

**“IN THE REMAKING OF THE AMERICAN DREAM”**

**(In)equality in the presidential announcement speeches**

**of Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders**

**Sari Vallenius**

**Bachelor’s Thesis**

**Social and Public Policy**

**Department of Social**

**Sciences and Philosophy**

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**Fall 2017**

## **ABSTRACT**

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**pages: 28 pages + appendix A**

#### **Abstract**

**The aim of the following thesis is to identify how the incumbent President of the United States, Donald John Trump and Senator Bernard “Bernie” Sanders expressed (in)equality through their policy solutions in the presidential announcement speeches in 2015. I also assess their American dreams and concentrate particularly on the equality feature of the dream, namely equality of opportunity and contrast it with an alternative, equality of results. I analyze the speeches with a qualitative method, a content analysis which I merge with Göran Therborn’s mechanisms of (in)equality. Then I compare the mechanisms to vital, existential and resource inequality. Resource inequality includes the features of (in)equality of results and opportunity. The result of the research is that even though the candidates suggest also similar solutions, uses Sanders more often the mechanisms of equality than Trump due to the different approaches in rhetoric and politics. Trump’s speech also produces two main narratives of competence and incompetence. It is imperative to receive more information of the deeper motives, attitudes and values of the political speeches. Once they become transparent, it is easier to take a position as a voter.**

**Keywords: the American dream, equality of opportunity, equality of results, vital inequality, existential inequality, resource inequality**

## **TIIVISTELMÄ**

### **“IN THE REMAKING OF THE AMERICAN DREAM”**

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**Sari Vallenius**

**Yhteiskuntapolitiikka**

**Kandidaatintutkielma**

**Yhteiskuntatieteiden ja filosofian laitos**

**Jyväskylän yliopisto**

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**Syksy 2017**

**sivumäärä: 28 sivua + liite A**

#### **Tiivistelmä**

Tutkielman tavoitteena on tunnistaa miten nykyinen Yhdysvaltain presidentti, Donald John Trump ja senaattori Bernard “Bernie” Sanders ilmaisivat puheissaan tasa-arvoa ja epätasa-arvoa toimenpideratkaisuehdotuksissaan kun he asettuivat ehdolle presidentinvaaleihin vuonna 2015. Tarkastelen myös heidän amerikkalaisia unelmiään ja keskityn erityisesti heidän unelmiensa tasa-arvo-ominaisuuteen, mahdollisuuksien tasa-arvoon, jota vertaan vaihtoehtoiseen lopputulosten tasa-arvoon. Analysoin puheet laadullisen tutkimusmetodin, sisällönanalyysin avulla ja yhdistän tulokset Göran Therbornin tasa-arvon ja epätasa-arvon mekanismeihin. Tämän jälkeen vertaan mekanismeja elämänehtojen ja resurssien eriarvoisuuteen sekä eksistentiaaliseen eriarvoisuuteen. Mahdollisuuksien ja lopputulosten tasa-/epätasa-arvot sisältyvät resurssien eriarvoisuuteen. Tutkimuksen tulos on, että vaikka ehdokkailla on samankaltaisiakin ratkaisuehdotuksia, käyttää Sanders enemmän tasa-arvon mekanismeja kuin Trump, mihin vaikuttavat heidän erilaiset lähestymistapansa retoriikassa ja politiikassa. Sisällönanalyysin lisäksi Trumpin puheesta muodostuu kaksi päänarratiivia, jotka ovat pätevyuden ja epäpätevyuden narratiivit. On ensiarvoisen tärkeää saada lisää tietoa ehdokkaiden taustamotiiveista, asenteista ja arvoista. Kun ne tehdään läpinäkyviksi, on helpompaa osallistua politiikan tekoon äänestäjänä.

**Avainsanat: amerikkalainen unelma, mahdollisuuksien tasa-arvo, lopputulosten tasa-arvo, elämänehtojen eriarvoisuus, eksistentiaalinen eriarvoisuus, resurssien eriarvoisuus**

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# 1 INTRODUCTION

I was introduced to the American dream when I took part of an American organization, Up With People and toured around the world in a cast of 130 people and stayed in 80 host families. Many American families wrote to my memory book a sentence: “Realize your dreams” which I did not fully understand. After that year I recall that I had a sensation of understanding the world in a different way. What I did not recognize was that I had brought an ideological souvenir with me until in one seminar at the University I noticed that the idea of the American dream had been delivered to me.

The American dream is discussed in different platforms such as media, science and politics which have also expressed the worry of the state of the dream (Currier 2017; Chetty et al. 2016; Chetty 2017b). Economist Joseph Stiglitz has argued that the dream appears to be more of a myth (Stiglitz 2016, 137; Hudson in Vallenius 2014) and yet as a unifying belief it may have a strong impact on an individual and a nation. Hence, it is essential to understand the American dream rhetoric and narrative of what can be said and what people adapt with. The candidate’s ultimate goal is to captivate the attention of the voter, thus it is beneficial to appeal to an ethos that is familiar to people.

The research of inequality is central to social sciences and economics. To understand how inequality processes formulate, enable governments to acknowledge the problems and ideally make policies to reduce inequality. In the recent “Inequality report 2018”, Alvaredo, Chancel, Piketty, Saez & Zucman (2018, 5) argue that since the 1980s income inequality has become a global phenomenon and due to its uneven development, they suggest that “national policies and institutions” play crucial part in the process. In the US both income and wealth growth have favored the people “at the top” (Stiglitz 2016, 135–136) which makes the US “the most unequal [developed] country” (Stiglitz 2016, 137). Once “social distance” increases, “social cohesion” will decrease (Therborn 2009; Vallenius 2014). Thus it is important to research “the rising [economic] inequality” because otherwise it may lead to “political, economic and social catastrophes” (Alvaredo et al. 2018, 4).

I analyzed two presidential announcement speeches of the Republican Party (GOP) presidential candidate, and now incumbent President Donald John Trump and the Democratic

Party candidate, Senator Bernard “Bernie” Sanders. I chose these candidates because they possibly express different political views and American dreams. After introducing Trump and Sanders, I explain equality of opportunity, the American dream and social and economic mobility which seem to be intertwined. I also discuss of an alternative, the Nordic model in which the concepts of equality of opportunity and equality of results merge. As my analysis methods, I use content analysis and the mechanisms of (in)equality of Göran Therborn. I then discuss the mechanisms and connect them with vital, existential and resource inequality which includes equality of opportunity and inequality of results (Therborn 2013, 54). My aim is to discover how Trump’s and Sanders’ policy solutions support (in)equality and how the candidates formulate their American dreams. I come from a Nordic country myself, Finland and therefore lean more towards the ideas of Bernie Sanders but I am equally interested in the views of Donald Trump.

## **2 THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES**

Last presidential election in November, 2016 differed from a traditional election. Right from the beginning, Donald Trump was a controversial candidate because of his unusual professional background and provocative campaign rhetoric. Trump appeared to shake the political status quo as an outsider. He ran for the Republicans although “--he was a liberal-democrat for many years [and] --a democrat for most of 2000s--” (Wehner 2017). The pathway to the White House was an extraordinary triumph through the Electoral College vote, and Donald John Trump became the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States in January 2017. Trump exemplifies the American dream well because he has ‘made it’. His father taught him the business and Trump became a real estate entrepreneur, a billionaire and a celebrity of the Apprentice TV series. The straightforward manner and the narrative of a successful individual possibly helped him becoming the President which was just another milestone in achieving the American dream.

Senator Bernie Sanders comes from a different background. He is “--an independent in politics and chooses to caucus with the Democrats in the Senate” (Ballotpedia 2017). Sanders defines himself as a “Democratic Socialist” (Ballotpedia 2017). Since 1981 Sanders has been working in the politics as a Mayor of Burlington, Vermont, a House Representative and a Senator (Ballotpedia 2017). Therefore, Sanders knows the political field and his agenda thoroughly. Sanders ran for the Democrats and was popular especially among the young voters (Blake 2016). After losing to Hillary Clinton, Sanders endorsed her (Ballotpedia 2017). Sanders provides another great example of the American dream. Sanders’ father came originally from Poland and with Sanders’ mother, they were able to provide their son a better life (Sanders 2015, 29S) which can be interpreted as achieving the American dream.

In 2015 Trump (June, 16) and Sanders (May, 26) launched their presidential campaigns. Trump claimed the other politicians to be corrupted and promised to bring change by “making America great again” (Trump 2015, 84T). Sanders instead wanted to start “a political revolution” and demanded the wealthy “--to start paying their fair share of taxes” (Sanders 2015, 20S). Trump and Sanders both agreed on the fact that the United States and the people were not doing well economically and targeted their message to the middle class.

## 2.1. Equality of opportunity, the American dream and an alternative

“The American identity” (Huntington 2004, 67) is based on “a social ethos, a political creed, -- the American Creed” (Myrdal in Huntington 2004, 67; Vallenius 2014) which, according to Lipset, has “five key principles as its core: liberty, egalitarianism (of opportunity and respect, not result or condition), individualism, populism, and laissez-faire” (Lipset in Huntington 2004, 67; Huntington in McKay in Vallenius 2014; McKay in Vallenius 2014). These principles influence the American dream but the concentration here is solely on equality of opportunity.

“The concept of a self-made man” which emerged from “The American Protestant belief in individual responsibility--” (Huntington 2004, 68) and, thus “work, virtue and happiness” (Ghosh 2013) are essential in the American dream. The term was originally invented by James Truslow Adams (1931, 317) who stated:

"--there has been --the American dream, that dream of a land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for every man, with opportunity for each according to his ability or achievement-- a dream of a social order in which each man and each woman shall be able to attain to the fullest stature of which they are innately capable and be recognized by others for what they are, regardless of the fortuitous circumstances of birth or position” (Adams 1931, 317).

Adams introduced social and economic mobility which can be achieved through equality of opportunity which seem to be embedded to the American dream and as Chetty, Grusky, Hell, Hendren, Manduca & Narang (2016; Leonhardt & Scott in Bartels in Vallenius 2014) have argued that “A defining feature of the dream is upward income mobility: the ideal that children have a higher standard of living than their parents”. Schiller has claimed that the dream has altered during the decades from Adams’ “ideals” of “freedom and equality” to “material success” (Schiller 2017). In reality with “limited equality of opportunity” it is hard to rise from “rags to riches” (Therborn 2013, 120; McKay 2013, 28–29 in Vallenius). Chetty et al. (2016) show evidence of the decreased intergenerational mobility: the possibility for a child to earn more than her parents has “fallen from 90% to 50%” in fifty years.



Equality of results (or outcome or condition) offers one alternative concept to equality of opportunity. In “equality of opportunities” one has more judicial base to rights and opportunities than to actual equality of how people are able to use their opportunities and receive same results as the better-off (Holli 2012, 78). Equality of condition seem to merge with equality of opportunity in the Nordic countries (Kangas 1998, 22), which are social democratic and market-free economies and which can be described as the Nordic model. When in equality of opportunity people are expected to compete more individually, in equality of results, they are being helped by the government. Although, according to Kantola, Nousiainen & Saari (2012, 17) neoliberalism and thus, individualism have increased in the west since the 1980s.

The Nordic model has received considerable attention in the international media since the 2008 financial crisis. In fact, the American dream has been argued to exist in the Nordic countries (Fleetwood 2013; Partanen 2016b). Sanders has also used the Nordic societies as an example in his rhetoric which has sparked off more writings (Partanen 2016a). There exists many variations of the political philosophies but equality of opportunity and equality of results express perhaps in the simplest way the main differences of the egalitarian features of the American dream and the Nordic model.

## **2.2. Previous research**

My thesis merges with three different areas of research in social sciences which are political speeches, the American dream and (in)equality. The American dream and (in)equality are value-laden concepts which nevertheless express some features of the present collective culture as it was shown in a research of race and class inequalities in which the questions needed to be altered since the interviewees described their life situations through the American dream (Heather Johnson 2015, 17). Johnson’s study found evidence of “--the processes through which inequality and ideology are being passed along” because better and worse off families believed that they had either succeeded or failed according to their own abilities even though they acknowledged the differences in their starting points (Johnson 2015, 21). This would relate to the self-made man within the equality of opportunity. Thus, it is essential to

acknowledge the importance of the ideology since people possibly act upon it.

It is also possible “--that everyone has slightly different definition of what constitutes the American dream” which makes it a “--subjective concept” (Zigmund 2017). Despite the variations it may reflect the values that are important, not only individually but collectively which can be researched via people’s expectations and realizations of the dream and according to Pew Research Center the current attitudes towards the American dream seemed fairly positive since 36% of the people felt that they had already achieved the dream (Smith 2017).

The concept of the American dream has been popularized in the political rhetoric (Gale 2007; Ghosh 2013). The research of “the role of the American dream in contemporary political culture” showed the increasing usage of the word, “the dream” during 1964–2010 (Ghosh 2013) and as Gale (2007) predicts, “--[the] political landscape, --will continue to be supported by the foundation of the American dream”.

Many theorists such as Stiglitz (2015), Piketty (2014; 2017) and Therborn (2006; 2009; 2013) have researched inequality. Piketty has co-created the World Wealth & Income database which gathers information of inequality (World wealth and income database 2017) such as the “Inequality report 2018” mentioned in chapter 1. In sociology [and other social sciences and economics] intergenerational mobility is measured via education, work and class structure (Therborn 2006, 2). To examine particularly equality of opportunity, one may research what enables or disables the individual of achieving the American dream. One example is the Equality of Opportunity -project which tries to create policies “that will empower families to rise out of poverty and achieve better life outcomes” and to search areas where “the American Dream is still thriving” (Equality of Opportunity -project 2017). Therborn claims that the research of inequality concentrates on the difference of income and emphasizes that wealth, social relations and power count also as resources (Therborn 2013, 51). Therborn argues that besides John Rawls since the 1970s, the academia has given only little focus to inequality (Therborn 2013, 1) and that debating of the mechanisms in science and politics is essential (Therborn 2013, 67). Hence, it is important to learn of the policy solutions the candidates make in the speeches to understand their opinion of (in)equality.

### **3 THE PRESIDENTIAL ANNOUNCEMENT SPEECHES**

When I originally chose the research topic I was curious of the American dream due to the personal experience which was mentioned in chapter 1 and because I had studied a module of Contemporary Government and Politics of the US. I wanted to contrast the dream with the Nordic model and study it via Social mobility. Once I discovered the equality factor to be one of the main differences, I became interested in equality of opportunity and equality of results. I also found the writings on media of the American dream existing in the Nordic countries (Partanen 2016b) which strengthened my interest towards the research topic. The countries seemed to exchange cultural products because the Americans showed interest towards the Nordic countries and on the other hand, as Kantola et al. (2012, 17) addressed in chapter 2.1., in the west the politics have shifted towards neoliberal values.

Since Trump used the American dream directly in his rhetoric, his speech suited to the research topic. I could have researched only the speeches of Trump but I wanted to contrast his speech with another presidential candidate. I listened to Trump's rallies and noticed that he delivered often the same political message as in his announcement speech. I listened to Trump debating with his opponent, Hillary Clinton and also the fellow Republicans but instead, became interested in Bernie Sanders since he seemed to support the Nordic values. I thought that Trump and Sanders would make a good comparison and would possibly reveal differences in the policy solutions they supported. Therefore, as the analysis material I chose the presidential announcement speech of Donald Trump which was held on the 16th of June in 2015 at Trump Tower in New York City and of Bernie Sanders which was held on May the 26th in 2015 at Lake Champlain in Burlington, Vermont.

The research questions are the following:

- 1. How do Trump and Sanders formulate their political agenda and remake the American dream?**
- 2. Which mechanisms of (in)equality Trump and Sanders use?**
- 3. In what way are the mechanisms connected to vital, existential and resource (in)equality?**

## 4 (IN)EQUALITY AND THE MECHANISMS

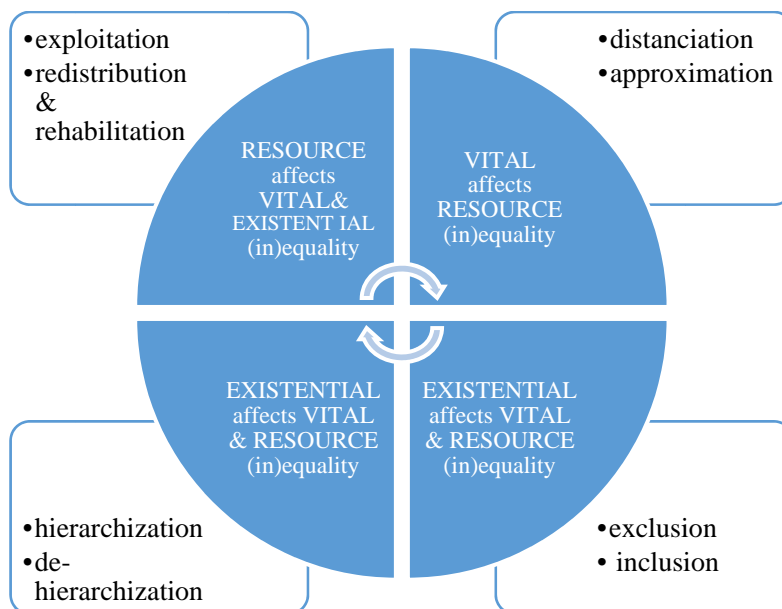
When I considered of a theoretical background, I thought of Carl Schmitt's division of Friends and Enemies which would have suited to Trump's rhetoric but not to Sanders'. Instead I discovered Göran Therborn's mechanisms of equality and inequality in the book "The Killing Fields of Inequality". Therborn is a former professor of Sociology of Cambridge University who argues that "capability approach" offers a good theoretical base to analyze inequality (Therborn 2013, 41). Therborn's (in)equalities and the mechanisms provide theoretical tools and a method to analyze the policy solutions of Trump and Sanders which promote through their policy solutions capabilities to some people and restrictions to others.

I introduce here the three inequalities which are connected to the mechanisms (see FIGURE 1, page 9) which can produce equality too. They are vital, existential and resource inequality which affect each other. (Therborn 2013, 53.) Vital inequality relates to how "socially constructed" inequalities influence "life-chances" which can be measured for example by researching "life--[and] health expectancy" (Therborn 2013, 49) which affects also resource inequality (Therborn 2013b, 53). Existential equality means to be respected as a human being and to have the right to develop oneself (Therborn 2013, 49) which in inequality is denied and therefore has an impact on vital and resource inequality (Therborn 2013, 53). Resource inequality means that one has unequal access to resources such as wealth, social relations (Therborn 2013, 49) and power structures like politics (Therborn 2013, 51) which influences vital and existential inequality (Therborn 2013, 53). According to Therborn (2009) social resource inequality is "referred to as inequality of opportunity and the wealth to inequality of outcome" although he (Therborn 2013, 54–55) argues that contrasting them does not illustrate inequality in depth.

The mechanisms of (in)equality are Approximation - Distanciation, Inclusion - Exclusion, De-hierarchization - Hierarchization, Redistribution and rehabilitation - Exploitation. (Therborn 2013, 62, 64). I interpret that Distanciation is connected to vital and resource inequality. It means that someone gets ahead because of better health, family relations or has better opportunities at her reach which produces "winners and losers" (Therborn 2013, 56). The individualist ideology interprets it as succeeding (Therborn 2013,

56) and does not acknowledge that some people are left behind which relates to equality of opportunity and the American dream. Approximation or “catching up” on the other hand, means to lessen this inequality (Therborn 2013, 61) which affects equality of opportunity as a social resource and equality of results as an economic resource. I interpret that Exclusion and Hierarchization are connected to existential inequality. When people are excluded, they are denied of access to something which divides people to “in-groups and out-groups”. Inclusion and De-hierarchization reduce these inequalities and erase barriers and hierarchies. (Therborn 2013, 59, 62–64.) Exploitation is in connection with resource and existential inequality. It means that someone uses the other one’s resources for their benefit (Therborn 2013, 58) and devalues the people. Redistribution and rehabilitation answer to this inequality by redistributing resources and bringing back the honor of the exploited people (Therborn 2013, 66–67).

According to Kaloudis (2015, 184), Therborn argues from a political point of view opposing “the financial and corporate oligarchy” and therefore one may argue that the mechanisms suppose an egalitarian point of view which may be biased against Trump’s political views. I argue that the mechanisms nevertheless reveal some indicators of the candidate’s attitudes and values of (in)equality.



**FIGURE 1** Therborn (2013, 53, 62, 64): (In)equality / mechanisms

## 5 A CONTENT ANALYSIS

I searched for a qualitative method that was suitable for a text analysis and had several options such as discourse, argumentation, rhetorical, actant, narrative and drama -analysis. Narrative or drama -analysis would have suited Trump's speech because he used narratives substantially but not so well to Sanders who held his speech based on his political agenda. After considering the options, I chose content analysis since it allowed to research the speeches by their topics and create and code classes which I then could combine with (in)equality mechanisms. I thought of quantifying the data, yet chose to concentrate on the qualitative method since my analysis concentrates on the mechanisms and its interlinked nature to (in)equality which did not produce large numeric units. I also considered focusing on the equality of opportunity and equality of results but came to a conclusion that it would have not possibly produced enough information.

The aim of content analysis is to receive information of the phenomenon in a concise form and it should be more than a description of the analysis material (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2006, 105). I merged the policy solutions with the mechanisms and further analyzed them in the context of the three inequalities. I wanted to discover beyond the rhetoric and did find some "--meanings of the text" which is central to content analysis (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2006, 106). This research can be called as an inductive research which means making conclusions and generalizations from a special case (Francis Bacon in Raatikainen 2004, 18).

According to Miles & Huberman (in Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2006, 110–111) the three main phases in content analysis are reducing, clustering and abstracting. In reducing, the information is being organized and the unnecessary information is being left out (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2006, 111). Clustering means that one searches for similarities and differences in which each higher class combines the subclasses (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2006, 112). The theoretical conclusions are then gathered in the abstraction phase (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2006, 114). The different phases of the research will be explained in the following chapter 6.

Berelson (in Weber 1990, 9) argues that the content analysis can for example "identify the intentions and other characteristics of the communicator" which I researched through the mechanisms of (in)equality. Content analysis can also "--reflect cultural patterns of groups,

institutions, or societies; reveal the focus of individual, group, institutional, or societal attention; and describe trends in communication content” (Berelson in Weber 1990) which I assessed through the narratives of Trump and the American dream of Trump and Sanders.

The validity and reliability should be evaluated in the research. Weber (1990, 12) points out that it is important that “different people should code the same text in the same way” which refers to reliability. I thought that the sentences alone would have not made a coherent entities so I made larger units by topics. Weber (1990, 12) also states of validity: “a variable is valid to the extent that it measures” what it is suppose to measure. Validity in this research is based on the measuring of the mechanisms which I have decided to measure via policy solutions. I tested during the research the suitability of the mechanisms and found it at times problematic because some of the topics seemed to belong to more than one class or to both mechanisms of (in)equality so I needed to make decisions what I thought to be correct.

## 6 THE CLASSIFICATION

In the following chapters 6–6.2. the analysis process will be explained which will be further evaluated in chapter 7. In my research reducing, clustering and abstraction were interlinked. In reducing phase I first listened to the presidential announcement speeches several times and made small alterations to the written speeches because they differed from audio. I chose what was relevant and left out the unnecessary topics. I did not include Environment and Defense policies to the analysis because Environment was mainly argued by Sanders and Defense by Trump. I also excluded thank yous and personal topics since they would have not produced information of the mechanisms. At first I thought to exclude the most extreme and insulting comments of Trump but after working more with the material I discovered a narrative pattern which I thought to be important.

The clustering phase is presented in Appendix A in which I first named the policy topics of the text and later classified them with different colors and created classes; namely principal classes and subclasses. The repetitive words or sentences were underlined in order to recognize what the candidates possibly wished to emphasize. The process was progressive and I made different classifications before I chose the three principal classes of Economic policy, Social policy and Other topics. Economic policy holds labor market, infrastructure, trade and financial -subclasses. Education, health care and immigration -subclasses are included to Social policy. The subclasses of the other topics are politics and the American dream. The American dream -subclass will be not receive mechanisms but will be reviewed in the discussion in chapter 7. I count a total of eighty-four units in Trump's speech and thirty-five units in Sanders' speech which were divided in a way that the argument remained coherent. The central message of each unit was briefly explained after the unit number and subclass. An alternative way of explaining the central message was to code Trump's two main narratives including the excluded topics. I also marked the units that continued after another unit which received a new unit number but kept the same narrative code if they had one. I did not give a new mechanism if the argument was an interlinked argument.

In abstraction my focus was to find the policy solutions which I then combined with Therborn's mechanisms and inequalities. I discovered the underlying meanings of Trump's



narratives which I was able to attach to the results separately of the mechanisms. I did not measure American dream narrative within the mechanisms but as more of a theme which the candidates used either openly or more hidden in their rhetoric.

Uusitalo (1991, 33) has argued of the political responsibility of the researcher that she should not present as scientific facts arguments that are politically or ideologically pleasant to her. This was something that I had to be careful with since I held opinions of the American dream and had leanings towards Sanders. I acknowledged the possibility that the results would favor Sanders. I tried to present the results neutrally and to respect the importance of the topics of both candidates.

## **6.1. “Sadly, the American dream is dead.**

But if I get elected president I will bring it back bigger and better and stronger than ever before, and we will make America great again” (Trump 2015, 84T.) The quote is the last sentence of Trump’s speech which describes the central message of the speech. He draws a dark picture of the United States and uses the American dream narrative to emphasize it. I will first describe the general view of the speech. Then, I will introduce the problems he addresses and analyze his policy solutions which I will combine with the mechanisms of in-/equality.

At first I noticed that Trump uses dichotomous rhetoric by opposing several individuals and groups. He uses a populist approach and attacks the political establishment and positions himself as one the ordinary people. Paradoxically he does not mention of his own elitism except describing himself “really rich” (Trump 2015, 50T). He does not speak of the Democrats directly but criticizes for example former President Barack Obama. The speech contains several stories which Trump demonstrates partly as dialogs. I also introduce his two characteristic narrative patterns of competence and incompetence to show one underlying meaning of the text. When he opposes an individual and or group, he claims them to be incompetent in their jobs. He describes twenty times of incompetence and attempts to make especially the politicians look unskillful. Instead, he argues nineteen times of his own business competence as he claims “--this is going to be an election, --that’s based on competence”. (Trump 2015, 62T). He has used competence and incompetence rhetoric previously (Trump

1987) which is one defining feature of his rhetoric in the speech.

I will next introduce the addressed policies, the solutions and the mechanisms. I start with Economic policy and discuss first about the labor market. Trump argues that “A lot of people-- They can’t get jobs, because there are no jobs, because China has our jobs and Mexico has our jobs. They all have (our) jobs.--” (Trump 2015, 12T). I interpret that he means that the companies flee from the U.S. to countries where they can produce their products with less costs which has financial consequences to the U.S. Trump (2015, 30T) alleges: “I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created. --I’ll bring back our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan--and I’ll bring back our money.” He also addresses that “--the greatest social program is a job. And they’ll be proud, and they’ll love it, and they’ll make much more money than they would’ve ever made, --and we’re going to be thriving as a country, thriving. It can happen” (Trump 2015, 29T). His main solution for the unemployment is to create opportunities in the United States by making the companies stay in the U.S. He emphasizes his business competence and leadership skills and demonstrates a dialog with the head of Ford whom he would force to pay a high tax if he wished to import cars to the U.S. which are manufactured in Mexico. He illustrates: “Mr. President, we’ve decided to move the plant back to the United States, and we’re not going to build it in Mexico.” That’s it. They have no choice. They have no choice. There are hundreds of things like that” (Trump 2015, 54T). Therefore, his policy solution is to tax the misbehaving companies. He uses Exclusion mechanism which would result in this case more equality which can be interpreted as a *Redistribution* mechanism because the tax money would be allocated to the people.

In infrastructure Trump compares the U.S. to the third world countries because of the poor condition of airports and roads. He emphasizes his ability as a professional in his field and states that “Nobody can do that like me. Believe me. It will be done on time, on budget, way below cost, way below what anyone ever thought”. He estimates to build the roads “for one-third” and concludes that “What they do is unbelievable, how bad”. (Trump 2015, 78T.) His solution is, that due to his business competence he would know how to build the infrastructure which can be evaluated as *Approximation* since it would produce work even though he does not use it as his argument.

In trade Trump describes many countries destroying the U.S. economically and shows that as a competent businessman he knows how to handle China: “When was the last time anybody saw us beating, let’s say, China in a trade deal? They kill us. I beat China all the time. All the time.” (Trump 2015, 4T.) He exemplifies a bad trade deal through a story of his manufacturer friend (Trump 2015, 36T) and also claims that Mexico is the new China in trade (Trump 2015, 42T). Trump expresses to be a free trader (2015, 35T) but is against the trade bill (2015, 33T). He alleges that the current president among others is not competent enough (2015, 34T) and wants to renegotiate the trade deals (Trump, 80T). As a policy solution I interpret that one should charge from the trade partners a “tax until they behave properly” (Trump 2015, 40T) which counts as a *Redistribution* mechanism.

In financial subclass Trump argues that the U.S. owes to China and Japan and that “--they come in, they take our jobs, they take our money, and then they loan us back the money, and we pay them in interest, and then the dollar goes up so their deal’s even better. How stupid are our leaders? How stupid are these politicians to allow this to happen? How stupid are they?” (Trump, 31T–32T.) In this example Trump tries to show evidence of the incompetent leadership skills. He also raises a question of national debt, “We got \$18 trillion in debt. We got nothing but problems” (Trump 2015, 51T) and argues, “There is so much wealth out there that can make our country so rich again, and therefore make it great again--we’re dying. We need money” (Trump 2015, 61T). He also warns of “stock market--bubble” and argues to reduce the debt (Trump 81T). He does not give an actual solution, thus a mechanism cannot be placed. Trump (2015, 15T) also criticizes the \$5 billion healthcare.gov (Jacobson 2015) website and compares it to his \$3 website (Trump 2015, 15T). According to Jacobson (2015) the estimation of 5 billion is incorrect. Nevertheless Trump’s solution is that he would build the website cheaper which results as *Redistribution*.

Next I will explain Trump’s views and mechanisms on Social policy. He (2015, 66T) expresses that the costs of the education were highest in the world but does not offer any solution for it. Trump (2015, 77T) tries to make his rival, Jeb Bush to look incompetent because he supported a national education system, Common Core program (The Common Core State Standards Initiative) which suits *Distanciation* because it would possibly put students to unequal position if they would be assessed only on state level.

In health care he wants to “Save Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security without cuts”. (Trump 2015, 79T). Trump alleges that Obamacare (The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act) instead is disastrous and “--can be replaced with something much better for everybody. --and much less expensive for people and for the government--“ (Trump 2015, 21T). He also tries to prove his competence in social security and argues that “--We’ve got Social Security that’s going to be destroyed if somebody like me doesn’t bring money into the country. All these other people want to cut the hell out of it. I’m not going to cut it at all; I’m going to bring money in, and we’re going to save it--“ (Trump 2015, 53T.) His policy solution is to replace Obamacare, to keep the benefits and to expand it to include everyone which produces *Approximation*. Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security are more difficult to assess because there is no new policy solution introduced, thus a mechanism will not be placed.

Trump makes his most harsh comments on immigration. He accuses immigrants of severe criminal activities such as possible rape (Trump 2015, 5T). He claims to build a wall and to make Mexico pay for it (Trump 2015, 73T). Trump (2015, 5T) alleges that they are “--coming from all over South and Latin America, and --probably-- from the Middle East.-- Because we have no protection and we have no competence, we don’t know what’s happening”. He would also “immediately terminate President Obama’s illegal executive order on immigration” (Trump 2015, 75T) which makes citizens of young paperless people (DACA, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals). The inequality mechanism for stopping the people entering the U.S. by building a wall and for terminating Obama’s order on immigration can both be placed under *Exclusion* because some ethnic groups would be excluded from the U.S.

I shall next address politics of other topics. Trump criticizes the bad leadership. He claims: “--We have losers. We have people that don’t have it. We have people that are morally corrupt. We have people that are selling this country down the drain” (Trump 2015, 70T). He argues especially in this subclass of the incompetence of other politicians and of his own competence. He claims that, for example the leaders of China “are much smarter --it’s like take the New England Patriots and Tom Brady and have them play your high school football team” (Trump 2015, 38T) . He tries to show that the politicians are unskillful and morally bad so I interpret it in a way that their power should be diminished which would result of more transparency, hence more democracy. Yet, there is no mechanism given in this subclass.

## 6.2. “--a message to the billionaire class.” (Sanders 2015, 20S)

In his “Economic Agenda for America: 12 Steps Forward” (Sanders 2014) Sanders laid a similar framework of the political situation as in his presidential announcement speech. He encourages people to start “a political revolution” together (Sanders 2015, 3S) and “send[s] a message to billionaire class” (Sanders 2015, 20S). Sanders uses populist rhetoric opposing the rich oligarchs, the establishment and the Republicans and identifies himself with the ordinary people. The speech differs from Trump’s rhetorically and in content because it is based on political agenda. Sanders is frustrated of the current politics and wants to bring change like Trump.

The Economic policy shall be addressed first. As Trump, Sanders (2015, 12S) argues that the middle class is not doing well: “It is a tragic reality that for the last 40 years the great middle class of our country – once the envy of the entire world – has been disappearing”. Sanders (2015, 12S) criticizes that “--all over this country people are working not one job but two or three jobs trying to cobble together enough income and some health care.--“ and suggests to raise the minimum wage 50% to 15 dollars, to raise women’s wages and to have paid sick leave and vacation. He further argues: “--we need a major federal jobs program which puts millions of Americans back to work at good paying jobs”. Sanders has “introduced a legislation [which] would create--13 million--jobs” in infrastructure. (Sanders 2015, 17S.) His gives precise policy solutions and thus uses two times *Approximation* in federal job program and women’s wage and two times *De-hierarchization* in minimum wage and paid sick leave and vacation.

In trade Sanders, as Trump opposes companies moving outside of the U.S. and claims that: “--For decades, presidents from both parties have supported trade agreements which have cost us millions of decent paying jobs as corporate America shuts down plants--and moves to low-wage countries” (Sanders 2015, 18S). He addresses the problem but does not give any specific solution and hence cannot be given a mechanism.

In financial subclass Sanders opposes the billionaires. The super rich must be stopped via the vehicle of politics because “[they] can’t have it all” (Sanders 2015, 20S). He addresses the corrupted billionaires as oligarchs and demands redistribution: “And that is why

we need a tax system which is fair and progressive, which tells the wealthiest individuals and largest corporations that they are going to begin to pay their fair share of taxes” (Sanders 2015, 20S). The mechanism he uses is *Redistribution*.

The Social policy of Sanders will be addressed next. In education Sanders (2015, 27S) suggests that --as president, I will fight to make tuition in public colleges and universities free, as well as substantially lower interest rates on student loans.” This can be interpreted as *Approximation* since it allows people with different financial backgrounds to study. Sanders (2015, 26S) also suggests “a universal pre-K system for all the children of this country” which is also an *Approximation* mechanism. Sanders claims that “The United States must join the rest of the industrialized world and guarantee health care to all as a right” and concludes that the aim should be “a Medicare-for-All single-payer program” (Sanders 2015, 24S) which counts as *Approximation* since it would open doors to all citizens.

In politics subclass of other topics, Sanders emphasized the campaign to be based on the agenda, it is “not about Bernie Sanders. --Hillary Clinton. --Jeb Bush or anyone else. --[it] is about the needs of the American people-” (Sanders 2015, 9S.) He opposes the politics of the Republicans and claims that they cut important programs from the working-class families (Sanders 2015, 25S). He finds it problematic that “--the Koch brothers in this election cycle are prepared to spend more money than either the Democratic or Republican parties. That is not democracy. That is oligarchy” (Sanders 2015, 13S). He claims that “--incredibly wealthy individuals spending billions of dollars --elect candidates who will make the rich richer and everyone else poorer” (Sanders 2015, 13S). Sanders would demand an overturn in the legislation of Citizens United (Sanders 2015, 21S) which means that there is an access to the politics by funding people or groups through so called “PACs (Political action committees, SuperPACs or 501 (c ) groups” (Ballotpedia 2017). Sanders’ demand can be evaluated as *Inclusion* because it would create more democracy to the ordinary people. Sanders also suggests that, “Longer term, we need to go further and establish public funding of elections” (Sanders 2015, 22S) which would also decrease the influence of the major contributors to the politics and would open doors to average people to get politically involved. Public funding counts as *Inclusion* because it would create more transparency and democracy.

## 7 IN THE REMAKING OF THE AMERICAN DREAM

Next I will answer to my research questions and discuss the results. My first research question is **“How do Trump and Sanders formulate their political agenda and remake the American dream?”** Trump and Sanders shared the same view, that the middle class suffered, jobs were needed, too many companies were leaving the country, the establishment was corrupted and infrastructure was in poor condition. They both wanted to be the forces of change and had similar view of health care to include everyone. Although they agreed on many policies, it was possible to recognize the differences in their policy solutions and hence, the mechanisms of (in)equality.

One of the main differences was how Trump and Sanders addressed their political agenda. Sanders spoke in plural: we together and suggested several policy solutions. Even though Sanders spoke of the revolution and had a revolutionary political agenda from the American perspective, it seemed like Trump was the revolutionary one due to his controversial rhetoric which covered at first two important discoveries: the multiple use of stories and the narratives of competence and incompetence.

Trump and Sanders used and renewed the American dream narrative which was embedded into their speeches although Trump used it more directly. They described the dream in a similar way but included different aspects and values to the dream which seemed to depend on their personal experience and views they held prior. Trump described how he learned the profession from his father and went against his warnings to Manhattan to “the big leagues” (Trump 2015, 68T). He expressed to be proud of his success which fits to the goal of realizing the American dream as “material” gains (Schiller 2017). He promised to make America and the American dream greater if he would get elected (Trump 2015, 83T). The use of competence and incompetence -narratives may be interpreted as a narrative of the American dream emphasizing the ability to succeed as a self-made man.

Sanders (2015, 29S) did not express the American dream per se but rather a general “dream” which holds typical features of the dream as he stated, “I have seen the promise as many of you have of America in my own life. My parents would have never never never dreamed that their son would be a Senator, let alone run for president. He continued, “But for

too many of our fellow Americans, the dream of progress and opportunity is being denied by the grind of an economy that funnels all the wealth to the top.” Here he seems to address that equality of opportunity cannot be reached because of the inequality of results.

As presented in chapter 2.1., equality of opportunity is connected to the American dream and equality of results and equality of opportunity to the Nordic model. These leanings seem partly to explain the policy solutions and the dreams which will be explained within the last research question 3.

My second research question is **“Which mechanisms of (in)equality Trump and Sanders use?”** (See TABLE 1, page 22). Trump used five equality and three inequality mechanisms and Sanders used ten equality mechanisms. Trump used twice approximation in “building infrastructure” and “new health care to everyone” and Sanders used five times approximation in “federal job program”, “women’s wage”, “universal K-system”, “tuition free College and University” and “Medicare for all”. In Inclusion Sanders had “Citizens United” and “Public funding of elections” and in de-hierarchization “minimum wage” and “paid sick leave and vacation”. In redistribution & rehabilitation Trump introduced “tax trade partners”, “tax companies which leave the U.S.” and “building a cheap website” and Sanders argued for “taxing the billionaires”. In distancing Trump had “end Common Core” and in exclusion “build a wall” and “terminate Obama’s immigration order”. The result of Sanders using more equality mechanisms was expected prior the research. Therefore, the mechanisms ended up favoring Sanders. On the other hand, Trump possibly received mechanisms easier because his policy solutions were not in every case direct suggestions.

My third research question is **“In what way are the mechanisms connected to vital, existential and resource (in)equality?”** (See TABLE 1, page 22). Trump used two and Sanders five approximation mechanisms which would produce vital equality because they spoke for the people to become part of something that they were earlier denied access to such as expanding the health care for everybody which would alter people’s life-chances and thus allocate resources socially and also economically to them. Sanders’ suggestion for “women’s wage” is described as “positive discrimination” which means that a neglected group gets support (Therborn 2013, 60) which makes their life-chances better creating vital equality and therefore social resources and also existential equality by acknowledging the value of women



equal to men and providing more economic resources. Sanders used two times inclusion which translates to existential equality by entitling people “to-- [new] rights and public services” (Therborn 2013, 65), thus Sanders wanted to change for example the election funding to “public funding” by giving the rights back to the people and enabling them to take part of politics more equally which probably would increase vital equality and according to Therborn (2013b, 66) political power which counts as a resource too. Sanders used de-hierarchization in “minimum wage” and “paid sick leave and vacation” which translate to existential equality by acknowledging the value of the workers and would help them financially as an economic resource and increase life-chances as a vital equality and thus increase social resources. In redistribution & rehabilitation Trump and Sanders gave, for example taxing as a solution of redistribution which suits to economic resource equality (Therborn 2013, 66).

Trump’s distancing mechanism of “end Common Core” fits vital inequality since some people would be denied a right they now have which would worsen their situation and decrease social and possibly economic resource equality. Trump used exclusion in “build a wall” and “terminate Obama’s immigration order” which refer to existential inequality in which some people are devalued and denied the access to the US due to their ethnic background. It would also affect vital and social, economic and political resource inequality of the people who are deported from the US by reducing their life-chances, possible income and political participation.

Equality of opportunity and equality of results connect with the mechanisms through resource equality; opportunity as a social resource and results as an economic resource. Approximation and distancing translate here to opportunity and results, inclusion and exclusion to opportunity (except Obama’s order includes results too), de-hierarchization to opportunity and results, and redistribution to results.

The use of the mechanisms and the division of equality of opportunity and results do not show in this research that Trump would be supporting only equality of opportunity and the American dream. However, Trump’s leaning toward Republican and thus more conservative values can be viewed from the overall tone of the speech. The republican tendency to support smaller government interference can be interpreted through some of Trump’s political agenda such as the argument of jobs being a social program (Trump 2015, 29T).

**TABLE 1**

Göran Therborn 2013 (in)equality and the mechanisms; Sari Vallenius 2017 the analysis of the presidential announcement speeches of Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders

<b>Equality mechanisms</b>	<b>Trump</b>	<b>Sanders</b>	<b>(In)equality</b>
Approximation	infrastructure	federal jobs	vital, resource/social&economic
	care for everybody	Medicare	vital, resource/social&economic
		women's wage	vital, resource/soc.&econ., existent.
		tuition free Coll.&Uni	vital, resource/social&economic
		K-system	vital, resource/social&economic
Inclusion	-	Citizens United	existential, vital, political resource
		public election fund.	existential, vital, political resource
De-hierarchization	-	minimum wage	existent., soc.&econ. resource, vital
		paid sick leave&vac.	existent., soc.&econ.resource, vital
Redistribution & rehabilitation	tax companies	tax billionaires	economic resource
	tax trade partners		economic resource
	website		economic resource
<b>In total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10</b>	

<b>Inequality mechanisms</b>	<b>Trump</b>	<b>Sanders</b>	<b>In-/equality</b>
Distanciation	end Common Core	-	vital, social&economic resource
Exclusion	immigration	-	existential
	Obama's order		existent., soc.&econ.&pol.res., vital
Hierarchization	-	-	
Exploitation	-	-	
<b>In total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	

Sanders instead supports more universal values and seems to support the politics of his party alliance and offers policy solutions also familiar to the Nordic model which accepts more interference of the government and supports equality of opportunity and results. For example he emphasized the need of redistribution from the rich and introduced the idea of tuition free College and University (Sanders 2015, 27S).

This study strengthens Therborn's claim that equality of opportunity and inequality of outcome are limited to explain inequality (Therborn 2013b, 69) and therefore it would be useful to make more research with the method of Therborn. This research can be quantified further for example by creating a boxplot and a diagram of the 18 variables; of 10 mechanisms of Sanders and 8 of Trump. One alternative would be to research the speeches separately to see which method would suit them best. In Trump's speech I would suggest to make a narrative analysis. These two competing political ends were an interesting merge which at times gave challenges in measuring.

The issues raised by Trump and Sanders at the presidential announcement speeches in 2015 carry the same central messages of today. In December 2017, Sanders spoke to Trump on TV "--if you want a tax reform that benefits the middle class and working families, you've got --allies here but we do not need tax breaks for billionaires and large corporations to drive up the deficit" (Sanders 2017b). When Trump eventually signed the GOP Tax Bill he was asked whether the democrats regret it that they did not support the legislation, he agreed and concluded that "--They have their typical thing, it's for the rich--". He also spoke of possible collaboration (Trump 2017), and in his State of the Union speech, of the duty to represent people in unity and "to protect-- [people's] right to the American dream--" (Trump 2018).

During 2017, the opinion of the public of the American dream has changed. When in January "most families [were] happy to make ends meet" (Currier 2017), in August as mentioned in chapter 2.2., 36% had achieved the dream and 46% thought that they will be able to achieve it in the future (Smith 2017). Instead of being wealthy, people wished the most to have "Freedom of choice in how to live" (Smith 2017) which seem to refer to equality of opportunity as Adams described it emphasizing "freedom and equality" (Schiller 2017). The wish appears to be controversial, if one does not have access to resources which are the choices that are available (Therborn 2013b) to remake the American dream.

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## APPENDIX A

The clustering phase of the content analysis.

The principal classes: Economic policy (red), Social policy (blue) and other topics (pink and light blue).

The subclasses of economic policy (red): Labor market, Infrastructure, Trade and Financial topics.

The subclasses of Social policy (blue): Education, Health care and Immigration.

The subclasses of other topics: Politics (pink) and The American dream (light blue).

Unanalyzed material: Defense policy (yellow), Environment policy (green) and personal topics (black).

The narratives of competence and incompetence are coded in alphabetical order A – Z and A1 – H1.

### **“Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Announcement Full Speech. June 16, 2015” (Trump 2015b).**

1T-THANK YOUs

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

2T-POLITICS: RIDICULING THE OPPONENTS

And, I can tell, some of the candidates, they went in. They didn't know the air-conditioner didn't work. They sweated like dogs. They didn't know the room was too big, because they didn't have anybody there.

### 3T-DEFENSE/WAR:A) INCOMPETENCE

How are they going to beat ISIS? I don't think it's gonna happen.

### 4T-ECONOMIC/TRADE:B) INCOMPETENCE AS A COUNTRY vs PERSONAL COMPETENCE

Our country is in serious trouble. We don't have victories anymore. We used to have victories, but we don't have them. When was the last time anybody saw us beating, let's say, China in a trade deal? They kill us. I beat China all the time. All the time. When did we beat Japan at anything? They send their cars over by the millions, and what do we do? When was the last time you saw a Chevrolet in Tokyo? It doesn't exist, folks. They beat us all the time. When do we beat Mexico at the border? They're laughing at us, at our stupidity. And now they are beating us economically. They are not our friend, believe me. But they're killing us economically. The U.S. has become a dumping ground for everybody else's problems.

### 5T-SOCIAL/IMMIGRATION: C) POSSIBLE CRIMINALS MUST BE STOPPED ENTERING THE U.S., INCOMPETENCE AS A COUNTRY

Thank you. It's true, and these are the best and the finest. When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people. But I speak to border guards and they tell us what we're getting. And it only makes common sense. It only makes common sense. They're sending us not the right people. It's coming from more than Mexico. It's coming from all over South and Latin America, and it's coming probably— probably— from the Middle East. But we don't know. Because we have no protection and we have no competence, we don't know what's happening. And it's gotta stop and it's gotta stop fast.

### 6T-DEFENSE/WAR & ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL: D) PERSONAL COMPETENCE

Islamic terrorism is eating up large portions of the Middle East. They've become rich. I'm in competition with them. They just built a hotel in Syria. Can you believe this? They built a

hotel. When I have to build a hotel, I pay interest. They don't have to pay interest, because they took the oil that, that when we left Iraq, I said we should've taken. So now ISIS has the oil, and what they don't have, Iran has.

#### 7T-DEFENSE/WAR: E) PERSONAL COMPETENCE

And in 19— and I will tell you this, and I said it very strongly, years ago, I said— and I love the military, and I want to have the strongest military that we've ever had, and we need it more now than ever. But I said, "Don't hit Iraq," because you're going to totally destabilize the Middle East.

#### 8T-ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL: LARGE COSTS

Iran is going to take over the Middle East, Iran and somebody else will get the oil, and it turned out that Iran is now taking over Iraq. Think of it. Iran is taking over Iraq, and they're taking it over big league. We spent \$2 trillion in Iraq, \$2 trillion.

#### 9T-DEFENSE/VETERANS: SYMPATHY TOWARDS THE VETERANS

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

#### 10T-ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL: WE LOSE MONEY

And we have nothing. We can't even go there. We have nothing. And every time we give Iraq equipment, the first time a bullet goes off in the air, they leave it. Last week, I read 2,300 Humvees— these are big vehicles— were left behind for the enemy. 2,000? You would say maybe two, maybe four? 2,300 sophisticated vehicles, they ran, and the enemy took 'em. You're right.

#### 11T-ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL: GDP BELOW ZERO

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

## 12T-ECONOMIC/LABOR: OTHER COUNTRIES TAKE OUR JOBS

Our labor participation rate was the worst since 1978. But think of it, GDP below zero, horrible labor participation rate. And our real unemployment is anywhere from 18 to 20 percent. Don't believe the 5.6. Don't believe it. That's right. A lot of people up there can't get jobs. They can't get jobs, because there are no jobs, because China has our jobs and Mexico has our jobs. They all have (our) jobs. But the real number, the real number is anywhere from 18 to 19 and maybe even 21 percent, and nobody talks about it, because it's a statistic that's full of nonsense.

## 13T-DEFENSE/WAR: F) INCOMPETENCE AS A COUNTRY

Our enemies are getting stronger and stronger by the day, and we as a country are getting weaker. Even our nuclear arsenal doesn't work. It came out recently they have equipment that's 30 years old. They don't know if it worked. And I thought it was horrible when it was broadcast on television, because boy, does that send signals to Putin and all of the other people that look at us and they say, "That is a group of people, and that is a nation that truly -has no clue. They don't know what they're doing. They don't know what they're doing...(inaudible).

## 14T-SOCIAL/HEALTH: OBAMACARE FAILS

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

## 15T-ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL: G) INCOMPETENCE vs PERSONAL COMPETENCE

And remember the \$5 billion website? \$5 billion we spent on a website, and to this day it doesn't work. A \$5 billion dollar website. I have so many websites, I have them all over the place. I hire people, they do a website. It costs me \$3. \$5 billion website.

## 16T-POLITICS: H) INCOMPETENCE

Well, you need somebody, because politicians are all talk, no action. Nothing's gonna get done. They will not bring us— believe me— to the promised land. They will not. As an example, I've been on the circuit making speeches, and I hear my fellow Republicans. And they're wonderful people. I like 'em. They all want me to support them. They don't know how to bring it about. They come up to my office. I, I'm meeting with three of them in the next week. And they don't know— "Are you running? Are you not running? Could we have your support? What do we do? How do we do it?" I like them.

#### 17T-POLITICS & ECONOMICS/TRADE: H) CONTINUES

And I hear their speeches. And they don't talk jobs and they don't talk China. When was the last time you heard China is killing us?

#### 18T-ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL: WE LOSE

They're devaluing their currency to a level that you wouldn't believe. It makes it impossible for our companies to compete, impossible. They're killing us.

#### 19T-POLITICS: H) CONTINUES

But you don't hear that from anybody else. You don't hear it from anybody else. And I watch the speeches. Thank you. I watch the speeches of these people, and they say the sun will rise, the moon will set, all sorts of wonderful things will happen.

#### 20T-ECONOMIC/LABOR: PEOPLE WANT A JOB

And people are saying, "What's going on? I just want a job. Just get me a job. I don't need the rhetoric. I want a job."

#### 21T-SOCIAL/HEALTH: OBAMACARE TO BE REPLACED AND FOR EVERYBODY

And that's what's happening. And it's going to get worse, because remember, Obamacare really kicks in in 16, 2016. Obama is gonna be out playing golf. He might be on one of my courses. I would invite him, I actually would say. I have the best courses in the world, so I'd

say, you what, if he wants to— I have one right next to the White House, right on the Potomac. If he'd like to play, that's fine. In fact, I'd love him to leave early and play, that would be a very good thing.

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

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

#### **22T-POLITICS: I) INCOMPETENCE vs PERSONAL COMPETENCE, CONTROLLED POLITICIANS**

So I've watched the politicians. I've dealt with them all my life. If you can't make a good deal with a politician, then there's something wrong with you. You're certainly not very good. And that's what we have representing us. They will never make America great again. They don't even have a chance. They're controlledfully— they're controlled fully by the lobbyists, by the donors, and by the special interests, fully. Yes, they control them. Hey, I have lobbyists. I have to tell you. I have lobbyists that can produce anything for me. They're great. But you know what? it won't happen. It won't happen. Because we have to stop doing things for some people, but for this country, it's destroying our country. We have to stop, and it has to stop now.

#### **23T-POLITICS: J) COMPETENCE**

Now, our country needs— our country needs a truly great leader, and we need a truly great leader now. We need a leader that wrote "The Art of the Deal." We need a leader that can bring back our jobs, can bring back our manufacturing,

#### **24T-DEFENSE/VETERANS: ABANDONED VETERANS**

can bring back our military, can take care of our vets. Our vets have been abandoned.

#### 25T-POLITICS: K) INCOMPETENCE OF PRESIDENT

And we also need a cheerleader. You know, when President Obama was elected, I said, “Well, the one thing, I think he’ll do well. I think he’ll be a great cheerleader for the country. I think he’d be a great spirit.” He was vibrant. He was yo(ung). I really thought that he would be a great cheerleader. He’s not a leader. That’s true. You’re right about that. But he wasn’t a cheerleader. He’s actually a negative force. He’s been a negative force. He wasn’t a cheerleader; he was the opposite. We need somebody that can take the brand of the United States and make it great again. It’s not great again. We need— we need somebody— we need somebody that literally will take this country and make it great again. We can do that.

#### 26T-FAMILY

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

#### 27T-POLITICS: L) PERSONAL COMPETENCE

You know, all of my life, I’ve heard that a truly successful person, a really, really successful person and even modestly successful cannot run for public office. Just can’t happen. And yet that’s the kind of mindset that you need to make this country great again. So ladies and gentlemen...I am officially running... for president of the United States, and we are going to make our country great again.

#### 28T-AMERICANDREAM: POTENTIAL AS A COUNTRY

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

#### 29T-ECONOMIC/LABOR: JOBS

We have people that aren’t working. We have people that have no incentive to work. But they’re gonna have an incentive to work, because the greatest social program is a job. And

they'll be proud, and they'll love it, and they'll make much more money than they would've ever made, and they'll be— they'll be doing so well, and we're gonna be thriving as a country, thriving. It can happen.

### 30T- ECONOMIC/LABOR: M) PERSONAL COMPETENCE, JOBS PRESIDENT

I will be the greatest jobs president that God ever created. I tell you that. I'll bring back our jobs from China, from Mexico, from Japan, from so many places. I'll bring back our jobs, and I'll bring back our money.

### 31T-ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL: WE LOSE

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

### 32T-POLITICS: N) INCOMPETENCE

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

### 33T-ECONOMIC/TRADE: AGAINST THE TRADE BILL

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

### 34T-POLITICS: O) INCOMPETENCE OF PRESIDENT

Number one, the people negotiating it don't have a clue. Our president doesn't have a clue. He's a bad negotiator. He's the one that did Bergdahl. We get Bergdahl, they get five killer terrorists that everybody wanted over there. We get Bergdahl. We get a traitor. We get a no-good traitor, and they get the five people that they wanted for years, and those people are now back on the battlefield trying to kill us. That's the negotiator we have. Take a look at the deal



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

### 35T-POLITICS & ECONOMIC/TRADE: P) INCOMPETENCE OF POLITICIANS

So we need people— I'm a free trader. But the problem with free trade is you need really talented people to negotiate for you. If you don't have talented people, if you don't have great leadership, if you don't have people that know business, not just a political hack that got the job because he made a contribution to a campaign, which is the way all jobs, just about, are gotten, free trade is terrible. Free trade can be wonderful if you have smart people, but we have people that are stupid. We have people that aren't smart. And we have people that are controlled by special interests. And it's just not gonna work.

### 36T-ECONOMIC/TRADE & ENVIRONMENT: WE LOSE

So, here's a couple of stories happened recently. A friend of mine is a great manufacturer. And, you know, China comes over and they dump all their stuff, and I buy it. I buy it, because, frankly, I have an obligation to buy it, because they devalue their currency so brilliantly, they just did it recently, and nobody thought they could do it again. But with all our problems with Russia, with all our problems with everything— everything, they got away with it again. And it's impossible for our people here to compete.

So I want to tell you this story. A friend of mine who's a great manufacturer, calls me up a few weeks ago. He's very upset. I say, "What's your problem?" He said, "You know, I make great product." And I said, "I know. I know that because I buy the product." He said, "I can't get it into China. They won't accept it. I sent a boat over and they actually sent it back. They talked about environmental, they talked about all sorts of crap that had nothing to do with it." I said, "Oh, wait a minute, that's terrible. Does anyone know this?" He said, "Yeah, they do it all the time with other people." I said, "They send it back?" "Yeah. So I finally got it over there and they charged me a big tariff. They're not supposed to be doing that. I told them." Now, they do charge you tariff on trucks, when we send trucks and other things over there. Ask Boeing. They wanted Boeing's secrets. They wanted their patents and all their secrets before they agreed to buy planes from Boeing.

### 37T-ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL: Q) COMPETENCE

Hey, I'm not saying they're stupid. I like China. I sell apartments for ten— I just sold an apartment for \$15 million dollars to somebody from China. Am I supposed to dislike them? I own a big chunk of the Bank of America Building at 1290 Avenue of the Americas, that I got from China in a war. Very valuable. I love China. The biggest bank in the world is from China. You know where their United States headquarters is located? In this building, in Trump Tower. I love China. People say, “Oh, you don't like China?”

### 38T-POLITICS: R) INCOMPETENCE

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

### 39T-ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL: WE LOSE

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

### 40T-POLITICS&ECONOMIC/TRADE: S) INCOMPETENCE vs COMPETENCE

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

### 41T-DEFENSE/WAR & ENVIRONMENT: CHINA IS A MILITARY THREAT

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

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

#### 42T-ECONOMIC/TRADE: MEXICO IS A THREAT IN TRADE

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

#### 43T-ECONOMIC/TRADE: UNIT 36T CONTINUES

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

#### 44T-ECONOMIC/LABOR: T) FORD NARRATIVE BEGINS, PERSONAL COMPETENCE

But I have another one, Ford. So Mexico takes a company, a car company that was going to build in Tennessee, rips it out. Everybody thought the deal was dead. Reported it in the Wall Street Journal recently. Everybody thought it was a done deal. It’s going in and that’s going to be it, going into Tennessee. Great state, great people. All of a sudden, at the last moment, this big car manufacturer, foreign, announces they’re not going to Tennessee. They’re gonna spend their \$1 billion in Mexico instead. Not good. Now, Ford announces a few weeks ago that Ford is going to build a \$2.5 billion car and truck and parts manufacturing plant in Mexico. \$2.5 billion, it’s going to be one of the largest in the world. Ford. Good company. So I announced that I’m running for president. I would...

#### 45T-POLITICS: T) CONTINUES

... one of the early things I would do, probably before I even got in— and I wouldn’t even use— you know, I have— I know the smartest negotiators in the world. I know the good ones. I know the bad ones. I know the overrated ones. You get a lot of them that are overrated. They’re not good. They think they are. They get good stories, because the newspapers get buffaloed. But they’re not good. But I know the best negotiators in the world, and I’d put them one for each country. Believe me, folks. We will do very, very well, very, very well.

#### 46T-ECONOMIC/LABOR: T) CONTINUES

But I wouldn't even waste my time with this one. I would call up the head of Ford, who I know. If I was president, I'd say, "Congratulations. I understand that you're building a nice \$2.5 billion dollar car factory in Mexico and that you're going to take your cars and sell them to the United States zero tax, just flow them across the border." And you say to yourself, "How does that help us," right? "How does that help us? Where is that good"? It's not. So I would say, "Congratulations. That's the good news. Let me give you the bad news. Every car and every truck and every part manufactured in this plant that comes across the border, we gonna charge you a 35-percent tax, okay, and that tax is going to be paid simultaneously with the transaction, and that's said.

#### 47T-POLITICS: T) CONTINUES

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

#### 48T-ECONOMIC/LABOR: T) CONTINUES

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

#### 49T-POLITICS: T) CONTINUES

So under President Trump, here's what would happen: The head of Ford will call me back, I would say within an hour after I told them the bad news. But it could be he'd wanna be cool, and he'll wait til the next day. You know, they wanna be a little cool. And he'll say, "Please, please, please." He'll beg for little while, and I'll say, "No interest." Then he'll call all sorts of political people, and I'll say, "Sorry, fellas. No interest,

#### 50T-SELF: U) PERSONAL COMPETENCE

” because I don’t need anybody’s money. It’s nice. I don’t need anybody’s money. I’m using my own money. I’m not using the lobbyists. I’m not using donors. I don’t care. I’m really rich. I assure you (inaudible), and by the way, I’m not even saying that in a bragga... (inaudible) that’s the kind of mindset, that’s the kind of thinking you need for this country. So— because we gotta make the country rich. It sounds crass. Somebody said, “Oh, that’s crass.” It’s not crass.

#### 51T-ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL: WE LOSE

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

#### 52T-DEFENSE/WAR: NEW EQUIPMENT NEEDED

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

#### 53T-SOCIAL/HEALTH: V) PERSONAL COMPETENCE vs INCOMPETENCE

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

#### 54T-ECONOMIC/LABOR: T) CONTINUES

But here’s what’s gonna happen: After I’m called by 30 friends of mine who contributed to different campaigns, after I’m called by all of the special interests and by the— the donors and by the lobbyists— and they have zero chance at convincing me, zero— I’ll get a call the next day from the head of Ford. He’ll say. “Please reconsider,” I’ll say no. He’ll say, “Mr. President, we’ve decided to move the plant back to the United States, and we’re not going to build it in Mexico.” That’s it. They have no choice. They have no choice. There are hundreds of things like that.

#### 55T-DEFENSE/WAR: W) COMPETENCE

I'll give you another example. Saudi Arabia, they make a billion dollars a day. A billion dollars a day. I love the Saudis. Many are in this building. They make a billion dollars a day. Whenever they have problems, we send over the ships. We say "we're gonna protect." What are we doing? They've got nothing but money. If the right person asked them, they'd pay a fortune. They wouldn't be there except for us.

#### 56T-DEFENSE/WAR & POLITICS: X) INCOMPETENCE

And believe me, you look at the border with Yemen. You remember Obama a year ago, Yemen was a great victory. Two weeks later, the place was blown up.

#### 57T-ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL: WE LOSE

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

#### 58T-DEFENSE/WAR: THE U.S. SUPPORTS SAUDI ARABIA

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

#### 59T-POLITICS: Y) INCOMPETENCE OF POLITICIANS

And I'm the one that made all of the right predictions about Iraq. You know, all of these politicians that I'm running against now— it's so nice to say I'm running as opposed to if I run, if I run. I'm running. But all of these politicians that I'm running against now, they're trying to disassociate. I mean, you looked at Bush, it took him five days to answer the question on Iraq. He couldn't answer the question. He didn't know. I said, "Is he intelligent?" Then I looked at Rubio. He was unable to answer the question, is Iraq a good thing or bad thing? He didn't know. He couldn't answer the question. How are these people gonna lead us? How are we gonna— how are we gonna go back and make it great again? We can't. They don't have a clue. They can't lead us. They can't. They can't even answer simple questions. It was terrible.

## 60T-POLITICS: Z) INCOMPETENCE OF THE LEADERS

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

## 61T-ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL: MAKE THE COUNTRY GREAT AGAIN

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

## 62T-POLITICS: A1) PERSONAL COMPETENCE

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

## 63T-SELF: FAMILY

Somebody said — thank you, darlin'. Somebody said to me the other day, a reporter, a very nice reporter, “But, Mr. Trump, you're not a nice person.” That's true. But actually I am. I think I am a nice person. People that know me, like me. Does my family like me? I think so, right. Look at my family. I'm proud of my family. By the way, speaking of my family, Melania, Barron, Kai, Donnie, Don, Vanessa, Tiffany, Ivanka did a great job. Did she do a great job? Great. Jared, Laura and Eric, I'm very proud of my family. They're great family. So the reporter said to me the other day, “But, Mr. Trump, you're not a nice person. How can you get people to vote for you?” I said, “I don't know.” I said, “I think that number one, I am a nice person. I give a lot of money away to charities and other things. I think I'm actually a very nice person.”

## 64T-POLITICS: (COMPETENCE), MENTIONED IN UNIT 62T

But, I said, This is going to be an election that's based on competence, because people are tired of these nice people.

#### 65T-ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL: TIRED PEOPLE

And they're tired of being ripped off by everybody in the world.

#### 66T-SOCIAL/EDUCATION: EDUCATION COSTS TOO MUCH

And they're tired of spending more money on education than any nation in the world per capita, than any nation in the world, and we are 26th in the world, 25 countries are better than us in education. And some of them are like third world countries.

#### 67T-ECONOMIC/INFRA: INFRASTRUCTURE FAILS

But we're becoming a third world country, because of our infrastructure, our airports, our roads, everything.

#### 68T-AMERICANDREAM: B1) COMPETENCE

So one of the things I did, and I said, you know what I'll do. I'll do it. Because a lot of people said, "He'll never run. Number one, he won't want to give up his lifestyle." They're right about that, but I'm doing it. Number two, I'm a private company, so nobody knows what I'm worth. And the one thing is that when you run, you have to announce and certify to all sorts of governmental authorities your net worth. So I said, "That's OK." I'm proud of my net worth. I've done an amazing job. I started off— thank you— I started off in a small office with my father in Brooklyn and Queens, and my father said — and I love my father. I learned so much. He was a great negotiator. I learned so much just sitting at his feet playing with blocks listening to him negotiate with subcontractors. But I learned a lot. But he used to say, "Donald, don't go into Manhattan. That's the big leagues. We don't know anything about that. Don't do it." I said, "I gotta go into Manhattan. I gotta build those big buildings. I gotta do it, Dad. I've gotta do it." And after four or five years in Brooklyn, I ventured into Manhattan and did a lot of great deals— the Grand Hyatt Hotel. I was responsible for the convention center on the west side. I did a lot of great deals, and I did them early and young. And now I'm building all



over the world, and I love what I'm doing. But they all said, a lot of the pundits on television, "Well, Donald will never run, and one of the main reasons is he's private and he's probably not as successful as everybody thinks." So I said to myself, you know, nobody's ever gonna know unless I run, because I'm really proud of my success. I really am. I've employed— I've employed tens of thousands of people over my lifetime. That means medical. That means education. That means everything. So a large accounting firm and my accountants have been working for months, because it's big and complex, and they've put together a statement, a financial statement, there's a summary. But everything will be filed eventually with the government, and we don't need extensions or anything. We'll be filing it right on time. We don't need anything. And it was even reported incorrectly yesterday, because they said, "He had assets of \$9 billion." So I said, "No, that's the wrong number. That's the wrong number. Not assets." So they put together this. And before I say it, I have to say this. I made it the old-fashioned way. It's real estate. You know, it's real estate. It's labor, and it's unions good and some bad and lots of people that aren't in unions, and it's all over the place and building all over the world. And I have assets— big accounting firm, one of the most highly respected— 9 billion 240 million dollars. And I have liabilities of about \$500 million. That's long-term debt, very low interest rates. In fact, one of the big banks came to me and said, "Donald, you don't have enough borrowings. Could we loan you \$4 billion dollars"? I said, "I don't need it. I don't want it. And I've been there. I don't want it." But in two seconds, they give me whatever I wanted. So I have a total net worth, and now with the increase, it'll be well-over \$10 billion dollars. But here, a total net worth of 8 billion—net worth, not assets, not liab...— a net worth, after all debt, after all expenses, the greatest assets— Trump Tower, 1290 Avenue of the Americas, Bank of America building in San Francisco, 40 Wall Street, sometimes referred to as the Trump building right opposite the New York— many other places all over the world. So the total is \$8,737,540,00 dollars. Now I'm not doing that... I'm not doing that to brag, 'cause you know what? I don't have to brag. I don't have to, believe it or not.

**69T-POLITICS: (PERSONAL COMPETENCE), MENTIONED IN 50T**

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

## 70T-POLITICS: C1) INCOMPETENCE, CORRUPTION

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

## 71T-ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL: DEBT

So I put together the statement, and the only reason I'm telling you about it today is because we really do have to get going, because if we have another three or four years— you know, we're at \$18 trillion now. We're soon gonna be at \$20 trillion. According to the economists— who I'm not big believers in, but, nevertheless, this is what they're saying— that \$24 trillion— we're very close— that's the point of no return. \$24 trillion dollars. We will be there soon. That's when we become Greece. That's when we become a country that's unsalvageable. And we're gonna be there very soon. We're gonna be there very soon.

## 72T-SOCIAL/HEALTH: OBAMACARE FAILS

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

## 73T-SOCIAL/IMMIGRATION: D1) COMPETENCE

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

## 74T-DEFENSE/WAR: E1) COMPETENCE vs INCOMPETENCE

Nobody would be tougher on ISIS than Donald Trump. Nobody. I will find — within our military, I will find the General Patton or I will find General MacArthur, I will find the right guy. I will find the guy that's going to take that military and make it really work. Nobody, nobody will be pushing us around. I will stop Iran from getting nuclear weapons. And we won't be using a man like Secretary Kerry that has absolutely no concept of negotiation, who's making a horrible and laughable deal, who's just being tapped along as they make

weapons right now, and then goes into a bicycle race at 72 years old, and falls and breaks his leg. I won't be doing that. And I promise I will never be in a bicycle race. That I can tell you.

#### 75T-SOCIAL/IMMIGRATION: TERMINATE OBAMA'S ILLEGAL EXECUTIVE ORDER ON IMMIGRATION

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

#### 76T-DEFENSE/THE 2<sup>nd</sup> AMENDMENT: SUPPORT THE 2<sup>nd</sup> AMENDMENT

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

#### 77T-SOCIAL/EDUCATION: F1) INCOMPETENCE

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

#### 78T-ECONOMIC/INFRA: G1) COMPETENCE

Rebuild the country's infrastructure. Nobody can do that like me. Believe me. It will be done on time, on budget, way below cost, way below what anyone ever thought. I look at these roads being built all over the country, and I say I can build those things for one-third. What they do is unbelievable, how bad. You know, we're building on Pennsylvania Avenue, the Old Post

Office, we're converting it into one of the world's great hotels. Gonna be the best hotel in Washington, D.C. We got it from the General Services Administration in Washington. The Obama administration. We got it. It was the most highly sought after— or one of them, but I think the most highly sought after project in the history of General Services. We got it. People were shocked, Trump got it. Well, I got it for two reasons. Number one, we're really good. Number two, we had a really good plan. And I'll add in the third, we had a great financial statement. Because the General Services, who are terrific people, by the way, and talented people, they wanted to do a great job. And they wanted to make sure it got built. So we have to rebuild our infrastructure, our bridges, our roadways, our airports. You come into La Guardia Airport, it's like we're in a third world country. You look at the patches and the 40-year-old floor. They throw down asphalt, and they throw... You look at these airports, we are like a third world country. And I come in from China and I come in from Qatar and I come in from different places, and they have the most incredible airports in the world. You come back to this country and you have LAX, disaster. You have all of these disastrous airports. We have to rebuild our infrastructure.

**79T-SOCIAL/HEALTH: SAVE MEDICARE, MEDICAID AND SOCIAL SECURITY, (COMPETENCE), MENTIONED IN UNITS 21T, 53T, 72T**

Save Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security without cuts. Have to do it. Get rid of the fraud. Get rid of the waste and abuse, but save it. People have been paying it for years. And now many of these candidates want to cut it. You save it by making the United States, by making us rich again, by taking back all of the money that's being lost.

**80T-ECONOMIC/TRADE: RENEGOTIATE TRADE DEALS**

Renegotiate our foreign trade deals.

**81T-ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL: REDUCE DEBT**

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

'cause what you've seen in the past might be small potatoes compared to what happens. So be very, very careful.

82T-DEFENSE/WAR: TAKE CARE OF OUR VETERANS

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

83T-AMERICANDREAM:H1) COMPETENCE

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

84T-THANK YOUs

Thank you. Thank you very much.

**“Bernie’s Announcement. May 26, 2015” (Sanders 2015).**

1S-THANK YOUs

Oh! This is an emot... This is an emotional day for me, not just for what I'm going to be announcing but to see so many people here and to hear what's been said, thank you very much. Let me thank all of you not only for being here today and for the support that you have given me over the years: as the mayor of this beautiful city, as Vermont's only congressman and now as our United States state senator. I also want to thank my longtime friends and fellow Vermonters Bill McKibben, Brenda Torpey, Donna Bailey, Mike O'Day and Ben and Jerry for all that they do – and for their very generous remarks. Thanks also to Jenny Nelson for moderating this event and for your incredible leadership in Vermont agriculture. I also want to thank my family: My wife Jane, my brother Larry, my children Levi, Heather, Carina and Dave for their love and support, and my beautiful seven grandchildren – Sonny, Cole, Ryleigh, Grayson, Ella, Tess and Dylan who provide so much joy in my life.

2S-THE ANNOUNCEMENT

Today, here in our small state – a state that has led this nation in so many ways – I am proud to announce my candidacy for President of United States of America.

### 3S-POLITICS: POLITICAL REVOLUTION

Today, today with your support and the support of millions of people throughout our country, we begin a political revolution to transform our country economically, politically, socially and environmentally.

### 4S-POLITICS: OPPOSING BILLIONAIRES

Today, we stand here and say loudly and clearly; “Enough is enough. This great nation and its government belong to all of the people, and not to a handful of billionaires.

### 5S-POLITICS: OPPOSING THE ESTABLISHMENT

Brothers and sisters: Now is not the time for thinking small. Now is not the time for the same old – same old establishment politics and stale inside-the-beltway ideas.

### 6S-POLITICS: UNITING PEOPLE

Now is the time for millions of working families to come together, to revitalize American democracy, to end the collapse of our middle class and to make certain that our children and grandchildren are able to enjoy a quality of life that brings them health, prosperity, security and joy – and that once again makes the United States the leader in the world in the fight for economic and social justice, for environmental sanity and for a world of peace.

### 7S-ENVIRONMENT: ADDRESSING THE PROBLEMS

My fellow Americans: This country faces more serious problems today than at any time since the Great Depression and, if you include the planetary crisis of climate change, it may well be that the challenges we face now are more direr than at any time in the modern history of our country.

### 8S-POLITICS: BUILDING A MOVEMENT

And here is my promise to you for this campaign. Not only will I fight to protect the working families of this country, but we're going to build a movement of millions of Americans who are pre..., prepared to stand up and fight back. We are going to take this campaign directly to the people – in town meetings, door to door conversations, on street corners and in social media. This week we're gonna be in New Hampshire, we gonna be Iowa and we gonna be Minnesota – and that is just the start of this national campaign.

#### 9S-POLITICS: AGENDA NOT A PERSON, COMPETENCE

Let me be clear. This campaign is not about Bernie Sanders. It is not about Hillary Clinton. It is not about Jeb Bush or anyone else. This campaign is about the needs of the American people, and the ideas and proposals that effectively address those needs. As someone who has never run a negative political ad in my life, my campaign will not be driven by political gossip, or reckless personal attacks. This is what the American people want and deserve. These are serious times, we need serious debates. Politics in a democratic society should not be treated as it were a baseball game, a game show or a soap opera. And I hope the media understands that as well. Let me take a minute to touch on some of the issues that I will be focusing on in the coming months, and then give you a brief outline of an Agenda for America and an agenda which, in fact, will deal with these serious problems and lead us to a better future.

#### 10S-ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL: INCOME INEQUALITY

Today, today we live in a nation which is the wealthiest nation in the history of the world but that reality means very little for most of us because almost all of that wealth is owned and controlled by a tiny handful of individuals. In America we now have more income and wealth inequality than any other major country on earth, and the gap between the very rich and everyone else is growing wider and wider. The issue of wealth and income inequality is the great moral issue of our time, it is the great economic issue of our time and it is the great political issue of our time. And we will address it. Let me be very clear. Let the top 1 percent understand this. There is something profoundly wrong when the top one-tenth of 1 percent owns almost as much wealth as the bottom 90 percent, and when 99 percent of all new income goes to the top 1 percent. There is something profoundly wrong when, in recent years, we

have seen a proliferation of millionaires and billionaires at the same time as millions of Americans are working longer hours for lower wages and we have shamefully the highest rate of childhood poverty of any major country. There is something profoundly wrong when one family, one family, owns more wealth than the bottom 130 million Americans. This grotesque level of inequality is immoral. It is bad economics. It is unsustainable. This type of rigged economy is not what America is supposed to be about.

### 11S-POLITICS: WE TOGETHER

This has got to change and, and as your president, together we are going to change it.

### 12S-ECONOMIC/LABOR: THE SUFFERING MIDDLE CLASS

But it is not just income and wealth inequality. It is a tragic reality that for the last 40 years the great middle class of our country – once the envy of the entire world – has been disappearing. Despite exploding technology and increased worker productivity, median family income is almost \$5,000 dollars less today than it was in 1999. In our great state and all over this country people are working not one job but two or three jobs trying to cobble together an income and some health care. That is not acceptable. We can and must do better. The truth is that real unemployment is not 5.4 percent what you read in the papers. It is close to 11 percent, youth unemployment 17 percent, African-American youth unemployment off the charts. Today, shamefully, we have 45 million people living in poverty, many of whom are working in low-wage jobs. In America today despite the games of the affordable care act, 35 million Americans still lack any health insurance. My friends, that is the reality of the middle class in America today. And that is the reality not just for us but for our kids and our grandchildren that we are going to change.

### 13S-POLITICS: OLIGARCHY

My fellow Americans: Let me as blunt, be as blunt as I can and tell you what you already know. As a result of the disastrous Supreme Court decision on Citizens United, the American political system has been totally corrupted, and the foundations of American democracy are now being undermined. What the Supreme Court said essentially was that it was not good



enough for the billionaires to own much of the economy. They could now own the United States governing as well. And that is precisely what they are trying to do. Now what I learned in school, and I think that the women and men who put their lives on the line to defend our country have long known that American democracy is not about billionaires being able to buy candidates and buy elections. It is not about the Koch brothers and Sheldon Adelson and other incredibly wealthy individuals spending billions of dollars to elect candidates who will make the rich richer and everyone else poorer. According to media reports, if you can believe it, the Koch brothers in this election cycle are prepared to spend more money than either the Democratic or Republican parties. That is not democracy. That is oligarchy. In Vermont and our town meetings we know what democracy is about. That is one person, one vote. And that's the kind of political system we are going to fight for and are going to achieve.

#### 14S-ENVIRONMENT: THE CLIMATE CHANGE

Now when we talk about our responsibilities as human beings and as parents, there is nothing more important than leaving this country and the entire planet in a way that is habitable for our kids and our grandchildren. The debate is over. The scientific community has spoken in a virtually unanimous voice. Climate change is real. It is caused by human activity and it is already causing devastating problems in our country and around the world. And let's be clear. If we do not get our act together and have the United States to lead the world in combatting climate change. There will be more drought, more famine, more rising sea level, more floods, more ocean acidification, more extreme weather disturbances. As human beings we walk out over this environment or appreciate the beauty of this planet. We are not going to allow the fossil fuel industry to destroy this planet.

#### 15S-POLITICS: POLITICAL SYSTEM IS CORRUPTED

Brothers and sisters it is no secret that there is massive discontent with politics in America today. In the last mid-term election, some 63 percent of Americans did not vote, including 80 percent of young people. Poll after poll tells us that our citizens no longer have confidence in our political institutions and, given the power of Big Money in the political process in general. They understand that their pay is not being heard in Washington, and the people in Washington elected officially are much more concerned about the lobbyists and the

billionaires than the suffering of ordinary people. Now combating this political alienation, this cynicism and this legitimate anger will not be easy. That's for sure. But that is exactly what, together, we must do if we are going to turn this country around – and that is what this campaign is all about.

#### 16S-POLITICS: POLITICAL REVOLUTION

And if we are going to bring people together we need a simple, straight-forward progressive agenda which speaks to the needs of the American people, and provides us with a vision of a very different America. And what is that agenda? Let me briefly tell you what I think.

#### 17S-ECONOMIC/LABOR&INFRA: JOBS PROGRAM

The agenda begins with jobs, jobs and more jobs. If we are serious about reversing the decline of the middle class we need a major federal jobs program which puts millions of people back to work at good paying jobs. At a time when our roads, our bridges, our water systems, rail and airports are decaying, the most effective way to rapidly create meaningful jobs is to rebuild our crumbling infrastructure. And that is why I've introduced legislation which would invest \$1 trillion dollars over 5 years to modernize our country's physical infrastructure. Legislation that would create and maintain 13 million good-paying jobs. And as your president I will lead the effort to make sure that legislation is passed.

#### 18S-ECONOMIC/TRADE: OPPOSING CURRENT TRADE POLICIES

I will also continue to oppose our current trade policies. For decades, presidents from both parties have supported trade agreements which have cost us millions of decent paying jobs as corporate America shuts down plants in Vermont throughout this country and moves to low-wage countries. As president, my trade policies will break that cycle of agreements which enrich the few at the expense of the...(inaudible)

#### 19S-ECONOMIC/LABOR: WOMEN'S WAGE, PAID SICK LEAVE AND VACATION MINIMUM WAGE

Let us also be honest and acknowledge that today millions of American workers are now working for totally inadequate wages. The current federal minimum wage of \$7 and a quarter an hour is a starvation wage and must be raised. The minimum wage in this country must become a living wage – which means raising it to \$15 dollars an hour over the next few years. Our goal, this is not a radical idea, but our goal must be that any worker in this country who works 40 hours a week is not living in poverty. Further, we must establish pay equity for women workers. It is unconscionable that women earn 78 cents on the dollar compared to men who perform the same work. We must also revise our overtime standards so that people they get 25 000 or \$30,000 a year, who are working 50-60 hours a week, get time (in ahead). And, and we need paid sick leave and guaranteed vacation time for every worker in this country.

## 20S-ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL: PROGRESSIVE AND FAIR TAX SYSTEM

This campaign starting today is going to send a message to the billionaire class. And that is: you can't have it all. You can't get huge tax breaks while children in this country go hungry. You can't continue sending our jobs abroad while millions are looking for work. You can't hide your profits in the Cayman Islands and other tax havens, while there are massive unmet needs on every corner of this nation. To the billionaire class I say that your greed has got to end. You cannot take advantage of all the benefits of America, if you refuse to accept your responsibilities. And that is why we need a tax system which is fair and progressive, which tells the wealthiest individuals and the largest corporations that they are going to begin to start paying their fair share of taxes. When we talk about power, we talk about Wall Street. In my view, it is time to break up the largest financial institutions in this country. Wall Street cannot continue to be an island unto itself, gambling trillions in risky financial instruments while expecting the public to bail it out. If a bank is too big to fail that bank is too big to exist.

## 21S-ENVIRONMENT & POLITICS: CITIZENS UNITED DECISION

If we are serious about of a progressive agenda that speaks of the needs of working families that talks about climate change and the needs of our kids and the elderly, we must be focused on campaign finance reform and the need for a constitutional amendment to overturn this disastrous Citizens United decision. I have said it before and I'll say it again. I will not

nominate any justice to the Supreme Court who has not made it clear that he or she will move to overturn that disastrous decision which is undermining our American democracy.

## 22S-POLITICS: PUBLIC FUNDING OF ELECTIONS

Longer term, we need to go further and establish public funding of elections.

## 23S-ENVIRONMENT: THE CLIMATE CHANGE

If I look to our future it is clear to me that the United States of America must lead the world in reversing climate change. We can do that like transforming our energy system away from fossil fuels, toward energy efficiency and such sustainable energies as wind, solar, geothermal and bio-mass.

## 24S-SOCIAL/HEALTH: MEDICARE FOR ALL SINGLE-PAYER PROGRAM

Brothers and sisters, the United States of America today remains the only major country on earth that does not guarantee health care for all people as a right. Despite the modest gains of the Affordable Care Act, 35 million Americans continue to have no health insurance and even more are under-insured. Yet, despite that the ...record we end up spending almost twice as much per capita on health care as any other nation. In my strong opinion United States must join the rest of the industrialized world and guarantee health care to all as a right and we must [move] toward a Medicare-for-All single-payer program.

## 25S-POLITICS: OPPOSING THE REPUBLICANS

At a time when millions of Americans are struggling to keep their heads above water economically, at a time when senior poverty is increasing, at a time when millions of kids in this country don't get enough food to eat, my Republican colleagues, as part of their recently-passed budget, are trying to make a terrible situation even worse. If you can believe it, and this is the truth, the Republican budget throws 27 million Americans off of health insurance, makes drastic cuts in Medicare, throws millions of low-income Americans, including pregnant women off of nutrition programs, and makes it harder, it's true, and makes it harder for working-class families to afford college or put their kids in the Head Start program. And then,

to add insult to injury, the Republican budget provides huge tax breaks for the very richest people in this country while they raise taxes on working families.

#### 26S-SOCIAL/HEALTH&EDUCATION:UNIVERSAL PRE-K SYSTEM

Well, let me tell my Republican colleagues that I respectfully disagree with their approach. Instead of cutting Social Security, we're going to expand Social Security benefits. Instead of cutting Head Start and child care, we are going to move to a universal pre-K system for all the children of this country. As Franklin Delano Roosevelt reminded us, a nation's greatness is judged not by what it provides to the most well-off, but how it treats the people most in need. And that is the kind of country we must become.

#### 27S-SOCIAL/EDUCATION:TUITION FREE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

And when we talk about education, let me make it very clear. In a highly competitive global economy, we need the best educated workforce we can create. It is insane, it is counter-productive to the best interests of our country, that hundreds of thousands of bright young people cannot afford to go to college, and that millions of others leave school with a mountain of debt that burdens them for decades. This is not what a great country is about. That must end. That is why, I as president, will fight to make tuition in public colleges and universities free, as well as substantially lower interest rates on student loans. The young people of our country are the future, they've gotta get the education they need.

#### 28S-DEFENSE/WAR&PEACE: COMPETENCE

As everybody knows, we live in a difficult and dangerous world, and there are people out there who would do us harm. As president, I will defend this nation – but I will do it responsibly. As a member of Congress I voted against the war in Iraq, and that was the right vote. I am vigorously opposed to an endless perpetual war in the Middle East. Yes, we must be vigorous in combating terrorism and defeating ISIS, but we as a nation should not have to bear that burden alone. We must be part of an international coalition, led by the Muslim nations, that can not only defeat ISIS but begin the process of creating conditions for lasting peace.

#### 29S-AMERICANDREAM:A FAMILY STORY

As some of you know, I was born in a far-away land called Brooklyn, New York. My father came to this country from Poland without a penny in his pocket and having dropped out of school at a young age. My mother graduated high school in New York City. My father worked his entire life as a paint salesman, never made much money. My parents, brother and I lived in a small rent-controlled apartment. My mother's dream was to move out of that small 3,5 room apartment and get a home of her own. She died young and her dream was never fulfilled. As a kid I learned, in many, many ways everyday in my house, what lack of money means to a family and that is a lesson I have never forgotten and never will forget. I have seen, I have seen as many of you have the promise of America in our own lives. My parents never never never would have dreamed that their son would become a United States Senator, let alone run for president. But for too many of our fellow Americans, the dream of progress and opportunity is being denied by the grind of an economy that funnels virtually all of the wealth and all of the income to the top.

### **30S-AMERICANDREAM:COMPETENCE AS A GROUP**

And to those who say we cannot restore the dream, I say just look where we are standing today. As some of you will remember this beautiful place was once an unsightly rail yard that served no public purpose and was an eyesore. As mayor, I worked with the people of Burlington to help turn this waterfront into the beautiful people-oriented public space it is today. We took that fight to the courts, to the legislature and to the people. And we won. The lesson to be learned and it is a profound political lesson is that when people stand together, when people are prepared to fight back, there is nothing that can not be accomplished.

### **31S-SOCIAL/EDUCATION & HEALTH REPETITION**

We can live in a country: Where every person has health care as a right, not a privilege; We can live in a country: Where every parent can have quality and affordable childcare and where all of our qualified young people can get a college education, regardless of their income; We can live in a country: Where every senior can live in dignity and security, and not be forced to choose between food and medicine;

### 32S-DEFENSE/VETERANS, REPETITION

We can live in a country: Where every veteran who has put his or her life on the line to defend this nation gets the quality health care and benefits they have earned and deserve;

### 33S- EQUALITY

We can live in a country: Where every person, no matter their race, their religion, their disability or their sexual orientation realizes the full promise of equality that is our birthright as Americans.

### 34S-POLITICS: POLITICAL REVOLUTION

Brothers and sisters, that is the nation we can build together, and I ask you and people throughout this country to join us in this campaign to build a future that works for all of us, and not just the few people on top.

### 35S-THANK YOU

Thank you again for coming out on this beautiful day, thank you!