

**ESTADOS DE LA UNIÓN Y HEGEMONÍA: UN ANÁLISIS DE LOS
DISCURSOS PRESIDENCIALES PRESENTADOS POR BARACK OBAMA
(2010 - 2016); DONALD TRUMP (2018 -2020) Y JOE BIDEN (2021 - 2022).**

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MONOGRAFÍA DE GRADO

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Dedicatoria

El presente trabajo va dirigido a todas esas personas que han sido un apoyo incondicional durante y a lo largo de mi carrera, a mi familia y mis docentes quienes me han enseñado y apoyado enormemente durante mi proceso de formación y aprendizaje. A mi tutor ya que sin él esto no habría sido posible, gracias por tu apoyo y paciencia. Por último, a mi hijo Joaquín Andrés quien llegó en el momento indicado y mis padres quienes han sido mis guías y apoyo incondicional en todo momento de mi vida

Olgandrea Celis Añez

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RESUMEN

Las claves en la formulación de la política exterior estadounidense, le ha permitido al país posicionarse como líder y hegemón del mundo; a través de diferentes dinámicas centradas primero en sus intereses como nación y como Americanos, han podido consolidar un dominio ante el mundo en temas tanto políticos, como económicos y sociales. La forma en como han sido diseñadas sus políticas le ha permitido al país conseguir una hegemonía basada en la reputación de los Estados Unidos ante el mundo, de la construcción de alianzas, sociedades e instituciones necesarias para consolidarse como nación modelo ante el mundo, además de la consecución de sus intereses generales como Estado.

Palabras clave: *Relaciones Internacionales, Política Exterior, Estados Unidos, Hegemonía, Poder, Dominio.*

ABSTRACT

The keys in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy have allowed the country to position itself as a leader and hegemon of the world; through different dynamics focused first on their interests as a nation and as Americans, they have been able to consolidate a dominance in the world in political, economic, and social issues. The way in which its policies have been designed has allowed the country to achieve a hegemony based on the reputation of the United States before the world, in addition to the construction of alliances, societies and institutions necessary to consolidate itself as a model nation before the world, in addition to the achievement of its general interests as a State.

Key words: *International Relations, Foreign Policy, United States, Hegemony, Power, Dominance.*

TABLA DE CONTENIDO

INTRODUCCIÓN.....	7
CAP 1. PLANTEAMIENTO DEL PROBLEMA.....	8
PREGUNTA DE INVESTIGACIÓN.....	12
OBJETIVO GENERAL Y OBJETIVOS ESPECÍFICOS	13
JUSTIFICACIÓN.....	13
CAP 2. MARCO TEÓRICO.....	14
ESTADO DEL ARTE.....	20
CAP 3. METODOLOGÍA.....	23
CAP 4. SOBRE LOS DISCURSOS DEL ESTADO DE LA UNIÓN	27
CAP 5. ANÁLISIS DE LAS SITUACIONES POLÍTICAS, ECONÓMICAS Y SOCIALES QUE SUPONEN UNA CRISIS EN LA HEGEMONÍA ESTADOUNIDENSE.....	37
CONCLUSIONES	39
BIBLIOGRAFÍA.....	41
ANEXOS.....	49

INTRODUCCIÓN

La política exterior desde sus inicios y en los últimos años se ha entendido como la formulación de políticas a través de la cual se quiere lograr la consecución de diferentes objetivos nacionales. La formulación de estas políticas refleja la relación existente entre lo doméstico de una nación con el sistema internacional; con el fin de aumentar, mantener y consolidar sus intereses como Estado. Por consiguiente, la política exterior puede presentarse como un patrón de comportamiento que adopta un país frente a otros en el sistema internacional, con el fin de lograr todos sus objetivos dentro de la arena.

En este sentido, hablar de política exterior implica hablar de poder y como es el proceso para mantenerse y posicionarse dentro de un orden mundial que está en constante cambio; tal es el caso de Estados Unidos quien a través de su peculiar política exterior ha logrado consolidarse como líder y potencia del mundo, siendo esta el resultado de un proceso de elaboración complejo basado en grandes debates contradictorios y una distribución de poderes también definida como “*Check and Balance*” lo que le permite influir de manera diferenciada en el mundo. La política exterior estadounidense frente al mundo y el sistema internacional se ha consolidado bajo dinámicas tales como la diplomacia, la creación de organizaciones y sanciones económicas hacia otros Estados, lo que le ha permitido en sí posicionarse como potencia mundial.

Ahora bien, definir y analizar de qué manera se elabora la política exterior de un país, es de gran importancia dentro del sistema internacional ya que presentan la suma de las medidas empleadas por un Estado con el fin de demostrar, mantener y aumentar su poder frente a otros y frente a la consecución de sus intereses como nación. En este sentido, la presente investigación pretende llevar a cabo un análisis sobre los discursos del Estado de la Unión con el fin de determinar cómo se presenta la Política Exterior de los Estados Unidos, seguido de una categorización de los ejes temáticos definidos dentro de la formulación de las mismas; para en últimas determinar cuáles han sido las situaciones políticas, económicas y sociales que suponen un obstáculo para mantener la hegemonía estadounidense dentro del nuevo orden mundial. Encontrándonos ante una coyuntura donde el problema no es el fin de la hegemonía sino las dificultades que se le han presentado a Estados Unidos como nación para mantenerla.

CAP. 1 PLANTEAMIENTO DEL PROBLEMA

Una vez finalizada la Guerra y adentrándose a lo que sería el Siglo XX, los Estados Unidos de América se centraba únicamente en dirigir el mundo ya que se creía firmemente que la nación poseía la sabiduría, la voluntad política, la capacidad militar y la fuerza económica para desempeñar ese papel de líder mundial, mejor que cualquier otra nación (Lugar, 1994). El papel de los Estados Unidos se convirtió en un tema dominante en la carrera presidencial a partir de 1994; las conferencias y estudios de la política interior y exterior de Estados Unidos comenzaron a ser parte del estudio nacional del país y sobre el posicionamiento de este ante el mundo (Department. of State EE. UU, 2022)

A partir de entonces el debate nacional sobre el papel de Estados Unidos ante el mundo, constó de cuatro fases. En primer lugar, o la primera fase estuvo presentada por la publicación del libro *“The rise and fall of the greatest powers”* de Paul Kennedy (1987), que dio pie a todos aquellos demócratas para criticar el gasto de defensa que se había presentado bajo la presidencia de Reagan con el fin de hacer retroceder al imperio soviético.

Una segunda fase sobre este debate se presenta en el mundo a finales de 1989, cuando los demócratas intensifican sus declaraciones contra EE. UU y sus compromisos extranjeros. En tercer lugar, nos encontramos con una fase que llega junto al congreso de Washington de 1990 con un ascenso en la fuerza estadounidense enfocada en la actividad militar y la diplomacia. Por último, una cuarta etapa de este debate sobre el papel de Estados Unidos ante el mundo se presenta con la denominada *“America come home”* (Lugar, 1994).

Ahora bien, adentrándonos en materia de política internacional y política exterior, Estados Unidos desde sus inicios como hegemón se ha encargado de modelar el mundo a su imagen y semejanza; su política exterior debe situarse en el primer plano de la consideración, viéndola como una modesta contribución a la nueva priorización de Estados Unidos ante el mundo (Lugar, 1994). Nos encontrábamos en un escenario, caracterizado por unas políticas donde la democracia y el liberalismo económico se extendían a lo largo del mundo, pero a su vez bajo una política centrada en fortalecer sus alianzas y relaciones con los demás países. La fórmula de esta política exterior estadounidense unido a la hegemonía de este lograron que se dieran intervenciones en conflictos donde los intereses de la nación no se encontraban en juego (Granados, 2020). Al tiempo Estados Unidos fue aumentando su presencia en todo el mundo,

sobre todo, en regiones de gran importancia como Oriente Próximo debido a sus grandes reservas de petróleo.

Con la llegada del presidente Clinton¹ en 1993; tras los extremos del aislacionismo y el naturalismo se inicia un punto de equilibrio el cual bajo la administración de Clinton se denominó el internacionalismo práctico, el cual buscaba la colaboración con otras naciones, en las instituciones tanto regionales como mundiales en pro y búsqueda de paz, procesos económicos y derechos humanos (Loya, 1998). Se iniciaba un periodo donde Estados Unidos no sentía deseos de dar la espalda al mundo, pero tampoco pretendía ser el guardián y policía del mundo (Gardner, 1996). Así pues, este internacionalismo práctico fue la base de la política exterior de Clinton, la cual para y desde entonces contó con el apoyo del Congreso Estadounidense, es decir, tanto demócratas como republicanos. No obstante, durante el primer mandato de Clinton, hubo ciertas dudas y preocupaciones de que Estados Unidos estaba volviéndose hacia dentro, dejando a un lado o al descuido su figura frente al mundo; a pesar de las dudas esta visión era errónea pues actos como la campaña para conseguir la aprobación del TLC para Norteamérica, reforzaban el liderazgo que había ejercido el presidente (Gardner, 1994).

Durante su mandato, sobre todo, en el primer año Clinton dedicó más tiempo e hizo más énfasis a las cuestiones internas de la nación. Esto no se debía a ningún tipo de inclinación aislacionista, sino a su profunda convicción de que la política exterior iniciaba en casa, con esto quería decir que a menos que el gobierno abordará los problemas internos descuidados durante años, nunca iba a tener ni los recursos económicos ni el apoyo suficiente para desempeñar el papel de líder mundial (Gardner, 1994). Así pues, la política exterior de Clinton bajo su internacionalismo práctico tenía presente una serie de prioridades en temas de política exterior entre los cuales encontramos: el libre comercio, la seguridad y la democracia; la proliferación nuclear y los problemas regionales. Por último, los derechos humanos, el medio ambiente y las naciones unidas (Gardner, 1994).

A pesar de su buena trayectoria y aprobación de la política exterior que se estaba manejando para mantener la hegemonía de la nación, esta se vio en peligro por primera vez tras el ataque

¹ Bill Clinton, político estadounidense del estado de Arkansas quien se desempeñó como presidente número 42 de los Estados Unidos entre los años 1993 hasta el 2001. Es considerado como el primer presidente de la generación del baby boom (The White House, 2022).

del 11 de septiembre de 2001. Bajo la administración de George Bush², se decide llevar a cabo una política denominada como “la guerra contra el terrorismo” dirigida a todos los grupos terroristas como el Al Qaeda y demás países sospechosos; “se participaba en *“una lucha mundial contra los seguidores de una ideología asesina que desprecia la libertad, elimina toda disensión, tiene ambiciones territoriales y va en pos de objetivos totalitarios”* (George Bush White House, 2006). Ahora bien, además de esta política, la administración decide como respuesta al ataque del 9/11 adoptar un firme unilateralismo dirigido a las alianzas y la legislación internacional con el fin de promocionar una democracia dura en Oriente Medio; así mismo se habla de la instauración de la gran alianza geopolítica, pues Estados Unidos logra una coalición contra el terrorismo en el que incluyó a países diversos incluso aquellos que eran considerados como enemigos tales como Rusia y China. Por último, se habla de una acción preventiva, en esta nueva versión de política exterior se lleva a cabo una acción militar preventiva, cambio de régimen y un nuevo tipo de operaciones con el fin de combatir todos aquellos grupos y sospechosos terroristas (Barber, 2011).

El ataque del 11 de septiembre representa el inicio de una política exterior mucho más intervencionista y unilateral, la cual se alejaba de los ideales wilsonianos (Granados, 2020). Así pues, observamos como los ataques terroristas obligaron a Washington a dedicar una atención mucho mayor a temas como la defensa interior, la seguridad de sus fronteras, puertos y aeropuertos y otras conexiones con el resto del mundo; así como también al cambio de sus intereses geopolíticos “El mundo islámico ha reclamado la atención estadounidense con una venganza” (Armacost, 2022).

Ahora bien, en 2008 la hegemonía estadounidense recibe un segundo choque, pues, por un lado, se encontraba en cuestionamiento tras la invasión de Irak y por otro lado la presencia de la crisis económica del 2008; durante este periodo surgieron nuevas potencias tales como China el cual es un país que a lo largo del tiempo ha sido considerado por el gobierno estadounidense como un adversario y gran competidor en diversas áreas (Borda, 2013). China y Estados Unidos son considerados socios comerciales y económicos de primer orden, pero de hace ya algunos años se viene forjando una creciente tensión geopolítica entre ambos países; se habla de una

² George W. Bush fue presidente número 43 de los Estados Unidos entre el periodo que va desde 2001 hasta 2009. Considerado como el presidente en tiempo de guerra, tras los ataques del 11 de septiembre, enfrentado el mayor desafío presidencial desde entonces (The White House, 2022).

rivalidad planetaria la cual es posible alerta de un conflicto abierto entre las dos principales potencias (Padinger, 2022).

Como se mencionó anteriormente, la política exterior de Estados Unidos estaba basada en el expansionismo, intervencionismo y la lucha contra el terrorismo; ahora bien, con la llegada del presidente Barack Obama, en 2008, este decide alejarse un poco de esa herencia que había dejado el presidente Bush y adopta una postura mucho más multilateral (Granados, 2020). La doctrina de Obama se esboza en los diferentes puntos claves tales como: Una política internacionalista e idealista defendiendo la promoción de los valores democráticos, pero con pragmatismo; la presencia del multilateralismo, defendiendo que otros países asuman responsabilidades y no esperen que EE. UU siempre tenga la iniciativa. Tercero, como se menciona anteriormente, Obama se distancia del “Manual de Washington” y del establishment de política exterior; el presidente Barack Obama a su vez tenía puntos claves con nociones tales como Siria, grupos como ISIS, Libia y Arabia Saudí. Por último, pero no menos importante, se encuentra el realismo ante China y Rusia pues afirmaba que ante ambas naciones sería prudente especialmente frente a China donde se debía temer más de una China debilitada y amenazada que de una china exitosa y creciente (Faus, 2016).

No obstante, el presidente Obama no pudo dejar a un lado o impedir lo que fue la pérdida de liderazgo estadounidense que se manifestó en la guerra civil con Siria al momento en el que presidente decide no actuar (Faus, 2016). Posteriormente, en 2016 con la elección del presidente Donald Trump, la política exterior estadounidense vuelve a dar un giro drástico adentrándose en una política encaminada al final del multilateralismo, en pro del proteccionismo y a la teoría de “America First” se da inicio a un nuevo ciclo de acción en política exterior caracterizado por la inercia, los impulsos y la contención; caracterizado además por una nueva interpretación sobre medio oriente, una nueva forma de relacionarse con China, el refuerzo de alianzas con países claves en la región y por último el logro de las relaciones con Corea del Norte (Tovar, 2018). Ahora bien, la mayor crítica que se le otorga al exmandatario ha sido la falta de interés en mantener el orden liberal y el multilateralismo estadounidense (Cichero, 2020).

Con la derrota del presidente Trump y la entrada de la administración de Joe Biden, se habla de una posible vuelta al internacionalismo liberal pero que puede que traiga como consecuencia que Estados Unidos siga perdiendo protagonismo como potencia mundial. Joe Biden bajo su

actual mandato propone recuperar el liderazgo internacional, para ello plantea una política exterior basada en el lema de que “Estados Unidos ha vuelto” y la diplomacia es el centro de la política exterior (BBC News, 2021).

En su primer discurso, el actual mandatario deja clara la ruptura de las líneas e ideales de su antecesor Donald Trump, planteando un tono un poco más duro con Rusia, denunciando todas las violaciones de derechos humanos en el mundo y apostando a la cooperación con otras naciones. Dentro de las tres líneas claves de la política exterior de Biden encontramos: implementación de mano dura con Rusia y China, enfocándose en un liderazgo estadounidense que responda al avance del autoritarismo de China y a la vez capaz de competir con la determinación de Rusia. Segundo, la apuesta a la cooperación, incluso con China y Rusia, parte de la idea de liderar con diplomacia y trabajar “codo a codo” con aliados y socios. Tercero y último establecer alianzas claves, Biden pretende reparar alianzas e interactuar con el mundo para así responder a los desafíos del presente y el futuro (BBC News, 2021).

Ahora bien, a pesar de las iniciativas del presidente Joe Biden desde su toma del poder, a un año de su mandato el liderazgo de Joe Biden y la hegemonía de los Estados Unidos se encuentra en terapia intensiva (Halpert, 2022). Según la encuesta Morning Consult, casi el 90% de los estados y la mayoría de los ciudadanos se encuentran en desacuerdo con el desempeño que ha llevado el presidente hasta ahora; solo el 36% de la población votante aprueba el desempeño general y las medidas tomadas hasta el momento por el presidente Joe Biden (Halpert, 2022).

PREGUNTA DE INVESTIGACIÓN

¿En qué sentido los discursos sobre el Estado de la Unión presentado por los presidentes Barack Obama (2010 - 2016), Donald Trump (2018 - 2020) y Joe Biden (2021 - 2022) establecen los lineamientos de la política exterior del país?

OBJETIVOS DE LA INVESTIGACIÓN

OBJETIVO GENERAL

- Analizar en qué sentido los discursos sobre el Estado de la Unión presentado por los presidentes desde Barack Obama (2008) hasta Joe Biden (2022); establecen los lineamientos de la política exterior del país.

OBJETIVOS ESPECÍFICOS

- Realizar un análisis de contenido de los discursos del Estado de la Unión de los presidentes Barack Obama (2010 - 2016), Donald Trump (2018 - 2020) y Joe Biden (2021 - 2022)
- Determinar los ejes temáticos que definen el rumbo de las políticas plateadas por cada presidente durante sus administraciones por medio de un ejercicio de categorización y clasificación
- Contextualizar cuales son las situaciones políticas, económicas y sociales que suponen un obstáculo para mantener la hegemonía estadounidense dentro del nuevo orden mundial.

JUSTIFICACIÓN

Las relaciones internacionales han sido estudiadas desde el primer historiador Tucídides, específicamente en la historia de la guerra del Peloponeso; esta a lo largo de los años se ha basado y ha sido reconocida por la autonomía obtenida y por su campo de aplicación la cual abarca desde la formulación de política exterior de los Estados y demás políticas internas, hasta la diplomacia como instrumento principal de acción. En esta misma línea, la política exterior de las naciones representa en las relaciones internacionales el norte de acción de cada Estado, así como también refleja las directrices de los países ante sus socios estratégicos en la arena internacional, siempre con la finalidad de mantener la primacía de sus intereses como nación.

De lo anterior, esta investigación, innova, a diferencia de otras ya que pretende identificar y comprender el sentido que hay detrás de los discursos sobre el Estado de la Unión presentado por los presidentes de los Estados Unidos, a través del análisis y codificación de los mismos para así determinar el rumbo de su política exterior y la inferencia de estas en el sistema internacional, sobretodo, teniendo presente las dinámicas existentes e instituciones establecidas dentro del nuevo orden mundial.

CAP 2. MARCO TEÓRICO

La presente investigación tiene como fin principal llevar a cabo un análisis de contenido, específicamente, de los discursos sobre el Estado de la Unión de los presidentes Barack Obama, Donald Trump y Joe Biden, a través de los cuales se establecen los lineamientos y rumbos de

la política exterior del país. Para la consecución de este objetivo se deben abarcar diferentes definiciones y teorías sobre el sistema internacional en sí, siendo este un término ampliamente utilizado para definir y describir en su totalidad los actores estatales presentes en la política global.

Cynthia Weber (2005) considera la política internacional como un campo enorme, el cual explora todo, es decir, desde guerras hasta revoluciones, desigualdades de género globales, demanda de derechos humanos internacionales y comercio internacional. Asimismo, expone que, para encontrar sentido a la política internacional, recurrimos a la teoría de las relaciones internacionales, la cual hace generalizaciones organizativas sobre la política; esta anterior podría definirse como *“una colección de historias sobre el mundo de la política internacional”* (Weber, 2005. p. 2). Al encontrarnos en este escenario donde la teoría de las Relaciones Internacionales cuenta historias sobre la política internacional, esta no solo presenta lo que sucede en el mundo, sino que además la teoría impone su propia forma o visión de cómo es el mundo.

Ahora bien, lo expuesto nos obliga a dialogar con la teoría neorrealista y la teoría liberal en las relaciones internacionales. Mientras la primera de ellas establece que en el mundo y en el sistema internacional el primer y único objetivo es la constante lucha de poder, donde los países actúan bajo y por sus propios intereses para así aumentar su poder y poder sobrevivir; la segunda teoría nos expone que la interacción y la cooperación entre Estados no debe estar limitada a la seguridad política, que debe tener presente además aspectos tanto económicos como culturales dando paso a oportunidades de cooperación y ampliación de poder. Incluir fuentes para referenciar (Franchini, 2003).

Volviendo a la idea de lo que comprende el sistema y política internacional, nos encontramos entonces ante una teoría sistémica la cual es empleada para la comprensión de ese sistema; ahora bien, para el éxito de esta comprensión se deben tener en cuenta diferentes elementos tales como lo son la economía, la sociedad, la política y hasta el ámbito militar. Así pues, nos encontramos ante un sistema comprendido por aquellas estructuras y unidades que interactúan entre sí y en donde la estructura es el componente que permite que el sistema sea el todo. Ahora bien, cuando hablamos de estructura esta comprende una división o principios básicos en los cuales nos encontramos con las siguientes afirmaciones (Waltz, 1988):

- La existencia de un principio ordenador, el cual se basa en las cuestiones estructurales dentro del sistema con el fin de lograr la supervivencia dentro del mismo y mantener el orden bajo el principio de autoayuda
- El carácter de las unidades que no son más que las funciones desempeñadas por cada una de las unidades; cada Estado cuenta con una cualidad destacada y el lema se basa en lograr tener la capacidad de hacerse reconocer para poder subsistir
- Por último, encontramos la distribución de las capacidades y se busca establecer la distinción de las capacidades y de las unidades dentro del sistema

Como se mencionó anteriormente, no podemos hablar de política internacional sin abordar las teorías tanto realista como liberal. El papel del realismo y el de sus estudiosos en la política internacional comprende sobrepasar dos grandes obstáculos, por una parte, proponer teorías que expliquen la interacción existente entre Estados y por otro lado se enfrentan a la constante transformación que sufre el sistema o arena internacional, esto debido a que el mundo es cambiante y cualquier persona que pretenda analizar las relaciones entre Estados debe tener presente estos cambios (Franchini, 2003). Ahora bien, la teoría realista supera ambos retos, siendo una de las teorías más antiguas esta proporciona una explicación coherente sobre el funcionamiento del orden y sistema internacional.

Autores contemporáneos tales como Hans Morgenthau, Henry Kissinger y George Kennan establecen que todos los Estados en el mundo coexisten bajo un escenario al cual se denomina sistema internacional, en donde la principal característica dentro de este es la eterna lucha de poder. Nos encontramos en un escenario donde los países van a actuar bajo y en pro de sus intereses para la consecución del fin último que no es más que la posesión de poder y supervivencia dentro del sistema anárquico (Franchini, 2003).

Morgenthau (1986) plantea que es necesario los siguientes puntos para la comprensión y estudio de la teoría. En primer lugar, la adscripción del realismo político, determinando las características de su realismo; y, en segundo lugar, el uso de dos categorías de énfasis, es decir, el interés nacional y el equilibrio de poder.

Así mismo plantea que el realismo ha sido el centro permanente del debate en las relaciones internacionales y que todas las corrientes teóricas que han surgido durante las últimas décadas

son más que una serie de críticas y reformulaciones de este modelo de partida denominado la teoría de la política internacional de Morgenthau (Barbe, 1987).

Por consiguiente, no se habla de la existencia de una sola teoría que explique el sistema internacional. La teoría liberal es otra de ellas que pretenden estudiar y comprender la vida dentro de la arena internacional y sus actores, esta nace como primera y principal alternativa a la teoría realista y que como está, la teoría liberal también ha sido de gran influencia para explicar el contexto internacional en momentos determinados de la historia. A diferencia del realismo, la teoría liberal bajo los postulados de Locke, Mill o Kant; pretende ser menos extremista y se da la posibilidad de pensar en un escenario de cooperación internacional, en donde *“el funcionamiento de los estados fuera de la participación coactiva, y no precisamente coactiva, se trabajará de manera recíproca en búsqueda del orden mundial para que todos los actores tuvieran beneficios”* (Oliver, 2022).

Diversos autores tales como Kant (1970) demuestran que lejos de confiar en un equilibrio de poder de un modo realista, la teoría liberal se presenta a favor de la creación de una autoridad con carácter global la cual permita establecer un orden y reducir la anarquía para así introducir en ella cierta regulación. Al mismo tiempo se habla de la democratización del orden internacional y el uso de mecanismos que favorezcan la solución pacífica a través de la cooperación, de las diferentes controversias que se puedan presentar en la arena internacional. Estos planteamientos no solo se presentaron como la antítesis de una primera teoría como la realista, sino que además es considerada como una valiosa contribución tanto a la seguridad colectiva, como a la protección de los derechos humanos y hasta del principio de autodeterminación de los pueblos (Abad, 2019).

Ahora bien, una vez ya abordadas las principales teorías que explican y estudian la política internacional, observamos la presencia de elementos claves que en últimas determinan la supervivencia y creación de estas políticas. Entre estos elementos encontramos principalmente el poder, seguido del balance de poder, la amenazas y la cooperación.

La concepción de Dahl (1957), frente al poder comprende lo siguiente: *“el hecho de que A tenga poder sobre B en el grado en que hace que B realice algo que A no haría de otra manera”* (García, 2009). Así pues, se comprende que el concepto de poder implica la existencia de una subordinación, prohibición o hasta restricción por parte de una persona frente a una o varias

personas; así mismo encontramos la presencia de un elemento diferencial el cual es considerado como superior. Robbins 1996 citado en García, 2009), nos habla de poder como “la capacidad que se tiene de influir en el comportamiento de otras personas y que como se mencionó anteriormente se logra que estas hagan cosas que no harían de otra manera”. Existen otras concepciones filosóficas del poder más relacionadas con teorías críticas y posestructuralistas tales como las de Foucault, pero cuyo alcance no se ve reflejado en el estudio de la política exterior tal y como se plantean en los objetivos de esta tesis.

El segundo elemento es el equilibrio de poder, el cual es una especie de “maniobra” que deben llevar a cabo los Estados dentro del sistema para su supervivencia. A pesar de que el sistema internacional es anárquico, cada uno cuenta con unos elementos para definir lo que denominan las ventajas comparativas, y dentro de esta lucha de poder se puede llegar a un consenso a través de lo que denominamos el equilibrio de poder (Sun, 2014). El equilibrio de poder es una especie de juego que se debe poner en práctica, no solo cuando se quiere mantener o alcanzar un orden sino cuando el Estado percibe algún tipo de amenaza, es decir, garantizar un equilibrio me permite potenciar mis capacidades, ya habiendo logrado una seguridad con y entre los demás integrantes del sistema. Así pues, el concepto de equilibrio de poder no solo ocupa un papel central en las diferentes escuelas presentes en las relaciones internacionales, sino que además tiene un papel práctico a la hora de llevar a cabo la elaboración de política exterior; un claro ejemplo fue *“la labor de Henry Kissinger al frente de la política exterior de los Estados Unidos entre las demás Superpotencias”* (Barbe, 1987. p.5)

El siguiente concepto que se articula dentro de este marco teórico es el de hegemonía y dominio, los cuales son pertinentes no solo para lograr entender la política tanto interna como externa de los Estados, sino además el papel de estos sobre el mundo.

La hegemonía hace referencia en Relaciones Internacionales para describir o señalar a aquel Estado el cual se considera que tiene preeminencia sobre los demás países, sobre todo, en aquellos considerados como los más fuertes. En la escuela contemporánea de las Relaciones Internacionales, se ha utilizado el concepto de potencia hegemónica y de hegemonía para examinar esas dinámicas, estrategias y actitudes de los Estados frente a la política mundial y sus tres grandes elementos que son el individuo, el Estado y mundo internacional. Por consiguiente, tras estudiar y analizar estas dinámicas, nos encontramos ante una diversidad de definiciones y perspectivas pero que al tiempo comparten un elemento en común el cual es el

hecho de que el concepto de hegemonía, *“implica o comprende una gran capacidad de coerción y un alto grado de influencia y control sobre las estructuras del sistema y el comportamiento internacionales de sus unidades”* (Antoniades, 2018. P. 3)

De tal manera el comprender o ser nombrado hegemón suscita tres requisitos particulares tales como: la preponderancia de poder, la voluntad de utilizar ese poder en fines específicos y, por último, un liderazgo fundamentado en el consentimiento de los demás países (Morales, 2017). A su vez Gramsci en su texto *“Cuadernos de la Cárcel”* realiza una aproximación de diferentes herramientas conceptuales que logran en última dar una segunda definición de hegemonía, siendo esta *“el hecho de convertir los valores y cosmologías propias de los entes dominantes en una especie de sentido común compartido por los denominados, que terminan por aceptar sus condiciones como algo necesario o útil, justificando así la presencia y poder de los centros hegemónicos”*.(Gramsci 1932 citado en Echeverry, 2017)

En el caso estadounidense, su papel como hegemón va desde finales del siglo XIX y se puede ver evidenciado con la denominada *“Pax Americana”* la cual se define como *“la paz internacional supervisada por los Estados Unidos; dicho término se comenzó a emplear mucho después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial al momento de vencer a las fuerzas nazis”* (Oxford Dictionaries, 2022). Así mismo esta se ha basado desde entonces en la preponderancia del poder nacional, además en la implementación de una nueva gobernanza internacional.

No obstante, y como se mencionó a inicios de esta investigación, la hegemonía estadounidense en el siglo XX comenzó a presentar signos de agotamiento, esto debido al estancamiento de las capacidades nacionales y sobre todo el trágico acontecimiento del 11 de septiembre de 2001. Dejando a un lado estos acontecimientos, el papel hegemónico sigue en pie y esto se debe no solo a su superioridad política, sino además de una superioridad en ámbitos científicos, técnicos, tecnológicos y nucleares. *“El poder hegemónico de los Estados Unidos, se ha evidenciado en la imposición de reglas dentro del sistema internacional, creando así un nuevo orden mundial; “la creación de organizaciones internacionales es un claro ejemplo de esto y ha sido otro de los métodos políticos de los Estados Unidos para aumentar y perpetuar su poder hegemónico”* (Echeverry, 2017).

El último concepto para usar en esta investigación es el de política exterior que no es más que la política de relacionamiento de un Estado con otro; esta política se considera distinta al resto

ya que se proyecta desde lo interno de la nación hacia el sistema internacional. Hudson (2005), nos habla de dos características esenciales de la política exterior: por un lado, la política exterior se pone en cuestión con los acuerdos y las normas que el Estado acepta en acuerdos con las instituciones internacionales; esto se encuentra relacionado a la identidad del Estado y su desarrollo dentro del área internacional, así como también en cuanto a que tanto un Estado se encuentra proyectado en términos de cooperación dentro de la arena. Por otro lado, la política exterior está compuesta y se basa en el concepto de los intereses nacionales para la formulación de esta y dentro de estos factores encontramos los valores del país, las coyunturas críticas, las necesidades y las proyecciones de este; siendo la seguridad y la defensa la temática de mayor importancia.

En este sentido, analizar la política exterior comprende la implementación de diferentes modelos de análisis dentro de los cuales encontramos algunos tales como los tres modelos de Graham Allison, los niveles de análisis de Kenneth Waltz y el juego de los dos niveles de Robert Putnam³.

Finalmente Putnam (1988) nos habla de un concepto conocido como la “*agenda interméstica*” que no es más que la relación existente entre lo doméstico y lo internacional; este lo plantea como un juego de dos niveles donde en el nivel uno encontramos lo internacional, lugar donde a partir de la interacción con otros Estados llegamos a un acuerdo; y el nivel dos relacionado con lo nacional y lo doméstico de cada país teniendo presente que el objetivo de la negociación y de la toma de decisiones interna es indispensable para ratificar lo que se acordó a manera internacional. Por ende, la toma de decisiones y la formulación de política desde la interméstica se basa en que todo lo acordado como política exterior, tiene un efecto normativo en lo doméstico o nacional y viceversa; partiendo siempre en términos de la racionalidad debido a que la suma de muchos individuos nos lleva a una decisión como Estado en pro de nuestros beneficios y con el fin de garantizar la mayor ganancia posible.

ESTADO DEL ARTE

Con el fin de completar el marco teórico que comprende la presente investigación, se pretende revisar la literatura existente la que complementa y sustenta el objetivo de la presente tesis; la

³ La teoría de los dos niveles de Robert Putnam explica las vinculaciones entre los planos domésticos y sistémicos de una nación.

cual estuvo enfocada en los dos grandes ejes temáticos: en un primer lugar, *La hegemonía y el poder Estadounidense* y, en segundo lugar, *La política exterior comprendida y empleada en el antes y durante los gobiernos establecidos como objeto de estudio*.

La hegemonía y el poder Estadounidense

En el caso estadounidense, hemos observado cómo su hegemonía se ha visto manifestada desde 1945 a través de diferentes dinámicas encaminadas a mantener su supremacía tanto política como económica dentro del sistema mundial. Clark (2009) en su texto *“Bringing Hegemony Back in: The United States and International Order”* habla sobre el hecho de que la hegemonía hoy en día solo se usa para referirse a la supremacía de los Estados Unidos; pues se considera que este ha sido hegemón desde 1990 aproximadamente y la hegemonía que se ha presenciado desde entonces se ha visto como *“una institución legítima de la sociedad internacional en la que se confieren derechos y responsabilidades especiales a esta potencia hegemónica”* (Clark, 2009).

Por ende, hablar de hegemonía implica directamente hablar de poder y el caso estadounidense no es una excepción, pues el poder americano tal como lo establece Russell (2004) en su artículo *“America's Sticky Power”* acá Russell expresa que son solo la fuerza militar y el atractivo cultural de Estados Unidos los que han mantenido su poder. Además, expresa Russell que las políticas e instituciones económicas de los Estados Unidos actúa como una especie de “poder pegajoso” donde lo que se logra es atraer a todos los demás países del sistema y colocarlos del lado de los Estados Unidos a su conveniencia.

Así pues, HE, K. (2010) contribuye a la presente investigación debido a que en su obra *“The hegemon choice between power and security: explaining US policy toward Asia after the Cold War”* explica cómo a partir de la Guerra Fría surgieron cuatro estrategias para la potencia hegemónica que se basaron en: el dominio hegemónico, el compromiso selectivo, el equilibrio en el extranjero y el multilateralismo. He (2010) analiza a través de un argumento realista neoclásico como es la percepción de poder en los mandatarios estadounidenses a partir de estas cuatro estrategias, encontrándose con dos escenarios *“Bajo una hegemonía creciente y estable, el compromiso selectivo y el dominio hegemónico son dos posibles estrategias de maximización del poder dadas las débiles restricciones de seguridad del sistema y bajo una hegemonía en declive, es más probable que los legisladores estadounidenses elijan el*

equilibrio extraterritorial y el multilateralismo para buscar la seguridad debido a un imperativo de seguridad reanudado por la anarquía” (He, 2010). Llegando a la conclusión de que los formuladores de política deben pensar un poco más allá, planteando la implementación temprana del multilateralismo y el equilibrio extraterritorial puede facilitar y suavizar la hegemonía en declive.

Cuando hablamos de poder y hegemonía hoy en día también, se plantea y se discute sobre un escenario de posible potencia en declive, en este caso la Norteamericana, este debate sobre el declive o no de los Estados Unidos, expresa Borda (2013) en su artículo *“Estados Unidos o el último Estado hegemónico. El poder en la era del ascenso y la consolidación del resto del mundo”* no es nuevo, pues podría hablarse de que este fenómeno se viene evidenciando desde 1950 cuando se creía que la Unión Soviética estaría por encima de los Estados Unidos. Hoy en día el discurso sobre la crisis en la hegemonía estadounidense se ha fortalecido, según Borja, y en algunos escenarios se ha hecho dominante. Este tema se *ha vuelto un lugar común para empezar los escritos y diferentes análisis sobre la naturaleza del sistema internacional con una sentencia sobre el debilitamiento de la potencia del norte”* (Borja, 2013).

Así mismo el texto de Borja aporta para esta investigación debido a que esta concluye en su análisis, que la pérdida de hegemonía de los Estados Unidos trata más de una discusión política que académica la cual recoge una evidencia sobre la necesidad de apoyar un bando o a otro denominados como “declinantes” y los “anti declinantes”, es acá donde se nos expone y prima una visión “pocos sofisticada” de lo que es el poder y como este evoluciona en el sistema internacional.

La política exterior norteamericana

Otros de los trabajos que ayudan a sustentar la presente investigación, son todos aquellos relacionados con política exterior, especialmente la Norteamericana. En este sentido Pomerleau (1995) en su texto “Moral y política exterior de Estados Unidos en el mundo de la Post - Guerra Fría” presenta un análisis sobre como el fin de la Guerra Fría ha transformado la política exterior estadounidense; lo que plantea la autora se basa en el hecho de que tras la guerra se ha transformado la política en el sentido que se ha desafiado los valores e intereses nacionales lo que causo cambios globales en diversas áreas e instituciones política; así pues se habla de una perspectiva nacionalista y globalista en la política tanto interna como externa de los Estados

Unidos. Asimismo, el análisis de Pomerleau, nos ayuda a diferenciar los tres grandes ejes en los que inicia la política exterior norteamericana que son: Guerra y solución de conflictos, las Naciones Unidas y las organizaciones internacionales y por último la ayuda externa y los valores sustentables (Pomerleau, 1995).

Siguiendo la línea sobre los inicios de la política exterior de los Estados Unidos, nos encontramos con Fagen (1975) quien en su artículo *“La política exterior de los Estados Unidos y el desarrollo del Tercer Mundo”* plantea tres conceptos claves en su artículo tales como: Política exterior norteamericana, tercer mundo y desarrollo; no obstante el concepto clave y pertinente para nuestra investigación es el de política exterior de Estados Unidos, entendida como: *“las acciones concretas directamente relevantes a los asuntos internacionales realizadas por aquellos con poder oficial para hablar y actuar en nombre del gobierno de los Estados Unidos”* (Fagen 1975. p. 3).

En ese sentido; Rosato & Schuessler (2011) en su artículo *“A Realist Foreign Policy for the United States”* nos presentan la visión realista de la política exterior de Estados Unidos. Ambos realizan un análisis donde se plantean la interrogante sobre ¿qué tipo de política exterior es la ideal para garantizar la seguridad del Estado y minimizar la probabilidad de guerra? Ante esta interrogante describen y defienden una política exterior realista con el fin de guiar a los tomadores de decisión; gran parte de su análisis parte de la teoría que establece que *“si se quiere garantizar la seguridad, las grandes potencias como Estados Unidos deben equilibrarse con otras grandes potencias, además de tener una visión relajada hacia los desarrollos que involucran a las potencias menores que habitan las regiones estratégicamente importantes del mundo”* (Rosato & Schuessler 2011. p. 803). Dicha investigación nos aporta la realidad y perspectiva sobre cómo concebimos al realismo, siendo esta una perspectiva de seguridad sin guerra; perspectiva que en cierto sentido adoptan los tomadores de decisión de los Estados Unidos.

Por último, la presente investigación tiene como finalidad analizar las diferentes políticas de los últimos tres mandatarios estadounidenses; Tovar (2018) en su artículo *“La doctrina Trump en política exterior: fundamentos, rupturas y continuidades”* contribuye y presenta a este estudio los grandes debates y cambios que generaron la política exterior del expresidente Donald Trump.

Dicho artículo presenta a través de una metodología basada en elementos teóricos como el realismo neoclásico, los diferentes fundamentos de la política exterior de Trump con. Tovar tiene presente elementos de gran importancia y de gran aporte para el presente estudio tales como los aspectos del proceso decisorio, los fundamentos ideológicos y las rupturas y continuidades del predecesor de Trump; lo que concluye el autor en su investigación es *“la aparición de una visión mucho más matizada sobre la política exterior de un presidente estadounidense inspirado en diversas fuentes de carácter teórico, con más continuidades con su predecesor de lo que la mayoría de autores reconoce, pero condicionado por un proceso de toma de decisiones disfuncional y una falta de estrategia a medio y largo plazo”* (Tovar, 2018. p. 259).

CAP 3. METODOLOGÍA

La presente investigación se basa en una monografía la cual presenta los desafíos a los que se enfrenta la política Estadounidense con el fin de sobrellevar las amenazas y poder mantener su hegemonía. En este sentido este trabajo incorpora técnicas desde el enfoque cualitativo en donde se incluyen análisis de documentos y análisis de material visual y auditivo con el fin de determinar cómo ha sido el proceso de formulación de política exterior de los últimos tres mandatarios estadounidenses y además determinar cuáles han sido esas acciones que han puesto en riesgo la hegemonía del país.

Tipo de investigación: cualitativa

La investigación cualitativa según Lincoln y Denzin (1994) *“es el campo interdisciplinar, transdisciplina y hasta contradisciplinar que atraviesa las humanidades, las ciencias sociales y la física; podría decirse que la investigación cualitativa son muchas cosas a la vez, por lo que se considera multiparadigmática en su enfoque”* (Lincoln & Denzin 1994 citados en Herrera 2017. p. 7).

En este mismo sentido, el presente análisis se realizará bajo un modelo de investigación cualitativa debido a que se estudiará la realidad en un contexto natural y además de la interpretación de los fenómenos, en este caso los discursos sobre el Estado de la Unión presentado por cada uno de los presidentes a analizar. Para alcanzar los fines de la investigación cualitativa se utilizará una variedad de instrumentos con el fin de recoger la información deseada, dentro de estos instrumentos encontramos: los discursos, imágenes, observaciones,

historias de vida en donde se describen tanto las rutinas como las situaciones problemáticas coherentes para el tema en estudio (Ruiz, 2011).

Técnicas de investigación.

Como se mencionó anteriormente, el presente trabajo se llevará a cabo bajo una investigación de tipo cualitativo en donde se emplearán técnicas de investigación y recolección de datos tales como el análisis de contenido tales como documentos y materiales audiovisuales.

La técnica de análisis de contenido se basa en la clasificación y lectura de las diferentes partes de un escrito, conforme a diferentes categorías las cuales están determinadas por el investigado con el fin de extraer de ellas la información predominante y pertinente para su investigación (Bolaños, 2017). Esencialmente se basa en la *lectura como instrumento de recogida de información, pero que, a diferencia de la lectura común, ésta debe realizarse siguiendo el método científico; es decir, debe ser sistemática, objetiva, replicables y válida*” (Abela, 2002. p. 2).

En ese último sentido (Krippendorff, 1990 citado en Abela, 2022) define el análisis de contenido como *“una técnica de investigación destinada a formular, a partir de ciertos datos, inferencias reproducibles y válidas que puedan aplicarse a su contexto”*. Así pues, para emplear cualquier análisis de contenido y el de la presente investigación, se debe realizar una relación entre el contexto de los datos para así ser justificados con el fin de encontrar respuesta al problema planteado.

Por último, el análisis de contenido comprende la técnica de formular inferencias válidas y reproducibles a partir del material analizado. Por consiguiente, el análisis de contenido debe comprender los siguientes pasos:

Muestreo

Entendido como aquel proceso por medio del cual se limita el número de observaciones a analizar, bien sea en un subgrupo de unidades representativas, como estadísticas o conceptuales. En este paso los tipos de textos seleccionados como la base del análisis son fundamentales, pues tienen la responsabilidad de determinar el resto de lo que se piensa hacer,

incluido el análisis de los resultados (Ángel, Abril, & Jiménez Garay, & Rojas Silva, 2017. p. 192).

En la presente investigación se analizarán los discursos del Estado de la Unión presentados por los presidentes Barack Obama, Donald Trump y Joe Biden ante el Congreso de los Estados Unidos.

El Discurso sobre el Estado de la Unión se encuentra consagrado en el Artículo numero 2, sección 3, cláusula 1 de la Constitución de los Estados Unidos; se entiende como “el deber del presidente a ocasionalmente brindarle información al Congreso sobre el Estado de la Unión, así como recomendar sus consideraciones y medidas que el considere necesarias y oportunas” (National Archives, 1787). El discurso sobre el Estado de la Unión es de gran importancia ya que representa el escenario y una de las mejores oportunidades que tiene el presidente de la nación para informar en temas de gran relevancia como la economía y la seguridad nacional, así como también de las cuestiones que más importan a los ciudadanos estadounidenses. Por otro lado, a través de este discurso se presentan medidas que el gobierno quisiera adoptar en los meses siguientes de mandato y por último promocionar los logros obtenidos por la administración (CNN, 2022).

Ahora bien, considerando lo anterior la presente investigación toma un total de 9 artículos, 4 del presidente Obama, 3 del presidente Trump y 2 del presidente Biden, los cuales se presentan literales en los anexos de esta investigación. En este sentido, el objetivo se basa en escudriñar de qué manera presentan los tres presidentes el proceso de formulación de políticas y proceso de toma de decisiones y su relación con la creación de política exterior y la concepción de poder y hegemonía estadounidense.

Desde este contexto, para la presente investigación se tomaron cuatro discursos del presidente Barack Obama emitidos entre enero de 2010 y enero de 2014:

Discurso	Lugar y fecha
President Barack Obama State of the Union Address 2010. Ver Anexo 1.	Washington D.c, 28 de enero de 2010
President Barack Obama State of the Union Address 2012. Ver Anexo 2.	Washington D.c, 24 de enero de 2012

President Barack Obama State of the Union Address 2014. Ver Anexo 3	Washington D.c, 28 de enero de 2014
President Barack Obama State of the Union Address 2016. Ver Anexo 4	Washington D.c, 12 de enero de 2016

En este mismo sentido, del presidente Donald Trump se tomaron tres discursos presentados entre enero de 2018 y febrero de 2020:

Discurso	Lugar y fecha
President Donald Trump State of the Union Address 2018. Ver Anexo 5	Washington D.c, 30 de enero de 2018
President Donald Trump State of the Union Address 2019. Ver Anexo 6	Washington D.c, 5 de febrero de 2019
President Donald Trump State of the Union Address 2020. Ver Anexo 7	Washington D.c, 4 de febrero de 2020

Por último, del actual mandatario Joe Biden se tomaron los únicos dos discursos presentados en los años 2021 y 2022:

Discurso	Lugar y fecha
President Joe Biden State of the Union Address 2021. Ver Anexo 8	Washington D.c, 29 de abril de 2021
President Joe Biden State of the Union Address 2022. Ver Anexo 9	Washington D.c, 1 de marzo de 2022

El criterio de selección del presente análisis se basó en analizar los primeros discursos sobre el Estado de la Unión presentado por los presidentes al momento de su entrada al poder, así como los últimos discursos dados antes de dejar su administración; así mismo se tomaron en cuenta cuales eran los más relevantes durante los diferentes contextos políticos, económicos y sociales del país para el momento.

Codificación y Cuantificación

La codificación es el proceso a través del cual los datos sin procesar se transforman y se agregan y presentan de una manera sistemática en unidades que permiten llevar a cabo una descripción precisa de las características esenciales presentes en el contenido; este tiene tres características fundamentales que son: la objetividad, el método y la generalidad (Abril, & Jiménez Garay, & Rojas Silva, 2017. p. 194).

CAP 4. SOBRE LOS DISCURSOS DEL ESTADO DE LA UNIÓN

En este capítulo se desarrollará un análisis detallado de cada discurso sobre el Estado de la Unión presentado por cada uno de los presidentes, destacando en primer lugar el contexto político, económico y social del país en cada año de presentación. Seguido a eso, se realiza un análisis de los conceptos más relevantes utilizados por los presidentes en su discurso, con el fin de observar cuáles fueron los temas de mayor interés. Finalmente, se pretende llevar a cabo una comparación entre los tres presidentes con el fin de determinar cuáles fueron los conceptos claves a la hora de realizar un análisis de todos los discursos en conjunto.

Contexto de los discursos

Entre los años 2010 y el 2022 se podría decir que fue una década llena de altibajos para Estados Unidos en los diferentes ámbitos de la política, la economía, la seguridad nacional y el cambio climático. A medida que sucedían los diferentes eventos que enmarcaron estos años, se fueron presentando las diferentes políticas y planes que pretendían dar soluciones a los problemas de presentaba la nación

En el 2010 los ciudadanos estadounidenses vivían bajo una serie de libertades civiles y con un sistema sólido de tribunales federales y estatales independientes. No obstante, para el año seguían estando presente diferentes preocupaciones y dificultades en materia de derechos humanos, específicamente en temas tales como la justicia penal, la inmigración y las políticas antiterroristas. Por otro lado, en materia económica para el 2010 Estados Unidos presentaba una fase de expansión y aceleramiento debido al mayor consumo y al aumento de exportaciones (Human Rights Watch, 2010). Entre los meses de octubre y diciembre el PIB tuvo un aumento de la tasa anual del 3.2% lo cual registró tres décimas menos de lo esperado (EFE, 2011). Para este año encontramos una catástrofe ecológica y espacial; el 20 de abril de 2010 ocurrió la

explosión en la plataforma de perforación Deepwater Horizon⁴ en el Golfo de México causó el mayor derrame de petróleo marino en la historia. Y en el tema de espías el 27 de junio el FBI arresta a 10 espías rusos viviendo en los Estados Unidos afectando así la confianza en la seguridad nacional estadounidense.

Así pues, el año 2012 estuvo enmarcado principalmente con las elecciones presidenciales celebradas en noviembre y con el triunfo nuevamente del presidente Barack Obama. No obstante, este fue un año marcado por una crisis económica y diferentes asuntos tanto domésticos como internacionales. Como se mencionó anteriormente hubo grandes hitos en materia económica como lo fue la lenta recuperación de la mayor crisis económica del siglo, uno de los principales pasos que se observaron fue el descenso en el desempleo, así como el comienzo de funcionamiento de políticas que empezaron a dar un respiro en la economía del país (Suárez, 2013).

La polarización de la élite política también tuvo un rol importante este año, sobretodo, en las campañas y elecciones del presentado y más aún en el partido republicano. Se observaron también las grandes diferencias entre ambos partidos y sus visiones extremistas en diferentes temas de interés del país como lo es por el ejemplo la crisis migratoria (Suárez, 2013).

Ahora en el año 2014 observamos como Cuba y Afganistán tomaron un papel protagónico en la agenda política de los Estados Unidos, el presidente Barack Obama desafió a la oposición republicana que le había derrotado en las elecciones parlamentarias la regularización temporal de millones de indocumentados (Ayuso, 2014). En cuanto a Cuba, se anunció el restablecimiento de las relaciones con el país, este hecho marcó la primera vez en medio siglo que un presidente de Estados Unidos y de Cuba conversaban oficialmente. Por otro lado, se hablaba del fin de la guerra en Afganistán, se anunció que la misión de combate en esta nación estaba acabando “la guerra más larga de estados unidos está llegando a un fin responsable” (Ayuso, 2014).

El 2016 es año de elecciones en Estados Unidos y al mismo tiempo se podría decir que no será el año en el que se pueda hablar de un relevo en la cúspide global; para entonces se ha visto

⁴ Deepwater Horizon fue la plataforma petrolífera semisumergible, diseñada para perforar el subsuelo marino y con la capacidad de poder ser trasladada de un lugar a otro cuando fuese necesario

como ha mermado el poder de la nación como consecuencia de la crisis económica y financiera global y el crecimiento de los países emergentes (Arancon, 2016). Para el presente año se observa como estados unidos está pasando por una transición política preocupante que causa preocupación a los ciudadanos de la nación, entre las diferentes cuestiones encontramos como sigue la llegada de inmigrante y refugiados, los problemas económicos siguen a flor de piel, la contaminación y destrucción de la naturaleza debido a las mismas actividades económicas, entre otros problemas políticos e internacionales (Mejía, 2016).

Los años 2018 y 2019 se observó cómo la sociedad civil y las instituciones democráticas más fuertes de la nación se vieron a prueba durante el primer año de gobierno de Donald Trump. El 2018 fue un año acontecido para la nación debido a los diferentes ataques tales como el ataque con bombas en Austin, Texas; en materia de seguridad el presidente Donald Trump ordena la expulsión de diplomáticos rusos por estar relacionados con el espionaje. Como último acontecimiento de ese año ocurrió un cierre parcial del gobierno norteamericano y esto debido a no lograr un acuerdo entre la Cámara y el Senado en temas relacionados con el presupuesto y la medida migratoria de la construcción del muro tomada por Trump. El 2019 fue un año realmente acontecido, donde uno de los eventos más importantes fue el anuncio del proceso de destitución contra el presidente Trump por dañar la seguridad nacional y traicionar el juramento presidencial (Baykan, 2019).

Así mismo a finales del 2019 el mundo comienza a enfrentarse al evento que sacudió al mundo conocido como la pandemia del Covid - 19, Estados Unidos no estuvo exento de los impactos de esta pandemia, sobre todo, en temas de sanidad y temas económicos. El año 2020 fue el año donde Trump concluiría su primer año de mandato y se llevarán a cabo nuevamente las elecciones presidenciales lo que trajo a Joe Biden como nuevo mandatario estadounidense; al mismo tiempo en este año se registró la peor contracción de la economía estadounidense desde la segunda guerra mundial y todo esto se debe a la pandemia del Covid - 19 (Baykan, 2019).

Para el 2021 nos encontramos ante un escenario con diversas situaciones tales como una economía en auge, un sistema político en descomposición y la supervivencia de un régimen democrático en peligro. Se reportó un crecimiento de la actividad económica de un 7%, así como la reducción de la tasa de desempleo y la creación de al menos 4.1 millones de empleos; tras la pandemia, la polarización política y las redes de la nación se ha logrado construir un clima de intolerancia y violencia en la nación. No obstante, a pesar de esta situación se ha

logrado un gran avance en temas de vacunación masiva en el país, aunque este mismo tema y el uso de máscaras de protección se han convertido en formas de controversia y de alguna manera una identificación partidista (Botero, 2022).

Por último, nos encontramos en el 2022 enmarcado por un lado por cuestiones como el racismo, la xenofobia y la inflación que ha generado un aumento en la desigualdad social en la nación estadounidense; al mismo tiempo se ha generado una contracción económica y se reportó como el PIB del país aumentó 2,5% en comparación de los últimos años y tras el impacto de la pandemia del Covid - 19. En temas de derechos humanos se observa cómo el gobierno de Biden ha dado pasos positivos entre estos la defensa de los derechos de las mujeres y de las personas LGBTI los cuales se habían debilitado en años anteriores. No todos los escenarios son negativos para el presente año, pues se ha visto un gran compromiso con la equidad racial y la toma de medidas para hacer frente al impacto del Covid - 19 y todo lo que ésta condujo (Human Rights Watch, 2022).

⁵Análisis del Discurso sobre el Estado de la Unión del presidente Barack Obama

Para enero de 2010, el presidente Barack Obama se presenta ante el Congreso de los Estados Unidos con el fin de dar su primer discurso sobre el Estado de la Unión; dentro de su discurso expone los temas de mayor interés para su administración y las principales acciones que desea desempeñar en los próximos primeros meses como presidente. Entre los grandes temas abordados, se observa como la economía ocupa el primer lugar y es la principal preocupación por parte de la administración de Obama; también se abordaron otros temas tales como: el desempleo, la educación, el seguro de salud estadounidense, la recesión y el déficit, la

⁵ Material extraído de CNN Politics (2010) Obama's first State of the Union speech - CNN.com. Retrieved October 29, 2022, from <https://edition.cnn.com/2010/POLITICS/01/27/sotu.transcript/index.html>
The White House, & Office of the Press Secretary. (2012). Remarks by the President in State of the Union Address | whitehouse.gov. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2012/01/24/remarks-president-state-union-address>
The White House, & Office of the Press Secretary. (2014). *President Barack Obama's State of the Union Address* | whitehouse.gov. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/01/28/president-barack-obamas-state-union-address>
Barack Obama. (2016). *Barack Obama 2016 State of the Union Address*. <https://cnnespanol.cnn.com/2016/01/12/discurso-completo-de-obama-sobre-el-estado-de-la-union/>

Innovación estadounidense, los mercados globales y relaciones comerciales con otras regiones, la buena gobernanza, la seguridad nacional, las armas nucleares, el cambio climático y por último pero no menos importante la ayuda y el apoyo a la igualdad y los derechos humanos.

A través de sus discursos el presidente Barack Obama invita a hacer frente a la necesidad de cambios y avances, sobretodo, en el sistema económico estadounidense y así acabar con problemas como el déficit, la recesión y el desempleo. Con el fin de cumplir las promesas propuestas por parte de la administración, plantea tomar medidas que ayuden a la clase media y baja del país y así poder reducir la desconfianza que hay en la nación y dar a los ciudadanos el gobierno que merecen. Por consiguiente, planteó medidas frente al tema de la seguridad nacional como el aumento de tropas en Afganistán, la lucha contra el Al Qaeda y en cuanto a las armas nucleares se adopta una visión que revierte la propagación de armas y la búsqueda de un mundo sin ellas.

Figura 1. Nube de palabras discursos sobre el Estado de la Unión presidente Barack Obama



Fuente: Elaboración propia

A través del análisis se observa como la finalidad del presidente Barack Obama al pasar de los años sigue siendo la invitación a la unión estadounidense para así alcanzar un mejor posicionamiento de los Estados Unidos en el siglo XXI, a comparación de cualquier otra nación. También propone una diplomacia fuerte que implica acciones como el trabajo con la

comunidad internacional para brindar así un mundo sin dictadura, una diplomacia respaldada por la presión para detener el progreso nuclear y por último negociaciones con aliados para lograr objetivos compartidos en cuanto a seguridad. En este sentido, al hablar de liderazgo éste no sólo lo define por la defensa contra las amenazas sino por las oportunidades de hacer el bien y promover la comprensión en el mundo, a través de una mayor cooperación, la expansión de nuevos mercados y la liberación de los ciudadanos del miedo.

En este sentido, observamos como la Figura 1. demuestra que los discursos sobre el Estado de la Unión del presidente Obama representa la idea de renovación del liderazgo estadounidense, a través de la solución de asuntos que comprometen directamente a los americanos, así como la construcción de alianzas más fuertes en el mundo con el fin de consolidar a Estados Unidos como una nación indispensable en los asuntos mundiales. Por último, se puede observar como el presidente dirige un mensaje alentador a los ciudadanos americanos resaltando que ningún otro país del mundo hace lo que Estados Unidos hace y es por eso por lo que, en cada tema, el mundo recurre a la potencia que son y esto no solo por el tamaño de la economía o la fuerza militar de la nación, sino por los ideales que defienden y las cargas que se soportan para poder avanzar

⁶Análisis del Discurso sobre el Estado de la Unión del presidente Donald Trump

Tras la toma del poder, el presidente Donald Trump en su discurso sobre el Estado de la Unión para el año 2018 inicia planteando la meta y propósito de su organización la cual va encaminada a hacer que Estados Unidos vuelva a ser más grande para todos. Su discurso tiene un sentido mucho mas nacionalista, donde afirma que cada prueba que ha vivido el pueblo estadounidense

⁶ Material extraído de Trump White House (2018). Remarks by President Trump in State of the Union Address – The White House, 2018. Retrieved October 29, 2022, from <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-state-union-address/> Trump White House (2019). Remarks by President Trump in State of the Union Address – The White House, 2019. Retrieved October 29, 2022, from <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-state-union-address-2/> Trump White House. (2020). *Remarks by President Trump in the State of the Union Address – The White House*. <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-state-union-address-3/>

ha forjado nuevos héroes que le recuerdan a cada uno de los ciudadanos quienes son y que pueden ser como nación. En este sentido, reconoce las acciones de los estadounidenses que sirven a la nación tales como los bomberos, suboficiales y fuerzas armadas que a través de sus acciones han ayudado al pueblo estadounidense.

Ahora bien, para iniciar las metas establecidas en su administración, pide dejar a un lado las diferencias y buscar un terreno en común que convoque la unidad que se le debe entregar a la gente. Tal como se demostrará en la Figura 2. El presidente Donald Trump centró su interés en temas tales como los nuevos puestos de trabajo para los estadounidenses, el aumento de los salarios, la confianza en pequeñas empresas, lograr el récord deseado en los mercados de valores y los recortes de impuestos.

Figura 2. Nube de palabras discursos sobre el Estado de la Unión presidente Donald Trump



Fuente: Elaboración propia

Así mismo observamos como otros temas en los cuales se enfocó el presidente en su primer discurso fueron: el futuro americano, el reconocimiento a la policía, militares y veteranos, protección de la segunda enmienda, la libertad religiosa, la recompensa a los buenos trabajadores, la energía estadounidense, la salud, los acuerdos comerciales, la reconstrucción de la infraestructura y la reforma a las prisiones. En su discurso el presidente afirma que todas las medidas tomadas en estas diferentes materias son para que Estados Unidos recupere su fuerza y pueda extender oportunidades para todos.

El presidente Donald Trump cree y afirma que es momento y oportunidad de una nueva política donde siempre se pondrá a la nación y a los Estados Unidos de primero, recalcando así el poder y orgullo estadounidense. No obstante, a pesar de querer mantener a Estados Unidos como líder mundial el presidente Trump plantea una estrategia denominada “Estados Unidos en casa” la cual sigue sus ideales nacionalistas y con la que cree que así se podrá derrotar a los adversarios en el extranjero. Así mismo plantea una acción bipartidista donde unidos como nación se pueda tener el poder y se pueda dar forma al futuro del país. (Trump White House, 2018)

Por otro lado, al hablar de política exterior, presenta principalmente su preocupación por la migración irregular en las fronteras del sur y por ende plantea una nueva ley para la frontera del sur, ya que considera que un Estado sin una ley en la frontera es una amenaza para la seguridad y el bienestar de toda América; con esta ley se brindará asistencia humanitaria, se detendrá el tráfico de drogas y contrabando de personas, así como la instauración una nueva barrera física o “muro” para asegurar todos los puestos de entrada.

Por último, a través de sus acciones y planes en la agenda establece su compromiso con la protección al derecho de la segunda enmienda de guardar y portar armas, así como su compromiso con la defensa de la seguridad nacional y la lucha contra el terrorismo islámico radical. Reafirma su defensa ante la vida de los estadounidenses y su trabajo en unión para poner fin a la guerra de Estados Unidos en Oriente Medio.

En conclusión, el mensaje que brinda es sobre la gloriosa y magnífica herencia que es ser estadounidense y como Estados Unidos es pionero del nuevo mundo, así como lo capaz que son de construir el mundo moderno cambiando la historia para siempre, afirmando que “Estados Unidos es el lugar donde cualquier cosa puede suceder es el lugar donde cualquiera puede levantarse y los sueños se hacen realidad”.

⁷Análisis del Discurso sobre el Estado de la Unión del presidente Joe Biden

⁷ Material extraído de The New York Times (2021). Discurso de Biden ante el Congreso: transcripción completa - The New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/29/us/politics/joe-biden-speech-transcript.html>

The White House (2022). 2022 State of the Union Address - The White House, . <https://www.whitehouse.gov/state-of-the-union-2022/>

Por ende, parte de su plan y de su compromiso con la nación y con los Americanos es demostrar que la competencia no es entre los mismos estadounidenses si no de los Estados Unidos con el mundo, es por esto por lo que también aborda problemas que son considerados una lucha global, entre estos: el cambio climático, el terrorismo, la proliferación nuclear, la migración masiva y la ciberseguridad. Ahora bien, para hacerle frente a estos problemas convoca y llama al trabajo junto de ambos partidos tanto demócratas como republicanos para llegar a un consenso y plantear así una nueva vida en la democracia estadounidense.

Por último, el presidente Joe Biden a través de sus discursos ofrece una agenda unida para la nación donde se pretende llevar a cabo estrategias para combatir situaciones tales como la epidemia de los opiáceos, la salud mental, el apoyo a los veteranos, entre otros. Asumiendo así también el compromiso de llevar a cabo una agenda unida para la nación y el cuidado de la democracia; este afirma que es el momento de responsabilidad y que se está dando forma al carácter que se tiene como nación. Biden concluye con un mensaje donde afirma que el Estado de la Unión es fuerte, bajo la libertad, la justicia y las oportunidades; sin dejar a un lado el apoyo y valor de todos los ciudadanos estadounidenses.

Análisis comparativo sobre los discursos del Estado de la Unión de los presidentes Barack Obama, Donald Trump y Joe Biden

Una vez ya analizados los discursos presentados por cada presidente de manera individual en sus años de mandato y observando cuáles fueron sus intereses, planes y temas específicos; ahora se pretende hacer una comparación entre ellos partiendo de sus diferencias tanto en ideologías como en afinidades políticas, pero a la vez encontrando cuáles son los puntos en común más fuertes dentro de sus discursos.

Podemos partir de la diferencia más grande entre los tres presidentes y es el hecho de que nos encontramos con dos presidentes demócratas (Barack Obama y Joe Biden) y un presidente republicano (Donald Trump). Ahora bien, a partir de esto se observa como en el análisis individual de cada presidente encontramos por ejemplo un discurso del presidente Obama más encaminado a la economía, la clase media baja del país, el comercio y la postura de los Estados

CAP 5. ANÁLISIS DE LAS SITUACIONES POLÍTICAS, ECONÓMICAS Y SOCIALES QUE SUPONEN UNA CRISIS EN LA HEGEMONÍA ESTADOUNIDENSE.

Desde inicios del siglo XXI se ha observado a Estados Unidos como el señor y líder de la política global; la hegemonía estadounidense durante todos estos años se ha entendido como la dinámica basada en la utilización de acontecimientos para así consolidar las líneas de acción en materia de política exterior. Durante todo el siglo hemos observado como la nación se ha basado en cuatro puntos claves para mantener su poder: a) asegurar su primacía militar a través de la justificación de una nueva elevación de los gastos en materia de defensa y mediante la identificación de un enemigo mucho más diverso y donde la amenaza resulte mucho más tangible; b) demostrando la capacidad de poder involucrarse nuevamente en conflictos terrestre de mayor duración; c) ratificando el derecho de intervención en cualquier lugar del mundo con el fin de salvaguardar los principios básicos del nuevo orden mundial, convalidando el poder de “policía” mediante el apoyo de la comunidad internacional; y, d) procurando la preservación del nuevo orden mundial, garantizando el goce de los derechos humanos en el mundo. (Arceo, 2002. p. 63).

No obstante, hoy en día hay un consenso en el mundo que habla sobre el declive de esta hegemonía estadounidense; el cual habla además de un razonamiento frente al liderazgo económico de los Estados Unidos en el mundo en donde se pone en duda la continuidad del “destino manifiesto” del país. Por consiguiente, si hablamos sobre medidas que colocaron en riesgo esta hegemonía, una de ellas es el hecho de haberse adherido al modelo neoliberal, la cual no trajo más que consecuencias no deseables como la baja tasa de crecimiento económico y el bajo índice de creación de empleo. Ahora bien, esta crisis no solo tiene un carácter económico, sino que además se le suma una crisis militar y de incapacidad americana, se observa la presencia de una fuerte debilidad a la hora de resolver la crisis mediante la utilización de la fuerza de su ejército, un claro ejemplo de esto es el fracaso de Afganistán; este escenario proyectó ante el mundo la erosión del fracaso lo que debilitó aún más la hegemonía política Norteamericana (Sader, 2021).

Hoy en día, el ascenso de Estados Unidos a la hegemonía mundial se encuentra en un proceso de cambio y en debate sobre el destino de esta; donde más allá de definir cuál es el destino de esta hegemonía, la preocupación central es el análisis de los factores y posibilidades que tiene

el país para preservar el papel hegemónico mundial ante un mundo cambiante con el ascenso de otras naciones tales como China o naciones emergentes del mundo periférico. En este sentido, nos encontramos en un escenario donde Estados Unidos sigue siendo potencia mundial pero de una forma decreciente y esto se debe a diversas razones como: la posición de la nación en la división internacional, teniendo cada vez menos una posición menos productiva y competitiva lo cual deriva y es consecuencia de condiciones internas del país; la falta de capacidad competitiva a nivel mundial y por último su falta de capacidad de mantener el poder hegemónico (Dabat & Leal, 2020).

En fin, las consecuencias que se presentan desde los últimos años y que afectan de una forma directa el poder estadounidense se deben a una serie de factores, mencionados anteriormente, además de una inestabilidad en las decisiones políticas planteadas por mandatarios debido a los diferentes intereses, afinidades y propósitos políticos. Si se observa el análisis realizado en el Capítulo I, podemos inferir cómo se plantean agendas políticas basadas en temas centrales como la economía, la seguridad, los derechos humanos, entre otros; pero que si se observan de fondo encontramos grandes diferencias e incongruencias entre cada una de las administraciones lo que supone cambios drásticos en las decisiones políticas que en últimas generan inestabilidad y es lo que está causando esta crisis hegemónica.⁸

Por último, si nos centramos en lo que va de año y desde la entrada al poder del presidente Joe Biden, observamos como este asume la administración en un contexto de declinación global de los Estados Unidos, la cual venía desde hace un tiempo y que en el gobierno de Donald Trump no hubo un tipo de manejo lo que causó gravedad en el asunto. Nos encontramos ante una situación crucial donde el “soft power” o poder blando de la nación se ha visto erosionado, en un escenario geopolítico marcado por la emergencia de China como nueva potencia mundial. Por ende cuando hablamos de una situación relacionada directamente con el manejo del Soft Power, entendemos que acá no solo depende de las políticas oficiales planteadas por la administración sino además de la atracción y la aceptación de la sociedad civil frente a las medidas tomadas; sumado a esto factores como la polarización política y social que han afectado en gran medida el poder de los Estados Unidos, ya que para proyectar poder a nivel mundial se requiere así sea un mínimo de cohesión y solidaridad dentro de la nación. “Las

⁸ *Soft Power* o Poder blando es la habilidad que tiene un Estado de persuadir a otros países evitando el uso de la fuerza o coerción; valiéndose por otros medios o estrategias tales como la cultura, el modelo social o los valores políticos (Castellanos, 2020).

sociedades débiles y fracturadas, no importa que tan ricas sean, no pueden ejercer una influencia estratégica ni proporcionar liderazgo internacional y dejan de ser modelos” (Subramanian en Actis & Creus, 2021).

CONCLUSIONES

El análisis acá realizado evidencia cómo a través de los discursos presentados por los presidentes en el Estado de la Unión, enmarcan y definen cómo será su agenda política; basándose en sus intereses, ideologías y afinidades donde en cada uno de ellos encontramos como cada presidente tiene un rumbo diferente para la nación durante su periodo de gobierno. Sumado a esto se observa cómo la coyuntura, el contexto del momento y los acontecimientos presentes en los años del mandato pueden generar cambios en las agendas de un año para otro generando así una estabilidad y una solución a posibles problemas o por el contrario creando una inestabilidad e incertidumbre ante las situaciones presentes.

En este sentido, si determinamos cada discurso planteado por los presidentes durante su administración, encontramos grandes diferencias entre cada uno de ellos, es decir, mientras Barack Obama hablaba de un cambio y mejor posicionamiento de los Estados Unidos en el mundo y sobretodo en temas como la economía, el empleo, la producción y la innovación estadounidense; Donald Trump basaba su discurso en el nacionalismo estadounidense, en el sentido de que propone volver nuevamente a esa “América para los Americanos” y a la recuperación del sistema a través de un mayor consumo estadounidense, afirmando que a través de la reconstrucción y la recuperación interna del país se tendrá un mejor posicionamiento global; y por último un discurso del presidente Joe Biden enmarcado en un contexto de crisis donde su énfasis es la recuperación nuevamente del país y sobrepasar todos los obstáculos que se le presentan a la nación, para así poder garantizar un buen gobierno y el gobierno que merecen sus ciudadanos.

Ahora bien, la primera gran conclusión de este análisis es que, desde las diferencias de cada uno de los presidentes, podemos encontrar similitudes y el gran punto de inflexión en todo esto es el hecho de que, a pesar de tener agendas políticas diferentes, el unión y propósito común se centra en “América y los Americanos”. Mantener la nación y el poderío estadounidense, es el gran punto de donde convergen todas las ideologías y planes de las agendas políticas de los mandatarios, esto demuestra la necesidad de siempre mantener el poder y establecer a los Estados Unidos como número uno en el mundo, a pesar de las diferencias.

Por consiguiente, una segunda conclusión se basa en el hecho de que hablar de poder americano infiere directamente hablar de hegemonía, la cual desde el inicio del siglo XXI ha sido reconocida por sus poderío económico, militar y coercitivo a nivel mundial, así como el reconocimiento constante por parte del sistema internacional. No obstante, nos encontramos ante un nuevo orden mundial, con nuevas dinámicas y nacimiento de nuevas potencias como China y otras naciones emergentes que han puesto en duda el poderío estadounidense.

En este sentido este nuevo orden mundial, ha planteado la obligación de nuevas dinámicas y formas de poder pero que más allá de ser consistentes, se han visto en decadencia y mostrándose débiles ante el mundo no solo en temas como la economía o las fuerzas militares sino más bien ligadas a la aceptación por parte de la sociedad tanto internacional como del pueblo americano.

En conclusión, se puede determinar cómo las promesas planteadas por los presidentes en sus discursos sobre el Estado de la Unión se desvanecen y terminan así en un problema centrado, sobretodo, en lo que se denomina como Soft Power o el poder coercitivo de la nación, viéndose afectada no solo Estados Unidos y sus ideales internos como país, sino además el poder de este ante el mundo; lo que en últimas se podría afirmar que son las diferentes formas de afrontar los problemas y una inconsistencia entre los gobiernos al pasar los años lo que ha generado fuertes situaciones de amenazas en la forma de mantener el poder y seguir siendo el país hegemón del mundo.

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ANEXOS

⁹Anexo 1. Discurso sobre el Estado de la Unión presentado por el presidente Barack Obama en enero del 2010. Washington D.c

Madam Speaker, Vice President Biden, members of Congress, distinguished guests, and fellow Americans, our Constitution declares that from time to time the president shall give to Congress information about the state of our union. For 220 years, our leaders have fulfilled this duty. They've done so during periods of prosperity and tranquility, and they've done so in the midst of war and depression, at moments of great strife and great struggle.

It's tempting to look back on these moments and assume that our progress was inevitable, that America was always destined to succeed.

But when the Union was turned back at Bull Run and the Allies first landed at Omaha Beach, victory was very much in doubt. When the market crashed on Black Tuesday and civil rights marchers were beaten on Bloody Sunday, the future was anything but certain.

These were the times that tested the courage of our convictions and the strength of our union. And despite all our divisions and disagreements, our hesitations and our fears, America prevailed because we chose to move forward as one nation, as one people.

Again, we are tested. And again, we must answer history's call.

One year ago, I took office amid two wars, an economy rocked by a severe recession, a financial system on the verge of collapse, and a government deeply in debt. Experts from across the political spectrum warned that if we did not act, we might face a second depression.

So we acted, immediately and aggressively. And one year later, the worst of the storm has passed.

But the devastation remains: One in 10 Americans still can't find work. Many businesses have shuttered. Home values have declined. Small towns and rural communities have been hit especially hard. And for those who'd already known poverty, life has become that much harder.

⁹ Discurso copiado y extraído de CNN Politics (2010) Obama's first State of the Union speech - CNN.com. Retrieved October 29, 2022, from <https://edition.cnn.com/2010/POLITICS/01/27/sotu.transcript/index.html>

This recession has also compounded the burdens that America's families have been dealing with for decades, the burden of working harder and longer for less, of being unable to save enough to retire or help kids with college.

So I know the anxieties that are out there right now. They're not new. These struggles are the reason I ran for president. These struggles are what I've witnessed for years in places like Elkhart, Indiana, Galesburg, Illinois.

I hear about them in the letters that I read each night. The toughest to read are those written by children, asking why they have to move from their home, asking when their mom or dad will be able to go back to work.

For these Americans and so many others, change has not come fast enough. Some are frustrated; some are angry. They don't understand why it seems like bad behavior on Wall Street is rewarded, but hard work on Main Street isn't, or why Washington has been unable or unwilling to solve any of our problems.

They're tired of the partisanship and the shouting and the pettiness. They know we can't afford it, not now.

So we face big and difficult challenges. And what the American people hope -- what they deserve -- is for all of us, Democrats and Republicans, to work through our differences, to overcome the numbing weight of our politics, for while the people who sent us here have different backgrounds, different stories, different beliefs, the anxieties they face are the same, the aspirations they hold are shared: a job that pays the bills, a chance to get ahead, most of all, the ability to give their children a better life.

You know what else they share? They share a stubborn resilience in the face of adversity. After one of the most difficult years in our history, they remain busy building cars and teaching kids, starting businesses and going back to school. They're coaching Little League and helping their neighbors.

One woman wrote to me and said, "We are strained but hopeful, struggling but encouraged."

It's because of this spirit -- this great decency and great strength -- that I have never been more hopeful about America's future than I am tonight.

(APPLAUSE)

Despite -- despite our hardships, our union is strong. We do not give up. We do not quit. We do not allow fear or division to break our spirit. In this new decade, it's time the American people get a government that matches their decency, that embodies their strength.

(APPLAUSE)

And tonight -- tonight, I'd like to talk about how together we can deliver on that promise. It begins with our economy.

Our most urgent -- our most urgent task upon taking office was to shore up the same banks that helped cause this crisis. It was not easy to do. And if there's one thing that has unified Democrats and Republicans -- and everybody in between -- it's that we all hated the bank bailout. I hated it.

(APPLAUSE)

I hated it. I hated it. You hated it. It was about as popular as a root canal.

(LAUGHTER)

But when I ran for president, I promised I wouldn't just do what was popular, I would do what was necessary. And if we had allowed the meltdown of the financial system, unemployment might be double what it is today. More businesses would certainly have closed; more homes would have surely been lost.

So I supported the last administration's efforts to create the financial rescue program. And when we took that program over, we made it more transparent and more accountable. And as a result, the markets are now stabilized, and we've recovered most of the money we spent on the banks.

(APPLAUSE)

Most, but not all. To recover the rest, I've proposed a fee on the biggest banks. Now...

(APPLAUSE)

Now, I know Wall Street isn't keen on this idea, but if these firms can afford to hand out big bonuses again, they can afford a modest fee to pay back the taxpayers who rescued them in their time of need.

(APPLAUSE)

Now, as we stabilized the financial system, we also took steps to get our economy growing again, save as many jobs as possible, and help Americans who'd become unemployed.

That's why we extended or increased unemployment benefits for more than 18 million Americans, made health insurance 65 percent cheaper for families who get their coverage through COBRA, and passed 25 different tax cuts.

Now, let me repeat: We cut taxes. We cut taxes for 95 percent of working families. We cut taxes for small businesses.

(APPLAUSE)

We cut taxes for first-time homebuyers. We cut taxes for parents trying to care for their children. We cut taxes for 8 million Americans paying for college.

(APPLAUSE)

I thought I'd get some applause on that one.

(LAUGHTER)

As a result...

(APPLAUSE)

As a result, millions of Americans had more to spend on gas and food and other necessities, all of which helped businesses keep more workers. And we haven't raised income taxes by a single dime on a single person, not a single dime.

(APPLAUSE)

Now, because of the steps we took, there are about 2 million Americans working right now who would otherwise be unemployed.

(APPLAUSE)

Two-hundred-thousand work in construction and clean energy. Three-hundred-thousand are teachers and other education workers. Tens of thousands are cops, firefighters, correctional officers, first responders.

(APPLAUSE)

And we're on track to add another 1.5 million jobs to this total by the end of the year.

The plan that has made all of this possible, from the tax cuts to the jobs, is the Recovery Act.

(APPLAUSE)

That's right, the Recovery Act, also known as the stimulus bill.

(APPLAUSE)

Economists on the left and the right say this bill has helped saved jobs and avert disaster, but you don't have to take their word for it.

Talk to the small business in Phoenix that will triple its workforce because of the Recovery Act.

Talk to the window manufacturer in Philadelphia who said he used to be skeptical about the Recovery Act, until he had to add two more work shifts just because of the business it created.

Talk to the single teacher raising two kids who was told by her principal in the last week of school that, because of the Recovery Act, she wouldn't be laid off after all.

There are stories like this all across America. And after two years of recession, the economy is growing again. Retirement funds have started to gain back some of their value. Businesses are beginning to invest again, and slowly, some are starting to hire again.

But I realize that, for every success story, there are other stories, of men and women who wake up with the anguish of not knowing where their next paycheck will come from, who send out resumes week after week and hear nothing in response.

That is why jobs must be our No. 1 focus in 2010, and that's why I'm calling for a new jobs bill tonight.

(APPLAUSE)

Now, the true engine of job creation in this country will always be America's businesses...

(APPLAUSE)

... but government can create the conditions necessary for businesses to expand and hire more workers.

We should start where most new jobs do, in small businesses, companies that begin when...

(APPLAUSE)

... companies that begin when an entrepreneur -- when an entrepreneur takes a chance on a dream or a worker decides it's time she became her own boss.

Through sheer grit and determination, these companies have weathered the recession and are ready to grow. But when you talk to small-business owners in places like Allentown, Pennsylvania, or Elyria, Ohio, you find out that even though banks on Wall Street are lending

again, they're mostly lending to bigger companies. Financing remains difficult for small-business owners across the country, even though they're making a profit.

So tonight, I'm proposing that we take \$30 billion of the money Wall Street banks have repaid and use it to help community banks give small businesses the credit they need to stay afloat.

(APPLAUSE)

I'm also proposing a new small-business tax credit, one that will go to over 1 million small businesses who hire new workers or raise wages.

(APPLAUSE)

While we're at it, let's also eliminate all capital gains taxes on small-business investment and provide a tax incentive for all large businesses and all small businesses to invest in new plants and equipment.

(APPLAUSE)

Next, we can put Americans to work today building the infrastructure of tomorrow.

(APPLAUSE)

From -- from the first railroads to the Interstate Highway System, our nation has always been built to compete. There's no reason Europe or China should have the fastest trains or the new factories that manufacture clean-energy products.

Tomorrow, I'll visit Tampa, Florida, where workers will soon break ground on a new high-speed railroad funded by the Recovery Act. There are projects like that all across this country that will create jobs and help move our nation's goods, services and information.

(APPLAUSE)

We should put more Americans to work building clean-energy facilities and give...

(APPLAUSE)

... and give rebates to Americans who make their homes more energy efficient, which supports clean-energy jobs.

(APPLAUSE)

And to encourage these and other businesses to stay within our borders, it is time to finally slash the tax breaks for companies that ship our jobs overseas and give those tax breaks to companies that create jobs right here in the United States of America.

Now, the House has passed a jobs bill that includes some of these steps.

(APPLAUSE)

As the first order of business this year, I urge the Senate to do the same, and I know they will. They will.

(APPLAUSE)

People are out of work. They're hurting. They need our help. And I want a jobs bill on my desk without delay.

(APPLAUSE)

But -- but the truth is, these steps won't make up for the 7 million jobs that we've lost over the last two years. The only way to move to full employment is to lay a new foundation for long-term economic growth and finally address the problems that America's families have confronted for years.

We can't afford another so-called economic "expansion" like the one from last decade, what some call the "lost decade," where jobs grew more slowly than during any prior expansion, where the income of the average American household declined while the cost of health care and tuition reached record highs, where prosperity was built on a housing bubble and financial speculation.

From the day I took office, I've been told that addressing our larger challenges is too ambitious, such effort would be too contentious. I've been told that our political system is too gridlocked and that we should just put things on hold for a while.

For those who make these claims, I have one simple question: How long should we wait? How long should America put its future on hold? You see...

(APPLAUSE)

You see, Washington has been telling us to wait for decades, even as the problems have grown worse. Meanwhile, China's not waiting to revamp its economy; Germany's not waiting; India's not waiting.

These nations, they're not standing still. These nations aren't playing for second place. They're putting more emphasis on math and science. They're rebuilding their infrastructure. They're making serious investments in clean energy because they want those jobs.

Well, I do not accept second place for the United States of America.

(APPLAUSE)

As hard as it may be, as uncomfortable and contentious as the debates may become, it's time to get serious about fixing the problems that are hampering our growth.

Now, one place to start is serious financial reform. Look, I'm not interested in punishing banks. I'm interested in protecting our economy. A strong, healthy financial market makes it possible for businesses to access credit and create new jobs. It channels the savings of families into investments that raise incomes. But that can only happen if we guard against the same recklessness that nearly brought down our entire economy.

We need to make sure consumers and middle-class families have the information they need to make financial decisions. We can't allow financial institutions, including those that take your deposits, to take risks that threaten the whole economy.

Now, the House has already passed financial reform with many of these changes. And -- and the lobbyists are trying to kill it. Well, we cannot let them win this fight. And if the bill that ends up on my desk does not meet the test of real reform, I will send it back until we get it right. We've got to get it right.

(APPLAUSE)

Next, we need to encourage American innovation. Last year, we made the largest investment in basic research funding in history, an investment -- an investment that could lead to the world's cheapest solar cells or treatment that kills cancer cells but leaves healthy ones untouched.

And no area is more ripe for such innovation than energy. You can see the results of last year's investments in clean energy in the North Carolina company that will create 1,200 jobs nationwide, helping to make advanced batteries, or in the California business that will put 1,000 people to work making solar panels.

But to create more of these clean-energy jobs, we need more production, more efficiency, more incentives, and that means building a new generation of safe, clean nuclear power plants in this country.

(APPLAUSE)

It means making tough decisions about opening new offshore areas for oil and gas development.

(APPLAUSE)

It means continued investment in advanced biofuels and clean-coal technologies.

(APPLAUSE)

And, yes, it means passing a comprehensive energy and climate bill with incentives that will finally make clean energy the profitable kind of energy in America.

(APPLAUSE)

I'm grateful to the House for passing such a bill last year.

(APPLAUSE)

And this year -- this year, I'm eager to help advance the bipartisan effort in the Senate.

I know there have been questions about whether we can afford such changes in a tough economy. I know that there are those who disagree with the overwhelming scientific evidence on climate change.

But -- but here's the thing. Even if you doubt the evidence, providing incentives for energy efficiency and clean energy are the right thing to do for our future, because the nation that leads the clean-energy economy will be the nation that leads the global economy, and America must be that nation.

(APPLAUSE)

Third, we need to export more of our goods.

(APPLAUSE)

Because the more products we make and sell to other countries, the more jobs we support right here in America. So...

(APPLAUSE)

So tonight, we set a new goal: We will double our exports over the next five years, an increase that will support 2 million jobs in America.

(APPLAUSE)

To help meet this goal, we're launching a National Export Initiative that will help farmers and small businesses increase their exports and reform export controls consistent with national security.

We have to seek new markets aggressively, just as our competitors are. If America sits on the sidelines while other nations sign trade deals, we will lose the chance to create jobs on our shores.

(APPLAUSE)

But realizing those benefits also means enforcing those agreements so our trading partners play by the rules.

(APPLAUSE)

And that's why we'll continue to shape a Doha trade agreement that opens global markets and why we will strengthen our trade relations in Asia and with key partners like South Korea, and Panama, and Colombia.

(APPLAUSE)

Fourth, we need to invest in the skills and education of our people. Now, this year -- this year, we've broken through the stalemate between left and right by launching a national competition to improve our schools.

And the idea here is simple: Instead of rewarding failure, we only reward success. Instead of funding the status quo, we only invest in reform, reform that raises student achievement, inspires students to excel in math and science, and turns around failing schools that steal the future of too many young Americans, from rural communities to the inner city.

In the 21st century, the best anti-poverty program around is a world-class education.

(APPLAUSE)

And in this country, the success of our children cannot depend more on where they live than on their potential. When we renew the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, we will work with Congress to expand these reforms to all 50 states.

Still, in this economy, a high school diploma no longer guarantees a good job. That's why I urge the Senate to follow the House and pass a bill that will revitalize our community colleges, which are a career pathway to the children of so many working families.

(APPLAUSE)

To make college more affordable, this bill will finally end the unwarranted taxpayer subsidies that go to banks for student loans. Instead, let's take that money and give families a \$10,000 tax credit for four years of college and increase Pell Grants.

(APPLAUSE)

And let's tell another 1 million students that, when they graduate, they will be required to pay only 10 percent of their income on student loans, and all of their debt will be forgiven after 20 years, and forgiven after 10 years if they choose a career in public service, because in the United States of America, no one should go broke because they chose to go to college.

(APPLAUSE)

And, by the way, it's time for colleges and universities to get serious about cutting their own costs, because they, too, have a responsibility to help solve this problem.

Now, the price of college tuition is just one of the burdens facing the middle class. That's why last year I asked Vice President Biden to chair a task force on middle-class families.

That's why we're nearly doubling the childcare tax credit and making it easier to save for retirement by giving access to every worker a retirement account and expanding the tax credit for those who start a nest egg. That's why we're working to lift the value of a family's single largest investment, their home.

The steps we took last year to shore up the housing market have allowed millions of Americans to take out new loans and save an average of \$1,500 on mortgage payments. This year, we will step up refinancing so that homeowners can move into more affordable mortgages. And...

(APPLAUSE)

And it is precisely to relieve the burden on middle-class families that we still need health insurance reform.

(APPLAUSE)

We do.

(APPLAUSE)

Now, let's clear a few things up.

(LAUGHTER)

I didn't choose to tackle this issue to get some legislative victory under my belt. And by now, it should be fairly obvious that I didn't take on health care because it was good politics.

(LAUGHTER)

I took on health care because of the stories I've heard, from Americans with pre-existing conditions whose lives depend on getting coverage, patients who've been denied coverage, families, even those with insurance, who are just one illness away from financial ruin.

After nearly a century of trying -- Democratic administrations, Republican administrations -- we are closer than ever to bringing more security to the lives of so many Americans.

The approach we've taken would protect every American from the worst practices of the insurance industry. It would give small businesses and uninsured Americans a chance to choose an affordable health care plan in a competitive market.

It would require every insurance plan to cover preventive care. And by the way, I want to acknowledge our first lady, Michelle Obama, who this year is creating a national movement to tackle the epidemic of childhood obesity and make kids healthier.

Thank you, honey.

(APPLAUSE)

She gets embarrassed.

(LAUGHTER)

Our approach would preserve the right of Americans who have insurance to keep their doctor and their plan. It would reduce costs and premiums for millions of families and businesses.

And according to the Congressional Budget Office, the independent organization that both parties have cited as the official scorekeeper for Congress, our approach would bring down the deficit by as much as \$1 trillion over the next two decades.

(APPLAUSE)

Still, this is a complex issue. And the longer it was debated, the more skeptical people became. I take my share of the blame for not explaining it more clearly to the American people. And I know that with all the lobbying and horse-trading, this process left most Americans wondering, "What's in it for me?"

But I also know this problem is not going away. By the time I'm finished speaking tonight, more Americans will have lost their health insurance. Millions will lose it this year. Our deficit

will grow. Premiums will go up. Patients will be denied the care they need. Small-business owners will continue to drop coverage altogether.

I will not walk away from these Americans, and neither should the people in this chamber.

(APPLAUSE)

As temperatures cool, I want everyone to take another look at the plan we've proposed. There's a reason why many doctors, nurses and health care experts who know our system best consider this approach a vast improvement over the status quo.

But if anyone from either party has a better approach that will bring down premiums, bring down the deficit, cover the uninsured, strengthen Medicare for seniors, and stop insurance company abuses, let me know.

(APPLAUSE)

Let me know. Let me know.

(APPLAUSE)

I'm eager to see it.

Here's what I ask Congress, though: Don't walk away from reform, not now, not when we are so close. Let us find a way to come together and finish the job for the American people. Let's get it done.

(APPLAUSE)

Let's get it done.

(APPLAUSE)

Now, even as health care reform would reduce our deficit, it's not enough to dig us out of a massive fiscal hole in which we find ourselves. It's a challenge that makes all others that much harder to solve and one that's been subject to a lot of political posturing.

So let me start the discussion of government spending by setting the record straight. At the beginning of the last decade, the year 2000, America had a budget surplus of over \$200 billion. By -- by the time I took office, we had a one-year deficit of over \$1 trillion and projected deficits of \$8 trillion over the next decade. Most of this was the result of not paying for two wars, two tax cuts, and an expensive prescription drug program.

On top of that, the effects of the recession put a \$3 trillion hole in our budget. All this was before I walked in the door.

(LAUGHTER)

Now...

(APPLAUSE)

Now -- just stating the facts. Now, if we had taken office in ordinary times, I would have liked nothing more than to start bringing down the deficit. But we took office amid a crisis, and our efforts to prevent a second depression have added another \$1 trillion to our national debt. That, too, is a fact.

I'm absolutely convinced that was the right thing to do, but families across the country are tightening their belts and making tough decisions. The federal government should do the same.
(APPLAUSE)

So tonight, I'm proposing specific steps to pay for the \$1 trillion that it took to rescue the economy last year.

Starting in 2011, we are prepared to freeze government spending for three years. Spending related to our national security, Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security will not be affected, but all other discretionary government programs will.

Like any cash-strapped family, we will work within a budget to invest in what we need and sacrifice what we don't. And if I have to enforce this discipline by veto, I will.

(APPLAUSE)

We will continue to go through the budget line by line, page by page, to eliminate programs that we can't afford and don't work. We've already identified \$20 billion in savings for next year.

To help working families, we'll extend our middle-class tax cuts. But at a time of record deficits, we will not continue tax cuts for oil companies, for investment fund managers, and for those making over \$250,000 a year. We just can't afford it.

(APPLAUSE)

Now, even after paying for what we spent on my watch, we'll still face the massive deficit we had when I took office. More importantly, the cost of Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security will continue to skyrocket.

That's why I've called for a bipartisan Fiscal Commission, modeled on a proposal by Republican Judd Gregg and Democrat Kent Conrad.

(APPLAUSE)

This can't be one of those Washington gimmicks that lets us pretend we solved a problem. The commission will have to provide a specific set of solutions by a certain deadline.

Now, yesterday, the Senate blocked a bill that would have created this commission. So I'll issue an executive order that will allow us to go forward, because I refuse to pass this problem on to another generation of Americans.

(APPLAUSE)

And when the vote comes tomorrow, the Senate should restore the pay-as-you-go law that was a big reason for why we had record surpluses in the 1990s.

(APPLAUSE)

Now, I know that some in my own party will argue that we can't address the deficit or freeze government spending when so many are still hurting. And I agree, which is why this freeze won't take effect until next year, when the economy is stronger. That's how budgeting works.

(LAUGHTER)

But understand -- understand, if we don't take meaningful steps to rein in our debt, it could damage our markets, increase the cost of borrowing, and jeopardize our recovery, all of which would have an even worse effect on our job growth and family incomes.

From some on the right, I expect we'll hear a different argument, that if we just make fewer investments in our people, extend tax cuts, including those for the wealthier Americans, eliminate more regulations, maintain the status quo on health care, our deficits will go away.

The problem is, that's what we did for eight years.

(APPLAUSE)

That's what helped us into this crisis. It's what helped lead to these deficits. We can't do it again. Rather than fight the same tired battles that have dominated Washington for decades, it's time to try something new. Let's invest in our people without leaving them a mountain of debt. Let's meet our responsibility to the citizens who sent us here. Let's try common sense, a novel concept.

Now, to do that, we have to recognize that we face more than a deficit of dollars right now. We face a deficit of trust, deep and corrosive doubts about how Washington works that have been growing for years.

To close that credibility gap, we have to take action on both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, to end the outsized influence of lobbyists, to do our work openly, to give our people the government they deserve.

(APPLAUSE)

That's what I came to Washington to do. That's why, for the first time in history, my administration posts our White House visitors online. That's why we've excluded lobbyists from policy-making jobs or seats on federal boards and commissions.

But we can't stop there. It's time to require lobbyists to disclose each contact they make on behalf of a client with my administration or with Congress. It's time to put strict limits on the contributions that lobbyists give to candidates for federal office.

With all due deference to separation of powers, last week, the Supreme Court reversed a century of law that I believe will open the floodgates for special interests, including foreign corporations, to spend without limit in our elections.

(APPLAUSE)

I don't think American elections should be bankrolled by America's most powerful interests or, worse, by foreign entities. They should be decided by the American people. And I urge Democrats and Republicans to pass a bill that helps correct some of these problems.

I'm also calling on Congress to continue down the path of earmark reform, Democrats and Republicans.

(APPLAUSE)

Democrats and Republicans, you've trimmed some of this spending. You've embraced some meaningful change, but restoring the public trust demands more. For example, some members of Congress post some earmark requests online.

(APPLAUSE)

Tonight, I'm calling on Congress to publish all earmark requests on a single Web site before there's a vote so that the American people can see how their money is being spent.

(APPLAUSE)

Of course, none of these reforms will even happen if we don't also reform how we work with one another. Now, I'm not naive. I never thought that the mere fact of my election would usher in peace and harmony and some post-partisan era.

I knew that both parties have fed divisions that are deeply entrenched. And on some issues, there are simply philosophical differences that will always cause us to part ways. These disagreements, about the role of government in our lives, about our national priorities and our national security, they've been taking place for over 200 years. They're the very essence of our democracy.

But what frustrates the American people is a Washington where every day is Election Day. We can't wage a perpetual campaign where the only goal is to see who can get the most embarrassing headlines about the other side, a belief that if you lose, I win. Neither party should delay or obstruct every single bill just because they can.

The confirmation of...

(APPLAUSE)

I'm speaking of both parties now. The confirmation of well-qualified public servants shouldn't be held hostage to the pet projects or grudges of a few individual senators.

(APPLAUSE)

Washington may think that saying anything about the other side, no matter how false, no matter how malicious, is just part of the game. But it's precisely such politics that has stopped either party from helping the American people. Worse yet -- worse yet, it's sowing further division among our citizens, further distrust in our government.

So, no, I will not give up on trying to change the tone of our politics. I know it's an election year. And after last week, it's clear that campaign fever has come even earlier than usual. But we still need to govern.

To Democrats, I would remind you that we still have the largest majority in decades and the people expect us to solve problems, not run for the hills.

(APPLAUSE)

And if the Republican leadership is going to insist that 60 votes in the Senate are required to do any business at all in this town, a supermajority, then the responsibility to govern is now yours, as well. Just saying no to everything may be good short-term politics, but it's not leadership. We were sent here to serve our citizens, not our ambitions.

(APPLAUSE)

So let's show the American people that we can do it together.

(APPLAUSE)

This week -- this week, I'll be addressing a meeting of the House Republicans. I'd like to begin monthly meetings with both Democratic and Republican leadership. I know you can't wait.

(LAUGHTER)

Now, throughout our history, no issue has united this country more than our security. Sadly, some of the unity we felt after 9/11 has dissipated. And we can argue all we want about who's to blame for this, but I'm not interested in re-litigating the past.

I know that all of us love this country. All of us are committed to its defense. So let's put aside the schoolyard taunts about who's tough. Let's reject the false choice between protecting our people and upholding our values. Let's leave behind the fear and division and do what it takes to defend our nation and forge a more hopeful future, for America and for the world.

(APPLAUSE)

That's the work we began last year. Since the day I took office, we renewed our focus on the terrorists who threaten our nation. We've made substantial investments in our homeland security and disrupted plots that threatened to take American lives.

We are filling unacceptable gaps revealed by the failed Christmas attack with better airline security and swifter action on our intelligence. We've prohibited torture and strengthened partnerships from the Pacific to South Asia to the Arabian Peninsula.

And in the last year, hundreds of Al Qaeda's fighters and affiliates, including many senior leaders, have been captured or killed, far more than in 2008.

And in Afghanistan, we're increasing our troops and training Afghan security forces so they can begin to take the lead in July of 2011 and our troops can begin to come home.

(APPLAUSE)

We will reward good governance, work to reduce corruption, and support the rights of all Afghans, men and women alike. We're joined by allies and partners who have increased their own commitment and who'll come together tomorrow in London to reaffirm our common purpose. There will be difficult days ahead, but I am absolutely confident we will succeed.

As we take the fight to Al Qaeda, we are responsibly leaving Iraq to its people. As a candidate, I promised that I would end this war, and that is what I am doing as president.

We will have all of our combat troops out of Iraq by the end of this August.

(APPLAUSE)

We will support -- we will support the Iraqi government -- we will support the Iraqi government as they hold elections, and we will continue to partner with the Iraqi people to promote regional peace and prosperity.

But make no mistake: This war is ending, and all of our troops are coming home.

(APPLAUSE)

Tonight, all of our men and women in uniform -- in Iraq, in Afghanistan, and around the world -- they have to know that we -- that they have our respect, our gratitude, our full support. And just as they must have the resources they need in war, we all have a responsibility to support them when they come home.

(APPLAUSE)

That's why we made the largest increase in investments for veterans in decades last year.

(APPLAUSE)

That's why we're building a 21st-century [Veterans Affairs]. And that's why Michelle has joined with Jill Biden to forge a national commitment to support military families.

(APPLAUSE)

Now, even as we prosecute two wars, we're also confronting perhaps the greatest danger to the American people, the threat of nuclear weapons. I've embraced the vision of John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan through a strategy that reverses the spread of these weapons and seeks a world without them.

To reduce our stockpiles and launchers, while ensuring our deterrent, the United States and Russia are completing negotiations on the farthest-reaching arms control treaty in nearly two decades.

(APPLAUSE)

And at April's Nuclear Security Summit, we will bring 44 nations together here in Washington, D.C., behind a clear goal: securing all vulnerable nuclear materials around the world in four years so that they never fall into the hands of terrorists.

(APPLAUSE)

Now, these diplomatic efforts have also strengthened our hand in dealing with those nations that insist on violating international agreements in pursuit of nuclear weapons. That's why North Korea now faces increased isolation and stronger sanctions, sanctions that are being vigorously enforced.

That's why the international community is more united and the Islamic Republic of Iran is more isolated. And as Iran's leaders continue to ignore their obligations, there should be no doubt: They, too, will face growing consequences. That is a promise.

(APPLAUSE)

That's the leadership we are providing: engagement that advances the common security and prosperity of all people. We're working through the G-20 to sustain a lasting global recovery. We're working with Muslim communities around the world to promote science and education and innovation.

We have gone from a bystander to a leader in the fight against climate change. We're helping developing countries to feed themselves and continuing the fight against HIV/AIDS.

And we are launching a new initiative that will give us the capacity to respond faster and more effectively to bioterrorism or an infectious disease, a plan that will counter threats at home and strengthen public health abroad.

As we have for over 60 years, America takes these actions because our destiny is connected to those beyond our shores. But we also do it because it is right.

That's why, as we meet here tonight, over 10,000 Americans are working with many nations to help the people of Haiti recover and rebuild.

(APPLAUSE)

That's why we stand with the girl who yearns to go to school in Afghanistan, why we support the human rights of the women marching through the streets of Iran, why we advocate for the young man denied a job by corruption in Guinea, for America must always stand on the side of freedom and human dignity, always.

(APPLAUSE)

Abroad, America's greatest source of strength has always been our ideals. The same is true at home. We find unity in our incredible diversity, drawing on the promise enshrined in our Constitution, the notion that we're all created equal, that no matter who you are or what you look like, if you abide by the law, you should be protected by it, if you adhere to our common values, you should be treated no different than anyone else.

We must continually renew this promise. My administration has a Civil Rights Division that is once again prosecuting civil rights violations and employment discrimination. We finally strengthened...

(APPLAUSE)

We finally strengthened our laws to protect against crimes driven by hate.

(APPLAUSE)

This year -- this year, I will work with Congress and our military to finally repeal the law that denies gay Americans the right to serve the country they love because of who they are. It's the right thing to do.

(APPLAUSE)

We're going to crack down on violations of equal pay laws, so that women get equal pay for an equal day's work.

(APPLAUSE)

And we should continue the work of fixing our broken immigration system, to secure our borders, and enforce our laws, and ensure that everyone who plays by the rules can contribute to our economy and enrich our nations.

(APPLAUSE)

In the end, it's our ideals, our values that built America, values that allowed us to forge a nation made up of immigrants from every corner of the globe, values that drive our citizens still.

Every day, Americans meet their responsibilities to their families and their employers. Time and again, they lend a hand to their neighbors and give back to their country. They take pride in their labor and are generous in spirit.

These aren't Republican values or Democratic values that they're living by, business values or labor values. They're American values.

Unfortunately, too many of our citizens have lost faith that our biggest institutions -- our corporations, our media, and, yes, our government -- still reflect these same values.

Each of these institutions are full of honorable men and women doing important work that helps our country prosper. But each time a CEO rewards himself for failure or a banker puts

the rest of us at risk for his own selfish gain, people's doubts grow. Each time lobbyists game the system or politicians tear each other down instead of lifting this country up, we lose faith. The more that TV pundits reduce serious debates to silly arguments, big issues into sound bites, our citizens turn away.

No wonder there's so much cynicism out there. No wonder there's so much disappointment. I campaigned on the promise of change, change we can believe in, the slogan went. And right now, I know there are many Americans who aren't sure if they still believe we can change, or that I can deliver it.

But remember this: I never suggested that change would be easy or that I could do it alone. Democracy in a nation of 300 million people can be noisy and messy and complicated. And when you try to do big things and make big changes, it stirs passions and controversy. That's just how it is.

Those of us in public office can respond to this reality by playing it safe and avoid telling hard truths and pointing fingers. We can do what's necessary to keep our poll numbers high and get through the next election instead of doing what's best for the next generation.

But I also know this: If people had made that decision 50 years ago or 100 years ago or 200 years ago, we wouldn't be here tonight. The only reason we are here is because generations of Americans were unafraid to do what was hard, to do what was needed even when success was uncertain, to do what it took to keep the dream of this nation alive for their children and their grandchildren.

Our administration has had some political setbacks this year, and some of them were deserved. But I wake up every day knowing that they are nothing compared to the setbacks that families all across this country have faced this year.

And what keeps me going, what keeps me fighting, is that despite all these setbacks, that spirit of determination and optimism, that fundamental decency that has always been at the core of the American people, that lives on.

It lives on in the struggling small-business owner who wrote to me of his company, "None of us," he said, "are willing to consider, even slightly, that we might fail."

It lives on in the woman who said that, even though she and her neighbors have felt the pain of recession, "We are strong, we are resilient, we are American."

It lives on in the 8-year-old boy in Louisiana who just sent me his allowance and asked if I would give it to the people of Haiti.

And it lives on in all the Americans who've dropped everything to go someplace they've never been and pull people they've never known from the rubble, prompting chants of "USA! USA! USA!" when another life was saved.

The spirit that has sustained this nation for more than two centuries lives on in you, its people. We have finished a difficult year. We have come through a difficult decade. But a new year has come. A new decade stretches before us.

We don't quit. I don't quit. Let's seize this moment, to start anew, to carry the dream forward, and to strengthen our union once more.

(APPLAUSE)

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.

¹⁰Anexo 2. Discurso sobre el Estado de la Unión presentado por el presidente Barack Obama en enero del 2012; Washington D.c

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

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

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

These achievements are a testament to the courage, selflessness and teamwork of America's Armed Forces. At a time when too many of our institutions have let us down, they exceed all

¹⁰ Discurso copiado y extraído de The White House, & Office of the Press Secretary. (2012). Remarks by the President in State of the Union Address | whitehouse.gov. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2012/01/24/remarks-president-state-union-address>

expectations. They're not consumed with personal ambition. They don't obsess over their differences. They focus on the mission at hand. They work together.

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

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

The two of them shared the optimism of a nation that had triumphed over a depression and fascism. They understood they were part of something larger; that they were contributing to a story of success that every American had a chance to share -- the basic American promise that if you worked hard, you could do well enough to raise a family, own a home, send your kids to college, and put a little away for retirement.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now, this blueprint begins with American manufacturing.

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

major car company. Ford is investing billions in U.S. plants and factories. And together, the entire industry added nearly 160,000 jobs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

That doesn't make sense.

I believe as strongly as ever that we should take on illegal immigration. That's why my administration has put more boots on the border than ever before. That's why there are fewer

illegal crossings than when I took office. The opponents of action are out of excuses. We should be working on comprehensive immigration reform right now. (Applause.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

homeowners shouldn't have to sit and wait for the housing market to hit bottom to get some relief.

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

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

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

There's no question that some regulations are outdated, unnecessary, or too costly. In fact, I've approved fewer regulations in the first three years of my presidency than my Republican predecessor did in his. (Applause.) I've ordered every federal agency to eliminate rules that don't make sense. We've already announced over 500 reforms, and just a fraction of them will save business and citizens more than \$10 billion over the next five years. We got rid of one rule from 40 years ago that could have forced some dairy farmers to spend \$10,000 a year proving that they could contain a spill -- because milk was somehow classified as an oil. With a rule like that, I guess it was worth crying over spilled milk. (Laughter and applause.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Right now, our most immediate priority is stopping a tax hike on 160 million working Americans while the recovery is still fragile. (Applause.) People cannot afford losing \$40 out of each paycheck this year. There are plenty of ways to get this done. So let's agree right here, right now: No side issues. No drama. Pass the payroll tax cut without delay. Let's get it done. (Applause.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

We don't begrudge financial success in this country. We admire it. When Americans talk about folks like me paying my fair share of taxes, it's not because they envy the rich. It's because they understand that when I get a tax break I don't need and the country can't afford, it either adds to the deficit, or somebody else has to make up the difference -- like a senior on a fixed income, or a student trying to get through school, or a family trying to make ends meet. That's not right. Americans know that's not right. They know that this generation's success

is only possible because past generations felt a responsibility to each other, and to the future of their country, and they know our way of life will only endure if we feel that same sense of shared responsibility. That's how we'll reduce our deficit. That's an America built to last. (Applause.)

Now, I recognize that people watching tonight have differing views about taxes and debt, energy and health care. But no matter what party they belong to, I bet most Americans are thinking the same thing right about now: Nothing will get done in Washington this year, or next year, or maybe even the year after that, because Washington is broken.

Can you blame them for feeling a little cynical?

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

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

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

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

The executive branch also needs to change. Too often, it's inefficient, outdated and remote. (Applause.) That's why I've asked this Congress to grant me the authority to consolidate the

federal bureaucracy, so that our government is leaner, quicker, and more responsive to the needs of the American people. (Applause.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

One of my proudest possessions is the flag that the SEAL Team took with them on the mission to get bin Laden. On it are each of their names. Some may be Democrats. Some may be Republicans. But that doesn't matter. Just like it didn't matter that day in the Situation Room,

when I sat next to Bob Gates -- a man who was George Bush's defense secretary -- and Hillary Clinton -- a woman who ran against me for president.

All that mattered that day was the mission. No one thought about politics. No one thought about themselves. One of the young men involved in the raid later told me that he didn't deserve credit for the mission. It only succeeded, he said, because every single member of that unit did their job -- the pilot who landed the helicopter that spun out of control; the translator who kept others from entering the compound; the troops who separated the women and children from the fight; the SEALs who charged up the stairs. More than that, the mission only succeeded because every member of that unit trusted each other -- because you can't charge up those stairs, into darkness and danger, unless you know that there's somebody behind you, watching your back.

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

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

¹¹Anexo 3. Discurso sobre el Estado de la Unión presentado por el presidente Barack Obama en enero del 2014; Washington D.c

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, my fellow Americans:

Today in America, a teacher spent extra time with a student who needed it, and did her part to lift America's graduation rate to its highest level in more than three decades.

¹¹ Discurso copiado y extraído de The White House, & Office of the Press Secretary. (2014). *President Barack Obama's State of the Union Address* | [whitehouse.gov](https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/01/28/president-barack-obamas-state-union-address).
<https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/01/28/president-barack-obamas-state-union-address>

An entrepreneur flipped on the lights in her tech startup, and did her part to add to the more than eight million new jobs our businesses have created over the past four years.

An autoworker fine-tuned some of the best, most fuel-efficient cars in the world, and did his part to help America wean itself off foreign oil.

A farmer prepared for the spring after the strongest five-year stretch of farm exports in our history. A rural doctor gave a young child the first prescription to treat asthma that his mother could afford. A man took the bus home from the graveyard shift, bone-tired but dreaming big dreams for his son. And in tight-knit communities across America, fathers and mothers will tuck in their kids, put an arm around their spouse, remember fallen comrades, and give thanks for being home from a war that, after twelve long years, is finally coming to an end.

Tonight, this chamber speaks with one voice to the people we represent: it is you, our citizens, who make the state of our union strong.

Here are the results of your efforts: The lowest unemployment rate in over five years. A rebounding housing market. A manufacturing sector that's adding jobs for the first time since the 1990s. More oil produced at home than we buy from the rest of the world – the first time that's happened in nearly twenty years. Our deficits – cut by more than half. And for the first time in over a decade, business leaders around the world have declared that China is no longer the world's number one place to invest; America is.

That's why I believe this can be a breakthrough year for America. After five years of grit and determined effort, the United States is better-positioned for the 21st century than any other nation on Earth.

The question for everyone in this chamber, running through every decision we make this year, is whether we are going to help or hinder this progress. For several years now, this town has been consumed by a rancorous argument over the proper size of the federal government. It's an important debate – one that dates back to our very founding. But when that debate prevents us from carrying out even the most basic functions of our democracy – when our differences shut down government or threaten the full faith and credit of the United States – then we are not doing right by the American people.

As President, I'm committed to making Washington work better, and rebuilding the trust of the people who sent us here. I believe most of you are, too. Last month, thanks to the work of Democrats and Republicans, this Congress finally produced a budget that undoes some of last year's severe cuts to priorities like education. Nobody got everything they wanted, and we can still do more to invest in this country's future while bringing down our deficit in a balanced way. But the budget compromise should leave us freer to focus on creating new jobs, not creating new crises.

In the coming months, let's see where else we can make progress together. Let's make this a year of action. That's what most Americans want – for all of us in this chamber to focus on their lives, their hopes, their aspirations. And what I believe unites the people of this nation, regardless of race or region or party, young or old, rich or poor, is the simple, profound belief in opportunity for all – the notion that if you work hard and take responsibility, you can get ahead.

Let's face it: that belief has suffered some serious blows. Over more than three decades, even before the Great Recession hit, massive shifts in technology and global competition had eliminated a lot of good, middle-class jobs, and weakened the economic foundations that families depend on.

Today, after four years of economic growth, corporate profits and stock prices have rarely been higher, and those at the top have never done better. But average wages have barely budged. Inequality has deepened. Upward mobility has stalled. The cold, hard fact is that even in the midst of recovery, too many Americans are working more than ever just to get by – let alone get ahead. And too many still aren't working at all.

Our job is to reverse these trends. It won't happen right away, and we won't agree on everything. But what I offer tonight is a set of concrete, practical proposals to speed up growth, strengthen the middle class, and build new ladders of opportunity into the middle class. Some require Congressional action, and I'm eager to work with all of you. But America does not stand still – and neither will I. So wherever and whenever I can take steps without legislation to expand opportunity for more American families, that's what I'm going to do.

As usual, our First Lady sets a good example. Michelle's Let's Move partnership with schools, businesses, and local leaders has helped bring down childhood obesity rates for the first time in thirty years – an achievement that will improve lives and reduce health care costs for decades

to come. The Joining Forces alliance that Michelle and Jill Biden launched has already encouraged employers to hire or train nearly 400,000 veterans and military spouses. Taking a page from that playbook, the White House just organized a College Opportunity Summit where already, 150 universities, businesses, and nonprofits have made concrete commitments to reduce inequality in access to higher education – and help every hardworking kid go to college and succeed when they get to campus. Across the country, we’re partnering with mayors, governors, and state legislatures on issues from homelessness to marriage equality.

The point is, there are millions of Americans outside Washington who are tired of stale political arguments, and are moving this country forward. They believe, and I believe, that here in America, our success should depend not on accident of birth, but the strength of our work ethic and the scope of our dreams. That’s what drew our forebears here. It’s how the daughter of a factory worker is CEO of America’s largest automaker; how the son of a barkeeper is Speaker of the House; how the son of a single mom can be President of the greatest nation on Earth.

Opportunity is who we are. And the defining project of our generation is to restore that promise.

We know where to start: the best measure of opportunity is access to a good job. With the economy picking up speed, companies say they intend to hire more people this year. And over half of big manufacturers say they’re thinking of insourcing jobs from abroad.

So let’s make that decision easier for more companies. Both Democrats and Republicans have argued that our tax code is riddled with wasteful, complicated loopholes that punish businesses investing here, and reward companies that keep profits abroad. Let’s flip that equation. Let’s work together to close those loopholes, end those incentives to ship jobs overseas, and lower tax rates for businesses that create jobs here at home.

Moreover, we can take the money we save with this transition to tax reform to create jobs rebuilding our roads, upgrading our ports, unclogging our commutes – because in today’s global economy, first-class jobs gravitate to first-class infrastructure. We’ll need Congress to protect more than three million jobs by finishing transportation and waterways bills this summer. But I will act on my own to slash bureaucracy and streamline the permitting process for key projects, so we can get more construction workers on the job as fast as possible.

We also have the chance, right now, to beat other countries in the race for the next wave of high-tech manufacturing jobs. My administration has launched two hubs for high-tech manufacturing in Raleigh and Youngstown, where we've connected businesses to research universities that can help America lead the world in advanced technologies. Tonight, I'm announcing we'll launch six more this year. Bipartisan bills in both houses could double the number of these hubs and the jobs they create. So get those bills to my desk and put more Americans back to work.

Let's do more to help the entrepreneurs and small business owners who create most new jobs in America. Over the past five years, my administration has made more loans to small business owners than any other. And when ninety-eight percent of our exporters are small businesses, new trade partnerships with Europe and the Asia-Pacific will help them create more jobs. We need to work together on tools like bipartisan trade promotion authority to protect our workers, protect our environment, and open new markets to new goods stamped "Made in the USA." China and Europe aren't standing on the sidelines. Neither should we.

We know that the nation that goes all-in on innovation today will own the global economy tomorrow. This is an edge America cannot surrender. Federally-funded research helped lead to the ideas and inventions behind Google and smartphones. That's why Congress should undo the damage done by last year's cuts to basic research so we can unleash the next great American discovery – whether it's vaccines that stay ahead of drug-resistant bacteria, or paper-thin material that's stronger than steel. And let's pass a patent reform bill that allows our businesses to stay focused on innovation, not costly, needless litigation.

Now, one of the biggest factors in bringing more jobs back is our commitment to American energy. The all-of-the-above energy strategy I announced a few years ago is working, and today, America is closer to energy independence than we've been in decades.

One of the reasons why is natural gas – if extracted safely, it's the bridge fuel that can power our economy with less of the carbon pollution that causes climate change. Businesses plan to invest almost \$100 billion in new factories that use natural gas. I'll cut red tape to help states get those factories built, and this Congress can help by putting people to work building fueling stations that shift more cars and trucks from foreign oil to American natural gas. My administration will keep working with the industry to sustain production and job growth while

strengthening protection of our air, our water, and our communities. And while we're at it, I'll use my authority to protect more of our pristine federal lands for future generations.

It's not just oil and natural gas production that's booming; we're becoming a global leader in solar, too. Every four minutes, another American home or business goes solar; every panel pounded into place by a worker whose job can't be outsourced. Let's continue that progress with a smarter tax policy that stops giving \$4 billion a year to fossil fuel industries that don't need it, so that we can invest more in fuels of the future that do.

And even as we've increased energy production, we've partnered with businesses, builders, and local communities to reduce the energy we consume. When we rescued our automakers, for example, we worked with them to set higher fuel efficiency standards for our cars. In the coming months, I'll build on that success by setting new standards for our trucks, so we can keep driving down oil imports and what we pay at the pump.

Taken together, our energy policy is creating jobs and leading to a cleaner, safer planet. Over the past eight years, the United States has reduced our total carbon pollution more than any other nation on Earth. But we have to act with more urgency – because a changing climate is already harming western communities struggling with drought, and coastal cities dealing with floods. That's why I directed my administration to work with states, utilities, and others to set new standards on the amount of carbon pollution our power plants are allowed to dump into the air. The shift to a cleaner energy economy won't happen overnight, and it will require tough choices along the way. But the debate is settled. Climate change is a fact. And when our children's children look us in the eye and ask if we did all we could to leave them a safer, more stable world, with new sources of energy, I want us to be able to say yes, we did.

Finally, if we are serious about economic growth, it is time to heed the call of business leaders, labor leaders, faith leaders, and law enforcement – and fix our broken immigration system. Republicans and Democrats in the Senate have acted. I know that members of both parties in the House want to do the same. Independent economists say immigration reform will grow our economy and shrink our deficits by almost \$1 trillion in the next two decades. And for good reason: when people come here to fulfill their dreams – to study, invent, and contribute to our culture – they make our country a more attractive place for businesses to locate and create jobs for everyone. So let's get immigration reform done this year.

The ideas I've outlined so far can speed up growth and create more jobs. But in this rapidly-changing economy, we have to make sure that every American has the skills to fill those jobs.

The good news is, we know how to do it. Two years ago, as the auto industry came roaring back, Andra Rush opened up a manufacturing firm in Detroit. She knew that Ford needed parts for the best-selling truck in America, and she knew how to make them. She just needed the workforce. So she dialed up what we call an American Job Center – places where folks can walk in to get the help or training they need to find a new job, or better job. She was flooded with new workers. And today, Detroit Manufacturing Systems has more than 700 employees.

What Andra and her employees experienced is how it should be for every employer – and every job seeker. So tonight, I've asked Vice President Biden to lead an across-the-board reform of America's training programs to make sure they have one mission: train Americans with the skills employers need, and match them to good jobs that need to be filled right now. That means more on-the-job training, and more apprenticeships that set a young worker on an upward trajectory for life. It means connecting companies to community colleges that can help design training to fill their specific needs. And if Congress wants to help, you can concentrate funding on proven programs that connect more ready-to-work Americans with ready-to-be-filled jobs.

I'm also convinced we can help Americans return to the workforce faster by reforming unemployment insurance so that it's more effective in today's economy. But first, this Congress needs to restore the unemployment insurance you just let expire for 1.6 million people.

Let me tell you why.

Misty DeMars is a mother of two young boys. She'd been steadily employed since she was a teenager. She put herself through college. She'd never collected unemployment benefits. In May, she and her husband used their life savings to buy their first home. A week later, budget cuts claimed the job she loved. Last month, when their unemployment insurance was cut off, she sat down and wrote me a letter – the kind I get every day. “We are the face of the unemployment crisis,” she wrote. “I am not dependent on the government...Our country depends on people like us who build careers, contribute to society...care about our neighbors...I am confident that in time I will find a job...I will pay my taxes, and we will raise our children in their own home in the community we love. Please give us this chance.”

Congress, give these hardworking, responsible Americans that chance. They need our help, but more important, this country needs them in the game. That's why I've been asking CEOs to give more long-term unemployed workers a fair shot at that new job and new chance to support their families; this week, many will come to the White House to make that commitment real. Tonight, I ask every business leader in America to join us and to do the same – because we are stronger when America fields a full team.

Of course, it's not enough to train today's workforce. We also have to prepare tomorrow's workforce, by guaranteeing every child access to a world-class education.

Estiven Rodriguez couldn't speak a word of English when he moved to New York City at age nine. But last month, thanks to the support of great teachers and an innovative tutoring program, he led a march of his classmates – through a crowd of cheering parents and neighbors – from their high school to the post office, where they mailed off their college applications. And this son of a factory worker just found out he's going to college this fall.

Five years ago, we set out to change the odds for all our kids. We worked with lenders to reform student loans, and today, more young people are earning college degrees than ever before. Race to the Top, with the help of governors from both parties, has helped states raise expectations and performance. Teachers and principals in schools from Tennessee to Washington, D.C. are making big strides in preparing students with skills for the new economy – problem solving, critical thinking, science, technology, engineering, and math. Some of this change is hard. It requires everything from more challenging curriculums and more demanding parents to better support for teachers and new ways to measure how well our kids think, not how well they can fill in a bubble on a test. But it's worth it – and it's working.

The problem is we're still not reaching enough kids, and we're not reaching them in time. That has to change.

Research shows that one of the best investments we can make in a child's life is high-quality early education. Last year, I asked this Congress to help states make high-quality pre-K available to every four year-old. As a parent as well as a President, I repeat that request tonight. But in the meantime, thirty states have raised pre-k funding on their own. They know we can't wait. So just as we worked with states to reform our schools, this year, we'll invest in new partnerships with states and communities across the country in a race to the top for our youngest children. And as Congress decides what it's going to do, I'm going to pull together a coalition

of elected officials, business leaders, and philanthropists willing to help more kids access the high-quality pre-K they need.

Last year, I also pledged to connect 99 percent of our students to high-speed broadband over the next four years. Tonight, I can announce that with the support of the FCC and companies like Apple, Microsoft, Sprint, and Verizon, we've got a down payment to start connecting more than 15,000 schools and twenty million students over the next two years, without adding a dime to the deficit.

We're working to redesign high schools and partner them with colleges and employers that offer the real-world education and hands-on training that can lead directly to a job and career. We're shaking up our system of higher education to give parents more information, and colleges more incentives to offer better value, so that no middle-class kid is priced out of a college education. We're offering millions the opportunity to cap their monthly student loan payments to ten percent of their income, and I want to work with Congress to see how we can help even more Americans who feel trapped by student loan debt. And I'm reaching out to some of America's leading foundations and corporations on a new initiative to help more young men of color facing tough odds stay on track and reach their full potential.

The bottom line is, Michelle and I want every child to have the same chance this country gave us. But we know our opportunity agenda won't be complete – and too many young people entering the workforce today will see the American Dream as an empty promise – unless we do more to make sure our economy honors the dignity of work, and hard work pays off for every single American.

Today, women make up about half our workforce. But they still make 77 cents for every dollar a man earns. That is wrong, and in 2014, it's an embarrassment. A woman deserves equal pay for equal work. She deserves to have a baby without sacrificing her job. A mother deserves a day off to care for a sick child or sick parent without running into hardship – and you know what, a father does, too. It's time to do away with workplace policies that belong in a "Mad Men" episode. This year, let's all come together – Congress, the White House, and businesses from Wall Street to Main Street – to give every woman the opportunity she deserves. Because I firmly believe when women succeed, America succeeds.

Now, women hold a majority of lower-wage jobs – but they're not the only ones stifled by stagnant wages. Americans understand that some people will earn more than others, and we

don't resent those who, by virtue of their efforts, achieve incredible success. But Americans overwhelmingly agree that no one who works full time should ever have to raise a family in poverty.

In the year since I asked this Congress to raise the minimum wage, five states have passed laws to raise theirs. Many businesses have done it on their own. Nick Chute is here tonight with his boss, John Soranno. John's an owner of Punch Pizza in Minneapolis, and Nick helps make the dough. Only now he makes more of it: John just gave his employees a raise, to ten bucks an hour – a decision that eased their financial stress and boosted their morale.

Tonight, I ask more of America's business leaders to follow John's lead and do what you can to raise your employees' wages. To every mayor, governor, and state legislator in America, I say, you don't have to wait for Congress to act; Americans will support you if you take this on. And as a chief executive, I intend to lead by example. Profitable corporations like Costco see higher wages as the smart way to boost productivity and reduce turnover. We should too. In the coming weeks, I will issue an Executive Order requiring federal contractors to pay their federally-funded employees a fair wage of at least \$10.10 an hour – because if you cook our troops' meals or wash their dishes, you shouldn't have to live in poverty.

Of course, to reach millions more, Congress needs to get on board. Today, the federal minimum wage is worth about twenty percent less than it was when Ronald Reagan first stood here. Tom Harkin and George Miller have a bill to fix that by lifting the minimum wage to \$10.10. This will help families. It will give businesses customers with more money to spend. It doesn't involve any new bureaucratic program. So join the rest of the country. Say yes. Give America a raise.

There are other steps we can take to help families make ends meet, and few are more effective at reducing inequality and helping families pull themselves up through hard work than the Earned Income Tax Credit. Right now, it helps about half of all parents at some point. But I agree with Republicans like Senator Rubio that it doesn't do enough for single workers who don't have kids. So let's work together to strengthen the credit, reward work, and help more Americans get ahead.

Let's do more to help Americans save for retirement. Today, most workers don't have a pension. A Social Security check often isn't enough on its own. And while the stock market has doubled over the last five years, that doesn't help folks who don't have 401ks. That's why,

tomorrow, I will direct the Treasury to create a new way for working Americans to start their own retirement savings: MyRA. It's a new savings bond that encourages folks to build a nest egg. MyRA guarantees a decent return with no risk of losing what you put in. And if this Congress wants to help, work with me to fix an upside-down tax code that gives big tax breaks to help the wealthy save, but does little to nothing for middle-class Americans. Offer every American access to an automatic IRA on the job, so they can save at work just like everyone in this chamber can. And since the most important investment many families make is their home, send me legislation that protects taxpayers from footing the bill for a housing crisis ever again, and keeps the dream of homeownership alive for future generations of Americans.

One last point on financial security. For decades, few things exposed hard-working families to economic hardship more than a broken health care system. And in case you haven't heard, we're in the process of fixing that.

A pre-existing condition used to mean that someone like Amanda Shelley, a physician assistant and single mom from Arizona, couldn't get health insurance. But on January 1st, she got covered. On January 3rd, she felt a sharp pain. On January 6th, she had emergency surgery. Just one week earlier, Amanda said, that surgery would've meant bankruptcy.

That's what health insurance reform is all about – the peace of mind that if misfortune strikes, you don't have to lose everything.

Already, because of the Affordable Care Act, more than three million Americans under age 26 have gained coverage under their parents' plans.

More than nine million Americans have signed up for private health insurance or Medicaid coverage.

And here's another number: zero. Because of this law, no American can ever again be dropped or denied coverage for a preexisting condition like asthma, back pain, or cancer. No woman can ever be charged more just because she's a woman. And we did all this while adding years to Medicare's finances, keeping Medicare premiums flat, and lowering prescription costs for millions of seniors.

Now, I don't expect to convince my Republican friends on the merits of this law. But I know that the American people aren't interested in refighting old battles. So again, if you have

specific plans to cut costs, cover more people, and increase choice – tell America what you’d do differently. Let’s see if the numbers add up. But let’s not have another forty-something votes to repeal a law that’s already helping millions of Americans like Amanda. The first forty were plenty. We got it. We all owe it to the American people to say what we’re for, not just what we’re against.

And if you want to know the real impact this law is having, just talk to Governor Steve Beshear of Kentucky, who’s here tonight. Kentucky’s not the most liberal part of the country, but he’s like a man possessed when it comes to covering his commonwealth’s families. “They are our friends and neighbors,” he said. “They are people we shop and go to church with...farmers out on the tractors...grocery clerks...they are people who go to work every morning praying they don’t get sick. No one deserves to live that way.”

Steve’s right. That’s why, tonight, I ask every American who knows someone without health insurance to help them get covered by March 31st. Moms, get on your kids to sign up. Kids, call your mom and walk her through the application. It will give her some peace of mind – plus, she’ll appreciate hearing from you.

After all, that’s the spirit that has always moved this nation forward. It’s the spirit of citizenship – the recognition that through hard work and responsibility, we can pursue our individual dreams, but still come together as one American family to make sure the next generation can pursue its dreams as well.

Citizenship means standing up for everyone’s right to vote. Last year, part of the Voting Rights Act was weakened. But conservative Republicans and liberal Democrats are working together to strengthen it; and the bipartisan commission I appointed last year has offered reforms so that no one has to wait more than a half hour to vote. Let’s support these efforts. It should be the power of our vote, not the size of our bank account, that drives our democracy.

Citizenship means standing up for the lives that gun violence steals from us each day. I have seen the courage of parents, students, pastors, and police officers all over this country who say “we are not afraid,” and I intend to keep trying, with or without Congress, to help stop more tragedies from visiting innocent Americans in our movie theaters, shopping malls, or schools like Sandy Hook.

Citizenship demands a sense of common cause; participation in the hard work of self-government; an obligation to serve to our communities. And I know this chamber agrees that few Americans give more to their country than our diplomats and the men and women of the United States Armed Forces.

Tonight, because of the extraordinary troops and civilians who risk and lay down their lives to keep us free, the United States is more secure. When I took office, nearly 180,000 Americans were serving in Iraq and Afghanistan. Today, all our troops are out of Iraq. More than 60,000 of our troops have already come home from Afghanistan. With Afghan forces now in the lead for their own security, our troops have moved to a support role. Together with our allies, we will complete our mission there by the end of this year, and America's longest war will finally be over.

After 2014, we will support a unified Afghanistan as it takes responsibility for its own future. If the Afghan government signs a security agreement that we have negotiated, a small force of Americans could remain in Afghanistan with NATO allies to carry out two narrow missions: training and assisting Afghan forces, and counterterrorism operations to pursue any remnants of al Qaeda. For while our relationship with Afghanistan will change, one thing will not: our resolve that terrorists do not launch attacks against our country.

The fact is, that danger remains. While we have put al Qaeda's core leadership on a path to defeat, the threat has evolved, as al Qaeda affiliates and other extremists take root in different parts of the world. In Yemen, Somalia, Iraq, and Mali, we have to keep working with partners to disrupt and disable these networks. In Syria, we'll support the opposition that rejects the agenda of terrorist networks. Here at home, we'll keep strengthening our defenses, and combat new threats like cyberattacks. And as we reform our defense budget, we have to keep faith with our men and women in uniform, and invest in the capabilities they need to succeed in future missions.

We have to remain vigilant. But I strongly believe our leadership and our security cannot depend on our military alone. As Commander-in-Chief, I have used force when needed to protect the American people, and I will never hesitate to do so as long as I hold this office. But I will not send our troops into harm's way unless it's truly necessary; nor will I allow our sons and daughters to be mired in open-ended conflicts. We must fight the battles that need to be

fought, not those that terrorists prefer from us – large-scale deployments that drain our strength and may ultimately feed extremism.

So, even as we aggressively pursue terrorist networks – through more targeted efforts and by building the capacity of our foreign partners – America must move off a permanent war footing. That’s why I’ve imposed prudent limits on the use of drones – for we will not be safer if people abroad believe we strike within their countries without regard for the consequence. That’s why, working with this Congress, I will reform our surveillance programs – because the vital work of our intelligence community depends on public confidence, here and abroad, that the privacy of ordinary people is not being violated. And with the Afghan war ending, this needs to be the year Congress lifts the remaining restrictions on detainee transfers and we close the prison at Guantanamo Bay – because we counter terrorism not just through intelligence and military action, but by remaining true to our Constitutional ideals, and setting an example for the rest of the world.

You see, in a world of complex threats, our security and leadership depends on all elements of our power – including strong and principled diplomacy. American diplomacy has rallied more than fifty countries to prevent nuclear materials from falling into the wrong hands, and allowed us to reduce our own reliance on Cold War stockpiles. American diplomacy, backed by the threat of force, is why Syria’s chemical weapons are being eliminated, and we will continue to work with the international community to usher in the future the Syrian people deserve – a future free of dictatorship, terror and fear. As we speak, American diplomacy is supporting Israelis and Palestinians as they engage in difficult but necessary talks to end the conflict there; to achieve dignity and an independent state for Palestinians, and lasting peace and security for the State of Israel – a Jewish state that knows America will always be at their side.

And it is American diplomacy, backed by pressure, that has halted the progress of Iran’s nuclear program – and rolled parts of that program back – for the very first time in a decade. As we gather here tonight, Iran has begun to eliminate its stockpile of higher levels of enriched uranium. It is not installing advanced centrifuges. Unprecedented inspections help the world verify, every day, that Iran is not building a bomb. And with our allies and partners, we’re engaged in negotiations to see if we can peacefully achieve a goal we all share: preventing Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon.

These negotiations will be difficult. They may not succeed. We are clear-eyed about Iran's support for terrorist organizations like Hezbollah, which threaten our allies; and the mistrust between our nations cannot be wished away. But these negotiations do not rely on trust; any long-term deal we agree to must be based on verifiable action that convinces us and the international community that Iran is not building a nuclear bomb. If John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan could negotiate with the Soviet Union, then surely a strong and confident America can negotiate with less powerful adversaries today.

The sanctions that we put in place helped make this opportunity possible. But let me be clear: if this Congress sends me a new sanctions bill now that threatens to derail these talks, I will veto it. For the sake of our national security, we must give diplomacy a chance to succeed. If Iran's leaders do not seize this opportunity, then I will be the first to call for more sanctions, and stand ready to exercise all options to make sure Iran does not build a nuclear weapon. But if Iran's leaders do seize the chance, then Iran could take an important step to rejoin the community of nations, and we will have resolved one of the leading security challenges of our time without the risks of war.

Finally, let's remember that our leadership is defined not just by our defense against threats, but by the enormous opportunities to do good and promote understanding around the globe – to forge greater cooperation, to expand new markets, to free people from fear and want. And no one is better positioned to take advantage of those opportunities than America.

Our alliance with Europe remains the strongest the world has ever known. From Tunisia to Burma, we're supporting those who are willing to do the hard work of building democracy. In Ukraine, we stand for the principle that all people have the right to express themselves freely and peacefully, and have a say in their country's future. Across Africa, we're bringing together businesses and governments to double access to electricity and help end extreme poverty. In the Americas, we are building new ties of commerce, but we're also expanding cultural and educational exchanges among young people. And we will continue to focus on the Asia-Pacific, where we support our allies, shape a future of greater security and prosperity, and extend a hand to those devastated by disaster – as we did in the Philippines, when our Marines and civilians rushed to aid those battered by a typhoon, and were greeted with words like, “We will never forget your kindness” and “God bless America!”

We do these things because they help promote our long-term security. And we do them because we believe in the inherent dignity and equality of every human being, regardless of race or religion, creed or sexual orientation. And next week, the world will see one expression of that commitment – when Team USA marches the red, white, and blue into the Olympic Stadium – and brings home the gold.

My fellow Americans, no other country in the world does what we do. On every issue, the world turns to us, not simply because of the size of our economy or our military might – but because of the ideals we stand for, and the burdens we bear to advance them.

No one knows this better than those who serve in uniform. As this time of war draws to a close, a new generation of heroes returns to civilian life. We'll keep slashing that backlog so our veterans receive the benefits they've earned, and our wounded warriors receive the health care – including the mental health care – that they need. We'll keep working to help all our veterans translate their skills and leadership into jobs here at home. And we all continue to join forces to honor and support our remarkable military families.

Let me tell you about one of those families I've come to know.

I first met Cory Remsburg, a proud Army Ranger, at Omaha Beach on the 65th anniversary of D-Day. Along with some of his fellow Rangers, he walked me through the program – a strong, impressive young man, with an easy manner, sharp as a tack. We joked around, and took pictures, and I told him to stay in touch.

A few months later, on his tenth deployment, Cory was nearly killed by a massive roadside bomb in Afghanistan. His comrades found him in a canal, face down, underwater, shrapnel in his brain.

For months, he lay in a coma. The next time I met him, in the hospital, he couldn't speak; he could barely move. Over the years, he's endured dozens of surgeries and procedures, and hours of grueling rehab every day.

Even now, Cory is still blind in one eye. He still struggles on his left side. But slowly, steadily, with the support of caregivers like his dad Craig, and the community around him, Cory has grown stronger. Day by day, he's learned to speak again and stand again and walk again – and he's working toward the day when he can serve his country again.

“My recovery has not been easy,” he says. “Nothing in life that’s worth anything is easy.”

Cory is here tonight. And like the Army he loves, like the America he serves, Sergeant First Class Cory Remsburg never gives up, and he does not quit.

My fellow Americans, men and women like Cory remind us that America has never come easy. Our freedom, our democracy, has never been easy. Sometimes we stumble; we make mistakes; we get frustrated or discouraged. But for more than two hundred years, we have put those things aside and placed our collective shoulder to the wheel of progress – to create and build and expand the possibilities of individual achievement; to free other nations from tyranny and fear; to promote justice, and fairness, and equality under the law, so that the words set to paper by our founders are made real for every citizen. The America we want for our kids – a rising America where honest work is plentiful and communities are strong; where prosperity is widely shared and opportunity for all lets us go as far as our dreams and toil will take us – none of it is easy. But if we work together; if we summon what is best in us, with our feet planted firmly in today but our eyes cast towards tomorrow – I know it’s within our reach.

Believe it.

God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

¹²Anexo 4. Discurso sobre el Estado de la Unión presentado por el presidente Barack Obama en enero del 2016; Washington D.c

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, my fellow Americans:

Tonight marks the eighth year that I’ve come here to report on the State of the Union. And for this final one, I’m going to try to make it a little shorter. (Applause.) I know some of you are antsy to get back to Iowa. (Laughter.) I’ve been there. I’ll be shaking hands afterwards if you want some tips. (Laughter.)

¹² Discurso copiado y extraído de Barack Obama. (2016). *Barack Obama 2016 State of the Union Address*. <https://cnnespanol.cnn.com/2016/01/12/discurso-completo-de-obama-sobre-el-estado-de-la-union/>

And I understand that because it's an election season, expectations for what we will achieve this year are low. But, Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the constructive approach that you and the other leaders took at the end of last year to pass a budget and make tax cuts permanent for working families. So I hope we can work together this year on some bipartisan priorities like criminal justice reform -- (applause) -- and helping people who are battling prescription drug abuse and heroin abuse. (Applause.) So, who knows, we might surprise the cynics again.

But tonight, I want to go easy on the traditional list of proposals for the year ahead. Don't worry, I've got plenty, from helping students learn to write computer code to personalizing medical treatments for patients. And I will keep pushing for progress on the work that I believe still needs to be done. Fixing a broken immigration system. (Applause.) Protecting our kids from gun violence. (Applause.) Equal pay for equal work. (Applause.) Paid leave. (Applause.) Raising the minimum wage. (Applause.) All these things still matter to hardworking families. They're still the right thing to do. And I won't let up until they get done.

But for my final address to this chamber, I don't want to just talk about next year. I want to focus on the next five years, the next 10 years, and beyond. I want to focus on our future.

We live in a time of extraordinary change -- change that's reshaping the way we live, the way we work, our planet, our place in the world. It's change that promises amazing medical breakthroughs, but also economic disruptions that strain working families. It promises education for girls in the most remote villages, but also connects terrorists plotting an ocean away. It's change that can broaden opportunity, or widen inequality. And whether we like it or not, the pace of this change will only accelerate.

America has been through big changes before -- wars and depression, the influx of new immigrants, workers fighting for a fair deal, movements to expand civil rights. Each time, there have been those who told us to fear the future; who claimed we could slam the brakes on change; who promised to restore past glory if we just got some group or idea that was threatening America under control. And each time, we overcame those fears. We did not, in the words of Lincoln, adhere to the "dogmas of the quiet past." Instead we thought anew, and acted anew. We made change work for us, always extending America's promise outward, to the next frontier, to more people. And because we did -- because we saw opportunity where others saw only peril -- we emerged stronger and better than before.

What was true then can be true now. Our unique strengths as a nation -- our optimism and work ethic, our spirit of discovery, our diversity, our commitment to rule of law -- these things give us everything we need to ensure prosperity and security for generations to come.

In fact, it's that spirit that made the progress of these past seven years possible. It's how we recovered from the worst economic crisis in generations. It's how we reformed our health care system, and reinvented our energy sector; how we delivered more care and benefits to our troops and veterans, and how we secured the freedom in every state to marry the person we love.

But such progress is not inevitable. It's the result of choices we make together. And we face such choices right now. Will we respond to the changes of our time with fear, turning inward as a nation, turning against each other as a people? Or will we face the future with confidence in who we are, in what we stand for, in the incredible things that we can do together?

So let's talk about the future, and four big questions that I believe we as a country have to answer -- regardless of who the next President is, or who controls the next Congress.

First, how do we give everyone a fair shot at opportunity and security in this new economy? (Applause.)

Second, how do we make technology work for us, and not against us -- especially when it comes to solving urgent challenges like climate change? (Applause.)

Third, how do we keep America safe and lead the world without becoming its policeman? (Applause.)

And finally, how can we make our politics reflect what's best in us, and not what's worst?

Let me start with the economy, and a basic fact: The United States of America, right now, has the strongest, most durable economy in the world. (Applause.) We're in the middle of the longest streak of private sector job creation in history. (Applause.) More than 14 million new jobs, the strongest two years of job growth since the '90s, an unemployment rate cut in half. Our auto industry just had its best year ever. (Applause.) That's just part of a manufacturing surge that's created nearly 900,000 new jobs in the past six years. And we've done all this while cutting our deficits by almost three-quarters. (Applause.)

Anyone claiming that America's economy is in decline is peddling fiction. (Applause.) Now, what is true -- and the reason that a lot of Americans feel anxious -- is that the economy has been changing in profound ways, changes that started long before the Great Recession hit; changes that have not let up.

Today, technology doesn't just replace jobs on the assembly line, but any job where work can be automated. Companies in a global economy can locate anywhere, and they face tougher competition. As a result, workers have less leverage for a raise. Companies have less loyalty to their communities. And more and more wealth and income is concentrated at the very top.

All these trends have squeezed workers, even when they have jobs; even when the economy is growing. It's made it harder for a hardworking family to pull itself out of poverty, harder for young people to start their careers, tougher for workers to retire when they want to. And although none of these trends are unique to America, they do offend our uniquely American belief that everybody who works hard should get a fair shot.

For the past seven years, our goal has been a growing economy that works also better for everybody. We've made progress. But we need to make more. And despite all the political arguments that we've had these past few years, there are actually some areas where Americans broadly agree.

We agree that real opportunity requires every American to get the education and training they need to land a good-paying job. The bipartisan reform of No Child Left Behind was an important start, and together, we've increased early childhood education, lifted high school graduation rates to new highs, boosted graduates in fields like engineering. In the coming years, we should build on that progress, by providing Pre-K for all and -- (applause) -- offering every student the hands-on computer science and math classes that make them job-ready on day one. We should recruit and support more great teachers for our kids. (Applause.)

And we have to make college affordable for every American. (Applause.) No hardworking student should be stuck in the red. We've already reduced student loan payments to 10 percent of a borrower's income. And that's good. But now, we've actually got to cut the cost of college. (Applause.) Providing two years of community college at no cost for every responsible student is one of the best ways to do that, and I'm going to keep fighting to get that started this year. (Applause.) It's the right thing to do. (Applause.)

But a great education isn't all we need in this new economy. We also need benefits and protections that provide a basic measure of security. It's not too much of a stretch to say that some of the only people in America who are going to work the same job, in the same place, with a health and retirement package for 30 years are sitting in this chamber. (Laughter.) For everyone else, especially folks in their 40s and 50s, saving for retirement or bouncing back from job loss has gotten a lot tougher. Americans understand that at some point in their careers, in this new economy, they may have to retool and they may have to retrain. But they shouldn't lose what they've already worked so hard to build in the process.

That's why Social Security and Medicare are more important than ever. We shouldn't weaken them; we should strengthen them. (Applause.) And for Americans short of retirement, basic benefits should be just as mobile as everything else is today. That, by the way, is what the Affordable Care Act is all about. It's about filling the gaps in employer-based care so that when you lose a job, or you go back to school, or you strike out and launch that new business, you'll still have coverage. Nearly 18 million people have gained coverage so far. (Applause.) And in the process, health care inflation has slowed. And our businesses have created jobs every single month since it became law.

Now, I'm guessing we won't agree on health care anytime soon. (Applause.) A little applause right there. (Laughter.) Just a guess. But there should be other ways parties can work together to improve economic security. Say a hardworking American loses his job -- we shouldn't just make sure that he can get unemployment insurance; we should make sure that program encourages him to retrain for a business that's ready to hire him. If that new job doesn't pay as much, there should be a system of wage insurance in place so that he can still pay his bills. And even if he's going from job to job, he should still be able to save for retirement and take his savings with him. That's the way we make the new economy work better for everybody.

I also know Speaker Ryan has talked about his interest in tackling poverty. America is about giving everybody willing to work a chance, a hand up. And I'd welcome a serious discussion about strategies we can all support, like expanding tax cuts for low-income workers who don't have children. (Applause.)

But there are some areas where we just have to be honest -- it has been difficult to find agreement over the last seven years. And a lot of them fall under the category of what role the government should play in making sure the system's not rigged in favor of the wealthiest and

biggest corporations. (Applause.) And it's an honest disagreement, and the American people have a choice to make.

I believe a thriving private sector is the lifeblood of our economy. I think there are outdated regulations that need to be changed. There is red tape that needs to be cut. (Applause.) There you go! Yes! (Applause.) But after years now of record corporate profits, working families won't get more opportunity or bigger paychecks just by letting big banks or big oil or hedge funds make their own rules at everybody else's expense. (Applause.) Middle-class families are not going to feel more secure because we allowed attacks on collective bargaining to go unanswered. Food Stamp recipients did not cause the financial crisis; recklessness on Wall Street did. (Applause.) Immigrants aren't the principal reason wages haven't gone up; those decisions are made in the boardrooms that all too often put quarterly earnings over long-term returns. It's sure not the average family watching tonight that avoids paying taxes through offshore accounts. (Applause.)

The point is, I believe that in this new economy, workers and start-ups and small businesses need more of a voice, not less. The rules should work for them. (Applause.) And I'm not alone in this. This year I plan to lift up the many businesses who've figured out that doing right by their workers or their customers or their communities ends up being good for their shareholders. (Applause.) And I want to spread those best practices across America. That's part of a brighter future. (Applause.)

In fact, it turns out many of our best corporate citizens are also our most creative. And this brings me to the second big question we as a country have to answer: How do we reignite that spirit of innovation to meet our biggest challenges?

Sixty years ago, when the Russians beat us into space, we didn't deny Sputnik was up there. (Laughter.) We didn't argue about the science, or shrink our research and development budget. We built a space program almost overnight. And 12 years later, we were walking on the moon. (Applause.)

Now, that spirit of discovery is in our DNA. America is Thomas Edison and the Wright Brothers and George Washington Carver. America is Grace Hopper and Katherine Johnson and Sally Ride. America is every immigrant and entrepreneur from Boston to Austin to Silicon Valley, racing to shape a better world. (Applause.) That's who we are.

And over the past seven years, we've nurtured that spirit. We've protected an open Internet, and taken bold new steps to get more students and low-income Americans online. (Applause.) We've launched next-generation manufacturing hubs, and online tools that give an entrepreneur everything he or she needs to start a business in a single day. But we can do so much more.

Last year, Vice President Biden said that with a new moonshot, America can cure cancer. Last month, he worked with this Congress to give scientists at the National Institutes of Health the strongest resources that they've had in over a decade. (Applause.) So tonight, I'm announcing a new national effort to get it done. And because he's gone to the mat for all of us on so many issues over the past 40 years, I'm putting Joe in charge of Mission Control. (Applause.) For the loved ones we've all lost, for the families that we can still save, let's make America the country that cures cancer once and for all. (Applause.)

Medical research is critical. We need the same level of commitment when it comes to developing clean energy sources. (Applause.) Look, if anybody still wants to dispute the science around climate change, have at it. You will be pretty lonely, because you'll be debating our military, most of America's business leaders, the majority of the American people, almost the entire scientific community, and 200 nations around the world who agree it's a problem and intend to solve it. (Applause.)

But even if -- even if the planet wasn't at stake, even if 2014 wasn't the warmest year on record -- until 2015 turned out to be even hotter -- why would we want to pass up the chance for American businesses to produce and sell the energy of the future? (Applause.)

Listen, seven years ago, we made the single biggest investment in clean energy in our history. Here are the results. In fields from Iowa to Texas, wind power is now cheaper than dirtier, conventional power. On rooftops from Arizona to New York, solar is saving Americans tens of millions of dollars a year on their energy bills, and employs more Americans than coal -- in jobs that pay better than average. We're taking steps to give homeowners the freedom to generate and store their own energy -- something, by the way, that environmentalists and Tea Partiers have teamed up to support. And meanwhile, we've cut our imports of foreign oil by nearly 60 percent, and cut carbon pollution more than any other country on Earth. (Applause.)

Gas under two bucks a gallon ain't bad, either. (Applause.)

Now we've got to accelerate the transition away from old, dirtier energy sources. Rather than subsidize the past, we should invest in the future -- especially in communities that rely on fossil fuels. We do them no favor when we don't show them where the trends are going. That's why I'm going to push to change the way we manage our oil and coal resources, so that they better reflect the costs they impose on taxpayers and our planet. And that way, we put money back into those communities, and put tens of thousands of Americans to work building a 21st century transportation system. (Applause.)

Now, none of this is going to happen overnight. And, yes, there are plenty of entrenched interests who want to protect the status quo. But the jobs we'll create, the money we'll save, the planet we'll preserve -- that is the kind of future our kids and our grandkids deserve. And it's within our grasp.

Climate change is just one of many issues where our security is linked to the rest of the world. And that's why the third big question that we have to answer together is how to keep America safe and strong without either isolating ourselves or trying to nation-build everywhere there's a problem.

I told you earlier all the talk of America's economic decline is political hot air. Well, so is all the rhetoric you hear about our enemies getting stronger and America getting weaker. Let me tell you something. The United States of America is the most powerful nation on Earth. Period. (Applause.) Period. It's not even close. It's not even close. (Applause.) It's not even close. We spend more on our military than the next eight nations combined. Our troops are the finest fighting force in the history of the world. (Applause.) No nation attacks us directly, or our allies, because they know that's the path to ruin. Surveys show our standing around the world is higher than when I was elected to this office, and when it comes to every important international issue, people of the world do not look to Beijing or Moscow to lead -- they call us. (Applause.)

I mean, it's useful to level the set here, because when we don't, we don't make good decisions.

Now, as someone who begins every day with an intelligence briefing, I know this is a dangerous time. But that's not primarily because of some looming superpower out there, and certainly not because of diminished American strength. In today's world, we're threatened less by evil empires and more by failing states.

The Middle East is going through a transformation that will play out for a generation, rooted in conflicts that date back millennia. Economic headwinds are blowing in from a Chinese economy that is in significant transition. Even as their economy severely contracts, Russia is pouring resources in to prop up Ukraine and Syria -- client states that they saw slipping away from their orbit. And the international system we built after World War II is now struggling to keep pace with this new reality.

It's up to us, the United States of America, to help remake that system. And to do that well it means that we've got to set priorities.

Priority number one is protecting the American people and going after terrorist networks. (Applause.) Both al Qaeda and now ISIL pose a direct threat to our people, because in today's world, even a handful of terrorists who place no value on human life, including their own, can do a lot of damage. They use the Internet to poison the minds of individuals inside our country. Their actions undermine and destabilize our allies. We have to take them out./p>

But as we focus on destroying ISIL, over-the-top claims that this is World War III just play into their hands. Masses of fighters on the back of pickup trucks, twisted souls plotting in apartments or garages -- they pose an enormous danger to civilians; they have to be stopped. But they do not threaten our national existence. (Applause.) That is the story ISIL wants to tell. That's the kind of propaganda they use to recruit. We don't need to build them up to show that we're serious, and we sure don't need to push away vital allies in this fight by echoing the lie that ISIL is somehow representative of one of the world's largest religions. (Applause.) We just need to call them what they are -- killers and fanatics who have to be rooted out, hunted down, and destroyed. (Applause.)

And that's exactly what we're doing. For more than a year, America has led a coalition of more than 60 countries to cut off ISIL's financing, disrupt their plots, stop the flow of terrorist fighters, and stamp out their vicious ideology. With nearly 10,000 air strikes, we're taking out their leadership, their oil, their training camps, their weapons. We're training, arming, and supporting forces who are steadily reclaiming territory in Iraq and Syria.

If this Congress is serious about winning this war, and wants to send a message to our troops and the world, authorize the use of military force against ISIL. Take a vote. (Applause.) Take a vote. But the American people should know that with or without congressional action, ISIL will learn the same lessons as terrorists before them. If you doubt America's commitment -- or

mine -- to see that justice is done, just ask Osama bin Laden. (Applause.) Ask the leader of al Qaeda in Yemen, who was taken out last year, or the perpetrator of the Benghazi attacks, who sits in a prison cell. When you come after Americans, we go after you. (Applause.) And it may take time, but we have long memories, and our reach has no limits. (Applause.)

Our foreign policy has to be focused on the threat from ISIL and al Qaeda, but it can't stop there. For even without ISIL, even without al Qaeda, instability will continue for decades in many parts of the world -- in the Middle East, in Afghanistan, parts of Pakistan, in parts of Central America, in Africa, and Asia. Some of these places may become safe havens for new terrorist networks. Others will just fall victim to ethnic conflict, or famine, feeding the next wave of refugees. The world will look to us to help solve these problems, and our answer needs to be more than tough talk or calls to carpet-bomb civilians. That may work as a TV sound bite, but it doesn't pass muster on the world stage.

We also can't try to take over and rebuild every country that falls into crisis, even if it's done with the best of intentions. (Applause.) That's not leadership; that's a recipe for quagmire, spilling American blood and treasure that ultimately will weaken us. It's the lesson of Vietnam; it's the lesson of Iraq -- and we should have learned it by now. (Applause.)

Fortunately, there is a smarter approach, a patient and disciplined strategy that uses every element of our national power. It says America will always act, alone if necessary, to protect our people and our allies; but on issues of global concern, we will mobilize the world to work with us, and make sure other countries pull their own weight.

That's our approach to conflicts like Syria, where we're partnering with local forces and leading international efforts to help that broken society pursue a lasting peace.

That's why we built a global coalition, with sanctions and principled diplomacy, to prevent a nuclear-armed Iran. And as we speak, Iran has rolled back its nuclear program, shipped out its uranium stockpile, and the world has avoided another war. (Applause.)

That's how we stopped the spread of Ebola in West Africa. (Applause.) Our military, our doctors, our development workers -- they were heroic; they set up the platform that then allowed other countries to join in behind us and stamp out that epidemic. Hundreds of thousands, maybe a couple million lives were saved.

That's how we forged a Trans-Pacific Partnership to open markets, and protect workers and the environment, and advance American leadership in Asia. It cuts 18,000 taxes on products made in America, which will then support more good jobs here in America. With TPP, China does not set the rules in that region; we do. You want to show our strength in this new century? Approve this agreement. Give us the tools to enforce it. It's the right thing to do. (Applause.)

Let me give you another example. Fifty years of isolating Cuba had failed to promote democracy, and set us back in Latin America. That's why we restored diplomatic relations -- (applause) -- opened the door to travel and commerce, positioned ourselves to improve the lives of the Cuban people. (Applause.) So if you want to consolidate our leadership and credibility in the hemisphere, recognize that the Cold War is over -- lift the embargo. (Applause.)

The point is American leadership in the 21st century is not a choice between ignoring the rest of the world -- except when we kill terrorists -- or occupying and rebuilding whatever society is unraveling. Leadership means a wise application of military power, and rallying the world behind causes that are right. It means seeing our foreign assistance as a part of our national security, not something separate, not charity.

When we lead nearly 200 nations to the most ambitious agreement in history to fight climate change, yes, that helps vulnerable countries, but it also protects our kids. When we help Ukraine defend its democracy, or Colombia resolve a decades-long war, that strengthens the international order we depend on. When we help African countries feed their people and care for the sick -- (applause) -- it's the right thing to do, and it prevents the next pandemic from reaching our shores. Right now, we're on track to end the scourge of HIV/AIDS. That's within our grasp. (Applause.) And we have the chance to accomplish the same thing with malaria -- something I'll be pushing this Congress to fund this year. (Applause.)

That's American strength. That's American leadership. And that kind of leadership depends on the power of our example. That's why I will keep working to shut down the prison at Guantanamo. (Applause.) It is expensive, it is unnecessary, and it only serves as a recruitment brochure for our enemies. (Applause.) There's a better way. (Applause.)

And that's why we need to reject any politics -- any politics -- that targets people because of race or religion. (Applause.) Let me just say this. This is not a matter of political correctness. This is a matter of understanding just what it is that makes us strong. The world respects us not

just for our arsenal; it respects us for our diversity, and our openness, and the way we respect every faith.

His Holiness, Pope Francis, told this body from the very spot that I'm standing on tonight that "to imitate the hatred and violence of tyrants and murderers is the best way to take their place." When politicians insult Muslims, whether abroad or our fellow citizens, when a mosque is vandalized, or a kid is called names, that doesn't make us safer. That's not telling it like it is. It's just wrong. (Applause.) It diminishes us in the eyes of the world. It makes it harder to achieve our goals. It betrays who we are as a country. (Applause.)

"We the People." Our Constitution begins with those three simple words, words we've come to recognize mean all the people, not just some; words that insist we rise and fall together, and that's how we might perfect our Union. And that brings me to the fourth, and maybe the most important thing that I want to say tonight.

The future we want -- all of us want -- opportunity and security for our families, a rising standard of living, a sustainable, peaceful planet for our kids -- all that is within our reach. But it will only happen if we work together. It will only happen if we can have rational, constructive debates. It will only happen if we fix our politics.

A better politics doesn't mean we have to agree on everything. This is a big country -- different regions, different attitudes, different interests. That's one of our strengths, too. Our Founders distributed power between states and branches of government, and expected us to argue, just as they did, fiercely, over the size and shape of government, over commerce and foreign relations, over the meaning of liberty and the imperatives of security.

But democracy does require basic bonds of trust between its citizens. It doesn't work if we think the people who disagree with us are all motivated by malice. It doesn't work if we think that our political opponents are unpatriotic or trying to weaken America. Democracy grinds to a halt without a willingness to compromise, or when even basic facts are contested, or when we listen only to those who agree with us. Our public life withers when only the most extreme voices get all the attention. And most of all, democracy breaks down when the average person feels their voice doesn't matter; that the system is rigged in favor of the rich or the powerful or some special interest.

Too many Americans feel that way right now. It's one of the few regrets of my presidency -- that the rancor and suspicion between the parties has gotten worse instead of better. I have no doubt a president with the gifts of Lincoln or Roosevelt might have better bridged the divide, and I guarantee I'll keep trying to be better so long as I hold this office.

But, my fellow Americans, this cannot be my task -- or any President's -- alone. There are a whole lot of folks in this chamber, good people who would like to see more cooperation, would like to see a more elevated debate in Washington, but feel trapped by the imperatives of getting elected, by the noise coming out of your base. I know; you've told me. It's the worst-kept secret in Washington. And a lot of you aren't enjoying being trapped in that kind of rancor.

But that means if we want a better politics -- and I'm addressing the American people now -- if we want a better politics, it's not enough just to change a congressman or change a senator or even change a President. We have to change the system to reflect our better selves. I think we've got to end the practice of drawing our congressional districts so that politicians can pick their voters, and not the other way around. (Applause.) Let a bipartisan group do it. (Applause.)

We have to reduce the influence of money in our politics, so that a handful of families or hidden interests can't bankroll our elections. (Applause.) And if our existing approach to campaign finance reform can't pass muster in the courts, we need to work together to find a real solution -- because it's a problem. And most of you don't like raising money. I know; I've done it. (Applause.) We've got to make it easier to vote, not harder. (Applause.) We need to modernize it for the way we live now. (Applause.) This is America: We want to make it easier for people to participate. And over the course of this year, I intend to travel the country to push for reforms that do just that.

But I can't do these things on my own. (Applause.) Changes in our political process -- in not just who gets elected, but how they get elected -- that will only happen when the American people demand it. It depends on you. That's what's meant by a government of, by, and for the people.

What I'm suggesting is hard. It's a lot easier to be cynical; to accept that change is not possible, and politics is hopeless, and the problem is all the folks who are elected don't care, and to believe that our voices and actions don't matter. But if we give up now, then we forsake a better future. Those with money and power will gain greater control over the decisions that could send a young soldier to war, or allow another economic disaster, or roll back the equal rights

and voting rights that generations of Americans have fought, even died, to secure. And then, as frustration grows, there will be voices urging us to fall back into our respective tribes, to scapegoat fellow citizens who don't look like us, or pray like us, or vote like we do, or share the same background.

We can't afford to go down that path. It won't deliver the economy we want. It will not produce the security we want. But most of all, it contradicts everything that makes us the envy of the world.

So, my fellow Americans, whatever you may believe, whether you prefer one party or no party, whether you supported my agenda or fought as hard as you could against it -- our collective futures depends on your willingness to uphold your duties as a citizen. To vote. To speak out. To stand up for others, especially the weak, especially the vulnerable, knowing that each of us is only here because somebody, somewhere, stood up for us. (Applause.) We need every American to stay active in our public life -- and not just during election time -- so that our public life reflects the goodness and the decency that I see in the American people every single day.

It is not easy. Our brand of democracy is hard. But I can promise that a little over a year from now, when I no longer hold this office, I will be right there with you as a citizen, inspired by those voices of fairness and vision, of grit and good humor and kindness that helped America travel so far. Voices that help us see ourselves not, first and foremost, as black or white, or Asian or Latino, not as gay or straight, immigrant or native born, not as Democrat or Republican, but as Americans first, bound by a common creed. Voices Dr. King believed would have the final word -- voices of unarmed truth and unconditional love.

And they're out there, those voices. They don't get a lot of attention; they don't seek a lot of fanfare; but they're busy doing the work this country needs doing. I see them everywhere I travel in this incredible country of ours. I see you, the American people. And in your daily acts of citizenship, I see our future unfolding.

I see it in the worker on the assembly line who clocked extra shifts to keep his company open, and the boss who pays him higher wages instead of laying him off.

I see it in the Dreamer who stays up late to finish her science project, and the teacher who comes in early because he knows she might someday cure a disease.

I see it in the American who served his time, and made mistakes as a child but now is dreaming of starting over -- and I see it in the business owner who gives him that second chance. The protester determined to prove that justice matters -- and the young cop walking the beat, treating everybody with respect, doing the brave, quiet work of keeping us safe. (Applause.)

I see it in the soldier who gives almost everything to save his brothers, the nurse who tends to him till he can run a marathon, the community that lines up to cheer him on.

It's the son who finds the courage to come out as who he is, and the father whose love for that son overrides everything he's been taught. (Applause.)

I see it in the elderly woman who will wait in line to cast her vote as long as she has to; the new citizen who casts his vote for the first time; the volunteers at the polls who believe every vote should count -- because each of them in different ways know how much that precious right is worth.

That's the America I know. That's the country we love. Clear-eyed. Big-hearted. Undaunted by challenge. Optimistic that unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the final word. (Applause.) That's what makes me so hopeful about our future. I believe in change because I believe in you, the American people.

And that's why I stand here confident as I have ever been that the State of our Union is strong. (Applause.)

Thank you, God bless you. God bless the United States of America.

¹³Anexo 5. Discurso sobre el Estado de la Union presentado por el presidente Donald Trump en enero del 2018; Washington D.c

¹³ Discurso copiado y extraído de Trump White House (2018). Remarks by President Trump in State of the Union Address – The White House, 2018. Retrieved October 29, 2022, from <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-state-union-address/>

THE PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, the First Lady of the United States — (applause) — and my fellow Americans:

We meet tonight at a moment of unlimited potential. As we begin a new Congress, I stand here ready to work with you to achieve historic breakthroughs for all Americans.

Millions of our fellow citizens are watching us now, gathered in this great chamber, hoping that we will govern not as two parties but as one nation. (Applause.)

The agenda I will lay out this evening is not a Republican agenda or a Democrat agenda. It's the agenda of the American people.

Many of us have campaigned on the same core promises: to defend American jobs and demand fair trade for American workers; to rebuild and revitalize our nation's infrastructure; to reduce the price of healthcare and prescription drugs; to create an immigration system that is safe, lawful, modern, and secure; and to pursue a foreign policy that puts America's interests first.

There is a new opportunity in American politics, if only we have the courage, together, to seize it. (Applause.) Victory is not winning for our party. Victory is winning for our country. (Applause.)

This year, America will recognize two important anniversaries that show us the majesty of America's mission and the power of American pride.

In June, we mark 75 years since the start of what General Dwight D. Eisenhower called the "Great Crusade" — the Allied liberation of Europe in World War II. (Applause.) On D-Day, June 6th, 1944, 15,000 young American men jumped from the sky, and 60,000 more stormed in from the sea, to save our civilization from tyranny. Here with us tonight are three of those incredible heroes: Private First Class Joseph Reilly, Staff Sergeant Irving Locker, and Sergeant Herman Zeitchik. (Applause.) Please. Gentlemen, we salute you.

In 2019, we also celebrate 50 years since brave young pilots flew a quarter of a million miles through space to plant the American flag on the face of the moon. Half a century later, we are

joined by one of the Apollo 11 astronauts who planted that flag: Buzz Aldrin. (Applause.) Thank you, Buzz. This year, American astronauts will go back to space on American rockets. (Applause.)

In the 20th century, America saved freedom, transformed science, redefined the middle class, and, when you get down to it, there's nothing anywhere in the world that can compete with America. (Applause.) 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.

We can make our communities safer, our families stronger, our culture richer, our faith deeper, and our middle class bigger and more prosperous than ever before. (Applause.)

But we must reject the politics of revenge, resistance, and retribution, and embrace the boundless potential of cooperation, compromise, and the common good. (Applause.)

Together, we can break decades of political stalemate. We can bridge old divisions, heal old wounds, build new coalitions, forge new solutions, and unlock the extraordinary promise of America's future. The decision is ours to make.

We must choose between greatness or gridlock, results or resistance, vision or vengeance, incredible progress or pointless destruction.

Tonight, I ask you to choose greatness. (Applause.)

Over the last two years, my administration has moved with urgency and historic speed to confront problems neglected by leaders of both parties over many decades.

In just over two years since the election, we have launched an unprecedented economic boom — a boom that has rarely been seen before. There's been nothing like it. We have created 5.3 million new jobs and, importantly, added 600,000 new manufacturing jobs — something which almost everyone said was impossible to do. But the fact is, we are just getting started. (Applause.)

Wages are rising at the fastest pace in decades and growing for blue-collar workers, who I promised to fight for. They're growing faster than anyone else thought possible. Nearly 5 million Americans have been lifted off food stamps. (Applause.) The U.S. economy is growing almost twice as fast today as when I took office. And we are considered, far and away, the hottest economy anywhere in the world. Not even close. (Applause.)

Unemployment has reached the lowest rate in over half a century. (Applause.) African American, Hispanic American, and Asian American unemployment have all reached their lowest levels ever recorded. (Applause.) Unemployment for Americans with disabilities has also reached an all-time low. (Applause.) More people are working now than at any time in the history of our country — 157 million people at work. (Applause.)

We passed a massive tax cut for working families and doubled the child tax credit. (Applause.)

We virtually ended the estate tax — or death tax, as it is often called — on small businesses for ranchers and also for family farms. (Applause.)

We eliminated the very unpopular Obamacare individual mandate penalty. (Applause.) And to give critically ill patients access to lifesaving cures, we passed, very importantly, Right to Try. (Applause.)

My administration has cut more regulations in a short period of time than any other administration during its entire tenure. (Applause.) Companies are coming back to our country in large numbers thanks to our historic reductions in taxes and regulations. (Applause.)

And we have unleashed a revolution in American energy. The United States is now the number-one producer of oil and natural gas anywhere in the world. (Applause.) And now, for the first time in 65 years, we are a net exporter of energy. (Applause.)

After 24 months of rapid progress, our economy is the envy of the world, our military is the most powerful on Earth, by far, and America — (applause) — America is again winning each and every day. (Applause.)

Members of Congress: The state of our union is strong. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: USA! USA! USA!

THE PRESIDENT: That sounds so good. (Laughter.)

Our country is vibrant and our economy is thriving like never before.

On Friday, it was announced that we added another 304,000 jobs last month alone — almost double the number expected. (Applause.) An economic miracle is taking place in the United States, and the only thing that can stop it are foolish wars, politics, or ridiculous partisan investigations. (Applause.)

If there is going to be peace and legislation, there cannot be war and investigation. It just doesn't work that way.

We must be united at home to defeat our adversaries abroad. This new era of cooperation can start with finally confirming the more than 300 highly qualified nominees who are still stuck in the Senate. In some cases, years and years waiting. Not right. (Applause.) The Senate has failed to act on these nominations, which is unfair to the nominees and very unfair to our country.

Now is the time for bipartisan action. Believe it or not, we have already proven that that's possible.

In the last Congress, both parties came together to pass unprecedented legislation to confront the opioid crisis, a sweeping new farm bill, historic VA reforms. And after four decades of rejection, we passed VA Accountability so that we can finally terminate those who mistreat our wonderful veterans. (Applause.)

And just weeks ago, both parties united for groundbreaking criminal justice reform. They said it couldn't be done. (Applause.)

Last year, I heard, through friends, the story of Alice Johnson. I was deeply moved. In 1997, Alice was sentenced to life in prison as a first-time non-violent drug offender. Over the next 22 years, she became a prison minister, inspiring others to choose a better path. She had a big impact on that prison population, and far beyond.

Alice's story underscores the disparities and unfairness that can exist in criminal sentencing, and the need to remedy this total injustice. She served almost that 22 years and had expected to be in prison for the remainder of her life.

In June, I commuted Alice's sentence. When I saw Alice's beautiful family greet her at the prison gates, hugging and kissing and crying and laughing, I knew I did something right. Alice is with us tonight, and she is a terrific woman. Terrific. Alice, please. (Applause.)

Alice, thank you for reminding us that we always have the power to shape our own destiny. Thank you very much, Alice. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

Inspired by stories like Alice's, my administration worked closely with members of both parties to sign the FIRST STEP Act into law. Big deal. (Applause.) It's a big deal.

This legislation reformed sentencing laws that have wrongly and disproportionately harmed the African American community. The FIRST STEP Act gives non-violent offenders the chance to reenter society as productive, law-abiding citizens. Now states across the country are following our lead. America is a nation that believes in redemption.

We are also joined tonight by Matthew Charles from Tennessee. In 1996, at the age of 30, Matthew was sentenced to 35 years for selling drugs and related offenses. Over the next two decades, he completed more than 30 Bible studies, became a law clerk, and mentored many of his fellow inmates.

Now, Matthew is the very first person to be released from prison under the FIRST STEP Act. (Applause.) Matthew, please. Thank you, Matthew. Welcome home. (Applause.)

Now, Republicans and Democrats must join forces again to confront an urgent national crisis. Congress has 10 days left to pass a bill that will fund our government, protect our homeland, and secure our very dangerous southern border.

Now is the time for Congress to show the world that America is committed to ending illegal immigration and putting the ruthless coyotes, cartels, drug dealers, and human traffickers out of business. (Applause.)

As we speak, large, organized caravans are on the march to the United States. We have just heard that Mexican cities, in order to remove the illegal immigrants from their communities, are getting trucks and buses to bring them up to our country in areas where there is little border protection. I have ordered another 3,750 troops to our southern border to prepare for this tremendous onslaught.

This is a moral issue. The lawless state of our southern border is a threat to the safety, security, and financial wellbeing of all America. We have a moral duty to create an immigration system that protects the lives and jobs of our citizens. This includes our obligation to the millions of immigrants living here today who followed the rules and respected our laws. Legal immigrants enrich our nation and strengthen our society in countless ways. (Applause.)

I want people to come into our country in the largest numbers ever, but they have to come in legally. (Applause.)

Tonight, I am asking you to defend our very dangerous southern border out of love and devotion to our fellow citizens and to our country.

No issue better illustrates the divide between America's working class and America's political class than illegal immigration. Wealthy politicians and donors push for open borders while living their lives behind walls, and gates, and guards. (Applause.)

Meanwhile, working-class Americans are left to pay the price for mass illegal migration: reduced jobs, lower wages, overburdened schools, hospitals that are so crowded you can't get

in, increased crime, and a depleted social safety net. Tolerance for illegal immigration is not compassionate; it is actually very cruel. (Applause.)

One in three women is sexually assaulted on the long journey north. Smugglers use migrant children as human pawns to exploit our laws and gain access to our country. Human traffickers and sex traffickers take advantage of the wide-open areas between our ports of entry to smuggle thousands of young girls and women into the United States and to sell them into prostitution and modern-day slavery.

Tens of thousands of innocent Americans are killed by lethal drugs that cross our border and flood into our cities, including meth, heroin, cocaine, and fentanyl.

The savage gang, MS-13, now operates in at least 20 different American states, and they almost all come through our southern border. Just yesterday, an MS-13 gang member was taken into custody for a fatal shooting on a subway platform in New York City. We are removing these gang members by the thousands. But until we secure our border, they're going to keep streaming right back in.

Year after year, countless Americans are murdered by criminal illegal aliens. I've gotten to know many wonderful Angel moms and dads, and families. No one should ever have to suffer the horrible heartache that they have had to endure.

Here tonight is Debra Bissell. Just three weeks ago, Debra's parents, Gerald and Sharon, were burglarized and shot to death in their Reno, Nevada home by an illegal alien. They were in their eighties, and are survived by 4 children, 11 grandchildren, and 20 great-grandchildren. Also here tonight are Gerald and Sharon's granddaughter Heather, and great-granddaughter Madison.

To Debra, Heather, Madison, please stand. Few can understand your pain. Thank you. And thank you for being here. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

I will never forget, and I will fight for the memory of Gerald and Sharon that it should never happen again. Not one more American life should be lost because our nation failed to control its very dangerous border.

In the last two years, our brave ICE officers made 266,000 arrests of criminal aliens, including those charged or convicted of nearly 100,000 assaults, 30,000 sex crimes, and 4,000 killings or murders.

We are joined tonight by one of those law enforcement heroes: ICE Special Agent Elvin Hernandez. When Elvin — (applause) — thank you.

When Elvin was a boy, he and his family legally immigrated to the United States from the Dominican Republic. At the age of eight, Elvin told his dad he wanted to become a Special Agent. Today, he leads investigations into the scourge of international sex trafficking.

Elvin says that, “If I can make sure these young girls get their justice, I’ve [really] done my job.” Thanks to his work, and that of his incredible colleagues, more than 300 women and girls have been rescued from the horror of this terrible situation, and more than 1,500 sadistic traffickers have been put behind bars. (Applause.) Thank you, Elvin.

We will always support the brave men and women of law enforcement, and I pledge to you tonight that I will never abolish our heroes from ICE. Thank you. (Applause.)

My administration has sent to Congress a commonsense proposal to end the crisis on the southern border. It includes humanitarian assistance, more law enforcement, drug detection at our ports, closing loopholes that enable child smuggling, and plans for a new physical barrier, or wall, to secure the vast areas between our ports of entry.

In the past, most of the people in this room voted for a wall, but the proper wall never got built. I will get it built. (Applause.)

This is a smart, strategic, see-through steel barrier — not just a simple concrete wall. It will be deployed in the areas identified by the border agents as having the greatest need. And these agents will tell you: Where walls go up, illegal crossings go way, way down. (Applause.)

San Diego used to have the most illegal border crossings in our country. In response, a strong security wall was put in place. This powerful barrier almost completely ended illegal crossings.

The border city of El Paso, Texas used to have extremely high rates of violent crime — one of the highest in the entire country, and considered one of our nation's most dangerous cities. Now, immediately upon its building, with a powerful barrier in place, El Paso is one of the safest cities in our country. Simply put: Walls work, and walls save lives. (Applause.)

So let's work together, compromise, and reach a deal that will truly make America safe.

As we work to defend our people's safety, we must also ensure our economic resurgence continues at a rapid pace. No one has benefitted more from our thriving economy than women, who have filled 58 percent of the newly created jobs last year. (Applause.)

You weren't supposed to do that. Thank you very much. Thank you very much.

All Americans can be proud that we have more women in the workforce than ever before. (Applause.)

Don't sit yet. You're going to like this. (Laughter.)

And exactly one century after Congress passed the constitutional amendment giving women the right to vote, we also have more women serving in Congress than at any time before. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: USA! USA! USA!

THE PRESIDENT: That's great. Really great. And congratulations. That's great.

As part of our commitment to improving opportunity for women everywhere, this Thursday we are launching the first-ever government-wide initiative focused on economic empowerment for women in developing countries.

To build on — (applause) — thank you. To build on our incredible economic success, one priority is paramount: reversing decades of calamitous trade policies. So bad.

We are now making it clear to China that, after years of targeting our industries and stealing our intellectual property, the theft of American jobs and wealth has come to an end. (Applause.) Therefore, we recently imposed tariffs on \$250 billion of Chinese goods, and now our Treasury is receiving billions and billions of dollars.

But I don't blame China for taking advantage of us; I blame our leaders and representatives for allowing this travesty to happen. I have great respect for President Xi, and we are now working on a new trade deal with China. But it must include real, structural change to end unfair trade practices, reduce our chronic trade deficit, and protect American jobs. (Applause.) Thank you.

Another historic trade blunder was the catastrophe known as NAFTA. I have met the men and women of Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, New Hampshire, and many other states whose dreams were shattered by the signing of NAFTA. For years, politicians promised them they would renegotiate for a better deal, but no one ever tried, until now.

Our new U.S.-Mexico-Canada Agreement, the USMCA, will replace NAFTA and deliver for American workers like they haven't had delivered to for a long time. I hope you can pass the USMCA into law so that we can bring back our manufacturing jobs in even greater numbers, expand American agriculture, protect intellectual property, and ensure that more cars are proudly stamped with our four beautiful words: "Made in the USA." (Applause.)

Tonight, I am also asking you to pass the United States Reciprocal Trade Act, so that if another country places an unfair tariff on an American product, we can charge them the exact same tariff on the exact same product that they sell to us. (Applause.)

Both parties should be able to unite for a great rebuilding of America's crumbling infrastructure. (Applause.)

I know that Congress is eager to pass an infrastructure bill, and I am eager to work with you on legislation to deliver new and important infrastructure investment, including investments in the cutting-edge industries of the future. This is not an option. This is a necessity.

The next major priority for me, and for all of us, should be to lower the cost of healthcare and prescription drugs, and to protect patients with preexisting conditions. (Applause.)

Already, as a result of my administration's efforts, in 2018, drug prices experienced their single largest decline in 46 years. (Applause.)

But we must do more. It's unacceptable that Americans pay vastly more than people in other countries for the exact same drugs, often made in the exact same place. This is wrong, this is unfair, and together we will stop it — and we'll stop it fast. (Applause.)

I am asking Congress to pass legislation that finally takes on the problem of global freeloading and delivers fairness and price transparency for American patients, finally. (Applause.)

We should also require drug companies, insurance companies, and hospitals to disclose real prices to foster competition and bring costs way down. (Applause.)

No force in history has done more to advance the human condition than American freedom. In recent years — (applause) — in recent years, we have made remarkable progress in the fight against HIV and AIDS. Scientific breakthroughs have brought a once-distant dream within reach. My budget will ask Democrats and Republicans to make the needed commitment to eliminate the HIV epidemic in the United States within 10 years. We have made incredible strides. Incredible. (Applause.) Together, we will defeat AIDS in America and beyond. (Applause.)

Tonight, I am also asking you to join me in another fight that all Americans can get behind: the fight against childhood cancer. (Applause.)

Joining Melania in the gallery this evening is a very brave 10-year-old girl, Grace Eline. Every birthday — (applause) — hi, Grace. (Laughter.) Every birthday since she was four, Grace asked her friends to donate to St. Jude’s Children’s Hospital. She did not know that one day she might be a patient herself. That’s what happened.

Last year, Grace was diagnosed with brain cancer. Immediately, she began radiation treatment. At the same time, she rallied her community and raised more than \$40,000 for the fight against cancer. (Applause.) When Grace completed treatment last fall, her doctors and nurses cheered — they loved her; they still love her — with tears in their eyes as she hung up a poster that read: “Last day of chemo.” (Applause.) Thank you very much, Grace. You are a great inspiration to everyone in this room. Thank you very much.

Many childhood cancers have not seen new therapies in decades. My budget will ask Congress for \$500 million over the next 10 years to fund this critical lifesaving research.

To help support working parents, the time has come to pass School Choice for Americans’ children. (Applause.) I am also proud to be the first President to include in my budget a plan for nationwide paid family leave, so that every new parent has the chance to bond with their newborn child. (Applause.)

There could be no greater contrast to the beautiful image of a mother holding her infant child than the chilling displays our nation saw in recent days. Lawmakers in New York cheered with delight upon the passage of legislation that would allow a baby to be ripped from the mother’s womb moments from birth. These are living, feeling, beautiful babies who will never get the chance to share their love and their dreams with the world. And then, we had the case of the Governor of Virginia where he stated he would execute a baby after birth.

To defend the dignity of every person, I am asking Congress to pass legislation to prohibit the late-term abortion of children who can feel pain in the mother’s womb. (Applause.)

Let us work together to build a culture that cherishes innocent life. (Applause.) And let us reaffirm a fundamental truth: All children — born and unborn — are made in the holy image of God.

The final part of my agenda is to protect American security. Over the last two years, we have begun to fully rebuild the United States military, with \$700 billion last year and \$716 billion this year.

We are also getting other nations to pay their fair share. (Applause.) Finally. Finally. For years, the United States was being treated very unfairly by friends of ours, members of NATO. But now we have secured, over the last couple of years, more than \$100 billion of increase in defense spending from our NATO Allies. (Applause.) They said it couldn't be done.

As part of our military build-up, the United States is developing a state-of-the-art missile defense system.

Under my administration, we will never apologize for advancing America's interests.

For example, decades ago, the United States entered into a treaty with Russia in which we agreed to limit and reduce our missile capability. While we followed the agreement and the rules to the letter, Russia repeatedly violated its terms. It's been going on for many years. That is why I announced that the United States is officially withdrawing from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, or INF Treaty.

Perhaps — (applause) — we really have no choice. Perhaps we can negotiate a different agreement, adding China and others, or perhaps we can't — in which case, we will outspend and out-innovate all others by far. (Applause.)

As part of a bold new diplomacy, we continue our historic push for peace on the Korean Peninsula. Our hostages have come home, nuclear testing has stopped, and there has not been a missile launch in more than 15 months. If I had not been elected President of the United States, we would right now, in my opinion, be in a major war with North Korea. (Applause.)

Much work remains to be done, but my relationship with Kim Jong Un is a good one. Chairman Kim and I will meet again on February 27th and 28th in Vietnam. (Applause.)

Two weeks ago, the United States officially recognized the legitimate government of Venezuela — (applause) — and its new President, Juan Guaidó. (Applause.)

We stand with the Venezuelan people in their noble quest for freedom, and we condemn the brutality of the Maduro regime, whose socialist policies have turned that nation from being the wealthiest in South America into a state of abject poverty and despair. (Applause.)

Here in the United States, we are alarmed by the new calls to adopt socialism in our country.

AUDIENCE: Booo —

THE PRESIDENT: America was founded on liberty and independence, and not government coercion, domination, and control. (Applause.) We are born free and we will stay free. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: USA! USA! USA!

THE PRESIDENT: Tonight, we renew our resolve that America will never be a socialist country. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: USA! USA! USA!

THE PRESIDENT: One of the most complex set of challenges we face, and have for many years, is in the Middle East. Our approach is based on principled realism, not discredited theories that have failed for decades to yield progress. For this reason, my administration recognized the true capital of Israel, and proudly opened the American Embassy in Jerusalem. (Applause.)

Our brave troops have now been fighting in the Middle East for almost 19 years. In Afghanistan and Iraq, nearly 7,000 American heroes have given their lives. More than 52,000 Americans have been badly wounded. We have spent more than \$7 trillion in fighting wars in the Middle East.

As a candidate for President, I loudly pledged a new approach. Great nations do not fight endless wars. (Applause.)

When I took office, ISIS controlled more than 20,000 square miles in Iraq and Syria — just two years ago. Today, we have liberated virtually all of the territory from the grip of these bloodthirsty monsters.

Now, as we work with our allies to destroy the remnants of ISIS, it is time to give our brave warriors in Syria a warm welcome home.

I have also accelerated our negotiations to reach — if possible — a political settlement in Afghanistan. The opposing side is also very happy to be negotiating. Our troops have fought with unmatched valor. And thanks to their bravery, we are now able to pursue a possible political solution to this long and bloody conflict. (Applause.)

In Afghanistan, my administration is holding constructive talks with a number of Afghan groups, including the Taliban. As we make progress in these negotiations, we will be able to reduce our troop's presence and focus on counterterrorism. And we will indeed focus on counterterrorism.

We do not know whether we will achieve an agreement, but we do know that, after two decades of war, the hour has come to at least try for peace. And the other side would like to do the same thing. It's time. (Applause.)

Above all, friend and foe alike must never doubt this nation's power and will to defend our people. Eighteen years ago, violent terrorists attacked the USS Cole. And last month, American forces killed one of the leaders of that attack. (Applause.)

We are honored to be joined tonight by Tom Wibberley, whose son, Navy Seaman Craig Wibberley, was one of the 17 sailors we tragically lost. Tom, we vow to always remember the heroes of the USS Cole. (Applause.) Thank you, Tom.

My administration has acted decisively to confront the world's leading state sponsor of terror: the radical regime in Iran. It is a radical regime. They do bad, bad things.

To ensure this corrupt dictatorship never acquires nuclear weapons, I withdrew the United States from the disastrous Iran nuclear deal. (Applause.)

And last fall, we put in place the toughest sanctions ever imposed by us on a country.

We will not avert our eyes from a regime that chants "Death to America" and threatens genocide against the Jewish people. (Applause.) We must never ignore the vile poison of anti-Semitism, or those who spread its venomous creed. With one voice, we must confront this hatred anywhere and everywhere it occurs.

Just months ago, 11 Jewish-Americans were viciously murdered in an anti-Semitic attack on the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh. SWAT Officer Timothy Matson raced into the gunfire and was shot seven times chasing down the killer. And he was very successful. Timothy has just had his 12th surgery, and he is going in for many more. But he made the trip to be here with us tonight. Officer Matson, please. (Applause.) Thank you. We are forever grateful. Thank you very much.

Tonight, we are also joined by Pittsburgh survivor, Judah Samet. He arrived at the synagogue as the massacre began. But not only did Judah narrowly escape death last fall, more than seven decades ago, he narrowly survived the Nazi concentration camps. Today is Judah's 81st birthday. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: (Sings "Happy Birthday.") (Applause.)

MR. SAMET: Thank you!

THE PRESIDENT: They wouldn't do that for me, Judah. (Laughter.)

Judah says he can still remember the exact moment, nearly 75 years ago, after 10 months in a concentration camp, when he and his family were put on a train and told they were going to

another camp. Suddenly, the train screeched to a very strong halt. A soldier appeared. Judah's family braced for the absolute worst. Then, his father cried out with joy, "It's the Americans! It's the Americans!" (Applause.) Thank you.

A second Holocaust survivor who is here tonight, Joshua Kaufman, was a prisoner at Dachau. He remembers watching through a hole in the wall of a cattle car as American soldiers rolled in with tanks. "To me," Joshua recalls, "the American soldiers were proof that God exists, and they came down from the sky." They came down from Heaven.

I began this evening by honoring three soldiers who fought on D-Day in the Second World War. One of them was Herman Zeitchik. But there is more to Herman's story. A year after he stormed the beaches of Normandy, Herman was one of the American soldiers who helped liberate Dachau. (Applause.) He was one of the Americans who helped rescue Joshua from that hell on Earth.

Almost 75 years later, Herman and Joshua are both together in the gallery tonight, seated side-by-side, here in the home of American freedom. Herman and Joshua, your presence this evening is very much appreciated. Thank you very much. (Applause.) Thank you.

When American soldiers set out beneath the dark skies over the English Channel in the early hours of D-Day, 1944, they were just young men of 18 and 19, hurtling on fragile landing craft toward the most momentous battle in the history of war.

They did not know if they would survive the hour. They did not know if they would grow old. But they knew that America had to prevail. Their cause was this nation and generations yet unborn.

Why did they do it? They did it for America. They did it for us.

Everything that has come since — our triumph over communism, our giant leaps of science and discovery, our unrivaled progress towards equality and justice — all of it is possible thanks to the blood and tears and courage and vision of the Americans who came before.

Think of this Capitol. Think of this very Chamber, where lawmakers before you voted to end slavery, to build the railroads and the highways, and defeat fascism, to secure civil rights, and to face down evil empires.

Here tonight, we have legislators from across this magnificent republic. You have come from the rocky shores of Maine and the volcanic peaks of Hawaii; from the snowy woods of Wisconsin and the red deserts of Arizona; from the green farms of Kentucky and the golden beaches of California. Together, we represent the most extraordinary nation in all of history.

What will we do with this moment? How will we be remembered?

I ask the men and women of this Congress: Look at the opportunities before us. Our most thrilling achievements are still ahead. Our most exciting journeys still await. Our biggest victories are still to come. We have not yet begun to dream.

We must choose whether we are defined by our differences or whether we dare to transcend them.

We must choose whether we squander our great inheritance or whether we proudly declare that we are Americans.

We do the incredible. We defy the impossible. We conquer the unknown.

This is the time to reignite the American imagination. This is the time to search for the tallest summit and set our sights on the brightest star. This is the time to rekindle the bonds of love and loyalty and memory that link us together as citizens, as neighbors, as patriots.

This is our future, our fate, and our choice to make. I am asking you to choose greatness.

No matter the trials we face, no matter the challenges to come, we must go forward together.

We must keep America first in our hearts. We must keep freedom alive in our souls. And we must always keep faith in America's destiny that one nation, under God, must be the hope and the promise, and the light and the glory, among all the nations of the world.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless America. Thank you very much. Thank you.

¹⁴Anexo 6. Discurso sobre el Estado de la Union presentado por el presidente Donald Trump en febrero del 2019; Washington D.c

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, the First Lady of the United States, and my fellow Americans:

Less than one year has passed since I first stood at this podium, in this majestic chamber, to speak on behalf of the American people and to address their concerns, their hopes, and their dreams. That night, our new administration had already taken very swift action. A new tide of optimism was already sweeping across our land.

Each day since, we have gone forward with a clear vision and a righteous mission — to make America great again for all Americans. (Applause.)

Over the last year, we have made incredible progress and achieved extraordinary success. We have faced challenges we expected, and others we could never have imagined. We have shared in the heights of victory and the pains of hardship. We have endured floods and fires and storms. But through it all, we have seen the beauty of America's soul, and the steel in America's spine.

Each test has forged new American heroes to remind us who we are, and show us what we can be.

¹⁴ Discurso copiado y extraído de Trump White House (2019). Remarks by President Trump in State of the Union Address – The White House, 2019. Retrieved October 29, 2022, from <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-state-union-address-2/>

We saw the volunteers of the Cajun Navy, racing to the rescue with their fishing boats to save people in the aftermath of a totally devastating hurricane.

We saw strangers shielding strangers from a hail of gunfire on the Las Vegas strip.

We heard tales of Americans like Coast Guard Petty Officer Ashlee Leppert, who is here tonight in the gallery with Melania. (Applause.) Ashlee was aboard one of the first helicopters on the scene in Houston during the Hurricane Harvey. Through 18 hours of wind and rain, Ashlee braved live power lines and deep water to help save more than 40 lives. Ashlee, we all thank you. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

We heard about Americans like firefighter David Dahlberg. He's here with us also. David faced down walls of flame to rescue almost 60 children trapped at a California summer camp threatened by those devastating wildfires.

To everyone still recovering in Texas, Florida, Louisiana, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands — everywhere — we are with you, we love you, and we always will pull through together, always. (Applause.)

Thank you to David and the brave people of California. Thank you very much, David. Great job.

Some trials over the past year touched this chamber very personally. With us tonight is one of the toughest people ever to serve in this House — a guy who took a bullet, almost died, and was back to work three and a half months later: the legend from Louisiana, Congressman Steve Scalise. (Applause.) I think they like you, Steve. (Laughter.)

We are incredibly grateful for the heroic efforts of the Capitol Police officers, the Alexandria Police, and the doctors, nurses, and paramedics who saved his life and the lives of many others; some in this room. In the aftermath — (applause) — yes. Yes.

In the aftermath of that terrible shooting, we came together, not as Republicans or Democrats, but as representatives of the people. But it is not enough to come together only in times of

tragedy. Tonight, I call upon all of us to set aside our differences, to seek out common ground, and to summon the unity we need to deliver for the people. This is really the key. These are the people we were elected to serve. (Applause.)

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. If there is a mountain, we climb it. If there is a frontier, we cross it. If there's a challenge, we tame it. If there's an opportunity, we seize it.

So let's begin tonight by recognizing that the state of our Union is strong because our people are strong. (Applause.) And together, we are building a safe, strong, and proud America.

Since the election, we have created 2.4 million new jobs, including — (applause) — including 200,000 new jobs in manufacturing alone. Tremendous numbers. (Applause.) After years and years of wage stagnation, we are finally seeing rising wages. (Applause.)

Unemployment claims have hit a 45-year low. (Applause.) It's something I'm very proud of. African American unemployment stands at the lowest rate ever recorded. (Applause.) And Hispanic American unemployment has also reached the lowest levels in history. (Applause.)

Small-business confidence is at an all-time high. The stock market has smashed one record after another, gaining \$8 trillion, and more, in value in just this short period of time. The great news — (applause) — the great news for Americans' 401(k), retirement, pension, and college savings accounts have gone through the roof.

And just as I promised the American people from this podium 11 months ago, we enacted the biggest tax cuts and reforms in American history. (Applause.)

Our massive tax cuts provide tremendous relief for the middle class and small business. To lower tax rates for hardworking Americans, we nearly doubled the standard deduction for everyone. (Applause.) Now, the first \$24,000 earned by a married couple is completely tax-free. (Applause.) We also doubled the child tax credit. (Applause.) A typical family of four making \$75,000 will see their tax bill reduced by \$2,000, slashing their tax bill in half. (Applause.)

In April, this will be the last time you will ever file under the old and very broken system, and millions of Americans will have more take-home pay starting next month — a lot more. (Applause.)

We eliminated an especially cruel tax that fell mostly on Americans making less than \$50,000 a year, forcing them to pay tremendous penalties simply because they couldn't afford government-ordered health plans. (Applause.) We repealed the core of the disastrous Obamacare. The individual mandate is now gone. Thank heaven. (Applause.)

We slashed the business tax rate from 35 percent all the way down to 21 percent, so American companies can compete and win against anyone else anywhere in the world. (Applause.) These changes alone are estimated to increase average family income by more than \$4,000. A lot of money. (Applause.)

Small businesses have also received a massive tax cut, and can now deduct 20 percent of their business income.

Here tonight are Steve Staub and Sandy Keplinger of Staub Manufacturing, a small, beautiful business in Ohio. They've just finished the best year in their 20-year history. (Applause.) Because of tax reform, they are handing out raises, hiring an additional 14 people, and expanding into the building next door. Good feeling. (Applause.)

One of Staub's employees, Corey Adams, is also with us tonight. Corey is an all-American worker. He supported himself through high school, lost his job during the 2008 recession, and was later hired by Staub, where he trained to become a welder. Like many hardworking Americans, Corey plans to invest his tax cut raise into his new home and his two daughters' education. Corey, please stand. (Applause.) And he's a great welder. (Laughter.) I was told that by the man that owns that company that's doing so well. So congratulations, Corey.

Since we passed tax cuts, roughly 3 million workers have already gotten tax cut bonuses — many of them thousands and thousands of dollars per worker. And it's getting more every month, every week. Apple has just announced it plans to invest a total of \$350 billion in

America, and hire another 20,000 workers. (Applause.) And just a little while ago, ExxonMobil announced a \$50 billion investment in the United States, just a little while ago. (Applause.)

This, in fact, is our new American moment. There has never been a better time to start living the American Dream.

So to every citizen watching at home tonight, no matter where you've been, or where you've come from, this is your time. 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. (Applause.)

Tonight, I want to talk about what kind of future we are going to have, and what kind of a nation we are going to be. All of us, together, as one team, one people, and one American family can do anything.

We all share the same home, the same heart, the same destiny, and the same great American flag. (Applause.)

Together, we are rediscovering the American way. In America, we know that faith and family, not government and bureaucracy, are the center of American life. The motto is, "In God We Trust." (Applause.)

And we celebrate our police, our military, and our amazing veterans as heroes who deserve our total and unwavering support. (Applause.)

Here tonight is Preston Sharp, a 12-year-old boy from Redding, California, who noticed that veterans' graves were not marked with flags on Veterans Day. He decided all by himself to change that, and started a movement that has now placed 40,000 flags at the graves of our great heroes. (Applause.) Preston, a job well done. (Applause.)

Young patriots, like Preston, teach all of us about our civic duty as Americans. And I met Preston a little while ago, and he is something very special — that I can tell you. Great future. Thank you very much for all you've done, Preston. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

Preston's reverence for those who have served our nation reminds us of 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. (Applause.)

Americans love their country, and they deserve a government that shows them the same love and loyalty in return. For the last year, we have sought to restore the bonds of trust between our citizens and their government.

Working with the Senate, we are appointing judges who will interpret the Constitution as written, including a great new Supreme Court justice, and more circuit court judges than any new administration in the history of our country. (Applause.)

We are totally defending our Second Amendment, and have taken historic actions to protect religious liberty. (Applause.)

And we are serving our brave veterans, including giving our veterans choice in their healthcare decisions. (Applause.) Last year, Congress also passed, and I signed, the landmark VA Accountability Act. (Applause.) Since its passage, my administration has already removed more than 1,500 VA employees who failed to give our veterans the care they deserve. And we are hiring talented people who love our vets as much as we do. (Applause.)

And I will not stop until our veterans are properly taken care of, which has been my promise to them from the very beginning of this great journey. (Applause.)

All Americans deserve accountability and respect, and that's what we are giving to our wonderful heroes, our veterans. Thank you. (Applause.)

So, tonight, I call on Congress to empower every Cabinet Secretary with the authority to reward good workers and to remove federal employees who undermine the public trust or fail the American people. (Applause.)

In our drive to make Washington accountable, we have eliminated more regulations in our first year than any administration in the history of our country. (Applause.)

We have ended the war on American energy, and we have ended the war on beautiful clean coal. (Applause.) We are now very proudly an exporter of energy to the world. (Applause.)

In Detroit, I halted government mandates that crippled America's great, beautiful autoworkers so that we can get Motor City revving its engines again. And that's what's happening. (Applause.) Many car companies are now building and expanding plants in the United States — something we haven't seen for decades. Chrysler is moving a major plant from Mexico to Michigan. Toyota and Mazda are opening up a plant in Alabama — a big one. And we haven't seen this in a long time. It's all coming back. (Applause.)

Very soon, auto plants and other plants will be opening up all over our country. This is all news Americans are totally unaccustomed to hearing. For many years, companies and jobs were only leaving us. But now they are roaring back. They're coming back. They want to be where the action is. They want to be in the United States of America. That's where they want to be. (Applause.)

Exciting progress is happening every single day. To speed access to breakthrough cures and affordable generic drugs, last year the FDA approved more new and generic drugs and medical devices than ever before in our country's history. (Applause.)

We also believe that patients with terminal conditions, and terminal illness, should have access to experimental treatment immediately that could potentially save their lives.

People who are terminally ill should not have to go from country to country to seek a cure. I want to give them a chance right here at home. It's time for Congress to give these wonderful, incredible Americans the right to try. (Applause.)

One of my greatest priorities is to reduce the price of prescription drugs. (Applause.) In many other countries, these drugs cost far less than what we pay in the United States. And it's very, very unfair. That is why I have directed my administration to make fixing the injustice of high drug prices one of my top priorities for the year. (Applause.) And prices will come down substantially. Watch.

America has also finally turned the page on decades of unfair trade deals that sacrificed our prosperity and shipped away our companies, our jobs, and our wealth. Our nation has lost its wealth, but we're getting it back so fast. The era of economic surrender is totally over. From now on, we expect trading relationships to be fair and, very importantly, reciprocal. (Applause.)

We will work to fix bad trade deals and negotiate new ones. And they'll be good ones, but they'll be fair. And we will protect American workers and American intellectual property through strong enforcement of our trade rules. (Applause.)

As we rebuild our industries, it is also time to rebuild our crumbling infrastructure. (Applause.)

America is a nation of builders. We built the Empire State Building in just one year. Isn't it a disgrace that it can now take 10 years just to get a minor permit approved for the building of a simple road? (Applause.) I am asking both parties to come together to give us safe, fast, reliable, and modern infrastructure that our economy needs and our people deserve. (Applause.)

Tonight, I'm calling on Congress to produce a bill that generates at least \$1.5 trillion for the new infrastructure investment that our country so desperately needs. Every federal dollar should be leveraged by partnering with state and local governments and, where appropriate, tapping into private sector investment to permanently fix the infrastructure deficit. And we can do it. (Applause.)

Any bill must also streamline the permitting and approval process, getting it down to no more than two years, and perhaps even one. Together, we can reclaim our great building heritage. (Applause.)

We will build gleaming new roads, bridges, highways, railways, and waterways all across our land. And we will do it with American heart, and American hands, and American grit. (Applause.)

We want every American to know the dignity of a hard day's work. We want every child to be safe in their home at night. And we want every citizen to be proud of this land that we all love

so much. We can lift our citizens from welfare to work, from dependence to independence, and from poverty to prosperity. (Applause.)

As tax cuts create new jobs, let's invest in workforce development and let's invest in job training, which we need so badly. (Applause.) Let's open great vocational schools so our future workers can learn a craft and realize their full potential. (Applause.) And let's support working families by supporting paid family leave. (Applause.)

As America regains its strength, opportunity must be extended to all citizens. That is why this year we will embark on reforming our prisons to help former inmates who have served their time get a second chance at life. (Applause.)

Struggling communities, especially immigrant communities, will also be helped by immigration policies that focus on the best interests of American workers and American families.

For decades, open borders have allowed drugs and gangs to pour into our most vulnerable communities. They've allowed millions of low-wage workers to compete for jobs and wages against the poorest Americans. Most tragically, they have caused the loss of many innocent lives.

Here tonight are two fathers and two mothers: Evelyn Rodriguez, Freddy Cuevas, Elizabeth Alvarado, and Robert Mickens. Their two teenage daughters — Kayla Cuevas and Nisa Mickens — were close friends on Long Island. But in September 2016, on the eve of Nisa's 16th Birthday — such a happy time it should have been — neither of them came home. These two precious girls were brutally murdered while walking together in their hometown.

Six members of the savage MS-13 gang have been charged with Kayla and Nisa's murders. Many of these gang members took advantage of glaring loopholes in our laws to enter the country as illegal, unaccompanied alien minors, and wound up in Kayla and Nisa's high school.

Evelyn, Elizabeth, Freddy, and Robert: Tonight, everyone in this chamber is praying for you. Everyone in America is grieving for you. Please stand. Thank you very much. (Applause.) I

want you to know that 320 million hearts are right now breaking for you. We love you. Thank you. (Applause.)

While we cannot imagine the depths of that kind of sorrow, we can make sure that other families never have to endure this kind of pain.

Tonight, I am calling on Congress to finally close the deadly loopholes that have allowed MS-13, and other criminal gangs, to break into our country. We have proposed new legislation that will fix our immigration laws and support our ICE and Border Patrol agents — these are great people; these are great, great people — that work so hard in the midst of such danger so that this can never happen again. (Applause.)

The United States is a compassionate nation. We are proud that we do more than any other country anywhere in the world to help the needy, the struggling, and the underprivileged all over the world. But as President of the United States, my highest loyalty, my greatest compassion, my constant concern is for America's children, America's struggling workers, and America's forgotten communities. I want our youth to grow up to achieve great things. I want our poor to have their chance to rise.

So, tonight, I am extending an open hand to work with members of both parties, Democrats and Republicans, to protect our citizens of every background, color, religion, and creed. (Applause.) My duty, and the sacred duty of every elected official in this chamber, is to defend Americans, to protect their safety, their families, their communities, and their right to the American Dream. Because Americans are dreamers too. (Applause.)

Here tonight is one leader in the effort to defend our country, Homeland Security Investigations Special Agent Celestino Martinez. He goes by "DJ" and "CJ." He said, "Call me either one." So we'll call you "CJ." Served 15 years in the Air Force before becoming an ICE agent and spending the last 15 years fighting gang violence and getting dangerous criminals off of our streets. Tough job.

At one point, MS-13 leaders ordered CJ's murder. And they wanted it to happen quickly. But he did not cave to threats or to fear. Last May, he commanded an operation to track down gang

members on Long Island. His team has arrested nearly 400, including more than 220 MS-13 gang members.

And I have to tell you, what the Border Patrol and ICE have done — we have sent thousands and thousands and thousands of MS-13 horrible people out of this country or into our prisons.

So I just want to congratulate you, CJ. You're a brave guy. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

And I asked CJ, "What's the secret?" He said, "We're just tougher than they are." And I like that answer. (Laughter and applause.) Now let's get Congress to send you — and all of the people in this great chamber have to do it; we have no choice. CJ, we're going to send you reinforcements, and we're going to send them to you quickly. It's what you need. (Applause.)

Over the next few weeks, the House and Senate will be voting on an immigration reform package. In recent months, my administration has met extensively with both Democrats and Republicans to craft a bipartisan approach to immigration reform. Based on these discussions, we presented Congress with a detailed proposal that should be supported by both parties as a fair compromise, one where nobody gets everything they want, but where our country gets the critical reforms it needs and must have. (Applause.)

Here are the four pillars of our plan: The first pillar of our framework generously offers a path to citizenship for 1.8 million illegal immigrants who were brought here by their parents at a young age. That covers almost three times more people than the previous administration covered. (Applause.) Under our plan, those who meet education and work requirements, and show good moral character, will be able to become full citizens of the United States over a 12-year period. (Applause.)

The second pillar fully secures the border. (Applause.) That means building a great wall on the southern border, and it means hiring more heroes, like CJ, to keep our communities safe. (Applause.) Crucially, our plan closes the terrible loopholes exploited by criminals and terrorists to enter our country, and it finally ends the horrible and dangerous practice of catch and release. (Applause.)

The third pillar ends the visa lottery, a program that randomly hands out green cards without any regard for skill, merit, or the safety of American people. (Applause.) It's time to begin moving towards a merit-based immigration system, one that admits people who are skilled, who want to work, who will contribute to our society, and who will love and respect our country. (Applause.)

The fourth and final pillar protects the nuclear family by ending chain migration. (Applause.) Under the current broken system, a single immigrant can bring in virtually unlimited numbers of distant relatives. Under our plan, we focus on the immediate family by limiting sponsorships to spouses and minor children. (Applause.) This vital reform is necessary, not just for our economy, but for our security and for the future of America.

In recent weeks, two terrorist attacks in New York were made possible by the visa lottery and chain migration. In the age of terrorism, these programs present risks we can just no longer afford. (Applause.)

It's time to reform these outdated immigration rules, and finally bring our immigration system into the 21st century. (Applause.)

These four pillars represent a down-the-middle compromise, and one that will create a safe, modern, and lawful immigration system.

For over 30 years, Washington has tried and failed to solve this problem. This Congress can be the one that finally makes it happen.

Most importantly, these four pillars will produce legislation that fulfills my ironclad pledge to sign a bill that puts America first. (Applause.) So let's come together, set politics aside, and finally get the job done. (Applause.)

These reforms will also support our response to the terrible crisis of opioid and drug addiction. Never before has it been like it is now. It is terrible. We have to do something about it. In 2016, we lost 64,000 Americans to drug overdoses — 174 deaths per day; 7 per hour. We must get

much tougher on drug dealers and pushers if we are going to succeed in stopping this scourge. (Applause.)

My administration is committed to fighting the drug epidemic and helping get treatment for those in need, for those who have been so terribly hurt. The struggle will be long and it will be difficult, but as Americans always do — in the end, we will succeed. We will prevail. (Applause.)

As we have seen tonight, the most difficult challenges bring out the best in America. We see a vivid expression of this truth in the story of the Holets family of New Mexico. Ryan Holets is 27 years old, an officer with the Albuquerque Police Department. He's here tonight with his wife Rebecca. (Applause.) Thank you, Ryan.

Last year, Ryan was on duty when he saw a pregnant, homeless woman preparing to inject heroin. When Ryan told her she was going to harm her unborn child, she began to weep. She told him she didn't know where to turn, but badly wanted a safe home for her baby.

In that moment, Ryan said he felt God speak to him: "You will do it, because you can." He heard those words. He took out a picture of his wife and their four kids. Then, he went home to tell his wife Rebecca. In an instant, she agreed to adopt. The Holets named their new daughter Hope. Ryan and Rebecca, you embody the goodness of our nation. Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you, Ryan and Rebecca.

As we rebuild America's strength and confidence at home, we are also restoring our strength and standing abroad.

Around the world, we face rogue regimes, terrorist groups, and rivals like China and Russia that challenge our interests, our economy, and our values. In confronting these horrible dangers, we know that weakness is the surest path to conflict, and unmatched power is the surest means to our true and great defense.

For this reason, I am asking Congress to end the dangerous defense sequester and fully fund our great military. (Applause.)

As part of our defense, we must modernize and rebuild our nuclear arsenal, hopefully never having to use it, but making it so strong and so powerful that it will deter any acts of aggression by any other nation or anyone else. (Applause.)

Perhaps someday in the future, there will be a magical moment when the countries of the world will get together to eliminate their nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, we are not there yet, sadly.

Last year, I also pledged that we would work with our allies to extinguish ISIS from the face of the Earth. One year later, I am proud to report that the coalition to defeat ISIS has liberated very close to 100 percent of the territory just recently held by these killers in Iraq and in Syria and in other locations, as well. (Applause.) But there is much more work to be done. We will continue our fight until ISIS is defeated.

Army Staff Sergeant Justin Peck is here tonight. Near Raqqa, last November, Justin and his comrade, Chief Petty Officer Kenton Stacy, were on a mission to clear buildings that ISIS had rigged with explosive so that civilians could return to that city hopefully soon, and hopefully safely.

Clearing the second floor of a vital hospital, Kenton Stacy was severely wounded by an explosion. Immediately, Justin bounded into the booby-trapped and unbelievably dangerous and unsafe building, and found Kenton, but in very, very bad shape. He applied pressure to the wound and inserted a tube to reopen an airway. He then performed CPR for 20 straight minutes during the ground transport, and maintained artificial respiration through two and a half hours and through emergency surgery.

Kenton Stacy would have died if it were not for Justin's selfless love for his fellow warrior. Tonight, Kenton is recovering in Texas. Raqqa is liberated. And Justin is wearing his new Bronze Star, with a "V" for "valor." Staff Sergeant Peck, all of America salutes you. (Applause.)

Terrorists who do things like place bombs in civilian hospitals are evil. When possible, we have no choice but to annihilate them. When necessary, we must be able to detain and question them. But we must be clear: Terrorists are not merely criminals. They are unlawful enemy

combatants. (Applause.) And when captured overseas, they should be treated like the terrorists they are.

In the past, we have foolishly released hundreds and hundreds of dangerous terrorists, only to meet them again on the battlefield — including the ISIS leader, al-Baghdadi, who we captured, who we had, who we released.

So today, I'm keeping another promise. I just signed, prior to walking in, an order directing Secretary Mattis, who is doing a great job, thank you — (applause) — to reexamine our military detention policy and to keep open the detention facilities in Guantanamo Bay. (Applause.)

I am asking Congress to ensure that, in the fight against ISIS and al Qaeda, we continue to have all necessary power to detain terrorists, wherever we chase them down, wherever we find them. And in many cases, for them, it will now be Guantanamo Bay. (Applause.)

At the same time, as of a few months ago, our warriors in Afghanistan have new rules of engagement. (Applause.)

Along with their heroic Afghan partners, our military is no longer undermined by artificial timelines, and we no longer tell our enemies our plans. (Applause.)

Last month, I also took an action endorsed unanimously by the U.S. Senate just months before. I recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. (Applause.)

Shortly afterwards, dozens of countries voted in the United Nations General Assembly against America's sovereign right to make this decision. In 2016, American taxpayers generously sent those same countries more than \$20 billion in aid.

That is why, tonight, I am asking Congress to pass legislation to help ensure American foreign-assistance dollars always serve American interests, and only go to friends of America, not enemies of America. (Applause.)

As we strengthen friendships all around the world, we are also restoring clarity about our adversaries.

When the people of Iran rose up against the crimes of their corrupt dictatorship, I did not stay silent. America stands with the people of Iran in their courageous struggle for freedom. (Applause.)

I am asking Congress to address the fundamental flaws in the terrible Iran nuclear deal.

My administration has also imposed tough sanctions on the communist and socialist dictatorships in Cuba and Venezuela. (Applause.)

But no regime has oppressed its own citizens more totally or brutally than the cruel dictatorship in North Korea. North Korea's reckless pursuit of nuclear missiles could very soon threaten our homeland. We are waging a campaign of maximum pressure to prevent that from ever happening.

Past experience has taught us that complacency and concessions only invite aggression and provocation. I will not repeat the mistakes of past administrations that got us into this very dangerous position.

We need only look at the depraved character of the North Korean regime to understand the nature of the nuclear threat it could pose to America and to our allies.

Otto Warmbier was a hardworking student at the University of Virginia — and a great student he was. On his way to study abroad in Asia, Otto joined a tour to North Korea. At its conclusion, this wonderful young man was arrested and charged with crimes against the state. After a shameful trial, the dictatorship sentenced Otto to 15 years of hard labor, before returning him to America last June, horribly injured and on the verge of death. He passed away just days after his return.

Otto's wonderful parents, Fred and Cindy Warmbier, are here with us tonight, along with Otto's brother and sister, Austin and Greta. Please. (Applause.) Incredible people. You are powerful

witnesses to a menace that threatens our world, and your strength truly inspires us all. Thank you very much. Thank you. (Applause.)

Tonight, we pledge to honor Otto's memory with total American resolve. Thank you. (Applause.)

Finally, we are joined by one more witness to the ominous nature of this regime. His name is Mr. Ji Seong-ho.

In 1996, Seong-ho was a starving boy in North Korea. One day, he tried to steal coal from a railroad car to barter for a few scraps of food, which were very hard to get. In the process, he passed out on the train tracks, exhausted from hunger. He woke up as a train ran over his limbs. He then endured multiple amputations without anything to dull the pain or the hurt. His brother and sister gave what little food they had to help him recover and ate dirt themselves, permanently stunting their own growth.

Later, he was tortured by North Korean authorities after returning from a brief visit to China. His tormentors wanted to know if he'd met any Christians. He had — and he resolved, after that, to be free.

Seong-ho traveled thousands of miles on crutches all across China and Southeast Asia to freedom. Most of his family followed. His father was caught trying to escape and was tortured to death.

Today he lives in Seoul, where he rescues other defectors, and broadcasts into North Korea what the regime fears most: the truth.

Today, he has a new leg. But, Seong-ho, I understand you still keep those old crutches as a reminder of how far you've come. Your great sacrifice is an inspiration to us all. Please. Thank you. (Applause.) Seong-ho's story is a testament to the yearning of every human soul to live in freedom.

It was that same yearning for freedom that nearly 250 years ago gave birth to a special place called America. It was a small cluster of colonies caught between a great ocean and a vast wilderness. It was home to an incredible people with a revolutionary idea: that they could rule themselves; that they could chart their own destiny; and that, together, they could light up the entire world.

That is what our country has always been about. That is what Americans have always stood for, always strived for, and always done.

Atop the dome of this Capitol stands the Statue of Freedom. She stands tall and dignified among the monuments to our ancestors who fought, and lived, and died to protect her. Monuments to Washington, and Jefferson, and Lincoln, and King. Memorials to the heroes of Yorktown and Saratoga; to young Americans who shed their blood on the shores of Normandy and the fields beyond; and others, who went down in the waters of the Pacific and the skies all over Asia.

And freedom stands tall over one more monument: this one. This Capitol — this living monument — this is the moment to the American people. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: USA! USA! USA!

THE PRESIDENT: We're a people whose heroes live not only in the past, but all around us, defending hope, pride, and defending the American way.

They work in every trade. They sacrifice to raise a family. They care for our children at home. They defend our flag abroad. And they are strong moms and brave kids. They are firefighters, and police officers, and border agents, medics, and Marines. But above all else, they are Americans. And this Capitol, this city, this nation, belongs entirely to them. (Applause.)

Our task is to respect them, to listen to them, to serve them, to protect them, and to always be worthy of them.

Americans fill the world with art and music. They push the bounds of science and discovery. And they forever remind us of what we should never, ever forget: The people dreamed this

country. The people built this country. And it's the people who are making America great again. (Applause.)

As long as we are proud of who we are and what we are fighting for, there is nothing we cannot achieve. As long as we have confidence in our values, faith in our citizens, and trust in our God, we will never fail.

Our families will thrive. Our people will prosper. And our nation will forever be safe and strong and proud and mighty and free.

Thank you. And God bless America. Goodnight.

¹⁵Anexo 7. Discurso sobre el Estado de la Union presentado por el presidente Donald Trump en febrero del 2020; Washington D.c

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Madam Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of Congress, the First Lady of the United States — (applause) — and my fellow citizens:

Three years ago, we launched the great American comeback. Tonight, I stand before you to share the incredible results. Jobs are booming, incomes are soaring, poverty is plummeting, crime is falling, confidence is surging, and our country is thriving and highly respected again. (Applause.) America's enemies are on the run, America's fortunes are on the rise, and America's future is blazing bright.

The years of economic decay are over. (Applause.) The days of our country being used, taken advantage of, and even scorned by other nations are long behind us. (Applause.) Gone too are

¹⁵ Discurso copiado y extraído de Trump White House. (2020). *Remarks by President Trump in the State of the Union Address – The White House*. <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-state-union-address-3/>

the broken promises, jobless recoveries, tired platitudes, and constant excuses for the depletion of American wealth, power, and prestige.

In just three short years, we have shattered the mentality of American decline, and we have rejected the downsizing of America's destiny. We have totally rejected the downsizing. We are moving forward at a pace that was unimaginable just a short time ago, and we are never, ever going back. (Applause.)

I am thrilled to report to you tonight that our economy is the best it has ever been. Our military is completely rebuilt, with its power being unmatched anywhere in the world — and it's not even close. Our borders are secure. Our families are flourishing. Our values are renewed. Our pride is restored. And for all of these reasons, I say to the people of our great country and to the members of Congress: The state of our Union is stronger than ever before. (Applause.)

The vision I will lay out this evening demonstrates how we are building the world's most prosperous and inclusive society — one where every citizen can join in America's unparalleled success and where every community can take part in America's extraordinary rise.

From the instant I took office, I moved rapidly to revive the U.S. economy — slashing a record number of job-killing regulations, enacting historic and record-setting tax cuts, and fighting for fair and reciprocal trade agreements. (Applause.) Our agenda is relentlessly pro-worker, pro-family, pro-growth, and, most of all, pro-American. (Applause.) Thank you. We are advancing with unbridled optimism and lifting our citizens of every race, color, religion, and creed very, very high.

Since my election, we have created 7 million new jobs — 5 million more than government experts projected during the previous administration. (Applause.)

The unemployment rate is the lowest in over half a century. (Applause.) And very incredibly, the average unemployment rate under my administration is lower than any administration in the history of our country. (Applause.) True. If we hadn't reversed the failed economic policies of the previous administration, the world would not now be witnessing this great economic success. (Applause.)

The unemployment rate for African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans has reached the lowest levels in history. (Applause.) African American youth unemployment has reached an all-time low. (Applause.) African American poverty has declined to the lowest rate ever recorded. (Applause.)

The unemployment rate for women reached the lowest level in almost 70 years. And, last year, women filled 72 percent of all new jobs added. (Applause.)

The veterans unemployment rate dropped to a record low. (Applause.) The unemployment rate for disabled Americans has reached an all-time low. (Applause.)

Workers without a high school diploma have achieved the lowest unemployment rate recorded in U.S. history. (Applause.) A record number of young Americans are now employed. (Applause.)

Under the last administration, more than 10 million people were added to the food stamp rolls. Under my administration, 7 million Americans have come off food stamps, and 10 million people have been lifted off of welfare. (Applause.)

In eight years under the last administration, over 300,000 working-age people dropped out of the workforce. In just three years of my administration, 3.5 million people — working-age people — have joined the workforce. (Applause.)

Since my election, the net worth of the bottom half of wage earners has increased by 47 percent — three times faster than the increase for the top 1 percent. (Applause.) After decades of flat and falling incomes, wages are rising fast — and, wonderfully, they are rising fastest for low-income workers, who have seen a 16 percent pay increase since my election. (Applause.) This is a blue-collar boom. (Applause.)

Real median household income is now at the highest level ever recorded. (Applause.)

Since my election, U.S. stock markets have soared 70 percent, adding more than \$12 trillion to our nation's wealth, transcending anything anyone believed was possible. This is a record. It

is something that every country in the world is looking up to. They admire. (Applause.) Consumer confidence has just reached amazing new highs.

All of those millions of people with 401(k)s and pensions are doing far better than they have ever done before with increases of 60, 70, 80, 90, and 100 percent, and even more.

Jobs and investments are pouring into 9,000 previously neglected neighborhoods thanks to Opportunity Zones, a plan spearheaded by Senator Tim Scott as part of our great Republican tax cuts. (Applause.) In other words, wealthy people and companies are pouring money into poor neighborhoods or areas that haven't seen investment in many decades, creating jobs, energy, and excitement. (Applause.) This is the first time that these deserving communities have seen anything like this. It's all working.

Opportunity Zones are helping Americans like Army veteran Tony Rankins from Cincinnati, Ohio. After struggling with drug addiction, Tony lost his job, his house, and his family. He was homeless. But then Tony found a construction company that invests in Opportunity Zones. He is now a top tradesman, drug-free, reunited with his family, and he is here tonight. Tony, keep up the great work. Tony. (Applause.) Thank you, Tony.

Our roaring economy has, for the first time ever, given many former prisoners the ability to get a great job and a fresh start. This second chance at life is made possible because we passed landmark criminal justice reform into law. Everybody said that criminal justice reform couldn't be done, but I got it done, and the people in this room got it done. (Applause.)

Thanks to our bold regulatory reduction campaign, the United States has become the number one producer of oil and natural gas anywhere in the world, by far. (Applause.) With the tremendous progress we have made over the past three years, America is now energy independent, and energy jobs, like so many other elements of our country, are at a record high. (Applause.) We are doing numbers that no one would have thought possible just three years ago.

Likewise, we are restoring our nation's manufacturing might, even though predictions were, as you all know, that this could never, ever be done. After losing 60,000 factories under the

previous two administrations, America has now gained 12,000 new factories under my administration, with thousands upon thousands of plants and factories being planned or being built. (Applause.) Companies are not leaving; they are coming back to the USA. (Applause.) The fact is that everybody wants to be where the action is, and the United States of America is indeed the place where the action is. (Applause.)

One of the biggest promises I made to the American people was to replace the disastrous NAFTA trade deal. (Applause.) In fact, unfair trade is perhaps the single biggest reason that I decided to run for President. Following NAFTA's adoption, our nation lost one in four manufacturing jobs. Many politicians came and went, pledging to change or replace NAFTA, only to do so, and then absolutely nothing happened. But unlike so many who came before me, I keep my promises. We did our job. (Applause.)

Six days ago, I replaced NAFTA and signed the brand-new U.S.-Mexico-Canada Agreement into law. The USMCA will create nearly 100,000 new high-paying American auto jobs, and massively boost exports for our farmers, ranchers, and factory workers. (Applause.) It will also bring trade with Mexico and Canada to a much higher level, but also to be a much greater degree of fairness and reciprocity. We will have that: fairness and reciprocity. And I say that, finally, because it's been many, many years that we were treated fairly on trade. (Applause.)

This is the first major trade deal in many years to earn the strong backing of America's labor unions. (Applause.)

I also promised our citizens that I would impose tariffs to confront China's massive theft of America's jobs. Our strategy has worked. Days ago, we signed the groundbreaking new agreement with China that will defend our workers, protect our intellectual property, bring billions and billions of dollars into our treasury, and open vast new markets for products made and grown right here in the USA. (Applause.)

For decades, China has taken advantage of the United States. Now we have changed that, but, at the same time, we have perhaps the best relationship we've ever had with China, including with President Xi. They respect what we've done because, quite frankly, they could never really believe that they were able to get away with what they were doing year after year, decade

after decade, without someone in our country stepping up and saying, “That’s enough.” (Applause.) Now we want to rebuild our country, and that’s exactly what we’re doing. We are rebuilding our country.

As we restore — (applause) — American leadership throughout the world, we are once again standing up for freedom in our hemisphere. (Applause.) That’s why my administration reversed the failing policies of the previous administration on Cuba. (Applause.)

We are supporting the hopes of Cubans, Nicaraguans, and Venezuelans to restore democracy. The United States is leading a 59-nation diplomatic coalition against the socialist dictator of Venezuela, Nicolás Maduro. (Applause.) Maduro is an illegitimate ruler, a tyrant who brutalizes his people. But Maduro’s grip on tyranny will be smashed and broken.

Here this evening is a very brave man who carries with him the hopes, dreams, and aspirations of all Venezuelans. Joining us in the Gallery is the true and legitimate President of Venezuela, Juan Guaidó. (Applause.) Mr. President, please take this message back to your homeland. (Applause.) Thank you, Mr. President. Great honor. Thank you very much.

Please take this message back that all Americans are united with the Venezuelan people in their righteous struggle for freedom. Thank you very much, Mr. President. (Applause.) Thank you very much.

Socialism destroys nations. But always remember: Freedom unifies the soul. (Applause.)

To safeguard American liberty, we have invested a record-breaking \$2.2 trillion in the United States military. (Applause.) We have purchased the finest planes, missiles, rockets, ships, and every other form of military equipment, and it’s all made right here in the USA. (Applause.)

We are also getting our allies, finally, to help pay their fair share. (Applause.) I have raised contributions from the other NATO members by more than \$400 billion, and the number of Allies meeting their minimum obligations has more than doubled.

And just weeks ago, for the first time since President Truman established the Air Force more than 70 years earlier, we created a brand-new branch of the United States Armed Forces. It's called the Space Force. (Applause.) Very important.

In the Gallery tonight, we have a young gentleman. And what he wants so badly — 13 years old — Iain Lanphier. He's an eighth grader from Arizona. Iain, please stand up.

Iain has always dreamed of going to space. He was the first in his class and among the youngest at an aviation academy. He aspires to go to the Air Force Academy, and then he has his eye on the Space Force. As Iain says, "Most people look up at space. I want to look down on the world." (Laughter and applause.)

But sitting behind Iain tonight is his greatest hero of them all. Charles McGee was born in Cleveland, Ohio, one century ago. Charles is one of the last surviving Tuskegee Airmen — the first black fighter pilots — and he also happens to be Iain's great-grandfather. (Applause.) Incredible story.

After more than 130 combat missions in World War Two, he came back home to a country still struggling for civil rights and went on to serve America in Korea and Vietnam. On December 7th, Charles celebrated his 100th birthday. (Applause.) A few weeks ago, I signed a bill promoting Charles McGee to Brigadier General. And earlier today, I pinned the stars on his shoulders in the Oval Office. General McGee, our nation salutes you. Thank you, sir. (Applause.)

From the pilgrims to the Founders, from the soldiers at Valley Forge to the marchers at Selma, and from President Lincoln to the Reverend Martin Luther King, Americans have always rejected limits on our children's future.

Members of Congress, we must never forget that the only victories that matter in Washington are victories that deliver for the American people. (Applause.) The people are the heart of our country, their dreams are the soul of our country, and their love is what powers and sustains our country. We must always remember that our job is to put America first. (Applause.)

The next step forward in building an inclusive society is making sure that every young American gets a great education and the opportunity to achieve the American Dream. Yet, for too long, countless American children have been trapped in failing government schools. To rescue these students, 18 states have created school choice in the form of Opportunity Scholarships. The programs are so popular that tens of thousands of students remain on a waiting list.

One of those students is Janiyah Davis, a fourth grader from Philadelphia. Janiyah. (Applause.) Janiyah's mom, Stephanie, is a single parent. She would do anything to give her daughter a better future. But last year, that future was put further out of reach when Pennsylvania's governor vetoed legislation to expand school choice to 50,000 children.

Janiyah and Stephanie are in the Gallery. Stephanie, thank you so much for being here with your beautiful daughter. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

But, Janiyah, I have some good news for you, because I am pleased to inform you that your long wait is over. I can proudly announce tonight that an Opportunity Scholarship has become available, it's going to you, and you will soon be heading to the school of your choice. (Applause.)

Now I call on Congress to give one million American children the same opportunity Janiyah has just received. Pass the Education Freedom Scholarships and Opportunities Act — because no parent should be forced to send their child to a failing government school. (Applause.)

Every young person should have a safe and secure environment in which to learn and to grow. For this reason, our magnificent First Lady has launched the BE BEST initiative to advance a safe, healthy, supportive, and drug-free life for the next generation — online, in school, and in our communities. Thank you, Melania, for your extraordinary love and profound care for America's children. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

My administration is determined to give our citizens the opportunities they need regardless of age or background. Through our Pledge to American Workers, over 400 companies will also provide new jobs and education opportunities to almost 15 million Americans.

My budget also contains an exciting vision for our nation's high schools. Tonight, I ask Congress to support our students and back my plan to offer vocational and technical education in every single high school in America. (Applause.)

To expand equal opportunity, I am also proud that we achieved record and permanent funding for our nation's historically black colleges and universities. (Applause.)

A good life for American families also requires the most affordable, innovative, and high-quality healthcare system on Earth. Before I took office, health insurance premiums had more than doubled in just five years. I moved quickly to provide affordable alternatives. Our new plans are up to 60 percent less expensive — and better. (Applause.)

I've also made an ironclad pledge to American families: We will always protect patients with pre-existing conditions. (Applause). And we will always protect your Medicare and we will always protect your Social Security. Always. (Applause.)

The American patient should never be blindsided by medical bills. That is why I signed an executive order requiring price transparency. (Applause.) Many experts believe that transparency, which will go into full effect at the beginning of next year, will be even bigger than healthcare reform. (Applause.) It will save families massive amounts of money for substantially better care.

But as we work to improve Americans' healthcare, there are those who want to take away your healthcare, take away your doctor, and abolish private insurance entirely.

AUDIENCE: Boo —

THE PRESIDENT: One hundred thirty-two lawmakers in this room have endorsed legislation to impose a socialist takeover of our healthcare system, wiping out the private health insurance plans of 180 million very happy Americans. To those watching at home tonight, I want you to know: We will never let socialism destroy American healthcare. (Applause.)

Over 130 legislators in this chamber have endorsed legislation that would bankrupt our nation by providing free taxpayer-funded healthcare to millions of illegal aliens, forcing taxpayers to subsidize free care for anyone in the world who unlawfully crosses our borders. These proposals would raid the Medicare benefits of our seniors and that our seniors depend on, while acting as a powerful lure for illegal immigration. That is what is happening in California and other states. Their systems are totally out of control, costing taxpayers vast and unaffordable amounts of money.

If forcing American taxpayers to provide unlimited free healthcare to illegal aliens sounds fair to you, then stand with the radical left. But if you believe that we should defend American patients and American seniors, then stand with me and pass legislation to prohibit free government healthcare for illegal aliens. (Applause.)

This will be a tremendous boon to our already very strongly guarded southern border where, as we speak, a long, tall, and very powerful wall is being built. (Applause.) We have now completed over 100 miles and have over 500 miles fully completed in a very short period of time. Early next year, we will have substantially more than 500 miles completed.

My administration is also taking on the big pharmaceutical companies. We have approved a record number of affordable generic drugs, and medicines are being approved by the FDA at a faster clip than ever before. (Applause.) And I was pleased to announce last year that, for the first time in 51 years, the cost of prescription drugs actually went down. (Applause.)

And working together, Congress can reduce drug prices substantially from current levels. I've been speaking to Senator Chuck Grassley of Iowa and others in Congress in order to get something on drug pricing done, and done quickly and properly. I'm calling for bipartisan legislation that achieves the goal of dramatically lowering prescription drug prices. Get a bill on my desk, and I will sign it into law immediately. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: H.R.3! H.R.3! H.R.3!

With unyielding commitment, we are curbing the opioid epidemic. Drug overdose deaths declined for the first time in nearly 30 years. (Applause.) Among the states hardest hit, Ohio

is down 22 percent, Pennsylvania is down 18 percent, Wisconsin is down 10 percent — and we will not quit until we have beaten the opioid epidemic once and for all. (Applause.)

Protecting Americans' health also means fighting infectious diseases. We are coordinating with the Chinese government and working closely together on the coronavirus outbreak in China. My administration will take all necessary steps to safeguard our citizens from this threat.

We have launched ambitious new initiatives to substantially improve care for Americans with kidney disease, Alzheimer's, and those struggling with mental health. And because Congress was so good as to fund my request, new cures for childhood cancer, and we will eradicate the AIDS epidemic in America by the end of this decade. (Applause.)

Almost every American family knows the pain when a loved one is diagnosed with a serious illness. Here tonight is a special man, beloved by millions of Americans who just received a Stage 4 advanced cancer diagnosis. This is not good news, but what is good news is that he is the greatest fighter and winner that you will ever meet. Rush Limbaugh, thank you for your decades of tireless devotion to our country. (Applause.)

And, Rush, in recognition of all that you have done for our nation, the millions of people a day that you speak to and that you inspire, and all of the incredible work that you have done for charity, I am proud to announce tonight that you will be receiving our country's highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom. (Applause.)

I will now ask the First Lady of the United States to present you with the honor. Please. (Applause.)

(The Medal of Freedom is presented.) (Applause.)

Rush and Kathryn, congratulations. Thank you, Kathryn.

As we pray for all who are sick, we know that America is constantly achieving new medical breakthroughs. In 2017, doctors at St. Luke's Hospital in Kansas City delivered one of the

earliest premature babies ever to survive. Born at just 21 weeks and 6 days, and weighing less than a pound, Ellie Schneider was a born fighter. Through the skill of her doctors and the prayers of her parents, little Ellie kept on winning the battle of life. Today, Ellie is a strong, healthy two-year-old girl sitting with her amazing mother Robin in the Gallery. Ellie and Robin, we are glad to have you with us tonight. (Applause.)

Ellie reminds us that every child is a miracle of life. And thanks to modern medical wonders, 50 percent of very premature babies delivered at the hospital where Ellie was born now survive. It's an incredible thing. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

Our goal should be to ensure that every baby has the best chance to thrive and grow just like Ellie. That is why I'm asking Congress to provide an additional \$50 million to fund neonatal research for America's youngest patients. (Applause.)

That is why I'm also calling upon members of Congress here tonight to pass legislation finally banning the late-term abortion of babies. (Applause.) Whether we are Republican, Democrat, or independent, surely we must all agree that every human life is a sacred gift from God.

As we support America's moms and dads, I was recently proud to sign the law providing new parents in the federal workforce paid family leave, serving as a model for the rest of the country. (Applause.)

Now I call on the Congress to pass the bipartisan Advancing Support for Working Families Act, extending family leave to mothers and fathers all across our nation. (Applause.)

Forty million American families have an average \$2,200 extra thanks to our child tax credit. (Applause.) I've also overseen historic funding increases for high-quality child care, enabling 17 states to help more children, many of which have reduced or eliminated their waitlists altogether. (Applause.) And I sent Congress a plan with a vision to further expand access to high-quality child care, and urge you to act immediately. (Applause.)

To protect the environment, days ago I announced that the United States will join the One Trillion Trees Initiative, an ambitious effort to bring together government and private sector to plant new trees in America and all around the world. (Applause.)

We must also rebuild America's infrastructure. (Applause.) I ask you to pass Senator John Barrasso's highway bill to invest in new roads, bridges, and tunnels all across our land.

I'm also committed to ensuring that every citizen can have access to high-speed Internet, including and especially in rural America. (Applause.)

A better tomorrow for all Americans also requires us to keep America safe. That means supporting the men and women of law enforcement at every level, including our nation's heroic ICE officers. (Applause.)

Last year, our brave ICE officers arrested more than 120,000 criminal aliens charged with nearly 10,000 burglaries, 5,000 sexual assaults, 45,000 violent assaults, and 2,000 murders.

Tragically, there are many cities in America where radical politicians have chosen to provide sanctuary for these criminal illegal aliens.

AUDIENCE: Booo —

THE PRESIDENT: In sanctuary cities, local officials order police to release dangerous criminal aliens to prey upon the public, instead of handing them over to ICE to be safely removed.

Just 29 days ago, a criminal alien freed by the sanctuary city of New York was charged with the brutal rape and murder of a 92-year-old woman. The killer had been previously arrested for assault, but under New York's sanctuary policies, he was set free. If the city had honored ICE's detainer request, his victim would still be alive today.

The state of California passed an outrageous law declaring their whole state to be a sanctuary for criminal illegal immigrants — a very terrible sanctuary — with catastrophic results.

Here is just one tragic example. In December 2018, California police detained an illegal alien with five prior arrests, including convictions for robbery and assault. But as required by California's Sanctuary Law, local authorities released him.

Days later, the criminal alien went on a gruesome spree of deadly violence. He viciously shot one man going about his daily work. He approached a woman sitting in her car and shot her in the arm and in the chest. He walked into a convenience store and wildly fired his weapon. He hijacked a truck and smashed into vehicles, critically injuring innocent victims. One of the victims is — a terrible, terrible situation; died — 51-year-old American named Rocky Jones.

Rocky was at a gas station when this vile criminal fired eight bullets at him from close range, murdering him in cold blood. Rocky left behind a devoted family, including his brothers, who loved him more than anything else in the world. One of his grieving brothers is here with us tonight. Jody, would you please stand? Jody, thank you. (Applause.) Jody our hearts weep for your loss, and we will not rest until you have justice.

Senator Thom Tillis has introduced legislation to allow Americans like Jody to sue sanctuary cities and states when a loved one is hurt or killed as a result of these deadly practices. (Applause.)

I ask Congress to pass the Justice for Victims of Sanctuary Cities Act immediately. The United States of America should be a sanctuary for law-abiding Americans, not criminal aliens. (Applause.)

In the last three years, ICE has arrested over 5,000 wicked human traffickers. And I have signed nine pieces of legislation to stamp out the menace of human trafficking, domestically and all around the globe. My administration has undertaken an unprecedented effort to secure the southern border of the United States. (Applause.)

Before I came into office, if you showed up illegally on our southern border and were arrested, you were simply released and allowed into our country, never to be seen again. My administration has ended catch and release. (Applause.) If you come illegally, you will now be promptly removed from our country. (Applause.)

Very importantly, we entered into historic cooperation agreements with the governments of Mexico, Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala. As a result of our unprecedented efforts, illegal crossings are down 75 percent since May, dropping eight straight months in a row. (Applause.) And as the wall rapidly goes up, drug seizures rise, and the border crossings are down, and going down very rapidly.

Last year, I traveled to the border in Texas and met Chief Patrol Agent Raul Ortiz. Over the last 24 months, Agent Ortiz and his team have seized more than 200,000 pounds of poisonous narcotics, arrested more than 3,000 human smugglers, and rescued more than 2,000 migrants. Days ago, Agent Ortiz was promoted to Deputy Chief of Border Patrol, and he joins us tonight. Chief Ortiz, please stand. (Applause.) A grateful nation thanks you and all of the heroes of Border Patrol and ICE. Thank you very much. Thank you. (Applause.)

To build on these historic gains, we are working on legislation to replace our outdated and randomized immigration system with one based on merit, welcoming those who follow the rules, contribute to our economy, support themselves financially, and uphold our values. (Applause.)

With every action, my administration is restoring the rule of law and reasserting the culture of American freedom. (Applause.) Working with Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell — thank you, Mitch — (applause) — and his colleagues in the Senate, we have confirmed a record number of 187 new federal judges to uphold our Constitution as written. This includes two brilliant new Supreme Court justices, Neil Gorsuch and Brett Kavanaugh. Thank you. (Applause.) And we have many in the pipeline. (Laughter and applause.)

My administration is also defending religious liberty, and that includes the constitutional right to pray in public schools. (Applause.) In America, we don't punish prayer. We don't tear down crosses. We don't ban symbols of faith. We don't muzzle preachers and pastors. In America, we celebrate faith, we cherish religion, we lift our voices in prayer, and we raise our sights to the Glory of God.

Just as we believe in the First Amendment, we also believe in another constitutional right that is under siege all across our country. So long as I am President, I will always protect your Second Amendment right to keep and bear arms. (Applause.)

In reaffirming our heritage as a free nation, we must remember that America has always been a frontier nation. Now we must embrace the next frontier, America's manifest destiny in the stars. I am asking Congress to fully fund the Artemis program to ensure that the next man and the first woman on the Moon will be American astronauts — (applause) — using this as a launching pad to ensure that America is the first nation to plant its flag on Mars. (Applause.)

My administration is also strongly defending our national security and combating radical Islamic terrorism. (Applause.)

Last week, I announced a groundbreaking plan for peace between Israel and the Palestinians. Recognizing that all past attempts have failed, we must be determined and creative in order to stabilize the region and give millions of young people the chance to realize a better future.

Three years ago, the barbarians of ISIS held over 20,000 square miles of territory in Iraq and Syria. Today, the ISIS territorial caliphate has been 100 percent destroyed, and the founder and leader of ISIS — the bloodthirsty killer known as al-Baghdadi — is dead. (Applause.)

We are joined this evening by Carl and Marsha Mueller. After graduating from college, their beautiful daughter Kayla became a humanitarian aid worker. She once wrote, "Some people find God in church. Some people find God in nature. Some people find God in love. I find God in suffering. I've known for some time what my life's work is, using my hands as tools to relieve suffering." In 2013, while caring for suffering civilians in Syria, Kayla was kidnapped, tortured, and enslaved by ISIS, and kept as a prisoner of al-Baghdadi himself. After more than 500 horrifying days of captivity, al-Baghdadi murdered young, beautiful Kayla. She was just 26 years old.

On the night that U.S. Special Forces Operations ended al-Baghdadi's miserable life, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Mark Milley, received a call in the Situation Room. He was told that the brave men of the elite Special Forces team that so perfectly carried

out the operation had given their mission a name: “Task Force 8-14.” It was a reference to a special day: August 14th — Kayla’s birthday. Carl and Marsha, America’s warriors never forgot Kayla — and neither will we. Thank you. (Applause.)

Every day, America’s men and women in uniform demonstrate the infinite depth of love that dwells in the human heart.

One of these American heroes was Army Staff Sergeant Christopher Hake. On his second deployment to Iraq in 2008, Sergeant Hake wrote a letter to his one-year-old son, Gage: “I will be with you again,” he wrote to Gage. “I will teach you to ride your first bike, build your first sand box, watch you play sports, and see you have kids also. I love you son. Take care of your mother. I am always with you. Daddy.”

On Easter Sunday of 2008, Chris was out on patrol in Baghdad when his Bradley Fighting Vehicle was hit by a roadside bomb. That night, he made the ultimate sacrifice for our country. Sergeant Hake now rests in eternal glory in Arlington, and his wife Kelli is in the Gallery tonight, joined by their son, who is now a 13-year-old and doing very, very well. To Kelli and Gage: Chris will live in our hearts forever. He is looking down on you now. Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you very much. Thank you both very much.

The terrorist responsible for killing Sergeant Hake was Qasem Soleimani, who provided the deadly roadside bomb that took Chris’s life. Soleimani was the Iranian regime’s most ruthless butcher, a monster who murdered or wounded thousands of American service members in Iraq. As the world’s top terrorist, Soleimani orchestrated the deaths of countless men, women, and children. He directed the December assault and went on to assault U.S. forces in Iraq. Was actively planning new attacks when we hit him very hard. And that’s why, last month, at my direction, the U.S. military executed a flawless precision strike that killed Soleimani and terminated his evil reign of terror forever. (Applause.)

Our message to the terrorists is clear: You will never escape American justice. If you attack our citizens, you forfeit your life. (Applause.)

In recent months, we have seen proud Iranians raise their voices against their oppressive rulers. The Iranian regime must abandon its pursuit of nuclear weapons; stop spreading terror, death, and destruction; and start working for the good of its own people.

Because of our powerful sanctions, the Iranian economy is doing very, very poorly. We can help them make a very good and short-time recovery. It can all go very quickly, but perhaps they are too proud or too foolish to ask for that help. We are here. Let's see which road they choose. It is totally up to them. (Applause.)

As we defend American lives, we are working to end America's wars in the Middle East.

In Afghanistan, the determination and valor of our warfighters has allowed us to make tremendous progress, and peace talks are now underway. I am not looking to kill hundreds of thousands of people in Afghanistan, many of them totally innocent. It is also not our function to serve other nations as law enforcement agencies. These are warfighters that we have — the best in the world — and they either want to fight to win or not fight at all. We are working to finally end America's longest war and bring our troops back home. (Applause.)

War places a heavy burden on our nation's extraordinary military families, especially spouses like Amy Williams from Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and her two children — six-year-old Elliana and three-year-old Rowan. Amy works full-time and volunteers countless hours helping other military families. For the past seven months, she has done it all while her husband, Sergeant First Class Townsend Williams, is in Afghanistan on his fourth deployment in the Middle East. Amy's kids haven't seen their father's face in many months. Amy, your family's sacrifice makes it possible for all of our families to live in safety and in peace, and we want to thank you. Thank you, Amy. (Applause.)

But, Amy, there is one more thing. Tonight, we have a very special surprise. I am thrilled to inform you that your husband is back from deployment. He is here with us tonight, and we couldn't keep him waiting any longer. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: USA! USA! USA!

THE PRESIDENT: Welcome home, Sergeant Williams. Thank you very much.

As the world bears witness tonight, America is a land of heroes. This is a place where greatness is born, where destinies are forged, and where legends come to life. This is the home of Thomas Edison and Teddy Roosevelt, of many great generals including Washington, Pershing, Patton, and MacArthur. This is the home of Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, Amelia Earhart, Harriet Tubman, the Wright Brothers, Neil Armstrong, and so many more. This is the country where children learn names like Wyatt Earp, Davy Crockett, and Annie Oakley. This is the place where the pilgrims landed at Plymouth and where Texas patriots made their last stand at the Alamo — (applause) — the beautiful, beautiful Alamo.

The American nation was carved out of the vast frontier by the toughest, strongest, fiercest, and most determined men and women ever to walk on the face of the Earth. Our ancestors braved the unknown; tamed the wilderness; settled the Wild West; lifted millions from poverty, disease, and hunger; vanquished tyranny and fascism; ushered the world to new heights of science and medicine; laid down the railroads, dug out the canals, raised up the skyscrapers. And, ladies and gentlemen, our ancestors built the most exceptional republic ever to exist in all of human history, and we are making it greater than ever before. (Applause.)

This is our glorious and magnificent inheritance. We are Americans. We are pioneers. We are the pathfinders. We settled the New World, we built the modern world, and we changed history forever by embracing the eternal truth that everyone is made equal by the hand of Almighty God. (Applause.)

America is the place where anything can happen. America is the place where anyone can rise. And here, on this land, on this soil, on this continent, the most incredible dreams come true.

This nation is our canvas, and this country is our masterpiece. We look at tomorrow and see unlimited frontiers just waiting to be explored. Our brightest discoveries are not yet known. Our most thrilling stories are not yet told. Our grandest journeys are not yet made. The American Age, the American Epic, the American adventure has only just begun.

Our spirit is still young, the sun is still rising, God's grace is still shining, and, my fellow Americans, the best is yet to come. (Applause.)

Thank you. God Bless You. And God Bless America. Thank you very much.

¹⁶Anexo 8. Discurso sobre el Estado de la Unión presentado por el presidente Joe Biden en abril del 2021; Washington D.c

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you. Thank you. Good to be back. And Mitch and Chuck will understand it's good to be almost home, down the hall. Anyway, thank you all.

Madam Speaker, Madam Vice President — (applause) — no President has ever said those words from this podium. No President has ever said those words, and it's about time. (Applause.)

First Lady — (applause) — I'm her husband; Second Gentleman; Chief Justice; members of the United States Congress and the Cabinet; distinguished guests; my fellow Americans: While the setting tonight is familiar, this gathering is just a little bit different — a reminder of the extraordinary times we're in.

Throughout our history, Presidents have come to this chamber to speak to Congress, to the nation, and to the world to declare war, to celebrate peace, to announce new plans and possibilities.

Tonight, I come to talk about crisis and opportunity, about rebuilding the nation, revitalizing our democracy, and winning the future for America.

I stand here tonight, one day shy of the 100th day

¹⁶ Discurso copiado y extraído de The New York Times (2021). Discurso de Biden ante el Congreso: transcripción completa - The New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/29/us/politics/joe-biden-speech-transcript.html>

of my administration — 100 days since I took the oath of office and lifted my hand off our family Bible and inherited a nation — we all did — that was in crisis.

The worst pandemic in a century. The worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. The worst attack on our democracy since the Civil War.

Now, after just 100 days, I can report to the nation: America is on the move again — (applause) — turning peril into possibility, crisis to opportunity, setbacks into strength.

We all know life can knock us down. But in America, we never, ever, ever stay down. Americans always get up. Today, that's what we're doing: America is rising anew, choosing hope over fear, truth over lies, and light over darkness.

After 100 days of rescue and renewal, America is ready for takeoff, in my view. We're working again, dreaming again, discovering again, and leading the world again.

We have shown each other and the world that there's no quit in America — none.

One hundred days ago, America's house was on fire. We had to act. And thanks to the extraordinary leadership of Speaker Pelosi; Malor- — Majority Leader Schumer; and the overwhelming support of the American people — Democrats, independents, and Republicans — we did act.

Together we passed the American Rescue Plan — one of the most consequential rescue packages in American history. We're already seeing the results. (Applause.) We're already seeing the results.

After I promised we'd get 100 million COVID-19 vaccine shots into people's arms in 100 days, we will have provided over 220 million COVID shots in those 100 days. (Applause.)

Thanks to all the help of all of you, we're marshalling — with your help, everyone's help — we're marshalling every federal resource. We've gotten vaccines to nearly 40,000

pharmacies and over 700 Community Health Centers where the poorest of the poor can be reached. We're setting up community vaccination sites, developing mobile units to get to hard-to-reach communities.

Today, 90 percent of Americans now live within five miles of a vaccination site. Everyone over the age of 16 — everyone is now eligible to get vaccinated right now, right away. (Applause.) Go get vaccinated, America. Go and get the vaccination. They're available. You're eligible now.

When I was sworn in on January 20th, less than 1 percent of the seniors in America were fully vaccinated against COVID-19. One hundred days later, 70 percent of seniors in America over 65 are protected — fully protected.

Senior deaths from COVID-19 are down 80 percent since January — down 80 percent because of all of you. And more than half of all the adults in America have gotten at least one shot.

At a mass vaccination center in Glendale, Arizona, I asked a nurse — I said, “What’s it like?” She looked at me and she said, “It’s like every shot is giving a dose of hope” — was the phrase. “A dose of hope.”

A dose of hope for an educator in Florida who has a child suffering from an autoimmune disease — wrote to me, said she’s worried — that she was worrying about bringing the virus home. She said she then got vaccinated at a — at a large site, in her car. She said she sat in her car, when she got vaccinated, and just cried — cried out of joy and cried out of relief.

Parents see the smiles on their kids’ faces, for those who are able to go back to school because the teachers and school bus drivers and cafeteria workers have been vaccinated.

Grandparents hugging their children and grandchildren instead of pressing hands against a window to say goodbye.

It means everything. Those things mean everything.

You know, there's still — you all know it; you know it better than any group of Americans — there's still more work to do to beat this virus. We can't let our guard down.

But tonight I can say it: Because of you, the American people, our progress these past 100 days against one of the worst pandemics in history has been one of the greatest logistical achievements — logistical achievements this country has ever seen.

What else have we done in those first 100 days?

We kept our commitment — Democrats and Republicans — of sending \$1,400 rescue checks to 85 percent of American households. We've already sent more than one — 160 million checks out the door. It's making the difference. You all know it when you go home. For many people, it's making all the difference in the world.

A single mom in Texas who wrote to me, she said she couldn't work, but she said the relief check put food on the table and saved her and her son from eviction from their apartment.

A grandmother in Virginia who told me she immediately took her granddaughter to the eye doctor — something she said she put off for months because she didn't have the money.

One of the defining images, at least from my perspective, of this crisis has been cars lined up — cars lined up for miles. And not — not people who just barely ever start those cars — nice cars lined up for miles, waiting for a box of food to be put in their trunk.

I don't know about you, but I didn't ever think I'd see that in America. And all of this is through no fault of their own. No fault of their own these people are in this position.

That's why the Rescue Plan is delivering food and nutrition assistance to millions of Americans facing hunger, and hunger is down sharply already.

We're also providing rental assistance — you all know this, but the American people, I want to make sure they understand — keeping people from being evicted from their homes, providing loans to small businesses to reopen and keep their employees on the job.

During these 100 days, an additional 800,000 Americans enrolled in the Affordable Care Act when I established the special sign-up period to do that — 800,000 in that period.

We're making one of the largest one-time ever investments — ever — in improving healthcare for veterans. Critical investments to address the opioid crisis. And, maybe most importantly, thanks to the American Rescue Plan, we're on track to cut child poverty in America in half this year. (Applause.)

And in the process, while this was all going on, the economy created more than 1,300,000 new jobs in 100 days — more jobs in the first — (applause) — more jobs in the first 100 days than any President on record.

The International Monetary Fund — (applause) — the International Monetary Fund is now estimating our economy will grow at a rate of more than 6 percent this year. That will be the fastest pace of economic growth in this country in nearly four decades.

America is moving — moving forward — but we can't stop now. We're in competition with China and other countries to win the 21st Century. We're at a great inflection point in history.

We have to do more than just build back better — I mean “build back.” We have to build back better. We have to compete more strenuously than we have.

Throughout our history, if you think about it, public investment and infrastructure has literally transformed America — our attitudes, as well as our opportunities.

The transcontinental railroad, the interstate highways united two oceans and brought a totally new age of progress to the United States of America.

Universal public schools and college aid opened wide the doors of opportunity.

Scientific breakthroughs took us to the Moon — now we're on Mars; discovering vaccines; gave us the Internet and so much more.

These are the investments we made together as one country, and investments that only the government was in a position to make. Time and again, they propel us into the future.

That's why I proposed the American Jobs Plan — a once-in-a-generation investment in America itself. This is the largest jobs plan since World War Two.

It creates jobs to upgrade our transportation infrastructure; jobs modernizing our roads, bridges, highways; jobs building ports and airports, rail corridors, transit lines.

It's clean water. And, today, up to 10 million homes in America and more than 400,000 schools and childcare centers have pipes with lead in them, including in drinking water — a clear and present danger to our children's health.

The American Jobs Plan creates jobs replacing 100 percent of the nation's lead pipes and service lines so every American can drink clean water. (Applause.)

And in the process, it will create thousands and thousands of good-paying jobs. It creates jobs connecting every American with high-speed Internet, including 35 percent of the rural America that still doesn't have it.

This is going to help our kids and our businesses succeed in the 21st-century economy.

And I am asking the Vice President to lead this effort, if she would —

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Of course.

THE PRESIDENT: — because I know it will get done. (Applause.)

It creates jobs, building a modern power grid. Our grids are vulnerable to storms, hacks, catastrophic failures — with tragic results, as we saw in Texas and elsewhere during the winter storms.

The American Jobs Plan will create jobs that will lay thousands of miles of transmission lines needed to build a resilient and fully clean grid. We can do that. (Applause.)

Look, the American Jobs Plan will help millions of people get back to their jobs and back to their careers.

Two million women have dropped out of the workforce during this pandemic — two million. And too often because they couldn't get the care they needed to care for their child or care for an elderly parent who needs help.

Eight hundred thousand families are on a Medicare waiting list right now to get homecare for their aging parent or loved one with a disability. If you think it's not important, check out in your own district.

Democrat or Republican — Democrat or Republican voters, their great concern — almost as much as their children — is taking care of an elderly loved one who can't be left alone. Medicaid contemplated it, but this plan is going to help those families and create jobs for our caregivers with better wages and better benefits, continuing a cycle of growth.

For too long, we've failed to use the most important word when it comes to meeting the climate crisis: "jobs." Jobs. Jobs. (Applause.)

For me, when I think "climate change," I think "jobs."

The American Jobs Plan will put engineers and construction workers to work building more energy-efficient buildings and homes. Electrical workers — IBEW members — installing 500,000 charging stations along our highways so we can own — (applause) — so we can own the electric car market. (Applause.)

Farmers — farmers planting cover crops so they can reduce the carbon dioxide in the air and get paid for doing it. (Applause.)

Look, but think about it: There is simply no reason why the blades for wind turbines can't be built in Pittsburgh instead of Beijing. No reason. None. No reason. (Applause.)

So, folks, there's no reason why American — American workers can't lead the world in the production of electric vehicles and batteries. I mean, there is no reason. We have this capacity. (Applause.) We have the brightest, best-trained people in the world.

The American Jobs Plan is going to create millions of good-paying jobs — jobs Americans can raise a family on — as my dad would then say, “with a little breathing room.”

And all the investments in the American Jobs Plan will be guided by one principle: Buy American. (Applause.) Buy American.

And I might note, parenthetically — (applause) — that does not — that does not violate any trade agreement. It's been the law since the '30s: Buy American.

American tax dollars are going to be used to buy American products made in America to create American jobs. That's the way it's supposed to be and it will be in this administration. (Applause.)

And I made it clear to all my Cabinet people. Their ability to give exemptions has been exstrenuously [sic] limited. It will be American products.

Now I know some of you at home are wondering whether these jobs are for you. So many of you — so many of the folks I grew up with feel left behind, forgotten in an economy that's so rapidly changing. It's frightening.

I want to speak directly to you. Because if you think about it, that's what people are most worried about: “Can I fit in?”

Independent experts estimate the American Jobs Plan will add millions of jobs and trillions of dollars to economic growth in the years to come. It is a — it is an eight-year program. These are good-paying jobs that can't be outsourced.

Nearly 90 percent of the infrastructure jobs created in the American Jobs Plan do not require a college degree; 75 percent don't require an associate's degree.

The American Jobs Plan is a blue-collar blueprint to build America. That's what it is. (Applause.)

And it recognizes something I've always said in this chamber and the other. Good guys and women on Wall Street, but Wall Street didn't build this country. The middle class built the country, and unions built the middle class. (Applause.)

So that's why I'm calling on Congress to pass the Protect the Right to Organize Act — the PRO Act — and send it to my desk so we can support the right to unionize. (Applause.)

And, by the way, while you're thinking about sending things to my desk — (laughs) — let's raise the minimum wage to \$15. (Applause.)

No one — no one working 40 hours a week — no one working 40 hours a week should live below the poverty line.

We need to ensure greater equity and opportunity for women. And while we're doing this, let's get the Paycheck Fairness Act to my desk as well — equal pay. It's been much too long. And if you're wondering whether it's too long, look behind me. (Applause.)

And finally, the American Jobs Plan will be the biggest increase in nondefense research and development on record. We will see more technological change — and some of you know more about this than I do — we'll see more technological change in the next 10 years than we saw in the last 50. That's how rapidly artificial intelligence and so much more is changing.

And we're falling behind the competition with the rest of the world.

Decades ago, we used to invest 2 percent of our gross domestic product in America — 2 percent of our gross domestic product — in research and development.

Today, Mr. Secretary, that's less than 1 percent. China and other countries are closing in fast. We have to develop and dominate the products and technologies of the future: advanced batteries, biotechnology, computer chips, clean energy.

The Secretary of Defense can tell you — and those of you on — who work on national security issues know — the Defense Department has an agency called DARPA — the Defense Advanced Research Project Agency. The people who set up before I came here — and that's been a long time ago — to develop breakthroughs that enhance our national security — that's their only job. And it's a semi-separate agency; it's under the Defense Department. It's led to everything from the discovery of the Internet to GPS and so much more that has enhanced our security.

The National Institute of Health — the NIH -- I believe, should create a similar Advanced Research Projects Agency for Health. (Applause.)

And that would — here's what it would do. It would have a singular purpose: to develop breakthroughs to prevent, detect, and treat diseases like Alzheimer's, diabetes, and cancer.

I'll still never forget when we passed the cancer proposal the last year I was Vice President — almost \$9 million going to NIH. And if you excuse the point of personal privilege, I'll never forget you standing and mentioning — saying you'd name it after my deceased son. It meant a lot.

But so many of us have deceased sons, daughters, and relatives who died of cancer. I can think of no more worthy investment. I know of nothing that is more bipartisan. So, let's end cancer as we know it. (Applause.) It's within our power. (Applause.) It's within our power to do it. (Applause.)

Investments in jobs and infrastructure, like the ones we're talking about, have often had bipartisan support in the past. Vice President Harris and I met regularly in the Oval Office with Democrats and Republicans to discuss the Jobs Plan. And I applaud a group of Republican senators who just put forward their own proposal.

So, let's get to work. I wanted to lay out, before the Congress, my plan before we got into the deep discussions. I'd like to meet with those who have ideas that are different — they think are better. I welcome those ideas.

But the rest of the world is not waiting for us. I just want to be clear: From my perspective, doing nothing is not an option. (Applause.)

Look, we can't be so busy competing with one another that we forget the competition that we have with the rest of the world to win the 21st century.

Secretary Blinken can tell you, I spent a lot of time with President Xi — traveled over 17,000 miles with him; spent, they tell me, over 24 hours in private discussions with him. When he called to congratulate me, we had a two-hour discussion. He's deadly earnest about becoming the most significant, consequential nation in the world. He and others — autocrats — think that democracy can't compete in the 21st century with autocracies because it takes too long to get consensus.

To win that competition for the future, in my view, we also need to make a once-in-a-generation investment in our families and our children. That's why I've introduced the American Families Plan tonight, which addresses four of the biggest challenges facing American families and, in turn, America.

First is access to a good education. When this nation made 12 years of public education universal in the last century, it made us the best-educated, best-prepared nation in the world. It's, I believe, the overwhelming reason that propelled us to where we got in the 21st — in the 20th century.

But the world has caught up, or catching up. They are not waiting. I would say, parenthetically: If we were sitting down, put a bipartisan committee together and said, "Okay, we're going to decide what we do in terms of government providing for free education," I wonder whether we'd think, as we did in the 20th century, that 12 years is enough in the 21st century. I doubt it. Twelve years is no longer enough today to compete with the rest of the world in the 21st Century.

That's why my American Families Plan guarantees four additional years of public education for every person in America, starting as early as we can.

The great universities of this country have conducted studies over the last 10 years. It shows that adding two years of universal high-quality preschool for every three-year-old and four-year-old, no matter what background they come from, it puts them in the position to be able to compete all the way through 12 years. It increases exponentially their prospect of graduating and going on beyond graduation.

The research shows when a young child goes to school — not daycare — they are far more likely to graduate from high school and go to college or something after high school.

When you add two years of free community college on top of that, you begin to change the dynamic. (Applause.) We can do that. (Applause.)

And we'll increase Pell Grants and invest in Historical Black Colleges and Universities, Tribal Colleges, Minority-Serving Institutions. The reason is: They don't have the endowments, but their students are just as capable of learning about cybersecurity, just as capable of learning about metallurgy — all the things that are going on that provide those jobs of the future.

Jill was a community college professor who teaches today as First Lady. She has long said — (applause). She has long — (applause). If I've heard it once, I've heard it a thousand times: "Joe, any country that out-educates us is going to outcompete us." She'll be deeply involved in leading this effort. Thank you, Jill.

Second thing we need: American Families Plan will provide access to quality, affordable childcare. We guarantee — (applause). And I'm proposing a legislation to guarantee that low- and middle-income families will pay no more than 7 percent of their income for high-quality care for children up to the age of 5. The most hard-pressed working families won't have to spend a dime.

Third, the American Families Plan will finally provide up to 12 weeks of paid leave and medical leave — family and medical leave. We're one of the few industrial countries in the world — (applause).

No one should have to choose between a job and paycheck or taking care of themselves and their loved ones — a parent, a spouse, or child.

And fourth, the American Family Plan puts directly into the pockets of millions of Americans. In March, we expanded a tax credit for every child in a family. Up to a \$3,000 per child if they're ~~under~~ [over]* six years of age — I mean, excuse me — under — over six years of age, and \$3,600 for children ~~over~~ [under]* six years of age.

With two parents, two kids, that's \$7,200 in the pockets that's going to help to take care of your family. And that will help more than 65 million children and help cut childcare [child] poverty in half. (Applause.) And we can afford it.

So we did that in the rec- — in the — in the last piece of legislation we passed. But let's extend that Child Care Tax Credit at least through the end of 2025. (Applause.)

The American Rescue Plan lowered healthcare premiums for 9 million Americans who buy their coverage under the Affordable Care Act. I know that's really popular on this side of the aisle. (Laughter.) But let's make that provision permanent so their premiums don't go back up. (Applause.)

In addition to my Families Plan, I'm going to work with Congress to address, this year, other critical priorities for American families.

The Affordable Care Act has been a lifeline for millions of Americans, protecting people with preexisting conditions, protecting women's health. And the pandemic has demonstrated how badly — how badly it's needed. Let's lower deductibles for working families on the Affordable Care — in the Affordable Care Act. (Applause.) And let's lower prescription drug costs. (Applause.)

We know how to do this. The last President had that as an objective. We all know how outrageously expensive drugs are in America.

In fact, we pay the highest prescription drug prices of anywhere in the world right here in America — nearly three times — for the same drug, nearly three times what other countries pay. We have to change that, and we can.

Let's do what we've always talked about for all the years I was down here in this — in this body — in Congress. Let's give Medicare the power to save hundreds of billions of dollars by negotiating lower drug prescription prices. (Applause.)

And, by the way, that won't just — that won't just help people on Medicare; it will lower prescription drug costs for everyone.

And the money we save, which is billions of dollars, can go to strengthen the Affordable Care Act and expand Medicare coverage benefits without costing taxpayers an additional penny. It's within our power to do it; let's do it now. (Applause.)

We've talked about it long enough. Democrats and Republicans, let's get it done this year. This is all about a simple premise: Healthcare should be a right, not a privilege in America. (Applause.)

So, how do we pay for my Jobs and Family Plan? I made it clear, we can do it without increasing the deficits. Let's start with what I will not do: I will not impose any tax increase on people making less than \$400,000. It's — but it's time for corporate America and the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans to just begin to pay their fair share. (Applause.) Just their fair share.

Sometimes I have arguments with my friends in the Democratic Party. I think you should be able to become a billionaire and a millionaire, but pay your fair share.

A recent study shows that 55 of the nation's biggest corporations paid zero federal tax last year. Those 55 corporations made in excess of \$40 billion in profit. A lot of companies also evade taxes through tax havens in Switzerland and Bermuda and the Cayman Islands. And they benefit from tax loopholes and deductions for offshoring jobs and shifting profits overseas. It's not right.

We're going to reform corporate taxes so they pay their fair share and help pay for the public investments their businesses will benefit from as well. (Applause.)

We're going to reward work, not just wealth. We take the top tax bracket for the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans — those making over \$400,000 or more — back up to where it was when George W. Bush was President when he started: 39.6 percent. That's where it was when George W. was President.

We're going to get rid of the loopholes that allow Americans who make more than a million dollars a year and pay a lower tax rate on their capital gains than Americans who receive a paycheck. We're only going to affect three tenths of 1 percent of all Americans by that action. Three tenths of 1 percent.

And the IRS is going to crack down on millionaires and billionaires who cheat on their taxes. It's estimated to be billions of dollars by think tanks that are left, right, and center.

I'm not looking to punish anybody. But I will not add a tax burden — an additional tax burden to the middle class in this country. They're already paying enough. I believe what I propose is fair — (applause) — fiscally responsible, and it raises revenue to pay for the plans I have proposed, and will create millions of jobs that will grow the economy and enhance our financial standing in the country.

When you hear someone say that they don't want to raise taxes on the wealthiest 1 percent or corporate America, ask them: "Whose taxes you want to raise instead? Whose are you going to cut?"

Look, the big tax cut of 2017 — remember, it was supposed to pay for itself — that was how it was sold — and generate vast economic growth. Instead, it added \$2 trillion to the deficit. It was a huge windfall for corporate America and those at the very top.

Instead of using the tax saving to raise wages and invest in research and development, it poured billions of dollars into the pockets of CEOs. In fact, the pay gap between CEOs and their workers is now among the largest in history.

According to one study, CEOs make 320 times what the average worker in their corporation makes. It used to be in the — below a hundred.

The pandemic has only made things worse. Twenty million Americans lost their job in the pandemic — working- and middle-class Americans. At the same time, roughly 650 billionaires in America saw their net worth increase by more than \$1 trillion — in the same exact period. Let me say it again: 650 people increased their wealth by more than \$1 trillion during this pandemic. And they're now worth more than \$4 trillion.

My fellow Americans, trickle-down — trickle-down economics has never worked and it's time to grow the economy from the bottom and the middle out. (Applause.)

You know, there's a broad consensus of economists — left, right, center — and they agree what I'm proposing will help create millions of jobs and generate historic economic growth. These are among the highest-value investments we can make as a nation.

I've often said: Our greatest strength is the power of our example, not just the example of our power.

In my conversations with world leaders — and I've spoken to over 38, 40 of them now — I've made it known — I've made it known that America is back. And you know what they say? The comment that I hear most of all from them is they say, “We see America is back but for how long? But for how long?”

My fellow Americans, we have to show not just that we're back, but that we're back to stay and that we aren't going to go it alone. (Applause.) We're going to do it by leading with our allies. (Applause.)

No one nation can deal with all the crises of our time — from terrorism, to nuclear proliferation, mass migration, cybersecurity, climate change, as well as experi- — what we're experiencing now with pandemics.

There's no wall high enough to keep any virus out. And our own vaccine supply — as it grows to meet our needs; and we're meeting them — will become an arsenal of vaccines for other countries, just as America was the arsenal of democracy for the world — (applause) — and in consequence, influenced the world. (Applause.)

But every American will have access before that occur- — every American will have access to be fully covered by COVID-19 — from the vaccines we have.

Look, the climate crisis is not our fight alone; it's a global fight. The United States accounts, as all of you know, less than 15 percent of carbon emissions. The rest of the world accounts for 85 percent. That's why I kept my commitment to rejoin the Paris Accord — because if we do everything perfectly, it's not going to ultimately matter.

I kept my commitment to convene a climate summit right here in America with all of the major economies of the world — China, Russia, India, the European Union — and I said I'd do it in my first 100 days.

I want to be very blunt about it: I had — my attempt was to make sure that the world could see there was a consensus, that we are at an inflection point in history. And consensus — the consensus is: If we act to save the planet, we can create millions of jobs and economic growth and opportunity to raise the standard of living to almost everyone around the world.

If you've watched any of it — and you were all busy; I'm sure you didn't have much time — that's what virtually every nation said, even the ones that aren't doing their fair share.

The investments I've proposed tonight also advance the foreign policy, in my view, that benefits the middle class. That means making sure every nation plays by the same rules in the global economy, including China.

In my discussions — in my discussions with President Xi, I told him, “We welcome the competition. We're not looking for conflict.” But I made absolutely clear that we will defend America's interests across the board. America will stand up to unfair trade practices that undercut American workers and American industries, like subsidies from state — to state-owned operations and enterprises and the theft of American technology and intellectual property.

I also told President Xi that we'll maintain a strong military presence in the Indo-Pacific, just as we do with NATO in Europe — not to start a conflict, but to prevent one. (Applause.)

I told him what I've said to many world leaders: that America will not back away from our commitments — our commitment to human rights and fundamental freedoms and to our alliances.

And I pointed out to him: No responsible American President could remain silent when basic human rights are being so blatantly violated. An American President — President has to represent the essence of what our country stands for. America is an idea — the most unique idea in history: We are created, all of us, equal. It's who we are, and we cannot walk away from that principle and, in fact, say we're dealing with the American idea.

With regard to Russia, I know it concerns some of you, but I made very clear to Putin that we're not going to seek esca- — ecala- — exc- — excuse me — escalation, but their actions will have consequence if they turn out to be true. And they turned out to be true, so I responded directly and proportionally to Russia's interference in our elections and the cyberattacks on our government and our business. They did both of these things, and I told them we would respond, and we have.

But we can also cooperate when it's in our mutual interest. We did it when we extended the New START Treaty on nuclear arms, and we're working to do it on climate change. But he understands we will respond.

On Iran and North Korea — nuclear programs that present serious threats to American security and the security of the world — we're going to be working closely with our allies to address the threats posed by both of these countries through di- — through diplomacy, as well as stern deterrence.

And American leadership means ending the forever war in Afghanistan. (Applause.) We have — (applause) — we have, without hyperbole, the greatest fighting force in the history of the world. I'm the first President in 40 years who knows what it means to have a son serving in a warzone.

Today we have servicemembers serving in the same warzone as their parents did. We have servicemembers in Afghanistan who were not yet born on 9/11.

The War in Afghanistan, as we remember the debates here, were never meant to be multi-generational undertakings of nation-building. We went to Afghanistan to get terrorists — the terrorists who attacked us on 9/11 — and we said we would follow Osama bin Laden to the gates of hell to do it. If you've been to the upper Kunar Valley, you've kind of seen the gates of hell. And we delivered justice to bin Laden. We degraded the terrorist threat of al Qaeda in Afghanistan. And after 20 years of value — valor and sacrifice, it's time to bring those troops home. (Applause.)

Look, even as we do, we will maintain an over-the-horizon capacity to suppress future threats to the homeland. And make no mistake: In 20 years, terrorists has — terrorism has metastasized. The threat has evolved way beyond Afghanistan. And those of you in the intelligence committees, the foreign relations committee, the defense committees, you know well: We have to remain vigilant against the threats to the United States wherever they come from. Al Qaeda and ISIS are in Yemen, Syria, Somalia, other places in Africa, the Middle East, and beyond.

And we won't ignore what our intelligence agencies have determined to be the most lethal terrorist threat to the homeland today: White supremacy is terrorism. We're not going to ignore that either.

My fellow Americans, look, we have to come together to heal the soul of this nation. It was nearly a year ago, before her father's funeral, when I spoke with Gianna Floyd, George Floyd's young daughter. She's a little tyke, so I was kneeling down to talk to her so I could look her in the eye. And she looked at me and she said, "My daddy changed the world." Well, after the conviction of George Floyd's murderer, we can see how right she was if — if we have the courage to act as a Congress.

We've all seen the knee of injustice on the neck of Black Americans. Now is our opportunity to make some real progress. The vast majority of men and women wearing the uniform and a badge serve our communities, and they serve them honorably. I know them. I know they want — (applause) — I know they want to help meet this moment as well.

My fellow Americans, we have to come together to rebuild trust between law enforcement and the people they serve, to root out systemic racism in our criminal justice system, and to enact police reform in George Floyd's name that passed the House already.

I know Republicans have their own ideas and are engaged in the very productive discussions with Democrats in the Senate. We need to work together to find a consensus. But let's get it done next month, by the first anniversary of George Floyd's death. (Applause.)

The country supports this reform, and Congress should act — should act. We have a giant opportunity to bend to the arc of the moral universe towards justice — real justice. And with the plans outlined tonight, we have a real chance to root out systemic racism that plagues America and American lives in other ways; a chance to deliver real equity — good jobs, good schools, affordable housing, clean air, clean water, being able to generate wealth and pass it down two generations because you have an access to purchase a house. Real opportunities in the lives of more Americans — Black, white, Latino, Asian Americans, Native Americans.

Look, I also want to thank the United States Senate for voting 94 to 1 to pass the COVID-19 Hate Crimes Act to protect Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. (Applause.) You acted decisively. (Applause.) And you can see on television the viciousness of the hate crimes we've seen over the past year — this past year and for too long. I urge the House to do the same and send that legislation to my desk, which I will gladly, anxiously sign.

I also hope Congress can get to my desk the Equality Act to protect LGBTQ Americans. (Applause.) To all transgender Americans watching at home, especially young people who are so brave, I want you to know your President has your back.

Another thing: Let's authorize the Violence Against Women Act, which has been law for 27 years. (Applause.) Twenty-seven years ago, I wrote it. It'll close the — the act that has to be authorized now will close the "boyfriend" loophole to keep guns out of the hands of abusers. The court order said, "This is an abuser. You can't own a gun." It's to close that loophole that existed.

You know, it's estimated that 50 women are shot and killed by an intimate partner every month in America — 50 a month. Let's pass it and save some lives. (Applause.)

And I need not — I need not tell anyone this, but gun violence is becoming an epidemic in America.

The flag at the White House was still flying at half-mast for the 8 victims in the mass shooting in Georgia when 10 more lives were taken in a mass shooting in Colorado.

And in the week in between those two events, 250 other Americans were shot dead in the streets of America — 250 shot dead.

I know how hard it is to make progress on this issue. In the '90s, we passed universal background checks, a ban on assault weapons and high-capacity magazines that hold 100 rounds that can be fired off in seconds. We beat the NRA. Mass shootings and gun violence declined. Check out the report in over 10 years. But in the early two- — 2000s, the law expired, and we've seen daily bloodshed since. I'm not saying if the law continued, we wouldn't see bloodshed.

More than two weeks ago in the Rose Garden, surrounded by some of the bravest people I know — the survivors and families who lost loved ones to gun violence — I laid out several of the Department of Justice a- — actions that are being taken to — impact on this epidemic.

One of them is banning so-called “ghost guns.” These are homemade guns built from a kit that includes directions on how to finish the firearm. The parts have no serial numbers, so they show up at crime scenes and they can't be traced. The buyers of these ghost gun kits aren't required to pass any background check. Anyone, from a criminal or terrorist, could buy this kit and within 30 minutes have a weapon that's lethal. But no more.

And I will do everything in my power to protect the American people from this epidemic of gun violence, but it's time for Congress to act as well. (Applause.)

Look, I don't want to become confrontational but we need more Senate Republicans to join the overwhelming majority of Democrat colleagues and close the loopholes requiring a background check on purchases of guns. We need a ban on assault weapons and high-capacity magazines. And don't tell me it can't be done. We did it before, and it worked.

Talk to most responsible gun owners and hunters. They'll tell you there's no possible justification for having 100 rounds in a weapon. What do you think — deer are wearing Kevlar vests? (Laughter.) They'll tell you that there are too many people today who are able to buy a gun but shouldn't be able to buy a gun.

These kinds of reasonable reforms have overwhelming support from the American people, including many gun owners. The country supports reform and is — and Congress should act.

This shouldn't be a red or blue issue. And no amendment to the Constitution is absolute. You can't yell "Fire!" in a crowded theater. From the very beginning, there were certain guns, weapons, that could not be owned by Americans. Certain people could not own those weapons ever.

We're not changing the Constitution; we're being reasonable. I think this is not a Democrat or Republican issue; I think it's an American issue.

And here's what else we can do: Immigration has always been essential to America. Let's end our exhausting war over immigration. For more than 30 years, politicians have talked about immigration reform, and we've done nothing about it. It's time to fix it.

On day one of my presidency, I kept my commitment and sent a comprehensive immigration bill to the United States Congress. If you believe we need to secure the border, pass it, because it has a lot of money for high-tech border security. If you believe in a pathway to citizenship, pass it so over 11 million undocumented folks — the vast majority are here overstaying visas. Pass it. We can actually — if you actually want to solve a problem, I've sent a bill to take a close look at it.

We have to — also have to get at the root problem of why people are fleeing, particularly to — to our southern border from Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador: the violence, the corruption, the gangs, and the political instability, hunger, hurricanes, earthquakes, natural disasters.

When I was President, my President — when I was Vice President, the President asked me to focus on providing the help needed to address the root causes of migration. And it helped keep people in their own countries instead of being forced to leave. The plan was working, but the last administration decided it was not worth it.

I'm restoring the program and asked Vice President Harris to lead our diplomatic effort to take care of this. I have absolute confidence she'll get the job done. (Applause.)

Now, look, if you don't like my plan, let's at least pass what we all agree on. Congress needs to pass legislation this year to finally secure protection for DREAMers — the young people who have only known America as their home. (Applause.)

And permanent protection for immigrants who are here on temporary protected status who came from countries beset by manmade and natural-made violence and disaster. (Applause.)

As well as a pathway to citizenship for farmworkers who put food on our tables. (Applause.)

Look, immigrants have done so much for America during this pandemic and throughout our history. The country supports immigration reform. We should act. Let's argue over it, let's debate it, but let's act. (Applause.)

And if we truly want to restore the soul of America, we need to protect the sacred right to vote. Most people — (applause).

More people voted in the last presidential election than any time in American history, in the middle of the worst pandemic ever. It should be celebrated. Instead, it's being attacked.

Congress should pass H.R. 1 and the John Lewis Voting Rights Act and send it to my desk right away. (Applause.) The country supports it. The Congress should act now. (Applause.)

Look, in closing, as we gather here tonight, the images of a violent mob assaulting this Capitol, desecrating our democracy, remain vivid in all our minds.

Lives were put at risk — many of your lives. Lives were lost. Extraordinary courage was summoned. The insurrection was an existential crisis — a test of whether our democracy could survive. And it did.

But the struggle is far from over. The question of whether our democracy will long endure is both ancient and urgent, as old as our Republic — still vital today.

Can our democracy deliver on its promise that all of us, created equal in the image of God, have a chance to lead lives of dignity, respect, and possibility?

Can our democracy deliver the most — to the most pressing needs of our people?

Can our democracy overcome the lies, anger, hate, and fears that have pulled us apart?

America's adversaries — the autocrats of the world — are betting we can't. And I promise you, they're betting we can't. They believe we're too full of anger and division and rage.

They look at the images of the mob that assaulted the Capitol as proof that the sun is setting on American democracy. But they are wrong. You know it; I know it. But we have to prove them wrong.

We have to prove democracy still works — that our government still works and we can deliver for our people.

In our first 100 days together, we have acted to restore the people's faith in democracy to deliver. We're vaccinating the nation. We're creating hundreds of thousands of new jobs. We're delivering real results to people; they can see it and feel it in their own lives.

Opening doors of opportunity, guaranteeing some more fairness and justice — that's the essence of America. That's democracy in action.

Our Constitution opens with the words — as trite as it sounds — “We the People”. Well, it's time to remember that “We the People” are the government — you and I. Not some force in a

distant capital. Not some powerful force that we have no control over. It's us. It's "We the People."

In another era when our democracy was tested, Franklin Roosevelt reminded us, "In America, we do our part." We all do our part. That's all I'm asking: that we do our part, all of us.

If we do that, we will meet the center challenge of the age by proving that democracy is durable and strong. Autocrats will not win the future. We will. America will. And the future belongs to America.

As I stand here tonight before you, in a new and vital hour of life and democracy of our nation, and I can say with absolute confidence: I have never been more confident or optimistic about America — not because I'm President, because what's happening with the American people.

We have stared into the abyss of insurrection and autocracy, pandemic and pain, and "We the People" did not flinch.

At the very moment our adversaries were certain we would pull apart and fail, we came together. We united.

With light and hope, we summoned a new strength, new resolve to position us to win the competition of the 21st century, on our way to a union more perfect, more prosperous, and more just, as one people, one nation, and one America.

Folks, as I told every world leader I've ever met with over the years, it's never ever, ever been a good bet to bet against America, and it still isn't. (Applause.)

We are the United States of America. (Applause.) There is not a single thing — nothing — nothing beyond our capacity. We can do whatever we set our mind to do if we do it together. (Applause.) So let's begin to get together. (Applause.)

God bless you all, and may God protect our troops. Thank you for your patience.

¹⁷Anexo 9. Discurso sobre el Estado de la Unión presentado por el presidente Joe Biden en marzo del 2022; Washington D.c

Madam Speaker, Madam Vice President, and our First Lady and Second Gentleman, members of Congress and the Cabinet, Justices of the Supreme Court, my fellow Americans: Last year, COVID-19 kept us apart. This year, we're finally together again.

Tonight — tonight we meet as Democrats, Republicans, and independents, but, most importantly, as Americans with a duty to one another, to America, to the American people, and to the Constitution, and an unwavering resolve that freedom will always triumph over tyranny.

Six — thank you. Six days ago, Russia's Vladimir Putin sought to shake the very foundations of the free world, thinking he could make it bend to his menacing ways. But he badly miscalculated. He thought he could roll into Ukraine and the world would roll over. Instead, he met with a wall of strength he never anticipated or imagined. He met the Ukrainian people.

UKRAINE

From President Zelenskyy to every Ukrainian, their fearlessness, their courage, their determination literally inspires the world. Groups of citizens blocking tanks with their bodies. Everyone from students to retirees, to teachers turned soldiers defending their homeland.

And in this struggle — President Zelenskyy said in his speech to the European Parliament, “Light will win over darkness.”

¹⁷ Discurso copiado y extraído de The White House (2022). 2022 State of the Union Address - The White House, . <https://www.whitehouse.gov/state-of-the-union-2022/>

The Ukrainian Ambassador to the United States is here tonight sitting with the First Lady. Let each of us, if you're able to stand, stand and send an unmistakable signal to the world and Ukraine. Thank you. Thank you, thank you, thank you.

She's bright, she's strong, and she's resolved.

Yes. We, the United States of America, stand with the Ukrainian people.

Throughout our history, we've learned this lesson: When dictators do not pay a price for their aggression, they cause more chaos; they keep moving; and the costs, the threats to the America — and America, to the world keeps rising.

That's why the NATO Alliance was created: to secure peace and stability in Europe after World War Two.

The United States is a member, along with 29 other nations. It matters. American diplomacy matters. American resolve matters.

Putin's latest attack on Ukraine was premeditated and totally unprovoked. He rejected repeated efforts at diplomacy.

He thought the West and NATO wouldn't respond. He thought he could divide us at home, in this chamber, in this nation. He thought he could divide us in Europe as well.

But Putin was wrong. We are ready. We are united. And that's what we did: We stayed united.

We prepared extensively and carefully. We spent months building coalitions of other freedom-loving nations in Europe and the Americas to — from America to the Asian and African continents to confront Putin.

Like many of you, I spent countless hours unifying our European Allies.

We shared with the world, in advance, what we knew Putin was planning and precisely how he would try to falsely and justify his aggression.

We countered Russia's lies with the truth. And now — now that he's acted, the free world is holding him accountable, along with 27 members of the European Union — including France, Germany, Italy — as well as countries like the United Kingdom, Canada, Japan, Korea, Australia, New Zealand, and many others. Even Switzerland are inflicting pain on Russia and supporting the people of Ukraine.

Putin is now isolated from the world more than he has ever been.

Together. Together. Together, along with our Allies, we are right now enforcing powerful economic sanctions. We're cutting off Russia's largest banks from the international financial system; preventing Russia's Central Bank from defending the Russian ruble, making Putin's \$630 billion war fund worthless. We're choking Russia's access, we're choking Russia's access to technology that will sap its economic strength and weaken its military for years to come.

Tonight, I say to the Russian oligarchs and the corrupt leaders who've bilked billions of dollars off this violent regime: No more.

The United States — I mean it. The United States Department of Justice is assembling a dedicated task force to go after the crimes of the Russian oligarchs.

We're joining with European Allies to find and seize their yachts, their luxury apartments, their private jets. We're coming for your ill-begotten gains.

RUSSIAN OLIGARCHS

And, tonight, I'm announcing that we will join our Allies in closing off American air space to all Russian flights, further isolating Russia and adding an additional squeeze on their economy.

He has no idea what's coming.

The ruble has already lost 30 percent of its value, the Russian stock market has lost 40 percent of its value, and trading remains suspended.

The Russian economy is reeling, and Putin alone is the one to blame.

Together with our Allies, we're providing support to the Ukrainians in their fight for freedom: military assistance, economic assistance, humanitarian assistance. We're giving more than a billion dollars in direct assistance to Ukraine. And we'll continue to aid the Ukrainian people as they defend their country and help ease their suffering.

AID TO UKRAINE

But let me be clear: Our forces are not engaged and will not engage in the conflict with Russian forces in Ukraine. Our forces are not going to Europe to fight in Ukraine but to defend our NATO Allies in the event that Putin decides to keep moving west.

For that purpose, we have mobilized American ground forces, air squadrons, ship deployments to protect NATO countries, including Poland, Romania, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

And as I've made crystal clear, the United States and our Allies will defend every inch of territory that is NATO territory with the full force of our collective power — every single inch.

And we're clear-eyed. The Ukrainians are fighting back with pure courage. But the next few days, weeks, and months will be hard on them.

Putin has unleashed violence and chaos. But while he may make gains on the battlefield, he will pay a continuing high price over the long run.

And a pound of Ukrainian people — the proud, proud people — pound for pound, ready to fight with every inch of (inaudible) they have. They've known 30 years of independence — have repeatedly shown that they will not tolerate anyone who tries to take their country backwards.

To all Americans, I'll be honest with you, as I've always promised I would be. A Russian dictator invading a foreign country has costs around the world. And I'm taking robust action to make sure the pain of our sanctions is targeted at the Russian economy and that we use every tool at our disposal to protect American businesses and consumers.

Tonight, I can announce the United States has worked with 30 other countries to release 60 million barrels of oil from reserves around the world. America will lead that effort, releasing 30 million barrels of our own Strategic Petroleum Reserve. And we stand ready to do more if necessary, united with our Allies.

These steps will help blunt gas prices here at home. But I know news about what's happening can seem alarming to all Americans. But I want you to know: We're going to be okay. We're going to be okay.

When the history of this era is written, Putin's war on Ukraine will have left Russia weaker and the rest of the world stronger.

PUTIN'S WAR

While it shouldn't and while it shouldn't have taken something so terrible for people around the world to see what's at stake, now everyone sees it clearly.

We see the unity among leaders of nations, a more unified Europe, a more unified West.

We see unity among the people who are gathering in cities in large crowds around the world, even in Russia, to demonstrate their support for the people of Ukraine.

In the battle between democracy and autocracies, democracies are rising to the moment and the world is clearly choosing the side of peace and security.

This is the real test, and it's going to take time. So, let us continue to draw inspiration from the iron will of the Ukrainian people.

To our fellow Ukrainian Americans who forged a deep bond that connects our two nations: We stand with you. We stand with you.

Putin may circle Kyiv with tanks, but he'll never gain the hearts and souls of Ukrainian people. He'll never — he'll never extinguish their love of freedom. And he will never, never weaken the resolve of the free world.

We meet tonight in an America that has lived through two of the hardest years this nation has ever faced. The pandemic has been punishing. And so many families are living paycheck to paycheck, struggling to keep up with the rising cost of food, gas, housing, and so much more.

I understand, like many of you did. My dad had to leave his home in Scranton, Pennsylvania, to find work. So, like many of you, I grew up in a family when the price of food went up, it was felt throughout the family; it had an impact.

That's why one of the first things I did as President was fight to pass the American Rescue Plan, because people were hurting. We needed to act and we did.

Few pieces of legislation have done more at a critical moment in our history to lift us out of a crisis. It fueled our efforts to vaccinate the nation and combat COVID-19. It delivered immediate economic relief to tens of millions of Americans. It helped put food on the table. Remember those long lines of cars waiting for hours just to get a box of food put in their trunk? It cut the cost of healthcare insurance. And as my dad used to say, it gave the people “just a little bit of breathing room.”

And unlike the \$2 trillion tax cut passed in the previous administration that benefitted the top 1 percent of Americans, the American Rescue Plan helped working people and left no one behind. And, folks — and it worked. It worked.

It worked and created jobs — lots of jobs. In fact, our economy created over 6.5 million new jobs just last year, more jobs in one year than ever before in the history of the United States of America.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS REPORT

The economy grew at a rate of 5.7 last year — the strongest growth rate in 40 years and the first step in bringing fundamental change to our economy that hasn't worked for working people in this nation for too long.

For the past 40 years, we were told that tax breaks for those at the top and benefits would trickle down and everyone would — would benefit.

But that trickle-down theory led to a weaker economic growth, lower wages, bigger deficits, and a widening gap between the top and everyone else in the — in nearly a century.

Look, Vice President Harris and I ran for office — and I realize we have fundamental disagreements on this — but ran for office with a new economic vision for America: invest in America; educate Americans; grow the workforce; build the economy from the bottom up and the middle out, not from the top down. Because we know when the middle class grows — when the middle class grows, the poor go way up and the wealthy do very well.

America used to have the best roads, bridges, and airports on Earth. And now our infrastructure is ranked 13th in the world. We won't be able to compete for the jobs of the 21st century if we don't fix it.

That's why it was so important to pass the Bipartisan Infrastructure Law. And I thank my Republican friends who joined to invest and rebuild America — the single biggest investment in history.

BIPARTISAN INFRASTRUCTURE LAW

It was a bipartisan effort, and I want to thank the members of both parties who worked to make it happen. We're done talking about infrastructure weeks. We're now talking about an infrastructure decade.

And look, it's going to — it's going to transform America to put us on a path to win the economic competition of the 21st century that we face with the rest of the world, particularly China.

I've told Xi Jinping: It's never been a good bet to bet against the American people.

We'll create good jobs for millions of Americans — modernizing roads, airports, ports, waterways — all across America. And we'll do it to withstand the devastating effects of climate crisis and promote environmental justice.

We'll build a national network of 500,000 electric vehicle charging stations; begin to replace the poisonous lead pipes, so every child, every American has clean water to drink at home and at school.

We're going to provide — provide affordable high-speed Internet for every American — rural, suburban, urban, and Tribal communities. Four thousand projects have already been announced. Many of you have announced them in your districts.

And tonight, I'm announcing that, this year, we will start fixing over 65,000 miles of highway and 1,500 bridges in disrepair.

HIGHWAYS

And, folks, when we use taxpayers' dollars to rebuild America, we're going to do it by buying American. Buy American products. Support American jobs.

The federal government spends about \$600 billion a year to keep this country safe and secure. There's been a law on the books for almost a century to make sure taxpayers' dollars support American jobs and businesses. Every administration — Democrat and Republican — says they'll do it, but we're actually doing it.

We'll buy America to make sure every — everything from the deck of an aircraft carrier to the steel on highway guardrails is made in America from beginning to end. All of it. All of it.

But, folks, to compete for the jobs of the future, we also need to level the playing field with China and other competitors. That's why it's so important to pass the bipartisan Innovation Act sitting in Congress that will make record investments in emerging technologies and American manufacturing.

BIPARTISAN INNOVATION ACT

We used to invest almost 2 percent of our GDP in research and development. We don't now. Can't — China is.

Let me give you one example why it's so important to pass.

If you travel 20 miles east of Columbus, Ohio, you'll find a thousand empty acres of land. It won't look like much. But if you stop and look closely, you'll see a "field of dreams" — the ground on which America's future will be built.

That's where Intel, the American company that helped build Silicon Valley, is going to build a \$20 billion semiconductor "mega site." Up to eight state-of-the-art factories in one place. Ten thousand new jobs. And in those factories, the average job — about \$135 — \$135,000 a year.

Some of the most sophisticated manufacturing in the world to make computer chips the size of a fingertip that power the world and everyday lives, from smartphones, technology that — the Internet — technology that's yet to be invented.

But that's just the beginning.

Intel's CEO, Pat Gelsinger, who is here tonight — and I don't know where Pat is. Pat? There you go, Pat. Stand up. Pat came to see me, and he told me they're ready to increase their investment from \$20 billion to \$100 billion.

That would be the biggest investment in manufacturing in American history. And all they're waiting for is for you to pass this bill.

So, let's not wait any longer. Send it to my desk, I'll sign it, and we will really take off in a big way.

And, folks, Intel is not alone. There's something happening in America. Just look around, and you'll see an amazing story — the rebirth of pride that comes from stamping products “Made in America,” the revitalization of American manufacturing.

Companies are choosing to build new factories here when just a few years ago, they would have gone overseas. That's what is happening.

Ford is investing \$11 billion in electric vehicles, creating 11,000 jobs across the country.

GM is making the largest investment in its history — \$7 billion to build electric vehicles, creating 4,000 jobs in Michigan.

All told, 369,000 new manufacturing jobs were created in America last year alone.

Folks, powered by people I've met — like JoJo Burgess from generations of union steelworkers in Pittsburgh, who's here with us tonight. Where are you, JoJo? There you go. Thanks, buddy.

As Ohio — as Ohio Sherrod Brown says, “It's time to bury the label ‘Rust Belt.’” It's time to see the — the — what used to be called the Rust Belt become the — the home of a significant resurgence of manufacturing.

And with all the bright spots in our economy — record job growth, higher wages — too many families are struggling to keep up with their bills.

Inflation is robbing them of gains they thought otherwise they would be able to feel.

I get it. That's why my top priority is getting prices under control.

INFLATION

I get it. That's why my top priority is getting prices under control.

Look, our economy roared back faster than almost anyone predicted, but the pandemic meant that businesses had a hard time hiring enough people because of the pandemic to keep up production in their factories. So, you didn't have people making those beams that went into buildings because they were out — the factory was closed.

The pandemic also disrupted the global supply chain. Factories close. When that happens, it takes longer to make goods and get them to the warehouses, to the stores, and go — prices go up.

Look at cars last year. One third of all the inflation was because of automobile sales. There weren't enough semiconductors to make all the cars that people wanted to buy.

And guess what? Prices of automobiles went way up, especially used vehicles as well.

And so, we have a choice.

One way to fight inflation is to drive down wages and make Americans poorer.

I think I have a better idea to fight inflation: Lower your costs, not your wages.

And, folks, that means make more cars and semiconductors in America, more infrastructure and innovation in America, more goods moving faster and cheaper in America, more jobs where you can earn a good living in America.

Instead of relying on foreign supply chains, let's make it in America.

Look, economists call this increasing the productive capacity of our economy.

I call it building a better America.

BUILDING A BETTER AMERICA

My plan to fight inflation will lower your costs and lower the deficit. Seventeen Nobel laureates in economics said my plan will ease long-term inflationary pressures. Top business leaders and, I believe, most Americans support the plan.

And here's the plan.

First, cut the cost of prescription drugs. We pay more for the same drug produced by the same company in America than any other country in the world.

Just look at insulin. One in ten Americans has diabetes. In Virginia, I met a 13-year-old boy — the handsome young man standing up there, Joshua Davis. He and his dad both have Type 1 diabetes, which means they need insulin every single day.

Insulin costs about \$10 a vial to make. That's what it costs the — the pharmaceutical company. But drug companies charge families like Joshua and his dad up to 30 times that amount.

I spoke with Joshua's mom. Imagine what it's like to look at your child who needs insulin to stay healthy and have no idea how in God's name you're going to be able to pay for it — what it does to your family, but what it does to your dignity, your ability to look your child in the eye, to be the parent you expect yourself to be. I really mean it. Think about that. That's what I think about.

You know, yesterday — Joshua is here tonight, but yesterday was his birthday. Happy birthday, buddy, by the way.

For Joshua and 200,000 other young people with Type 1 diabetes, let's cap the cost of insulin at \$35 a month so everyone can afford it. And drug companies will do very, very well — their profit margin.

COST OF INSULIN

And while we're at it — I know we have great disagreements on this floor with this — let's let Medicare negotiate the price of prescription drugs. They already set the price for VA drugs.

Look, the American Rescue Plan is helping millions of families on Affordable Care Act plans to save them \$2,400 a year on their health premiums. Let's close the coverage gap and make those savings permanent.

And second, let's cut energy costs for families an average of \$500 a year by combatting climate change.

Let's provide an investment and tax credit to weatherize your home and your business to be energy efficient and get a tax credit for it; double America's clean energy production in solar,

wind, and so much more; lower the price of electric vehicles, saving another \$80 a month that you've not going to have to pay at the pump.

ENERGY EFFICIENCY

Folks — third — the third thing we can do to change the standard of living for hardworking folks is cut the cost of childcare. Cut the cost of childcare.

Folks, if you live in a major city in America, you can pay up to \$14,000 a year for childcare per child.

I was a single dad for five years, raising two kids. I had a lot of help, though. I had a mom, a dad, a brother, and sister that really helped.

But middle-class and working folks shouldn't have to pay more than 7 percent of their income to care for their young children.

My plan would cut the cost of childcare in half for most families and help parents, including millions of women who left the workforce during the pandemic because they couldn't afford childcare to be able to get back to work, generating economic growth.

COST OF CHILD CARE

But my plan doesn't stop there. It also includes home and long-term care, more affordable housing, pre-K for three- and four-year-olds. All of these will lower costs to families.

And under my plan, nobody — let me say this again — nobody earning less than \$400,000 a year will pay an additional penny in new taxes. Not a single penny.

I may be wrong, but my guess is, if we took a secret ballot in this floor, that we'd all agree that the present tax system ain't fair. We have to fix it.

I'm not looking to punish anybody, but let's make corporations and wealthy Americans start paying their fair share.

Look, last year — like Chris Coons and Tom Carper and my distinguished congresswoman — we come from the land of corporate America. There are more corporations incorporated in Delaware than every other state in America combined. And I still won 36 years in a row. The point is: Even they understand they should pay just a fair share.

Last year, 55 of the Fortune 500 companies earned \$40 billion in profit and paid zero in federal taxes.

No, look, it's not fair. That's why I proposed a 15 percent minimum tax rate for corporations.

We've got — and that's why in the G7 and other meetings overseas we were able to put together — I was able to be somewhat helpful — 130 countries to agree on a global minimum tax rate — so companies can't get out of paying their taxes at home by shipping jobs and factories overseas. It'll raise billions of dollars.

And that's why I've proposed closing loopholes for the very wealthy who don't pay — who pay a lower tax rate than a teacher and a firefighter.

So that's my plan. But we have — we'll go into more detail later.

I'm going to grow — we will grow the economy, lower the costs to families.

So, what are we waiting for? Let's get this done. We all know we've got to make changes.

Folks, and while you're at it, confirm my nominees for the Federal Reserve which plays a critical role in fighting inflation.

My plan will not only lower costs and give families a fair shot, it will lower the deficit.

The previous administration not only ballooned the deficit with those tax cuts for the very wealthy and corporations, it undermined the watchdogs — the job of those to keep pandemic relief funds from being wasted. Remember we had those debates about whether or not those watchdogs should be able to see, every day, how much money was being spent, where it — was it going to the right place?

In my administration, the watchdogs are back. And we're going after the criminals who stole billions of relief money meant for small business and millions of Americans.

PANDEMIC FRAUD

And tonight, I'm announcing that the Justice Department will soon name a chief prosecutor for pandemic fraud.

And, look I think we all agree — thank you — by the end of this year, the deficit will be down to less than half what it was before I took office — the only President ever to cut the deficit by more than \$1 trillion in a single year.

Lowering your costs also meant demanding more competition. I'm a capitalist, but capitalism without competition is not capitalism. Capitalism without competition is exploitation. It drives up prices.

When corporations have to compete, their profits go up and your prices go up — when they don't have to compete.

Small businesses and family farmers and ranchers — I need not tell some of my Republican friends from those states — guess what? You got four basic meatpacking facilities. That's it. You play with them or you don't get to play at all. And you pay a hell of a lot more — a hell of a lot more because there's only four.

See what's happening with ocean carriers moving goods in and out of America. During the pandemic, about half a dozen or less foreign-owned companies raised prices by as much as 1,000 percent and made record profits.

Tonight, I'm announcing a crackdown on those companies overcharging American businesses and consumers.

Folks and as Wall Street firms take over more nursing homes, quality in those homes has gone down and costs have gone up. That ends on my watch.

Medicare is going to set higher standards for nursing homes and make sure your loved ones get the care they deserve and that they expect, and they will look at that closely.

We're also going to cut costs to keep the economy going strong and giving workers a fair shot; provide more training and apprenticeships; hire them based on skills, not just their degrees.

Let's pass the Paycheck Fairness Act and paid leave raise the minimum wage to \$15 an hour; and extend the Child Tax Credit so no one has to raise a family in poverty.

PAYCHECK FAIRNESS ACT

Let's increase Pell Grants; increase our historic support for HBCUs; and invest in what Jill, our First Lady, who teaches full-time, calls America's best-kept secret: community colleges.

Look, let's pass the PRO Act. When a majority of workers want to form a union, they shouldn't be able to be stopped.

When we invest in our workers and we build an economy from the bottom up and the middle out, together we can do something we haven't done in a long time: build a better America.

For more than two years, COVID has impacted every decision in our lives and the life of this nation. And I know you're tired, frustrated, and exhausted. That doesn't even count the close to a million people who sit at a dining room table or a kitchen table and look at an empty chair because they lost somebody.

But I also know this: Because of the progress we've made, because of your resilience and the tools that we have been provided by this Congress, tonight I can say we're moving forward safely, back to a norm- — more normal routines.

We've reached a new moment in the fight against COVID-19 where severe cases are down to a level not seen since July of last year.

Just a few days ago, the Center for Disease Control and Prevention issued a new mask guidelines. Under the new guidelines, most Americans in most of the country can now go mask free.

And based on projections — and based on projections, more of the country will reach a point across — that point across the next couple of weeks.

And thanks to the progress we've made in the past year, COVID-19 no longer need control our lives. I know some are talking about “living with COVID-19.” But tonight, I say that we never will just accept living with COVID-19; we'll continue to combat the virus as we do other diseases.

And because this virus mutates and spreads, we have to stay on guard. And here are four common sense steps as we move forward safely, in my view:

COVID-19

First, stay protected with vaccines and treatments. We know how incredibly effective vaccines are. If you're vaccinated and boosted, you have the highest degree of protection, and we'll never give up on vaccinating more Americans.

Now, I know parents with kids under five are eager to see their vaccines authorized for their children. Scientists are working hard to get that done, and we'll be ready with plenty of vaccines if and when they do.

We're already — we are also ready with anti-viral treatments. If you get COVID-19, the Pfizer pill reduces your chances of ending up in the hospital by 90 percent.

I've ordered more pills than anyone in the world has. Pfizer is working overtime to get us a million pills this month and more than double that next month.

And now we're launching the "Test to Treat" initiative so people can get tested at a pharmacy and, if they prove positive, receive the antiviral pills on the spot at no cost.

And folks if you're immunocompromised or have some other vulnerability, we have treatments and free high-quality masks.

We're leaving no one behind or ignoring anyone's needs as we move forward.

On testing, we've made hundreds of millions of tests available, and you can order them for free to your doorstep.

And we've already ordered free tests. If you already ordered free tests, tonight I'm announcing you can order another group of tests. COVID — go to [COVIDTests.gov](https://www.covidtests.gov), starting next week, and you can get more tests.

Second, we must prepare for new variants.

Over the past — we've gotten much better at detecting new variants. If necessary, we'll be able to deploy new vaccines within 100 days instead of maybe months or years. And if Congress provides the funds we need, we'll have new stockpiles of tests, masks, pills ready if needed.

I can't promise a new variant won't come, but I can — I can promise you we'll do everything within our power to be ready if it does.

Third, we can end the shutdown of schools and businesses. We have the tools we need.

It's time for America to get back to work and fill our great downtowns again with people. People working from home can feel safe and begin to return to their offices.

We're doing that here in the federal government. The vast majority of federal workers will once again work in person.

Our schools are open. Let's keep it that way. Our kids need to be in school.

With 75 percent of adult Americans fully vaccinated and hospitalizations down by 77 percent, most Americans can remove their masks and stay in the classroom and move forward safely.

We achieved this because we provided free vaccines, treatments, tests, and masks. Of course, continuing this costs money, so it will not surprise you I'll be back to see you all. And re- — I'm going to soon send a request to Congress.

The vast majority of Americans have used these tools and may want to again — we may need them again. So I expect Congress — and I hope you'll pass that quickly.

Fourth, we'll continue vaccinating the world. We've sent 475 million vaccine doses to 112 countries — more than any nation on Earth. We won't stop, because you can't build a wall high enough to keep out a —

A vaccine — the vaccine can stop the spread of these diseases.

You know, we've lost so much in COVID-19. Time with one another. The worst of all, the much loss of life.

Let's use this moment to reset. So, stop looking at COVID as a partisan dividing line. See it for what it is: a God-awful disease.

Let's stop sending — seeing each other as enemies and start seeing each other for who we are: fellow Americans.

COVID-19 RESET

Look we can't change how divided we've been. That was a long time in coming. But we can change how to move forward on COVID-19 and other issues that we must face together.

I recently visited New York City Police Department days after the funerals of Officer Wilbert Mora and his partner, Officer Jason Rivera.

They were responding to a 911 call when a man shot and killed them with a stolen gun.

Officer Mora was 27 years old. Officer Rivera was 22 years old. Both Dominican Americans who grew up in the same streets that they later chose to patrol as police officers.

I spoke with their families, and I told them that we are forever in debt for their sacrifices and we'll carry on their mission to restore the trust and safety in every community it deserves.

Like some of you that have been around for a while — I've worked with you on these issues for a long time. I know what works: Investing in crime prevention and community policing — cops who walk the beat, who know the neighborhood, and who can restore trust and safety.

CRIME PREVENTION

Let's not abandon our streets or choose between safety and equal justice. Let's come together and protect our communities, restore trust, and hold law enforcement accountable.

That's why the Justice Department has required body cameras, banned chokeholds, and restricted no-knock warrants for its officers.

That's why the American Rescue Plan that you all provided \$350 billion that cities, states, and counties can use to hire more police, invest in more proven strategies like community violence interruption, trusted messengers breaking the cycle of violence and trauma and giving young people some hope.

We should all agree the answer is not to defund the police.

It's to fund the police. Fund them. Fund them. Fund them with the resources and training — resources and training they need to protect our communities.

I ask Democrats and Republicans alike to pass my budget and keep our neighborhoods safe.

And we'll do everything in my power to crack down on gun trafficking of ghost guns that you can buy online, assemble at home — no serial numbers, can't be traced.

I ask Congress to pass proven measures to reduce gun violence. Pass universal background checks. Why should anyone on the terrorist list be able to purchase a weapon. Why? Why?

And, folks, ban assault weapons with high-capacity magazines that hold up to 100 rounds. You think the deer are wearing Kevlar vests?

Look, repeal the liability shield that makes gun manufacturers the only industry in America that can't be sued — the only one. Imagine had we done that with the tobacco manufactures.

These laws don't infringe on the Second Amendment; they save lives.

GUN VIOLENCE

The most fundamental right in America is the right to vote and have it counted. And look, it's under assault.

In state after state, new laws have been passed not only to suppress the vote — we've been there before — but to subvert the entire election. We can't let this happen.

Tonight, I call on the Senate to pass — pass the Freedom to Vote Act. Pass the John Lewis Act — Voting Rights Act. And while you're at it, pass the DISCLOSE Act so Americans know who is funding our elections.

Look, tonight, I'd — I'd like to honor someone who has dedicated his life to serve this country: Justice Breyer — an Army veteran, Constitutional scholar, retiring Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

Justice Breyer, thank you for your service. Thank you, thank you, thank you. I mean it. Get up. Stand — let me see you. Thank you.

And we all know — no matter what your ideology, we all know one of the most serious constitutional responsibilities a President has is nominating someone to serve on the United States Supreme Court.

As I did four days ago, I've nominated a Circuit Court of Appeals — Ketanji Brown Jackson. One of our nation's top legal minds who will continue in just Brey- — Justice Breyer's legacy of excellence. A former top litigator in private practice, a former federal public defender from a family of public-school educators and police officers — she's a consensus builder.

Since she's been nominated, she's received a broad range of support, including the Fraternal Order of Police and former judges appointed by Democrats and Republicans.

Since she's been nominated, she's received a broad range of support, including the Fraternal Order of Police and former judges appointed by Democrats and Republicans.

Folks, if we are to advance liberty and justice, we need to secure our border and fix the immigration system.

And as you might guess, I think we can do both. At our border, we've installed new technology, like cutting-edge scanners, to better detect drug smuggling.

We've set up joint patrols with Mexico and Guatemala to catch more human traffickers.

We're putting in place dedicated immigration judges in significant larger number so families fleeing persecution and violence can have their cases — cases heard faster — and those who aren't legitimately here can be sent back.

We're screening — we're securing commitments and supporting partners in South and Central America to host more refugees and secure their own borders.

We can do all this while keeping lit the torch of liberty that has led the generation of immigrants to this land — my forebearers and many of yours.

Provide a pathway to citizenship for Dreamers — those with temporary status, farmworkers, essential workers. To revise our laws so businesses have workers they need and families don't wait decades to reunite.

It's not only the right thing to do, it's economically smart thing to do. That's why the immigration reform is supported by everyone from labor unions to religious leaders to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Let's get it done once and for all.

Folks, advancing liberty and justice also requires protecting the rights of women. The constitutional right affirmed by *Roe v. Wade*, standing precedent for half a century, is under attack as never before.

If you want to go forward not backwards, we must protect access to healthcare; preserve a woman's right to choose — and continue to advance maternal healthcare for all Americans.

ROE V. WADE

And folks, for our LGBTQ+ Americans, let's finally get the bipartisan Equality Act to my desk. The onslaught of state laws targeting transgender Americans and their families — it's simply wrong.

As I said last year, especially to our younger transgender Americans, I'll always have your back as your President so you can be yourself and reach your God-given potential.

BIPARTISAN EQUALITY ACT

Folks as I've just demonstrated, while it often appears we do not agree and that — we — we do agree on a lot more things than we acknowledge.

I signed 80 bipartisan bills into law last year, from preventing government shutdowns, to protecting Asian Americans from still-too-common hate crimes, to reforming military justice. And we'll soon be strengthening the Violence Against Women Act that I first wrote three decades ago.

And it's important — it's important for us to show — to show the nation that we can come together and do big things.

So tonight, I'm offering a "Unity Agenda for the Nation": four big things we can do together, in my view.

First, beat the opioid epidemic. There's so much we can do: increase funding for prevention, treatment, harm reduction, and recovery; get rid of outdated rules and stop doctors and — that stop doctors from prescribing treatments; stop the flow of illicit drugs by working with state and local law enforcement to go after the traffickers.

And if you're suffering from addiction, you know — you should know you're not alone. I believe in recovery, and I celebrate the 23 million — 23 million Americans in recovery.

Second, let's take on mental health — especially among our children, whose lives and education have been turned upside down.

The American Rescue Plan gave schools money to hire teachers and help students make up for lost learning. I urge every parent to make sure your school — your school does just that. They have the money.

We can all play a part. Sign up to be a tutor or a mentor.

Children were also struggling before the pandemic: bullying, violence, trauma, and the harms of social media.

As Frances Haugen, who is here tonight with us, has shown, we must hold social media platforms accountable for the national experiment they're conducting on our children for profit. Folks — thank you. Thank you for the courage you showed.

It's time to strengthen privacy protections; ban targeted advertising to children; demand tech companies stop collecting personal data on our children.

And let's get all Americans the mental health services they need — more people can turn for help and full parity between physical and mental healthcare if we treat it that way in our insurance.

Look, the third piece of that agenda is support our veterans. Veterans are the backbone and the spine of this country. They're the best of us.

I've always believed that we have a sacred obligation to equip those we send to war and care for those and their family when they come home.

My administration is providing assistance and job training and housing, and now helping lower-income veterans get VA care debt free.

And our troops in Iraq have faced — and Afghanistan — have faced many dangers. One being stationed at bases, breathing in toxic smoke from burn pits. Many of you have been there. I've been in and out of Iraq and Afghanistan over 40 times. These burn pits that incinerate waste — the wastes of war, medical and hazardous material, jet fuel, and so much more.

And they come home — many of the world's fittest and best trained warriors in the world — never the same: headaches, numbness, dizziness, a cancer that would put them in a flag-draped coffin. I know.

One of those — one of those soldiers was my son, Major Beau Biden. I don't know for sure if the burn pit that he lived near — that his hooch was near in Iraq and, earlier than that, in Kosovo is the cause of his brain cancer and the disease of so many other troops. But I'm committed to find out everything we can.

Committed to military families like Danielle Robinson from Ohio, the widow of Sergeant First Class Heath Robinson. He was born a soldier. Army National Guard. Combat medic in Kosovo and Iraq. Stationed near Baghdad, just yards from burn pits the size of football fields.

Danielle is here with us tonight. They loved going to Ohio State football games. And he loved building Legos with their daughter. But cancer from prolonged exposure to burn pits ravaged Heath's lungs and body.

Danielle says Heath was a fighter to the very end. He didn't know how to stop fighting, and neither did she.

Through her pain, she found purpose to demand that we do better. Tonight, Danielle, we are going to do better.

The VA — the VA is pioneering new ways of linking toxic exposures to disease, already helping more veterans get benefits. And tonight, I'm announcing we're expanding eligibility to veterans suffering from nine respiratory cancers.

VETERANS

I'm also calling on Congress to pass a law to make sure veterans devastated by toxic exposure in Iraq and Afghanistan finally get the benefits and the comprehensive healthcare they deserve.

And fourth and last, let's end cancer as we know it. This is personal. This is personal to me and to Jill and to Kamala and so many of you. So many of you have lost someone you love — husband, wife, son, daughter, mom, dad.

Cancer is the number-two cause of death in America, second only to heart disease.

Last month, I announced the plan to supercharge the Cancer Moonshot that President Obama asked me to lead six years ago.

CANCER MOONSHOT

Our goal is to cut cancer death rates by at least 50 percent over the next 25 years. And I think we can do better than that: turn cancers from death sentences into treatable diseases, more support for patients and families.

To get there, I call on Congress to fund what I called ARPA-H: Advanced — Advanced Research Projects Agency for Health. Patterned after DARPA in the Defense Department, projects that led — in DARPA — to the Internet, GPS, and so much more that make our forces more safer and be able to wage war more — with more clarity.

ARPA-H will have a singular purpose to drive breakthroughs in cancer, Alzheimer's, and diabetes, and more.

A Unity Agenda for the nation. We can do these things. It's within our power. And I don't see a partisan edge to any one of those four things.

My fellow Americans — tonight we've gathered in a sacred space: the citadel of democracy. In this Capitol, generation after generation of Americans have debated great questions amid great strife and have done great things.

We have fought for freedom, expanded liberty, defeated totalitarianism and terror. We built the strongest, freest, and most prosperous nation the world has ever known.

Now is the hour: our moment of responsibility, our test of resolve and conscience of history itself. It is in this moment that our character of this generation is formed, our purpose is found, our future is forged.

Well, I know this nation. We'll meet the test, protect freedom and liberty, expand fairness and opportunity. And we will save democracy.

As hard as those times have been, I'm more optimistic about America today than I've been my whole life because I see the future that's within our grasp, because I know there is simply nothing beyond our capacity — our capacity.

We're the only nation on Earth that has always turned every crisis we've faced into an opportunity, the only nation that can be defined by a single word: possibilities.

So, on this night, on our 245th year as a nation, I've come to report on the state of the nation — the state of the union. And my report is this: The State of the Union is strong because you, the American people, are strong.

We are stronger today — we are stronger today than we were a year ago. And we'll be stronger a year from now than we are today.

THE STATE OF THE UNION

This is our moment to meet and overcome the challenges of our time. And we will, as one people, one America — the United States of America.

God bless you all. And may God protect our troops. Thank you. Go get 'em.

