413-414).

Two weeks later, Lindbergh was called back to testify again. This testimony focused on his sympathies, specifically, Lindbergh’s unwillingness to denounce Nazi war crimes and his support of a negotiated peace, while also stating that he believed the US should not police the world. Lindbergh’s comments were considered unpatriotic by some Americans, who were “incensed at the coldness of his responses...” (Berg 415).

On March 11, the lend-lease act was passed (Cole 93).

On April 25 - Roosevelt criticized Lindbergh publicly for the first time; he compared Lindbergh to Copperheads. Copperheads were Democrats who were part of the Union during the American Civil War, who “wanted to make peace from 1863 on because the North ‘couldn’t win’” (Berg 418).

On May 21, 950 miles off the coast of Brazil, the freighter SS Robin Moor became the first US (still neutral) ship sunk by a German U-boat (Kennedy 494).

[Second AFC speech]

## Election Promises Should Be Kept We Lack Leadership That Places America First

This speech, called “Election Promises Should Be Kept We Lack Leadership That Places America First,” was delivered at Madison Square Garden, New York, at an America First Committee rally on May 23, 194. Twenty-five thousand people attended, and almost as many listened outside as the speech was also transmitted via loudspeakers (Berg 419). Not everyone attending the meeting sympathized with the non-interventionists. A pro-US involvement group called The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies heckled the listeners by stating that they “mingle with Nazis, Fascists and Communists” (Berg 419).

The title of the speech indicated its main topic: election promises were not being kept, and the government was not putting America first.

Lindbergh was probably referring to Roosevelt's promise while running for his third term: "I have said this before but I shall say it again and again and again — your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars" (Olson 260). Roosevelt and his republican opponent for the presidency, Willkie, did, however, both support interventionism in Europe. Lindbergh was also bitter about the fact that the GOP did not pick an isolationist candidate for the presidency. With two interventionists, the voters had no way of showing that they opposed entering the war (Olson xxi).

He expressed frustration at this fact: "have we been given the opportunity to vote on the policy our government has followed? No, we have been led toward war against the opposition of four-fifths of our people" (Appendix G 42-43).

The threat of war did, however, draw closer. Two days before the speech, the US merchant ship SS Robin Moor was sunk by German submarines even though the US was still neutral at the time (Kennedy 494).

## Text

Lindbergh used the adjective "foreign" to distance the US from Europe: "we do not want to cross an ocean to fight on foreign continents, for foreign causes ..." (Appendix G 24-25). The US should not be tied to European wars, which he predicted would be "eternal" (4) and caused by Europe's "shortsightedness" (22).

Still, the American people should not build "a wall around our country and isolate ourselves from contact with the rest of the world" (2-3). Here, as in the previous speeches, he made it clear that the US would defend their hemisphere and that "we have faith that these United States of ours can compete in commerce or in war with any combination of foreign powers" (11-12).

"Democracy" as the American way of life was a key concept in this speech. It was used as a reason for not going to war: "Many of us do not think we can impose our way of life, at the point of a machinegun ..." (26-27). The concept of "Democracy" was, however, primarily used to criticize the US political leaders, Willkie and Roosevelt, whom he accused of lacking both courage, integrity, and vision: "If all of our leaders had the courage, integrity and vision that these men [leading non-interventionists attending the rally] have shown, this country would not be on the verge of war today" (96-97).

Because Willkie and Roosevelt were interventionists, Lindbergh went as far as to compare them to Hitler and Goering: "We in America were given just about as much chance to express our beliefs at the election last Fall, as the Germans would have been given if Hitler had run against Goering" (45-48).

He described the war as "disastrous" for Europe, as he had done before, and indicated that it might be disastrous for the US too: "I do not believe that our system of government in America can survive our participation or our way of life can survive our participation" (57-59).

The following quote indicated that Lindbergh believed the interventionists had “ideals” but no realistic ideas of what war would mean to the US: “It is all very well to shout for war, to say that aggression must be stopped, that our ideals of democracy must be preserved all over the world. But when the shouting is over, then we will be faced with the reality of war” ( Appendix G 68-71).

The speech concludes with Lindbergh’s appeal to the listeners in the name of the committee: “The America First Committee asks your help in carrying out this program. We ask you to join with us in demanding that election promises be kept” (112-113).

### Discursive practice

This was the first included speech in which he spoke as a representative of the America First Committee; there were references to previous speeches: as will be seen under Social Practice, Lindbergh mentioned many times why the US should not enter another war, referring to the Monroe Doctrine and elements of American exceptionalism ( Appendix G 7-9).

Intertextually, he referred to the consequences of war already stated in previous speeches, such as loss of democracy at home and loss of lives (28-30). An example of manifest intertextuality was made when Lindbergh asked his audience to think of WW1 before they pushed the US into another war as that war did not “make the world safe for democracy” (51-52); This was a reference to President Wilson’s reasoning for joining WW1.

### Social practice

#### Isolationism

As mentioned above, Lindbergh advocated clearly for non-interventionism, not isolationism:

He started the speech by stating that he wanted an independent destiny for the US ( Appendix G 1). This did, however not mean, that the US should isolate itself from the rest of the world: “Such a destiny does not mean that we will build a wall around our country and isolate ourselves from contact with the rest of the world” (1-3).

Lindbergh pointed out several reasons for non-intervention.

The interventionists claim that the US should enter the European war to spread democracy (49-50). Lindbergh did not believe that democracy could be imposed by “the point of a machine gun.” (26-27) Moreover, he feared that US entrance into the war would endanger the American way of life and democracy as the American people did not want to enter the war (38-39).

He also believed that the US lacked a concrete plan of engagement if it were to succeed in fighting the Axis, “Someone must do the fighting; someone the dying. When we turn from sentiment and emotion to reality and action, the task we face is staggering” (72-73). Lindbergh enumerated many practical problems: the US must cross the oceans, was outnumbered both in population and soldiers, and the US military was not as well trained or experienced (74-77).

## Exceptionalism

American Exceptionalism is evident: according to Lindbergh, democracy could come “only from the hearts and minds of the people. It can be spread abroad by example, but never by force” (Appendix G 32-33). The quote could even be an example of “the city upon a hill,” where the US should be something other countries strive to be like.

Later in the speech, he continued: “We can spread our ideals in other countries. We can defend this hemisphere from invasion. And all of this can be accomplished without entering the war” (110-111).

## Race

In previous Lindbergh speeches (Appendix A, B, and D), he talked about maintaining the white races and Western civilizations.

This speech contained phrases that indicated that Lindbergh was not racist. He emphasized that one of the things that made the US unique were the many races, religions, and beliefs that live together in unison: “Here, in this country, we have learned to live peacefully together. Here we have developed a racial tolerance such as the world has never known before. Here we have developed a civilization in many ways never previously approached” (Appendix G 81-84).

He made it clear that racial tolerance did cover the white races only, as he stated: “We came from every part of Europe and from every portion of the earth” (81).

## Who are the war agitators (The Des Moines speech)

This speech, which is often called the Des Moines speech, was named “Who are the War Agitators?” It was delivered on September 11, 1941, and was Lindbergh’s most controversial speech. Lindbergh railed against foreign interests and the minority who wanted the US to enter the European War. Lindbergh named the British, the Jewish People, and the Roosevelt Administration as the primary war agitators.

His wife Anne warned him about criticizing the Jewish people. She believed most people would simply see the headlines calling Lindbergh an anti-Semite as it was “so much simpler to brand someone with a bad label than to take the trouble to read what he says” (Berg 425). However, Lindbergh was less concerned with what other people thought about his person than “whether it will help to keep us out of war” (Berg 425).

In the previous week, the US destroyer Greer was attacked near Iceland. President Roosevelt did not speak publicly on the topic until just before Lindbergh held this speech. In his speech, Roosevelt gave the US navy “Shoot on sight” orders if they encountered German or Italian ships inside the designated American Defense Zone, which stretched from Iceland to the west coast of Africa (Berg 426). To Lindbergh, the Shoot-on-sight order was another step towards war.

In most of his previous speeches, Lindbergh had been comparatively vague about who the interventionists were. In this speech, he was ready to speak out and give examples. “In doing this, I

must speak with the utmost frankness, for in order to counteract their efforts, we must know exactly who they are" (Appendix H 38-39).

### Text

As in the other speeches, Lindbergh used the personal pronoun "we" and "our" to create a sense of unity with the audience. Lindbergh did, however, also use the personal pronoun "they" referring to the interventionists.

Lindbergh mentioned and discussed the three most important groups who, in his opinion, were pushing the US toward war, "the British, the Jewish and the Roosevelt administration" (Appendix H 40-41). In previous speeches, he had criticized interventionist propaganda, and now he went as far as using the noun "subterfuge" about it.

Most of the criticism aimed at Britain had already been given in earlier speeches and will not be repeated here. He did, however, add, "We know that she [Britain] spent huge sums of money in this country during the last war in order to involve us," and he indicated that the British had been proud of this: "Englishmen have written books about the cleverness of its use" (66-68).

Concerning the Roosevelt administration, Lindbergh used two keywords to explain their motives for advocating war, "power" and "prestige." According to Lindbergh, the power of the Roosevelt administration depended upon the maintenance of a wartime emergency to assume what Lindbergh considered "dictatorial procedures" (94-97). Their prestige was dependent on England winning the war (100). As stated earlier, the danger of the administration was their "subterfuge" (102).

His wording concerning Jewish Americans was ambiguous. He condemned the Nazi persecution of the Jews: "No person with a sense of the dignity of mankind can condone the persecution of the Jewish race in Germany" (76-77). At the same time, he stated that the Jewish interventionists were "dangerous" to the US: "Their greatest danger to this country lies in their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio and our government" (84-85).

Lindbergh accused the British, the Jewish Americans, and the Roosevelt Administration of using propaganda to glorify war and smearing non-interventionists using derogatives like "fifth columnist," "traitor," "Nazi," and "anti-Semitic" (121-122).

The speech was still a call for action, but the tone was different, more direct. In the previous speech, Lindbergh had asked the audience to act as a representative of the America First Committee, here he simply states: "Help us to organize these meetings; and write to your representatives in Washington" (170).

### Discursive practice

Eight thousand lowans heard Lindbergh's speech in person (Berg 426). In his diary, Lindbergh wrote that "it was the most unfriendly crowd of any meeting to date, by far" (Lindbergh 537). He also stated that there had been "shouters" paid to disturb the America First speakers, but as the meeting

progressed, “the clapping and cheering of our supporters overcame the cries of our opposition” (Lindbergh 537).

This speech was an overt departure from Lindbergh's previous speeches. He felt that he was “fighting a losing battle” against the intervention in the European war, that now was the time to publicly name the war agitators (Berg 425- 426).

Lindbergh made several intertextual references to his previous speeches.

An interesting discursive reference was Lindbergh’s statement about the ongoing discussion about US intervention: “If you will look back over the record, you will find that those of us who oppose intervention have constantly tried to clarify facts and issues; while the interventionists have tried to hide facts and confuse issues” (Appendix H 15-17).

As in some of the previous speeches, he argued that if the American people had been allowed to vote on the issue of US involvement or known “the true facts and issues,” there would be no danger of US involvement in the European conflict. He questioned the possibility of invading Europe again (11-12) and repeated that the US had an excellent defensive position and that the US “had a tradition of independence from Europe” (31-32).

Finally, Lindbergh accused Britain of wanting the US to shoulder the responsibility and price of waging war (57-60).

## Social practice

### Isolationism

This speech was different from the previous ones regarding isolationism, as Lindbergh mostly focused on describing how the British, the Jewish Americans, and the Roosevelt administration had led the US towards war.

The speech contained one example of isolationist rhetoric about the US intervention in WW1: “we had a tradition of independence from Europe, and the one time we did take part in a European war left European problems unsolved, and debts to America unpaid” (Appendix H 31-33).

He believed the administration had misled the American public through subterfuge because “While its members have promised us peace, they have led us to war heedless of the platform upon which they were elected” (102-104).

He believed the covert plan was to “prepare the United States for foreign war under the guise of American defense” through propaganda that depicted intervention as favorable to the alternative. Then, to involve the US in the war, without the peoples’ realization. Finally, various incidents would be created that would force the US into the war (115-117).

This push for war worried Lindbergh as he still believed that the US was unprepared, but he stated it was not too late for the US to pull back, as “Only one thing holds this country from war today. That is the rising opposition of the American people” (157-158).

## Race

Lindbergh distinguished between the Jewish Americans and other Americans. He used the personal pronoun “them” about the Jewish Americans and the British as a group, and although he stated, “I am not attacking either the Jewish or the British people. Both races, I admire” (Appendix H 86), he called their motives for entering the war “not American” (88).

Lindbergh believed that influential Jewish Americans were pushing the US towards war. Lindbergh’s reasoning seemed to be that they had “large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio and our government.” (84-85) This perceived influence made Jewish Americans dangerous to the non-interventionists’ cause.

He stated that he could easily understand that the American Jews “desire the overthrow of Nazi Germany”(74) and clearly distanced himself from the Nazis' attempt to exterminate the Jewish people: “No person with a sense of the dignity of mankind can condone the persecution of the Jewish race in Germany” (76-77).

In his previous speech, Lindbergh had described the US as the world’s most racially tolerant nation, but he had also stated that tolerance could not survive war and devastation. (Appendix G 66-68, 83). In this speech, he warned the Jewish Americans that they would be among the first to feel the consequences of war “Instead of agitating for war, the Jewish groups in this country should be opposing it in every possible way for they will be among the first to feel its consequences”(Appendix H 78-80). This argumentation almost seemed like thinly veiled threats towards Jewish Americans.

As mentioned under Text, Lindbergh seemed to distinguish between the Jewish Americans and other Americans. The exclusion of Jewish Americans was most apparent in the following statement: “We cannot allow the natural passions and prejudices of other peoples to lead our country to destruction” (91-92).

This singling out of Jewish Americans angered many. Although antisemitic sentiment did exist in American society, many generally condemned Nazi racialism (Kennedy 410). Almost all published newspapers, including isolationist ones, opposed the speech, as it was panned as being anti-Semitic (Olson 29.52 29.53).

## Lindbergh’s America First speeches - partial conclusion

The speech, called “Election Promises Should Be Kept We Lack Leadership That Places America First,” was delivered at an America First Committee rally. Twenty-five thousand people attended, and almost as many listened outside as the speech was also transmitted via loudspeakers. Not everyone attending the meeting sympathized with the non-interventionists who were accused of mingling with Nazis, Fascists, and Communists.

The title of the speech indicated its main topic: election promises of non-intervention were not being kept, and the government was not putting America first. While running for his third term, Roosevelt promised that US soldiers would not be sent into any foreign wars. Roosevelt and his republican opponent for the presidency, Willkie, did, however, both support interventionism in Europe. Lindbergh was also bitter that the Republicans had not picked an isolationist candidate for

the presidency. With two interventionists, the voters had no way of showing that they opposed entering the war.

Lindbergh had many reasons for not entering the war in Europe: Lindbergh feared that US entrance into the war would endanger the American way of life and democracy, and the US lacked a concrete plan of engagement if it was to succeed in fighting the Axis. He also enumerated many practical problems such as the fact that the US must cross the oceans, was outnumbered both in population and soldiers, and the US military was not as well trained or experienced.

This speech, "Who are the War Agitators?" was Lindbergh's most controversial speech, in which he railed against foreign interests and the US minority who wanted the US to enter the European War. Lindbergh named the British, the Jewish People, and the Roosevelt Administration as the primary war agitators.

In the previous week, the US destroyer Greer was attacked near Iceland, and Roosevelt gave the US navy "Shoot on sight" orders if they encountered German or Italian ships inside the designated American Defense Zone. To Lindbergh, the Shoot-on-sight order was another step towards war, and it seems that he knew he was fighting a losing battle against intervention.

In most of his previous speeches, Lindbergh had been comparatively vague about who the interventionists were. In this speech, he was ready to speak out and give examples to counteract their efforts. The British were accused of using propaganda to lure the US into the war. According to Lindbergh, the power of the Roosevelt administration depended upon the maintenance of a wartime emergency to assume what Lindbergh considered "dictatorial procedures" and called the Jewish Americans' motives for entering the war "not American."

The Des Moines speech drew focus from nonintervention to anti-Semitism. Lindbergh himself did not understand what the problem with his speech was, as can be read in his diary entry from the Monday, September 15:

*"I felt I had worded my Des Moines address carefully and moderately. It seems that almost anything can be discussed today in America except the Jewish problem. The very mention of the word 'Jew' is cause for a storm. Personally, I feel that the only hope for a moderate solution lies in an open and frank discussion" (Lindbergh 539).*

## Donald Trump's America First

This section will provide a brief overview of events in the twenty-first century that may be of importance to Trump's concept of America First. After that, a brief description of Trump and his life in the years leading up to his presidency will follow. After that, select speeches will be analyzed.

## Contemporary History

In order to better understand Trump's version of America First, it is essential to consider what may have shaped the US in the years leading up to his election.

### Terrorism and wars

September 11, 2001, changed the US. The country was hit by the most significant terrorist attack in US history. It was a defining moment for many Americans, which made the world feel less safe. Shortly after that, President George W. Bush started the war in Afghanistan to fight terrorism. The US and its allies drove the Taliban from power, but many al-Qaeda and Taliban members escaped to neighboring areas.

In 2003 the United States and its allies invaded Iraq under the pretext of there being weapons of mass destruction. The legitimacy of the war has been questioned as no weapons of mass destruction were found. The US military is still stationed there to stabilize the region (Hamasaeed and Nada).

Osama bin Laden, the mastermind behind the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center, was tracked down and killed in 2011. The same year the Iraq war ended officially, the American troops withdrew, leaving a power vacuum that was gradually filled by Islamist insurgency groups. Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) was among these insurgency groups. In mid-2014, as they had gained territory in Syria and Iraq, the Caliphate, or Islamic State (IS) was formed (Hashim 69).

Later that year, the United States announced the creation of a broad international coalition to defeat ISIS. Seventy-nine nations and institutions eventually joined it. The occupied territories were gradually liberated, and in early 2019 their last stronghold was defeated.

Many conflicts are still ongoing in the Middle East, such as the civil war in Syria.

### The Stock Market Crash

In 2008 a significant stock market crash caused a global economic recession. The 2008 financial crisis was the most significant economic downturn since the Great Depression. Many companies thought to be stable came tumbling down, and the unemployment rate rose (Amadeo). Large sums of money were spent to avoid a second great depression. Most of the money was spent on Wall Street that recovered relatively fast, while homeowners struggled (Amedee 2).

## The First Black President

Barack Obama won the presidential election in November 2008. The fact that an African American was elected president of the US was groundbreaking. Obama hoped to bridge the political gap in Washington and strived to be the president for all US citizens. However, many of his goals were not reached as the Republicans opposed his policies from day one (Barr).

The Affordable Care Act, also known as Obamacare, was one of Obama's key issues. It was passed into law in March 2010 without the support of the Republican Party. This strengthened rifts between Democrats and Republicans and in the US public further (Carlsen and Park).

Obama won re-election in November 2012, but American politics remained as divided as ever. At the midterm elections in 2014, the Republicans gained control of both chambers of Congress. As a result, Obama had a hard time getting any policies through during the last two years of his presidency.

## America Divided

The US was not only divided in Washington D.C; the divide grew between Washington and the people who perceived the Obama Administration as having sided with the rich and powerful in its attempt to keep the American economy afloat. In spring 2009, this led to the establishment of the Tea Party Movement, a grassroots movement of mainly Republicans that were dissatisfied with all the help banks and businesses received, while the homeowners were left to fend for themselves (Amedee 2).

When Obama was elected president, many people thought or hoped that the US had turned over a new leaf regarding racism (Coates 132). This was not the case. Obama did not want to divide the country over race issues, but because he was black and because he was president and the fact that he expressed any opinion on race made it an issue (Coates 69, 122).

An example of this was the Trayvon Martin case, in which an African American unarmed teenager was shot by a neighborhood watchman, and the local police were unwilling to arrest the watchman. The reaction to the murder was generally in support of an investigation, but when Obama commented on the murder, partisan politics flared up, and protests started all over the country (Coates 120).

During Obama's presidency, rhetoric was growing harsher. Social media platforms such as Twitter gave everybody the opportunity to express their opinions in new and uncensored ways, and everybody, including the president, could be a target.

Opposition to Obama's policies was predicated on racism, misinformation, and personal attacks such as the allegations that he was not born in America, and therefore could not be president. The man who would become president after Obama, Donald J. Trump, was part of the opposition.

On August 6, 2012, Trump tweeted that "An 'extremely credible source' has called my office and told me that @BarackObama's birth certificate is a fraud." (@realDonaldTrump).

## Background Trump

Donald J. Trump was born in 1946. His father, Fred Trump, was a German American real estate developer (Churchwell, Ch. Epilogue). Donald Trump graduated with a bachelor's degree in economics from the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance and Commerce in 1968 and started working in his father's company and took it over in 1971.

Trump has had a long media career. He has, among other things written books, and taken part in talk shows. In 2004, his TV show, "The Apprentice," started. It was a competition about being the best candidate to work for Trump, who became known for his phrase "You're fired," used when participants had to exit the show (Osborne and Roberts 3).

During the Obama presidency, Trump gained fame and infamy as a part of the Birther Movement, questioning the legality of the Obama presidency (Lopez). At Obama's Correspondents Dinner in 2011, the then-president ridiculed Trump over the birther conspiracy. He mocked Trump's credentials and indicated that Trump had a bad taste by showing a picture of the White House with flashy decorations, a swimming pool, and a golf course. Some argue that this may have been a motivating factor for Trump to run for the presidency (Gopnik).

Not long after Mitt Romney's loss to Obama in 2012, Trump trademarked the phrase "Make America great again" (Wilson), and in June 2015, Trump announced that he would be starting the campaign that would eventually lead him to the presidency in the 2016 elections.

When Trump started campaigning for the nomination, most people did not believe he would succeed in becoming the Republican nominee, let alone become president, but he did. Trump voiced controversial opinions few were willing to speak. In February 2015, he did, for example, tweet: "The Mexican legal system is corrupt, as is much of Mexico. Pay me the money that is owed me now - and stop sending criminals over our border" (@realdonaldtrump). After he had announced his candidacy, he continued: "Druggies, drug dealers, rapists and killers are coming across the southern border. When will the U.S. get smart and stop this travesty?" (@realdonaldtrump).

The Republican establishment did not want Trump as their nominee, but Trump won the Republican nomination (Osborne and Roberts 196).

## Trump's Speeches

The following chapter contains Trump's speeches analyzed in the same way as Lindbergh's. This means that elements of the speeches that do not relate to America First will be left out or will only be mentioned briefly.

It is well known that American presidents have political advisors that may also serve as speechwriters. According to The Washington Post, this is also the case with Donald Trump (Roig-Franzia). The content of the speeches is, however, considered his views as he is presenting them.

The speeches will be divided into three parts: pre-presidency speeches, UN speeches, and SOTU speeches.

## Pre-presidency Speeches

### Republican Nomination Speech

This speech was delivered at the Republican National Convention (RNC) on July 21, 2016, when Trump accepted the nomination as the Republican candidate for the presidency. It served as a campaign speech and an acceptance speech in one. Trump had won the Republican nomination against all odds, and he was now campaigning against Democrat Hillary Clinton to become president of the US.

Trump made many promises and touched on many different topics. The speech painted a picture of a nation in crisis, and Trump introduced himself as the only one who could save it.

### Text

Through his campaign, Trump tried to show that he was different from the other politicians stating that “I will present the facts plainly and honestly. We cannot afford to be so politically correct anymore” (Appendix I 23-24) - his rhetoric reflected this.

In this speech, as in most of his other speeches, Trump’s language was informal and easily understandable. His use of highly descriptive adjectives and adverbs as in “tremendous better support” (314) and “savagely murdered” (183) left no doubt what he meant. His opinions were occasionally stressed by incomplete sentences like “Not so good” (9).

Trump used populist rhetoric. He played upon the divide between the American citizens and the Establishment, describing the system as being “rigged” by the elite, which is a key element in John Judis’ description of Rightwing populism: “the people against an elite that they accuse of coddling a third group, which can consist, for instance, of immigrants, Islamists, or African American militants.” (Judis 15).

Trump used the personal pronouns “our” and “we” to create a sense of unity or intimacy between himself and his audience: “I say we because we are a team” (Appendix I 4-5).

Opposed to this unity stood his adversaries, in this speech Hillary Clinton, the Establishment, and foreigners who were referenced using “she,” “they,” and “them.” Finally, Trump used the personal pronoun “I” but apparently also majestic “we” about himself: “We are going to enforce all trade violations ...” (277).

Trump used alliteration occasionally to emphasize some of his points. He described the leaders of the country as “a group of censors, critics, and cynics” (355-356).

Repetition of words was also one of Trump’s rhetorical tools. He stated that “Clinton is proposing mass amnesty, mass immigration, and mass lawlessness...” (249) and used the word “mass” to stress the enormity of the undocumented immigration problem. “Mass” was also used to create a logical

connection between Clinton's proposal of making "sanctuary cities" ("mass amnesty") with "immigration" and "lawlessness."

As the description of Trump's rhetoric above applies to most of his speeches in this thesis, his rhetoric will primarily be commented on if important changes or additions occur.

Trump focused on the number of homicides in the US and inferred that the "Nearly 180,000 illegal immigrants with criminal records..." (Appendix I 40) were responsible for this rise by telling a story about "One such border-crosser" who killed a young woman (46-47). Undocumented immigrants were not only described as criminals; they were also held partly responsible for unemployment and low wages (211). Trump suggested that a border wall would be a solution (231).

Unemployment and low wages were also partly caused by Clinton's "horrible and unfair trade deals" (123-124), as were the "failed" foreign policy in the Middle East (191-192). The establishment was at fault: "As long as we are led by politicians who will not put America first, then we can be assured that other nations will not treat America with respect" (98-99).

Trump stated it was time to show the world that the US was "back, bigger and better and stronger than ever before" (338), and branded himself as the person who would put America First, solve the country's problems and protect "the forgotten men and women": "I have joined the political arena so that the powerful can no longer beat up on people that cannot defend themselves" (140-141).

### Discursive Practice

As the speech was held at the Republican National Convention, the main audience must have been republican supporters.

There are several examples of manifest intertextuality. Trump echoed slogans and concepts of earlier Presidents. In an interview with the *Washington Post*, he stated that when he came up with his slogan "Make America great again." he was unaware that President Ronald Reagan had used the term "Let's Make America Great again" (Blake).

Trump used the phrase "forgotten men and women," which echoed Franklin D Roosevelt's "forgotten men" (Mercieca). His statement "I am your voice" could also be seen as a reference to Nixon's "silent majority" (Osborne and Roberts xxiii-xxiv).

The most apparent interdiscursivity was the fact that the speech was part of the discussion of who should be the next president of the US.

### Social Practice

#### Isolationism

In this speech, Trump did not show isolationist tendencies. He argued that the US should look inwards, but at the same time, he wanted to negotiate better trade deals with other countries (Appendix I 274-275).

He wanted to build a great border wall to protect the US from undocumented immigrants bringing drugs and crime into the US (Appendix I 231-232). The physical wall, as such, is not necessarily isolationist, although it would be physically separating the US from the rest of America. On an abstract level, the wall would be a symbol of racism as the purpose of the wall was keeping unwanted, undocumented immigrants out of the US. The fact that he used Clinton's call to accept more Syrian refugees as a weapon against her, enforced that notion (203-304). Trump's statement, "Americanism, not globalism, will be our credo," could also be interpreted as a withdrawal from international obligations (96-97).

At the same time, Trump did not want the US to withdraw from the world; instead, he wanted to "work with all of our allies who share our goal of destroying ISIS and stamping out Islamic terrorism..." (193-194). He also stated that he would cooperate with other countries but only if it benefited the US. He was primarily critical about "bad" trade deals with, for instance, China and promised "to never sign any trade agreement that hurts our workers, or that diminishes our freedom and Independence... America first" (273-274).

### Exceptionalism

A few months before he launched his candidacy Trump denounced American exceptionalism. He stated that he had never liked the word and that it was false: America was "dying" as other countries were exploiting the US. Trump did, however, say that the US could become exceptional if the country took back what the US had given the world (Wertheim 128-129).

This was an underlying theme in this speech. Trump painted a picture of a US fallen from grace. It was not respected internationally and domestically (Appendix I 66-67); everything has been allowed to decay, as "the people" have been neglected because the Establishment had not put America First (98-100).

Trump's phrase "Make America Great Again," hinted at a wish to return to an unspecified time when the US was great. Rucker and Leonnig suggested that it was "a brilliant, one-size-fits-all mantra" for those Americans who "envisioned an America in which regulations didn't strangle the family business, taxes weren't so onerous, and good-paying jobs were plentiful and secure" (2).

### Race/Nativism

Trump's opposition to admitting immigrants from Muslim majority countries shows racism:

He wanted to "suspend immigration from any nation that has been compromised by terrorism." (Appendix I 200-201). He also stated he only wanted to "admit individuals into our country who will support our values and love our people" (Appendix I 208-209). At face value, this sounded noble, but the context suggested that Muslim immigrants did not fit that description.

As seen under the Text part above, undocumented immigrants were described as criminals that threatened ordinary US citizens. This is why Trump wanted to build the wall, which, as described under Isolationism, is a symbol of racism.

## Comparison

Lindbergh's and Trump's "America First" had both similarities and differences.

A clear difference between the two was how they referred to their opponents; Trump was more opinionated and crass from the start attacking his opponents by name, whereas Lindbergh was more measured, trying to argue through reason naming no names until the very last speech.

Both men use populist rhetoric as they claim to be the voice of the people. They fought for people who could not protect themselves or were being ignored. Lindbergh stated that the AFC sought "to give voice to the people who have no newspaper, or news reel, or radio station at their command" (Appendix F 124-125); Trump in this speech addressed the "forgotten men and women," who were in much the same situation.

Both men signal authority. Trump argued that he knew the system better than anybody and that he alone could "fix it" (Appendix I 142). Having lived in several European countries and having inspected their military installations, Lindbergh also spoke with authority (Appendix E 82-83). He did, however, not promise to fix anything but presented what he considered facts in order to make people think for themselves when he compared the condition of the US army to the German army (Appendix D 52-55).

Trump and Lindbergh both used the concept of American exceptionalism. Trump believed American exceptionalism was lost but could be gained back, and Lindbergh believed that the US should protect what made it exceptional by not going to war.

Both men used the concept of a wall. Trump wanted to build a physical wall. Lindbergh argued that the oceans surrounding America were enough for him (Appendix A 64-67).

Lindbergh's distancing from the international sphere more passive than that of Trump, who wanted to build a wall to protect the US from various dangers such as undocumented immigration and the criminality that followed. Lindbergh needed no physical manifestations of his wish for less involvement in European conflicts. However, for Trump, the wall became a physical manifestation of internal beliefs.

Trump's accusations that undocumented immigrants were criminals that should be thrown out of the US indicated nativism, and his broad generalizations of Muslims being terrorists showed racism. Compared to Trump, Lindbergh was by far less aggressive. In most of his speeches, racism was used as an argument against the war in Europe. The white races in Europe should not fight each other, and neither should the white race in the US fight the white race in Europe (Appendix D 46, 98).

## Trump's Inaugural Address

Trump's Inaugural Address was delivered on January 20, 2017, after he was sworn in as President of the United States.

According to Campbell and Jamieson, the presidential inaugural address can be seen as a form of rhetoric that either "praises or blames on ceremonial occasions, invites the audience to evaluate the speaker's performance, recalls the past and speculates about the future while focusing on the present, employs a noble, dignified literary style, and amplifies or rehearses admitted facts" (29).

Contrary to what might be expected, Trump continued using populist rhetoric. He accused the Establishment of having impoverished the middle class, his "forgotten men and women," in favor of globalism and promised the impoverished that they would be listened to and that life would become better when Trump put America First.

### Text

As might be expected from an inaugural address, this speech is more formal than his nomination speech, with fewer descriptive adjectives and adverbs and no incomplete sentences.

Trump built his speech on opposites between the US before he was president and the US to come and to a lesser degree, between the Establishment and the people (Bryant and Moffitt).

He juxtaposed the fortune of the Establishment with the misfortune of the American people several times to cement his point about the Establishment that "flourished," "prospered," and "celebrated," while "the people did not share in its wealth" as factories closed (Appendix J 15-16, 19).

Trump blamed the Establishment for the unemployment and poverty caused by "ravages" of other countries, who were making products instead of Americans, stealing companies, and destroying US jobs. His description of the current situation was quite colorful, albeit gloomy: "rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones" (38).

This situation was going to change: "Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs, will be made to benefit American workers and American families" (62-63). In essence, Trump's solution to all of America's problems was "Buy American and hire American" (74).

Trump turned his victory into a victory of the people, as he stated, "Today ... we are transferring power from Washington, D.C. and giving it back to you, the People." (11-12).

Trump promised unity with the people now that he was the president. This unity was evident when Trump stated that "We will bring back our jobs," "borders," "wealth," and "dreams" (68-69). At the end of the speech, Trump stated that "together, we will make America great again" (119), pushing the idea of a positive future for the American people.

### Discursive Practice

This was Trump's Inaugural Address. What separated this speech from his Nomination speech was that Trump no longer needed to make personal attacks since he had won the presidential election. Trump could focus on how he would make America great again. This did not mean that he stopped using populist rhetoric; this time, the enemy was not undocumented immigrants, but globalism and international obligations that had been accepted by the Establishment.

As indicated earlier, inaugural speeches are supposed to unite the American people. Trump was primarily speaking to the “forgotten men and women,” but he did state that “When America is united, America is totally unstoppable” (Appendix J 86).

Trump painted a bleak picture of the US, summarizing America's problems with gangs, drugs, crime, poverty, and unemployment, which he referred to as the “American carnage” (42). In this speech, he promised to end this carnage.

## Social Practice

### Isolationism

Trump expressed unilateralism as defined by Atsushi Tago: “Unilateralism is the term to describe a situation where the powerful state disrespects multilateral norms and adopts a self-centered foreign policy” (Tago).

This can, for instance, be seen in the following quote “From this moment on, it’s going to be America First ... Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs, will be made to benefit American workers and American families” (Appendix J 62-63).

He distanced himself from the foreign policy of former administrations, who “spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay” (49-50) and lamented the fact that the US “defended other nation’s borders while refusing to defend our own” (48). Trump believed that this had had profound consequences for the US as “the wealth, strength, and confidence of our country has disappeared over the horizon” (51-52).

Trump’s statement that “We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world.” (75) showed that Trump is not an isolationist. The fact that he would “unite the civilized world against Radical Islamic Terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the Earth” (79-80) cemented that.

### Exceptionalism

The speech contained exceptionalist rhetoric, of which the following was the most obvious: Trump referred to the “City Upon A Hill” when he stated: “We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example, we will shine, for everyone to follow” (Appendix J 77-78).

This marked a change from Trump’s acceptance speech in which he stated that the US was devoid of Exceptionalism. According to Wertheim, Trump had stated he might like to make America exceptional by taking back what it had given the world (Wertheim 129). Now that he had become president, he had the chance to do so.

## Comparison

Trump and Lindbergh were both in favor of increased military spending, but not for the same reasons. Lindbergh advocated building a strong military for defensive purposes, whereas Trump's purpose was offensive; he was ready to fight and annihilate radical Islamic terrorism.

Both men opposed the Establishment's involvement abroad. Trump's aversion appeared economy based. According to Trump, the US had been allowed to deteriorate because the former government was busy helping other countries. Lindbergh was frustrated that defensive armaments produced in the US. were sent to Europe instead of benefiting US defense: "Almost as fast as fighting planes were turned out from our factories, they were sent abroad, although our own air corps was in the utmost need of new equipment..." (Appendix H 136-137).

The last lines of Trump's speech show the difference between the two men; Trump wanted to make America great/exceptional again, exemplified by the five variations of "We Will Make America [strong/wealthy/proud/safe/great] again" (Appendix J 113-117), and Lindbergh wanted to keep it exceptional. An example of this wish to preserve the US as it was can be seen in the following quote "Now that we have become one of the world's greatest nations, shall we throw away the independent American destiny which our forefathers gave their lives to win?" (Appendix D 94-96).

## Presidency Speeches

In his previous speeches, Trump had primarily focused on immigration and the economy; now, he set out to do something about these problems. The following contains a summary of events and actions relevant to the speeches.

In the later part of January 2017, Trump signed three executive orders, the first instated travel bans on seven Muslim majority countries and froze the intake of Syrian refugees. The second directed funds to his planned wall along the US-Mexican border. The third barred sanctuary cities from receiving federal money (Davis).

In the following months, Trump initialized renegotiations of various international agreements and deals, such as the Asia-focused Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), a trade agreement the US had with Canada and Mexico (Baker).

Trump announced that the US would leave the Paris Climate Agreement because it limited US sovereignty, harmed American workers, and was a disadvantage for the US economy (Shear).

## Remarks by President Trump to the 72nd Session of United Nations General Assembly

This was Trump's first speech at the United Nations General Assembly in New York, held on September 19, 2017.

Presidential addresses to the United Nations typically indicate what he or she would like the UN to do (Knigge), but Trump focused on what he wanted to do and what his Administration had achieved.

Previously, the US and its allies had generally sought to work together internationally, accepting some give and take between countries. It was speculated that Trump's focus on sovereign rights and sovereignty could mean that he would care less about what repressive governments are doing to its citizens now that it is all about thinking of one's own country first (Calamur).

### Text

Trump opened this speech quite formally, yet the formality did not last long. The informal and, at times, the aggressive style used in his nomination speech was used in this forum too.

He started his speech glorifying the US and his administration's achievements and introduced the concept "sovereignty" in the sense of "self-government" as an eloquent adaptation of his slogan America First. The concept was used throughout the speech, often followed by "security" and "prosperity" to stress its positive connotation. Trump stated that "Our [the UN's] success depends on a coalition of strong and independent nations that embrace their sovereignty to promote security, prosperity, and peace for themselves and for the world" (Appendix K 45-47).

This appeared to be his legitimization for stating: "I will always put America first, just like you, as the leaders of your countries will always, and should always, put your countries first." (73-74). What this meant became apparent in the following quote: "But we can no longer be taken advantage of or enter into a one-sided deal where the United States gets nothing in return" (79-81).

Trump's vocabulary left no doubt as to his sympathies. The noun "nation" was used about countries he sympathized with. Political enemies were called "regimes" or "loser terrorists."

Apparently, sovereignty did not apply to all nations. Trump criticized the government of several nations for not putting their people first. Trump was very critical of Nicolas Maduro's Venezuela that was called a "socialist dictatorship" and a "corrupt regime" (242-243).

Trump's attack on Iran and especially North Korea was even more aggressive and offensive. Trump used numerous derogatives: the Iranian government was described as a "corrupt dictatorship" (138) that exported "violence, bloodshed, and chaos" (140). North Korea was called a "depraved regime" (112) and a "band of criminals" (123) who should never be armed with nuclear weapons. North Korea's sovereignty was not respected when Trump threatened North Korea with destruction: "if it [the US] is forced to defend itself or its allies, we will have no choice but to totally destroy North Korea" (124-125). Furthermore, he ridiculed Kim Jong Un, nicknaming him "Rocket man" (125).

### Discursive practice

Although this was a new forum, Trump's maiden speech in the UN contained many of his favorite subjects from previous speeches such as America First, disguised as "sovereignty, attacks on enemies, terrorism, economy, and trade.

The primary audience was the members of the UN, but the speech contained much promotion of the US and of Trump, which indicated that he considered the part of the American public who heard or watched his speech as a secondary audience. This may explain why he ended his speech, "God bless

you. God bless the nations of the world. And God bless the United States of America” ( Appendix K 324-325).

The nickname “rocket man” was not only used to mock Kim Jong Un. It was likely that Trump was referring to the then-recent missile tests conducted by the North Korean regime.

In this speech, Trump referred to President Truman twice by name, both times in connection with the Marshall plan (41, 280). Historically, the Marshall plans helped restore Europe after WW2 by lending capital to the war-torn countries of Europe to help them rebuild.

## Social Practice

### Isolationism

As already mentioned under the Text part of this speech, Trump spoke of sovereignty a lot and how individual countries and their cultures should be respected. Trump did, however, not define his version of sovereignty.

The term “Sovereignty” means a state’s right to self-determination. Political science divides it into external and internal sovereignty. According to Bhalla and Chowla, “Internal sovereignty may be described as the competence and authority to exercise the function of a state within national borders and to regulate internal affairs freely”( Appendix K 149) while, “External sovereignty is traditionally understood as legal independence from all foreign powers, and as impermeability, thus protecting the state's territory against all outside interference”(149).

Trump spoke about internal sovereignty when putting America First: “Our government’s first duty is to its people, to our citizens, - to serve their needs, to ensure their safety, to preserve their rights and to defend their values. As president of the United States, I will always put America first” (70-73).

Trump talked about external sovereignty as he argued in favor of sovereign nations and how the norms and traditions of individual countries should be respected. Sovereignty was, however, only valid for countries Trump liked. As shown in Text, countries Trump did not like were treated with suspicion, harsh rhetoric, and threats of destruction.

The concept of sovereignty may sound isolationist, but Trump’s language and actions disproved that he was an isolationist. Trump’s concept of sovereignty meant less international interference in the US while at the same time allowing the US to support the people's struggles against their governments in places such as North Korea, Iran, and Venezuela.

### Exceptionalism

Trump had several examples of exceptionalist rhetoric:

The most obvious example of exceptionalism was Trump’s reference to “The City Upon a Hill”: “In America, we do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example for everyone to watch” ( Appendix K 57-58).

Trump had a reference to the US Constitution, claiming that: “The greatest in the United States Constitution is its first three beautiful words. They are: ‘We the people’” ( Appendix K 64-65).

The following quote shows how Trump thinks the US is exceptional: “America does more than speak for the values expressed in the United Nations Charter. Our citizens have paid the ultimate price to defend our freedom and the freedom of many nations represented in this great hall” (84-86).

## Comparison

Both Lindbergh and Trump have their reservations concerning international involvement.

In his Inaugural speech, Trump stated that the US had “subsidized the armies of other countries while allowing the very sad depletion of our military” (Appendix J 47). In this speech, Trump used sovereignty as an argument for putting America First, which meant that the US would step back from some international obligations, primarily investments in defense.

Lindbergh’s opposition to war was also partly predicated on the lack of investment in US defense, but he had a number of reasons to avoid US involvement in the European war. One of his most important arguments was that it would be undemocratic, as most American people were against military intervention in Europe (Appendix G 43). He also feared that the US would lose its racial and religious tolerance (Appendix G 84-85).

Both men had a concept to describe how they wanted the US to act regarding foreign relations. Trump’s reference to sovereignty was similar to Lindbergh’s idea of “the independent American destiny,” but whereas Trump’s sovereignty was concerned with avoiding globalism, Lindbergh’s belief was associated with involvement in European wars against the will of the people. Both Trump and Lindbergh refer to the past to support their claims, Trump to Truman and Lindbergh to Monroe (Appendix A 22).

The two men treat their international opponents differently. As already mentioned, Trump was very verbally aggressive. He did, for instance, threaten to “totally destroy” North Korea (Appendix K 125). Lindbergh criticized Great Britain for using propaganda to drag the US into war but stated that he could understand why, as “England is now in a desperate position” (Appendix H 53).

## State of the Union Address 2018

This was Trump’s first State of the Union Address (SOTU), held on January 30, 2018. The speech was held in Washington, D.C., in front of the members of both the Republican and Democratic parties in the US House of Representatives.

As mentioned under Primary Sources, the SOTU address differs from the other speeches as the president is in a unique role as a representative for the entire nation, and as these addresses (either written or spoken) are required by law.

Trump recognized Jerusalem as Israel’s capital in December 2017, even though many UN countries were against his decision (Landler).

## Text

The tone of this speech was conciliatory when talking about national affairs. Trump focused on the people in Congress but did also refer to his viewers all over America. He talked about his achievements: “we have made incredible progress and achieved extraordinary success” (Appendix L 8). He used guests that functioned as heroes or victims to bridge between many of his themes, praising the heroes and comforting the victims.

Some heroes had saved other people from natural disasters, protected the borders, or fought ISIS. Others were described as heroes because they illustrated or legitimated Trump’s policies. Trump took pride in his tax cuts and used the owners of a “small beautiful business...” (71-72) as a hero and as an example of the progress his tax cuts had caused for small businesses, and an “all-American worker”(75) to show how the tax cut would improve the situation for ordinary workers.

Two families of color, whose daughters had been killed by the predominantly Latin American gang, MS-13, were used as victims to emphasize that revision of immigration laws and border protection were very important issues to Trump, in fact, so important that he was “extending an open hand to work with members of both parties ... to protect our citizens of every background, color, religion, and creed” (216-217).

Trump described the surrounding world as potentially hostile: “we face rogue regimes, terrorist groups, and rivals like China and Russia that challenge our interests, our economy, and our values” (290-291). Trump used highly descriptive language. He described North Korea as a “cruel dictatorship” that oppressed its population “totally” and “brutally” (346-347). He used both the family of a victim and a hero to illustrate North Korea’s viciousness.

The victim was described as a “great,” “hardworking,” and “wonderful” student, who was arrested and sentenced to 15 years of hard labor after a “shameful trial” (354-357).

The hero was the North Korean defector, Ji Seong-ho, who “traveled thousands of miles on crutches ... to freedom” (374). Trump used Seong-ho as “a testament to the yearning of every human soul to live in freedom” (380), and paralleled him with the American people: “We’re a people whose heroes live not only in the past, but all around us, defending hope, pride, and defending the American way” (394-395).

Trump finished his speech by glorifying the American people by stating that “it’s the people who are making America great again” (402).

## Discursive practice

The SOTU address is, as mentioned earlier, required by the Constitution. President Reagan started the tradition of having guests attending the speech to be honored by the other attendants because they had done something special (Fabry). Trump continued this tradition.

The speech had references to many of Trump's "favorite" issues: undocumented immigration, terrorism, defense, and military spending, and trade deals. These issues will not be discussed in-depth here as they have been discussed in the analysis of the previous speeches.

Trump used one of his heroes, Preston, an American boy, who started a movement to place flags on graves of veterans on Veterans Day to comment on the still relevant discussion about Colin Kaepernick kneeling during the national anthem: "Preston's reverence for those who have served our nation reminds us why we salute our flag, why we put our hands on our hearts for the Pledge of Allegiance, and why we proudly stand for the national anthem" (Appendix L 107-109). Kaepernick's kneeling was in sympathy to Black Lives Matter (BLM) and in opposition to the treatment of African Americans by police.

Trump referred to the American dream when stating: "If you work hard, if you believe in yourself, if you believe in America, then you can dream anything, you can be anything, and together, we can achieve absolutely anything" (90-91).

## Social practice

### Isolationism

As in the Inaugural address, the rhetoric in this speech showed that Trump was unilateralist rather than isolationist:

Trump expressed frustration that many UN countries voted against his naming Jerusalem, Israel's capital, as he considered it America's sovereign right to make this decision. As retaliation, Trump wanted to make a new law, where "American foreign assistance dollars always serve American interests and only go to friends of America, not enemies of America" (Appendix L 338-339).

Rivals such as China and Russia challenge US interests, economy, and values (291). Trump wished to make new unilateral trade deals and trade rules (Appendix L 159-161). This may be interpreted as protectionism.

Trump described the world as hostile. He was still very keen on protecting the border between Mexico and the US to keep undocumented and unwanted immigrants out by building a wall and hiring ICE-agents and border patrol agents, but as mentioned earlier, this cannot be considered isolationism.

According to Trump, Rogue states and terror organizations were also threatening the US, which was why he believed the US should invest in its military: "we know that ... unmatched power is the surest means to our true and great defense" (292-293). He also declared that he and his allies had attacked ISIS (301), which also proved that he could not be an isolationist.

### Exceptionalism

Trump used much exceptionalist rhetoric to show the greatness and success of his country, its people, and himself, as in the following example: "Over the last year, the world has seen what we

always knew: that no people on Earth are so fearless, or daring, or determined as Americans” (Appendix L 40-41).

Trump used the story of Seong-ho to make a comparison between his flight from oppression in North Korea to freedom and the first Americans who left Europe to be able to shape their own destiny: “It was that same yearning for freedom that nearly 250 years ago gave birth to a special place called America” (380-381).

### Race

It is worth noting regarding race that not only did Trump never mention legal immigrants; he only talked about “illegal” immigrants and only mentioned them in connection with crime. Trump did mention some people of color, but mainly as tokens to further his agenda.

Tokenism is the practice of including a suitable representative of a minority group to avoid accusations of not being inclusive or being racist (Sugino 194). Corey Adams, an African American Trump described as “an all-American worker” (Appendix L 75), was used to show Trump's tax cuts benefited all Americans, including the black working class.

Another example of Tokenism was the Latino ICE agent called CJ, who, among other things, fought MS-13 (223-228). Trump used CJ to show that Latinos also supported his immigration policy. The two families of color whose daughters were killed, mentioned in Text, were used as tokens to show that undocumented immigration affected everybody negatively and to further Trump's immigration policy.

### Comparison

Both men believed that increasing military power was a good plan for defense, or at the least, an important part. Trump stated that “we know that weakness is the surest path to conflict, and unmatched power is the surest means to our true and great defense” (Appendix L 292-293).

Lindbergh shared a similar sentiment in the following sentence: “National life and influence depend upon national strength, both in character and in arms. A neutrality built on pacifism alone will eventually fail” (Appendix B 8-9)

The main difference between the two men was that Lindbergh wanted a strong military defense only but thought that the US was obliged to protect the entire Western Hemisphere, i.e., the American continent, against European influence (Appendix B 19-21, 37-38). Trump was prepared to attack and had attacked enemies of the US, i.e., ISIS, together with US allies (302), but he was primarily focused on protecting the US.

Trump had a tendency to talk about threats, mainly to the US economy and safety; According to Lindbergh, the most serious threat to the US was being lured into WW2. His primary concern was that involvement would lead to a loss of democracy in the US if they became involved in the European conflicts (Appendix A 60-61).

Lindbergh did not object to sending defensive armaments to any European country but was strongly opposed to sending offensive weapons: "I do not want to see American bombers dropping bombs which will kill and mutilate European children even if they are not flown by American pilots" (Appendix B 88-90).

## Remarks by President Trump to the 73rd Session of the United Nations General Assembly

This was Trump's second speech at the United Nations General Assembly in New York, held on September 25, 2018. In this speech, Trump's rejection of globalism in favor of patriotism and his idea of sovereignty was clear. As in his last UN speech, he left no doubt that countries should be thinking and acting in their own self-interest rather than for the common good. It had become clear that he was rejecting some of the US' international obligations.

This speech shared many topics with the previous UN speech, such as bad trade deals and attacks on international enemies, with the change that North Korea was no longer an enemy. In June, Trump had met with Kim Jong-Un to talk about the country's nuclear arsenal (Rucker and Leonnig 260-261), and in this speech, Trump presented what he had achieved.

### Text

Trump opened his speech, talking about his administration's "extraordinary progress" (Appendix M 4) and was surprised when the UN-members started laughing. The personal pronouns "we" and "I" were used interchangeably, and majestic "we" occasionally occurred as in "I honor the right of every nation... We only ask that you honor our sovereignty in return" (31-33).

As indicated by the quote above, sovereignty was still crucial to Trump, who, among other things, used it as a reason for not being a member of the International Criminal Court (ICC), stating, "We will never surrender America's sovereignty to an unelected, unaccountable, global bureaucracy" (150-151). Note that Trump used the prefix "un" to negate the adjectives "elected" (as democratic) and "accountable" and create alliteration to emphasize his point of view.

Trump appeared to reject the US' role as the leading multilateral actor. He stated: "We reject the ideology of globalism, and we embrace the doctrine of patriotism" (152-153). In this case, patriotism seemed linked to the economy. He described the US as being a victim of abuse by trade partners, primarily China, by its allies who exploited US security guarantees, and by foreign aid recipients who did not support US policies (208-209). He stated that "The United States will not be taken advantage of any longer" (111-112).

He did, however, return to the US' traditional role as the world's protector in connection with the civil war in Syria when he stated: "But, rest assured, the United States will respond if chemical weapons are deployed by the Assad regime" (71-72).

Apparently, sovereignty only applied to countries that were on friendly terms with the US. As in earlier speeches, Trump lashed out at his enemies, in this case, Iran stating, "We cannot allow a

regime that chants ‘Death to America,’ to possess the means to deliver a nuclear warhead to any city on Earth” (Appendix M 99-100).

The only country mentioned favorably was North Korea. In the 2017 UN speech, Kim Jong Un was one of Trump’s primary enemies, but as the two countries had had “highly productive conversations and meetings” (41), the two countries were on better terms. Jung Un was referred to as “Chairman Kim” and described as having “courage” (47). The following statement does, however, appear rather condescending: “The missiles and rockets are no longer flying in every direction” (44).

The rest of the speech was dedicated to descriptions of what Trump and his administration had achieved and what Trump did not accept, such as “broken and bad trade deals” (119) and OPEC’s price policy: “We defend many of these nations for nothing, and then they take advantage of us by giving us high oil prices” (161-162).

Trump finished his speech by praising various nations and by denouncing globalism as the opposite of patriotism, encouraging his listeners to “choose a future of patriotism, prosperity, and pride” (260).

### Discursive Practice

At first glance, Trump's second UN address appeared similar to the first, but where the previous speech was thematically more like a SOTU address, this speech had more internationally relevant themes and fewer references to US internal affairs.

The US Economy was crucial for Trump. He talked about increased US defense spending and how the “military will soon be more powerful than it has ever been before” (Appendix M 17-18) and stated that refugees should stay near or in their home countries, as this was more cost-effective than accepting them in the US (75-76, 190-191). Trump wanted fair and reciprocal trade deals: “The United States will not be taken advantage of any longer” (111-112). He was still frustrated with China’s market distortions and responded in kind, introducing more tariffs on Chinese goods (135-138).

As in the previous speeches, Trump criticized several countries: Iran was described as a great evil. Trump claimed the regime “finance terrorism, and fund havoc and slaughter in Syria and Ye men” (92). He also attacked Venezuela, talking about the evils of socialism (194-198).

Manifest intertextuality was seen in Trump’s attempt to justify his idea of sovereignty through a direct reference to the Monroe Doctrine. He stated that it “has been the formal policy of our country since President Monroe that we reject the interference of foreign nations in this hemisphere and in our own affairs” (192-193).

## Social practice

### Isolationism

Earlier speeches proved that Trump was not an isolationist but a unilateralist and that he believed in sovereignty. This was also the case in this speech, but he showed indications of nationalism disguised as patriotism.

Trump signaled clearly that the US would limit its international involvement. He railed against globalism and encouraged other countries to do the same, with references to patriotism and sovereignty: "America is governed by Americans. We reject the idea of globalism, and we embrace the doctrine of patriotism" (Appendix M 152-153).

George Orwell described patriotism as: "devotion to a particular place and a particular way of life, which one believes to be the best in the world but has no wish to force on other people. Patriotism is of its nature defensive, both militarily and culturally" (Orwell).

Later the same year, Trump stated that he was a nationalist: " You know what I am? I'm a nationalist, okay? I'm a nationalist. Nationalist. Nothing wrong. Use that word. Use that word" (Campoy).

When considering Orwell's description below, it is fair to state that this is true:

"Nationalism, on the other hand, is inseparable from the desire for power. The abiding purpose of every nationalist is to secure more power and more prestige, *not* for himself but for the nation or other unit in which he has chosen to sink his own individuality" (Orwell).

In this second UN speech, it became more apparent how Trump, in the name of sovereignty, rejected global organizations and obligations: Trump refused to recognize the ICC as he believed it "claims near-universal jurisdiction over the citizens of every country, violating all principles of justice, fairness, and due process" (Appendix M 149-150), and he did not want the US to be part of the Global Compact on Migration, as "Migration should not be governed by an international body unaccountable to our own citizens" (188-189).

Trump believed that: "Sovereign and independent nations are the only vehicle where freedom has ever survived, democracy has ever endured, or peace has ever prospered. And so we must protect our sovereignty and our cherished independence above all" (254-256).

## Comparison

Lindbergh's opposition to Europe's involvement in US affairs was comparable to Trump's opposition to globalism in some ways. Trump believed no country should decide for or have control over the US. That belief was similar to Lindbergh's opposition to British propaganda and his wish to preserve the "independent destiny of the US" (Appendix F 130). Trump used the Monroe Doctrine to justify his argument for sovereign nations, and Lindbergh used it to justify his views on the position of the US in the world and why no involvement in European wars was justified.

A difference between Trump and Lindbergh has become apparent based on Orwell's definitions of nationalism and patriotism. Lindbergh was a patriot; he was devoted to the US and believed in traditional American values such as democracy and tolerance between races and religions (Appendix

G 84-85). He did not want to force American life on anybody and was opposed to war but wanted to protect the US from European involvement.

In his earlier speeches, Trump expressed sentiments that were patriotic in nature. In this speech, his use of sovereignty was more akin to nationalism as he used sovereignty as a justification for retaining more power to the US by denouncing multilateral obligations.

## State of the Union Address 2019

This was Trump's second SOTU address, held on February 5, 2019. The speech was held in Washington, D.C. in front of members of the Republican and Democrat parties in the US House of Representatives.

In this speech, Trump tried to smoothen over the divide in Congress.

A major governmental shutdown had paralyzed Washington DC as Trump refused to sign the budget for the coming year without financial support for his border wall.

As the Democrats had won the House of Representatives in the Midterm elections, Trump could not make the Budget without compromise. The day before the deadline, Trump refused to sign the compromise deal after pressure from his base that wanted funding for the wall that had not been built yet (Rucker and Leonnig 350). Trump did not get wall funding, and the government was partially shut down on 21 December 2018.

As Nancy Pelosi became speaker of the House in early January, investigations into Trump's conduct that had been looming on the horizon became a reality.

In late January, Trump reopened the government temporarily, Congress had three weeks to agree on a new budget that would work in the long term, and Trump wanted to fund the wall (364).

This was why he was more conciliatory compared to his previous SOTU address, appealing for cross-party cooperation, stating that "It's the agenda of the American people" (Appendix N 7-8). He mentioned a number of Democrat issues, such as lowering the cost of healthcare and prescription drugs, fighting HIV and childhood cancer, and nationwide paid family leave but warned them that "If there is going to be peace and legislation, there cannot be war and investigation" (79), referring to the ongoing investigation concerning his conduct.

## Text

Trump used alliteration presumably to stress his point about the importance of bridging the division in politics he himself had helped deepen: "But we must reject the politics of revenge, resistance, and retribution..." (Appendix N 34). He enumerated some of his Administration's economic successes and called them "an economic miracle" (77) and warned that partisan investigations were "ridiculous" and might stop the miracle (78).

As in his previous SOTU address, Trump used heroes and victims to bridge between many of his themes. Two African American rehabilitated non-violent drug offenders were used to show that

bipartisan legislation was both possible and positive and that the FIRSTSTEP Act corrected injustices against African American drug offenders (Appendix N 105-107).

Trump went on to one of his favorite subjects, immigration. He created a sense of urgency, stating that “As we speak,” Mexican cities were organizing transportation to the US border for large numbers of undocumented immigrants to get them out of their communities (122-124). Stopping undocumented immigration had become a “moral issue” (127). The motive for “defending” the border had now become “love and devotion to our fellow citizens and to our country” (134-135).

For the first time, Trump distinguished clearly between “illegal” immigrants and legal immigrants, who were described positively: “Legal immigrants enrich our nation and strengthen our society in countless ways” (130-131).

Contrary to this, the undocumented immigrants were described as “ruthless coyotes, ...drug dealers, and human traffickers...” (119-120). As in previous speeches, Trump’s solution to the border problems was a wall, “a smart, strategic, see-through steel barrier — not just a simple concrete wall” (185).

Trump appeared eager to collaborate or maybe rather to avert the risk of investigation. As shown above, he introduced a number of new areas Congress should be willing to collaborate on and stated: “We must choose whether we are defined by our differences or whether we dare to transcend them” (403).

The rest of the speech contained Trump’s reiterations on trade, war, enemies.

### Discursive practice

As already mentioned, Trump appeared more conciliatory. He appealed to the Democrats for bipartisan cooperation on some of their political positions as well as some of his. The wish for cooperation may be explained by the fact that Congress only had ten days left to agree on a budget for the coming year, and Trump wanted funding for the wall (Rucker and Leonnig 364)

There are several examples of interdiscursivity in this speech, such as building the wall on the border and trade deals made to favor the US.

Trump also mentioned D-Day and General Dwight D. Eisenhower, stating that it was 75 years ago since the start of the “Great Crusade” when the Allies started liberating Europe from Nazi rule (Appendix N 17-18).

The astronaut, Buzz Aldrin, one of the astronauts who walked on the moon, was introduced. Talks about it being 50 years since America first set foot on the Moon (24-26).

Trump indirectly referred to the investigation launched against him and warned that it could endanger progress in the US as he stated: “If there is going to be peace and legislation, there cannot be war and investigation” (79).

He mentioned the immigration caravan that was a problem at the time (122) and repeated his attacks on Iran and Venezuela (348-350, 306-308).

## Social Practice

### Isolationism

In previous speeches, it became clear that Trump is not isolationist. He has described himself as a patriot (Appendix M 152-153) and a nationalist (Campoy), and his UN speeches proved that he believed in sovereignty. Trump put and puts America first, and he does it with a businessman's mindset.

Bad trade deals are a recurring theme in all of Trump's speeches and a problem he has worked hard to rectify. China was often blamed, yet in this speech, he stated, "I don't blame China for taking advantage of us; I blame our leaders and representatives for allowing this travesty to happen" (Appendix N 215-216). Trump was ready to negotiate a new trade deal, "But it must..., reduce our chronic trade deficit, and protect American jobs" (217-218).

He further asked congress "to pass the United States Reciprocal Trade Act" which would enable the US to respond in kind if tariffs were enforced on US goods, as a response to China's trade practices (228-230).

Cutting costs has also been a recurring issue. Trump had been complaining that US global financial obligations were unfairly expensive. In this speech, he seemed pleased to state that other countries now paid more for their own defense regarding NATO (283-286).

He defended his decision to pull US troops out of Syria, as well as trying to accelerate the end to the war in Afghanistan, stating: "Great nations do not fight endless wars" (324-325). Trump's arguments for pulling the troops out were based upon the fact that "Our brave troops have now been fighting in the Middle East for almost 19 years," and "We have spent more than \$7 trillion in fighting wars in the Middle East". It should be mentioned that Trump stated that 7000 soldiers had been killed, and many had been wounded (321-323).

### Exceptionalism

Trump depended heavily on exceptionalism. Many of his guests, such as the veterans, who had taken part in Europe's liberation from Nazi tyranny, and the astronaut Buzz Aldrin were used as examples of Exceptionalism.

Trump glorified 20th century America when "America saved freedom, transformed science, redefined the middle class" (Appendix N 27), maybe hinting at when he thought America was great? He went on to state that "when you get down to it, there's nothing anywhere in the world that can compete with America" (28).

He showed a great degree of belief in future exceptionalism, too: "Now we must step boldly and bravely into the next chapter of this great American adventure, and we must create a new standard of living for the 21st century. An amazing quality of life for all of our citizens is within reach" (29-31).

## Race

This speech marked a change in Trump's rhetoric as he stated that he did want immigrants in the US, just not the undocumented ones: "I want people to come into our country in the largest numbers ever, but they have to come in legally" (Appendix N 132-133).

In his earlier speeches, Trump argued for a wall. In this speech, undocumented immigration was described as a "moral issue"(127), and "humanitarian assistance, more law enforcement, drug detection at our ports, closing loopholes that enable child smuggling..." (180-181) was added to his immigration policy.

This does, however, not change the overall picture. Trump is a racist. He was fear-mongering over immigration caravans that were moving through South and Middle America to the US border and described the "illegal" immigrants as coyotes, criminals, MS-13 gang members, drug dealers, and human traffickers that must be stopped (119-120, 150-153).

On an abstract level, the wall could still be considered a symbol of racism, as its purpose was to keep undocumented non-US citizens out. Trump gave other reasons for building a wall, "The lawless state of our southern border is a threat to the safety, security, and financial wellbeing of all America" (127-128).

Trump painted a picture of working-class Americans suffering all the consequences of undocumented immigration, such as "reduced jobs, lower wages, overburdened schools, hospitals that are so crowded you can't get in, increased crime, and a depleted social safety net" (139-141).

## Comparison

As mentioned earlier, both Lindbergh and Trump argued that they represented the people. In this speech, Trump talked about "Wealthy politicians and donors" who did not have the best intentions for the country and its people. This is similar to Lindbergh's attack on the Roosevelt administration in the Des Moines speech, where he argued that they worked against the will of the people.

As already mentioned under Isolationism, Trump is not isolationist. He always put America first, and he did it with a businessman's mindset:

He worked hard on "reversing decades of calamitous trade policies" (Appendix N 210), he was "working on a new trade deal with China" (216-217), and he mentioned the human and financial costs of having US troops in the Middle East as a reason for pulling them out.

The achievements mentioned in his speech were also focused on the economy: wages were rising, and unemployment was falling, as were taxes.

Undocumented immigrants were described as criminals and murderers in several speeches. In this speech, they were also held responsible for social problems such as the depleted social safety net (141).

## Discussion

In this final part of the thesis, a comparison of the two men's America First will be carried out. The comparison will primarily be based on the findings from the earlier parts of the thesis.

### America First

As already mentioned, Lindbergh's America First was primarily about keeping the US out of war to keep America exceptional. Trump's America First, on the other hand, was more unilateralist and economic. Trump believed the US should be involved in the world, but on its terms: "Americanism, not globalism will be our credo" (Appendix I 96-97).

In the beginning, Trump's policy seemed isolationist because of his renunciation of the US' role as the world leader, who would intervene when other countries needed help: "For many decades, we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry; subsidized the armies of other countries, while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military" (Appendix J 46-47). Trump's America First was, however, unilateral rather than isolationist. He renegotiated or dropped existing deals with international partners as he saw fit if he thought the deal did not benefit the US, and he was not afraid to intervene in international conflicts such as the war on terror.

Lindbergh criticized the interventionist policies of his time: "If we enter the fighting for democracy abroad, we may end by losing it at home" (Appendix A 60-61). While both Trump and Lindbergh's quotes show skepticism concerning the involvement in an international conflict, there are differences in their sentiment. Trump believed that US involvement in international affairs had been detrimental to the US financially. By contrast, Lindbergh feared that involvement in the European war would lead to American decline because the US would lose what made it exceptional such as "the independent American destiny which our forefathers gave their lives to win" (Appendix D 95-96).

### Isolationism

Both Trump and Lindbergh use isolationist rhetoric, but none of them were isolationists. Lindbergh was a non-interventionist, and Trump a unilateralist.

Lindbergh's non-interventionist rhetoric was, as mentioned above, tied to what he feared the US was going to lose if it entered the European War. He used then contemporary and historical references and examples to argue against US involvement in the conflict by consistently referring to both the Monroe Doctrine and the first US President Washington's Farewell Address. Trump also used historical references. He used Truman in his first UN speech and Monroe in the second to justify his belief in American sovereignty.

Lindbergh and Trump both argued in favor of a strong military. In his 2018 SOTU Address, Trump stated that "we know that weakness is the surest path to conflict, and unmatched power is the surest means to our true and great defense" (Appendix L 292-293). This was very similar to Lindbergh's statement in his first New York speech: "Every nation that has adopted the

interventionist policy of depending on someone else for its own defense has met with nothing but defeat and failure” (Appendix F 68-69).

Lindbergh was often referred to as an isolationist, but he was not against trading defensive equipment. The “only” thing he opposed in his speeches was American involvement in the European war. He believed that “It would involve the destiny of America and of western civilization as far into the future as we can see” (Appendix D 68-69). Trump showed more willingness to get involved in international conflicts and has also been willing to trade if it benefited the US.

Both agree that no one should decide anything for the US. Trump opposed globalism with patriotism and sovereignty. Lindbergh referred to the independent destiny for the US (Appendix D 95) in opposition to the propaganda that tried to lead the US towards war. The differences between the two were that Trump was willing to help the international community as long as they paid their part. In contrast, Lindbergh only believed the US should be involved in European conflicts if the white race was threatened by an outside force (Appendix A 40-43).

Both men used the concept of walls to keep the unwanted out, but they disagreed on what the unwanted was and where the wall should be located. Trump had his border wall toward Mexico to keep out undocumented immigrants, Lindbergh had the two vast oceans that functioned as natural defenses, which he argued would keep the American continent safe from the warring parties in Europe and Asia should they wish to attack.

### Exceptionalism

As stated above, Lindbergh and Trump had different reasons why Americans should think of America First, but their reasoning was based on exceptionalism.

Lindbergh wanted to preserve what made the US exceptional, such as democracy, its independence, and its religious and racial tolerance, and used exceptionalist rhetoric to show what could be lost if the US got involved in the “European conflict.”

Before Trump was elected president, he had rejected the term “American Exceptionalism,” stating that he did not “like the term” (Corn) because the US had been exceptional earlier but had been surpassed by other nations, who were doing better than the US. Trump did, however, state that he would like to make America great again, or in other words, make the US exceptional again (Wertheim 129).

He used exceptionalist rhetoric in his speeches and tended to brag about how great the US would become now that he was president. An example of this was when Trump, in his inauguration speech, stated that the US “will shine, for everyone to follow” (Appendix J 77-78).

This was where the two men differ the most regarding exceptionalism. Lindbergh did not claim to be the catalyst for exceptionalism in the US; he wanted to maintain the US as it was by telling the public to think of America First. When Trump was running for the presidency, he, on the other hand, suggested that he was the catalyst for American greatness and that he could make America great/exceptional again by thinking of America First (Appendix I 374).

Although their use of exceptionalist rhetoric differs, both men used it to argue for what they believed was right for their country, which was to be less involved in the world but not isolated.

## Race

The racism of both Lindbergh and Trump could be perceived as nativist, based on the fear of minority groups doing things they considered “not American.”

Today the concept “America First” is predicated on Lindbergh’s Des Moines speech. Lindbergh made a great effort to state that he could understand why the Jewish Americans and the British wanted the US involved in WW2. He indicated that he also understood the predicament Jewish Americans were in, and he condemned how the Jewish people were treated in Europe. However, he was accused of anti-Semitism based on three paragraphs in his speech, in which he stated that American Jews were pushing for US involvement in the war and had goals that were “not American” because they wanted to help the European Jews instead of thinking of America First. The fact that he singled out Jewish Americans offended the US public in general.

In earlier speeches, Lindbergh showed reverence for the white races and their western civilization. He did not believe that the white race should fight amongst itself. The US should only become involved in a European conflict to protect Europe from “Asiatic intruders.” This theme of maintaining western civilization was more prevalent in Lindbergh's speeches than the critique of Jewish Americans in the Des Moines speech.

This fact is not mentioned to reduce the importance of Lindbergh’s anti-Semitic comments, and no doubt had Lindbergh and the AFC succeeded in keeping America out of war, the world would have been different today, as Nazi atrocities would have been allowed to continue for a longer time, but speculating further than this is outside the scope of this thesis.

Trump, on the other hand, was demonizing an entire group of people, the undocumented immigrants from South America, in several speeches. His actions were also more radical than Lindbergh’s as he wanted to keep this group out of the US physically while accusing them of being dangerous criminals damaging the US economy. Trump also made broad generalizations regarding Muslims banning travelers from eight Muslim majority countries because he feared terrorists might be sneaking into the US.

## Conclusion

The findings of this thesis were based on an analysis of select speeches by Charles Lindbergh and Donald Trump in order to understand and compare their concept of America First. Their speeches were chosen as they were the only written material the two men had in common. The analysis was made using a modified version of Fairclough’s CDA approach, combined with a general historical method.

As mentioned at the beginning of the thesis, America First is not a theory in the conventional sense; it functions more like a set of beliefs. This was also the reason why the thesis did not have a theory

chapter in the conventional sense. The theoretical framework for the analysis was based upon the terms that were often mentioned in connection with America First, isolationism, exceptionalism, and racism.

This analysis of Trump's and Lindbergh's speeches revealed that putting equivalence between their concept of America First was wrong, although there were differences and similarities between them.

The analysis of the speeches showed that "isolationism" was not an applicable definition for either of the two men, as what looked like isolationism on the surface turned out to be non-interventionism for Lindbergh and patriotism, nationalism, or unilateralism with sovereignty mixed in for Trump depending on the context.

Racism was another concept the two men had in common. Lindbergh had other racist ideas than the often-mentioned belief that the American Jews had motives that were "not American" because they wanted the US to intervene in WW2. Lindbergh had a reverence for western civilization and its white races. Trump made many racist diatribes against undocumented immigrants.

An interesting pattern emerged when looking at how each of the two men used "American exceptionalism." It was identified through analysis that Lindbergh wanted to preserve what made the US exceptional, while Trump believed that the US had lost what made it exceptional and wanted to make it exceptional again. Exceptionalism played a most significant role in their America First.

The analysis showed why it is unfair to put equivalence between America First of Trump and Lindbergh as they varied quite significantly in what their America First meant.

Conducting this analysis has been a complex task, as there had been no in-depth analysis of America First as a concept before, other than some historical contextualization. This meant that much had to be made from scratch. The analysis was not made easier by the fact that Trump and Lindbergh were not contemporaries. Lindbergh had had some historical books written about him, but none of them focused on his speeches, while Trump was president as of the writing of this thesis, and history had not made its final judgments yet. Most available literature about Trump was quite biased, and most of the academic resources were written by other students on other subjects.

The theoretical and methodical basis for Discourse Analysis contains a plethora of other methods and approaches that could have been used to analyze other elements of the speeches. If other methods had been used, other elements, similarities, and differences might have appeared.

The relevance of this study is twofold; it could potentially provide a basis for more in-depth analysis in the future when future researchers wish to examine two non-contemporary sets of texts. Historically, it provides a basis for future analysis of the topics of America First, Charles Lindbergh, and Donald Trump.

## Appendix A: America and European Wars

[Delivered September 15, 1939]

[Original Source: [http://www.charleslindbergh.com/pdf/9\\_15\\_39.pdf](http://www.charleslindbergh.com/pdf/9_15_39.pdf)]

[Broadcast through the facilities of the Mutual Broadcasting System, the National Broadcasting Company, the Columbia Broadcasting System, and by short wave from WIXL, Boston.]

[Everything appears as written in the original source]

1 In times of great emergency, men of the same belief must gather together for mutual counsel and  
2 action. If they fail to do this, all that they stand for will be lost. I speak tonight to those people in the  
3 United States of America who feel that the destiny of this country does not call for our involvement  
4 in European wars.

5 We must band together to prevent the loss of more American lives in these internal struggles of  
6 Europe. We must keep foreign propaganda from pushing our country blindly into another war.  
7 Modern war with all its consequences is too tragic and too devastating to be approached from  
8 anything but a purely American standpoint. We should never enter a war unless it is absolutely  
9 essential to the future welfare of our nation.

10 This country was colonized by men and women from Europe. The hatreds, the persecutions, the  
11 intrigues they left behind, gave them courage to cross the Atlantic Ocean to a new land. They  
12 preferred the wilderness and the Indians to the problems of Europe. They weighed the cost of  
13 freedom from those problems, and they paid the price. In this country, they eventually found a  
14 means of living peacefully together – the same nationalities that are fighting abroad today. The  
15 quarrels of Europe faded out from American life as generations passed. Instead of wars between the  
16 English, French, and Germans, it became a struggle of the new world for freedom from the old – a  
17 struggle for the right of America to find her own destiny. The colonization of this country grew from  
18 European troubles and our freedom sprang from European war; for we won independence from  
19 England while she was fighting France.

20 No one foresaw the danger ahead of us more clearly than George Washington. He solemnly warned  
21 the people of America against becoming entangled in European alliances. For over one hundred  
22 years, his advice was followed. We established the Monroe Doctrine for America. We let other  
23 nations fight among themselves. Then, in 1917, we entered a European war. This time we were on  
24 England's side, and so were France and Russia. Friends and enemies reverse as decades pass – as  
25 political doctrines rise and fall.

26 The Great War ended before our full force had reached the field. We escaped with the loss of  
27 relatively few soldiers. We measured our dead in thousands. Europe measured hers in millions.  
28 Europe has not yet recovered from the effects of this war and she has already entered another. A  
29 generation has passed since the Armistice of 1918, but even in America we are still paying for our  
30 part in that victory – and we will continue to pay for another generation. European countries were  
31 both unable and unwilling to pay their debts to us.

32 Now that war has broken out again, we in America have a decision to make on which the destiny of  
33 our nation depends.

34 We must decide whether or not we intend to become forever involved in this age-old struggle  
35 between the nations of Europe. Let us not delude ourselves. If we enter the quarrels of Europe  
36 during war, we must stay in them in time of peace as well. It is madness to send our soldiers to be  
37 killed as we did in the last war if we turn the course of peace over to the greed, the fear, and the  
38 intrigue of European nations. We must either keep out of European ware entirely or stay in  
39 European affairs permanently.

40 In making our decision, this point should be clear: these wars in Europe are not wars in which our  
41 civilization is defending itself against some Asiatic intruder. There is no Genghis Khan or Zerzes  
42 marching against our Western nations. This is not a question of banding together to defend the  
43 White race against foreign invasion. This is simply one more of those age old quarrels within our own  
44 family of nation – a quarrel arising from the errors of the last war – from the failure of the victors of  
45 that war to follow a consistent policy either of fairness or of force.

46 Arbitrary boundaries can only be maintained by strength of arms. The Treaty of Versailles either had  
47 to be revised as time passed, or England and France, to be successful, had to keep Germany weak by  
48 force. Neither policy was followed; Europe wavered back and forth between the two. As a result,  
49 another war has begun, a war which is likely to be far more prostrating than he last, a war which will  
50 again kill off the best youth of Europe, a war which may even lead to the end of our Western  
51 civilization.

52 We must not permit our sentiment, our pity, or our personal feelings of sympathy, to obscure the  
53 issue, to affect our children's lives. We must be as impersonal as a surgeon with his knife. Let use  
54 make no mistake about the cost of entering this war. If we take part successfully, we must throw the  
55 resources of our entire nation into the conflict. Munitions alone will not be enough. We cannot  
56 count on victory merely by shipping abroad several thousand airplanes and cannon. We are likely to  
57 lose a million men, possibly several million – the best of American youth. We will be staggering  
58 under the burden of recovery during the rest of our lives. And our children will be fortunate if they  
59 see the end in their lives, even if, by some unlikely chance, we do not pass on another Polish  
60 Corridor to them. Democracy itself may not survive. If we enter the fighting for democracy abroad,  
61 we may end by losing it at home.

62 America has little to gain in another European war. We must not be misguided by this foreign  
63 propoganda to the effect that our frontiers lie in Europe. One need only glance at a map to see  
64 where our true frontiers lie. What more could we ask than the Atlantic Ocean on the east and the  
65 Pacific on the west? No, our interests in Europe need not be from the standpoint of defense. Our  
66 own natural frontiers are enough for that. If we extend them to the center of Europe, we might as  
67 well extend them around the earth. An ocean is a formidable barrier, event for modern aircraft.

68 Our safety does not lie in fighting European wars. It lies in our own internal strength, in the character  
69 of the American people and of American institutions. As long as we maintain an Army, a Navy, and  
70 an Air Force worthy of the name, as long as America does not decay within, we need fear no invasion  
71 of our country.

72 Again, I address those among you who agree with this stand. Our future and our children's future  
73 depend upon the action we take. It is essential to think clearly and to act quickly in the days which  
74 are to come. We will be deluged with propaganda, both foreign and domestic – some obvious, some  
75 insidious. Much of our news is already colored. Every incident and every accident will be seized upon  
76 to influence us. And in modern war there is bound to be plenty of both. We must learn to look  
77 behind every article we read and every speech we hear. We must not only inquire about the writer  
78 and the speaker – about his personal interests and his nationality, but we must ask who owns and  
79 who influences the newspaper, the news picture, and the radio station. If our people know the truth,  
80 if they are fully and accurately informed, if they are not misled by propaganda, this country is not  
81 likely to enter the war now going on in Europe.

82 And if Europe is prostrated again by war, as she has been so often in the past, then the greatest  
83 hope for our Western civilization lies in America. By staying out of war ourselves, we may even bring  
84 peace to Europe more quickly. Let us look to our own defenses and to our own character. If we  
85 attend to them, we have no need to fear what happens elsewhere. If we do not attend to them,  
86 nothing can save us.

87 If war brings more Dark Ages to Europe, we can better preserve those things which we love and  
88 which we mourn the passing of in Europe today by preserving them here, by strengthening them  
89 here, rather than by hurling ourselves thoughtlessly to their defense over there and thus destroying  
90 all in the conflagration. The German genius for science and organization, the English genius for  
91 government and commerce, the French genius for living and the understanding of life – they must  
92 not go down here as well as on the other side. Here in America they can be blended to form the  
93 greatest genius of all.

94 The gift of civilized life must still be carried on. It is more important than the sympathies, the  
95 friendships, the desires, of any single generation. This is the test before America now. This is the  
96 challenge – to carry on Western civilization.

## Appendix B: Neutrality and War

[Delivered October 13, 1939]

[Original Source: <http://www.charleslindbergh.com/pdf/NeutralityandWar.pdf>]

[Delivered October 13, 1939]

[Broadcast through the facilities of the Mutual Broadcasting System.]

[Everything appears as written in the original source]

1 Tonight, I speak again to the people of this country who are opposed to the United States entering  
2 the war which is now going on in Europe. We are faced with the need of deciding on a policy of  
3 American neutrality. The future of our nation and of our civilization rests upon the wisdom and  
4 foresight we use. Much as peace is to be desired, we should realize that behind a successful policy of  
5 neutrality must stand a policy of war. It is essential to define clearly those principles and  
6 circumstances for which a nation will fight. Let us give no one the impression that America's love for  
7 peace means that she is afraid of war, or that we are not fully capable and willing to defend all that  
8 is vital to us. National life and influence depend upon national strength, both in character and in  
9 arms. A neutrality built on pacifism alone will eventually fail.

10 Before we can intelligently enact regulations for the control of our armaments, our credit, and our  
11 ships, we must draw a sharp dividing line between neutrality and war; there must be no gradual  
12 encroachment on the defenses of our nation. Up to this line we may adjust our affairs to gain the  
13 advantages of peace, but beyond it must lie all the armed might of America, coiled in readiness to  
14 spring if once this bond is cut. Let us make clear to all countries where this line lies. It must be both  
15 within our intent and our capabilities. There must be no question of trading or bluff in this  
16 hemisphere. Let us give no promises we cannot keep – make no meaningless assurances to an  
17 Ethiopia, a Czechoslovakia, or a Poland. The policy we decide upon should be clear cut as our  
18 shorelines, and as easily defended as our continent.

19 This western hemisphere is our domain. It is our right to trade freely within it. From Alaska to  
20 Labrador, for the Hawaiian Islands to Bermuda, from Canada to South America, we must allow no  
21 invading army to set foot. These are the outposts of the United States. They form the essential  
22 outline of our geographical defense. We must be ready to wage war with all the resources of our  
23 nation if they are ever seriously threatened. Their defense is the mission of our army, our navy, and  
24 our air corps – the minimum requirement of our military strength. Around these places should lie  
25 our line between neutrality and war. Let there be no compromise about our right to defend or trade  
26 within this area. If it is challenged by any nation, the answer must be war. Our policy of neutrality  
27 should have this as its foundation.

28 We must protect our sister American nations from foreign invasion, both for their welfare and our  
29 own. But, in turn, they have a duty to us. They should not place us in the position of having to  
30 defend them in America while they engage in wars abroad. Can we rightfully permit any country in  
31 America to give bases to foreign warships, or to send its army abroad to fight while it remains secure

32 in our protection at home? We desire the utmost friendship with the people of Canada. If their  
33 country is ever attacked, our Navy will be defending their seas, our soldiers will fight on their  
34 battlefields, our fliers will die in their skies. But have they the right to draw this hemisphere into a  
35 European war simply because they prefer the Crown of England to American independence?

36 Sooner or later we must demand the freedom of this continent and its surrounding islands from the  
37 dictates of European power. America history clearly indicates this need. As long as European powers  
38 maintain their influence in our hemisphere, we are likely to find ourselves involved in their troubles.  
39 And they will lose no opportunity to involve us.

40 Our Congress is now assembled to decide upon the best policy for this country to maintain during  
41 the war which is going on in Europe. The legislation under discussion involves three major issues –  
42 the embargo of arms, the restriction of shipping, and the allowance of credit. The action we take in  
43 regard to these issues will be an important indication to ourselves, and to the nation of Europe,  
44 whether or not we are likely to enter the conflict eventually as we did in the last war. The entire  
45 world is watching us. The action we take in America may either stop or precipitate this war.

46 Let us take up these issues, one at a time, and examine them. First, the embargo of arms: It is argued  
47 that the repeal of this embargo would assist democracy in Europe, that it would let us make a profit  
48 for ourselves from the sale of munitions abroad, and, at the same time, help to build up our own  
49 arms industry.

50 I do not believe that repealing the arms embargo would assist democracy in Europe because I do not  
51 believe this is a war for democracy. This is a war over the balance of power in Europe – a war  
52 brought about by the desire for strength on the part of Germany and the fear of strength on the part  
53 of England and France. The more munitions the armies obtain, the longer the war goes on, and the  
54 more devastated Europe becomes, the less hope there is for democracy. That is a lesson we should  
55 have learned from our participation in the last war. If democratic principles had been applied in  
56 Europe after that war, if the “democracies” of Europe had been willing to make some sacrifice to  
57 help democracy in Europe while it was fighting for its life, if England and France had offered a hand  
58 to the struggling republic of Germany, there would be no war today.

59 If we repeal the arms embargo with the idea of assisting one of the warring sides to overcome the  
60 other, the why mislead ourselves by talk of neutrality? Those who advance this argument should  
61 admit openly that repeal is a step toward war. The next step would be the extension of credit, and  
62 the next step would be the sending of American troops.

63 To those who argue that we could make a profit and build up our own industry by selling munitions  
64 abroad, I reply that we in America have not yet reached a point where we wish to capitalize on the  
65 destruction and death of war. I do not believe that the material welfare of this country needs, or  
66 that our spiritual welfare could withstand, such a policy. If our industry depends upon commerce of  
67 arms for its strength, then our industrial system should be changed.

68 It is impossible for me to understand how America can contribute to civilization and humanity by  
69 sending offensive instruments of destruction to European battlefields. This would not only implicate  
70 us in the war, but it would make us partly responsible for its devastation. The fallacy of helping to  
71 defend a political ideology, even though it be somewhat similar to our own, was clearly

72 demonstrated to us in the last war. Through our help that war was won, but neither the democracy  
73 nor the justice for which we fought grew in the peace that followed our victory.

74 Our bond with Europe is a bond of race and not of political ideology. We had to fight a European  
75 army to establish democracy in this country. It is the European race we must preserve; political  
76 progress will follow. Racial strength is vital – politics, a luxury. If the white race is ever seriously  
77 threatened, it may then be time for us to take our part in its protection, to fight side by side with the  
78 English, French, and Germans, but not with one against the other for our mutual destruction.

79 Let us not dissipate our strength, or help Europe to dissipate hers, in these wars of politics and  
80 possession. For the benefit of western civilization, we should continue our embargo on offensive  
81 armaments. As far as purely defensive arms are concerned, I, for one, am in favor of supply  
82 European countries with as much as we can spare of the material that falls within this category.  
83 There are technicians who will argue that offensive and defensive arms cannot be separated  
84 completely. That is true, but it is no more difficult to make a list of defensive weapons than it is to  
85 separate munitions of war from semi-manufactured articles, and we are faced with that problem  
86 today. No one says that we should sell opium because it is difficult to make a list of narcotics. I would  
87 as soon see our country traffic in opium as in bombs. There are certain borderline cases, but there  
88 are plenty of clear-cut examples: for instance, the bombing plane and the anti-aircraft cannon. I do  
89 not want to see American bombers dropping bombs which will kill and mutilate European children,  
90 even if they are not flown by American pilots. But I am perfectly willing to see American anti-aircraft  
91 guns shooting American shells at invading bombers over any European country. And I believe that  
92 most of you who are listening tonight will agree with me.

93 The second major issue for which we must create a policy concerns the restrictions to be placed on  
94 our shipping. Naval blockades have long been accepted as an element of warfare. They began on the  
95 surface of the sea, followed the submarine beneath it, and now reach up into the sky with aircraft.  
96 The laws and customs which were developed during the surface era were not satisfactory to the  
97 submarine. Now, aircraft bring up new and unknown factors for consideration. It is simple enough  
98 for a battleship to identify the merchantman she captures. It is a more difficult problem for a  
99 submarine if that merchantman may carry cannon; it is safer to fire a torpedo than to come up and  
100 ask. For bombing planes flying at high altitudes and through conditions of poor visibility,  
101 identification of a surface vessel will be more difficult still.

102 In modern naval blockades and warfare, torpedoes will be fired and bombs dropped on probabilities  
103 rather than on certainties of identification. The only safe course for neutral shipping at this time is to  
104 stay away from the warring countries and dangerous waters of Europe.

105 The third issue to be decided relates to the extension of credit. Here again we may draw from our  
106 experience in the last war. After that war was over, we found ourselves in the position of having  
107 financed a large portion of the expenditures of European countries. And when the time came to pay  
108 us back, these countries simply refused to do so. They not only refused to pay the wartime loans we  
109 made, but they refused to pay back what we loaned them after the war was over. As is so frequently  
110 the case, we found that loaning money eventually created animosity instead of gratitude. European  
111 countries felt insulted when we asked to be repaid. They called us "Uncle Shylock." They were horror  
112 struck at the idea of turning over to us any of their islands in America to compensate for their debts,  
113 or for our help in winning their war. They seized all the German colonies and carved up Europe to

114 suit their fancy. These were the “fruits of war.” They took our money and they took our soldiers. But  
115 there was not the offer of one Caribbean island in return for the debts they “could not afford to  
116 pay.”

117 The extension of credit to a belligerent country is a long step toward war, and it would leave us close  
118 to the edge. If American industry loans money to a belligerent country, many interests will feel that  
119 it is more important for that country to win than for our own to avoid the war. It is unfortunate but  
120 true that there are interest in America who would rather lose American lives than their own dollars.  
121 We should give them no opportunity.

122 I believe that we should adopt as our program of American neutrality – as our contribution to  
123 western civilization – the following policy:

- 124 1. An embargo on offensive weapons and munitions.
- 125 2. The unrestricted sale of purely defensive armaments.
- 126 3. The prohibition of American shipping from the belligerent countries of Europe and their  
127 danger zones.
- 128 4. The refusal of credit to belligerent nations or their agents.

129 Whether or not this program is adopted depends upon the support of those of us who believe in  
130 it. The United States is a democracy. The policy of our country is still controlled by our people. It  
131 is time for use to take action. There has never been a greater test for the democratic principle of  
132 government.

## Appendix C: The Air Defense of America

[Delivered May 19, 1940]

[Original Source: <http://www.charleslindbergh.com/pdf/TheAirDefenseofAmerica.pdf>]

[Broadcast through the facilities of the Mutual Broadcasting System.]

[Everything appears as written in the original source]

1 In times of war and confusion, it is essential for our people to have a clear understanding of the  
2 elements upon which our national safety depends. Aviation has now become one of these  
3 elements, and it is about the air defense of America that I speak to you tonight.

4 The power of aviation has been greatly underrated in the past. Now, we must be careful not to  
5 overrate this power in the excitement of reaction. Air strength depends more upon the  
6 establishment of intelligent and consistent policies than upon the sudden construction of huge  
7 numbers of airplanes.

8 Even here in America, it is difficult to think clearly amidst the conflict of facts and headlines, the  
9 contradictory advice of columnists, the claims and counter claims of propaganda, and the blind  
10 selfishness of party politics. The conservative who scoffed at aviation yesterday has become the  
11 radical who says that tomorrow we will be invaded by European aircraft.

12 Let us re-examine the position of America in the air. New discoveries and developments affect  
13 nations in different ways. In Europe, aviation has affected England adversely and Germany  
14 advantageously. One nation may have a psychology and topography which promotes the  
15 development of aviation, while another finds itself entirely unadjusted to the tempo of the air.

16 Judged by aeronautical standards, we in the United States are in a singularly fortunate position. Our  
17 people have natural ability in the design, construction, and operation of aircraft. Our highly  
18 organized industry, our widely separated centers of population, our elimination of formalities in the  
19 interstate travel, all contribute to the development of American aviation. From the standpoint of  
20 defense, we still have two great oceans between us and the warring armies of Europe and Asia. In  
21 fact there is hardly a natural element contributing to air strength and impregnability that we do not  
22 now possess. Aviation is for us an asset. It adds to our national safety. With a firm and clear-cut  
23 policy, we can build an air defense for America that will stand above these shifting sands of war.

24 But until we have decided upon a definite policy of defense, the mere construction of large numbers  
25 of aircraft will not be adequate for our national safety. In fact, without a strong policy of defense,  
26 we will not even know what types of planes to build. The speed and range of our fighting planes  
27 depend upon the bases available for their use. If we are to defend the United States alone, then we  
28 must construct numerous air bases along the Mexican and Canadian borders. Such a plan would  
29 require large numbers of small bombers and pursuit planes, and eventually it would leave us as  
30 vulnerable to air attack as the nations of Europe are today. On the other hand, if we are to defend  
31 the entire western hemisphere, we need long range bombers capable of attacking a hostile fleet a

32 thousand miles or more at sea. But there is little use discussing types and numbers until a defense  
33 policy is established.

34 This brings us to an issue which must sooner or later be faced. An adequate air defense of the  
35 western hemisphere necessitates the co-operation of the other nations of this hemisphere. Our  
36 military aircraft must have access to their bases. Their foreign policy must have some relationship to  
37 ours. We cannot hold this hemisphere free from foreign war if nations which lie within it declare  
38 war on foreign powers.

39 Let us not be confused by this talk of invasion by European aircraft. The air defense of America is as  
40 simple as the attack is difficult when the true facts are faced. We are in danger of war today not  
41 because European people have attempted to interfere with the internal affairs of America, but  
42 because American people have attempted to interfere with the internal affairs of Europe.

43 It is true that bombing planes can be built with sufficient range to cross the Atlantic and return.  
44 They can be built either in America or Europe. Aeronautical engineers have known this for many  
45 years. But the cost is high, the target large, and the military effectiveness small. Such planes do not  
46 exist today in any air force. A foreign power could not conquer us by dropping bombs in this country  
47 unless the bombing were accompanied by an invading army. And an invading army requires  
48 thousands of small bombers and pursuit planes; it would have little use for huge trans-Atlantic  
49 aircraft.

50 No, the advantage lies with us, for great armies must still cross oceans by ship. Only relatively small  
51 forces can be transported by air today, and over distances of a few hundred miles at most. This has  
52 great significance in Europe, but it is not an element that we have to contend with in America. Such  
53 a danger can come, in any predictable future, only through division and war among our own  
54 peoples. As long as American nations work together, as long as we maintain reasonable defense  
55 forces, there will be no invasion by foreign aircraft. And no foreign navy will dare to approach within  
56 bombing range of our coasts.

57 Our danger in America is an internal danger. We need not fear a foreign invasion unless American  
58 peoples bring it on through their own quarreling and meddling with affairs abroad. Our eyes should  
59 not search beyond the horizon for problems which lie at our feet. The greatest lesson we can draw  
60 from Europe today is that national strength must be built within a nation itself and cannot be  
61 achieved by limiting the strength of others.

62 What of the unforeseen developments of science? Rocket propulsion? New forms of energy? New  
63 methods of destruction? No generation can entirely safeguard the future for those that follow.  
64 They must meet their own problems as those problems arise. The great inheritance we can pass on  
65 to our children is a reasonable solution of the problems that confront us in our time – a strong  
66 nation, a lack of debt, a solid American character free from the entanglements of the Old World. Let  
67 us guard America today as our forefathers guarded it in the past. They won this country from  
68 Europe with a handful of revolutionary soldiers. We certainly can hold it now with a population of  
69 one hundred and thirty million people. If we cannot, we are unworthy to have it.

70 But the course we have been following in recent months leads to neither strength nor friendship nor  
71 peace. It will leave us hated by victor and vanquished alike, regardless of which way the tide of  
72 battle turns. One side will claim that we aided its enemies; the other, that we did not help enough.

73 To be successful in modern warfare, a nation must prepare many years before the fighting starts. If  
74 anyone doubts that, let him turn his eyes to Europe. Years ago, we decided to stay out of foreign  
75 wars. We based our military policy on that decision. We must not waver now that the crisis is at  
76 hand. There is no longer time for us to enter this war successfully. The result of vacillating policies  
77 lies clearly before us in the chaos of Europe today.

78 Let us turn again to America's traditional role – that of building and guarding our own destiny. We  
79 need a greater air force, a greater army, and a greater navy; they have been inadequate for many  
80 years. Let us form with our neighboring nations a clear cut and definite policy of American defense.  
81 But above all, let us stop this hysterical chatter of calamity and invasion that has been running rife  
82 these last few days. It is not befitting to the people who built this nation.

83 That the world is facing a new era is beyond question. Our mission is to make it a better era. But  
84 regardless of which side wins this war, there is no reason, aside from our own actions, to prevent a  
85 continuation of peaceful relationship between America and the countries of Europe. If we desire  
86 peace, we need only stop asking for war. No one wishes to attack us, and no one is in a position to  
87 do so.

88 The only reason that we are in danger of becoming involved in this war is because there are  
89 powerful elements in America who desire us to take part. They represent a small minority of the  
90 American people, but they control much of the machinery of influence and propaganda. They seize  
91 every opportunity to push us closer to the edge.

92 It is time for the underlying character of this country to rise and assert itself, to strike down these  
93 elements of personal profit and foreign interest. This underlying character of America is our true  
94 defense. Until it awakes and takes the reins in hand once more, the production of airplanes, cannon,  
95 and battleships is of secondary importance. Let us turn our eyes to our own nation. We cannot aid  
96 others until we have first placed our own country in a position of spiritual and material leadership  
97 and strength.

## Appendix D: Our Drift Toward War

[Original Source: <http://www.charleslindbergh.com/pdf/OurDrifttowardWar.pdf>]

[Delivered June 15, 1940]

[Broadcast through the facilities of the Mutual Broadcasting System.]

[Everything appears as written in the original source]

1 I have asked to speak to you again tonight because I believe that we, in America, are drifting toward  
2 a position of far greater seriousness to our future than even this present war. There is an attempt to  
3 becloud the issue that confronts us. It is not alone an issue of building an adequate defense for our  
4 country. That must and can be done. Our people are solidly behind an adequate military  
5 preparedness, and no one believes in it more than I. But we must not confuse the question of  
6 national defense with the question of entering a European War. And it is just as important not to  
7 confuse this present war with the type of war we would have to wage if we fought against Germany.  
8 Arming for the defense of America is compatible with normal life, commerce, and culture. It is an  
9 integral part of the destiny of our nation. But arming to attack the continent of Europe would  
10 necessitate that the lives and thoughts of every man, woman, and child in this country be directed  
11 toward war for the next generation, probably for the next several generations.

12 We cannot continue for long to follow the course our Government has taken without becoming  
13 involved in war with Germany. There are some who already advocate our entry into such as war.  
14 There are many perfectly sincere men and women who believe that we can send weapons to kill  
15 people in Europe without becoming involved in war with those people. Still others believe that by  
16 gestures and applause we can assist France and England to win without danger to our own country.  
17 In addition to these, however, there are men among us of less honesty who advocate stepping closer  
18 and closer to war, knowing well that a point exists beyond which there can be no turning back. They  
19 have baited the trap of war with requests for modest assistance. This later group is meeting with  
20 success at the moment.

21 There is a saying that grew in the old west to the effect that a man who enjoys life should never  
22 touch his gun unless he means business; that he should never draw unless he is ready to shoot, and  
23 that he should never shoot unless he is ready to kill. Those old pioneers of ours knew from long  
24 experience that there can be no successful dabbling with death. But the red-blooded wisdom of the  
25 old west is gone from American politics today. Our present danger results from making gestures with  
26 an empty gun after we have already lost the draw. Fortunately, the wide wall of the Atlantic stands  
27 between us and the shooting that is going on.

28 This dabbling we have been doing in European affairs can lead only to failure in the future as it has in  
29 the past. It is not a policy that we can continue to follow and remain a great nation. Let us look at  
30 our position today. Our leaders have lost the influence we could have exerted as the world's  
31 greatest neutral nation. The dribbles of munitions we have sold to England and France have had a  
32 negligible effect on the trend of the war, and we have not sufficient military strength available to  
33 change that trend. We demand that foreign nation refrain from interfering in our hemisphere, yet

34 we constantly interfere in theirs. And while we have been taking an ineffective part in the war  
35 abroad, we have inexcusably neglected our defenses at home. In fact we have let our own affairs  
36 drift along until we have not even a plan of defense for the continent of North America. We have  
37 been doing to England and France what they did to Abyssinia, to Czechoslovakia, to Poland, to  
38 Finland, and to Norway – we have encouraged them to hope for help we cannot send. Yet with these  
39 examples before us, we still continue in this course – the same course that led England to failure  
40 abroad and weakness at home, a course that will lead us, also, to a disastrous and unsuccessful war  
41 if we persist in following it.

42 When the subject of our participation in war is discussed, most people visualize the war that is now  
43 going on in Europe. They think of sending more arms, and possibly some soldiers. There is still very  
44 little understanding of what our entrance into European war would mean. When we talk of such a  
45 war, we must realize that we are considering the greatest struggle the world has yet known – a  
46 conflict between hemispheres, one half of the white race against the other half. Before allowing  
47 ourselves to become further involved, we should consider the conditions which may exist by the  
48 time we are ready for military action. If we enter war at all, we should prepare to meet the worst  
49 conditions rather than the best. It is useless to talk of sending American troops to Europe now, for we  
50 would need months of preparation before we could train and equip even a small army, and small  
51 efforts do not effect great movements – witness Norway, Holland, and Belgium.

52 We must face the fact, regardless of how disagreeable it is to us, that before we can take effective  
53 action in an European war the German armies may have brought all Europe under their control. In  
54 that case, Europe will be dominated by the strongest military nation the world has ever known,  
55 controlling a population far larger than our own. If we decide to enter war, we must be prepared to  
56 attack that nation. We must prepare to invade a continent which it controls.

57 No people ever had a greater decision to make. We hold our children's future in our hands as we  
58 deliberate, for if we turn to war the battles will be hard fought and the outcome is not likely to be  
59 decided in our lifetime. This is a question of mortgaging the lives of our children and our  
60 grandchildren. Every family in the land would have its wounded and its dead. We start at a  
61 disadvantage because we are not a military nation. Our is not a land of guns and marching men. If  
62 we decide to fight, then the United States must prepare for war for many years to come, and on a  
63 scale unprecedented in all history. In the case we must turn to a dictatorial government, for there is  
64 no military efficiency to be lost. We should start to build an army of several million men. We will  
65 need several hundred thousand airplanes before the battling is over. And we must have a navy large  
66 enough to transport this force across the sea. This war we are asked to enter would not be a  
67 repetition of the last war. It would be more comparable to the struggle which took place between  
68 Athens and Sparta, or Rome and Carthage. It would involve the destiny of America and of western  
69 civilization as far into the future as we can see.

70 But whatever our decision may be in regard to Europe, we must start now to build our own  
71 defenses. We must stop these gestures with an empty gun. In this, we are a united nation. The only  
72 question that arises concerns how our defense can best be built. We must first construct a clear cut  
73 plan of defense, and have the cooperation of all American countries in carrying it out. We must insist  
74 upon military bases being placed wherever they are needed for our safety, regardless of who owns  
75 the territory involved. We must be willing to do more than pay taxes and make appropriations.

76 Military strength cannot be purchased by money alone. Strength is a thing of spirit, of preparation,  
77 and of sacrifice extending over years of time. The men of our country must be willing to give a year  
78 of their lives to military training – more if necessary. And our capitalists as well as our soldiers should  
79 be willing to serve without personal profit. We must have a nation ready to give whatever is  
80 required for its future welfare, and leaders who are more interested in their country than in their  
81 own advancement.

82 With an adequate defense, no foreign army can invade us. Our advantage in defending America is as  
83 great as our disadvantage would be in attacking Europe. From a military geographical standpoint, we  
84 are the most fortunate country in the world. There is no other nation in this hemisphere strong  
85 enough even to consider attacking us, and the Atlantic and Pacific oceans separate us from the  
86 warring armies of Europe and Asia. If the British navy could not support an invasion of Norway  
87 against the German air force, there is little reason for us to worry about an invasion of America as  
88 long as our own air force is adequately maintained. As far as invasion by air is concerned, it is  
89 impossible for any existing air force to attack effectively across the ocean. In the Arctic regions, the  
90 severe climate and ruggedness of terrain counteract the vulnerability of shorter distances between  
91 land. With our geographical position, nothing but the gross neglect of our military forces, or  
92 quarreling between American countries themselves, could make possible an invasion by foreign  
93 armies.

94 America stands today where the road divides, at the signpost of war and peace. Now that we have  
95 become one of the world's greatest nations, shall we throw away the independent American destiny  
96 which our forefathers gave their lives to win? Shall we submerge our future in the endless wars of  
97 the old world? Or shall we build our own defenses and leave European war to European countries?  
98 Shall we continue this suicidal conflict between western nations and white races, or shall we learn  
99 from history as well as from modern Europe that a civilization cannot be preserved by conflict  
100 among its own peoples, regardless of how different their ideologies may be?

101 You men and women of America who believe that our destiny lies in building strength at home and  
102 not in war abroad – to you I say that we must act now to stop this trend toward war. An organized  
103 minority in this country is flooding our congress and our press with propaganda for war. They are  
104 spending large sums of money in advertisements. They are telegraphing, writing, and talking every  
105 hour of the day, pushing us closer and closer to the edge. Some are even now demanding a  
106 declaration of war.

107 If you believe that we should not enter a European war, you must support those of us who oppose  
108 such an action. We cannot stop this trend alone. Some of your representatives in Washington are  
109 already considering a declaration of war, but they are responsible to you for the action they take. Let  
110 them know how you feel about this. Speak to your friends and organize in your community. Nothing  
111 but a determined effort on the part of every one of us will prevent the disaster toward which our  
112 nation is now heading.

## Appendix E: Our Relationship with Europe

[Original Source: <http://www.charleslindbergh.com/pdf/OurRelationshipwithEurope.pdf>]

[Delivered August 4, 1940 in Chicago, Illinois]

[Later Broadcast through the facilities of the Mutual Broadcasting System.]

[Everything appears as written in the original source]

1 Several weeks have passed since I received the honor of your invitation to speak in Chicago. At that  
2 time it was essential to create strong and immediate opposition to the trend toward war which was  
3 taking place in this country. The agitation for our entry in the war was increasing with alarming  
4 rapidity. Hysteria had mounted to the point where anti-parachute corps were being formed to  
5 defend American cities against air attacks from Europe. Greenland, with its Arctic climate, its  
6 mountainous terrain, and its ice-filled seas was called an easy stepping-stone for German bombing  
7 planes invading America. Cartoons showed the Atlantic Ocean reduced to the width of the English  
8 Channel. American safety was said to depend upon the success of European armies. Foreign  
9 propaganda was in full swing, and it seemed in many ways that we were approaching the greatest  
10 crisis in the history of our country.

11 But events move swiftly in this modern world, and the true character of a nation lies beneath such  
12 surface foam. When the danger of foreign war was fully realized by our people, the underlying  
13 tradition of American independence arose, and in recent weeks its voice has thundered through the  
14 weaker cries for war.

15 We have by no means escaped the foreign entanglements and favoritisms that Washington warned  
16 us against when he passed the guidance of our nation's destiny to the hands of future generations.  
17 We have participated deeply in the intrigues of Europe, and not always in an open "democratic"  
18 way. There are still interests in this country and abroad who will do their utmost to draw us into the  
19 war. Against these interests we must be continuously on guard. But American opinion is now  
20 definitely and overwhelmingly against our involvement. Both political parties have declared against  
21 our entry into the war. People are beginning to realize that the problems of Europe cannot be solved  
22 by the interference of America. We have at last started to build and to plan for the defense of our  
23 own continent. By these acts, our eyes are turned once more in the direction of security and peace,  
24 for if our own military forces are strong, no foreign nation can invade us, and, if we do not interfere  
25 with their affairs, none will desire to.

26 Since we have decided against entering the war in Europe, it is time for us to consider the  
27 relationship we will have with Europe after this war is over. It is only by using the utmost intelligence  
28 in establishing and maintaining this relationship that we can keep America out of war in the future.

29 I have a different outlook toward Europe than most people in America. In consequence, I am advised  
30 to speak guardedly on the subject of the war. I am told that one must not stand too strongly against  
31 the trend of the times, and that, to be effective, what one says must meet with general approval.

32 There is much to be said for this argument, yet, right or wrong, it is contrary to the values that I hold  
33 highest in life. I prefer to say what I believe, or not to speak at all. I would far rather have your  
34 respect for the sincerity of what I say, than attempt to win your applause by confining my discussion  
35 to popular concepts. Therefore, I speak to you today as I would speak to close friends rather than as  
36 one is supposed to address a large audience.

37 I do not offer my opinion as an expert, but rather as a citizen who is alarmed at the position our  
38 country has reached in this era of experts. As laymen we are often told that the solution of difficult  
39 problems should be left to the specialist. But since specialists differ in the solutions they  
40 recommend, they must at least allow us the privilege of choosing those we wish to follow. And in  
41 making this choice, it seems that we are back where we started and must form an opinion of our  
42 own.

43 I found conditions in Europe to be very different from our concept of them here in the United States.  
44 Anyone who takes the trouble to read through back issues of our newspapers cannot fail to realize  
45 what a false impression we had of the belligerent nations. We were told that Germany was ripe for  
46 revolution, that her rearmament was a bluff, that she lacked officers, that she flew her airplanes  
47 from one field to another so they would be counted again and again by foreign observers. We were  
48 informed that Russia had the most powerful air fleet in the world, that the French army was superior  
49 to any in Europe, that the British navy was more than a match for the German air force, that  
50 Germany lacked enough food, fuel, and raw material to wage war, that the Maginot Line was  
51 impregnable, that Italy would never enter a war against England. Statements of this sort have issued  
52 forth in an endless stream from Europe, and anyone who questioned their accuracy was called a  
53 Nazi agent.

54 These examples show how greatly we have been misled about the military conditions in Europe. If  
55 one goes still farther back, he will find that we have also been misled about political conditions. It  
56 has seemed obvious to me for many years that the situation in Europe would have to change, either  
57 by agreement or by war. I hoped that we had reached a degree of civilization where change might  
58 come by agreement. Living in Europe made me fear that it would come only through war.

59 There is a proverb in China which says that "when the rich become too rich, and the poor too poor,  
60 something happens." This applies to nations as well as to men. When I saw the wealth of the British  
61 Empire, I felt that the rich had become too rich. When I saw the poverty of Central Europe, I felt that  
62 the poor had become too poor. That something would happen was blazoned even on the skies of  
63 Europe by mounting thousands of fighting aircraft.

64 From 1936 to 1939, as I traveled through European countries, I saw the phenomenal military  
65 strength of Germany growing like a giant at the side of an aged, and complacent England. France  
66 was awake to her danger, but far too occupied with personal ambitions, industrial troubles, and  
67 internal politics to make more than a feeble effort to rearm. In England there was organization  
68 without spirit. In France there was spirit without organization. In Germany there were both.

69 I realized that I was witnessing a clash between the heirs of another war. A generation had passed  
70 since the Treaty of Versailles. The sons of victory and the sons of defeat were about to meet on the  
71 battlefields of their fathers. As I traveled first among those who had won, and then among those

72 who had lost, the words of a French philosopher kept running through my mind: "Man thrives on  
73 adversity."

74 The underlying issue was clear. It was not the support of "democracy," or the so-called democratic  
75 nations would have given more assistance to the struggling republic of post-war Germany. It was not  
76 a crusade for Christianity, or the Christian nations of the west would have carried their battle flags to  
77 the confiscated churches of Russia. It was not the preservation of small and helpless nations, or  
78 sanctions would have been followed by troops in Abyssinia, and England would not have refused to  
79 cooperate with the United States in Manchuria. The issue was one of the oldest and best known  
80 among men. It concerned the division of territory and wealth between nations. It has caused conflict  
81 in Europe since European history began.

82 The longer I lived in Europe, the more I felt that no outside influence could solve the problems of  
83 European nations, or bring them lasting peace. They must work out their destiny, as we must work  
84 out ours. I am convinced that the better acquainted we in America become with the background of  
85 European conflicts, the less we will desire to take part in them. But here I would like to make this  
86 point clear: while I advocate the non-interference by America in the internal affairs of Europe, I  
87 believe it is of the utmost importance for us to cooperate with Europe in our relationships with the  
88 other peoples of the earth. It is only by cooperation that we can maintain the supremacy of our  
89 western civilization and the right of our commerce to proceed unmolested throughout the world.  
90 Neither they nor we are strong enough to police the earth against the opposition of the other.

91 In the past, we have dealt with a Europe dominated by England and France. In the future we may  
92 have to deal with a Europe dominated by Germany. But whether England or Germany wins this war,  
93 Western civilization will still depend upon two great centers, one in each hemisphere. With all the  
94 aids of modern science, neither of these centers is in a position to attack the other successfully as  
95 long as the defenses of both are reasonably strong. A war between us could easily last for  
96 generations, and bring all civilization tumbling down, as has happened more than once before. An  
97 agreement between us could maintain civilization and peace throughout the world as far into the  
98 future as we can see.

99 But we are often told that if Germany wins this war, cooperation will be impossible, and treaties no  
100 more than scraps of paper. I reply that cooperation is never impossible when there is sufficient gain  
101 on both sides, and that treaties are seldom torn apart when they do not cover a weak nation. I  
102 would be among the last to advocate depending upon treaties for our national safety. I believe that  
103 we should rearm fully for the defense of America, and that we should never make the type of treaty  
104 that would lay us open to invasion if it were broken. But if we refuse to consider treaties with the  
105 dominant nation of Europe, regardless of who that may be, we remove all possibility of peace.

106 Nothing is to be gained by shouting names and pointing the finger of blame across the ocean. Our  
107 grandstand advice to England, and our criticism of her campaigns, have been neither wanted nor  
108 helpful. Our accusations of aggression and barbarism on the part of Germany, simply bring back  
109 echoes of hypocrisy and Versailles. Our hasty condemnation of a French government, struggling  
110 desperately to save a defeated nation from complete collapse, can do nothing but add to famine,  
111 hatred, and chaos.

112 If we desire to keep America out of war, we must take the lead in offering a plan for peace. That plan  
113 should be based upon the welfare of America. It should be backed by an impregnable system of  
114 defense. It should incorporate terms of mutual advantage. But it should not involve the internal  
115 affairs of Europe; they never were, and never will be, carried on according to our desires.

116 Let us offer Europe a plan for the progress and protection of the western civilization of which they  
117 and we each form a part. But whatever their reply may be, let us carry on the American destiny of  
118 which our forefathers dreamed as they cut their farm lands from the virgin forests. What would they  
119 think of the claim that our frontiers lie in Europe? Let us guard the independence that the soldiers of  
120 our Revolution won against overwhelming odds. What, I ask you, would those soldiers say if they  
121 could hear this nation, grown a hundred and thirty million strong, being told that only the British  
122 fleet protects us from invasion?

123 Our nation was born of courage and hardship. It grew on the fearless spirit of the pioneer. Now that  
124 it has become one of the greatest powers on earth, ours must not be the generation that kneels in  
125 fear of future hardships, or of invasion by a Europe already torn by war. I do not believe we will ever  
126 accept a philosophy of calamity, weakness, and fear. I have faith in an American army, an American  
127 navy, an American air force and, most important of all, the American character, which in normal  
128 times, lies quietly beneath the surface of this nation.

## Appendix F: New York City Speech

[Original Source: <http://www.charleslindbergh.com/americanfirst/speech2.asp>]

[Delivered April 23, 1941 in New York City, New York]

[Everything appears as written in the original source]

1 There are many viewpoints from which the issues of this war can be argued. Some are primarily  
2 idealistic. Some are primarily practical. One should, I believe, strive for a balance of both. But, since  
3 the subjects that can be covered in a single address are limited, tonight I shall discuss the war from a  
4 viewpoint which is primarily practical. It is not that I believe ideals are unimportant, even among the  
5 realities of war; but if a nation is to survive in a hostile world, its ideals must be backed by the hard  
6 logic of military practicability. If the outcome of war depended upon ideals alone, this would be a  
7 different world than it is today.

8 I know I will be severely criticized by the interventionists in America when I say we should not enter  
9 a war unless we have a reasonable chance of winning. That, they will claim, is far too materialistic a  
10 viewpoint. They will advance again the same arguments that were used to persuade France to  
11 declare war against Germany in 1939. But I do not believe that our American ideals, and our way of  
12 life, will gain through an unsuccessful war. And I know that the United States is not prepared to  
13 wage war in Europe successfully at this time. We are no better prepared today than France was  
14 when the interventionists in Europe persuaded her to attack the Siegfried Line.

15 I have said before, and I will say again, that I believe it will be a tragedy to the entire world if the  
16 British Empire collapses. That is one of the main reasons why I opposed this war before it was  
17 declared, and why I have constantly advocated a negotiated peace. I did not feel that England and  
18 France had a reasonable chance of winning. France has now been defeated; and, despite the  
19 propaganda and confusion of recent months, it is now obvious that England is losing the war. I  
20 believe this is realized even by the British government. But they have one last desperate plan  
21 remaining. They hope that they may be able to persuade us to send another American Expeditionary  
22 Force to Europe, and to share with England militarily, as well as financially, the fiasco of this war.

23 I do not blame England for this hope, or for asking for our assistance. But we now know that she  
24 declared a war under circumstances led to the defeat of every nation that sided with her from  
25 Poland to Greece. We know that in the desperation of war England promised to all these nations  
26 armed assistance that she could not send. We know that she misinformed them, as she has  
27 misinformed us, concerning her state of preparation, her military strength, and the progress of the  
28 war.

29 In time of war, truth is always replaced by propaganda. I do not believe we should be too quick to  
30 criticize the actions of a belligerent nation. There is always the question whether we, ourselves,  
31 would do better under similar circumstances. But we in this country have a right to think of the  
32 welfare of America first, just as the people in England thought first of their own country when they  
33 encouraged the smaller nations of Europe to fight against hopeless odds. When England asks us to

34 enter this war, she is considering her own future, and that of her Empire. In making our reply, I  
35 believe we should consider the future of the United States and that of the Western Hemisphere.

36 It is not only our right, but it is our obligation as American citizens to look at this war objectively, and  
37 to weigh our chances for success if we should enter it. I have attempted to do this, especially from  
38 the standpoint of aviation; and I have been forced to the conclusion that we cannot win this war for  
39 England, regardless of how much assistance we extend.

40 I ask you to look at the map of Europe today and see if you can suggest any way in which we could  
41 win this war if we entered it. Suppose we had a large army in America, trained and equipped. Where  
42 would we send it to fight? The campaigns of the war show only too clearly how difficult it is to force  
43 a landing, or to maintain an army, on a hostile coast. Suppose we took our navy from the Pacific, and  
44 used it to convoy British shipping. That would not win the war for England. It would, at best, permit  
45 her to exist under the constant bombing of the German air fleet. Suppose we had an air force that  
46 we could send to Europe. Where could it operate? Some of our squadrons might be based in the  
47 British Isles; but it is physically impossible to base enough aircraft in the British Isles alone to equal in  
48 strength the aircraft that can be based on the continent of Europe.

49 I have asked these questions on the supposition that we had in existence an army and an air force  
50 large enough and well enough equipped to send to Europe; and that we would dare to remove our  
51 navy from the Pacific. Even on this basis, I do not see how we could invade the continent of Europe  
52 successfully as long as all of that continent and most of Asia is under Axis domination. But the fact is  
53 that none of these suppositions are correct. We have only a one-ocean navy. Our army is still  
54 untrained and inadequately equipped for foreign war. Our air force is deplorably lacking in modern  
55 fighting planes.

56 When these facts are cited, the interventionists shout that we are defeatists, that we are  
57 undermining the principles of Democracy, and that we are giving comfort to Germany by talking  
58 about our military weakness. But everything I mention here has been published in our newspapers,  
59 and in the reports of congressional hearings in Washington. Our military position is well known to  
60 the governments of Europe and Asia. Why, then, should it not be brought to the attention of our  
61 own people?

62 I say it is the interventionist in America, as it was in England and in France, who gives comfort to the  
63 enemy. I say it is they who are undermining the principles of Democracy when they demand that we  
64 take a course to which more than eighty percent of our citizens are opposed. I charge them with  
65 being the real defeatists, for their policy has led to the defeat of every country that followed their  
66 advice since this war began. There is no better way to give comfort to an enemy than to divide the  
67 people of a nation over the issue of foreign war. There is no shorter road to defeat than by entering  
68 a war with inadequate preparation. Every nation that has adopted the interventionist policy of  
69 depending on some one else for its own defense has met with nothing but defeat and failure.

70 When history is written, the responsibility for the downfall of the democracies of Europe will rest  
71 squarely upon the shoulders of the interventionists who led their nations into war uninformed and  
72 unprepared. With their shouts of defeatism, and their disdain of reality, they have already sent  
73 countless thousands of young men to death in Europe. From the campaign of Poland to that of

74 Greece, their prophecies have been false and their policies have failed. Yet these are the people who  
75 are calling us defeatists in America today. And they have led this country, too, to the verge of war.

76 There are many such interventionists in America, but there are more people among us of a different  
77 type. That is why you and I are assembled here tonight. There is a policy open to this nation that will  
78 lead to success--a policy that leaves us free to follow our own way of life, and to develop our own  
79 civilization. It is not a new and untried idea. It was advocated by Washington. It was incorporated in  
80 the Monroe Doctrine. Under its guidance, the United States became the greatest nation in the  
81 world. It is based upon the belief that the security of a nation lies in the strength and character of its  
82 own people. It recommends the maintenance of armed forces sufficient to defend this hemisphere  
83 from attack by any combination of foreign powers. It demands faith in an independent American  
84 destiny. This is the policy of the America First Committee today. It is a policy not of isolation, but of  
85 independence; not of defeat, but of courage. It is a policy that led this nation to success during the  
86 most trying years of our history, and it is a policy that will lead us to success again.

87 We have weakened ourselves for many months, and still worse, we have divided our own people by  
88 this dabbling in Europe's wars. While we should have been concentrating on American defense, we  
89 have been forced to argue over foreign quarrels. We must turn our eyes and our faith back to our  
90 own country before it is too late. And when we do this, a different vista opens before us. Practically  
91 every difficulty we would face in invading Europe becomes an asset to us in defending America. Our  
92 enemy, and not we, would then have the problem of transporting millions of troops across the  
93 ocean and landing them on a hostile shore. They, and not we, would have to furnish the convoys to  
94 transport guns and trucks and munitions and fuel across three thousand miles of water. Our  
95 battleships and submarines would then be fighting close to their home bases. We would then do the  
96 bombing from the air, and the torpedoing at sea. And if any part of an enemy convoy should ever  
97 pass our navy and our air force, they would still be faced with the guns of our coast artillery, and  
98 behind them, the divisions of our army.

99 The United States is better situated from a military standpoint than any other nation in the world.  
100 Even in our present condition of unpreparedness, no foreign power is in a position to invade us  
101 today. If we concentrate on our own and build the strength that this nation should maintain, no  
102 foreign army will ever attempt to land on American shores.

103 War is not inevitable for this country. Such a claim is defeatism in the true sense. No one can make  
104 us fight abroad unless we ourselves are willing to do so. No one will attempt to fight us here if we  
105 arm ourselves as a great nation should be armed. Over a hundred million people in this nation are  
106 opposed to entering the war. If the principles of Democracy mean anything at all, that is reason  
107 enough for us to stay out. If we are forced into a war against the wishes of an overwhelming  
108 majority of our people, we will have proved Democracy such a failure at home that there will be  
109 little use fighting for it abroad.

110 The time has come when those of us who believe in an independent American destiny must band  
111 together, and organize for strength. We have been led toward war by a minority of our people. This  
112 minority has power. It has influence. It has a loud voice. But it does not represent the American  
113 people. During the last several years, I have travelled over this country, from one end to the other. I  
114 have talked to many hundreds of men and women, and I have had letters from tens of thousands  
115 more, who feel the same way as you and I. Most of these people have no influence or power. Most

116 of them have no means of expressing their convictions, except by their vote which has always been  
117 against this war. They are the citizens who have had to work too hard at their daily jobs to organize  
118 political meetings. Hitherto, they have relied upon their vote to express their feelings; but now they  
119 find that it is hardly remembered except in the oratory of a political campaign. These people --the  
120 majority of hard-working American citizens are with us. They are the true strength of our country.  
121 And they are beginning to realize, as you and I, that there are times when we must sacrifice our  
122 normal interests in life in order to insure the safety and the welfare of our nation.

123 Such a time has come. Such a crisis is here. That is why the America First Committee has been  
124 formed--to give voice to the people who have no newspaper, or news reel, or radio station at their  
125 command; to the people who must do the paying, and the fighting, and the dying, if this country  
126 enters the war.

127 Whether or not we do enter the war, rests upon the shoulders of you in this audience, upon us here  
128 on this platform, upon meetings of this kind that are being held by Americans in every section of the  
129 United States today. It depends upon the action we take, and the courage we show at this time. If  
130 you believe in an independent destiny for America, if you believe that this country should not enter  
131 the war in Europe, we ask you to join the America First Committee in its stand. We ask you to share  
132 our faith in the ability of this nation to defend itself, to develop its own civilization, and to contribute  
133 to the progress of mankind in a more constructive and intelligent way than has yet been found by  
134 the warring nations of Europe. We need your support, and we need it now. The time to act is here.

## Appendix G: Election Promises Should Be Kept, We Lack Leadership That Places America First

[Original Source: <http://www.charleslindbergh.com/pdf/TheAirDefenseofAmerica.pdf>]

[Delivered May 23, 1941 in New York City, New York]

[Everything appears as written in the original source]

1 We are assembled here tonight because we believe in an independent destiny for America. Such a  
2 destiny does not mean that we will build a wall around our country and isolate ourselves from  
3 contact with the rest of the world. But it does mean that the future of America will not be tied to  
4 these eternal wars in Europe. It means that American boys will not be sent across the ocean to die so  
5 that England or Germany or France or Spain may dominate the other nations.

6 An independent American destiny means, on the one hand, that our soldiers will not have to fight  
7 everybody in the world who prefers some other system of life to ours. On the other hand, it means  
8 that we will fight anybody and everybody who attempts to interfere with our hemisphere, and that  
9 we will do so with all the resources of our nation. It means that we rely on our own strength, our  
10 own ability and our own courage to preserve this nation and to defeat any one who is rash enough  
11 to attack us. It means that we have faith that these United States of ours can compete in commerce  
12 or in war with any combination of foreign powers, and that we are no more afraid of the Europe of  
13 Germany than our forefathers were afraid of the Europe of France or England or Spain.

14 No Reason for Fear

15 We in America should have no reason to fear. With adequate leadership we can be the strongest  
16 and most influential nation in the world. No other country has as great resources. None is as easily  
17 defended. We lack only a leadership that places America first – a leadership that tells what it means  
18 and what it says. Give us that and we will be the most powerful country in the world. Give us that  
19 and we will be so united that no one will dare to attack us.

20 Our country is not divided today because we fear war, or sacrifice, or because we fear anything at  
21 ail. We are divided because we are asked to fight over issues that are Europe's and not ours – issues  
22 that Europe created by her own shortsightedness. We are divided because many of us do not wish to  
23 fight again for England's balance of power, or for her domination of India, Mesopotamia, or Egypt, or  
24 for the Polish Corridor, or for another treaty like Versailles. We are divided because we do not want  
25 to cross an ocean to fight on foreign continents, for foreign causes, against an entire world  
26 combined against us. Many of us do not think we can impose our way of life, at the point of a  
27 machinegun, on the peoples of Germany, Russia, Italy, France and Japan. Many of us do not believe  
28 democracy can be spread in such a manner. We believe that we are more likely to lose it at home  
29 than to spread it abroad by prolonging this war and sending millions of our soldiers to death in  
30 Europe and Asia.

31 Democracy is not a quality that can be imposed by war. The attempt to do so has always met with  
32 failure. Democracy can spring only from within a nation itself, only from the hearts and minds of the

33 people. It can be spread abroad by example, but never by force. The strength of a democracy lies in  
34 the satisfaction of its own people. Its influence lies in making others wish to copy it. If we cannot  
35 make other nations wish to copy our American system of government, we cannot force them to  
36 copy it by going to war.

#### 37 Intolerance Seen Rising Here

38 On the contrary, if we go to war to preserve democracy abroad, we are likely to end by losing it at  
39 home. There are already signs of danger around us. We have been shouting against intolerance in  
40 Europe, but it has been rising in America. We deplore the fact that the German people cannot vote  
41 on the policies of their government—that Hitler led his nation into war without asking their consent.  
42 But, have we been given the opportunity to vote on the policy our government has followed?  
43 No, we have been led toward war against the opposition of four-fifths of our people. We had no  
44 more chance to vote on the issue of peace and war last November than if we had been in a  
45 totalitarian state ourselves. We in America were given just about as much chance to express our  
46 beliefs at the election last Fall, as the Germans would have been given if Hitler had run against  
47 Goering.

48 This state of affairs should make every American—even the interventionists—stop and think before  
49 we plunge blindly into a second world war. There are many interventionists who actually believe  
50 that by going to war we can strengthen democracy throughout the world, and with it all the civilized  
51 virtues which we in this country support. Those people overlook our failure in the last war “to make  
52 the world safe for democracy.” They overlook the persecution and the intolerance which followed  
53 that war in Europe. They do not seem to realize that the elements they dislike in Germany lie  
54 beneath the surface of every nation; that they are here in America just as they are in Europe, and  
55 that nothing is as likely to bring them out as war—especially a prolonged war.

56 I opposed this war before it was declared because I felt it would be disastrous for Europe. I knew  
57 that England and France were not in a position to win, and I did not want them to lose. I now oppose  
58 our entry into the war because I do not believe that our system of government in America can  
59 survive our participation or our way of life can survive our participation.

#### 60 Pleas to Interventionists

61 And here I address a plea to any interventionists who maybe listening to me tonight. I ask them to  
62 consider what a prolonged war will bring. I ask them to consider what the last war brought to  
63 Europe—to Russia, to Italy, to Germany and now to France and England and even the smaller  
64 countries. I ask them to remember that we in America returned from that war with the loss of  
65 relatively few soldiers, but that now we face a war in which our losses are likely to run into the  
66 millions and in which victory itself is doubtful. I ask them to consider whether democracy, tolerance  
67 and our American way of life are likely to survive in such a struggle. Or may we not find conditions as  
68 bad or worse in America. After a war than they are in the dictatorships of Europe today? It is all very  
69 well to shout for war, to say that aggression must be stopped, that our ideals of democracy must be  
70 preserved all over the world. But when the shouting is over, then we will be faced with the reality of  
71 war. Someone must lay plans for invading Germany, for invading Japan, for invading possibly Russia,  
72 France, Italy and Spain as well. Someone must do the fighting; someone the dying. When we turn  
73 from sentiment and emotion to reality and action, the task we face is staggering. We find ourselves

74 unprepared for war, about to enter an action that will require us to cross two oceans and to invade  
75 nations with a far greater population than ours, nations with armies that have been trained for  
76 years, armies that have been hardened by generations of warfare, armies that are larger now than  
77 ours can ever be. We find ourselves in a position where we would have to force landings on hostile  
78 coasts against the prepared positions of the strongest military powers in the world. Democracy is  
79 not likely to survive a conflict such as this will bring. Does any one think that freedom can exist even  
80 in America if we are forced into such a war? The United States is a nation of mixed races, religions  
81 and beliefs. We came from every part of Europe and from every portion of the earth. Here, in this  
82 country, we have learned to live peacefully together. Here we have developed a racial tolerance  
83 such as the world has never known before. Here we have developed a civilization in many ways  
84 never previously approached. Why must ail this be jeopardized by injecting the wars and the hatreds  
85 of Europe into our midst? Why, in this second century of our national existence, must we be  
86 confronted with the quarrels of the old world that our forefathers left behind when they settled in  
87 this country? It is to answer these questions, it is to oppose intervention in this war, it is to preserve  
88 our American way of life, that you and I have assembled here tonight We have assembled to show  
89 that in times of crisis there still are men and women in this country ready to give up their normal  
90 interests and their normal occupations so that our way of life and our right to determine it may  
91 survive.

#### 92 Sacrifices Are Cited

93 Every one of us has made some sacrifice to attend this rally. You have given up an evening at home  
94 or with your friends. Senator Wheeler has come from Washington to talk to us He represents the  
95 type of leadership that places America first. Mr. Thomas has added this engagement to an already  
96 crowded schedule. If all of our leaders had the courage, integrity and vision that these men have  
97 shown, this country would not be on the verge of war today.

98 Mrs. Norris, Mrs. Marguand, Mr. Flynn, all of us on the America First Committee are contributing  
99 everything we can to prevent this war and to maintain the way of life we believe in for America. I am  
100 glad to be able to tell you that our strength is increasing. This meeting is one of many. I have just  
101 come from the West, and I can tell you that in every State, in every city, on street corners and on  
102 farms, men and women are meeting, as we have met tonight. From every section of our country a  
103 cry is rising against this war. But it is a cry that reaches beyond the question of war alone. It is more  
104 penetrating than that. It echoes from the very foundations on which our system of government is  
105 built. It asks how this situation came about. It demands an explanation of what happened at the  
106 elections last November. It demands an accounting from a government that has led us to war while  
107 it promised us peace. To both Democratic and Republican leaders, this cry should be a warning of an  
108 awakened spirit in our nation – a spirit that has carried us through times of crisis before, and that  
109 will carry us through times of crisis again. We in America can make our nation an example for the  
110 rest of the world. We can spread our ideals in other countries. We can defend this hemisphere from  
111 invasion. And all of this can be accomplished without entering the war. With your assistance, we still  
112 create the leadership necessary to do it. The America First Committee asks your help in carrying out  
113 this program. We ask you to join with us in demanding that election promises be kept. We ask you to  
114 organize your community, to write to your Representatives in Washington, to attend meetings of  
115 this kind whenever they are held. Our American ideals, our independence, our freedom, our right to

116 vote on important issues, all depend on the sacrifice we are willing to make, and the action we take  
117 at this time.

## Appendix H: Who are the War Agitators (The Des Moines Speech)

[Original Source: <http://www.charleslindbergh.com/americanfirst/speech.asp>]

[Delivered September 11, 1941 in Des Moines, Iowa]

[Everything appears as written in the original source]

1 It is now two years since this latest European war began. From that day in September, 1939, until  
2 the present moment, there has been an over-increasing effort to force the United States into the  
3 conflict.

4 That effort has been carried on by foreign interests, and by a small minority of our own people; but  
5 it has been so successful that, today, our country stands on the verge of war.

6 At this time, as the war is about to enter its third winter, it seems appropriate to review the  
7 circumstances that have led us to our present position. Why are we on the verge of war? Was it  
8 necessary for us to become so deeply involved? Who is responsible for changing our national policy  
9 from one of neutrality and independence to one of entanglement in European affairs?

10 Personally, I believe there is no better argument against our intervention than a study of the causes  
11 and developments of the present war. I have often said that if the true facts and issues were placed  
12 before the American people, there would be no danger of our involvement.

13 Here, I would like to point out to you a fundamental difference between the groups who advocate  
14 foreign war, and those who believe in an independent destiny for America.

15 If you will look back over the record, you will find that those of us who oppose intervention have  
16 constantly tried to clarify facts and issues; while the interventionists have tried to hide facts and  
17 confuse issues.

18 We ask you to read what we said last month, last year, and even before the war began. Our record is  
19 open and clear, and we are proud of it.

20 We have not led you on by subterfuge and propaganda. We have not resorted to steps short of  
21 anything, in order to take the American people where they did not want to go.

22 What we said before the elections, we say [illegible] and again, and again today. And we will not tell  
23 you tomorrow that it was just campaign oratory. Have you ever heard an interventionist, or a British  
24 agent, or a member of the administration in Washington ask you to go back and study a record of  
25 what they have said since the war started? Are their self-styled defenders of democracy willing to  
26 put the issue of war to a vote of our people? Do you find these crusaders for foreign freedom of  
27 speech, or the removal of censorship here in our own country?

28 The subterfuge and propaganda that exists in our country is obvious on every side. Tonight, I shall try  
29 to pierce through a portion of it, to the naked facts which lie beneath.

30 When this war started in Europe, it was clear that the American people were solidly opposed to  
31 entering it. Why shouldn't we be? We had the best defensive position in the world; we had a  
32 tradition of independence from Europe; and the one time we did take part in a European war left  
33 European problems unsolved, and debts to America unpaid.

34 National polls showed that when England and France declared war on Germany, in 1939, less than  
35 10 percent of our population favored a similar course for America. But there were various groups of  
36 people, here and abroad, whose interests and beliefs necessitated the involvement of the United  
37 States in the war. I shall point out some of these groups tonight, and outline their methods of  
38 procedure. In doing this, I must speak with the utmost frankness, for in order to counteract their  
39 efforts, we must know exactly who they are.

40 The three most important groups who have been pressing this country toward war are the British,  
41 the Jewish and the Roosevelt administration.

42 Behind these groups, but of lesser importance, are a number of capitalists, Anglophiles, and  
43 intellectuals who believe that the future of mankind depends upon the domination of the British  
44 empire. Add to these the Communistic groups who were opposed to intervention until a few weeks  
45 ago, and I believe I have named the major war agitators in this country.

46 I am speaking here only of war agitators, not of those sincere but misguided men and women who,  
47 confused by misinformation and frightened by propaganda, follow the lead of the war agitators.

48 As I have said, these war agitators comprise only a small minority of our people; but they control a  
49 tremendous influence. Against the determination of the American people to stay out of war, they  
50 have marshaled the power of their propaganda, their money, their patronage.

51 Let us consider these groups, one at a time.

52 First, the British: It is obvious and perfectly understandable that Great Britain wants the United  
53 States in the war on her side. England is now in a desperate position. Her population is not large  
54 enough and her armies are not strong enough to invade the continent of Europe and win the war  
55 she declared against Germany.

56 Her geographical position is such that she cannot win the war by the use of aviation alone,  
57 regardless of how many planes we send her. Even if America entered the war, it is improbable that  
58 the Allied armies could invade Europe and overwhelm the Axis powers. But one thing is certain. If  
59 England can draw this country into the war, she can shift to our shoulders a large portion of the  
60 responsibility for waging it and for paying its cost.

61 As you all know, we were left with the debts of the last European war; and unless we are more  
62 cautious in the future than we have been in the past, we will be left with the debts of the present  
63 case. If it were not for her hope that she can make us responsible for the war financially, as well as  
64 militarily, I believe England would have negotiated a peace in Europe many months ago, and be  
65 better off for doing so.

66 England has devoted, and will continue to devote every effort to get us into the war. We know that  
67 she spent huge sums of money in this country during the last war in order to involve us. Englishmen  
68 have written books about the cleverness of its use.

69 We know that England is spending great sums of money for propaganda in America during the  
70 present war. If we were Englishmen, we would do the same. But our interest is first in America; and  
71 as Americans, it is essential for us to realize the effort that British interests are making to draw us  
72 into their war.

73 The second major group I mentioned is the Jewish.

74 It is not difficult to understand why Jewish people desire the overthrow of Nazi Germany. The  
75 persecution they suffered in Germany would be sufficient to make bitter enemies of any race.

76 No person with a sense of the dignity of mankind can condone the persecution of the Jewish race in  
77 Germany. But no person of honesty and vision can look on their pro-war policy here today without  
78 seeing the dangers involved in such a policy both for us and for them. Instead of agitating for war,  
79 the Jewish groups in this country should be opposing it in every possible way for they will be among  
80 the first to feel its consequences.

81 Tolerance is a virtue that depends upon peace and strength. History shows that it cannot survive war  
82 and devastations. A few far-sighted Jewish people realize this and stand opposed to intervention.  
83 But the majority still do not.

84 Their greatest danger to this country lies in their large ownership and influence in our motion  
85 pictures, our press, our radio and our government.

86 I am not attacking either the Jewish or the British people. Both races, I admire. But I am saying that  
87 the leaders of both the British and the Jewish races, for reasons which are as understandable from  
88 their viewpoint as they are inadvisable from ours, for reasons which are not American, wish to  
89 involve us in the war.

90 We cannot blame them for looking out for what they believe to be their own interests, but we also  
91 must look out for ours. We cannot allow the natural passions and prejudices of other peoples to lead  
92 our country to destruction.

93 The Roosevelt administration is the third powerful group which has been carrying this country  
94 toward war. Its members have used the war emergency to obtain a third presidential term for the  
95 first time in American history. They have used the war to add unlimited billions to a debt which was  
96 already the highest we have ever known. And they have just used the war to justify the restriction of  
97 congressional power, and the assumption of dictatorial procedures on the part of the president and  
98 his appointees.

99 The power of the Roosevelt administration depends upon the maintenance of a wartime emergency.  
100 The prestige of the Roosevelt administration depends upon the success of Great Britain to whom the  
101 president attached his political future at a time when most people thought that England and France  
102 would easily win the war. The danger of the Roosevelt administration lies in its subterfuge. While its

103 members have promised us peace, they have led us to war heedless of the platform upon which  
104 they were elected.

105 In selecting these three groups as the major agitators for war, I have included only those whose  
106 support is essential to the war party. If any one of these groups--the British, the Jewish, or the  
107 administration--stops agitating for war, I believe there will be little danger of our involvement.

108 I do not believe that any two of them are powerful enough to carry this country to war without the  
109 support of the third. And to these three, as I have said, all other war groups are of secondary  
110 importance.

111 When hostilities commenced in Europe, in 1939, it was realized by these groups that the American  
112 people had no intention of entering the war. They knew it would be worse than useless to ask us for  
113 a declaration of war at that time. But they believed that this country could be entered into the war  
114 in very much the same way we were entered into the last one.

115 They planned: first, to prepare the United States for foreign war under the guise of American  
116 defense; second, to involve us in the war, step by step, without our realization; third, to create a  
117 series of incidents which would force us into the actual conflict. These plans were of course, to be  
118 covered and assisted by the full power of their propaganda.

119 Our theaters soon became filled with plays portraying the glory of war. Newsreels lost all semblance  
120 of objectivity. Newspapers and magazines began to lose advertising if they carried anti-war articles.  
121 A smear campaign was instituted against individuals who opposed intervention. The terms "fifth  
122 columnist," "traitor," "Nazi," "anti-Semitic" were thrown ceaselessly at any one who dared to  
123 suggest that it was not to the best interests of the United States to enter the war. Men lost their jobs  
124 if they were frankly anti-war. Many others dared no longer speak.

125 Before long, lecture halls that were open to the advocates of war were closed to speakers who  
126 opposed it. A fear campaign was inaugurated. We were told that aviation, which has held the British  
127 fleet off the continent of Europe, made America more vulnerable than ever before to invasion.  
128 Propaganda was in full swing.

129 There was no difficulty in obtaining billions of dollars for arms under the guise of defending America.  
130 Our people stood united on a program of defense. Congress passed appropriation after  
131 appropriation for guns and planes and battleships, with the approval of the overwhelming majority  
132 of our citizens. That a large portion of these appropriations was to be used to build arms for Europe,  
133 we did not learn until later. That was another step.

134 To use a specific example; in 1939, we were told that we should increase our air corps to a total of  
135 5,000 planes. Congress passed the necessary legislation. A few months later, the administration told  
136 us that the United States should have at least 50,000 planes for our national safety. But almost as  
137 fast as fighting planes were turned out from our factories, they were sent abroad, although our own  
138 air corps was in the utmost need of new equipment; so that today, two years after the start of war,  
139 the American army has a few hundred thoroughly modern bombers and fighters--less in fact, than  
140 Germany is able to produce in a single month.

141 Ever since its inception, our arms program has been laid out for the purpose of carrying on the war  
142 in Europe, far more than for the purpose of building an adequate defense for America.

143 Now at the same time we were being prepared for a foreign war, it was necessary, as I have said, to  
144 involve us in the war. This was accomplished under that now famous phrase "steps short of war."

145 England and France would win if the United States would only repeal its arms embargo and sell  
146 munitions for cash, we were told. And then [illegible] began, a refrain that marked every step we  
147 took toward war for many months--"the best way to defend America and keep out of war." we were  
148 told, was "by aiding the Allies."

149 First, we agreed to sell arms to Europe; next, we agreed to loan arms to Europe; then we agreed to  
150 patrol the ocean for Europe; then we occupied a European island in the war zone. Now, we have  
151 reached the verge of war.

152 The war groups have succeeded in the first two of their three major steps into war. The greatest  
153 armament program in our history is under way.

154 We have become involved in the war from practically every standpoint except actual shooting. Only  
155 the creation of sufficient "incidents" yet remains; and you see the first of these already taking place,  
156 according to plan [ill.]-- a plan that was never laid before the American people for their approval.

157 Men and women of Iowa; only one thing holds this country from war today. That is the rising  
158 opposition of the American people. Our system of democracy and representative government is on  
159 test today as it has never been before. We are on the verge of a war in which the only victor would  
160 be chaos and prostration.

161 We are on the verge of a war for which we are still unprepared, and for which no one has offered a  
162 feasible plan for victory--a war which cannot be won without sending our soldiers across the ocean  
163 to force a landing on a hostile coast against armies stronger than our own.

164 We are on the verge of war, but it is not yet too late to stay out. It is not too late to show that no  
165 amount of money, or propaganda, or patronage can force a free and independent people into war  
166 against its will. It is not yet too late to retrieve and to maintain the independent American destiny  
167 that our forefathers established in this new world.

168 The entire future rests upon our shoulders. It depends upon our action, our courage, and our  
169 intelligence. If you oppose our intervention in the war, now is the time to make your voice heard.

170 Help us to organize these meetings; and write to your representatives in Washington. I tell you that  
171 the last stronghold of democracy and representative government in this country is in our house of  
172 representatives and our senate.

173 There, we can still make our will known. And if we, the American people, do that, independence and  
174 freedom will continue to live among us, and there will be no foreign war.

## Appendix I: Trumps Republican National Convention Speech

[Delivered July 21, 2016 at the Republican National Convention in Cleveland Ohio]

[Original text source: <https://www.vox.com/2016/7/21/12253426/donald-trump-acceptance-speech-transcript-republican-nomination-transcript>]

[Video source : [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fs0pZ\\_GrTy8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fs0pZ_GrTy8)]

[Differences from original source may occur, as the Speech have been corrected for discrepancies between audio and text]

1 Friends, delegates and fellow Americans: I humbly and gratefully accept your nomination for the  
2 presidency of the United States.

3 USA USA USA USA

4 Who would have believed that when we started this journey on June 16, last year, we — I say we  
5 because we are a team — would have received almost 14 million votes, the most in the history of  
6 the Republican party?

7 And that the Republican Party would get 60 percent more votes than it received eight years ago.  
8 Who would have believed this? Who would have believed it? The Democrats on the other hand,  
9 received 20 percent fewer votes than they got four years ago, not so good not so good..

10 Together, we will lead our party back to the White House, and we will lead our country back to  
11 safety, prosperity, and peace. We will be a country of generosity and warmth. But we will also be a  
12 country of law and order.

13 Our convention occurs at a moment of crisis for our nation. The attacks on our police, and the  
14 terrorism in our cities, threaten our very way of life. Any politician who does not grasp this danger is  
15 not fit to lead our country.

16 Americans watching this address tonight have seen the recent images of violence in our streets and  
17 the chaos in our communities. Many have witnessed this violence personally. Some have even been  
18 its victims.

19 I have a message for all of you: The crime and violence that today afflicts our nation will soon — and  
20 I mean very soon come to an end. Beginning on January 20th 2017, safety will be restored.

21 The most basic duty of government is to defend the lives of its own citizens. Any government that  
22 fails to do so is a government unworthy to lead.

23 It is finally time for a straightforward assessment of the state of our nation. I will present the facts  
24 plainly and honestly. We cannot afford to be so politically correct anymore.

25 So if you want to hear the corporate spin, the carefully-crafted lies, and the media myths — the  
26 Democrats are holding their convention next week. Go there.

27 But here, at our convention, there will be no lies. We will honor the American people with the truth,  
28 and nothing else.

29 These are the facts:

30 Decades of progress made in bringing down crime are now being reversed by this administration's  
31 rollback of criminal enforcement.

32 Homicides last year increased by 17% in America's fifty largest cities. That's the largest increase in 25  
33 years.

34 In our nation's capital, killings have risen by 50 percent. They are up nearly 60 percent in nearby  
35 Baltimore.

36 In the president's hometown of Chicago, more than 2,000 have been the victims of shootings this  
37 year alone. And almost 4,000 have been killed in the Chicago area since he took office.

38 The number of police officers killed in the line of duty has risen by almost 50 percent compared to  
39 this point last year.

40 Nearly 180,000 illegal immigrants with criminal records, ordered deported from our country, are  
41 tonight roaming free to threaten peaceful citizens.

42 The number of new illegal immigrant families who have crossed the border so far this year already  
43 exceeds the entire total of 2015.

44 They are being released by the tens of thousands into our communities with no regard for the  
45 impact on public safety or resources.

46 One such border-crosser was released and made his way to Nebraska. There, he ended the life of an  
47 innocent young girl named Sarah Root. She was 21 years old and was killed the day after graduating  
48 from college with a 4.0 grade point average. Number one in her class. Her killer was then released a  
49 second time, and he is now a fugitive from the law. I've met Sarah's beautiful family. But to this  
50 administration, their amazing daughter was just one more American life that wasn't worth  
51 protecting. No more. One more child to sacrifice on the order and on the altar of open borders.

52 What about our economy? Again, I will tell you the plain facts that have been edited out of your  
53 nightly news and your morning newspaper:

54 Nearly four in 10 African-American children are living in poverty, while 58% of African-American  
55 youth are now not employed.

56 2 million more Latinos are in poverty today than when the president took his oath of office less than  
57 eight years ago.

58 Another 14 million people have left the workforce entirely.

59 Household incomes are down more than \$4,000 since the year 2000. That is 16 years ago.

60 Our trade deficit in goods reached — think of this think of this— our trade deficit is \$800 hundred  
61 billion dollars. Think of that. \$800 billion last year alone. We're gonna fix that.

62 The budget is no better. President Obama has almost doubled our national debt to more than \$19  
63 trillion, and growing.

64 And yet, what do we have to show for it? Our roads and bridges are falling apart, our airports are in  
65 third world condition, and 43 million Americans are on food stamps.

66 Now let us consider the state of affairs abroad. Not only have our citizens endured domestic  
67 disaster, but they have lived through one international humiliation after another. One after another.

68 We all remember the images of our sailors being forced to their knees by their Iranian captors at  
69 gunpoint. This was just prior to the signing of the Iran deal, which gave back to Iran \$150 billion and  
70 gave us absolutely nothing. It will go down in history as one of the worst deals ever negotiated.

71 Another humiliation came when President Obama drew a red line in Syria and the whole world knew  
72 it meant absolutely nothing.

73 In Libya, our consulate, the symbol of American prestige around the globe was brought down in  
74 flames.

75 America is far less safe and the world is far less stable than when Obama made the decision to put  
76 Hillary Clinton in charge of America's foreign policy. Let's defeat her in November. I am certain that it  
77 /was a decision that President Obama truly regrets.

78 Her bad instincts and her bad judgment, something pointed out by Bernie Sanders are what caused  
79 so many of the disasters unfolding today. Let's review the record.

80 In 2009, pre-Hillary, ISIS was not even on the map. Libya was stable. Egypt was peaceful. Iraq had  
81 seen and really a big big reduction in violence. Iran was being choked by sanctions. Syria was  
82 somewhat under control.

83 After four years of Hillary Clinton, what do we have? ISIS has spread across the region and the entire  
84 world. Libya is in ruins, and our ambassador and his staff were left helpless to die at the hands of  
85 savage killers. Egypt was turned over to the radical Muslim Brotherhood, forcing the military to  
86 retake control. Iraq is in chaos. Iran is on the path to nuclear weapons. Syria is engulfed in a civil war  
87 and a refugee crisis that now threatens the West. After 15 years of wars in the Middle East, after  
88 trillions of dollars spent and thousands of lives lost, the situation is worse than it has ever been  
89 before.

90 This is the legacy of Hillary Clinton: Death, destruction terrorism and weakness.

91 But Hillary Clinton's legacy does not have to be America's legacy. The problems we face now —  
92 poverty and violence at home, war and destruction abroad — will last only as long as we continue  
93 relying on the same politicians who created them in the first place. A change in leadership is  
94 required to produce a change in outcomes.

95 Tonight, I will share with you my plan for action for America. The most important difference  
96 between our plan and that of our opponents, is that our plan will put America first. Americanism,  
97 not globalism, will be our credo.

98 As long as we are led by politicians who will not put America first, then we can be assured that other  
99 nations will not treat America with respect. The respect that we deserve. The American people will  
100 come first once again.

101 My plan will begin with safety at home which means safe neighborhoods, secure borders, and  
102 protection from terrorism. There can be no prosperity without law and order.

103 On the economy, I will outline reforms to add millions of new jobs and trillions in new wealth that  
104 can be used to rebuild America.

105 A number of these reforms that I will outline tonight will be opposed by some of our nation's most  
106 powerful special interests. That is because these interests have rigged our political and economic  
107 system for their exclusive benefit. Believe me. It is for their benefit.

108 Big business, elite media and major donors are lining up behind the campaign of my opponent  
109 because they know she will keep our rigged system in place. They are throwing money at her  
110 because they have total control over every single thing she does. She is their puppet, and they pull  
111 the strings. That is why Hillary Clinton's message is that things will never change. Never ever.

112 My message is that things have to change and they have to change right now. Every day I wake up  
113 determined to deliver a better life for the people all across this nation that had been ignored,  
114 neglected and abandoned.

115 I have visited the laid-off factory workers, and the communities crushed by our horrible and unfair  
116 trade deals. These are the forgotten men and women of our country, and they are forgotten, but  
117 they are not gonna be forgotten long. These are people who work hard but no longer have a voice. I  
118 am your voice.

119 I have embraced crying mothers who have lost their children because our politicians put their  
120 personal agendas before the national good.

121 I have no patience for injustice.

122 [A Hillary supporter was escorted out]

123 How great are our police? And how great is Cleveland? Thank you

124 I have no patience for injustice. No tolerance for government incompetence of which there is so  
125 much. No sympathy for leaders who fail their citizens When innocent people suffer, because our  
126 political system lacks the will, or the courage, or the basic decency to enforce our laws, or still worse,  
127 has sold out to some corporate lobbyist for cash I am not able to look the other way. And I won't  
128 look the other way.

129 And when a Secretary of State illegally stores her emails on a private server, deletes 33,000 of them  
130 so the authorities can't see her crime, puts our country at risk, lies about it in every different form

131 and faces no consequence — I know that corruption has reached a level like never ever before in our  
132 country.

133 When the FBI director says that the Secretary of State was "extremely careless" and "negligent" in  
134 handling our classified secrets, I also know that these terms are minor compared to what she  
135 actually did. They were just used to save her from facing justice for her terrible, terrible crimes.

136 In fact, her single greatest accomplishment may be committing such an egregious crime and getting  
137 away with it, especially when others who have been far less have paid so dearly.

138 When that same Secretary of State rakes in millions and millions of dollars trading access and favors  
139 to special interests and foreign powers, I know the time for action has come.

140 I have joined the political arena so that the powerful can no longer beat up on people that cannot  
141 defend themselves.

142 Nobody knows the system better than me, which is why I alone can fix it. I have seen firsthand how  
143 the system is rigged against our citizens, just like it was rigged against Bernie Sanders. He never had  
144 a chance. Never had a chance.

145 But his supporters will join our movement, because we will fix his biggest single issue: Trade deals  
146 that strip our country of its jobs and strip us of our wealth as a country.

147 Millions of Democrats will join our movement, because we are going to fix the system so it works  
148 fairly and justly for each and every American.

149 In this cause, I am proud to have at my side the next Vice President of the United States: Governor  
150 Mike Pence of Indiana. And a great guy. We will bring the same economic success to America that  
151 Mike brought to Indiana, which is amazing. He is a man of character and accomplishment. He is the  
152 man for the job.

153 The first task for our new administration will be to liberate our citizens from the crime and terrorism  
154 and lawlessness that threatens — our communities.

155 America was shocked to its core when our police officers in Dallas were so brutally executed.  
156 Immediately after Dallas, we have seen continued threats and violence against our law enforcement  
157 officials. Law officers have been shot or killed in recent days in Georgia, Missouri, Wisconsin, Kansas,  
158 Michigan and Tennessee.

159 On Sunday, more police were gunned down in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Three were killed, and three  
160 were very very badly injured. An attack on law enforcement is an attack on all Americans.

161 I have a message to every last person threatening the peace on our streets and the safety of our  
162 police: When I take the oath of office next year, I will restore law and order to our country. Believe  
163 me, believe me.

164 I will work with, and appoint, the best and brightest prosecutors and law enforcement officials to get  
165 the job properly done. In this race for the White House, I am the law and order candidate.

166 The irresponsible rhetoric of our president, who has used the pulpit of the presidency to divide us by  
167 race and color, has made America a more dangerous environment than frankly, I have ever seen and  
168 anybody in this room has ever watched or seeing.

169 This administration has failed America's inner cities. Remember, it has failed America's inner cities.  
170 It's failed them on education. It's failed them on jobs. It's failed them on crime. It's failed them in  
171 every way and on every single level.

172 When I am president, I will work to ensure that all of our kids are treated equally, and protected  
173 equally. Every action I take, I will ask myself: Does this make life better for young Americans in  
174 Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit, and Ferguson who have really in every way folks, have the same right to  
175 live out their dreams as any other child in America? Any other child.

176 To make life safe for all our citizens we must also address the growing threats from outside the  
177 country. We are going to defeat the barbarians of ISIS. And we are going to defeat them Fast

178 Once again, France is the victim of brutal Islamic terrorism. Men, women and children viciously  
179 mowed down. Lives ruined. Families ripped apart. A nation in mourning. The damage and  
180 devastation that can be inflicted by Islamic radicals has been proven over and over. At the World  
181 Trade Center, at an office party in San Bernardino, at the Boston Marathon, and a military recruiting  
182 center in Chattanooga, Tennessee. And many many other locations.

183 Only weeks ago, in Orlando, Florida, 49 wonderful Americans were savagely murdered by an Islamic  
184 terrorist. This time, the terrorist targeted LGBTQ community.

185 No good. And we're going to stop it. As your president, I will do everything in my power to protect  
186 our LGBTQ citizens from the violence and oppression of a hateful foreign ideology. Believe me. And I  
187 have to say as a Republican, it is so nice to hear you cheering for what I just said. Thank you.

188 To protect us from terrorism, we need to focus on three things.

189 We must have the best, absolutely the best, gathering of intelligence anywhere in the world. The  
190 best.

191 We must abandon the failed policy of nation-building and regime change that Hillary Clinton pushed  
192 in Iraq, Libya, in Egypt, and Syria.

193 Instead, we must work with all of our allies who share our goal of destroying ISIS and stamping out  
194 Islamic terrorism and doing it now, doing it quickly. We're going to win. We're going to win fast. This  
195 includes working with our greatest ally in the region, the state of Israel.

196 Recently I have said that NATO was obsolete. Because it did not properly cover terror. And also that  
197 many of the member countries were not paying their fair share. As usual, the United States has been  
198 picking up the cost. Shortly thereafter, it was announced that NATO will be setting up a new  
199 program in order to combat terrorism. A true step in the right direction.

200 Lastly, and very importantly, we must immediately suspend immigration from any nation that has  
201 been compromised by terrorism until such time as proven vetting mechanisms have been put in  
202 place. We don't want them in our country.

203 My opponent has called for a radical 550 percent increase — in Syrian, think of this, this is not  
204 believable, but this is what is happening — a 550 percent increase in Syrian refugees on top of  
205 existing massive refugee flows coming into our country already under the “leadership” of president  
206 Obama.

207 She proposes this despite the fact that there's no way to screen these refugees in order to find out  
208 who they are or where they come from. I only want to admit individuals into our country who will  
209 support our values and love our people. Anyone who endorses violence, hatred or oppression is not  
210 welcome in our country and never ever will be.

211 Decades of record immigration have produced lower wages and higher unemployment for our  
212 citizens, especially for African-American and Latino workers. We are going to have an immigration  
213 system that works, but one that works for the American people.

214 On Monday, we heard from three parents whose children were killed by illegal immigrants Mary Ann  
215 Mendoza, Sabine Durden, and my friend Jamiel Shaw. They are just three brave representatives of  
216 many thousands who have suffered so greatly.

217 Of all my travels in this country, nothing has affected me more, nothing even close I have to tell you  
218 than the time I have spent with the mothers and fathers who have lost their children to violence  
219 spilling across our borders, which we can solve. We have to solve it. These families have no special  
220 interests to represent them. There are no demonstrators to protect them and certainly none too  
221 protest on their behalf.

222 My opponent will never meet with them, or share in their pain. Believe me. Instead, my opponent  
223 wants sanctuary cities. But where was sanctuary for Kate Steinle? Where was sanctuary for the  
224 children of Mary Ann, and Sabine and Jamiel? Where was the sanctuary for all of the, Its so sad to  
225 even be talking about this. We can solve it so quickly. Where was sanctuary for all the other  
226 Americans who have been so brutally murdered, and who have suffered so so horribly? These  
227 wounded American families have been alone. But they are not alone any longer.

228 Tonight, this candidate and the whole nation stand in their corner to support them, to send them  
229 our love, and to pledge in their honor that we will save countless more families from suffering and  
230 the same awful fate.

231 We are going to build a great border wall to stop illegal immigration, to stop the gangs and the  
232 violence, and to stop the drugs from pouring into our communities.

233 I have been honored to receive the endorsement of America's Border Patrol agents, and will work  
234 directly with them to protect the integrity of our lawful, lawful, lawful immigration system. Lawful.

235 By ending catch-and-release on the border, we will end the cycle of human smuggling and violence.  
236 Illegal border crossings will go down. We will stop it. It will not be happening very much anymore.  
237 Believe me.

238 Peace will be restored by enforcing the rules for millions who overstay their visas, our laws will  
239 finally receive the respect they deserve.

240 Tonight, I want every American whose demands for immigration security have been denied and  
241 every politician who has denied them to listen very very closely to the words I am about to say: On  
242 January 20 of 2017, the day I take the oath of office, Americans will finally wake up in a country  
243 where the laws of the United States are enforced.

244 We are going to be considerate and compassionate to everyone. But my greatest compassion will be  
245 for our own struggling citizens.

246 USA USA USA [to the crowd chanting the same]

247 My plan is the exact opposite of the radical and dangerous immigration policy of Hillary Clinton.  
248 Americans want relief from uncontrolled immigration. Which is what we have now. Communities  
249 want relief. Yet Hillary Clinton is proposing mass amnesty, mass immigration, and mass lawlessness.

250 Her plan will overwhelm your schools and hospitals, further reduce your jobs and wages, and make it  
251 harder for recent immigrants to escape the tremendous cycle of poverty they are going through  
252 right now and make it almost impossible for them to join the middle class.

253 I have a different vision for our workers. It begins with a new, fair trade policy that protects our jobs  
254 and stands up to countries that cheat — of which there are many.

255 It's been a signature message of my campaign from day one, and it will be a signature feature of my  
256 presidency from the moment I take the Oath of Office. I have made billions of dollars in business  
257 making deals. Now I'm going to make our country rich again. Using the greatest businesspeople of  
258 the world, which our country has I'm going to turn our bad trade agreements into great trade  
259 agreements.

260 America has lost nearly-one third of its manufacturing jobs since 1997, following the enactment of  
261 disastrous trade deals supported by bill and Hillary Clinton. Remember, it was Bill Clinton who signed  
262 NAFTA, one of the worst economic deals ever made by our country. Or frankly, any other country.  
263 Never ever again.

264 I am going to bring our jobs back our jobs to Ohio and Pennsylvania and New York and Michigan and  
265 all of America and I am not going to let companies move to other countries, firing their employees  
266 along the way, without consequences. Not going to happen anymore.

267 My opponent, on the other hand, has supported virtually every trade agreement that has been  
268 destroying our middle class. She supported NAFTA, and she supported China's entrance into the  
269 World Trade Organization. Another one of her husband's colossal mistakes and disasters. She  
270 supported the job killing trade deal with South Korea. She supported the Trans-Pacific Partnership  
271 which will not only destroy our manufacturing but it will make America subject to the rulings of  
272 foreign governments. And it is not going to happen.

273 I pledge to never sign any trade agreement that hurts our workers, or that diminishes our freedom  
274 and Independence. We will never ever sign bad trade deals. America first again. America first.

275 Instead, I will make individual deals with individual countries. No longer will we enter into these  
276 massive transactions with many countries that are thousands of pages long and which no one from  
277 our country even reads or understands. We are going to enforce all trade violations against any

278 country that cheats. This includes stopping China's outrageous theft of intellectual property, along  
279 with their illegal product dumping, and their devastating currency manipulation. They are the  
280 greatest that ever came about, they are the greatest currency manipulators ever.

281 Our horrible trade agreements with China, and many others, will be totally renegotiated. That  
282 includes renegotiating NAFTA to get a much better deal for America and will walk away if we don't  
283 get that kind of a deal. Our country is going to start building and making things again.

284 Next comes the reform of our tax laws, regulations and energy rules. While Hillary Clinton plans a  
285 massive, and I mean massive, tax increase, I have proposed the largest tax reduction of any  
286 candidate who has run for president this year, Democrat or Republican. Middle-income Americans  
287 and businesses will experience profound relief, and taxes will be greatly simplified for everyone. I  
288 mean everyone.

289 America is one of the highest-taxed nations in the world. Reducing taxes will cause new companies  
290 and new jobs to come roaring back into our country. Believe me. It will happen and it will happen  
291 fast.

292 Then we are going to deal with the issue of regulation, one of the greatest job killers of them all.  
293 Excessive regulation is costing our country as much as \$2 trillion a year, and we will end it very very  
294 quickly.

295 We are going to lift the restrictions on the production of American energy. This will produce more  
296 than \$20 trillion in job-creating economic activity over the next four decades.

297 My opponent, on the other hand, wants to put the great miners and the great steelworkers of our  
298 country out of work and out of business. That will never happen with Donald J trump as president.  
299 Our steelworkers and our miners are going back to work again.

300 With these new economic policies, trillions and trillions of dollars will start flowing into our country.  
301 This new wealth will improve the quality of life for all Americans. We will build the roads, highways,  
302 bridges, tunnels, airports, and the railways of tomorrow. This, in turn, will create millions of more  
303 jobs.

304 We will rescue kids from failing schools by helping their parents send them to a safe school of their  
305 choice. My opponent would rather protect education bureaucrats than serve American children.  
306 That is what she is doing and that is what she has done.

307 We will repeal and replace disastrous Obamacare. You will be able to choose your own doctor again.

308 And we will fix TSA at the airports, which is a total disaster. Thank you. Thank you.

309 We are going to work with all of our students who are drowning in debt to take the pressure off  
310 these young people just starting out in their adult lives. Tremendous problems.

311 We will completely rebuild our depleted military. And the countries that we are protecting at a  
312 massive cost to us will be asked to pay their fair share.

313 We will take care of our great veterans like they have never been taken care of before. My just-  
314 released 10 point plan has received tremendous better support. We will guarantee those who serve  
315 this country will be able to visit the doctor or hospital of their choice without waiting five days in a  
316 line and dying.

317 My opponent dismissed the VA scandal, one more sign of how out of touch she really is.

318 We are going to ask every department head and government to provide a list of wasteful spending  
319 on projects that we can eliminate in my first 100 days. The politicians have talked about this for  
320 years, but I'm going to do it.

321 We are also going to appoint justices to the United States Supreme Court who will uphold our laws  
322 and our constitution. The replacement of our beloved Justice Scalia will be a person of similar views,  
323 principles and judicial philosophies. Very important. This will be one of the most important issues  
324 decided by this election.

325 My opponent wants to essentially abolish the 2nd Amendment. I, on the other hand, received the  
326 early and strong endorsement of the National Rifle Association. And will protect the right of all  
327 Americans to keep their families safe.

328 At this moment, I would like to thank the evangelical and religious community because, I will tell you  
329 what, the support they have given me — and I'm not sure I totally deserve it — has been so amazing.  
330 And has had such a big reason for me being here tonight. True, so true. They have much to  
331 contribute to our policies.

332 Yet our laws prevent you from speaking your mind from your own pulpits. An amendment, pushed  
333 by Lyndon Johnson, many years ago, threatens religious institutions with a loss of their tax-exempt  
334 status if they openly advocate their political views. Their voice has been taken away. I am going to  
335 work very hard to repeal that language and to protect free speech for all Americans.

336 We can accomplish these great things and so much more. All we need to do is start believing in  
337 ourselves and in our country again. Start believing. It is time to show the whole world that America is  
338 back, bigger and better and stronger than ever before.

339 In this journey, I'm so lucky to have at my side my wife Melania and my wonderful children Don,  
340 Ivanka, Eric, Tiffany, and Barron: You will always be my greatest source of pride and joy. And by the  
341 way, Melania and Ivanka, did they do a job?

342 My dad, Fred Trump, was the smartest and hardest working man I ever knew. I wonder sometimes  
343 what he'd say if he were here to see this and to see me tonight. It's because of him that I learned,  
344 from my youngest age, to respect the dignity of work and the dignity of working people.

345 He was a guy most comfortable in the company of bricklayers, carpenters, and electricians and I  
346 have a lot of that in me also. I love those people.

347 Then there's my mother, Mary. She was strong, but also warm and fair-minded. She was a truly great  
348 mother. She was also one of the most honest and charitable people I have ever known, and a great,  
349 great judge of character. She could pick them out from anywhere.

350 To my sisters, Mary Anne and Elizabeth, my brother Robert and my late brother Fred, I will always  
351 give you my love. You are most special to me. I have had a truly great life in business.

352 But now, my sole and exclusive mission is to go to work for our country, to go to work for you. It is  
353 time to deliver a victory for the American people. We don't win anymore, but we are going to start  
354 winning again. But to do that, we must break free from the petty politics of the past.

355 America is a nation of believers, dreamers, and strivers that is being led by a group of censors, critics,  
356 and cynics. Remember: All of the people telling you you can't have the country you want, are the  
357 same people, that would not stand, I mean they said Trump does not have a chance of being he re  
358 tonight, not a chance, the same people. We love defeating those people, don't we? Love it.

359 No longer can we rely on those same people. In the media and politics who, will say anything to keep  
360 a rigged system in place. Instead, we must choose to believe in America.

361 History is watching us now. We don't have much time. But history is watching. It's waiting to see if  
362 we will rise to the occasion, and if we will show the whole world that America is still free and  
363 independent and strong.

364 I am asking for your support tonight so that I can be your champion in the White House. And I will be  
365 your champion.

366 My opponent asks her supporters to recite a three-word loyalty pledge. It reads: "I'm with her."

367 I choose to recite a different pledge. My pledge reads: "I'm with you the American people."

368 I am your voice. So to every parent who dreams for their child, and every child who dreams for their  
369 future, I say these words to you tonight: I'm with you, and I will fight for you, and I will win for you.

370 To all Americans tonight, in all our cities and towns, I make this promise:

371 We will make America strong again.

372 We will make America proud again.

373 We will make America safe again.

374 And we will make America great again!

375 God bless you and goodnight! I love you!

## Appendix J: Trumps Inauguration Speech

[Delivered January 20, 2017 in Washington D.C]

[Original text source: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/the-inaugural-address/> ]

[Audio source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ThtRvBUBpQ4>]

[Differences from original source may occur, as the Speech have been corrected for discrepancies between audio and text]

- 1 Chief Justice Roberts, President Carter, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, fellow
- 2 Americans, and people of the world: thank you.
- 3 We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and to
- 4 restore its promise for all of our people.
- 5 Together, we will determine the course of America and the world for many many years to come.
- 6 We will face challenges. We will confront hardships. But we will get the job done.
- 7 Every four years, we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power,
- 8 and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for their gracious aid
- 9 throughout this transition. They have been magnificent, thank you.
- 10 Today's ceremony, however, has very special meaning. Because today we are not merely
- 11 transferring power from one Administration to another, or from one party to another – but we are
- 12 transferring power from Washington, D.C. and giving it back to you, the People.
- 13 For too long, a small group in our nation's Capital has reaped the rewards of government while the
- 14 people have borne the cost.
- 15 Washington flourished – but the people did not share in its wealth.
- 16 Politicians prospered – but the jobs left, and the factories closed.
- 17 The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country.
- 18 Their victories have not been your victories; their triumphs have not been your triumphs; and while
- 19 they celebrated in our nation's Capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across
- 20 our land.
- 21 That all changes – starting right here, and right now, because this moment is your moment: it
- 22 belongs to you.
- 23 It belongs to everyone gathered here today and everyone watching all across America.
- 24 This is your day. This is your celebration.
- 25 And this, the United States of America, is your country.

26 What truly matters is not which party controls our government, but whether our government is  
27 controlled by the people.

28 January 20th 2017, will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this nation again.  
29 The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer.

30 Everyone is listening to you now.

31 You came by the tens of millions to become part of a historic movement the likes of which the world  
32 has never seen before.

33 At the center of this movement is a crucial conviction: that a nation exists to serve its citizens.

34 Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families, and good jobs  
35 for themselves.

36 These are the just and reasonable demands of righteous people and a righteous public.

37 But for too many of our citizens, a different reality exists: Mothers and children trapped in poverty in  
38 our inner cities; rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation;  
39 an education system, flush with cash, but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of  
40 knowledge; and the crime and gangs and drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our  
41 country of so much unrealized potential.

42 This American carnage stops right here and stops right now.

43 We are one nation – and their pain is our pain. Their dreams are our dreams; and their success will  
44 be our success. We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny.

45 The oath of office I take today is an oath of allegiance to all Americans.

46 For many decades, we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry;  
47 Subsidized the armies of other countries while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military;  
48 We've defended other nation's borders while refusing to defend our own;  
49 And spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas while America's infrastructure has fallen into  
50 disrepair and decay.

51 We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength, and confidence of our country has  
52 disappeared over the horizon.

53 One by one, the factories shuttered and left our shores, with not even a thought about the millions  
54 upon millions of American workers left behind.

55 The wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes and then redistributed across the  
56 world.

57 But that is the past. And now we are looking only to the future.

58 We assembled here today are issuing a new decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital,  
59 and in every hall of power.

60 From this day forward, a new vision will govern our land.

61 From this day forward, it's going to be only America First, America First.

62 Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs, will be made to benefit  
63 American workers and American families.

64 We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our  
65 companies, and destroying our jobs. Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength.

66 I will fight for you with every breath in my body – and I will never, ever let you down.

67 America will start winning again, winning like never before.

68 We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our borders. We will bring back our wealth. And we  
69 will bring back our dreams.

70 We will build new roads, and highways, and bridges, and airports, and tunnels, and railways all  
71 across our wonderful nation.

72 We will get our people off of welfare and back to work – rebuilding our country with American hands  
73 and American labor.

74 We will follow two simple rules: Buy American and Hire American.

75 We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world – but we do so with the  
76 understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first.

77 We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example, we will  
78 shine, for everyone to follow.

79 We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones – and unite the civilized world against Radical  
80 Islamic Terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the Earth.

81 At the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through  
82 our loyalty to our country, we will rediscover our loyalty to each other.

83 When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice.

84 The Bible tells us, “how good and pleasant it is when God’s people live together in unity.”

85 We must speak our minds openly, debate our disagreements honestly, but always pursue solidarity.

86 When America is united, America is totally unstoppable.

87 There should be no fear – we are protected, and we will always be protected.

88 We will be protected by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement and, most  
89 importantly, we are protected by God.

90 Finally, we must think big and dream even bigger.

91 In America, we understand that a nation is only living as long as it is striving.

92 We will no longer accept politicians who are all talk and no action – constantly complaining but  
93 never doing anything about it.

94 The time for empty talk is over.

95 Now arrives the hour of action.

96 Do not allow anyone tell you that it cannot be done. No challenge can match the heart and fight and  
97 spirit of America.

98 We will not fail. Our country will thrive and prosper again.

99 We stand at the birth of a new millennium, ready to unlock the mysteries of space, to free the Earth  
100 from the miseries of disease, and to harness the energies, industries and technologies of tomorrow.

101 A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and heal our divisions.

102 It is time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget: that whether we are black or  
103 brown or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots, we all enjoy the same glorious  
104 freedoms, and we all salute the same great American Flag.

105 And whether a child is born in the urban sprawl of Detroit or the windswept plains of Nebraska, they  
106 look up at the same night sky, they fill their heart with the same dreams, and they are infused with  
107 the breath of life by the same almighty Creator.

108 So to all Americans, in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, and from  
109 ocean to ocean, hear these words:

110 You will never be ignored again.

111 Your voice, your hopes, and your dreams, will define our American destiny. And your courage and  
112 goodness and love will forever guide us along the way.

113 Together, We Will Make America Strong Again.

114 We Will Make America Wealthy Again.

115 We Will Make America Proud Again.

116 We Will Make America Safe Again.

117 And, Yes, Together, We Will Make America Great Again. Thank you, God Bless You, And God Bless  
118 America.

## Appendix K: Remarks by President Trump Address to the 72nd session of the United Nations General Assembly

[Delivered September 19, 2017 in New York City, New York]

[Text source: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-72nd-session-united-nations-general-assembly/>]

[Supplementary video source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H8xHdGSJWLs>]

[Differences from original source may occur, as the Speech have been corrected for discrepancies between audio and text]

1 Mr. Secretary General, Mr. President, world leaders, and distinguished delegates: Welcome to New  
2 York. It is a profound honor to stand here in my home city, as a representative of the American  
3 people, to address the people of the world.

4 As millions of our citizens continue to suffer the effects of the devastating hurricanes that have  
5 struck our country, I want to begin by expressing my appreciation to every leader in this room who  
6 has offered assistance and aid. The American people are strong and resilient, and they will emerge  
7 from these hardships more determined than ever before.

8 Fortunately, the United States has done very well since Election Day last November 8th. The stock  
9 market is at an all-time high — a record. Unemployment is at its lowest level in 16 years, and  
10 because of our regulatory and other reforms, we have more people working in the United States  
11 today than ever before. Companies are moving back, creating job growth the likes of which our  
12 country has not seen in a very long time. And it has just been announced that we will be spending  
13 almost \$700 billion on our military and defense.

14 Our military will soon be the strongest it has ever been. For more than 70 years, in times of war and  
15 peace, the leaders of nations, movements, and religions have stood before this assembly. Like them,  
16 I intend to address some of the very serious threats before us today but also the enormous potential  
17 waiting to be unleashed.

18 We live in a time of extraordinary opportunity. Breakthroughs in science, technology, and medicine  
19 are curing illnesses and solving problems that prior generations thought impossible to solve.

20 But each day also brings news of growing dangers that threaten everything we cherish and  
21 value. Terrorists and extremists have gathered strength and spread to every region of the  
22 planet. Rogue regimes represented in this body not only support terrorists but threaten other  
23 nations and their own people with the most destructive weapons known to humanity.

24 Authority and authoritarian powers seek to collapse the values, the systems, and alliances that  
25 prevented conflict and tilted the world toward freedom since World War II.

26 International criminal networks traffic drugs, weapons, people; force dislocation and mass  
27 migration; threaten our borders; and new forms of aggression exploit technology to menace our  
28 citizens.

29 To put it simply, we meet at a time of both of immense promise and great peril. It is entirely up to  
30 us whether we lift the world to new heights, or let it fall into a valley of disrepair.

31 We have it in our power, should we so choose, to lift millions from poverty, to help our citizens  
32 realize their dreams, and to ensure that new generations of children are raised free from violence,  
33 hatred, and fear.

34 This institution was founded in the aftermath of two world wars to help shape this better future. It  
35 was based on the vision that diverse nations could cooperate to protect their sovereignty, preserve  
36 their security, and promote their prosperity.

37 It was in the same period, exactly 70 years ago, that the United States developed the Marshall Plan  
38 to help restore Europe. Those three beautiful pillars — they're pillars of peace, sovereignty,  
39 security, and prosperity.

40 The Marshall Plan was built on the noble idea that the whole world is safer when nations are strong,  
41 independent, and free. As President Truman said in his message to Congress at that time, "Our  
42 support of European recovery is in full accord with our support of the United Nations. The success  
43 of the United Nations depends upon the independent strength of its members."

44 To overcome the perils of the present and to achieve the promise of the future, we must begin with  
45 the wisdom of the past. Our success depends on a coalition of strong and independent nations that  
46 embrace their sovereignty to promote security, prosperity, and peace for themselves and for the  
47 world.

48 We do not expect diverse countries to share the same cultures, traditions, or even systems of  
49 government. But we do expect all nations to uphold these two core sovereign duties: to respect the  
50 interests of their own people and the rights of every other sovereign nation. This is the beautiful  
51 vision of this institution, and this is foundation for cooperation and success.

52 Strong, sovereign nations let diverse countries with different values, different cultures, and different  
53 dreams not just coexist, but work side by side on the basis of mutual respect.

54 Strong, sovereign nations let their people take ownership of the future and control their own  
55 destiny. And strong, sovereign nations allow individuals to flourish in the fullness of the life  
56 intended by God.

57 In America, we do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an  
58 example for everyone to watch. This week gives our country a special reason to take pride in that  
59 example. We are celebrating the 230th anniversary of our beloved Constitution — the oldest  
60 constitution still in use in the world today.

61 This timeless document has been the foundation of peace, prosperity, and freedom for the  
62 Americans and for countless millions around the globe whose own countries have found inspiration  
63 in its respect for human nature, human dignity, and the rule of law.

64 The greatest in the United States Constitution is its first three beautiful words. They are: “We the  
65 people.”

66 Generations of Americans have sacrificed to maintain the promise of those words, the promise of  
67 our country, and of our great history. In America, the people govern, the people rule, and the  
68 people are sovereign. I was elected not to take power, but to give power to the American people,  
69 where it belongs.

70 In foreign affairs, we are renewing this founding principle of sovereignty. Our government’s first  
71 duty is to its people, to our citizens — to serve their needs, to ensure their safety, to preserve their  
72 rights, and to defend their values.

73 As President of the United States, I will always put America first, just like you, as the leaders of your  
74 countries will always, and should always, put your countries first. (Applause.)

75 All responsible leaders have an obligation to serve their own citizens, and the nation-state remains  
76 the best vehicle for elevating the human condition.

77 But making a better life for our people also requires us to work together in close harmony and unity  
78 to create a more safe and peaceful future for all people.

79 The United States will forever be a great friend to the world, and especially to its allies. But we can  
80 no longer be taken advantage of, or enter into a one-sided deal where the United States gets  
81 nothing in return. As long as I hold this office, I will defend America’s interests above all else.

82 But in fulfilling our obligations to our own nations, we also realize that it’s in everyone’s interest to  
83 seek a future where all nations can be sovereign, prosperous, and secure.

84 America does more than speak for the values expressed in the United Nations Charter. Our citizens  
85 have paid the ultimate price to defend our freedom and the freedom of many nations represented in  
86 this great hall. America’s devotion is measured on the battlefields where our young men and  
87 women have fought and sacrificed alongside of our allies, from the beaches of Europe to the deserts  
88 of the Middle East to the jungles of Asia.

89 It is an eternal credit to the American character that even after we and our allies emerged victorious  
90 from the bloodiest war in history, we did not seek territorial expansion, or attempt to oppose and  
91 impose our way of life on others. Instead, we helped build institutions such as this one to defend  
92 the sovereignty, security, and prosperity for all.

93 For the diverse nations of the world, this is our hope. We want harmony and friendship, not conflict  
94 and strife. We are guided by outcomes, not ideology. We have a policy of principled realism, rooted  
95 in shared goals, interests, and values.

96 That realism forces us to confront a question facing every leader and nation in this room. It is a  
97 question we cannot escape or avoid. We will slide down the path of complacency, numb to the  
98 challenges, threats, and even wars that we face. Or do we have enough strength and pride to  
99 confront those dangers today, so that our citizens can enjoy peace and prosperity tomorrow?

100 If we desire to lift up our citizens, if we aspire to the approval of history, then we must fulfill our  
101 sovereign duties to the people we faithfully represent. We must protect our nations, their interests,  
102 and their futures. We must reject threats to sovereignty, from the Ukraine to the South China  
103 Sea. We must uphold respect for law, respect for borders, and respect for culture, and the peaceful  
104 engagement these allow. And just as the founders of this body intended, we must work together  
105 and confront together those who threaten us with chaos, turmoil, and terror.

106 The scourge of our planet today is a small group of rogue regimes that violate every principle on  
107 which the United Nations is based. They respect neither their own citizens nor the sovereign rights  
108 of their countries.

109 If the righteous many do not confront the wicked few, then evil will triumph. When decent people  
110 and nations become bystanders to history, the forces of destruction only gather power and strength.

111 No one has shown more contempt for other nations and for the wellbeing of their own people than  
112 the depraved regime in North Korea. It is responsible for the starvation deaths of millions of North  
113 Koreans, and for the imprisonment, torture, killing, and oppression of countless more.

114 We were all witness to the regime's deadly abuse when an innocent American college student, Otto  
115 Warmbier, was returned to America only to die a few days later. We saw it in the assassination of  
116 the dictator's brother using banned nerve agents in an international airport. We know it kidnapped  
117 a sweet 13-year-old Japanese girl from a beach in her own country to enslave her as a language tutor  
118 for North Korea's spies.

119 If this is not twisted enough, now North Korea's reckless pursuit of nuclear weapons and ballistic  
120 missiles threatens the entire world with unthinkable loss of human life.

121 It is an outrage that some nations would not only trade with such a regime, but would arm, supply,  
122 and financially support a country that imperils the world with nuclear conflict. No nation on earth  
123 has an interest in seeing this band of criminals arm itself with nuclear weapons and missiles.

124 The United States has great strength and patience, but if it is forced to defend itself or its allies, we  
125 will have no choice but to totally destroy North Korea. Rocket Man is on a suicide mission for  
126 himself and for his regime. The United States is ready, willing and able, but hopefully this will not be  
127 necessary. That's what the United Nations is all about; that's what the United Nations is for. Let's  
128 see how they do.

129 It is time for North Korea to realize that the denuclearization is its only acceptable future. The  
130 United Nations Security Council recently held two unanimous 15-0 votes adopting hard-hitting  
131 resolutions against North Korea, and I want to thank China and Russia for joining the vote to impose  
132 sanctions, along with all of the other members of the Security Council. Thank you to all involved.

133 But we must do much more. It is time for all nations to work together to isolate the Kim regime until  
134 it ceases its hostile behavior.

135 We face this decision not only in North Korea. It is far past time for the nations of the world to  
136 confront another reckless regime — one that speaks openly of mass murder, vowing death to  
137 America, destruction to Israel, and ruin for many leaders and nations in this room.

138 The Iranian government masks a corrupt dictatorship behind the false guise of a democracy. It has  
139 turned a wealthy country with a rich history and culture into an economically depleted rogue state  
140 whose chief exports are violence, bloodshed, and chaos. The longest-suffering victims of Iran's  
141 leaders are, in fact, its own people.

142 Rather than use its resources to improve Iranian lives, its oil profits go to fund Hezbollah and other  
143 terrorists that kill innocent Muslims and attack their peaceful Arab and Israeli neighbors. This  
144 wealth, which rightly belongs to Iran's people, also goes to shore up Bashar al-Assad's dictatorship,  
145 fuel Yemen's civil war, and undermine peace throughout the entire Middle East.

146 We cannot let a murderous regime continue these destabilizing activities while building dangerous  
147 missiles, and we cannot abide by an agreement if it provides cover for the eventual construction of a  
148 nuclear program. (Applause.) The Iran Deal was one of the worst and most one-sided transactions  
149 the United States has ever entered into. Frankly, that deal is an embarrassment to the United  
150 States, and I don't think you've heard the last of it — believe me.

151 It is time for the entire world to join us in demanding that Iran's government end its pursuit of death  
152 and destruction. It is time for the regime to free all Americans and citizens of other nations that  
153 they have unjustly detained. And above all, Iran's government must stop supporting terrorists, begin  
154 serving its own people, and respect the sovereign rights of its neighbors.

155 The entire world understands that the good people of Iran want change, and, other than the vast  
156 military power of the United States, that Iran's people are what their leaders fear the most. This is  
157 what causes the regime to restrict Internet access, tear down satellite dishes, shoot unarmed  
158 student protestors, and imprison political reformers.

159 Oppressive regimes cannot endure forever, and the day will come when the Iranian people will face  
160 a choice. Will they continue down the path of poverty, bloodshed, and terror? Or will the Iranian  
161 people return to the nation's proud roots as a center of civilization, culture, and wealth where their  
162 people can be happy and prosperous once again?

163 The Iranian regime's support for terror is in stark contrast to the recent commitments of many of its  
164 neighbors to fight terrorism and halt its financing.

165 In Saudi Arabia early last year, I was greatly honored to address the leaders of more than 50 Arab  
166 and Muslim nations. We agreed that all responsible nations must work together to confront  
167 terrorists and the Islamist extremism that inspires them.

168 We will stop radical Islamic terrorism because we cannot allow it to tear up our nation, and indeed  
169 to tear up the entire world.

170 We must deny the terrorists safe haven, transit, funding, and any form of support for their vile and  
171 sinister ideology. We must drive them out of our nations. It is time to expose and hold responsible  
172 those countries who support and finance terror groups like al Qaeda, Hezbollah, the Taliban and  
173 others that slaughter innocent people.

174 The United States and our allies are working together throughout the Middle East to crush the loser  
175 terrorists and stop the reemergence of safe havens they use to launch attacks on all of our people.

176 Last month, I announced a new strategy for victory in the fight against this evil in Afghanistan. From  
177 now on, our security interests will dictate the length and scope of military operations, not arbitrary  
178 benchmarks and timetables set up by politicians.

179 I have also totally changed the rules of engagement in our fight against the Taliban and other  
180 terrorist groups. In Syria and Iraq, we have made big gains toward lasting defeat of ISIS. In fact, our  
181 country has achieved more against ISIS in the last eight months than it has in many, many years  
182 combined.

183 We seek the de-escalation of the Syrian conflict, and a political solution that honors the will of the  
184 Syrian people. The actions of the criminal regime of Bashar al-Assad, including the use of chemical  
185 weapons against his own citizens — even innocent children — shock the conscience of every decent  
186 person. No society can be safe if banned chemical weapons are allowed to spread. That is why the  
187 United States carried out a missile strike on the airbase that launched the attack.

188 We appreciate the efforts of United Nations agencies that are providing vital humanitarian  
189 assistance in areas liberated from ISIS, and we especially thank Jordan, Turkey and Lebanon for their  
190 role in hosting refugees from the Syrian conflict.

191 The United States is a compassionate nation and has spent billions and billions of dollars in helping  
192 to support this effort. We seek an approach to refugee resettlement that is designed to help these  
193 horribly treated people, and which enables their eventual return to their home countries, to be part  
194 of the rebuilding process.

195 For the cost of resettling one refugee in the United States, we can assist more than 10 in their home  
196 region. Out of the goodness of our hearts, we offer financial assistance to hosting countries in the  
197 region, and we support recent agreements of the G20 nations that will seek to host refugees as close  
198 to their home countries as possible. This is the safe, responsible, and humanitarian approach.

199 For decades, the United States has dealt with migration challenges here in the Western  
200 Hemisphere. We have learned that, over the long term, uncontrolled migration is deeply unfair to  
201 both the sending and the receiving countries.

202 For the sending countries, it reduces domestic pressure to pursue needed political and economic  
203 reform, and drains them of the human capital necessary to motivate and implement those reforms.

204 For the receiving countries, the substantial costs of uncontrolled migration are borne  
205 overwhelmingly by low-income citizens whose concerns are often ignored by both media and  
206 government.

207 I want to salute the work of the United Nations in seeking to address the problems that cause people  
208 to flee from their homes. The United Nations and African Union led peacekeeping missions to have  
209 invaluable contributions in stabilizing conflicts in Africa. The United States continues to lead the  
210 world in humanitarian assistance, including famine prevention and relief in South Sudan, Somalia,  
211 and northern Nigeria and Yemen.

212 We have invested in better health and opportunity all over the world through programs like PEPFAR,  
213 which funds AIDS relief; the President's Malaria Initiative; the Global Health Security Agenda; the  
214 Global Fund to End Modern Slavery; and the Women Entrepreneurs Finance Initiative, part of our  
215 commitment to empowering women all across the globe.

216 We also thank — (applause) — thank you, we also thank the Secretary General for recognizing that  
217 the United Nations must reform if it is to be an effective partner in confronting threats to  
218 sovereignty, security, and prosperity. Too often the focus of this organization has not been on  
219 results, but on bureaucracy and process.

220 In some cases, states that seek to subvert this institution's noble aims have hijacked the very  
221 systems that are supposed to advance them. For example, it is a massive source of embarrassment  
222 to the United Nations that some governments with egregious human rights records sit on the U.N.  
223 Human Rights Council.

224 The United States is one out of 193 countries in the United Nations, and yet we pay 22 percent of  
225 the entire budget and more. In fact, we pay far more than anybody realizes. The United States  
226 bears an unfair cost burden, but, to be fair, if it could actually accomplish all of its stated goals,  
227 especially the goal of peace, this investment would easily be well worth it.

228 Major portions of the world are in conflict and some, in fact, are going to hell. But the powerful  
229 people in this room, under the guidance and auspices of the United Nations, can solve many of these  
230 vicious and complex problems.

231 The American people hope that one day soon the United Nations can be a much more accountable  
232 and effective advocate for human dignity and freedom around the world. In the meantime, we  
233 believe that no nation should have to bear a disproportionate share of the burden, militarily or  
234 financially. Nations of the world must take a greater role in promoting secure and prosperous  
235 societies in their own regions.

236 That is why in the Western Hemisphere, the United States has stood against the corrupt and  
237 destabilizing regime in Cuba and embraced the enduring dream of the Cuban people to live in  
238 freedom. My administration recently announced that we will not lift sanctions on the Cuban  
239 government until it makes fundamental reforms.

240 We have also imposed tough, calibrated sanctions on the socialist Maduro regime in Venezuela,  
241 which has brought a once thriving nation to the brink of total collapse.

242 The socialist dictatorship of Nicolas Maduro has inflicted terrible pain and suffering on the good  
243 people of that country. This corrupt regime destroyed a prosperous nation by imposing a failed  
244 ideology that has produced poverty and misery everywhere it has been tried. To make matters

245 worse, Maduro has defied his own people, stealing power from their elected representatives to  
246 preserve his disastrous rule.

247 The Venezuelan people are starving and their country is collapsing. Their democratic institutions are  
248 being destroyed. This situation is completely unacceptable and we cannot stand by and watch.

249 As a responsible neighbor and friend, we and all others have a goal. That goal is to help them regain  
250 their freedom, recover their country, and restore their democracy. I would like to thank leaders in  
251 this room for condemning the regime and providing vital support to the Venezuelan people.

252 The United States has taken important steps to hold the regime accountable. We are prepared to  
253 take further action if the government of Venezuela persists on its path to impose authoritarian rule  
254 on the Venezuelan people.

255 We are fortunate to have incredibly strong and healthy trade relationships with many of the Latin  
256 American countries gathered here today. Our economic bond forms a critical foundation for  
257 advancing peace and prosperity for all of our people and all of our neighbors.

258 I ask every country represented here today to be prepared to do more to address this very real  
259 crisis. We call for the full restoration of democracy and political freedoms in Venezuela. (Applause.)

260 The problem in Venezuela is not that socialism has been poorly implemented, but that socialism has  
261 been faithfully implemented. (Applause.) From the Soviet Union to Cuba to Venezuela, wherever  
262 true socialism or communism has been adopted, it has delivered anguish and devastation and  
263 failure. Those who preach the tenets of these discredited ideologies only contribute to the  
264 continued suffering of the people who live under these cruel systems.

265 America stands with every person living under a brutal regime. Our respect for sovereignty is also a  
266 call for action. All people deserve a government that cares for their safety, their interests, and their  
267 wellbeing, including their prosperity.

268 In America, we seek stronger ties of business and trade with all nations of good will, but this trade  
269 must be fair and it must be reciprocal.

270 For too long, the American people were told that mammoth multinational trade deals,  
271 unaccountable international tribunals, and powerful global bureaucracies were the best way to  
272 promote their success. But as those promises flowed, millions of jobs vanished and thousands of  
273 factories disappeared. Others gamed the system and broke the rules. And our great middle class,  
274 once the bedrock of American prosperity, was forgotten and left behind, but they are forgotten no  
275 more and they will never be forgotten again.

276 While America will pursue cooperation and commerce with other nations, we are renewing our  
277 commitment to the first duty of every government: the duty of our citizens. This bond is the source  
278 of America's strength and that of every responsible nation represented here today.

279 If this organization is to have any hope of successfully confronting the challenges before us, it will  
280 depend, as President Truman said some 70 years ago, on the "independent strength of its

281 members.” If we are to embrace the opportunities of the future and overcome the present dangers  
282 together, there can be no substitute for strong, sovereign, and independent nations — nations that  
283 are rooted in their histories and invested in their destinies; nations that seek allies to befriend, not  
284 enemies to conquer; and most important of all, nations that are home to patriots, to men and  
285 women who are willing to sacrifice for their countries, their fellow citizens, and for all that is best in  
286 the human spirit.

287 In remembering the great victory that led to this body’s founding, we must never forget that those  
288 heroes who fought against evil also fought for the nations that they loved.

289 Patriotism led the Poles to die to save Poland, the French to fight for a free France, and the Brits to  
290 stand strong for Britain.

291 Today, if we do not invest ourselves, our hearts, and our minds in our nations, if we will not build  
292 strong families, safe communities, and healthy societies for ourselves, no one can do it for us.

293 We cannot wait for someone else, for faraway countries or far-off bureaucrats — we can’t do it. We  
294 must solve our problems, to build our prosperity, to secure our futures, or we will be vulnerable to  
295 decay, domination, and defeat.

296 The true question for the United Nations today, for people all over the world who hope for better  
297 lives for themselves and their children, is a basic one: Are we still patriots? Do we love our nations  
298 enough to protect their sovereignty and to take ownership of their futures? Do we revere them  
299 enough to defend their interests, preserve their cultures, and ensure a peaceful world for their  
300 citizens?

301 One of the greatest American patriots, John Adams, wrote that the American Revolution was  
302 “effected before the war commenced. The Revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people.”

303 That was the moment when America awoke, when we looked around and understood that we were  
304 a nation. We realized who we were, what we valued, and what we would give our lives to  
305 defend. From its very first moments, the American story is the story of what is possible when people  
306 take ownership of their future.

307 The United States of America has been among the greatest forces for good in the history of the  
308 world, and the greatest defenders of sovereignty, security, and prosperity for all.

309 Now we are calling for a great reawakening of nations, for the revival of their spirits, their pride,  
310 their people, and their patriotism.

311 History is asking us whether we are up to the task. Our answer will be a renewal of will, a  
312 rediscovery of resolve, and a rebirth of devotion. We need to defeat the enemies of humanity and  
313 unlock the potential of life itself.

314 Our hope is a word and — world of proud, independent nations that embrace their duties, seek  
315 friendship, respect others, and make common cause in the greatest shared interest of all: a future  
316 of dignity and peace for the people of this wonderful Earth.

317 This is the true vision of the United Nations, the ancient wish of every people, and the deepest  
318 yearning that lives inside every sacred soul.

319 So let this be our mission, and let this be our message to the world: We will fight together, sacrifice  
320 together, and stand together for peace, for freedom, for justice, for family, for humanity, and for the  
321 almighty God who made us all.

322 Thank you. God bless you. God bless the nations of the world. And God bless the United States of  
323 America. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

## Appendix L: President Donald J. Trump's State of the Union Address (2018)

[Delivered January 30, 2018 in Washington D.C]

[Original text source: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trumps-state-union-address/>]

[Video source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=exsOim0Lyl4>]

[Differences from original source may occur, as the Speech have been corrected for discrepancies between audio and text]

1 "Mr Speaker, Mr Vice President, Members of Congress, first lady of the United States, and my fellow  
2 Americans, less than one year has passed since I first stood at this podium in this majestic chamber  
3 to speak on behalf of the American people and to address their concerns, their hopes and their  
4 dreams. That night, our new Administration had already taken very swift action. A new tide of  
5 optimism was already sweeping across our land.

6 Each day since, we have go forward with a clear vision and a righteous mission to make America  
7 great again for all Americans

8 Over the last year, we have made incredible progress and achieved extraordinary success. We have  
9 faced challenges we expected and others we could never have imagined. We have shared in the  
10 heights of victory and the pains of hardship. We have endured floods and fires and storms. But  
11 through it all, we have seen the beauty of America's soul and the steel in America's spine.

12 Each test has forged new American heroes to remind us who we are and show us what we can be.  
13 We saw the volunteers of the Cajun Navy, racing to the rescue with their fishing boats to save  
14 people in the aftermath of a totally devastating hurricane.

15 We saw strangers shielding strangers from a hail of gunfire on the Las Vegas strip. We heard tales of  
16 Americans, like Coast Guard Petty Officer Ashlee Leppert, who is here tonight in the gallery with  
17 Melania.

18 Ashlee was aboard one of the first helicopters on the scene in Houston during the Hurricane Harvey.  
19 Through 18 hours of wind and rain, Ashlee braved live power lines and deep water to help save more  
20 than 40 lives. Ashlee, we all thank you. Thank you very much.

21 We heard about Americans like firefighter David Dahlberg. He's here with us, also. David faced down  
22 walls of flame to rescue almost 60 children trapped at a California summer camp threatened by  
23 those devastating wildfires. To everyone still recovering in Texas, Florida, Louisiana, Puerto Rico, and  
24 the Virgin Islands, everywhere, we are with you, we love you, and we always will pull through  
25 together always.

26 Thank you to David and the brave people of California. Thank you very much, David. Great job.

27 Some trials over the past year touched this chamber very personally. With us tonight is one of the  
28 toughest people ever to serve in this House, a guy who took a bullet, almost died, and was back to  
29 work three-and-a-half months later, the legend from Louisiana, Congressman Steve Scalise.

30 I think they like you, Steve.

31 We're incredibly grateful for the heroic efforts of the Capitol Police officers, the Alexandria Police,  
32 and the doctors, nurses, and paramedics who saved his life and the lives of many others, some in  
33 this room. In the aftermath — yes. Yes.

34 In the aftermath of that terrible shooting, we came together, not as Republicans or Democrats, but  
35 as representatives of the people. But it is not enough to come together only in times of tragedy.  
36 Tonight, I call upon all of us to set aside our differences, to seek out common ground, and to  
37 summon the unity we need to deliver for the people. This is really the key. These are the people we  
38 were elected to serve.

39 Thank you.

40 Over the last year, the world has seen what we always knew: that no people on Earth are so fearless,  
41 or daring, or determined as Americans. If there is a mountain, we climb it. If there's a frontier, we  
42 cross it. If there's a challenge, we tame it. If there's an opportunity, we seize it.

43 So let's begin tonight by recognizing that the state of our union is strong because our people are  
44 strong.

45 And together we are building a safe, strong, and proud America.

46 Since the election, we have created 2.4 million new jobs, including ... including 200,000 new jobs in  
47 manufacturing alone. Tremendous number. After years and years of wage stagnation, we are finally  
48 seeing rising wages. Unemployment claims have hit a 45-year low. And something I'm very proud of,  
49 African-American unemployment stands at the lowest rate ever recorded. And Hispanic-American  
50 unemployment has also reached the lowest levels in history.

51 Small-business confidence is at an all-time high. The stock market has smashed one record after  
52 another, gaining \$8 trillion and more in value in just this short period of time. The great news ... the  
53 great news for Americans, 401K, retirement, pension, and college savings accounts have gone  
54 through the roof.

55 And just as I promised the American people from this podium 11 months ago, we enacted the  
56 biggest tax cuts and reforms in American history. Our massive tax cuts provide tremendous relief for  
57 the middle class and small business. To lower tax rates for hardworking Americans, we nearly  
58 doubled the standard deduction for everyone. Now the first \$24,000 earned by a married couple is  
59 completely tax-free. We also doubled the child tax credit. A typical family of four making \$75,000  
60 will see their tax bill reduced by \$2,000, slashing their tax bill in half.

61 In April, this will be the last time you will ever file under the old and very broken system, and millions  
62 of Americans will have more take-home pay starting next month. A lot more.

63 We eliminated an especially cruel tax that fell mostly on Americans making less than \$50,000 a year,  
64 forcing them to pay tremendous penalties simply because they couldn't afford government-ordered  
65 health plans. We repealed the core of the disastrous Obamacare. The individual mandate is now  
66 gone, Thank heaven.

67 We slashed the business tax rate from 35 percent all the way down to 21 percent, so American  
68 companies can compete and win against anyone else anywhere in the world. These changes alone  
69 are estimated to increase average family income by more than \$4,000. A lot of money.

70 Small businesses have also received a massive tax cut and can now deduct 20 percent of their  
71 business income. Here tonight are Steve Staub and Sandy Keplinger of Staub Manufacturing, a small  
72 beautiful business in Ohio. They've just finished the best year in their 20-year history. Because of tax  
73 reform, they are handing out raises, hiring an additional 14 people, and expanding into the building  
74 next door. Good feeling.

75 One of Staub's employees, Corey Adams, is also with us tonight. Corey is an all-American worker. He  
76 supported himself through high school, lost his job during the 2008 recession, and was later hired by  
77 Staub, where he trained to become a welder. Like many hardworking Americans, Corey plans to  
78 invest his tax cut raise into his new home and his two daughters' education. Corey, please stand. And  
79 he's a great welder. I was told that by the man that owns that company that's doing so well, so  
80 congratulations, Corey.

81 Since we passed tax cuts, roughly 3 million workers have already gotten tax cut bonuses, many of  
82 them thousands and thousands of dollars per worker. And it's getting more every month, every  
83 week. Apple has just announced it plans to invest a total of \$350 billion in America and hire another  
84 20,000 workers.

85 And just a little while ago, ExxonMobil announced a \$50 billion investment in the United States. Just  
86 a little while ago.

87 This, in fact, is our new American moment. There has never been a better time to start living the  
88 American dream.

89 So to every citizen watching at home tonight, no matter where you've been or where you've come  
90 from, this is your time. If you work hard, if you believe in yourself, if you believe in America, then you  
91 can dream anything, you can be anything, and together, we can achieve absolutely anything.

92 Tonight, I want to talk about what kind of future we are going to have and what kind of a nation we  
93 are going to be. All of us, together, as one team, one people, and one American family can do  
94 anything. We all share the same home, the same heart, the same destiny, and the same great  
95 American flag.

96 Together, we are rediscovering the American way. In America, we know that faith and family, not  
97 government and bureaucracy, are the center of American life. The motto is "in God we trust." And  
98 we celebrate our police, our military, and our amazing veterans as heroes who deserve our total and  
99 unwavering support.

100 Here tonight is Preston Sharp, a 12-year-old boy from Redding, California, who noticed that  
101 veterans' graves were not marked with flags on Veterans Day. He decided all by himself to change  
102 that and started a movement that has now placed 40,000 flags at the graves of our great heroes.  
103 Preston, a job well done.

104 Young patriots like Preston teach all of us about our civic duty as Americans. And I met Preston a  
105 little while ago, and he is something very special, that I can tell you. Great future. Thank you very  
106 much for all you've done, Preston. Thank you very much.

107 Preston's reverence for those who have served our nation reminds us why we salute our flag, why  
108 we put our hands on our hearts for the Pledge of Allegiance, and why we proudly stand for the  
109 national anthem.

110 Americans love their country. And they deserve a government that shows them the same love and  
111 loyalty in return. For the last year, we have sought to restore the bonds of trust between our citizens  
112 and their government.

113 Working with the Senate, we are appointing judges who will interpret the Constitution as written,  
114 including a great new Supreme Court justice and more circuit court judges than any new  
115 administration in the history of our country.

116 We are totally defending our Second Amendment and have taken historic actions to protect religious  
117 liberty. And we are serving our brave veterans, including giving our veterans choice in their health  
118 care decisions.

119 Last year, Congress also passed, and I signed, the landmark V.A. Accountability Act. Since its passage,  
120 my administration has already removed more than 1,500 V.A. employees who failed to give our  
121 veterans the care they deserve, and we are hiring talented people who love our vets as much as we  
122 do.

123 And I will not stop until our veterans are properly taken care of, which has been my promise to them  
124 from the very beginning of this great journey. All Americans deserve accountability and respect, and  
125 that's what we are giving to our wonderful heroes, our veterans. Thank you.

126 So tonight, I call on Congress to empower every cabinet secretary with the authority to reward good  
127 workers and to remove federal employees who undermine the public trust or fail the American  
128 people.

129 In our drive to make Washington accountable, we have eliminated more regulations in our first year  
130 than any administration in the history of our country. We have ended the war on American energy,  
131 and we have ended the war on beautiful clean coal. We are now very proudly an exporter of energy  
132 to the world.

133 In Detroit, I halted government mandates that crippled America's great, beautiful autoworkers so  
134 that we can get Motor City revving its engines again. And that's what's happening.

135 Many car companies are now building and expanding plants in the United States, something we  
136 haven't seen for decades. Chrysler is moving a major plant from Mexico to Michigan. Toyota and

137 Mazda are opening up a plant in Alabama, a big one. And we haven't seen this in a long time. It's all  
138 coming back.

139 Very soon, auto plants and other plants will be opening up all over our country. This is all news  
140 Americans are totally unaccustomed to hearing. For many years, companies and jobs were only  
141 leaving us. But now they are roaring back, they're coming back. They want to be where the action is.  
142 They want to be in the United States of America. That's where they want to be.

143 Exciting progress is happening every single day. To speed access to breakthrough cures and  
144 affordable generic drugs, last year the FDA approved more new and generic drugs and medical  
145 devices than ever before in our country's history.

146 We also believe that patients with terminal conditions and terminal illness should have access to  
147 experimental treatment immediately that could potentially save their lives.

148 People who are terminally ill should not have to go from country to country to seek a cure. I want to  
149 give them a chance right here at home. It's time for Congress to give these wonderful, incredible  
150 Americans the right to try.

151 One of my greatest priorities is to reduce the price of prescription drugs. In many other countries,  
152 these drugs cost far less than what we pay in the United States. And it's very, very unfair. That is why  
153 I have directed my administration to make fixing the injustice of high drug prices one of my top  
154 priorities for the year. And prices will come down substantially. Watch.

155 America has also finally turned the page on decades of unfair trade deals that sacrificed our  
156 prosperity and shipped away our companies, our jobs, and our wealth. Our nation has lost its  
157 wealth, but we're getting it back so fast. The era of economic surrender is totally over. From now on,  
158 we expect trading relationships to be fair and, very importantly, reciprocal.

159 We will work to fix bad trade deals and negotiate new ones. And they'll be good ones, but they'll be  
160 fair. And we will protect American workers and American intellectual property through strong  
161 enforcement of our trade rules. As we rebuild our industries, it is also time to rebuild our crumbling  
162 infrastructure.

163 America is a nation of builders. We built the Empire State Building in just one year. Isn't it a disgrace  
164 that it can now take 10 years just to get a minor permit approved for the building of a simple road? I  
165 am asking both parties to come together to give us safe, fast, reliable, and modern infrastructure  
166 that our economy needs and our people deserve.

167 Tonight I'm calling on Congress to produce a bill that generates at least \$1.5 trillion for the new  
168 infrastructure investment that our country so desperately needs. Every federal dollar should be  
169 leveraged by partnering with state and local governments and, where appropriate, tapping into  
170 private sector investment to permanently fix the infrastructure deficit. And we can do it.

171 Any bill must also streamline the permitting and approval process, getting it down to no more than  
172 two years, and perhaps even one.

173 Together, we can reclaim our great building heritage. We will build gleaming new roads, bridges,  
174 highways, railways, and waterways all across our land. And we will do it with American heart,  
175 American hands, and American grit.

176 We want every American to know the dignity of a hard day's work. We want every child to be safe in  
177 their home at night. And we want every citizen to be proud of this land that we all love so much. We  
178 can lift our citizens from welfare to work, from dependence to independence, and from poverty to  
179 prosperity. As ... as tax cuts create new jobs, let's invest in workforce development and let's invest in  
180 job training, which we need so badly.

181 Let's open great vocational schools so our future workers can learn a craft and realize their full  
182 potential. And let's support working families by supporting paid family leave.

183 As America regains its strength, opportunity must be extended to all citizens. That is why this year  
184 we will embark on reforming our prisons to help former inmates who have served their time get a  
185 second chance at life.

186 Struggling communities, especially immigrant communities, will also be helped by immigration  
187 policies that focus on the best interests of American workers and American families.

188 For decades, open borders have allowed drugs and gangs to pour into our most vulnerable  
189 communities. They've allowed millions of low-wage workers to compete for jobs and wages against  
190 the poorest Americans. Most tragically, they have caused the loss of many innocent lives.

191 Here tonight are two fathers and two mothers: Evelyn Rodriguez, Freddy Cuevas, Elizabeth Alvarado,  
192 and Robert Mickens. Their two teenage daughters — Kayla Cuevas and Nisa Mickens — were close  
193 friends on Long Island.

194 But in September 2016, on the eve of Nisa's 16th birthday, such a happy time it should have been,  
195 neither of them came home. These two precious girls were brutally murdered while walking  
196 together in their hometown. Six members of the savage MS-13 gang have been charged with Kayla  
197 and Nisa's murders. Many of these gang members took advantage of glaring loopholes in our laws to  
198 enter the country as illegal unaccompanied alien minors and wound up in Kayla and Nisa's high  
199 school.

200 Evelyn, Elizabeth, Freddy, and Robert, tonight, everyone in this chamber is praying for you. Everyone  
201 in America is grieving for you. Please stand. Thank you very much.

202 I want you to know that 320 million hearts are right now breaking for you. We love you. Thank you.  
203 While we cannot imagine the depths of that kind of sorrow, we can make sure that other families  
204 never have to endure this kind of pain.

205 Tonight, I am calling on Congress to finally close the deadly loopholes that have allowed MS-13, and  
206 other criminal gangs, to break into our country. We have proposed new legislation that will fix our  
207 immigration laws, and support our ICE and Border Patrol agents — these are great people, these are  
208 great, great people that work so hard in the midst of such danger — so that this can never happen  
209 again.

210 The United States is a compassionate nation. We are proud that we do more than any other country  
211 anywhere in the world to help the needy, the struggling, and the underprivileged all over the world.  
212 But as president of the United States, my highest loyalty, my greatest compassion, my constant  
213 concern is for America's children, America's struggling workers, and America's forgotten  
214 communities. I want our youth to grow up to achieve great things. I want our poor to have their  
215 chance to rise.

216 So tonight, I am extending an open hand to work with members of both parties — Democrats and  
217 Republicans — to protect our citizens of every background, color, religion, and creed.

218 My duty, and the sacred duty of every elected official in this chamber, is to defend Americans, to  
219 protect their safety, their families, their communities, and their right to the American dream.  
220 Because Americans are dreamers, too.

221 Here tonight is one leader in the effort to defend our country, Homeland Security Investigations  
222 Special Agent Celestino Martinez. He goes by DJ. And CJ. He said call me either one. So we'll call you  
223 CJ.

224 Served 15 years in the Air Force before becoming an ICE agent and spending the last 15 years  
225 fighting gang violence and getting dangerous criminals off of our streets. Tough job. At one point,  
226 MS-13 leaders ordered CJ's murder, and they wanted it to happen quickly. But he did not cave to  
227 threats or to fear. Last May, he commanded an operation to track down gang members on Long  
228 Island. His team has arrested nearly 400, including more than 220 MS-13 gang members.

229 And I have to tell you what the Border Patrol and ICE have done. We have sent thousands and  
230 thousands and thousands of MS-13 horrible people out of this country or into our prisons. So I just  
231 want to congratulate you, CJ. You're a brave guy. Thank you very much.

232 And I asked CJ, what's the secret? He said, "We're just tougher than they are." And I like that  
233 answer.

234 Now let's get Congress to send you — and all of the people in this great chamber have to do it, we  
235 have no choice — CJ, we're going to send you reinforcements and we're going to send them to you  
236 quickly. It's what you need.

237 Over the next few weeks, the House and Senate will be voting on an immigration reform package. In  
238 recent months, my administration has met extensively with both Democrats and Republicans to craft  
239 a bipartisan approach to immigration reform. Based on these discussions, we presented Congress  
240 with a detailed proposal that should be supported by both parties as a fair compromise, one where  
241 nobody gets everything they want, but where our country gets the critical reforms it needs and must  
242 have.

243 Here are the four pillars of our plan. The first pillar of our framework generously offers a path to  
244 citizenship for 1.8 million illegal immigrants who were brought here by their parents at a young age.  
245 That covers almost three times more people than the previous administration covered. Under our  
246 plan, those who meet education and work requirements, and show good moral character, will be  
247 able to become full citizens of the United States over a 12-year period.

248 The second pillar fully secures the border. That means building a great wall on the southern border,  
249 and it means hiring more heroes like CJ to keep our communities safe. Crucially, our plan closes the  
250 terrible loopholes exploited by criminals and terrorists to enter our country, and it finally ends the  
251 horrible and dangerous practice of catch and release.

252 The third pillar ends the visa lottery, a program that randomly hands out green cards without any  
253 regard for skill, merit, or the safety of American people. It's time to begin moving toward a merit-  
254 based immigration system, one that admits people who are skilled, who want to work, who will  
255 contribute to our society, and who will love and respect our country.

256 The fourth and final pillar protects the nuclear family by ending chain migration. Under the current  
257 broken system, a single immigrant can bring in virtually unlimited numbers of distant relatives.  
258 Under our plan, we focus on the immediate family by limiting sponsorships to spouses and minor  
259 children.

260 This vital reform is necessary, not just for our economy, but for our security and for the future of  
261 America. In recent weeks, two terrorist attacks in New York were made possible by the visa lottery  
262 and chain migration. In the age of terrorism, these programs present risks we can just no longer  
263 afford. It's time to reform ... these outdated immigration rules and finally bring our immigration  
264 system into the 21st century.

265 These four pillars represent a down-the-middle compromise and one that will create a safe, modern,  
266 and lawful immigration system. For over 30 years, Washington has tried and failed to solve this  
267 problem. This Congress can be the one that finally makes it happen.

268 Most importantly, these four pillars will produce legislation that fulfills my ironclad pledge to sign a  
269 bill that puts America first. So let's come together, set politics aside, and finally get the job done.

270 These reforms will also support our response to the terrible crisis of opioid and drug addiction.  
271 Never before has it been like it is now. It is terrible. We have to do something about it.

272 In 2016, we lost 64,000 Americans to drug overdoses, 174 deaths per day, seven per hour. We must  
273 get much tougher on drug dealers and pushers if we are going to succeed in stopping this scourge.

274 My administration is committed to fighting the drug epidemic and helping get treatment for those in  
275 need, for those who have been so terribly hurt. The struggle will be long and it will be difficult, but as  
276 Americans always do, in the end, we will succeed, we will prevail.

277 As we have seen tonight, the most difficult challenges bring out the best in America. We see a vivid  
278 expression of this truth in the story of the Holets family of New Mexico. Ryan Holets is 27 years old,  
279 an officer with the Albuquerque Police Department. He's here tonight with his wife, Rebecca. Thank  
280 you, Ryan.

281 Last year, Ryan was on duty when he saw a pregnant, homeless woman preparing to inject heroin.  
282 When Ryan told her she was going to harm her unborn child, she began to weep. She told him she  
283 didn't know where to turn, but badly wanted a safe home for her baby.

284 In that moment, Ryan said he felt God speak to him: "You will do it because you can." He heard  
285 those words. He took out a picture of his wife and their four kids. Then he went home to tell his  
286 wife, Rebecca. In an instant, she agreed to adopt. The Holets named their new daughter Hope.

287 Ryan and Rebecca, you embody the goodness of our nation. Thank you. Thank you, Ryan and  
288 Rebecca.

289 As we rebuild America's strength and confidence at home, we are also restoring our strength and  
290 standing abroad. Around the world, we face rogue regimes, terrorist groups, and rivals like China  
291 and Russia that challenge our interests, our economy, and our values. In confronting these horrible  
292 dangers, we know that weakness is the surest path to conflict, and unmatched power is the surest  
293 means to our true and great defense.

294 For this reason, I am asking Congress to end the dangerous defense sequester and fully fund our  
295 great military.

296 As part of our defense, we must modernize and rebuild our nuclear arsenal, hopefully never having  
297 to use it, but making it so strong and so powerful that it will deter any acts of aggression by any  
298 other nation or anyone else.

299 Perhaps some day in the future there will be a magical moment when the countries of the world will  
300 get together to eliminate their nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, we are not there yet, sadly.

301 Last year, I also pledged that we would work with our allies to extinguish ISIS from the face of the  
302 Earth. One year later, I am proud to report that the coalition to defeat ISIS has liberated very close to  
303 100 percent of the territory just recently held by these killers in Iraq and in Syria and in other  
304 locations, as well. But there is much more work to be done. We will continue our fight until ISIS is  
305 defeated.

306 Army Staff Sergeant Justin Peck is here tonight. Near Raqqa last November, Justin and his comrade,  
307 Chief Petty Officer Kenton Stacy, were on a mission to clear buildings that ISIS had rigged with  
308 explosive so that civilians could return to that city, hopefully soon and hopefully safely.

309 Clearing the second floor of a vital hospital, Kenton Stacy was severely wounded by an explosion.  
310 Immediately, Justin bounded into the booby-trapped and unbelievably dangerous and unsafe  
311 building and found Kenton, but in very, very bad shape. He applied pressure to the wound and  
312 inserted a tube to reopen an airway. He then performed CPR for 20 straight minutes during the  
313 ground transport and maintained artificial respiration through two-and-a-half hours and through  
314 emergency surgery.

315 Kenton Stacy would have died if it were not for Justin's selfless love for his fellow warrior. Tonight,  
316 Kenton is recovering in Texas. Raqqa is liberated. And Justin is wearing his new Bronze Star, with a V  
317 for Valor. Staff Sergeant Peck: All of America salutes you.

318 Terrorists who do things like place bombs in civilian hospitals are evil. When possible, we have no  
319 choice but to annihilate them. When necessary, we must be able to detain and question them. But  
320 we must be clear: Terrorists are not merely criminals. They are unlawful enemy combatants.

321 And when captured overseas, they should be treated like the terrorists they are. In the past, we have  
322 foolishly released hundreds of dangerous terrorists, only to meet them again on the battlefield,  
323 including the ISIS leader, al-Baghdadi, who we captured, who we had, who we released.

324 So today, I am keeping another promise. I just signed prior to walking in an order directing Secretary  
325 Mattis — who is doing a great job, thank you ... to re-examine our military detention policy and to  
326 keep open the detention facilities in Guantanamo Bay.

327 I am asking Congress to ensure that in the fight against ISIS and Al Qaida we continue to have all  
328 necessary power to detain terrorists, wherever we chase them down, wherever we find them. And  
329 in many cases, for them it will now be Guantanamo Bay.

330 At the same time, as of a few months ago, our warriors in Afghanistan have new rules of  
331 engagement. Along with their heroic Afghan partners, our military is no longer undermined by  
332 artificial timelines, and we no longer tell our enemies our plans.

333 Last month, I also took an action endorsed unanimously by the U.S. Senate just months before. I  
334 recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

335 Shortly afterwards, dozens of countries voted in the United Nations General Assembly against  
336 America's sovereign right to make this decision. In 2016, American taxpayers generously sent those  
337 same countries more than \$20 billion in aid. That is why tonight I am asking Congress to pass  
338 legislation to help ensure American foreign assistance dollars always serve American interests and  
339 only go to friends of America, not enemies of America.

340 As we strengthen friendships all around the world, we are also restoring clarity about our  
341 adversaries. When the people of Iran rose up against the crimes of their corrupt dictatorship, I did  
342 not stay silent. America stands with the people of Iran in their courageous struggle for freedom.

343 I am asking Congress to address the fundamental flaws in the terrible Iran nuclear deal. My  
344 administration has also imposed tough sanctions on the communist and socialist dictatorships in  
345 Cuba and Venezuela.

346 But no regime has oppressed its own citizens more totally or brutally than the cruel dictatorship in  
347 North Korea. North Korea's reckless pursuit of nuclear missiles could very soon threaten our  
348 homeland. We are waging a campaign of maximum pressure to prevent that from ever happening.

349 Past experience has taught us that complacency and concessions only invite aggression and  
350 provocation. I will not repeat the mistakes of past administrations that got us into this very  
351 dangerous position.

352 We need only look at the depraved character of the North Korean regime to understand the nature  
353 of the nuclear threat it could pose to America and to our allies.

354 Otto Warmbier was a hardworking student at the University of Virginia. And a great student, he was.  
355 On his way to study abroad in Asia, Otto joined a tour to North Korea. At its conclusion, this  
356 wonderful young man was arrested and charged with crimes against the state.

357 After a shameful trial, the dictatorship sentenced Otto to 15 years of hard labor, before returning  
358 him to America last June, horribly injured and on the verge of death. He passed away just days after  
359 his return.

360 Otto's wonderful parents, Fred and Cindy Warmbier, are here with us tonight, along with Otto's  
361 brother and sister, Austin and Greta. Please. Incredible people. You are powerful witnesses to a  
362 menace that threatens our world, and your strength truly inspires us all. Thank you very much.  
363 Thank you. Tonight we pledge to honor Otto's memory with total American resolve. Thank you.

364 Finally ... we are joined by one more witness to the ominous nature of this regime. His name is Mr. Ji  
365 Seong-ho.

366 In 1996, Seong-ho was a starving boy in North Korea. One day, he tried to steal coal from a railroad  
367 car to barter for a few scraps of food, which were very hard to get. In the process, he passed out on  
368 the train tracks, exhausted from hunger. He woke up as a train ran over his limbs. He then endured  
369 multiple amputations without anything to dull the pain or the hurt.

370 His brother and sister gave what little food they had to help him recover and ate dirt themselves,  
371 permanently stunting their own growth. Later, he was tortured by North Korean authorities after  
372 returning from a brief visit to China. His tormentors wanted to know if he'd met any Christians. He  
373 had, and he resolved after that to be free.

374 Seong-ho traveled thousands of miles on crutches all across China and Southeast Asia to freedom.  
375 Most of his family followed. His father was caught trying to escape and was tortured to death. Today  
376 he lives in Seoul, where he rescues other defectors, and broadcasts into North Korea what the  
377 regime fears most: the truth.

378 Today he has a new leg, but Seong-ho, I understand you still keep those old crutches as a reminder  
379 of how far you've come. Your great sacrifice is an inspiration to us all. Please. Thank you.

380 Seong-ho's story is a testament to the yearning of every human soul to live in freedom. It was that  
381 same yearning for freedom that nearly 250 years ago gave birth to a special place called America. It  
382 was a small cluster of colonies caught between a great ocean and a vast wilderness. It was home to  
383 an incredible people with a revolutionary idea, that they could rule themselves, that they could chart  
384 their own destiny, and that, together, they could light up the entire world.

385 That is what our country has always been about. That is what Americans have always stood for,  
386 always strived for, and always done.

387 Atop the dome of this Capitol stands the Statue of Freedom. She stands tall and dignified among the  
388 monuments to our ancestors who fought and lived and died to protect her. Monuments to  
389 Washington and Jefferson, and Lincoln and King. Memorials to the heroes of Yorktown and Saratoga,  
390 to young Americans who shed their blood on the shores of Normandy and the fields beyond. And  
391 others who went down in the waters of the Pacific and the skies all over Asia.

392 And freedom stands tall over one more monument: this one. This Capitol. This living monument. This  
393 is the monument to the American people.

394 We're a people whose heroes live not only in the past, but all around us, defending hope, pride, and  
395 defending the American way. They work in every trade. They sacrifice to raise a family. They care for  
396 our children at home. They defend our flag abroad. And they are strong moms and brave kids. They  
397 are firefighters and police officers and border agents, medics and Marines. But above all else, they  
398 are Americans. And this Capitol, this city, this Nation belongs entirely to them.

399 Our task is to respect them, to listen to them, to serve them, to protect them, and to always be  
400 worthy of them. Americans fill the world with art and music. They push the bounds of science and  
401 discovery. And they forever remind us of what we should never, ever forget: The people dreamed  
402 this country. The people built this country. And it's the people who are making America great again.

403 As long as we are proud of who we are and what we are fighting for, there is nothing we cannot  
404 achieve. As long as we have confidence in our values, faith in our citizens, and trust in our God, we  
405 will never fail.

406 Our families will thrive. Our people will prosper. And our nation will forever be safe and strong and  
407 proud and mighty and free. Thank you, and God bless America. Good night."

## Appendix M: Remarks by President Trump to the 73rd Session of the United Nations General Assembly

[Delivered September 25, 2018 in New York City, New York]

[Original source: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-73rd-session-united-nations-general-assembly-new-york-ny/>]

[Video source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q6XXNWC5Koc>]

[Differences from original source may occur, as the Speech have been corrected for discrepancies between audio and text]

1 Madam President, Mr. Secretary-General, world leaders, ambassadors, and distinguished delegates:

2 One year ago, I stood before you for the first time in this grand hall. I addressed the threats facing  
3 our world, and I presented a vision to achieve a brighter future for all of humanity.

4 Today, I stand before the United Nations General Assembly to share the extraordinary progress  
5 we've made.

6 In less than two years, my administration has accomplished more than almost any administration in  
7 the history of our country.

8 America's — so true. (Laughter.) Didn't expect that reaction, but that's okay. (Laughter and  
9 applause.)

10 America's economy is booming like never before. Since my election, we've added \$10 trillion in  
11 wealth. The stock market is at an all-time high in history, and jobless claims are at a 50-year low.  
12 African American, Hispanic American, and Asian American unemployment have all achieved their  
13 lowest levels ever recorded. We've added more than 4 million new jobs, including half a million  
14 manufacturing jobs.

15 We have passed the biggest tax cuts and reforms in American history. We've started the  
16 construction of a major border wall, and we have greatly strengthened border security.

17 We have secured record funding for our military — \$700 billion this year, and \$716 billion next year.  
18 Our military will soon be more powerful than it has ever been before.

19 In other words, the United States is stronger, safer, and a richer country than it was when I assumed  
20 office less than two years ago.

21 We are standing up for America and for the American people. And we are also standing up for the  
22 world.

23 This is great news for our citizens and for peace-loving people everywhere. We believe that when  
24 nations respect the rights of their neighbors, and defend the interests of their people, they can  
25 better work together to secure the blessings of safety, prosperity, and peace.

26 Each of us here today is the emissary of a distinct culture, a rich history, and a people bound  
27 together by ties of memory, tradition, and the values that make our homelands like nowhere else on  
28 Earth.

29 That is why America will always choose independence and cooperation over global governance,  
30 control, and domination.

31 I honor the right of every nation in this room to pursue its own customs, beliefs, and traditions. The  
32 United States will not tell you how to live or work or worship.

33 We only ask that you honor our sovereignty in return.

34 From Warsaw to Brussels, to Tokyo to Singapore, it has been my highest honor to represent the  
35 United States abroad. I have forged close relationships and friendships and strong partnerships with  
36 the leaders of many nations in this room, and our approach has already yielded incredible change.

37 With support from many countries here today, we have engaged with North Korea to replace the  
38 specter of conflict with a bold and new push for peace.

39 In June, I traveled to Singapore to meet face to face with North Korea's leader, Chairman Kim Jong  
40 Un.

41 We had highly productive conversations and meetings, and we agreed that it was in both countries'  
42 interest to pursue the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. Since that meeting, we have already  
43 seen a number of encouraging measures that few could have imagined only a short time ago.

44 The missiles and rockets are no longer flying in every direction. Nuclear testing has stopped. Some  
45 military facilities are already being dismantled. Our hostages have been released. And as promised,  
46 the remains of our fallen heroes are being returned home to lay at rest in American soil.

47 I would like to thank Chairman Kim for his courage and for the steps he has taken, though much  
48 work remains to be done. The sanctions will stay in place until denuclearization occurs.

49 I also want to thank the many member states who helped us reach this moment — a moment that is  
50 actually far greater than people would understand; far greater — but for also their support and the  
51 critical support that we will all need going forward.

52 A special thanks to President Moon of South Korea, Prime Minister Abe of Japan, and President Xi of  
53 China.

54 In the Middle East, our new approach is also yielding great strides and very historic change.

55 Following my trip to Saudi Arabia last year, the Gulf countries opened a new center to target  
56 terrorist financing. They are enforcing new sanctions, working with us to identify and track terrorist  
57 networks, and taking more responsibility for fighting terrorism and extremism in their own region.

58 The UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar have pledged billions of dollars to aid the people of Syria and  
59 Yemen. And they are pursuing multiple avenues to ending Yemen's horrible, horrific civil war.

60 Ultimately, it is up to the nations of the region to decide what kind of future they want for  
61 themselves and their children.

62 For that reason, the United States is working with the Gulf Cooperation Council, Jordan, and Egypt to  
63 establish a regional strategic alliance so that Middle Eastern nations can advance prosperity,  
64 stability, and security across their home region.

65 Thanks to the United States military and our partnership with many of your nations, I am pleased to  
66 report that the bloodthirsty killers known as ISIS have been driven out from the territory they once  
67 held in Iraq and Syria. We will continue to work with friends and allies to deny radical Islamic  
68 terrorists any funding, territory or support, or any means of infiltrating our borders.

69 The ongoing tragedy in Syria is heartbreaking. Our shared goals must be the de-escalation of military  
70 conflict, along with a political solution that honors the will of the Syrian people. In this vein, we urge  
71 the United Nations-led peace process be reinvigorated. But, rest assured, the United States will  
72 respond if chemical weapons are deployed by the Assad regime.

73 I commend the people of Jordan and other neighboring countries for hosting refugees from this very  
74 brutal civil war.

75 As we see in Jordan, the most compassionate policy is to place refugees as close to their homes as  
76 possible to ease their eventual return to be part of the rebuilding process. This approach also  
77 stretches finite resources to help far more people, increasing the impact of every dollar spent.

78 Every solution to the humanitarian crisis in Syria must also include a strategy to address the brutal  
79 regime that has fueled and financed it: the corrupt dictatorship in Iran.

80 Iran's leaders sow chaos, death, and destruction. They do not respect their neighbors or borders, or  
81 the sovereign rights of nations. Instead, Iran's leaders plunder the nation's resources to enrich  
82 themselves and to spread mayhem across the Middle East and far beyond.

83 The Iranian people are rightly outraged that their leaders have embezzled billions of dollars from  
84 Iran's treasury, seized valuable portions of the economy, and looted the people's religious  
85 endowments, all to line their own pockets and send their proxies to wage war. Not good.

86 Iran's neighbors have paid a heavy toll for the region's [regime's] agenda of aggression and  
87 expansion. That is why so many countries in the Middle East strongly supported my decision to  
88 withdraw the United States from the horrible 2015 Iran Nuclear Deal and re-impose nuclear  
89 sanctions.

90 The Iran deal was a windfall for Iran's leaders. In the years since the deal was reached, Iran's military  
91 budget grew nearly 40 percent. The dictatorship used the funds to build nuclear-capable missiles,  
92 increase internal repression, finance terrorism, and fund havoc and slaughter in Syria and Yemen.

93 The United States has launched a campaign of economic pressure to deny the regime the funds it  
94 needs to advance its bloody agenda. Last month, we began re-imposing hard-hitting nuclear  
95 sanctions that had been lifted under the Iran deal. Additional sanctions will resume November 5th,  
96 and more will follow. And we're working with countries that import Iranian crude oil to cut their  
97 purchases substantially.

98 We cannot allow the world's leading sponsor of terrorism to possess the planet's most dangerous  
99 weapons. We cannot allow a regime that chants "Death to America," and that threatens Israel with  
100 annihilation, to possess the means to deliver a nuclear warhead to any city on Earth. Just can't do it.

101 We ask all nations to isolate Iran's regime as long as its aggression continues. And we ask all nations  
102 to support Iran's people as they struggle to reclaim their religious and righteous destiny.

103 This year, we also took another significant step forward in the Middle East. In recognition of every  
104 sovereign state to determine its own capital, I moved the U.S. Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem.

105 The United States is committed to a future of peace and stability in the region, including peace  
106 between the Israelis and the Palestinians. That aim is advanced, not harmed, by acknowledging the  
107 obvious facts.

108 America's policy of principled realism means we will not be held hostage to old dogmas, discredited  
109 ideologies, and so-called experts who have been proven wrong over the years, time and time again.  
110 This is true not only in matters of peace, but in matters of prosperity.

111 We believe that trade must be fair and reciprocal. The United States will not be taken advantage of  
112 any longer.

113 For decades, the United States opened its economy — the largest, by far, on Earth — with few  
114 conditions. We allowed foreign goods from all over the world to flow freely across our borders.

115 Yet, other countries did not grant us fair and reciprocal access to their markets in return. Even  
116 worse, some countries abused their openness to dump their products, subsidize their goods, target  
117 our industries, and manipulate their currencies to gain unfair advantage over our country. As a  
118 result, our trade deficit ballooned to nearly \$800 billion a year.

119 For this reason, we are systematically renegotiating broken and bad trade deals.  
120 Last month, we announced a groundbreaking U.S.-Mexico trade agreement. And just yesterday, I  
121 stood with President Moon to announce the successful completion of the brand new U.S.-Korea  
122 trade deal. And this is just the beginning.

123 Many nations in this hall will agree that the world trading system is in dire need of change. For  
124 example, countries were admitted to the World Trade Organization that violate every single  
125 principle on which the organization is based. While the United States and many other nations play by  
126 the rules, these countries use government-run industrial planning and state-owned enterprises to rig  
127 the system in their favor. They engage in relentless product dumping, forced technology transfer,  
128 and the theft of intellectual property.

129 The United States lost over 3 million manufacturing jobs, nearly a quarter of all steel jobs, and  
130 60,000 factories after China joined the WTO. And we have racked up \$13 trillion in trade deficits  
131 over the last two decades.

132 But those days are over. We will no longer tolerate such abuse. We will not allow our workers to be  
133 victimized, our companies to be cheated, and our wealth to be plundered and transferred. America  
134 will never apologize for protecting its citizens.

135 The United States has just announced tariffs on another \$200 billion in Chinese-made goods for a  
136 total, so far, of \$250 billion. I have great respect and affection for my friend, President Xi, but I have  
137 made clear our trade imbalance is just not acceptable. China's market distortions and the way they  
138 deal cannot be tolerated.

139 As my administration has demonstrated, America will always act in our national interest.

140 I spoke before this body last year and warned that the U.N. Human Rights Council had become a  
141 grave embarrassment to this institution, shielding egregious human rights abusers while bashing  
142 America and its many friends.

143 Our Ambassador to the United Nations, Nikki Haley, laid out a clear agenda for reform, but despite  
144 reported and repeated warnings, no action at all was taken.

145 So the United States took the only responsible course: We withdrew from the Human Rights Council,  
146 and we will not return until real reform is enacted.

147 For similar reasons, the United States will provide no support in recognition to the International  
148 Criminal Court. As far as America is concerned, the ICC has no jurisdiction, no legitimacy, and no  
149 authority. The ICC claims near-universal jurisdiction over the citizens of every country, violating all  
150 principles of justice, fairness, and due process. We will never surrender America's sovereignty to an  
151 unelected, unaccountable, global bureaucracy.

152 America is governed by Americans. We reject the ideology of globalism, and we embrace the  
153 doctrine of patriotism.

154 Around the world, responsible nations must defend against threats to sovereignty not just from  
155 global governance, but also from other, new forms of coercion and domination.

156 In America, we believe strongly in energy security for ourselves and for our allies. We have become  
157 the largest energy producer anywhere on the face of the Earth.

158 The United States stands ready to export our abundant, affordable supply of oil, clean coal, and  
159 natural gas.

160 OPEC and OPEC nations, are, as usual, ripping off the rest of the world, and I don't like it. Nobody  
161 should like it. We defend many of these nations for nothing, and then they take advantage of us by  
162 giving us high oil prices. Not good.

163 We want them to stop raising prices, we want them to start lowering prices, and they must  
164 contribute substantially to military protection from now on. We are not going to put up with it —  
165 these horrible prices — much longer.

166 Reliance on a single foreign supplier can leave a nation vulnerable to extortion and intimidation.  
167 That is why we congratulate European states, such as Poland, for leading the construction of a Baltic  
168 pipeline so that nations are not dependent on Russia to meet their energy needs. Germany will  
169 become totally dependent on Russian energy if it does not immediately change course.

170 Here in the Western Hemisphere, we are committed to maintaining our independence from the  
171 encroachment of expansionist foreign powers.

172 It has been the formal policy of our country since President Monroe that we reject the interference  
173 of foreign nations in this hemisphere and in our own affairs. The United States has recently  
174 strengthened our laws to better screen foreign investments in our country for national security  
175 threats, and we welcome cooperation with countries in this region and around the world that wish  
176 to do the same. You need to do it for your own protection.

177 The United States is also working with partners in Latin America to confront threats to sovereignty  
178 from uncontrolled migration. Tolerance for human struggling and human smuggling and trafficking is  
179 not humane. It's a horrible thing that's going on, at levels that nobody has ever seen before. It's  
180 very, very cruel.

181 Illegal immigration funds criminal networks, ruthless gangs, and the flow of deadly drugs. Illegal  
182 immigration exploits vulnerable populations, hurts hardworking citizens, and has produced a vicious  
183 cycle of crime, violence, and poverty. Only by upholding national borders, destroying criminal gangs,  
184 can we break this cycle and establish a real foundation for prosperity.

185 We recognize the right of every nation in this room to set its own immigration policy in accordance  
186 with its national interests, just as we ask other countries to respect our own right to do the same —  
187 which we are doing. That is one reason the United States will not participate in the new Global  
188 Compact on Migration. Migration should not be governed by an international body unaccountable to  
189 our own citizens.

190 Ultimately, the only long-term solution to the migration crisis is to help people build more hopeful  
191 futures in their home countries. Make their countries great again.

192 Currently, we are witnessing a human tragedy, as an example, in Venezuela. More than 2 million  
193 people have fled the anguish inflicted by the socialist Maduro regime and its Cuban sponsors.

194 Not long ago, Venezuela was one of the richest countries on Earth. Today, socialism has bankrupted  
195 the oil-rich nation and driven its people into abject poverty.

196 Virtually everywhere socialism or communism has been tried, it has produced suffering, corruption,  
197 and decay. Socialism's thirst for power leads to expansion, incursion, and oppression. All nations of  
198 the world should resist socialism and the misery that it brings to everyone.

199 In that spirit, we ask the nations gathered here to join us in calling for the restoration of democracy  
200 in Venezuela. Today, we are announcing additional sanctions against the repressive regime,  
201 targeting Maduro's inner circle and close advisors.

202 We are grateful for all the work the United Nations does around the world to help people build  
203 better lives for themselves and their families.

204 The United States is the world's largest giver in the world, by far, of foreign aid. But few give  
205 anything to us. That is why we are taking a hard look at U.S. foreign assistance. That will be headed  
206 up by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo. We will examine what is working, what is not working, and  
207 whether the countries who receive our dollars and our protection also have our interests at heart.

208 Moving forward, we are only going to give foreign aid to those who respect us and, frankly, are our  
209 friends. And we expect other countries to pay their fair share for the cost of their defense.

210 The United States is committed to making the United Nations more effective and accountable. I have  
211 said many times that the United Nations has unlimited potential. As part of our reform effort, I have  
212 told our negotiators that the United States will not pay more than 25 percent of the U.N.  
213 peacekeeping budget. This will encourage other countries to step up, get involved, and also share in  
214 this very large burden.

215 And we are working to shift more of our funding from assessed contributions to voluntary so that we  
216 can target American resources to the programs with the best record of success.

217 Only when each of us does our part and contributes our share can we realize the U.N.'s highest  
218 aspirations. We must pursue peace without fear, hope without despair, and security without  
219 apology.

220 Looking around this hall where so much history has transpired, we think of the many before us who  
221 have come here to address the challenges of their nations and of their times. And our thoughts turn  
222 to the same question that ran through all their speeches and resolutions, through every word and  
223 every hope. It is the question of what kind of world will we leave for our children and what kind of  
224 nations they will inherit.

225 The dreams that fill this hall today are as diverse as the people who have stood at this podium, and  
226 as varied as the countries represented right here in this body are. It really is something. It really is  
227 great, great history.

228 There is India, a free society over a billion people, successfully lifting countless millions out of  
229 poverty and into the middle class.

230 There is Saudi Arabia, where King Salman and the Crown Prince are pursuing bold new reforms.

231 There is Israel, proudly celebrating its 70th anniversary as a thriving democracy in the Holy Land.

232 In Poland, a great people are standing up for their independence, their security, and their  
233 sovereignty.

234 Many countries are pursuing their own unique visions, building their own hopeful futures, and  
235 chasing their own wonderful dreams of destiny, of legacy, and of a home.

236 The whole world is richer, humanity is better, because of this beautiful constellation of nations, each  
237 very special, each very unique, and each shining brightly in its part of the world.

238 In each one, we see awesome promise of a people bound together by a shared past and working  
239 toward a common future.

240 As for Americans, we know what kind of future we want for ourselves. We know what kind of a  
241 nation America must always be.

242 In America, we believe in the majesty of freedom and the dignity of the individual. We believe in  
243 self-government and the rule of law. And we prize the culture that sustains our liberty -- a culture  
244 built on strong families, deep faith, and fierce independence. We celebrate our heroes, we treasure  
245 our traditions, and above all, we love our country.

246 Inside everyone in this great chamber today, and everyone listening all around the globe, there is  
247 the heart of a patriot that feels the same powerful love for your nation, the same intense loyalty to  
248 your homeland.

249 The passion that burns in the hearts of patriots and the souls of nations has inspired reform and  
250 revolution, sacrifice and selflessness, scientific breakthroughs, and magnificent works of art.

251 Our task is not to erase it, but to embrace it. To build with it. To draw on its ancient wisdom. And to  
252 find within it the will to make our nations greater, our regions safer, and the world better.

253 To unleash this incredible potential in our people, we must defend the foundations that make it all  
254 possible. Sovereign and independent nations are the only vehicle where freedom has ever survived,  
255 democracy has ever endured, or peace has ever prospered. And so we must protect our sovereignty  
256 and our cherished independence above all.

257 When we do, we will find new avenues for cooperation unfolding before us. We will find new  
258 passion for peacemaking rising within us. We will find new purpose, new resolve, and new spirit  
259 flourishing all around us, and making this a more beautiful world in which to live.

260 So together, let us choose a future of patriotism, prosperity, and pride. Let us choose peace and  
261 freedom over domination and defeat. And let us come here to this place to stand for our people and  
262 their nations, forever strong, forever sovereign, forever just, and forever thankful for the grace and  
263 the goodness and the glory of God.

264 Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the nations of the world.

265 Thank you very much. Thank you. (Applause.)

## Appendix N: President Donald J. Trump's State of the Union Address (2019)

[Delivered January 30, 2018 Washington D.C]

[Original text source: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-state-union-address-2/>]

[Video source: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U6B\\_MYpByUs](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U6B_MYpByUs)]

[Differences from original source may occur, as the Speech have been corrected for discrepancies between audio and text]

1 THE PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, the First Lady of the  
2 United States — (applause) — and my fellow Americans:

3 We meet tonight at a moment of unlimited potential. As we begin a new Congress, I stand here  
4 ready to work with you to achieve historic breakthroughs for all Americans.

5 Millions of our fellow citizens are watching us now, gathered in this great chamber, hoping that we  
6 will govern not as two parties but as one nation. (Applause.)

7 The agenda I will lay out this evening is not a Republican agenda or a Democrat agenda. It's the  
8 agenda of the American people.

9 Many of us have campaigned on the same core promises: to defend American jobs and demand fair  
10 trade for American workers; to rebuild and revitalize our nation's infrastructure; to reduce the price  
11 of healthcare and prescription drugs; to create an immigration system that is safe, lawful, modern,  
12 and secure; and to pursue a foreign policy that puts America's interests first.

13 There is a new opportunity in American politics, if only we have the courage, together, to seize it.  
14 (Applause.) Victory is not winning for our party. Victory is winning for our country. (Applause.)

15 This year, America will recognize two important anniversaries that show us the majesty of America's  
16 mission and the power of American pride.

17 In June, we mark 75 years since the start of what General Dwight D. Eisenhower called the "Great  
18 Crusade" — the Allied liberation of Europe in World War II. (Applause.) On D-Day, June 6th, 1944,  
19 15,000 young American men jumped from the sky, and 60,000 more stormed in from the sea, to  
20 save our civilization from tyranny. Here with us tonight are three of those incredible heroes: Private  
21 First Class Joseph Reilly, Staff Sergeant Irving Locker, and Sergeant Herman Zeitchik. (Applause.)  
22 Please. Gentlemen, we salute you.

23 In 2019, we also celebrate 50 years since brave young pilots flew a quarter of a million miles through  
24 space to plant the American flag on the face of the moon. Half a century later, we are joined by one  
25 of the Apollo 11 astronauts who planted that flag: Buzz Aldrin. (Applause.) Thank you, Buzz. This  
26 year, American astronauts will go back to space on American rockets. (Applause.)

27 In the 20th century, America saved freedom, transformed science, redefined the middle class, and,  
28 when you get down to it, there's nothing anywhere in the world that can compete with America.  
29 (Applause.) Now we must step boldly and bravely into the next chapter of this great American  
30 adventure, and we must create a new standard of living for the 21st century. An amazing quality of  
31 life for all of our citizens is within reach.

32 We can make our communities safer, our families stronger, our culture richer, our faith deeper, and  
33 our middle class bigger and more prosperous than ever before. (Applause.)

34 But we must reject the politics of revenge, resistance, and retribution, and embrace the boundless  
35 potential of cooperation, compromise, and the common good. (Applause.)

36 Together, we can break decades of political stalemate. We can bridge old divisions, heal old  
37 wounds, build new coalitions, forge new solutions, and unlock the extraordinary promise of  
38 America's future. The decision is ours to make.

39 We must choose between greatness or gridlock, results or resistance, vision or vengeance, incredible  
40 progress or pointless destruction.

41 Tonight, I ask you to choose greatness. (Applause.)

42 Over the last two years, my administration has moved with urgency and historic speed to confront  
43 problems neglected by leaders of both parties over many decades.

44 In just over two years since the election, we have launched an unprecedented economic boom — a  
45 boom that has rarely been seen before. There's been nothing like it. We have created 5.3 million  
46 new jobs and, importantly, added 600,000 new manufacturing jobs — something which almost  
47 everyone said was impossible to do. But the fact is, we are just getting started. (Applause.)

48 Wages are rising at the fastest pace in decades and growing for blue-collar workers, who I promised  
49 to fight for. They're growing faster than anyone else thought possible. Nearly 5 million Americans  
50 have been lifted off food stamps. (Applause.) The U.S. economy is growing almost twice as fast  
51 today as when I took office. And we are considered, far and away, the hottest economy anywhere in  
52 the world. Not even close. (Applause.)

53 Unemployment has reached the lowest rate in over half a century. (Applause.) African American,  
54 Hispanic American, and Asian American unemployment have all reached their lowest levels ever  
55 recorded. (Applause.) Unemployment for Americans with disabilities has also reached an all-time  
56 low. (Applause.) More people are working now than at any time in the history of our country — 157  
57 million people at work. (Applause.)

58 We passed a massive tax cut for working families and doubled the child tax credit. (Applause.)

59 We virtually ended the estate tax — or death tax, as it is often called — on small businesses for  
60 ranchers and also for family farms. (Applause.)

61 We eliminated the very unpopular Obamacare individual mandate penalty. (Applause.) And to give  
62 critically ill patients access to lifesaving cures, we passed, very importantly, Right to Try. (Applause.)

63 My administration has cut more regulations in a short period of time than any other administration  
64 during its entire tenure. (Applause.) Companies are coming back to our country in large numbers  
65 thanks to our historic reductions in taxes and regulations. (Applause.)

66 And we have unleashed a revolution in American energy. The United States is now the number-one  
67 producer of oil and natural gas anywhere in the world. (Applause.) And now, for the first time in 65  
68 years, we are a net exporter of energy. (Applause.)

69 After 24 months of rapid progress, our economy is the envy of the world, our military is the most  
70 powerful on Earth, by far, and America — (applause) — America is again winning each and every  
71 day. (Applause.)

72 Members of Congress: The state of our union is strong. (Applause.)

73 AUDIENCE: USA! USA! USA!

74 THE PRESIDENT: That sounds so good. (Laughter.)

75 Our country is vibrant and our economy is thriving like never before.

76 On Friday, it was announced that we added another 304,000 jobs last month alone — almost double  
77 the number expected. (Applause.) An economic miracle is taking place in the United States, and the  
78 only thing that can stop it are foolish wars, politics, or ridiculous partisan investigations. (Applause.)

79 If there is going to be peace and legislation, there cannot be war and investigation. It just doesn't  
80 work that way.

81 We must be united at home to defeat our adversaries abroad. This new era of cooperation can start  
82 with finally confirming the more than 300 highly qualified nominees who are still stuck in the Senate.  
83 In some cases, years and years waiting. Not right. (Applause.) The Senate has failed to act on these  
84 nominations, which is unfair to the nominees and very unfair to our country.

85 Now is the time for bipartisan action. Believe it or not, we have already proven that that's possible.

86 In the last Congress, both parties came together to pass unprecedented legislation to confront the  
87 opioid crisis, a sweeping new farm bill, historic VA reforms. And after four decades of rejection, we  
88 passed VA Accountability so that we can finally terminate those who mistreat our wonderful  
89 veterans. (Applause.)

90 And just weeks ago, both parties united for groundbreaking criminal justice reform. They said it  
91 couldn't be done. (Applause.)

92 Last year, I heard, through friends, the story of Alice Johnson. I was deeply moved. In 1997, Alice  
93 was sentenced to life in prison as a first-time non-violent drug offender. Over the next 22 years, she  
94 became a prison minister, inspiring others to choose a better path. She had a big impact on that  
95 prison population, and far beyond.

96 Alice's story underscores the disparities and unfairness that can exist in criminal sentencing, and the  
97 need to remedy this total injustice. She served almost that 22 years and had expected to be in  
98 prison for the remainder of her life.

99 In June, I commuted Alice's sentence. When I saw Alice's beautiful family greet her at the prison  
100 gates, hugging and kissing and crying and laughing, I knew I did something right. Alice is with us  
101 tonight, and she is a terrific woman. Terrific. Alice, please. (Applause.)

102 Alice, thank you for reminding us that we always have the power to shape our own destiny. Thank  
103 you very much, Alice. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

104 Inspired by stories like Alice's, my administration worked closely with members of both parties to  
105 sign the FIRST STEP Act into law. Big deal. (Applause.) It's a big deal.

106 This legislation reformed sentencing laws that have wrongly and disproportionately harmed the  
107 African American community. The FIRST STEP Act gives non-violent offenders the chance to reenter  
108 society as productive, law-abiding citizens. Now states across the country are following our lead.  
109 America is a nation that believes in redemption.

110 We are also joined tonight by Matthew Charles from Tennessee. In 1996, at the age of 30, Matthew  
111 was sentenced to 35 years for selling drugs and related offenses. Over the next two decades, he  
112 completed more than 30 Bible studies, became a law clerk, and mentored many of his fellow  
113 inmates.

114 Now, Matthew is the very first person to be released from prison under the FIRST STEP Act.  
115 (Applause.) Matthew, please. Thank you, Matthew. Welcome home. (Applause.)

116 Now, Republicans and Democrats must join forces again to confront an urgent national crisis.  
117 Congress has 10 days left to pass a bill that will fund our government, protect our homeland, and  
118 secure our very dangerous southern border.

119 Now is the time for Congress to show the world that America is committed to ending illegal  
120 immigration and putting the ruthless coyotes, cartels, drug dealers, and human traffickers out of  
121 business. (Applause.)

122 As we speak, large, organized caravans are on the march to the United States. We have just heard  
123 that Mexican cities, in order to remove the illegal immigrants from their communities, are getting  
124 trucks and buses to bring them up to our country in areas where there is little border protection. I  
125 have ordered another 3,750 troops to our southern border to prepare for this tremendous  
126 onslaught.

127 This is a moral issue. The lawless state of our southern border is a threat to the safety, security, and  
128 financial wellbeing of all America. We have a moral duty to create an immigration system that  
129 protects the lives and jobs of our citizens. This includes our obligation to the millions of immigrants  
130 living here today who followed the rules and respected our laws. Legal immigrants enrich our nation  
131 and strengthen our society in countless ways. (Applause.)

132 I want people to come into our country in the largest numbers ever, but they have to come in  
133 legally. (Applause.)

134 Tonight, I am asking you to defend our very dangerous southern border out of love and devotion to  
135 our fellow citizens and to our country.

136 No issue better illustrates the divide between America's working class and America's political class  
137 than illegal immigration. Wealthy politicians and donors push for open borders while living their  
138 lives behind walls, and gates, and guards. (Applause.)

139 Meanwhile, working-class Americans are left to pay the price for mass illegal migration: reduced  
140 jobs, lower wages, overburdened schools, hospitals that are so crowded you can't get in, increased  
141 crime, and a depleted social safety net. Tolerance for illegal immigration is not compassionate; it is  
142 actually very cruel. (Applause.)

143 One in three women is sexually assaulted on the long journey north. Smugglers use migrant children  
144 as human pawns to exploit our laws and gain access to our country. Human traffickers and sex  
145 traffickers take advantage of the wide-open areas between our ports of entry to smuggle thousands  
146 of young girls and women into the United States and to sell them into prostitution and modern-day  
147 slavery.

148 Tens of thousands of innocent Americans are killed by lethal drugs that cross our border and flood  
149 into our cities, including meth, heroin, cocaine, and fentanyl.

150 The savage gang, MS-13, now operates in at least 20 different American states, and they almost all  
151 come through our southern border. Just yesterday, an MS-13 gang member was taken into custody  
152 for a fatal shooting on a subway platform in New York City. We are removing these gang members  
153 by the thousands. But until we secure our border, they're going to keep streaming right back in.

154 Year after year, countless Americans are murdered by criminal illegal aliens. I've gotten to know  
155 many wonderful Angel moms and dads, and families. No one should ever have to suffer the horrible  
156 heartache that they have had to endure.

157 Here tonight is Debra Bissell. Just three weeks ago, Debra's parents, Gerald and Sharon, were  
158 burglarized and shot to death in their Reno, Nevada home by an illegal alien. They were in their  
159 eighties, and are survived by 4 children, 11 grandchildren, and 20 great-grandchildren. Also here  
160 tonight are Gerald and Sharon's granddaughter Heather, and great-granddaughter Madison.

161 To Debra, Heather, Madison, please stand. Few can understand your pain. Thank you. And thank  
162 you for being here. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

163 I will never forget, and I will fight for the memory of Gerald and Sharon that it should never happen  
164 again. Not one more American life should be lost because our nation failed to control its very  
165 dangerous border.

166 In the last two years, our brave ICE officers made 266,000 arrests of criminal aliens, including those  
167 charged or convicted of nearly 100,000 assaults, 30,000 sex crimes, and 4,000 killings or murders.

168 We are joined tonight by one of those law enforcement heroes: ICE Special Agent Elvin Hernandez.  
169 When Elvin — (applause) — thank you.

170 When Elvin was a boy, he and his family legally immigrated to the United States from the Dominican  
171 Republic. At the age of eight, Elvin told his dad he wanted to become a Special Agent. Today, he  
172 leads investigations into the scourge of international sex trafficking.

173 Elvin says that, “If I can make sure these young girls get their justice, I’ve [really] done my job.”  
174 Thanks to his work, and that of his incredible colleagues, more than 300 women and girls have been  
175 rescued from the horror of this terrible situation, and more than 1,500 sadistic traffickers have been  
176 put behind bars. (Applause.) Thank you, Elvin.

177 We will always support the brave men and women of law enforcement, and I pledge to you tonight  
178 that I will never abolish our heroes from ICE. Thank you. (Applause.)

179 My administration has sent to Congress a commonsense proposal to end the crisis on the southern  
180 border. It includes humanitarian assistance, more law enforcement, drug detection at our ports,  
181 closing loopholes that enable child smuggling, and plans for a new physical barrier, or wall, to secure  
182 the vast areas between our ports of entry.

183 In the past, most of the people in this room voted for a wall, but the proper wall never got built. I  
184 will get it built. (Applause.)

185 This is a smart, strategic, see-through steel barrier — not just a simple concrete wall. It will be  
186 deployed in the areas identified by the border agents as having the greatest need. And these agents  
187 will tell you: Where walls go up, illegal crossings go way, way down. (Applause.)

188 San Diego used to have the most illegal border crossings in our country. In response, a strong  
189 security wall was put in place. This powerful barrier almost completely ended illegal crossings.

190 The border city of El Paso, Texas used to have extremely high rates of violent crime — one of the  
191 highest in the entire country, and considered one of our nation’s most dangerous cities. Now,  
192 immediately upon its building, with a powerful barrier in place, El Paso is one of the safest cities in  
193 our country. Simply put: Walls work, and walls save lives. (Applause.)

194 So let’s work together, compromise, and reach a deal that will truly make America safe.

195 As we work to defend our people’s safety, we must also ensure our economic resurgence continues  
196 at a rapid pace. No one has benefitted more from our thriving economy than women, who have  
197 filled 58 percent of the newly created jobs last year. (Applause.)

198 You weren’t supposed to do that. Thank you very much. Thank you very much.

199 All Americans can be proud that we have more women in the workforce than ever before.  
200 (Applause.)

201 Don’t sit yet. You’re going to like this. (Laughter.)

202 And exactly one century after Congress passed the constitutional amendment giving women the  
203 right to vote, we also have more women serving in Congress than at any time before. (Applause.)

204 AUDIENCE: USA! USA! USA!

205 THE PRESIDENT: That’s great. Really great. And congratulations. That’s great.

206 As part of our commitment to improving opportunity for women everywhere, this Thursday we are  
207 launching the first-ever government-wide initiative focused on economic empowerment for women  
208 in developing countries.

209 To build on — (applause) — thank you. To build on our incredible economic success, one priority is  
210 paramount: reversing decades of calamitous trade policies. So bad.

211 We are now making it clear to China that, after years of targeting our industries and stealing our  
212 intellectual property, the theft of American jobs and wealth has come to an end. (Applause.)  
213 Therefore, we recently imposed tariffs on \$250 billion of Chinese goods, and now our Treasury is  
214 receiving billions and billions of dollars.

215 But I don't blame China for taking advantage of us; I blame our leaders and representatives for  
216 allowing this travesty to happen. I have great respect for President Xi, and we are now working on a  
217 new trade deal with China. But it must include real, structural change to end unfair trade practices,  
218 reduce our chronic trade deficit, and protect American jobs. (Applause.) Thank you.

219 Another historic trade blunder was the catastrophe known as NAFTA. I have met the men and  
220 women of Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, New Hampshire, and many other states whose  
221 dreams were shattered by the signing of NAFTA. For years, politicians promised them they would  
222 renegotiate for a better deal, but no one ever tried, until now.

223 Our new U.S.-Mexico-Canada Agreement, the USMCA, will replace NAFTA and deliver for American  
224 workers like they haven't had delivered to for a long time. I hope you can pass the USMCA into law  
225 so that we can bring back our manufacturing jobs in even greater numbers, expand American  
226 agriculture, protect intellectual property, and ensure that more cars are proudly stamped with our  
227 four beautiful words: "Made in the USA." (Applause.)

228 Tonight, I am also asking you to pass the United States Reciprocal Trade Act, so that if another  
229 country places an unfair tariff on an American product, we can charge them the exact same tariff on  
230 the exact same product that they sell to us. (Applause.)

231 Both parties should be able to unite for a great rebuilding of America's crumbling infrastructure.  
232 (Applause.)

233 I know that Congress is eager to pass an infrastructure bill, and I am eager to work with you on  
234 legislation to deliver new and important infrastructure investment, including investments in the  
235 cutting-edge industries of the future. This is not an option. This is a necessity.

236 The next major priority for me, and for all of us, should be to lower the cost of healthcare and  
237 prescription drugs, and to protect patients with preexisting conditions. (Applause.)

238 Already, as a result of my administration's efforts, in 2018, drug prices experienced their single  
239 largest decline in 46 years. (Applause.)

240 But we must do more. It's unacceptable that Americans pay vastly more than people in other  
241 countries for the exact same drugs, often made in the exact same place. This is wrong, this is unfair,  
242 and together we will stop it — and we'll stop it fast. (Applause.)

243 I am asking Congress to pass legislation that finally takes on the problem of global freeloading and  
244 delivers fairness and price transparency for American patients, finally. (Applause.)

245 We should also require drug companies, insurance companies, and hospitals to disclose real prices  
246 to foster competition and bring costs way down. (Applause.)

247 No force in history has done more to advance the human condition than American freedom. In  
248 recent years — (applause) — in recent years, we have made remarkable progress in the fight against  
249 HIV and AIDS. Scientific breakthroughs have brought a once-distant dream within reach. My budget  
250 will ask Democrats and Republicans to make the needed commitment to eliminate the HIV epidemic  
251 in the United States within 10 years. We have made incredible strides. Incredible. (Applause.)  
252 Together, we will defeat AIDS in America and beyond. (Applause.)

253 Tonight, I am also asking you to join me in another fight that all Americans can get behind: the fight  
254 against childhood cancer. (Applause.)

255 Joining Melania in the gallery this evening is a very brave 10-year-old girl, Grace Eline. Every  
256 birthday — (applause) — hi, Grace. (Laughter.) Every birthday since she was four, Grace asked her  
257 friends to donate to St. Jude’s Children’s Hospital. She did not know that one day she might be a  
258 patient herself. That’s what happened.

259 Last year, Grace was diagnosed with brain cancer. Immediately, she began radiation treatment. At  
260 the same time, she rallied her community and raised more than \$40,000 for the fight against cancer.  
261 (Applause.) When Grace completed treatment last fall, her doctors and nurses cheered — they  
262 loved her; they still love her — with tears in their eyes as she hung up a poster that read: “Last day  
263 of chemo.” (Applause.) Thank you very much, Grace. You are a great inspiration to everyone in this  
264 room. Thank you very much.

265 Many childhood cancers have not seen new therapies in decades. My budget will ask Congress for  
266 \$500 million over the next 10 years to fund this critical lifesaving research.

267 To help support working parents, the time has come to pass School Choice for Americans’ children.  
268 (Applause.) I am also proud to be the first President to include in my budget a plan for nationwide  
269 paid family leave, so that every new parent has the chance to bond with their newborn child.  
270 (Applause.)

271 There could be no greater contrast to the beautiful image of a mother holding her infant child than  
272 the chilling displays our nation saw in recent days. Lawmakers in New York cheered with delight  
273 upon the passage of legislation that would allow a baby to be ripped from the mother’s womb  
274 moments from birth. These are living, feeling, beautiful babies who will never get the chance to  
275 share their love and their dreams with the world. And then, we had the case of the Governor of  
276 Virginia where he stated he would execute a baby after birth.

277 To defend the dignity of every person, I am asking Congress to pass legislation to prohibit the late -  
278 term abortion of children who can feel pain in the mother’s womb. (Applause.)

279 Let us work together to build a culture that cherishes innocent life. (Applause.) And let us reaffirm a  
280 fundamental truth: All children — born and unborn — are made in the holy image of God.

281 The final part of my agenda is to protect American security. Over the last two years, we have begun  
282 to fully rebuild the United States military, with \$700 billion last year and \$716 billion this year.

283 We are also getting other nations to pay their fair share. (Applause.) Finally. Finally. For years, the  
284 United States was being treated very unfairly by friends of ours, members of NATO. But now we  
285 have secured, over the last couple of years, more than \$100 billion of increase in defense spending  
286 from our NATO Allies. (Applause.) They said it couldn't be done.

287 As part of our military build-up, the United States is developing a state-of-the-art missile defense  
288 system.

289 Under my administration, we will never apologize for advancing America's interests.

290 For example, decades ago, the United States entered into a treaty with Russia in which we agreed to  
291 limit and reduce our missile capability. While we followed the agreement and the rules to the letter,  
292 Russia repeatedly violated its terms. It's been going on for many years. That is why I announced  
293 that the United States is officially withdrawing from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty,  
294 or INF Treaty.

295 Perhaps — (applause) — we really have no choice. Perhaps we can negotiate a different agreement,  
296 adding China and others, or perhaps we can't — in which case, we will outspend and out-innovate all  
297 others by far. (Applause.)

298 As part of a bold new diplomacy, we continue our historic push for peace on the Korean Peninsula.  
299 Our hostages have come home, nuclear testing has stopped, and there has not been a missile launch  
300 in more than 15 months. If I had not been elected President of the United States, we would right  
301 now, in my opinion, be in a major war with North Korea. (Applause.)

302 Much work remains to be done, but my relationship with Kim Jong Un is a good one. Chairman Kim  
303 and I will meet again on February 27th and 28th in Vietnam. (Applause.)

304 Two weeks ago, the United States officially recognized the legitimate government of Venezuela —  
305 (applause) — and its new President, Juan Guaidó. (Applause.)

306 We stand with the Venezuelan people in their noble quest for freedom, and we condemn the  
307 brutality of the Maduro regime, whose socialist policies have turned that nation from being the  
308 wealthiest in South America into a state of abject poverty and despair. (Applause.)

309 Here in the United States, we are alarmed by the new calls to adopt socialism in our country.

310 AUDIENCE: Boo —

311 THE PRESIDENT: America was founded on liberty and independence, and not government coercion,  
312 domination, and control. (Applause.) We are born free and we will stay free. (Applause.)

313 AUDIENCE: USA! USA! USA!

314 THE PRESIDENT: Tonight, we renew our resolve that America will never be a socialist country.  
315 (Applause.)

316 AUDIENCE: USA! USA! USA!

317 THE PRESIDENT: One of the most complex set of challenges we face, and have for many years, is in  
318 the Middle East. Our approach is based on principled realism, not discredited theories that have  
319 failed for decades to yield progress. For this reason, my administration recognized the true capital  
320 of Israel, and proudly opened the American Embassy in Jerusalem. (Applause.)

321 Our brave troops have now been fighting in the Middle East for almost 19 years. In Afghanistan and  
322 Iraq, nearly 7,000 American heroes have given their lives. More than 52,000 Americans have been  
323 badly wounded. We have spent more than \$7 trillion in fighting wars in the Middle East.

324 As a candidate for President, I loudly pledged a new approach. Great nations do not fight endless  
325 wars. (Applause.)

326 When I took office, ISIS controlled more than 20,000 square miles in Iraq and Syria — just two years  
327 ago. Today, we have liberated virtually all of the territory from the grip of these bloodthirsty  
328 monsters.

329 Now, as we work with our allies to destroy the remnants of ISIS, it is time to give our brave warriors  
330 in Syria a warm welcome home.

331 I have also accelerated our negotiations to reach — if possible — a political settlement in  
332 Afghanistan. The opposing side is also very happy to be negotiating. Our troops have fought with  
333 unmatched valor. And thanks to their bravery, we are now able to pursue a possible political  
334 solution to this long and bloody conflict. (Applause.)

335 In Afghanistan, my administration is holding constructive talks with a number of Afghan groups,  
336 including the Taliban. As we make progress in these negotiations, we will be able to reduce our  
337 troop's presence and focus on counterterrorism. And we will indeed focus on counterterrorism.

338 We do not know whether we will achieve an agreement, but we do know that, after two decades of  
339 war, the hour has come to at least try for peace. And the other side would like to do the same thing.  
340 It's time. (Applause.)

341 Above all, friend and foe alike must never doubt this nation's power and will to defend our people.  
342 Eighteen years ago, violent terrorists attacked the USS Cole. And last month, American forces killed  
343 one of the leaders of that attack. (Applause.)

344 We are honored to be joined tonight by Tom Wibberley, whose son, Navy Seaman Craig Wibberley,  
345 was one of the 17 sailors we tragically lost. Tom, we vow to always remember the heroes of the USS  
346 Cole. (Applause.) Thank you, Tom.

347 My administration has acted decisively to confront the world's leading state sponsor of terror: the  
348 radical regime in Iran. It is a radical regime. They do bad, bad things.

349 To ensure this corrupt dictatorship never acquires nuclear weapons, I withdrew the United States  
350 from the disastrous Iran nuclear deal. (Applause.)

351 And last fall, we put in place the toughest sanctions ever imposed by us on a country.

352 We will not avert our eyes from a regime that chants “Death to America” and threatens genocide  
353 against the Jewish people. (Applause.) We must never ignore the vile poison of anti-Semitism, or  
354 those who spread its venomous creed. With one voice, we must confront this hatred anywhere and  
355 everywhere it occurs.

356 Just months ago, 11 Jewish-Americans were viciously murdered in an anti-Semitic attack on the Tree  
357 of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh. SWAT Officer Timothy Matson raced into the gunfire and was shot  
358 seven times chasing down the killer. And he was very successful. Timothy has just had his 12th  
359 surgery, and he is going in for many more. But he made the trip to be here with us tonight. Officer  
360 Matson, please. (Applause.) Thank you. We are forever grateful. Thank you very much.

361 Tonight, we are also joined by Pittsburgh survivor, Judah Samet. He arrived at the synagogue as the  
362 massacre began. But not only did Judah narrowly escape death last fall, more than seven decades  
363 ago, he narrowly survived the Nazi concentration camps. Today is Judah’s 81st birthday. (Applause.)

364 AUDIENCE: (Sings “Happy Birthday.”) (Applause.)

365 MR. SAMET: Thank you!

366 THE PRESIDENT: They wouldn’t do that for me, Judah. (Laughter.)

367 Judah says he can still remember the exact moment, nearly 75 years ago, after 10 months in a  
368 concentration camp, when he and his family were put on a train and told they were going to another  
369 camp. Suddenly, the train screeched to a very strong halt. A soldier appeared. Judah’s family  
370 braced for the absolute worst. Then, his father cried out with joy, “It’s the Americans! It’s the  
371 Americans!” (Applause.) Thank you.

372 A second Holocaust survivor who is here tonight, Joshua Kaufman, was a prisoner at Dachau. He  
373 remembers watching through a hole in the wall of a cattle car as American soldiers rolled in with  
374 tanks. “To me,” Joshua recalls, “the American soldiers were proof that God exists, and they came  
375 down from the sky.” They came down from Heaven.

376 I began this evening by honoring three soldiers who fought on D-Day in the Second World War. One  
377 of them was Herman Zeitchik. But there is more to Herman’s story. A year after he stormed the  
378 beaches of Normandy, Herman was one of the American soldiers who helped liberate Dachau.  
379 (Applause.) He was one of the Americans who helped rescue Joshua from that hell on Earth.

380 Almost 75 years later, Herman and Joshua are both together in the gallery tonight, seated side-by-  
381 side, here in the home of American freedom. Herman and Joshua, your presence this evening is very  
382 much appreciated. Thank you very much. (Applause.) Thank you.

383 When American soldiers set out beneath the dark skies over the English Channel in the early hours  
384 of D-Day, 1944, they were just young men of 18 and 19, hurtling on fragile landing craft toward the  
385 most momentous battle in the history of war.

386 They did not know if they would survive the hour. They did not know if they would grow old. But  
387 they knew that America had to prevail. Their cause was this nation and generations yet unborn.

388 Why did they do it? They did it for America. They did it for us.

389 Everything that has come since — our triumph over communism, our giant leaps of science and  
390 discovery, our unrivaled progress towards equality and justice — all of it is possible thanks to the  
391 blood and tears and courage and vision of the Americans who came before.

392 Think of this Capitol. Think of this very Chamber, where lawmakers before you voted to end slavery,  
393 to build the railroads and the highways, and defeat fascism, to secure civil rights, and to face down  
394 evil empires.

395 Here tonight, we have legislators from across this magnificent republic. You have come from the  
396 rocky shores of Maine and the volcanic peaks of Hawaii; from the snowy woods of Wisconsin and the  
397 red deserts of Arizona; from the green farms of Kentucky and the golden beaches of California.  
398 Together, we represent the most extraordinary nation in all of history.

399 What will we do with this moment? How will we be remembered?

400 I ask the men and women of this Congress: Look at the opportunities before us. Our most thrilling  
401 achievements are still ahead. Our most exciting journeys still await. Our biggest victories are still to  
402 come. We have not yet begun to dream.

403 We must choose whether we are defined by our differences or whether we dare to transcend them.

404 We must choose whether we squander our great inheritance or whether we proudly declare that we  
405 are Americans.

406 We do the incredible. We defy the impossible. We conquer the unknown.

407 This is the time to reignite the American imagination. This is the time to search for the tallest  
408 summit and set our sights on the brightest star. This is the time to rekindle the bonds of love and  
409 loyalty and memory that link us together as citizens, as neighbors, as patriots.

410 This is our future, our fate, and our choice to make. I am asking you to choose greatness.

411 No matter the trials we face, no matter the challenges to come, we must go forward together.

412 We must keep America first in our hearts. We must keep freedom alive in our souls. And we must  
413 always keep faith in America's destiny that one nation, under God, must be the hope and the  
414 promise, and the light and the glory, among all the nations of the world.

415 Thank you. God bless you. And God bless America. Thank you very much. Thank you. (Applause.)

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