

Denial in Donald Trump's Inaugural and Farewell Addresses

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Abstract

This paper investigates denial in two of Donald Trump's presidential addresses; the inaugural and the farewell addresses. The two are analyzed according to one of the devices of the Appraisal Theory that tackles its part of the functional perspective of language as indicated by Halliday's Functional Linguistics and its interpersonal metafunction in particular. The analysis investigates a range of (133) clauses of the inaugural speech and a range of (261) clauses of the farewell address. Each speech is analyzed using Martin & White (2005) taxonomies of engagement. The speeches are analyzed separately then the results are compared to reach general conclusions about the speaker. The clauses have been analyzed to reach a quantitative result followed by some qualitative analysis of some of the apparent features in the two speeches. The analysis reveals that the inaugural speech utilizes denials to the percent of (68%) while the farewell address reaches (71%). The analysis shows that denials have guaranteed achieving solidarity and alignment with the speaker's audience.

Keywords: Appraisal theory, engagement, contracting dialog, deny, inaugural, farewell, solidarity, alignment.

مستخلص

التي تعد Appraisal Theory تعرض هذه الدراسة لأحد أنظمة تحليل الخطاب وهي "نظرية التقييم" أحد التوجهات الوظيفية للغة في "علم اللغة الوظيفي" عند هاليداي. تقوم الدراسة بتحليل خطابان لدونالد ترامب (خطاب التنصيب و خطاب الوداع) باستخدام نظام التفاعل اللغوي القائم على "تعددية / فردية Engagement System للأصوات" ويستخدم الباحث تصنيف مارتن ووايت 2005 للتفاعل اللغوي و، monoglossing /heteroglossing لاسيما الجزء الخاص بـ "تعددية / فردية الأصوات" وتقوم الدراسة الحالية بفحص (133 جملة) بخطاب التنصيب و(261 جملة) بخطاب deny الإنكار الوداع حيث يتم تحليل كل خطاب بشكل فردي بعدها يتم مقارنة النتائج للوصول الي استنتاجات عامة عن مدى تفاعل المتحدث ويتم تحليل الخطابان بشكل كمي ثم كيفي. تصل الدراسة في هذه الرسالة الي عدة نتائج من خلال مقارنة نسبة الإنكار المستخدمة وأظهر تحليل الخطابان أن المتحدث يستخدم الإنكار بنسبة (68%) في خطاب التنصيب وبنسبة (71%) في خطاب الوداع. وقد تحرت الدراسة كذلك كيف ساعد الإنكار في تحقيق بعض الأهداف من خلال آليات نظرية التفاعل لمارتن ووايت (2005) في خطابان ترامب، مثل "التماسك" و"التوافق" مع الجمهور.

Introduction

Critical linguistics or Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) first originated in Britain in 1980s when the work *Language and Control* was introduced by Roger Fowler and Gunther Kress. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. Halliday, developed an influential grammar model, the Systemic Functional Grammar (also called Systemic Functional Linguistics). It is the main foundation of Critical Discourse Analysis as well as other theories in pragmatics. The object of CDA is public speech, such as advertisement, newspaper, political propagandas, official documents, laws and regulations and so on. Its aim is to explore the relationships among language, ideology and power.

In the past twenty years, Critical Discourse Analysis developed quickly and reached great achievements. A large number of scholars have made contributions in the fields of critical analysis of political discourse. We can see more and more articles about Critical Discourse Analysis published in academic journals. Political discourse is typically made to convince and persuade an audience—whether ordinary people or politicians. In so doing, political speech makers rely on and take advantage of the potentials of language. To unmask the intents of politicians and to demonstrate the ideological aspects of language use among them, discourse analysts make attempts to systematically delineate the delicate relationship between linguistic forms and political functions. Speech can be categorized as a kind of genre.

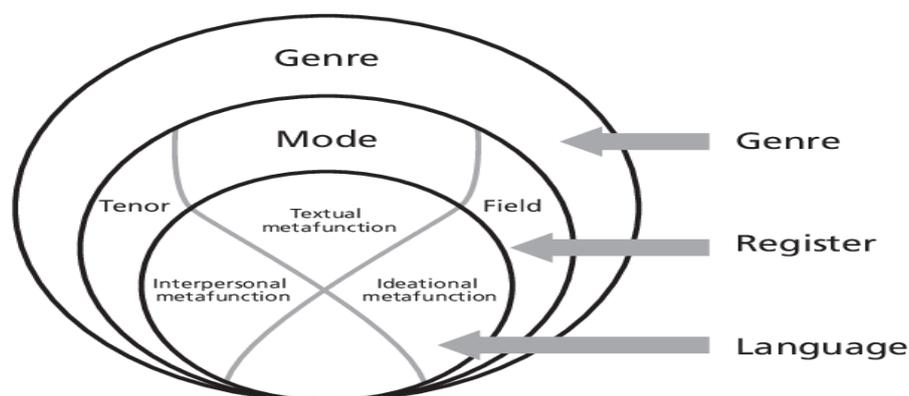
Elizabeth (2003) states that speech genre is the complete concept or idea, feeling, or story in the speaker's mind or heart takes shape in different ways depending on the content, the intended audience. As an important speech, political speech plays a significant role in public speech, drawing great attention from home and abroad (pp.95-115). The founder of SFL, Michael

Halliday, had an aim of bringing language and society together, a way of maintaining both the social and semiotic perspectives simultaneously, i.e. investigate grammar while at the same time keeping the social context in view.

Halliday introduced three metafunctions; the ideational (construal of experience), interpersonal (negotiating social relations), and textual meaning (information flow). The metafunctions correspond to the more abstract level of analysis, register, consisting of field, tenor, and mode. Appraisal Theory; the main theory behind this study, draws on the work of SFL, and can be located within the interpersonal metafunction. The Appraisal System has evolved from the work of Martin (1997, 2000), White (e.g. 1998, 2001a, b) and others.

Figure 1

Stratification and Metafunctions in Systemic Functional Grammar



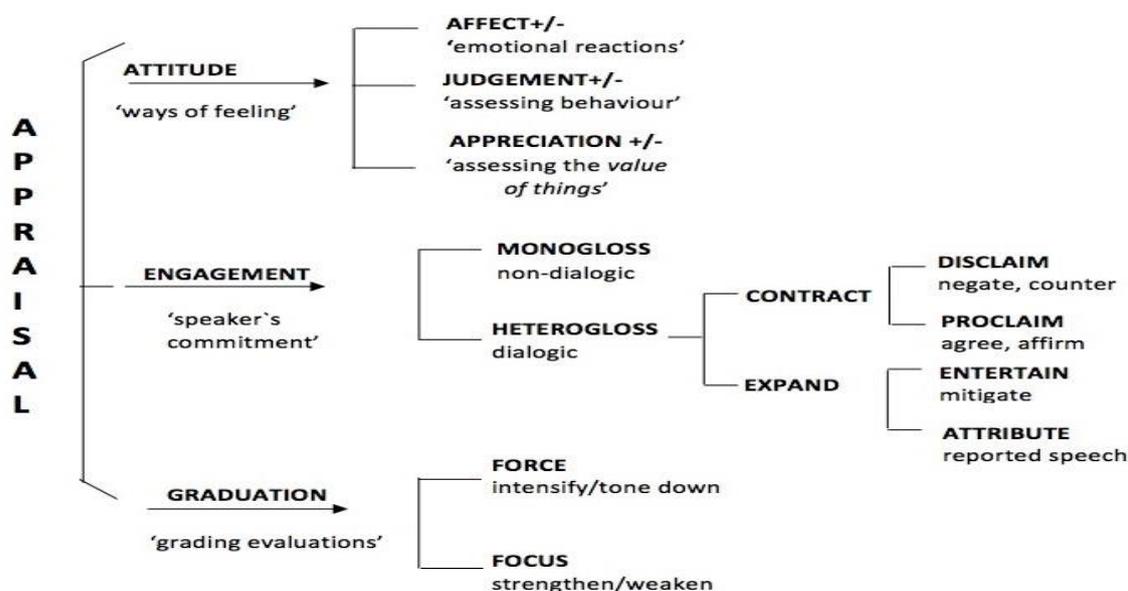
1. The appraisal system

Appraisal maps evaluative meanings along the axes of Attitude, Graduation and Engagement. Attitude is modeled as the resources for expressing feelings (Affect), judging people and their behavior (Judgment), and assessing the value of natural or man-made phenomena (Appreciation). Graduation involves the linguistic means for adjusting the force (e.g. ‘particularly important’ vs. ‘trivial’) or precision (e.g. ‘physically present’ Vs. ‘a kind of courage’) of these attitudes. Engagement encompasses the resources for aligning readers to the writer’s/ speaker’s views and values, more

authoritatively or persuasively, by adjusting the certainty of a statement and thus excluding or admitting the existence of other voices or views within the text.

Figure 2

The subcategories of the appraisal system



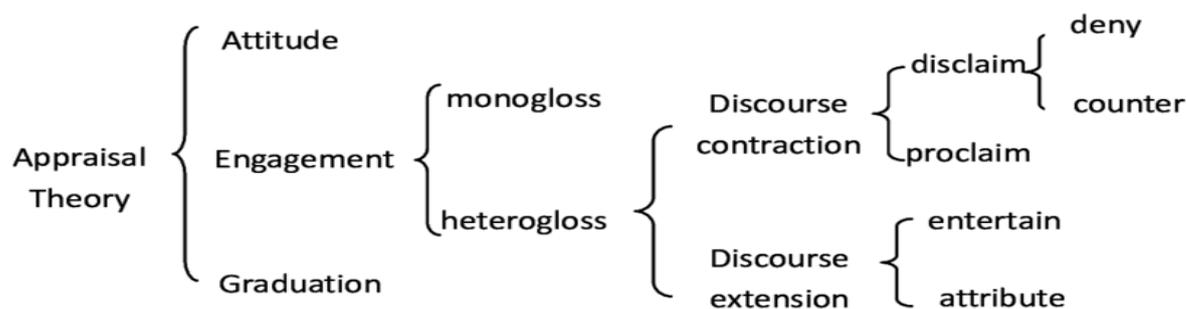
2.Engagement system

This research draws primarily on the Engagement system (Martin & White, 2005), which provides a framework for analyzing how language users position themselves toward the subject under discussion and interact with an audience through alignment and disalignment strategies. The researcher is interested here in how language users can create solidarity with an audience and reveal their “attitudes towards the truth value of their propositions” (Simon-Vandenberg, White, & Aijmer, 2007, p. 33). The theory behind this framework draws on Bakhtin’s suggestion that any utterance implicitly reacts to other previous speech; it “take[s] up in some way, what has been said/written before, and simultaneously (...) anticipate[s] the responses of actual, potential or imagined readers/listeners” (White, 2015, p. 92).

Martin (2005) believes that engagement can be realized by monogloss and heterogloss to convey attitude. The monogloss takes what the writer or the speaker holds as the unique standpoint and ignores the diversity associated with all utterances while dialogic heterogloss acknowledges in some way that the diversity is associated with other utterances (Miller, 2004, p.172). Martin further proposes that heteroglossic engagement can be grouped into two broad categories “dialogic expansion” and “dialogic contraction” in their inter-subjective functionality. They can be further divided into several subcategories which configurate the Engagement system.

Figure 3

The subcategories of the engagement system



Dialogic contraction refers to the resources that are used to close down the space for dialogic alternative and to challenge, fend off or restrict actual or potential contrary positions by the writers or speakers. The dialogic contraction can be divided into Disclaim type and Proclaim type. Disclaim indicates the resources by which some prior utterance or some dialogic alternative is directly rejected, replaced or held to be unsustainable, which includes two subcategories: Deny, the main concern of the current research, (e.g. no, didn't, never) and Counter (e.g. yet, although, but). Proclaim refers to the resources by which actual or possible dialogic alternatives are challenged or confronted and hence headed off through some authorial interpolation, emphasis or intervention. There are three subcategories of Proclaim: Concur (e.g. naturally,

of course, obviously, etc.); Pronounce (e.g. I contend, the facts of the matter are..., indeed); Endorse (e.g. the report demonstrates/shows/proves that...).

Dialogic expansion indicates the resources employed by the writer or speaker to entertain those alternative voices internally or externally manifested in written discourse. It is divided into Entertain and Attribute. Entertain refers to the formulations by which the authorial voice indicates that its position is but one of a range of possible positions and thereby, to greater or lesser degrees, makes dialogic space for those possibilities. (e.g. perhaps, it's probable that, this may be, must, it seems to me, apparently, etc.); Attribute represents proposition as grounded in the subjectivity of an external voice, the textual voice represents the proposition as but one of a range of possible positions and thereby it entertains or invokes the dialogic alternatives.

3.Deny (negation)

Deny/Negation is the source for introducing the alternative positive position into the dialog and acknowledging it so as to reject it. "In dialogic terms, the negative is not the simple logical opposite of the positive, since the negative necessarily carries with it the positive, while the positive does not reciprocally carry the negative, or at least not typically" (Martin& White, 2005, p.118). In simple words, deny is said to bring another positive voice into the text to reject it:

- *The gas we use today, natural gas, contains more than 90 per cent methane, and was known long before the discovery of coal gas. Natural gas burns with twice the heat of coal gas, is not poisonous and has no odour* (Bank of English – US academic sub-corpus as cited in Martin& White, p.119).

Such an example presents the addresser as having greater expertise in some area than the addressee and as acting to correct some misunderstanding on the addressee's part that the natural gas would be poisonous.

4. Denial, alignment and solidarity

Denial is a variable mechanism with respect to alignment; it is directed outwards and away from the writer – reader relationship as the writer indicates a disalignment with some third party. Such denials can enhance solidarity as long as the readers are not resistant to having some lack of knowledge projected on them and as long as they have no reason to reject the particular viewpoint being advanced (Martin & White, 2005, p.120).

This research is to investigate the utilization of deny subcategory; one of the engagement system subcategories, in the inaugural and farewell addresses by Donald Trump; the 45th president of the United States. Donald John Trump was born in Queens, New York, on June 14, 1946. His father, Fred Trump, was a highly successful real estate developer. The elder Trump was of German heritage, and his wife, Mary McLeod, of Scottish background. Their son Donald was the second youngest of five children. He was educated at the New York Military Academy and the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania. Even before he graduated, he was drawn to real estate and construction, and as a young man he took over his father's firm, renaming it the Trump Organization.

During the 2016 primary season Trump defeated more than a dozen seasoned rivals to win the Republican nomination and went on to win the election over former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. His campaign slogan was "Make America Great Again," and he moved swiftly to reinvigorate "Buy American and Hire American" policies. He signed a major tax reform bill into law and directed the reduction of federal regulations intended to secure a long-running economic expansion and a historically low unemployment rate. His trade policies encouraged tariffs on foreign aluminum and steel and a series of renegotiations of trade agreements with Mexico, Canada, China, Japan, and South Korea.

Research questions

The study at hand attempts to provide answers for the following questions:

- 1.To what extent does the speaker utilize deny subcategory in the two addresses?
- 2.What linguistic function does deny reflect or indicate?

Methods and procedures

This research is to investigate the utilization of deny subcategory; a subcategory of the engagement system; a system of the appraisal system, in the inaugural and farewell addresses of Donald Trump. The speeches are divided into some sections according to the themes tackled in each of them. Then they were subdivided into the main clauses and analyzed according to Martin and White (2005) engagement taxonomy (see figures 2 &3). The analysis is basically manual, but it is computer assisted as well. Deny, which refers to all the types of negation, is checked and counted. Then numbers are translated into meanings and linguistic functions. The researcher hopes to reach coherent messages lying behind the investigated subcategory. That's why a qualitative analysis seems to be a necessity in this study to be followed by a quantitative one. Then the comparative and analytical approaches are to be adopted to reach meanings and findings.

Data analysis

1.The inaugural address

Donald Trump's Presidential Inaugural address, delivered 20 January 2017, Washington, D.C.

The inauguration of Donald Trump as the 45th president of the United States marked the commencement of the only term of Donald

Trump as president. Trump was sworn in with his left hand on a pair of Bibles, his personal copy and the Lincoln Bible. The inauguration was accompanied by protests worldwide. While supporters celebrated President Donald Trump's inauguration, Democrats, activist groups, celebrities, and more took to the streets in worldwide protest. The *deny* analysis of the inaugural address delivered on January 20, 2017 shows that Trump made use of denials in the inaugural speech intensively as can be shown in the following figure:

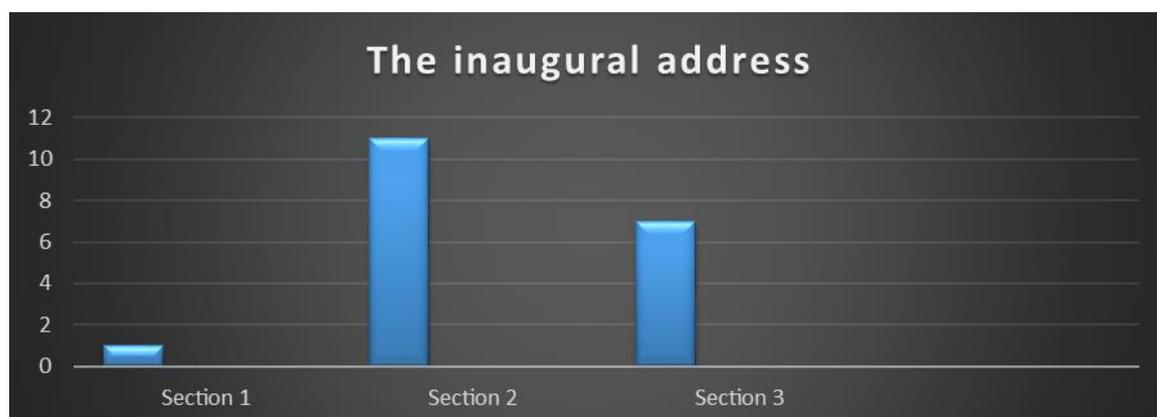
Figure 4

The frequency of deny in the inaugural speech



Figure 5

The frequency of deny in the sections of the inaugural speech



2.The farewell address

Donald Trump's Farewell Address delivered January 19, 2020, White House, Washington, D.C.

Donald Trump's farewell address, a speech given by an individual leaving a position or place, was the final official speech of Donald Trump as the 45th President of the United States, delivered as a recorded, online video message on January 19, 2021. The farewell address was delivered the day before Joe Biden, who defeated him in the 2020 United States presidential election, was sworn in as his successor. The *deny* analysis of the farewell address delivered on January 19, 2020 shows that Trump made use of denials in the inaugural speech intensively as can be shown in the following figure:

Figure 6

The frequency of deny in the Farewell speech

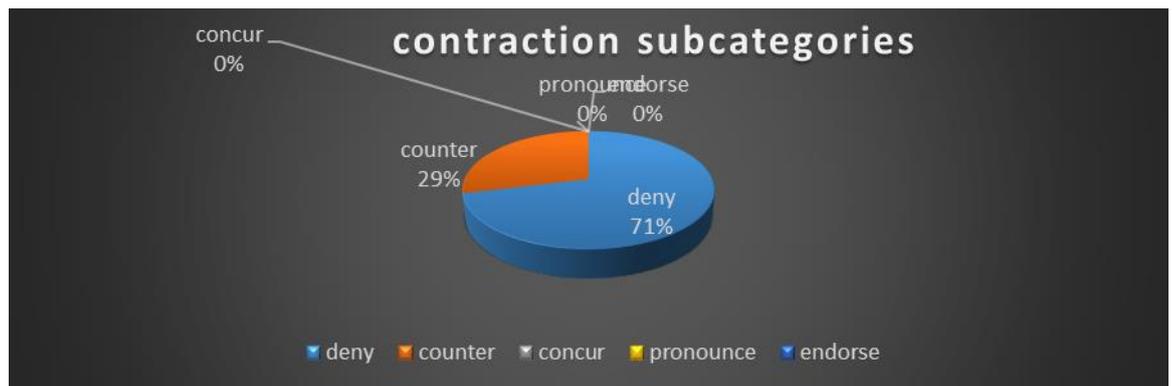


Figure 7

The frequency of deny in the sections of the farewell speech

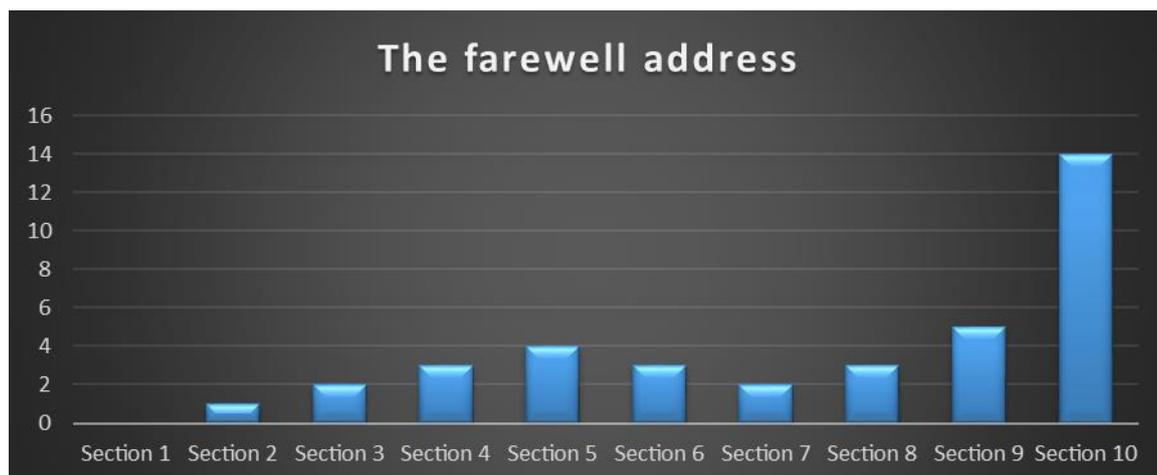


Figure 8

The difference in the frequency of deny in the two addresses



Discussion and findings

It can be conceived from figures (4 and 6) that the speaker depends mainly on deny subcategory as the main contracting tool. In the inaugural address, it resembles (68%) of all the contracting tools while it resembles (71%) of the farewell address. Although the speaker utilizes other contracting subcategories such as counter; (32%) in the inaugural address and (29%) in the farewell address, deny is the most prevailing contracting tool. On the other hand, concur, pronounce or endorse were not utilized at all. Deny; one of the main disclaim tools, is used widely throughout the two speeches varying from a section to another.

1. The inaugural address

In this speech, the speaker tends to contract by negation. As the word deny may suggest, the speaker denies any alternative viewpoints. The viewpoint is given then it's negated instantly. The speaker makes use of deny in the three sections of the speech, (1 clause) in the first section, (11 clauses) in the second section and (7 clauses) in the third.

1. ... *because today we are not merely transferring power from one administration to another* (contraction, deny)
2. *Their victories have not been your victories* (contraction, deny).
3. *What truly matters is not which party controls our government* (contraction, deny).
- 4.... *the likes of which the world has never seen before* (contraction, deny).
5. *We will no longer accept politicians who are all talk and no action,* (contraction, deny).

In the above examples, it is noticed that the speaker contracts his dialog depending mainly on negation. In example (1), he is telling the nation that there is more than just transferring power and that is how he gives alternative views through contraction. The same can be said about example (2) and (3). Deny seems to be the main tool for the speaker when trying to convince the nation of how unique his regime is going to be, it is a system that the world “*has never seen before*” and it “*no longer*” welcomes the politicians who just talk with “*no action*”.

The speaker uses this contracting tool intensively in the second section where he draws a wide comparison between the past regimes and his own. According to him, all the negative issues and circumstances that used to prevail in the past are going to be replaced by positive issues and this is conveyed mainly through the utilization of deny:

6. *One by one, the factories shuttered and left our shores, with not even a thought about the millions and millions of American workers that were left behind.*

7. *America will start winning again, winning like never before.*

8. *We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example.*

9. *When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice.*

10. *When America is united, America is totally unstoppable. There should be no fear.*

The last section shows his hopes and ambition of America and how it is going to change in his era. The speaker ends his speech with a list of promises and hopes of how America will be. Deny is his tool to assure the citizens of how prosperous they will be and how their voices will be listened to:

11. *No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America. We will not fail.*

12. *So to all Americans, in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, from ocean to ocean, hear these words. You will never be ignored again.*

2. The farewell address

The speaker makes use of deny in all the sections except for the first section. From figure 7, it can be observed that deny resources are used respectively as follows: in the second section (1 clause), the third section (2 clauses), the fourth clause (3 clause), the fifth section (4 clauses), the sixth section (3 clauses), the seventh section (2 clauses), the eighth section (3 clauses), the ninth section (5 clauses) and in the tenth section (14 clauses). Some of the deny utterances can be given in the following examples:

13. *I had not spent my career as a politician, but as a builder looking at open skylines and imagining infinite possibilities.*

14. *Nobody thought we could even come close. We passed the largest package of tax cuts and reforms in American history.*

15. *I am especially proud to be the first president in decades who has started no new wars.*

Starting from the second section of the speech, he utilizes deny propositions. In (13), he asserts his role as a builder and how he has managed to open many new possibilities and opportunities. In (14), he confirms his achievements in tax cuts and reforms. Even when showing his pride of being the first president to start no new wars he depends on deny propositions in example (15). In this address, deny is widely utilized in the last section where the speaker highlights some of the “*miraculous traits*” such as the freedom of expression it entertains:

16. *No nation can long thrive that loses faith in its own values, history, and heroes for these are the very sources of our unity and our vitality.*

17. *We must never lose this conviction. We must never forsake our belief in America.*

18. *Only if we forget who we are and how we got here could we ever allow political censorship and blacklisting to take place in America. It's not even thinkable.*

19. *In America, we don't insist on absolute conformity or enforce rigid orthodoxies and punitive speech codes.*

He ends the address emotionally by addressing the citizens and how he feels about handing over power to the new administration:

20. *There's never been anything like it. The belief that a nation must serve its citizens will not dwindle, but instead, only grows stronger by the day.*

21. *As long as the American people hold in their hearts, deep and devoted love of country, then there is nothing that this nation cannot achieve.*

Figure (8) shows the difference between the two speeches concerning the utilization of deny. Although the two speeches run for a similar duration of time; inaugural speech (17 minutes) and farewell speech (19 minutes), the occurrence of deny totally varies. The inaugural speech utilizes nearly the half ;(19 clauses), of the farewell speech (37 clauses). It seems that the speaker depends on it basically in all the sections except for the first. For him, deny is the best tool, in the inaugural, to show the uniqueness of his regime and to show the uniqueness of the American citizens, in the farewell. Despite the fact that the two speeches tackle two opposite ideas; before and after, or in other words; the beginning and the end, the main tools to be utilized do not vary that much as they help him send some intended messages and convey certain political attitudes.

Summary and Conclusion

This study investigates the utilization of one of the subcategories of the appraisal theory; deny. Deny is a disclaim tool; contracted dialog. It has been observed that the speaker depends mainly on it in his inaugural (68%) and farewell speeches (71%) as the main contracting subcategories. The speaker uses it to bring a third partner into the speech to disagree with. This is in way to raise the level of solidarity and alignment between him and the audience and to express all the viewpoints that he does not stand for.

Deny is one of the contracting mechanisms that help the speaker to enhance the level of solidarity and alignment with the audience as he seems to be disagreeing with a third party without making the speaker/ listener relationship subject to any risk. Thus, he guarantees holding his audience and attracting their attention during and after the address very well. In the inaugural

speech, the speaker uses it to compare how the past regimes used to be and how he intends to change all of this during his years of ruling. In the farewell speech, he uses it to show the uniqueness of the America and the American citizens and they have the basics to make their country much better. He uses it as a basic tool to comment on his administration and how they have managed to reach some accomplishments that his predecessors could not reach.

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Appendix

The inaugural address

Chief Justice Roberts, President Carter, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, fellow Americans, and people of the world: thank you. We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and restore its promise for all of our people. Together we will determine the course of America, and the world, for many, many years to come. We will face challenges. We will confront hardships, but we will get the job done.

Every four years, we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power, and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for their gracious aid throughout this transition. They have been magnificent. Thank you.

Today's ceremony, however, has very special meaning, because today we are not merely transferring power from one administration to another, or from one party to another, but we are transferring power from Washington, D.C., and giving it back to you, the people. For too long, a small group in our nation's capital has reaped the rewards of government, while the people have borne the cost. Washington flourished, but the people did not share in its wealth. Politicians prospered, but the jobs left and the factories closed. The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country. Their victories have not been your victories. Their triumphs have not been your triumphs, and while they celebrated in our nation's capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land. That all changes, starting right here and right now, because this moment is your moment—it belongs to you.

It belongs to everyone gathered here today, and everyone watching, all across America. This is your day. This is your celebration, and this, the United States of America, is your country.

What truly matters is not which party controls our government, but whether our government is controlled by the people. January 20th, 2017 will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this nation again. The forgotten men and women of our country, will be forgotten no longer. Everyone is listening to you now. You came by the tens of millions to become part of a historic movement, the likes of which the world has never seen before. At the center of this movement is a crucial conviction: that a nation exists to serve its citizens.

Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families, and good jobs for themselves. These are just and reasonable demands of righteous people and a righteous public, but for too many of our citizens a

different reality exists. Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities, rusted out factories, scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation, an education system flush with cash, but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of all knowledge, and the crime, and the gangs, and the drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential. This American carnage stops right here and stops right now.

We are one nation and their pain is our pain. Their dreams are our dreams and their success will be our success. We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny. The oath of office, I take today, is an oath of allegiance to all Americans. 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. We've defended other nation's borders while refusing to defend our own.

And spent trillions and trillions of dollars overseas, while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay. We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength and confidence of our country has dissipated over the horizon. One by one, the factories shuttered and left our shores, with not even a thought about the millions and millions of American workers that were left behind. The wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes and then redistributed all across the world.

But that is the past, and now we are looking only to the future. We assembled here today are issuing a new decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital, and in every hall of power, from this day forward: a new vision will govern our land, from this day forward, it's going to be only America first. Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs will be made to benefit American workers and American families. We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies and destroying our jobs. Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength. I will fight for you with every breath in my body, and I will never, ever let you down. America will start winning again, winning like never before. We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our borders. We will bring back our wealth, and we will bring back our dreams. We will build new roads and highways and bridges, and airports and tunnels, and railways, all across our wonderful nation. We will get our people off of welfare and back to work, rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor.

We will follow two simple rules: buy American, and hire American. We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world, but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first. 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. We will reinforce

old alliances and form new ones, and unite the civilized world against radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the Earth.

At the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through our loyalty to our country, we will rediscover our loyalty to each other. When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice.

The Bible tells us: how good and pleasant it is when God's people live together in unity. We must speak our minds openly, debate our disagreements honestly, but always pursue solidarity. When America is united, America is totally unstoppable.

There should be no fear. We are protected, and we will always be protected. We will be protected by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement. And most importantly, we will be protected by God.

Finally, we must think big and dream even bigger. In America, we understand that a nation is only living as long as it is striving. We will no longer accept politicians who are all talk and no action, constantly complaining but never doing anything about it. The time for empty talk is over. Now arrives the hour of action. Do not allow anyone to tell you that it cannot be done. No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America. We will not fail. Our country will thrive and prosper again.

We stand at the birth of a new millennium, ready to unlock the mysteries of space, to free the Earth from the miseries of disease and to harness the energies, industries and technologies of tomorrow. A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights and heal our divisions. It's time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget, that whether we are black, or brown, or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots. We all enjoy the same glorious freedoms, and we all salute the same, great American flag. And whether a child is born in the urban sprawl of Detroit or the windswept plains of Nebraska, they look up at the at the same night sky, they fill their heart with the same dreams and they are infused with the breath of life by the same almighty creator.

So, to all Americans, in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, from ocean to ocean, hear these words. You will never be ignored again. Your voice, your hopes, and your dreams will define our American destiny. And your courage and goodness and love, will forever guide us along the way. Together, we will make America strong again. We will make America wealthy again. We will make America proud again. We will make America safe again. And yes, together, we will make America great again.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless America. Thank you. God bless America.

The farewell address

My fellow Americans, four years ago we launched a great national effort to rebuild our country, to renew its spirit, and to restore the allegiance of this government to its citizens. In short, we embarked on a mission to make America great again for all Americans. As I conclude my term as the 45th President of the United States, I stand before you truly proud of what we have achieved together. We did what we came here to do, and so much more. This week we inaugurate a new administration and pray for its success in keeping America safe and prosperous. We extend our best wishes, and we also want them to have luck, a very important word.

I'd like to begin by thanking just a few of the amazing people who made our remarkable journey possible. First, let me express my overwhelming gratitude for the love and support of our spectacular First Lady Melania. Let me also share my deepest appreciation to my daughter, Ivanka, my son-in-law Jared, and to Baron, Don, Eric, Tiffany, and Lara. You fill my world with light and with joy. I also want to thank Vice President Mike Pence, his wonderful wife, Karen, and the entire Pence family. Thank you as well to my chief of staff, Mark Meadows, the dedicated members of the White House staff, and the cabinet, and all of the incredible people across our administration who poured out their heart and soul to fight for America.

I also want to take a moment to thank a truly exceptional group of people, the United States Secret Service. My family and I will forever be in your debt. My profound gratitude as well to everyone in the White House military office, the teams of Marine One and Air Force One, every member of the armed forces, and state and local law enforcement all across our country. Most of all, I want to thank the American people. To serve as your president has been an honor beyond description. Thank you for this extraordinary privilege. And that's what it is, a great privilege and a great honor. We must never forget that while Americans will always have our disagreements, we are a nation of incredible, decent, faithful, and peace-loving citizens who all want our country to thrive and flourish and be very, very successful and good. We are a truly magnificent nation.

All Americans were horrified by the assault on our capital. Political violence is an attack on everything we cherish as Americans. It can never be tolerated. Now more than ever, we must unify around our shared values and rise above the partisan rancor and forge our common destiny. Four years ago, I came to Washington as the only true outsider ever to win the presidency. I had not spent my career as a politician, but as a builder looking at open skylines and imagining infinite possibilities. I ran for president because I knew there were towering new summits for America just waiting to be scaled. I knew the potential for our nation was boundless as long as we put America first. So I left

behind my former life and stepped into a very difficult arena, but an arena, nevertheless, with all sorts of potential if properly done.

America had given me so much and I wanted to give something back. Together with millions of hardworking Patriots across this land, we built the greatest political movement in the history of our country. We also built the greatest economy in the history of the world. It was about America first because we all wanted to make America great again. We restored the principle that a nation exists to serve its citizens. Our agenda was not about right or left. It wasn't about Republican or Democrat, but about the good of a nation, and that means the whole nation. With the support and prayers of the American people, we achieved more than anyone thought possible. Nobody thought we could even come close. We passed the largest package of tax cuts and reforms in American history. We slashed more job-killing regulations than any administration had ever done before.

We fix our broken trade deals, withdrew from the horrible Trans-Pacific Partnership and the impossible Paris Climate Accord, renegotiated the one-sided South Korea deal. And we replaced NAFTA with the groundbreaking USMCA, that's Mexico and Canada, a deal that's worked out very, very well. Also, and very importantly, we imposed historic and monumental tariffs on China, made a great new deal with China. But before the ink was even dry, we and the whole world got hit with the China virus.

Our trade relationship was rapidly changing. Billions and billions of dollars were pouring into the US but the virus forced us to go in a different direction. The whole world suffered, but America outperformed other countries economically because of our incredible economy and the economy that we built. Without the foundations and footings, it wouldn't have worked out this way. We wouldn't have some of the best numbers we've ever had. We also unlocked our energy resources and became the world's number one producer of oil and natural gas by far. Powered by these policies, we built the greatest economy in the history of the world. We reignited America's job creation and achieved record-low unemployment for African-Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, women, almost everyone. Income soared, wages boomed. The American dream was restored and millions were lifted from poverty in just a few short years. It was a miracle.

The stock market set one record after another, with 148 stock market highs during the short period of time, and boosted the retirements and pensions of hardworking citizens all across our nation. 401(k)s are at a level they've never been at before. We've never seen numbers like we've seen, and that's before the pandemic and after the pandemic. We rebuilt the American manufacturing base, opened up thousands of new factories, and brought back the beautiful phrase Made in the USA. To make life better for working families, we doubled

the child tax credit and signed the largest-ever expansion of funding for childcare and development. We joined with the private sector to secure commitments to train more than 16 million American workers for the jobs of tomorrow.

When our nation was hit with the terrible pandemic, we produced not one, but two vaccines with record-breaking speed and more will quickly follow. They said it couldn't be done, but we did it. They called it a medical miracle. And that's what they're calling it right now, a medical miracle. Another administration would have taken three, four, five, maybe even up to 10 years to develop a vaccine. We did it in nine months. We grieve for every life lost and we pledge in their memory to wipe out this horrible pandemic once and for all.

When the virus took its brutal toll on the world's economy, we launched the fastest economic recovery our country has ever seen. We passed nearly \$4 trillion in economic relief, saved or supported over 50 million jobs, and slashed the unemployment rate in half. These are numbers that our country has never seen before. We created choice and transparency in healthcare, stood up to big pharma in so many ways, but especially in our effort to get favored nations clauses added, which will give us the lowest prescription drug prices anywhere in the world. We passed VA Choice, VA Accountability, Right to Try, and landmark criminal justice reform.

We confirmed three new justices of the United States Supreme Court. We appointed nearly 300 federal judges to interpret our Constitution as written. For years, the American people pleaded with Washington to finally secure the nation's borders. I am pleased to say, we answered that plea and achieved the most secure border in US history. We have given our brave border agents and heroic ICE officers the tools they need to do their jobs better than they have ever done before and to enforce our laws and keep America safe. We proudly leave the next administration with the strongest and most robust border security measures ever put into place. This includes historic agreements with Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador, along with more than 450 miles of powerful new wall.

We restored American strength at home and American leadership abroad. The world respects us again. Please don't lose that respect. We reclaimed our sovereignty by standing up for America at the United Nations and withdrawing from the one-sided global deals that never served our interests. And NATO countries are now paying hundreds of billions of dollars more than when I arrived just a few years ago. It was very unfair. We were paying the cost for the world. Now the world is helping us.

And perhaps most importantly of all, with nearly \$3 trillion, we fully rebuilt the American military, all made in the USA. We launched the first new branch of

the United States Armed Forces in 75 years, the Space Force. And last spring, I stood at Kennedy Space Center in Florida and watched as American astronauts returned to space on American rockets for the first time in many, many years.

We revitalize our alliances and rallied the nations of the world to stand up to China like never before. We obliterated the ISIS caliphate and ended the wretched life of its founder and leader al-Baghdadi. We stood up to the oppressive Iranian regime and killed the world's top terrorist, Iranian butcher, Qassem Soleimani. We recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and recognized Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights. As a result of our bold diplomacy and principled realism, we achieved a series of historic peace deals in the Middle East. Nobody believed it could happen. The Abraham Accords opened the doors to a future of peace and harmony, not violence and bloodshed. It is the dawn of a new Middle East, and we are bringing our soldiers home. I am especially proud to be the first president in decades who has started no new wars.

Above all, we have reasserted the sacred idea that in America the government answers to the people. Our guiding light, our North star, our unwavering conviction has been that we are here to serve the noble everyday citizens of America. Our allegiance is not to the special interests' corporations or global entities, it's to our children, our citizens, and to our nation itself. As president my top priority, my constant concern has always been the best interests of American workers and American families. I did not seek the easiest course. By far, it was actually the most difficult. I did not seek the path that would get the least criticism. I took on the tough battles, the hardest fights, the most difficult choices because that's what you elected me to do. Your needs were my first and last unyielding focus. This, I hope, will be our greatest legacy.

Together, we put the American people back in charge of our country. We restored self-government. We restored the idea that in America no one is forgotten because everyone matters and everyone has a voice. We fought for the principle that every citizen is entitled to equal dignity, equal treatment, and equal rights because we are all made equal by God. Everyone is entitled to be treated with respect, to have their voice heard, and to have the government listen. You are loyal to your country and my administration was always loyal to you.

We worked to build a country in which every citizen could find a great job and support their wonderful families. We fought for the communities where every American could be safe and schools where every child could learn. We promoted a culture where our laws would be upheld, our heroes honored, our history preserved, and law-abiding citizens are never taken for granted. Americans should take tremendous satisfaction in all that we have achieved together. It's incredible.

Now, as I leave the white house, I have been reflecting on the dangers that threaten the priceless inheritance we all share. As the world's most powerful nation, America faces constant threats and challenges from abroad. But the greatest danger we face is a loss of confidence in ourselves, a loss of confidence in our national greatness. A nation is only as strong as its spirit. We are only as dynamic as our pride. We are only as vibrant as the faith that beats in the hearts of our people. No nation can long thrive that loses faith in its own values, history, and heroes for these are the very sources of our unity and our vitality.

What has always allowed America to prevail and triumph over the great challenges of the past has been an unyielding and unashamed conviction in the nobility of our country and its unique purpose in history. We must never lose this conviction. We must never forsake our belief in America. The key to national greatness lies in sustaining and instilling our shared national identity. That means focusing on what we have in common, the heritage that we all share. At the center of this heritage is also a robust belief in free expression, free speech, and open debate. Only if we forget who we are and how we got here could we ever allow political censorship and blacklisting to take place in America. It's not even thinkable. Shutting down free and open debate violates our core values and most enduring traditions.

In America, we don't insist on absolute conformity or enforce rigid orthodoxies and punitive speech codes. We just don't do that. America is not a timid nation of tame souls who need to be sheltered and protected from those with whom we disagree. That's not who we are. It will never be who we are. For nearly 250 years in the face of every challenge, Americans have always summoned our unmatched courage, confidence, and fierce independence. These are the miraculous traits that once led millions of everyday citizens to set out across a wild continent and carve out a new life in the great West. It was the same profound love of our God-given freedom that willed our soldiers into battle and our astronauts into space.

As I think back on the past four years, one image rises in my mind above all others. Whenever I traveled all along the motorcade route, there were thousands and thousands of people. They came out with their families so that they could stand as we passed and proudly wave our great American flag. It never failed to deeply move me. I knew that they did not just come out to show their support of me. They came out to show me their support and love for our country. This is a republic of proud citizens who are united by our common conviction, that America is the greatest nation in all of history.

We are and must always be a land of hope, of light, and of glory to all the world. This is the precious inheritance that we must safeguard at every single turn. For the past four years, I have worked to do just that. From a great hall of

Muslim leaders in Riyadh to a great square of Polish people in Warsaw, from the floor of the Korean Assembly to the podium at the United Nations General Assembly, and from the forbidden city in Beijing to the shadow of Mount Rushmore, I fought for you. I fought for your family. I fought for our country. Above all, I fought for America and all it stands for, and that is safe, strong, proud, and free.

Now, as I prepare to hand power over to a new administration at noon on Wednesday, I want you to know that the movement we started is only just beginning. There's never been anything like it. The belief that a nation must serve its citizens will not dwindle, but instead, only grows stronger by the day. As long as the American people hold in their hearts, deep and devoted love of country, then there is nothing that this nation can not achieve. Our communities will flourish. Our people will be prosperous. Our traditions will be cherished. Our faith will be strong and our future will be brighter than ever before. I go from this majestic place with a loyal and joyful heart, an optimistic spirit, and a supreme confidence that for our country and for our children, the best is yet to come. Thank you and farewell. God bless you. God bless the United States of America.