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### iii Izjave zahvalnosti

Rad na disertaciji označio je početak jednog srećnog i uzbudljivog razdoblja u privatnoj i akademskoj sferi mog života. Početak istraživanja podudario se s odlaskom u Sjedinjene Američke Države na stipendiju *Junior Faculty Development Program*. Kako stoji u nazivu stipendije, bio je to period mladosti, učenja i razvoja, a dodao bih i svojevrzne bezbrižnosti. No, svako poglavlje ima kraj. Tako se i voz na stazama kognitivne lingvistike, političkog diskursa, kritičke analize diskursa i raznorodnih zanimljivosti iz bogate i složene istorije Sjedinjenih Američkih Država polako ušunjao na posljedni peron.

Disertacija je nastajala na dva kontinenta, u avionu između ta dva kontinenta, u bibliotekama i čitaonicama Teksaškog univerziteta u Ostinu – (meni) čuveni *PCL*, na plaži u Brelama, u kancelarijama i učionicama Filološkog fakulteta u Banjoj Luci, u radnoj sobi i San Remu – banjalučki mead-hall na koji bi i sam Beowulf bio ponosan. Nastajala je kao izraz ljubavi prema jeziku, prvenstveno engleskom i želje da ga još bolje naučim i analiziram prigodnim instrumentarijumom.

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Ne postoje adekvatne riječi kojima bih se ikada mogao zahvaliti profesorici Smiljki Stojanović. Profesorica je generacijama studenata na mnogobrojnim univerzitetima pružila bezrezervnu podršku i kao pravi nastavnik, pomogla da razvijemo ljubav prema struci. Od srca, u kojem ćete uvijek imati posebno mjesto, hvala Vam.

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Svojoj dragoj mami, Sadeti Suhonjić, dugujem sve. Hvala ti, draga mama, što si uvijek uz mene. Samo mogu da kažem da te volim.

Disertaciju bih (ako si smijem dopustiti tu pretencioznost i luksuz) posvetio svim dobrim i drugačijim ljudima. Teško je biti neobičan u običnom svijetu, a još je teže biti običan u sasvim neobičnom. U nadi da ćemo svi živjeti u svijetu u kojem pijedestal bitnog zauzima samo ono što je istinski važno, a nevažno i loše odzvanjaju u bespućima zaborava, ostaje još samo da se priklonim poštapalici koju često čujem u izdancima svoje velike ljubavi – kinematografiji – ovo je tek i samo početak.

Banja Luka, 16.7.2015. godine,

Emir Muhić

## **iv Strane s podacima o doktorskoj disertaciji na srpskom jeziku**

**Naslov doktorske disertacije:** *Strategije konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu*

### **Apstrakt**

Doktorska disertacija *Strategije konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu* sagledava strukturisanje značenjskih nadokvira u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu kroz vizuru dvije komplementarne lingvističke teorije – kritička analiza diskursa i kognitivna lingvistika, preciznije, teorija konceptualnih metafora. Istraživački projekt težište stavlja na multidimenzionalne perspektive sagledavanja relevantnih aspekata prirode značenja, značenja u kontekstu političkog diskursa u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, te istorijsko-kulturoloških posebnosti koje tvore jedinstvenu jezičku aparaturu putem koje se konstruiše i dekonstruiše savremeni američki politički diskurs.

Disertacija razmatra lokuse uticaja koji oblikuju kognitivno-kulturološku zajednicu Sjedinjenih Američkih Država i na osnovu teorijskog sagledavanja formuliše analitičku platformu koja je nastala na temelju preliminarnih istraživanja, te hipoteza rada koje su u konačnici postavile okvire unutar kojeg se kreće teorijsko-analitički proces u disertaciji.

Rad polazi od hipoteza da je savremeni američki politički diskurs ustrojen po upečatljivim koordinatama konceptualnih nadokvira i da se pomoću instrumentarijuma kritičke analize diskursa i kognitivne lingvistike mogu identifikovati strategije konstruisanja pomenutog diskursnog fenomena.

Uz pregled teorijskih shvatanja samog pojma diskurs, zatim obrise teorijskih uzusa kritičke analize diskursa i kognitivne lingvistike, kao i prikaz potencijanih lokaliteta sinteze ove dvije teorije, rad uzima u razmatranje i relevantne istorijske i kulturološki specifične okolnosti, pod kojim nastaje savremeni američki politički diskurs, preciznije, konceptualni nadokviri. Religijski mistos, kao značajan izvor građe konceptualnih nadokvira, zauzima posebno značajno mjesto u radu.

Analitički dio rada sintezom uspostavlja integrativni model identifikovanja pojmovnih nadokvira na reprezentativnom tekstualnom uzorku. Integrativni model analize savremenog američkog političkog diskursa zasnovan je na instrumentarijumima pomenutih teorijskih sistema. Rezultati analize potvrđuju kompatibilnost predloženog integrativnog modela i ukazuju na njegove specifičnosti u analitičkim zahvatima na korpusnoj bazi iz tematskog domena savremenog političkog diskursa u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama.

**Ključne riječi:** *značenje, savremeni politički diskurs, Sjedinjene Američke Države, konstruisanje značenja, strategije, konceptualni nadokviri.*

**Naučna oblast:** Jezik

**Uža naučna oblast:** Anglistička lingvistika

**UDK broj:**

## v Strane s podacima o doktorskoj disertaciji na engleskom jeziku

**Dissertation title:** *Meaning Construction Strategies in Contemporary American Political Discourse*

### **Abstract**

The PhD dissertation *Meaning Construction Strategies in Contemporary American Political Discourse* takes account of the structuring of superordinate conceptual frames in contemporary American political discourse by dint of two linguistic theories in a complementary relation – Critical Discourse Analysis and Cognitive Linguistics, more specifically, Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

Multifarious and pertinent loci of influence exerted upon the American cognitive and cultural community duly come under close scrutiny, as well as the time-honoured societal and historical specificities that lent themselves most conducive to shaping the overall society of the United States of America and the language apparatus employed so as to design and tailor a singular discursive system.

The research is predicated upon the hypothesis that contemporary American political discourse centers around a repository of conspicuously marked coordinates of an ideologically motivated superordinate conceptual frame, thus paving the way to employing interpretative expedients from the realm of Critical Discourse Analysis and Cognitive Linguistics so as to identify the strategies used in the construction of the aforementioned discursive phenomenon.

The first port of call en route to elucidation was to bring close scrutiny to bear upon the notion of discourse, concomitantly delineating the precepts of Critical Discourse Analysis and Cognitive Linguistics. At this juncture, a précis of potential



points of intersection of these two theories is required and duly delivered. The dissertation also takes stock of specifically pertinent historical and cultural circumstances in which contemporary American political discourse originates, i.e. the state of affairs occasioning the analyzed superordinate conceptual frames. Discernable weight is attached to the religious mythos as it stands for a crucial mainstay in resourcing and constructing superordinate conceptual frames.

The analytical segment of the dissertation postulates an integrated model for the purposes of identifying superordinate conceptual frames using an extensively representative textual sample as a basis for the analysis. The integrated model of the analysis of contemporary American political discourse builds on the foundations of analytical instruments of the theoretical frameworks appositely selected for the theoretical description and analytical procedure in this doctoral research project. The findings corroborate the assumption of the compatibility of the proposed components used in the integrated model and underscores its specificity in analytical procedures involving a corpus from the thematic domain of contemporary political discourse generated in the United States of America.

**Key words:** *meaning, contemporary political discourse, United States of America, meaning construction, strategies, superordinate conceptual frames.*

**Scientific domain:** Language

**Filed-specific domain:** English Linguistics

**UDC:**

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## 1. Uvod

### 1.1 Predmet istraživanja

Istraživanje prati slijed teorijske deskripcije konceptualnih<sup>1</sup> determinanti savremenog političkog diskursa u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama sa osvrtom na relevantne stavke društveno-istorijskog konteksta u kojem je nastao. Slijedi identifikacija dominantnih lingvističkih strategija konstruisanja pomenutog značenjskog konstrukta na reprezentativnom korpusu od osam ključnih govora dva recentna američka predsjednika u periodu od 2005. do 2012. godine.

Identifikovanje dominantnih strategija konstruisanja značenje je u epicentru istraživanja disertacije. Značenje je kontekstualizovano kao konceptualno-apstraktna nadstruktura uspostavljanja komunikacijskih obrazaca u javnoj sferi Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.

Dijalog između izvorišnih tekstova koji čine suštinu političkog svjetonazora u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama poput Deklaracije o nezavisnosti i Ustava i obraćanja Predsjednika o stanju nacije potvrđuje hipotezu o postojanju kontinuirane veze između prvobitnog repozitorijuma manifesta političko-ideološkog djelovanja i savremenih diskursnih obrazaca. Ovaj intertekstualni kontinuum predstavlja jednu od

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<sup>1</sup> Svjesni da riječi *koncept* u srpskom jeziku i *concept* u engleskom jeziku ne označavaju nužno podudarne kategorije, a imajući na umu da je prevodni aproksimat eng. *concept* u srpskom *pojam*, u radu smo ipak terminima *koncept* i *pojam* dali isti značenjski rang, kao i pridjevskim izvedenicama *konceptualni* i *pojmovni* sa ciljem terminološkog prilagođavanja literature iz oblasti kognitivne lingvistike koja je dominantno, u slučaju bibliografskih jedinica ove disertacije, nastala na engleskom jeziku. U skladu sa navedenim, u ostatku teksta ova dva termina upotrebljavamo naizmjenično. U radu smo se trudili terminološki sistem prilagoditi maternjem jeziku, no, u određenim situacijama zadržali smo tuđice, u prvom redu anglicizme i riječi latinskog porijekla. Za prevode u disertaciji je odgovoran autor, osim ako nije drugačije naznačeno.

ključnih predstrategija koje uvode primarne strategije konstruisanja diskursa u političkoj sferi Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.<sup>2</sup>

Intertekstualnost je izuzetno značajan mehanizam semioze i.e. stvaranja značenja u jeziku, posebno u kontesktu političkog diskursa. Julia Kristeva, francuska semiotičarka, smatra se zaslužnom za uvođenje ovog termina. U mnogobrojnim diskusijama na ovu temu, Kristeva objašnjava da je pitanje originalnosti teksta, a samim tim i relevantnosti uticaja autora upitno, jer svi tekstualni konstrukti nastaju metamorfozom prethodnih tekstova. Kako Kristeva tvrdi, tekst nije proizvod jednog autora, već dijalog sa drugim testovima. Novi tekstovi, ako prihvatimo ovo tumačenje, nastaju po principu palimpsesta, djelimičnim brisanjem prethodnog, originalnog zapisa i konstruisanjem, uslovno rečeno, novog, koji sadrži tragove prvobitnog teksta ili čak većeg broja tekstova (Kristeva, 1980). Ronald Barthes ide korak dalje tvrdnjom da su *svi tekstovi tkivo prethodno generisanih citata* (Barthes, 1977).

Fairclough pak sasvim jednostavno opisuje intertekstualnost kao prisustvo elemenata drugih tekstova u tekstu koji je u procesu konstruisanja (Fairclough, 2003). Imajući na umu da politički diskurs u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama nastaje po već ustojenim konceptualnim metanarativima i nadokvirima, pojam intertekstualnosti posebno je značajan za analitička razmatranja u disertaciji.

Značenje per se je oduvijek predstavljalo pojmovnu enigm, a pitanje šta znači značenje i kako nastaje je vanvremenska misterija koja možda nikada neće dobiti precizan odgovor. Izvjesno je da ova nepoznanica nije breme isključivo lingvistike, no, istraživanja u ovim naučnim krugovima imaju možda i najveću odgovornost da ponude koherentno formulisane hipoteze o shvatanju i tumačenju

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<sup>2</sup> Vidi poglavlje *Analiza strategija konstruisanja značenja savremenog političkog diskursa*.

značenja, imajući na umu mišljenje vodećih lingvista poput Hallidaya i Lakoffa, po kojima je fenomen značenja suštinsko pitanje jezika, a samim tim i lingvistike. Potraga za mehanizmima konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu dovela nas je na trag multimodalnog teorijskog sistema, putem kojeg želimo lingvistički sagledati konceptualne strategije njegovog konstruisanja u sinhronijski omeđenom prostoru.

Nadalje, saglasni smo sa tvrdnjom da je pitanje značenja i temeljno pitanje same prirode jezika i komunikacije, budući da jezik kao mehanizam komunikacijskih praksi prenosi značenjske pakete u činu opštenja na relaciji učesnika u komunikacijskom događaju. Za događaje te prirode uobičajne su makro dimenzije, preciznije, obuhvataju veći broj učesnika. Po svojoj magnitudi, savremeni američki politički diskurs svakako spada u makrodimenzione diskursne pojave i u kontekstu jezičkih manifestacija predstavlja upačatljiv primjer jezika u upotrebi sa mjerljivim ideološko-hegemonijskim uticajem. Ako jezik u američkoj političkoj areni posmatramo kao primarno sredstvo oblikovanja javnog mnijenja, a on to svakako jeste, jasno je da ne možemo zanemariti temeljne vodilje kritičke analize diskursa po kojoj su jezik, ideologija, hegemonija i naposljetku moć nerazdvojive kategorije (Fairclough, 1989; Van Dijk, 1997 i 2007; Chilton, 2004).

Jezik jeste moć, no jezik stvara ideologiju i nastaje po ideološkim matricama. Jezik ideološkim potencijalom generiše hegemonijske odnose, te je u tom pogledu kritički orijentisana lingvistika primarno zainteresovana da takve odnose identifikuje, pozicionira, dekonstruiše i objasni raspoloživim instrumentarijumom. Ono što spaja pomenuti lingvistički sistem sa kognitivnom lingvistikom jeste konceptualna vrijednost jezika, odnosno pitanje značenja kao takvog i značenja kao direktne rezultante jezika u upotrebi.

Za kritičku analizu diskursa značenje je moć i ideologija (Fairclough 1989), za kognitivnu lingvistiku značenje je konceptualizacija (Lakoff, 2003), dok u sistemsko-funkcionalnoj lingvistici, koja predstavlja okosnicu kritičke lingvistike, jezik u prvom redu opisuje kao sistem potencijala tvorenja značenja (Halliday, 1985 i 2004).

No, budući da savremeni politički diskurs u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama u osnovi polazi sa ciljem da uspostavi svojevrsnu kognitivno-ideološku zajednicu<sup>3</sup> u kojoj je uočljiva hijerarhija agensa i pacijensa, a pritom koristi konceptualnu matricu čiji temelj su udarili Utemeljivači,<sup>4</sup> onda je nedvojbeno interpretativna korelacija ova dva lingvistička sistema.

Savremeni američki politički diskurs je nedvojbeno društveni, no i neosporno lingvistički fenomen, te shodno tome i predmet našeg interesovanja i istraživanja u ovom radu. Demarkaciju društvenog od jezičkog je nemoguće utvrditi jer je, kao što drevni diktum jezika nalaže, jezik stub komunikacije, a komunikacija je osnovna temeljnica društva.

Lingvistika nudi sistematizovane mogućnosti, svojevrsne potencijalne scenarije koji tvore dobre premise za hermeneutičku elaboraciju. Nedostatak neospornih istinitosti u jednu ruku otvara vrata raznorodnim *kreativnim* tumačenjima, a u drugu daje prostor stvaranju entropije – stanja informacijske saturacije i kvantitativnog haosa.

Značenjski potencijal odabranog tekstualnog uzorka predstavlja izazov da se identifikuju konceptualni scenariji, koji proizilaze iz značenjskih apstrakcija koje tvore ideološku bazu značenja i strategija njegovog konstruisanja u američkom političkom domenu.

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<sup>3</sup> Za definiciju i upotrebu ove sintagme u disertaciji, vidi potpoglavlje *Kritička analiza diskursa*.

<sup>4</sup> Eng. The Founding Fathers.

Pitanje identifikacije značenjski apstraktnih konceptualnih okvira i dekonstrukcija date diskursne manifestacije, odnosno interpretativne matrice korišćene u tom procesu jeste dio predmeta istraživanja u radu. Budući da je čin dekodiranja poruke ujedno i čin kodiranja, te upisivanja novog značenja, najčešće ličnog koje nastaje kao odgovor na indoktrinaciju kojoj su komunikatori izloženi u svojim zajednicama, primarno smo usredsređeni na identifikaciju konceptualno relevantnih koordinata na semantičkoj mapi savremenog diskursa u političkoj areni, odnosno, konceptualnih scenarija nastalih u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama.

Bez obzira na lične sklonosti i pripadnost datim školama lingvističke misli, kao i sama nauka, i ovaj rad predstavlja mali pogled na nesagledivu pojavu iz jedne skupine lingvističkih eventualnosti. Koristićemo, u prvom redu, instrumentarij kognitivne lingvistike i funkcionalno orijentisane skupine teorijskih shvatanja jezičkih pojavnosti sa naglaskom na teoriju konceptualnih metafora i kritičku analizu diskursa (Eng. Conceptual Metaphor Theory; Critical Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis).



## 1.2 Polazište i ciljevi istraživanja

Polazeći od hipoteza:

- 1) da je savremeni američki politički diskurs ustrojen po konceptualnim okvirima utemeljenim na shvatanju nacije i porodice iz ugla dominantnih religijskih vrijednosnih sistema nastalih u istorijski posebnim uslovima, koji su predodredili daljnji modus diskursnog konstruisanja u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama;
  - 2) da se u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu mogu identifikovati specifične konceptualne strategije konstruisanja značenja putem dijadnog teorijskog sistema prilagođenog za analitičku dekonstrukciju, a koje su relevantne za diskursno kodiranje društveno-političke stvarnosti u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama;
  - 3) da se cjelishodan teorijski instrumentarijum za tu svrhu može izgraditi integrisanjem teorijskih konstrukata kritičke analize diskursa (zasnovane na sistemsko-funkcionalnoj lingvistici) i kognitivnoj lingvistici;
  - 4) da razumijevanje savremenog američkog političkog diskursa doprinosi cjelovitijem sagledavanju političkog diskursa uopšte,
- istraživanje ima sljedeće ciljeve:

- teorijska deskripcija savremenog američkog političkog diskursa
- identifikacija konceptualnih strategija konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu
- ispitivanje eksplikatornog potencijala sinergije kognitivne lingvistike i kritičke analize diskursa
- teorijsko uobličavanje integrativnog modela analize savremenog američkog političkog diskursa

Na deskriptivnom planu, istraživanje je baždareno da osvijetli pojmovno-značenjske mehanizme, na kojima se temelji savremeni američki politički diskurs, u prvom redu sistem ideološko-vrijednosnih reprezentacija i apstraktnih konceptualizacija u funkciji isticanja ili prikrivanja određenih aspekata ciljnih pojmovnih domena u diskursnom oblikovanju i preoblikovanju ideoloških matrica. Nadalje, istraživanje identifikuje dominantne izvorne pojmovne domene i načine na koje se jezičkim sredstvima ostvaruju u dinamici diskursa putem strategija konstruisanja značenja koje su zasnovane na njihovom sadejstvu u diskursu.<sup>5</sup>

U analizi strategija konstruisanja značenja prikolnili smo se multidimenzionalnom pristupu, što podrazumijeva sagledavanje konstelacija tvorbenih sastavnica koje posredno i neposredno oblikuju značenje u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu, odnosno tumačenje istog uz prethodni osvrt na socio-teorijski sistem koji implicitno generiše ustaljene semantičke obrasce. Na teorijskom planu, istraživanje ukazuje na komplementarnost kognitivne lingvistike i kritičke analize diskursa (bazirane na sistemskoj funkcionalnoj lingvistici) u primjeni na

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<sup>5</sup> Vidi potpoglavlje *Kognitivna lingvistika*.

politički diskurs sa ciljem formulisanja inovativnog modela kritičke kognitivno-funkcionalne lingvističke analize političkog diskursa.

Primarni pojmovi kojima operišemo su: diskurs i konceptualizacija, praćeni pojmovima kognicija, jezik, razumijevanje, znanje i pamćenje, a sve sa ciljem da se približimo epicentru istraživanja, fenomenu strategija konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu, koji se ispituje na reprezentativnom uzorku.

Rad ima za cilj realizovati teorijsko-analitičku obradu strategija konstruisanja značenja u odabranom diskursnom uzorku kako bi se uvidjelo koji su konceptualni obrasci dominantni, te šta nam govore o prirodi teksta i šireg prostora, u kojem nastaje, djeluje, utiče i uzrokuje određene komunikacijske i društvene prakse, kao i vrijednosne sisteme koji nastaju u diskursu, koji po principu kauzalnosti proizvodi novi diskurs, te time perpetuira diskursnu cikličnost i ideološko-hegemonijsku društvenu zbilju. Analiza se vrši po modelu konstruisanom na temelju lingvistički srodnih disciplina kojima je pitanje značenja primarna vodilja.<sup>6</sup>

U analizi naglasak je stavljen na identifikovanje potencijalnih konceptualnih scenarija i okvira koji stoje kao nepokolebljiv *spiritus movens* vrijednosnim sistemima američkog društva. Preliminarni nalazi ukazuju da se tri konceptualne koordinate ističu na značenjskoj mapi savremenog američkog političkog diskursa: *moral, sloboda i sreća* (eng. moral, liberty, happiness).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Vidi *Teorijsko-metodološki okvir*.

<sup>7</sup> *Moral* prevodimo riječju *moral*, iako englesku istovjetnicu možemo shvatiti u značenju *moralnost, ćudorednost*.

Redosljed smo djelimično preuzeli iz Deklaracije o nezavisnosti Sjedinjenih Američkih Država<sup>8</sup> u kojoj lekseme *sloboda* i *sreća* prate tako ustrojen niz na engleskom jeziku: (...) *Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness*. Pojam moral stavili smo na prvo mjesto jer smatramo da moralnost ne proizilazi iz slobode i sreće. Čovjek može biti moralan, bez obzira kako ovaj pojam tumačimo, a da pritom nije slobodan, ili srećan. Sasvim je jasno pak da ne mora nužno biti moralan ukoliko je slobodan i srećan. U tom smislu, pojmu moral dajemo svojevrsan primat imajući na umu da poimanje morala predstavlja preduslov za istinsku slobodu i konačno sreću, a prihvatajući redosljed usvojen u Deklaraciji o nezavisnosti Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, uz pretpostavku da samo slobodan čovjek može istinski biti srećan.

Pojmovi *moral*, *sloboda* i *sreća* proizilaze iz sistematizovanih trasa religioznog kanona koji je udario temelje američkoj vrijednosnoj i interpretativnoj matrici, a tim odredio i semantičke koordinate koje demarkiraju značenjsku mapu američkog političkog diskursa.

Nadalje, uviđa se dominantan uticaj dva diskursna sistema koji neposredno utiču na strukturisanje značenjskih obrazaca u američkoj javnoj sferi: religija i politika.<sup>9</sup> Uvidom u preliminarna istraživanja i pregledom referentnih bibliografskih jedinica uočavamo da je sveremeni američki politički diskurs posljedica međuodnosa konceptualnih obrazaca iznimnosti istorijske geneze Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, sistema religije i moralnih svjetonazora u javnoj sferi kognitivne zajednice Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, koji intertekstualnim modusima u političkom diskursu reiteriraju prvobitni vrijednosno-ideološki referentni sistem iz kojeg nastaju pomenute konceptualne koordinate idejnih scenarija, koje ovaj rad lingvistički identifikuje i dekonstruiše.

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<sup>8</sup> Eng. The United States Declaration of Independence.

<sup>9</sup> Vidi potpoglavlje *Politički diskurs i javna sfera u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama*.

### 1.3 Korpus istraživanja

Korpusna građa korišćena za analizu u disertaciji uključuje osam jedinica nastalih u periodu od 2005. do 2012. godine. U pitanju su godišnja obraćanja Predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država o stanju nacije. Ovi unaprijed napisani govori saopštavaju se prilikom zajedničkih zasjedanja Kongresa i Senata Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.<sup>10</sup> U prvi plan smo stavili obraćanja predsjednika Georga W. Busha i predsjednika Baracka H. Obame (43. i 44. predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država). Pomenute združene sesije, uslovno rečeno, dva doma američkog zakonodavnog sistema, tradicionalno se održavaju jednom godišnje.

Član II Ustava Sjedinjenih Američkih Država nalaže Predsjedniku sljedeće:

„Predsjednik će, s vremena na vrijeme, Kongresu predočiti izvještaj o stanju nacije, te preporučiti mjere koje smatra neophodnim i efikasnim na razmatranje.”<sup>11</sup>

Budući da je *stanje* nacije, u ovom slučaju jedne od najuticajnijih velesila, krucijalno pitanje od kojeg zavise gotovo svi životno značajni tokovi, tekstualni konstrukt kojim je informacija o pomenutom stanju predočena, kako zakonodavnom tijelu, koje bi trebalo da predstavlja jedan od kontrolnih mehanizama postavljenog voljom naroda, tako je ovaj svojevrsni izvještaj i (*ne*)posredna komunikacija sa narodom, ili u realpolitičkom smislu, biračima, te predstavlja reprezentativan uzorak savremenog američkog političkog diskursa.

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<sup>10</sup> Eng. Remarks by the President in the State of the Union Address.

<sup>11</sup> <http://history.house.gov/Institution/SOTU/State-of-the-Union/>: The President “shall from time to time give to the Congress Information on the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.” Article II, Section 3, Clause 1.

Ceremonijalnost obraćanja Kongresu i naciji je uprizorenje čina u kojem tekst, proizvod, postaje diskurs, proces koji fatički održava komunikacijske trase putem kojih se kanališu i perpetuiraju ideološki obrasci i sistemi vrijednosti. Obraćanje naciji i Kongresu izabrano je, kako zbog grandioznosti obreda komuniciranja vrijednosnog neksusa, tako i zbog činjenice da se radi o jednom od najstarijih oblika ove vrste komuniciranja u američkoj javnoj sferi.

Bitno je naglasiti da je obraćanje o stanju nacije medijski spektakl koji se na engleskom jeziku prikladno označava složenicom *infotainment*, zabava u vidu informacija, u prvom redu vijesti i analiza o aktuelnim događajima. Obraćanja se od 1965. godine direktno prenose javnosti putem medija. Prvi predsjednik koji je održao govor o stanju nacije u direktnom televizijskom prenosu je demokrata, Lyndon B. Johnson.<sup>12</sup>

Ako uzmemo u obzir obraćanje predsjednika Obame u februaru 2013. godine,<sup>13</sup> u proteklom periodu održana su ukupno 94 govora ove vrste.<sup>14</sup> Prvi koji se upisuje u *knjigu* govora upućenih naciji i poslanicima, koji voljom naroda i u ime naroda sjede u poslaničkim klupama, je otac američke nacije, George Washington. Predsjednik Washington je davne 1790. godine sročio i izložio prvo obraćanje o stanju nacije i time udario temelje ovog diskursno-ceremonijalnog instituta američke javne sfere.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> <http://history.house.gov/Historical-Highlights/1951-2000/The-first-televised-evening-State-of-the-Union-Address/>.

<sup>13</sup> Obraćanje predsjednika Obame iz 2013. godine nije dio korpusne građe ovog istraživanja.

<sup>14</sup> Ovi podaci su referentni zaključno sa 2015. godinom.

<sup>15</sup> <http://history.house.gov/Institution/SOTU/State-of-the-Union/>;  
<http://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/sotu/>

Formom i sadržajem reprezentuju konceptualne vrijednosti savremenog američkog političkog diskursa i stoga u ovom radu predstavljaju tekstualnu okosnicu za analitički dio disertacije.

Odabrana obraćanja su značajna i zbog vremenskog raspona u kojem su nastala. Prva četiri obraćanja upriličio je predsjednik iz Republikanske stranke, dok su druga četiri govora djelo predsjednika iz protivničkog tabora, Demokratske stranke. Smjena vlasti koja se desila 2009. godine i koja predstavlja idealnu šansu da se na reprezentativnom, i valja napomenuti relativno recentnom uzorku, sagledaju vrijednosni obrasci, uslovno rečeno, dva dominantna politička svjetonazora u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama je relevantan kriterijum kojim smo se vodili u identifikaciji i odabiru reprezentativnog uzorka savremenog američkog političkog diskursa.

Tekstovi pomenutih obraćanja preuzeti su sa službenih stranica Arhiva Kongresa Sjedinjenih Američkih Država [www.clerk.house.gov](http://www.clerk.house.gov), a pohranjeni su i na stranicama [www.presidency.ucsb.edu](http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu), te se sa pomenutih portala mogu preuzeti u cjelosti u elektronskom obliku.<sup>16</sup>

U *Dodacima* smo u cjelosti priložili tekstove osam obraćanja korpusne građe. Imajući u vidu tehničko uređenje disertacije, *Dodaci* ne sadrže tekstove Deklaracije o nezavisnosti Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, američkog Ustava i Povelje o pravima, kao i ni *Gettysburg Address* predsjednika Lincolna. Ove tekstove ne analiziramo u radu, ali se na njih u značajnoj mjeri oslanja tektualno-aksiološka građa korpusa disertacije, te je, bez obzira da li se radi o implicitnoj ili eksplicitnoj intertekstualnosti, važno naglasiti njihovu značajnu ulogu svojevrsnog izvornika korpusne baze, budući da postoje jasni interdiskursni pokazatelji doslijednog

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<sup>16</sup> Eng. Office of the Clerk.

referisanja na pomenute tekstove u savremenim predsjedničkim obraćanjima naciji i Kongresu. Tekstovi su u cjelosti dostupni na službenim elektronskim stranicama Arhiva Sjedinjenih Država, [www.archives.gov](http://www.archives.gov).

Istorijat i tekst političkih platformi Republikanske i Demokratske stranke dostupni su na službenim portalima pomenutih partija, [www.gop.com](http://www.gop.com), [www.gop.gov](http://www.gop.gov) i [www.democrats.org](http://www.democrats.org) a nama su relevantni isključivo u kontekstu pozicioniranja navedenih stranaka u vrijednosnom sistemu koji analiziramo odabranim lingvističkim instrumentarijem, te ih ne prilažemo u *Dodacima*, niti direktno analiziramo.

Tekstovi korpusne građe su šifrirani akronimima: SOTU: GWB 1 (2005), 2 (2006), 3 (2007), 4 (2008) i SOTU: BHO 1 (2009), 2 (2010), 3 (2011), 4 (2012).<sup>17</sup>

- i SOTU: GWB 1
- ii SOTU: GWB 2
- iii SOTU: GWB 3
- iv SOTU: GWB 4
- v SOTU: BHO 1
- vi SOTU: BHO 2
- vii SOTU: BHO 3
- viii SOTU: BHO 4

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<sup>17</sup> State of the Union: George W. Bush i State of the Union: Barack H. Obama. Brojevi u zagradi označavaju godine kada su govori održani.



SOTU: BHO1, tehnički gledano, ne spada u kategoriju obraćanja *State of the Union* budući da se prvo obraćanje predsjednika Obame naciji i Kongresu desilo 2010. No, 2009. godine, predsjednik Obama se prvi put obratio naciji i predstavnicima Senata i Kongresa Sjedinjenih Američkih Država na združenoj sjednici, koju su nacionalne televizijske mreže, kao što je ustaljeni običaj za službena obraćanja *State of the Union*, te zbog prirode miljea govora koji je identičan službenim obraćanjima označenim kao *State of the Union*, kao i magnitide uticaja pomenutog govora, navedeni smo uvrstili u korpus i shodno tome integrisali smo ga u strukturu ovog poglavlja.<sup>18</sup>

U poglavlju *Analiza strategija konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskurs* korpus je označen rimskim brojevima i prethodno uvedenim šifriranim akronimima.

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<sup>18</sup> <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/sou.php>:...*the five most recent presidents (Reagan, Bush, Clinton, G.W. Bush, and Obama) addressed a joint session of Congress shortly after their inaugurations but these messages are actually not considered to be "State of the Union" addresses. Reagan's 1981 address is called, "Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the Program for Economic Recovery." Bush's 1989 and Clinton's 1993 messages are called "Administration Goals" speeches. G.W. Bush's 2001 speech is actually his "Budget Message," and President Obama delivered a similar non-State of the Union address to a joint session of Congress on February 24, 2009. For research purposes, it is probably harmless to categorize these as State of the Union messages since the impact of such a speech on public, media, and congressional perceptions of presidential leadership and power should be the same as if the address was an official State of the Union.*

## 1.4 Struktura disertacije

Prvo polavlje uvodom opertava tematsko-organizacione hodograme disertacije pregledom predmeta, ciljeva, zadataka i korpusa istraživanja.

U drugom poglavlju izloženi su pristupni obrasci primarnog teorijskog i metodološkog okvira. Prvo potpoglavlje drugog poglavlja sadrži teorijsko određenje pojma *diskurs*, zatim, u opširnijem drugom potpoglavlju, koje smo dodatno tematski omeđili, izlažemo dosadašnja lingvistička proučavanja političkog diskursa kroz vizuru kritičke analize diskursa, kognitivne lingvistike i naposljetku sinergijskog dijaloga ova dva teorijska sistema. U trećem potpoglavlju, postavljamo politički diskurs u jukstapoziciju s javnom sferom u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, dok posljednje, četvrto potpoglavlje predstavlja integrativni model analize savremenog američkog političkog diskursa koji smo uspostavili za potrebe ovog istraživanja.

Treće i ujedno najduže cjelovito poglavlje predstavlja analitičko središte disertacije čiji je cilj da identifikuje dominantne strategije konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu. U poglavlju smo detaljno analizirali reprezentativni korpusni uzorak prema prethodno izloženom integrativnom modelu.

U četvrtom poglavlju sublimiramo nalaze analitičke dekonstrukcije, zaključke odabranog teorijskog instrumentarija i zaključujemo teorijsko-analitički segment rada.

Pomenutim poglavljima prethode stranice s podacima o mentorici i članicama Komisije, izjave zahvalnosti, stranice s podacima o doktorskoj disertaciji na srpskom jeziku, stranice s podacima o doktorskoj disertaciji na engleskom jeziku, sadržaj, a nakom teksta rada po poglavljima, po ustaljenim normativima, nalazi se spisak bibliografskih jedinica i elektronskih izvora u vidu petog poglavlja, kojem slijedi

šesto poglavlje, a koje sadrži priloge. Biografija autora i obrasci za digitalni repozitorijum Univerziteta u Beogradu tehnički zatvaraju disertaciju.

## 2. Teorijsko-metodološki okvir istraživanja

Strategije konstruisanja značenja predstavljaju splet međuuticaja kognicije, mišljenja, historijsko-formativnih tokova, kulture i ideologije određene kognitivne zajednice. Pod strategijama konstruisanja značenja podrazumijevamo konceptualne i ideološke mehanizme, kojima se formuliše željena značenjska matrica u određenoj zajednici.

Precizirati koji redosljed pomenute dionice slijede značilo bi dekodiranje misterije porijekla samog jezika i značenja, koje nastaje njegovom upotrebom. Imajući na umu prethodno izrečeno, komunikaciju ne omogućava isključivo jezik ustrojen po leksičko-gramatičkim uzusima. Komunikacija je šifra, preciznije šifriranje i dešifrovanje koje je moguće realizovati i putem ekstralingvističkih strategija. Stoga, nije tačno da su isključivo ljudi privilegovani jezikom. Preciznije, jedino ljudi raspoložu konvencionalizovanim leksičko-gramatičkim obrascima jezika kojim se postiže konceptualno evociranje, no sam kod na raspolaganju je, u adaptiranoj formi, i drugim vrstama (Danesi, 2004).

U ovom radu ne razdvajamo fenomen jezika od mišljenja, niti jednom od navedenih pojmova dajemo formativnu prednost. Jezik i mišljenje posmatramo kao združeni proces praćen dvijema manifestacijama. S jedne strane, bazično-latentna internalizovana struktura, a s druge, eksternalizovana ekspresija u artikulatorem i pismeno arhiviranom obliku. Ono što upečatljivo dolazi u prvi red je ljudska sklonost klasifikovanju u odnosu na fosilizovanu referentnu vrijednost. U kontekstu mentalnih procesa koje uzimamo kao dio teorijskog okvira relevantnog za temu disertacije izdvajamo fenomenologiju konceptualizacije, ritualizacije i ideološkog strukturisanja po uzročno-posljedičnoj matrici. Posljednja stavka načelno objašnjava pitanje

prvenstva ili preciznije nedostatak istog na relaciji jezik – mišljenje. Jasno je da jezik bez mišljenja nije moguć, no, ni mišljenje bez jezika ne spada u izvjesne kategorije.

Posmatrano iz vizure semantički orijentisanih teorijskih sistema, suštinsko pitanje lingvističkih nastojanja jeste objasniti fenomenologiju značenja. Priklonivši se miljeu kognitivne lingvistike, preuzimamo ovako formulisano uvjerenje, kao i eksplikat, koji je Langacker (1987:5) artikulisao sljedećim komentarom:

„Značenje shvatam kao kognitivni fenomen i na taj način ga valja analizirati.”

Langacker zatim predočava značajnu opservaciju, koja u ovom radu predstavlja jednu od suštinskih vodilja.

„Kognitivna gramatika stavlja u istu ravan pitanje značenja i konceptualizacije.”

Značenje je, kako Langacker objašnjava, kognitivno obrađivanje unosa – konceptualizacija kategorija – koje ulaze u perceptivni sistem pojedinaca. Na osnovu svakodnevnog unosa različitih stimulansa nastaje enciklopedijski repozitorijum referentno-informativnih tačaka, koje nam omogućavaju dekodiranje novih diskursnih paketa. Ovo prodrzumijeva da konceptualizacija nastaje u određenom miljeu, koji smo u radu označili van Dijkovom sintagmom *kognitivna zajednica*, a putem društvene kognicije.

Društvena kognicija omogućava generisanje relativno stabilnih mehanizama kodiranja i dekodiranja po prethodno ustrojenim ideološko-kulturološkim shemama. Tvrdnja da je društvena kognicija muštra konceptualnog dešifrovanja bi u ovom kontekstu bila u sferi prihvatljivog.

Fairclough (2003:223) prenosi da društvene strukture predstavljaju ono što je moguće, društveni događaji su u domenu onog što je stvarno, a društvene prakse služe kao svojevrsna karika između potencijala, odnosno strukture i materijalizovanog eksponenta, preciznije, događaja.

Fairclough i Wodak (1997) posmatraju jezik kao društvenu praksu. Diskurs, ovako shvaćen, je primijenjeni aspekt jezika u pisanoj formi i govoru. Budući da je jezik, a samim tim i diskurs društvena praksa, dinamična priroda podložna metamorfozama u strukturama datog etnosa ukazuje na neprestanost jezičkih, preciznije diskursnih praksi, kojima se perpetuiranjem uspostavljaju i održavaju kanali komunikacije.

Fairclough (1995) naglašava da *ideologije obitavaju u tekstu*, a budući da diskursu pridodajemo šire i dinamičnije značenje od teksta, kao što i jeste praksa kada se ova dva koncepta poredbeno definišu, ideologija je pitanje diskursnih strategija, koje se mogu šifrirati po obrascima kritičke analize diskursa i kognitivne lingvistike. Diskurs kao društvena praksa je fluidni most između potencijala, preciznije društvene strukture i materijalizovanog aspekta Faircloughove tripartitne podjele, odnosno društvenog događaja.

Sasvim je jasno da govornici jezika operišu unutar zadanih društvenih, psiholoških, te naposljetku konceptualnih parametara društvenog konteksta kognitivnih zajednica. Uloga društvene kognicije je svakako neizostavna spona između diskursa i društvene strukture. U tom smislu značajno je još jednom naglasiti prirodnost simbioze kritičke analize diskursa i kognitivne lingvistike, posebno imajući na umu da obje lingvističke škole misli značenje stavljaju u prvi plan.

Chilton (2005) ukazuje na neobičnost u odnosu kritičke analize diskursa prema kognitivnoj lingvistici. Naime, kritička analiza diskursa dosljedno izostavlja

instrumentarijum kognitivne lingvistike. Ovakav stav je svakako dodatno neobjašnjiv imajući na umu tri ključne sastavnice kritičke analize diskursa: jezik, moć i ideologija. Sve tri kategorije u srži sadrže značenje, kao i kognitivna lingvistika, kojoj je značenjski sistem osnovni pokretački impuls. Chilton (2005:23) nadalje prenosi da je „upotreba jezika, odnosno diskurs, po uzusima kritičke analize diskursa, konstruisanje znanja o društvenim fenomenima, identitetima, i drugim procesima. Takvo konstruisanje se može realizovati isključivo u umovima pojedinaca u interakcijskim odnosima.”

Opservacija Veronike Koller (2005:199) ponajbolje kontekstualizuje relacijski neksus kritičke analize diskursa i kognitivne lingvistike:

„Odnos između kognitivne lingvistike i kritičke analize diskursa (KAD) je jedan od onih nelagodnih spojeva.<sup>19</sup>”

Ovakve *tjeskobne* relacije kritičke analize diskursa i kognitivne lingvistike mogu se objasniti kroz vizuru prioriteta. Van Dijk (1993) iznosi stav da je kritička analiza diskursa primarno usredotočena na neposredno relevantna društvena pitanja i razotkrivanje ideoloških odnosa nejednakosti generisanih u diskursu, dok je kognitivna lingvistika prevashodno usmjerena na istraživanje sastava čovjekovog živčanog sistema koji omogućava upotrebu jezika i kognicije uopšte.

Koller (2005:199) se nadovezuje na van Dijkovu opservaciju komentarom “da se u želji da zavrijedi status čiste nauke, kognitivna lingvistika udaljava od sociokulturološke baze kognicije i zapostavlja njezinu sponu sa diskursom. Na taj način, oblast – kognitivna lingvistika – dekontekstualizuje vlastito polje djelovanja.”

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<sup>19</sup> Eng. The relationship between cognitive linguistics and CDA is an uneasy one.

Međutim, kritička analiza diskursa, s druge strane, počesto izbjegava uhvatiti se u koštac sa fenomenima koji su obojeni kognitivnim predznakom. Naposljetku se skizam svodi na pitanje kompromisa i shavatanje da, kako dalje prenosi Koller (2005:200) kogniciju valja izučavati u okrilju njenog prirodnog okruženja – interakcije i komunikacije. Društveni i kognitivni aspekti diskursa su simbiotski prirodna i produktivna analitička sprega, a “poveznica između kognitivnog i društvenog, te kulturološkog je najjači adut teorije pojmovnih metafora” (Koller, 2005:201).

Zaključujemo da je za uspješnu sinergiju ova dva sistema neophodna premostnica u vidu detaljnijih istraživačkih projekata putem kojim bi se dodatno ojačao spoj kritičkih i kognitivnih aspekata jezičke analize, te ustrojavanje modela, koji će kompromisno ugraditi relevantne komponente postojećih analitičkih alati kritičke analize diskursa i kognitivne lingvistike.

Ovakva socio-kognitivna kritička analiza diskursa u neraskidivoj je vezi sa kritičkom analizom metafora. Van Dijk (1993:280) navodi da je *u teorijskom smislu ključalno spoznati da ne postoji drugi modalitet povezivanja pojmova na makro nivou, kao što je dominacija, ili pitanje nejednakosti sa pojmovima na mikro nivou, poput teksta, govora, značenja i razumijevanja.*

Charteris-Black (2004:25) uveo je tzv. kritički pristup metafori kombinujući elemente kritičke analize diskursa i redefinišući postojeće uzuse teorije konceptualnih metafora. Charteris-Black poseban značaj daje i korpusnoj lingvistici, što je u skladu sa analitičkim postupcima u kritičkoj analizi diskursa i kognitivnoj lingvistici, budući da se i jedan i drugi teorijski sistem poziva na jezik u upotrebi, a pristup reprezentativnom tekstualnom uzorku omogućava upravo instrumentarijum korpusne lingvistike. Charteris-Black nadalje uvodi kategorije identifikacije, interpretacije i



objašnjenja metafora. Ova tri koraka neodoljivo podsjećaju na Faircloughove *tri faze* kritičke analize diskursa: deskripcija, interpretacija i, ponovo, objašnjenje ili eksplikacija (Fairclough, 1989:24-26).

Imajući prethodno na umu, smatramo da značenjsko usmjerenje kritičke analize diskursa i kognitivne lingvistike omogućava uspostavljanje prirodne sinergije ova dva lingvistička sistema.

Aspekt jezika koji je posebno relevantan u ovom istraživanju je uloga koju realizuje pri generisanju državotvornih diskursnih praksi koje generišu i perpetuiraju vrijednosni sistem zasnovan na dijahrono ustoličenoj aksiološkoj paradigmi reiteriranoj sa ciljem legitimizacije sinhronih obrazaca diskursno-konceptualne matrice međurelacija morala, slobode i sreće. U radu smo društvena udruživanja označili kao kognitivno-ideološke, odnosno kognitivne zajednice.<sup>20</sup>

Izdvojivši putem reprezentativnog tekstualnog uzorka eksponent diskursa u javnoj sferi Sjedinjenih Američkih Dražava, u našem istraživanju, savremeni američki politički diskurs, pribjegli smo teorijskim instrumentarijima kognitivne lingvistike po Lakoffu i Johnsonu (2003) i kritičke analize diskursa po Faircloughu (1985; 1995) kako bismo utvrdili na koji način se kodira značenje u odabarnom diskursu i samim procesom identifikacije strategija kodiranja otvara se put do nesmetanog dekodiranja.

Budući da je je process kodiranja i dekodiranja komunikacija između tvoraca diskursa i primaoca, i imajući na umu da je takav diskurs, preciznije njegov primarni cilj upravo otvaranje *fatičkih*<sup>21</sup> trasa, odnosno omoguććavanje uspostavljanje mehanizma strukturisanja i održavanja otvorenih komunikacijskih kanala, sa

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<sup>20</sup> Vidi potpoglavlje *Kritička analiza diskursa*. Ova sintagma se prvenstveno odnosi na Sjedinjenje Američke Države u kontekstu diskursno-ideološkog konstruisanja i teme disertacije, no ovakav opis primjenjiv je i na druga etno-državna udruženja.

<sup>21</sup> Eng. Phatic.

primaocima i dekodiranje po željenim matricama, ovaj kompleksan process dvosmjerne komunikacije podrazumijeva složen splet konceptualno-ideoloških strategija konstruisanja značenja.

U radu smo odabrane strategije podijeli u četiri grupe, a ovdje ih preliminarno terminološki uvodimo:

I KONCEPTUALNI OKVIRI

II POJMOVNE METAFORE

III KOGNITIVNI MODELI

IV STRATEGIJE ZNAČENJSKE REPREZENTACIJE<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Više o strategijama konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu identifikovanim u ovom istraživanju u potpoglavlju *Integrativni model analize savremenog američkog političkog diskursa* i poglavlju *Analiza strategija konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu*.

## 2.1 Određenje pojma *diskurs*

Shvatanje diskursa podrazumijeva sagledavanje složene prirode ovog fenomena iz više uglova tumačenja. Diskurs ne služi samo kao mehanizam putem kojeg se vrši svojevrsno usidravanje značenja. Diskurs je kompleks predodžbi, vrijednosti, te model pozicioniranja subjekata. Diskurs je okvir unutar kojeg se realizuju spletovi praksi i lansiraju pokušaji transformisanja institucionalizovanih oblika organizovanja kao i reinstitucionalizovanje i repolitizacija društvenih kategorija (Howarth, 2000). Diskurs kao fenomenološki izdanak lingvističkih, socioloških i filozofskih teorijskih okvira ne služi isključivo kao semantičko sidrište za determinisanje značenja, već zahvat njegove primjene i značenja seže duboko u srž složenosti konstruisanja društvene zbilje (Muhić, 2011).

Iz Habermasovog (1984) tumačenja javne sfere crpimo korpusnu bazu, a koju smo, po kriterijumima zapaženosti i razine uticaja pronašli upravo u političkom poddomenu javne sfere. Habermas javnu sferu opisuje kao zonu povezivanja društvenih sistema i svakodnevnih slojeva života. U pomenutoj sferi, stapanjem dvaju polova, istovremeno se otvara prostor u kojem građani kao primaoci diskursnih konstrukata iste dekonstruišu, tumače i pružaju, posebno u kontekstu mjerenja javnog mnijenja, povratnu spregu indirektno utičući na proces donošenja odluka, koje pod pritiskom odobravanja ili negodovanja javnosti prolaze kroz prigodne metamorfoze, dok se na drugom planu pomenutom fuzijom konstruiše i sama kognitivna zajednica ili se prolongira njeno postojanje (Habermas, 1984). Ovaj scenarij je epitom javnog komuniciranja, u kojem građani, odnosno recipijenti imaju uticaj i stvarnu moć u odnosu na centre moći. Jasno je da je ideal, ipak, domen u koji kao vrsta rijetko zalazimo.

Diskurs je etimološki usidren u latinsku riječ *discurrere* čija aproksimacija na našem jeziku označava nestabilnu kategoriju i atribut devijacije od zadanog kursa, što samo potvrđuje promjenjivost diskursa i zavisnost od eksternih uticaja. Lingvistika, kritičko izučavanje jezika kao interdisciplinarni konstrukt i snop socioloških i političkih kontekstualnih okruženja utiču na isprepletenost semantičkog i pragmatičkog dosega u korelaciji sa kognitivnom lingvistikom i drugim referentnim naučnim disciplinama.

Politički diskurs je socio-kulturološki fenomen, diskursna tvorevina, a ujedno produkt i manifestacija društva. Fairclough (1995) jezik opisuje kao upotrebu, preciznije proces, ili bliže tom shvatanju, diskurs, koji je sastavni dio društvenih praksi što suštinski znači i oblik društvenog djelovanja. Jezik je, odnosno njegova aktivna instancijacija, diskurs, sociološki i historijski smješten u dijalektičku osovinu. Kao i svaki diskurs, tako i savremeni američki politički diskurs jeste direktni proizvod društva, jer iz društvenih okvira i njihovih uticaja proizilazi, no, istovremeno transformiše i mijenja strukturu društveno-kognitivne zajednice koja ga stvara.

Diskurs je u kauzalno-konsekventnoj relaciji sa društvom jer ga ono stvara podjednako, kao što on stvara društvo. Svojevrсна socio-diskursna simbioza omogućava uvid u fundamente ideološkog sistema koji dominira određenom zajednicom. S jedne strane posmatramo ono što je nastalo pod uticajem društva, a s druge, ono što utiče na nastanak društva. Dva međupovezana i podjednako relevantna aspekta upotrebe jezika.

Teun Van Dijk u studiji *Discourse Studies: Multidisciplinary Introduction* (Van Dijk, 1997. *Discourse as Social Interaction* Vol. 2.) sumira diskursne determinante i uslove pod kojim se realizuje produkcija diskursa, odnosno navodi fundamentalne ideje koje su relevantne, kako Fairclough (1985) kaže, za analitičara i

interpretatora diskursno-lingvističkih konstrukata iz pozicije tumačenja i razlaganja. Van Dijk dalje pripisuje diskursu kategorije praktičnog, kulturološkog i društvenog fenomena koji prolazi kroz razvojne faze strukturalnog tipa do kumulativnog potencijala društvenog pokretača i generativnog instrumentarijuma. Diskurs je, kako van Dijk kaže, kontekstualno vezan u nerazdvojivo integrisanu svezu jezičke upotrebe i ideološko-vrijednosnog sistema, a po našem tumačenju, diskurs je tekst u procesu društvenog dijaloga doveden do razine materijalizacije konceptualizacije.

Prenosimo četiri van Dijkove ključne stavke „*koje svaki izučavalac diskursa treba da ima na umu kada proučava odnos između diskursa i društva*“:

Djelovanje (eng. *Action*) podrazumijeva da je diskurs djelovanje, radnja, ali van Dijk tu postavlja pitanje šta suštinski čini diskurs fenomenom kojem pripada označitelj društvene interakcije. Objasnjava da radnja „*podrazumijeva namjeru, svjesnost i svrhu, perspektivu i konsekvence*“ (van Dijk, 1997:6). Interakcija je prirodni rezultat takvog sklopa kao i inicijalna kapisla navedenih procesa.

Kontekst (eng. *Context*) je složen splet situacionih parametara koji određuju smjer razvoja nekog interpretativnog procesa. Iako ne postoji teorija koja se isključivo bavi ovim fenomenom, dvije determinante mogu poslužiti kao njegova karakterizacija, a radi se o relativnosti i podložnosti promjenama. Kontekst se inherentno vezuje za učesnike, okruženje, te razne socio-kognitivne dimenzije.

Moć (eng. *Power*) je ključni interpretativni putokaz u proučavanju relacija društvenih grupacija. Van Dijk smatra da ukoliko bilo koja društveno-kontekstualna pojava ograničava tekstualni domen i obrnuto, radi se o manifestaciji moći. Diskurs kao takav nije ni opasan, a ni loš sam po sebi, a jedan od primarnih razloga izučavanja diskursa je činjenica da u diskursnom smislu, kao i na polju materijalne manifestacije, nismo svi na istoj ravni jednakosti, odnosno, postoje oni koji ispoljavaju određenu

moć nad drugima ukoliko imaju neku vrstu mehanizma kontrole nad njima. Dalje, obrazlaže se pojam hegemonije, koji u diskursu 21. vijeka predstavlja eufemizam za prinudu. Tu se javlja semantička dilema u samoj definiciji riječi *hegemonija*, koja čisto leksički znači 'dominacija i kontrola jedne grupe ili države nad drugom'. Ukoliko postoje dominacija i kontrola, prinuda nije daleko kao sredstvo realizacije moći. U tom smislu, moguće je govoriti isključivo o trendovima, a ne o ustaljenoj praksi 'osvještenog' obrasca razmišljanja u 21. vijeku.

Ideologija (eng. *Ideology*) je značajna poveznica između diskursa i društva, jer svaki diskurs reflektuje ideološki svjetonazor datog geo-političkog, historijsko-kulturološkog i konceptualno-kognitivnog domena. Ideologija se može posmatrati iz perspektive mikro i makro nivoa. Kao i diskurs, ideologije odlikavaju društvena uvjerenja grupa koje konstruišu i rekonstruišu diskurs po kulturološki i kognitivno uspostavljenim pojmovnim matricama i pod određenim uticajima centara moći (Muhić, 2011). „*Ideologije razvijaju dominantne grupe kako bi reprodukovale i legitimizovale svoju dominaciju. Jedna od strategija postizanja ove legitimnosti jeste da se dominacija predstavi kao naturalizovani obik, benigna i neizbježna ili da na neki način uvjeri potčinjenu grupu da takve društvene odnose shvati zdravo za gotovo*“ (Van Dijk, 1997:7).

Ukoliko uobzirimo faktografsku nepobitnost raznorodnosti teorijskih provenijencija koje se bave pitanjima diskursa, lako dolazimo do zaključka da teorijsko tumačenje ne može biti uniformno i sasvim je jasno da, zavisno od škole misli kojoj pripadaju, teoretičari disparitetno tumače značenje ove riječi. U lingvističkom smislu, diskurs je struktura koja prevazilazi nivo rečenice. Možemo reći, prateći hallidayensku tradiciju, da svaki rečenični kompleks predstavlja instancijaciju diskursa (Schiffrin, Tannen i Hamilton, 2001:1). Posebno relevantno je

shvatanje diskursa kao jezika u upotrebi iz kojeg proizilaze socio-kulturološke i kognitivno-ideološke forme diskursnih strategija ili jezika u upotrebi sa određenim ciljem i nakanom uspostavljanja i održavanja ideoloških obrazaca u pomenutim društvenim zajednicama i organizacijama modusa vivendi. U tom smislu, govorimo o diskursnim varijetetima poput diskursa moći koji predstavlja svojevrsni amalgam jezičkih i nejezičkih praksi i ideoloških presupozicija, koje konstruišu moć u diskursnom smislu. Politički diskurs, kako smo u ovom radu usmjerili definicijsku krmu, jeste primarno strukturisan kao arena stvaranja i održavanja pozicije moći i ideološki motivisanih sistema vrijednosti.

Schiffrin, Tannen i Hamilton (2001:1) prenose da, pored potencijalno mnogobrojnih poddefinicija diskursa, sve možemo klasifikovati u tri kategorije opšteg tipa:

1. Prva se odnosi na već pomenuto shvatanje diskursa kao strukture koja izlazi iz okvira rečenice.
2. Slijedi shvatanje diskursa u kontekstu jezičke upotrebe.
3. Naposljetku diskurs je splet društvenih praksi, koje prate lingvistički i nejezički mehanizmi.

U disertaciji su relevantne navedene kategorije uopštavanja interpretacije diskursa iz sljedećih razloga. Prvi je svakako relativno fizičko omeđenje tekstualnog uzorka, odnosno konstitucija korpusa, koja se ne ograničava na izolovani rečenini egezemplar. Posmatramo šire cjeline, tačnije, po usvojenoj definiciji suprarečenični konstrukt, te u istim detektujemo dominantne ideje. Diskurs, nadalje, posmatramo kao

proces ovaploćenja teksta u javnoj sferi što je saobraženo sa stavom da je diskurs lanac društvenih praksi, u ovom slučaju, posmatran iz rakursa realizacije u jeziku.

Odabrana tekstualna građa u istraživanju za disertaciju primarno posmatra diskurs kao mehanizam generisanja značenja, koje nastaje u statičnoj tekstualnoj formi, te se metamorfozira u dinamične diskursne prakse. Znanje, značenje, tekst i diskurs su u neraskidivoj pojmovnoj konjunktivi, koja interrelacijama tvori jedinstveni značenjski sistem koji smo označili kao konceptualni metanarativ, odnosno konceptualnu nadstrukturu.

Pomenute četiri stavke ne postoje u izolaciji. Naprotiv, njihov pojavni oblik na površinu izlazi kao rezultat konceptualnog simbiotičkog odnosa. Imajući prethodno na umu, još jednom se osvrćemo na van Dijkov i Faircloughov opus. U *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Approach vol. 2 – Discourse as Social Interaction* (1997) van Dijk navodi dobro poznate postulate kritičke lingvistike sa posebnim naglaskom na diskurs kao oblik društvenog djelovanja.<sup>23</sup> Pored opšteprihvaćenog konsenzusa da je diskurs oblik jezičke upotrebe, posebno je značajno naglasiti društveni aspekt tumačenja ovog kompleksnog fenomena. Fairclough (1995) komplementarno sa van Dijkovim shvatanjem diskursa napominje da je riječ *diskurs* počesto sasvim nejasno shvaćena i na različite načine primijenjena u pojedinim naučnim oblastima. Izdvajamo dijadu tumačenja diskursa po Faircloughu:

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<sup>23</sup> Vidi potpoglavlje *Dosadašnja lingvistička proučavanja političkog diskursa*.



1. Diskurs, posmatran iz ugla jezički usmjerenih disciplina, tumačimo kao društveno djelovanje i polje interakcije na kojem učesnici uspostavljaju međusobne relacije.
2. Poststrukturalistički gledano, diskurs je društveno konstruisanje stvarnosti, odnosno materijalizacija znanja (Fairclough, 1995: 18)

Fairclough u daljnjem tekstu naglašava da njegovo tumačenje diskursa obuhvata navedena dva aspekta sa ciljem da ih spoji u smislenu cjelinu. Prvo tumačenje je na fonu interpersonalne jezičke metafunkcije, dok drugo prati ideacionu metafunkciju halidejanske škole. Diskurs na taj način možemo posmatrati kao apstraktnu i konkretnu pojavnost. Tako apstraktno tumačenje podrazumijeva opšte shvatanje upotrebe jezika u društvenom kontekstu, dok je konkretno instancijacija supra-diskursa koji prate žanrovske posebnosti. S Faircloughovog stanovišta, savremeni politički diskurs u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama možemo upisati u kategoriju složenih društvenih praksi koje u značajnoj mjeri oblikuju socio-kulturološku zbilju magnitudom uticaja ostvarenog posredstvom dalekosežnih medijskih mehanizama transfera sadržaja. Diskurs je socio-kulturološka praksa na dva nivoa.

Prvi nivo podrazumijeva prethodno pomenuti superodinantni društveni nivo strukturisanja, dok drugi nivo obuhvata pojavne i oblikovne kategorije diskursa. U pojavne kategorije spadaju žanrovski specifični diskursni obrasci, stilovi i posljedično tome, konkretizovani diskursi. Ovdje valja napomenuti i Faircloughovo shvatanje pojma žanr u odnosu na diskurs. Budući da je diskurs društvena praksa reprezentacije i strukturisanja percipirane stvarnosti, žanr je modus stukturisanja diskursnih obrazaca sa ciljem uspostavljanja interakcije.

Diskurs je sistem reprezentacije materijalnog svijeta, dok je žanr mehanizam interakcije putem diskursnih praksi u navedenom materijalnom svijetu. Fairclough (2003) u tom smislu daje primjer intervjua kao žanrovski specifične realizacije diskursa. Kako diskurs shvatamo iz motrišta apstraktne kategorije na ravni jezika, tako ga spuštamo i na individualizovani svrsishodno ustrojeni oblik. Politički diskurs je primjer konkretizacije apstraktnog diskursa, odnosno instancijacija usmjerenog odslikavanja društvene zbilje. Politički diskursi Demokratske stranke i Republikanske stranke u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, ili da uzmemo precizniji primjer, diskurs Republikanske stranke za vrijeme vladavine Abrahama Lincolna i Georga W. Busha su također primjeri specifičnosti diskursne realizacije i konkretizacije diskursa kao mehanizma predočavanja svijeta. Savremeni politički diskurs u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama je u kontekstu relacije apstraktnosti i konkretizacije, a iz ovako postavljenog tumačenja u Faircloughovoj autorskoj redakciji, na konceptualni nadokvir, preciznije apstraktna kategorija, koju prati tekstualna egzemplifikacija. Kao društveni i kulturološki fenomen, diskurs karakterišu različiti modusi realizacije.

Van Dijk (1997) prenosi nekoliko realizacijskih platformi. U prvom redu navodi tekst. Neophodno je naglasiti da shvatanje teksta nasuprot diskursu nije sasvim usaglašeno, pa se tako u opusu jednog autora, ovdje uzimamo Fairclougha i van Dijka za primjer, počesto javljaju poluoprečna tumačenja. Takvu praksu možemo pripisati i evolucijskom putu autora, koji kroz sopstveni rast unose preinake u nova izdanja knjiga koje su posvetili pomenutim fenomenima. Nekada se ne radi o potpuno izmijenjenom formatu interpretacije, ali su stanovite modifikacije neosporno uočljive. Sljedeća platforma realizacije diskursa po van Dijk je govor. Na ovaj način van Dijk uvodi formativnu diferencijaciju pisanog i oralnog transfera. Kao komentar, imajući na umu prethodno rečeno o tekstu, smatramo da je ova demarkacija strogo formalne

prirode i da je oznaka govor suštinski tekst transferisan putem govornog medija. Iz navedenog, nameće se zaključak da je korpus ovog istraživanja govor jer u formalnom smislu nosi upravo takav naziv i usmenim putem se prenosi u javnu sferu.

Naravno, obraćanja Predsjednika o stanju nacije su multimodalni diskursni činovi zbog dvojake, po ovom shvatanju, forme. Dostupni su u audio zapisu i pismenoj formi. U praksi, govor je u formi transkripta dostupan nakon usmenog prenosa na zajedničim zasjedanjima Kongresa i Senata Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.

Fairclough (2003) uvodi terminološku demarkaciju između pojmova tekst, diskurs i jezik. Tekst koristi u sasvim uopštenom smislu, pa tako navodi primjere teksta kao što su novinski članci i transkripti intervjua, te bilo koji tekstualno ustrojen zapis. Primjer jezika u upotrebi je također po Faircloughu potencijano tlo za definisanje teksta. Ovdje je neophodno napomenuti da je i diskurs shvaćen kao jezik u upotrebi imajući na umu da je diskurs pozicija koju zauzimamo u odnosu na upotrebu jezika s određenim ciljem, što diskursu daje rang društvene prakse. Diskurs je, shodno tome, stav i stanovište, lični odnos prema jeziku i jezičkoj upotrebi u društvenom smislu i s ciljem realizacije određenih društvenih uloga.

Nadalje, tekst je društveni događaj u smislu generisanja značenja putem interaktivnih procesa na relaciji tvorca teksta i recipijenta. Ideološka matrica koja stoji kao temelj tekstualnog obrasca u procesu dekodiranja može, a i ne mora da se poklopi sa interpretativnim sistemom recipijenta. Autor i čitalac nisu nužno na istoj ravni tumačenja, pa shodno tome tekst nakon produkcije postaje do stanovite mjere autonoman entitet, koji opšti u većoj mjeri sa primaocem. U odnosu teksta i primaoca nastaje stvarno značenje. Generisanje teksta je potencijal da se ostvari semioza, no

značenje se formuliše u procesu dekonstrukcije, kao što smo već naveli, na razini komunikacije između samog teksta i čitaoca.

Tumačenje teksta, kako navodi Fairclough, je složen proces i podrazumijeva najmanje dvije stavke. Tumačenje je u prvom redu razumijevanje osnovnih jezičkih razina analize; značenje riječi koje tvore tekst, relacija između riječi na razini sintagmatkih sekvenci, klauzalnih odnosa koji naposljetku čine teksturu. Pod teksturom podrazumijevamo smislenost leksičke građe objedinjene u tekstualnu formu. Teksturu posmatramo iz dva ugla: kohezija i koherentnost (Halliday i Hasan, 1976). Prva se odnosi na strukturisanje sastavnica teksta, dok je druga vezana za idejnu smislenost. Tekstura je preduslov da nekom jezičkom nizu odobrimo status teksta (Bloor i Bloor, 2004:84).

Linija demarkacije između pojma diskurs i tekst ostaje nejasna, budući da shvatanje da svi izgovoreni i pisani jezički obrasci predstavljaju tekst. Halliday (1985) suštinski, ovako postavivši definicijske obrasce teksta, isti posmatra kao što određeni autori poput van Dijka tumače pojam diskurs. Iako je shvatanje teksta i diskursa u nekim slučajevima podudarno, ovaj rad posmatra navedene fenomene na sljedeći način. Tekst uzimamo kao leksičko-gramatički zaokruženu cjelinu u izolaciji, produkovanu sa ciljem uspostavljanja komunikacijskih trasa ka primaocima. Tekst ćemo, u ferklofijanskom smislu, posmatrati i kao alatku ideoloških centara, odnosno tvoraca teksta, a u našem slučaju, institucije Predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, u užem smislu, u širem, presliku aktuelnih političkih strategija u javnoj sferi američke politike.

Za potrebe ove disertacije, tekstu priznajemo status pisane riječi, odnosno unaprijed napisanog govora u kojima se Predsjednik obraća predstavnicima Kongresa i Senata Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Vraćajući se na jedno od Hallidayevih interpretacija teksta, tekst je produkt, te na taj način posmatramo govore Predsjednike na združenim zasjedanjima Kongresa i Senata. Tekst je stoga paket, i potencijal, diskurs pak predstavlja, u našem radu, realizaciju potencijala ovaploćenog u medijski posredovanim obraćanjima javnosti Predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.<sup>24</sup> Kao što Halliday navodi, tek u kasnijim fazama tekst posmatramo kao proces, i upravo taj proces za nas je diskurs. U narednom potpoglavlju slijedi teorijski osvrt na shvatanje diskursa iz rakursa nekoliko značajnih teoretičara, na čijim tumačenjima se temelji i stav prema tekstu i diskursu u ovom radu.

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<sup>24</sup> Vidi potpoglavlje *Politički diskurs i javna sfera u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama*.

## 2.2 Dosadašnja lingvistička proučavanja političkog diskursa

Strategije tvorbe konceptualnih kategorija, koje konsekventno opertavaju značenje u savremenom političkom diskursu Sjedinjenih Američkih Država su u žiži interesovanja našeg istraživanja. Uvidom u definicijske repozitorijume (Oxford English Dictionary, 1989) sasvim nesmetano dolazimo do spoznaje o značenju lekseme *strategija*. Imajući na umu da u značajnoj mjeri operišemo ovim pojmom, slijedi kratki definicijski eksplikat kako tumačimo značenje navedene lekseme i koje mjesto zauzima u istraživanju.

Strategija je mehanizam ili čak umjetnost planiranja i realizacije postavljenih ciljeva. Strategija je u tom smislu operacija i svjesno osmišljeni plan rada, koji naposljetku vodi do željene završnice. Na kraju uvodnih razmatranja *Teorijsko-metodološkog okvira istraživanja* preliminarno smo uveli strategije korišćene u istraživanju.

Podijelili smo ih u četiri grupe po principu zasebnosti geneze, a na osnovu teorijskog okvira kognitivne lingvistike i kritičke analize diskursa. Prvu grupu, konceptualne okvire, preuzeli smo iz osnivačkih dokumenata Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, u prvom redu *Deklaracije o nezavisnosti Sjedinjenih Američkih Država* i religijskog mitosa Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.<sup>25</sup>

Druga grupa, pojmovne metafore, proizilazi iz istraživanja Geoga Lakoffa i Marka Johnsona, *Metaphors We Live By* (2003).<sup>26</sup> Treću grupu, kognitivne modele, zasnovali smo na istraživanju Geoga Lakoffa, *Moral Politics* (2002). Četvrtu grupu,

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<sup>25</sup> Vidi potpoglavlje *Politički diskurs i javna sfera u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama* i poglavlje *Dodaci*.

<sup>26</sup> Vidi potpoglavlje *Kognitivna lingvistika*.

strategije značenjske reprezentacije, formulisali smo sintezom Chiltonovih (2004) i van Dijkovih (1997) sistema semantičkog odslikavanja.<sup>27</sup>

Prethodno navedeni mehanizmi su u ovom radu postavljeni kao strateški sistemi strukturisanja konceptualno-značenjske mape savremenog američkog političkog diskursa, odnosno predstavljaju strategije konstruisanja značenja u navedenom diskursnom uzorku.

Kako bismo prikazali sinhronijski presjek dominantnog diskursnog sistema u američkoj javnoj sferi pribjegli smo dvoslojnom teorijskom instrumentarijumu kritičke analize diskursa s jedne, i kognitivne lingvistike s druge strane ovog analitičkog medaljona. U radu se primarno, ali ne isključivo, oslanjamo na opus Normana Fairclougha, Teuna van Dijka i Georga Lakoffa. Njihov teorijski eksplikat predstavlja esencijalni impuls deskripciji i dekonstrukciji u radu. Kao što smo naveli u ciljevima disertacije, namjera nam je identifikovati strategije koje u konceptualnom smislu čine strukturnu bazu semantičkim koordinatama u političkom diskursu Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.

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<sup>27</sup> Vidi potpoglavlje *Kritička analiza diskursa*.

### 2.2.1 Kritička analiza diskursa

U uvodnim razmatranjima *Cognitive Linguistics in Critical Discourse Analysis*,<sup>28</sup> Hart i Lukeš (2007) ukazuju na nekoliko značajnih vremenskih koordinata po kojima se odvijala geneza kritičke analize diskursa i ujedno ukazuju na prirodnost međuodnosa kognitivne lingvistike sa ovom multidiscplinarnom teorijskom platformom. Hart i Lukeš navode 1979. godinu kao bitnu prekretnicu u razvoju kritičke analize diskursa. Pomenute godine iz štampe izlaze dvije seminalne publikacije pod naslovom *Language and Control* i *Language as Ideology*.<sup>29</sup> Predstavljaju direktni korolarij istraživanja započelih 1976. godine na Univerzitetu East Anglia u Engleskoj. Istraživačka matrica nastala u navedenom periodu i službeno je krunisana imenom kritička lingvistika,<sup>30</sup> koja u svojim heteroglosijskim pristupima dekonstrukcije društveno-jezičkih fenomena ostvaruje puni potencijal u dobro poznatom ruhu kritičke analize diskursa. Nekoliko autora ove provenijencije zavrijeđuju posebnu pažnju: Norman Fairclough (1989, 1995, 2003), Roger Fowler (1979, 1991), Teun van Dijk (1997, 2007), Andreas Musolff (2009), Gilbert Weiss i Ruth Wodak (2007) i Paul Chilton (2004). Svaki od njih isklesao je dio opusa interdisciplinarnih studija fenomenologije diskursa. Pitanje generisanja značenja u javnoj sferi putem teksta (Habermas, 1984), odnos teksta i diskursa, značenja i diskursa, zatim relacije između društvene semioze i semiotičkog sistema, kako van Dijk naziva društveni metanarativ po svom socio-kognitivnom modelu, kognitivne zajednice te njenih aktera<sup>31</sup> i društvenih praksi<sup>32</sup> u značajnoj mjeri obilježava i pitanja

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<sup>28</sup> Kognitivna lingvistika u kritičkoj analizi diskursa.

<sup>29</sup> Jezik i dominacija; Jezik kao ideologija.

<sup>30</sup> Eng. Critical Linguistics.

<sup>31</sup> Eng. Social actors.



u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu imajući u vidu da su gore navedene kategorije glavne koordinate ovog medijskog i značenjskog sistema reprezentacije, društvenog djelovanja na polju formiranja kategorija identiteta i identifikacije/identifikovanja,<sup>33</sup> odnosno specifičnog identiteta ustrojenog po interpeliranim matricama date kognitivne zajednice, te uspostavljanju interpersonalnih trasa kao i otvaranje i održavanje poveznica sa zajednicom i centrima moći u zajednici.

Po riječima Gilberta Weissa i Ruth Wodak (2007), istraživanja pod okriljem kritičke analize diskursa, a taj diktum važi i za cjelokupnu kritičku lingvistiku, raznorodna su, kako u odabiru analitičkog instrumentarija i metodologije, tako i po pitanju tematika koje ulaze u interpretativnu obradu. Nadalje, kritička lingvistika, budući da smo već naglasili njen diversifikovani profil, u konstantnoj je potrazi za komplementarnim teorijskim partnerom. U začecima ovog transdisciplinarnog, ili, kako Fairclough navodi, multidisciplinarnog pristupa, kritička lingvistika se primarno oslanjala na čomskijansku paradigmu i transformacionu gramatiku. No, taj spoj nije bio dugog vijeka, i ubrzo su kritički lingvisti potražili kompatibilnijeg parnjaka i to Hallidayevu sistemsko-funkcionalnu lingvistiku. Osnovna pozveznica kritičkog i sistemsko-funkcionalnog ogleđa se u Hallidayevom stavu da jezik, u svom sinhronom obliku, jeste upravo takav zbog svoje uloge u društvenoj strukturi (Fowler, 1979). Chomsky, dalje prenosi Fowler, nije zainteresovan za jezik u upotrebi i odbacuje takav pristup kao neprimjeren odabir za lingvistička razmatranja, dok Halliday, s druge strane, usmjerava svoju teorijsku platformu ka spajanju strukture sa komunikativnom funkcijom.

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<sup>32</sup> Eng. Social practices.

<sup>33</sup> Imenica *identitarnost* je takođe u službi objašnjena pomenutih kategorija.

Halidejanska sistemska funkcionalna gramatika jezik izučava po uzusima Praške škole, a kako Halliday dalje objašnjava sistem i paradigma se stapaju u tzv. sistemska mrežu paradigmi. Sistemska gramatika je paradigmatska po prirodi, a struktura je mehanizam opisivanja izbora u leksičkogramatičkim koracima. Funkcionalni dio ovog lingvističkog pristupa označava da je u središtu pažnje značenje, ali, kako Halliday prenosi, to što je *gramatika* podrazumijeva da ujedno tumači i jezičke forme u službi semantičkog konstruisanja. Drugim riječima, Halliday smatra da nema jasnog razgraničenja između sintakse i značenja, pa je shodno tome cilj sistemske funkcionalne gramatike da uspostavi mehanizme analize teksta lingvističkim sistemom koji jezik posmatra iz vizure stvaranja značenja, dok strukturu stavlja u službu sematičke strane jezičkog djelovanja, a ne obrnuto (Halliday, 1985). Wodakova je u tom smislu saglasna sa Fowlerom, što potvrđuje tvrdnjom da je shvatanje osnovnih postulata halidejanske gramatike neodvojivo od preciznog tumačenja kritičke analize diskursa (Reisigl i Wodak, 2001).

Posebno je zanimljivo ideološko-hegemonijsko shvatanje društvenih struktura koje van Dijk opisuje kao kognitivne zajednice.<sup>34</sup> Ova bitna sintagma, koju često navodimo u disertaciji i koju smo prethodno označili kao društvena udruživanja nastala uslijed mnogobrojnih kohezivnih faktora kao što su istorija, geografske determinate, etnografski profil, zajednički jezik, odnosno diskurs etosa obrazovan po upečatljivim ideološkim i konceptualnim parametrima, nastala je sintezom teorijskih postavki Teuna van Dijka. Van Dijkov socio-kognitivni model analize diskursa, prvenstveno vijesti, pretpostavlja postojanje kognitivnih nadstruktura, odnosno

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<sup>34</sup> U radu smo sinonimijski koristili i verzije *kognitivno-ideološka zajednica* i *društveno-kognitivna zajednica*.

diskursnih shema, putem kojih se konstruiše i dešifruje diskursni paket (van Dijk, 2007:xxx). Ovakav pristup podrazumijeva sinergiju društvenih i psiholoških procesa u tvorbi društvene kognicije (Fairclough, 1995:28-29). Kognitivna zajednica je geografski, historijski, kulturološki, i naposljetku diskursno povezani kolektiv. Takav kolektivitet tvore i u stanju kohezije održavaju konceptualni metanarativi, odnosno značenjske nadstrukture nastale kao posljedica pomenutog niza socio-formativnih parametara.

Teun van Dijk prenosi neke od ključnih stavki u istraživačkom i internoideološkom inventaru kritičke lingvistike. Naime, da bi, kako van Dijk kaže, marginalna istraživačka tradicija ostvarila cilj, naprosto je neophodno da bude bolja od ostalih istraživačkih sistema. Pitanja kojima se bavi su prvenstveno društvene prirode, a ona su u permanentnoj relaciji sa političkim pitanjima. Društvo i politika su u teorijsko-analitičkom braku i uzima ih se u paketu. Kritička lingvistika, kao što smo već naglasili, u empirijsko-analitičkom smislu insistira na multidisciplinarnosti. Osim što opisuje, kritička lingvistika pokušava i da objasni diskursne strukture, koje su predmet datog istraživanja. Kritička lingvistika bavi se u prvom redu pitanjem društvene strukture iz diskursnog ugla sa motrištem na lingvističke strategije, kojima se određene društvene relacije uspostavljaju, legitimiziraju, potvrđuju, osporavaju i brane sa ciljem uspostavljanja odnosa i struktura moći i hegemonije i njihovog perpetuiranja u društvu (van Dijk, 1997).

Po van Dijk (1997), centralno pitanje u polju kritičke lingvistike je pitanje moći koja nastaje u i putem diskursa, preciznije fenomen društvene moći određenih socio-ideoloških stratumata u datoj zajednici. Van Dijk društvenu moć sagledava kao kontrolu, odnosno, hegemonijsku konstelaciju uticaja. Takva konstelacija omogućava nadzor i kontrolu fizičkog, te relevantnije, umnog, odnosno pojmovnog djelovanja

članova kognitivne zajednice. Da bi se takav mehanizam uticaja uspostavio neophodan je pristup resursima koji se ne podvode pod kategoriju lako dostupnih. U prvom redu se radi o fizičkoj sili kao što su vojne i policijske snage, zatim statusni uticaj koji je u korelaciji sa fiskalnim resursima, a sve prati domen komuniciranja u javnom prostoru uz arsenal znanja, kulturoloških okvira, informacionih paketa koji svoj materijalizovani oblik inicijalno dobijaju u formi statičnog teksta, a ceremonijalizacijom i medijalizacijom evoluiraju u raznorodne sojeve diskursa (van Dijk, 1997; Lukes, 1986; Wrong, 1979).

Uspostavljanje društvenih obrazaca podrazumijeva organizovan sistem indoktrinacije koja se u 21. vijeku ostvaruje medijalizacijom. Izgradnja kognitivnih zajednica zahtijeva adekvatne gradivne elemente. Ukoliko se priklonimo kritičkoj školi lingvistike, diskurs je nosivi stub društva. Naravno, diskurs kao i svaki drugi jezički uobličen konstrukt je sadržaj, ili svojevrsno gradivo koje valja prenijeti, pohraniti i postarati se da zadrži namijenjeno mu mjesto i status. Slično kao i proces učenja i usvajanja u obrazovanju. U našem slučaju, gradivo je savremeni američki politički diskurs, a mehanizmi kojim se konstruiše su konceptualne strategije na osnovu kojih nastaju upečatljivi značenjski obrasci.

Fairclough i Wodak (1997) sublimirali su osnovne postulate kritičke lingvistike:

1. Kritička lingvistika u epicentar smiješta društveno relevantna pitanja.
2. Fenomene odnosa moći posmatra kao diskursne kategorije.
3. Diskurs generiše društvo i kulturu.
4. Diskursom se ovaploćuju ideologije.
5. Diskurs je istorijska činjeničnost.
6. Spona između društva i teksta ostvaruje se posrednim, medijalizovanim putem.
7. Diskursna analiza u sklopu kritičke lingvistike objašnjava i tumači predmet istraživanja.
8. Diskurs je oblik društvenog djelovanja.

Stav kritičke lingvistike prema pitanju fenomenologije društva i diskursa je jasan. Nalaze se u jasnoj korelaciji uzročne posljedičnosti što podrazumijeva da pitanje društva implicitno povlači i pitanje diskursnih praksi, koje su navedeno društvo formulisale. Društvo i diskurs su sociolingvistički Janus koji se u svojoj dualnosti može sagledati, bar po onome što vjeruju lingvisti ovog miljea, iz multidimenzionalnog gledišta.

Definiciju kritičke lingvistike, koju su izložili Ruth Wodak, Teun van Dijk i Norman Fairclough, možemo dopuniti postulatima Charlesa Darwina i Richarda Dawkinsa, kao i Edwarda Saida. Naime, Darwinov predložak prirodne selekcije<sup>35</sup> i fraza, koju je britanski mislilac viktorijanske ere Herbert Spencer<sup>36</sup> skovao nakon što

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<sup>35</sup> Eng. Natural selection. Srp. Prirodna selekcija ili prirodni odabir.

<sup>36</sup> *The Principles of Biology*, 1864.

je pročitao Darwinovu knjigu *Postanak vrsta*, preživljavanje najjačih<sup>37</sup> u skladu je, kako prenosi i analitički povezuje van Dijk, sa centralnim pitanjem kritičke lingvistike, odnosno relacijama moći. U kritičkoj lingvistici dominantni diskursi opstaju putem uspješnih strategija generisanja, reiteracije, legitimizacije i konsekventne perpetuacije, kao što, kako Darwin opisuje, u borbi za život, najjače ili vrste sa privilegovanim biolškim statusom preživljavaju proces prirodne filtracije, koju Darwin naziva *prirodna selekcija* ili *odabir*. Darwin je u petom izdanju knjige *Postanak vrsta* preuzeo Spencerovu kovanicu i pridodao joj metaforičko značenje. Za Darwina je ova konstrukcija značila preživljavanje onih koji su se na najadekvatniji način prilagodili datoj sredini i u istoj nastavili svoj egzistencijalni ciklus. U tom smislu, da bi određeni diskursni konstrukt doživio isti usud, formom i sadržajem mora biti u sinhroniji sa kognitivnom zajednicom u kojoj nastaje i na koju utiče.

U tom smislu, situacija na terenu je složenija. Pomenuti hodogram komuniciranja je idealizovani obrazac razmjene, koji centri moći u formalnom smislu koriste kao mehanizam relativno jednosmjernog komuniciranja željenih ideološko-hegemonijskih sistema vrijednosti. Fairclough (2003) prenosi zabrinutost za status javne sfere u svremenom društvu, posebno u kontekstu javne debate koju su iz javnog prostora gotovo istisnuli medijski konglomerati, koji predstavljaju kičmu medijalizacije javnog diskursa i primarni modus opštenja u javnom diskursnom prostoru. Situaciju možemo posmatrati i sasvim distopijanski iz perspektive kritičke lingvistike koju Teun van Dijk definiše kao analitičko-istraživačku platformu, čiji su glavni predmet proučavanja mehanizmi pomoću kojih se moć, diskursno ustrojena društvena zloupotreba, nadmoć, nejednakost, te u tom kontekstu, ideološko-hegemonijski status interpelira, reprodukuje, održava i perpetuira, odnosno kako se

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<sup>37</sup> Eng. Survival of the fittest.

navedenim kategorijama tekstualnim putem pruža otpor. Ovako shvaćena, kritička lingvistika osvjetljuje relacije centara moći, koji moć sasvim prirodno žele da zadrže, i društvenih slojeva, koji moć nemaju, a koji, opet sasvim prirodno, žele doći u poziciju moći i preuzeti kormilo uticaja.

Kritička analiza diskursa kao izdanak kritičke lingvistike osim dekonstrukcije navedenih relacija cilja i ka otkrivanju društvenih nejednakosti u pokušaju da se one lingvistički dokažu i sociolingvistički eliminišu. Budući da kritička lingvistika nije nužno autonomna škola misaonih pristupa nepohodna joj je nadopuna u vidu teorijski formulisanijeg i relativno komplementarnog naučnog principa. Na ovaj način kritička lingvistika nudi jedinstven rakurs sagledavanja diskursnih fenomena analiziranih u sinergiji sa teorijski potpunijim instrumentarijem (van Dijk, 1997).

Kritička lingvistika posmatra teorijsku bazu u nerazdvojivoj sponi hipotetičkih suprastruktura i društvene zbilje, slično kao što posmatra kauzalunu konsekventnost diskursa. Kritička analiza diskursa uzima kako teoriju na osnovu koje operiše, tako i analitički materijal kao sociopolitički generisan ishod. Naime, pitanje politike i javne sfere je za analitičare iz domena kritičke lingvistike u podjednako neraskidivoj vezi kao i pitanje teorije i materijalizovane stvarnosti (van Dijk, 1997).

### 2.2.2 Kognitivna lingvistika

Kognitivna lingvistika je cjelishodan i cjelovit konglomerat lingvističkih teorija, koje jeziku pristupaju uz pretpostavku da je značajnije u središtu istraživanja nauke, preciznije, nauke o jeziku. U tom smislu, semantika nije puki poddomen jezikoslovnih napora, već *spiritus movens* kognitivnolingvističke mašinerije. Osim što značenju daje primat, kognitivna lingvistika značajnu pažnju posvećuje međuodnosu mišljenja, znanja, značenja i jezika. Nastala sedamdesetih godina 20. vijeka kao reakcija na postojeće, tradicionalne pristupe jeziku, kognitivnu lingvistiku su oblikovali mnogobrojni autori i svojim ličnim pečatom mijenjali i preusmjeravali slijed teorijskog i metodičkog sistematizovanja analize jezičkih fenomena.

Kognitivna lingvistika nije simplistična teorijska struktura već lingvistička paradigma, koja se sastoji od većeg broja teorijskih postavki i istraživačkih metodologija, koje se bave različitim aspektima lingvistike. Neke od njih su konceptualne strukture preciznije teorija konceptualnih metafora, kognitivna gramatika, kognitivni pristup fonetici i fonologiji, kognitivna semantička teorija. Naglasak kognitivnolingvističkog djelovanja stavljen je na eksplikaciju relacija između jezika i kognitivnih sposobnosti. Kognitivnu lingvistiku možemo shvatiti i kao istraživanje konceptualnih struktura koje tvore i pokreću jezik.

Evans i Green (2006:3) prenose opasku eminentnog i vjerovatno jednog od prvih kognitivnih lingvista, Ronalda Langackera, koji je osnivanje Međunarodnog udruženja kognitivne lingvistike<sup>38</sup> na ukrštanju 1989. i 1990. godine, okarakterisao kao *rođenje* kognitivne lingvistike kao utemeljenog intelektualnog pokreta. Autorski panteon zaslužan za prve korake na kognitivnolingvističkim stazama svakako

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<sup>38</sup> Eng. International Cognitive Linguistics Society.



uključuje imena čuvenih lingvista poput prethodno pomenutog Ronalda Langackera, zatim, Charlesa Fillmorea i Georga Lakoffa.<sup>39</sup>

Prethodno smo napomenuli da je kognitivna lingvistika konglomerat, te se u tom kontekstu definicijski kognitivnoj lingvistici pristupa uz pretpostavku da se radi o radnom okviru, a ne nužno o jedinstvenoj teoriji o jeziku. Takva priroda kognitivne lingvistike pruža plodno tle za razvoj heterogenih lingvističkih sistema koji, u takvom fleksibilnom okviru, tvore mrežu teorijsko-analitičkih matrica povezanih zajedničkim, a opet, opštim principima, koji se preklapaju i nadopunjuju. Ovo naravno ne podrazumijeva potpunu harmoniju unutar kognitivnolingvističkog univerzuma.

Na razini nomenklature, taksonomije, pa i rudementarnih poimanja teorijskih postavki često su uočljivi jazovi, a ponekad i nepremostive razlike. Jedan od takvih primjera je interpretativna demarkacija razložena u Evans i Green (2006:230 – 232) u vezi sa pojmovima *domen(a)* i *okvir*.<sup>40</sup> Upravo iz pomenutih razloga, kognitivna lingvistika nosi atribut pokreta ili poduhvata, kako prenose Evans i Green (2006:3), a ne jedinstvene teorije. Tačnije, radi se o neksusu perspektiva iz kojih se posmatra jezička fenomenologija, a koje pak, u sopstvenom vidokrugu imaju podleće konceptualizacije.<sup>41</sup>

Upravo termin *konceptualizacija* je od seminalnog značaja za shvatanje svrsishodnosti kognitivnolingvističkih napora. Naime, fenomen konceptualizacije, odnosno poimanja, vraća nas na pomenuti međudnos mišljenja, znanja, značenja i

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<sup>39</sup> Za detalje o radu pomenutih lingvista i uputu na referentne izvore vidi Geeraerts i Cuyckens, 2007; Evans i Green, 2006; Geeraerts, Dirven i Taylor, 2006, te elektronske izvore:

<http://idiom.ucsd.edu/~rwl/>,

<http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/person/14>,

<http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/person/21>.

<sup>40</sup> Eng. Domain; Frame. Za detalje, vidi referencu navedenu u tekstu.

<sup>41</sup> Eng. Conceptualization.

jezika. Evans i Green (2006:5) nadalje, a relevantno za prethodno izrečeno, navode da kognitivna lingvistika, svakako proučava jezik kako bi utvrdila sistematičnost i njegovu strukuru, kao i funkcije koje se ovaploćuju u jezičkom sistemu, no značajna motivacija, koja pokreće kognitivnolingvističke opruge sažeta je u potrazi za potvrdom postulata da jezik odslikava misaone obrasce. Na tom fonu, Evans i Green (2006:5) izriču jednu od iznimno relevantnih definicijskih omeđenja kako konceptualizacije, tako i same kognitivne lingvistike:

„()...pretpostavka da jezik odslikava misaone obrasce. U tom smislu, izučavanje jezika iz ovog ugla podrazumijeva izučavanje obrazaca konceptualizacije. Jezik otvara upliv u shvatanje kognitivnih funkcija. Omogućava shvatanje prirode, strukture i organizacije misli i ideja. Najznačajnija stavka, po kojoj se kognitivna lingvistika razlikuje od drugih pristupa jeziku, jeste pretpostavka da jezik odražava i iskazuje elementarne označitelje i ustroj ljudskog uma.”<sup>42</sup>

Imajući na umu da je kognitivna lingvistika izrazito heterogena i razgranata nauka, u radu smo se opredijeli za jedan od kognitivnolingvističkih izdanaka, koji u narednim pasusima kratko uvodimo uz uvodne napomene o utemeljivaču(ima) toga značajnog sistema analize u sveopštoj fenomenologiji kognitivne lingvistike.

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<sup>42</sup> “()...the assumption that language reflects patterns of thought. Therefore, to study language from this perspective is to study patterns of conceptualisation. Language offers a window into cognitive function, providing insights into the nature, structure and organisation of thoughts and ideas. The most important way in which cognitive linguistics differs from other approaches to the study of language, then, is that language is assumed to reflect certain fundamental properties and design features of the human mind.”

Posljednji od pomenutog utemeljivačkog triumvirata, George Lakoff, spada u najproduktivnije spisatelje iz oblasti društveno-humansitičkih nauka, kako u samostalnoj, tako i u koautorskoj simbiozi. Upravo je simbioza, po ugledu na hibridnu prirodu kognitivne lingvistike, iznjedrila ključno djelo koje je postavilo temelje jednoj od najinovativnijih kognitivnolingvističkih teorija i sistema kognitivno-jezičke analize. Radi se dakako o *Metaphors We Live By*, štampanoj 1980. godine. Saradnja sa kolegom Markom Johnsonom pokazala se kao dobitna kombinacija u redefinisaju metafore, koja je prvenstveno imala status, kako Lakoff i Johnson (2003:3)<sup>43</sup> kažu, retoričkog ukrasa i mehanizma izražavanja poetske mašte.

Ovakav aristotelijanski, i kako Deignan (2005:2) formuliše, ukrasni pristup,<sup>44</sup> metaforu je dugo držao u *okovima* književnosti, dok je jezički i misaono značajan aspekt metafore zapostavljan. Upravo su Lakoff i Johnson 1980. godine promijenili takav pristup, a metaforu, uslovno rečeno, oslobodili u svijet lingvistike.

Teorija konceptualne (pojmovne) metafore<sup>45</sup> povezuje metaforički sistem u jeziku sa procesom konceptualizacije, odnosno generisanja misaonih obrazaca. Konceptualna metafora je sistem konceptualnih struktura pomoću kojih šifriramo i dešifrujemo fenomenologiju svijeta. Uvodna poglavlja hrabro stavljaju metaforu u središte konceptualnog sistema, jer je po shvatanjima ovog autorskog dvojca, konceptualni sistem sam po sebi metaforičan (Lakoff i Johnson, 2003:4).

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<sup>43</sup> U radu koristimo dopunjeno izdanje iz 2003. godine.

<sup>44</sup> Eng. A decorative view of metaphor.

<sup>45</sup> Eng. Conceptual Metaphor Theory ili, po Deignan (2005:4), Cognitive Metaphor Theory.

Prvo empirijsko potkrepljenje autori daju u vidu konceptualnog strukturisanja svakodnevnih aktivnosti, koje se manifestuju u jeziku. Primjer poimanja koncepta RASPRAVA putem dijade izvornog i ciljnog domena<sup>46</sup> prenosimo u cjelosti (Lakoff i Johnson, 2003:4). Izvorni domen je u ovom primjeru RAT, dok je ciljni domen RASPRAVA

RASPRAVA JE RAT

Your claims are *indefensible*.

He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.

His criticisms were *right on target*.

I *demolished* his argument.

I've never *won* an argument with him.

You disagree? Okay, *shoot!*

If you use that *strategy*, he'll *wipe you out*.

He *shot down* all of my arguments.

U narednim poglavljima *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff i Johnson predočavaju mnogobrojne primjere konceptualnog preslikavanja<sup>47</sup> izvornog na ciljni domen, kao što su TIME IS MONEY (VRIJEME JE NOVAC), MEANINGS ARE OBJECTS (ZNAČENJA SU PREDMETI), LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS (LINGVISTIČKI IZRAZI SU SPREMNICI), COMMUNICATION IS SENDING (KOMUNIKACIJA JE ODAŠILJANJE) (Lakoff i Johnson, 2003:7-10).

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<sup>46</sup> Eng. Source domain; Target domain.

<sup>47</sup> Eng. Conceptual mapping.

Ciljni domen najčešće predstavlja apstraktni pojam koji je nepohodno preslikati na izvorni, odnosno konkretniji i, uslovno rečeno, stabilniji lingvistički koncept, odnosno koji se strukturira na osnovu nekog konkretnijeg, čulno dostupnog pojmovnog domena – ergo izvornog domena.<sup>48</sup> Mehanizam konceptualnog preslikavanja značajan je za klasifikovanje metafore na strukturalne (Lakoff i Johnson, 2003:61), orijentacione (Lakoff i Johnson, 2003:14) i ontološke<sup>49</sup> (Lakoff i Johnson, 2003:25). Konceptualne metafore zastupljene u korpusu disertacije pripadaju prvenstveno strukturalno-ontološkim kategorijama.<sup>50</sup>

Osnovni postulati teorije konceptualne metafore su (Deignan, 2005:13)<sup>51</sup>:

1. Metafore strukturiraju mišljenje
2. Metafore strukturiraju znanje
3. Metafore su epicentar apstraktnog jezika
4. Metafore su zasnovane na fizičkom iskustvu
5. Metafore su ideološki motivisane

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<sup>48</sup> Za detalje o ciljnom i izvornom domenu vidi Lakoff i Johnson, 2003; Deignan, 2005; Geeraerts i Cuyckens, 2007; Evans i Green, 2006; Geeraerts, Dirven i Taylor, 2006; Klikovac, 2014; Kövecses, ([2002] 2010).

<sup>49</sup> Za ovu klasifikaciju i sami autori u pogovoru drugog izdanja knjige ističu da je uslovna. U međuvremenu su ustanovljene i brojne druge, pa možda i relevantnije klasifikacije pojmovnih metafora (generičke/spečifične, primarne/kompleksne). Za potrebe ovog istraživačkog projekta, korišćemo gorenavedenu klasifikaciju uz napomenu da ona nije konceptualno završen materijal i da, kao i većina jezičkih kategorija, neprestano prolaze kroz raznorodne procese metamorfoze u vidu ažuriranja i nadopuna koje mogu, a i ne moraju nužno biti cjelishodne.

<sup>50</sup> Za detalje vidi poglavlje *Analiza strategija konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu*.

<sup>51</sup> Ovo tumačenje nastalo je u autorskoj redakciji Alice Deignan i za njega smo se u ovom dijelu disertacije opredijelili.

Deignan (2005) uspostavlja korelaciju između korpusne empirije i lejkofijanske teorije konceptualne metafore. Deignan navodi da rad Lakoffa i Johnsona podrazumijeva značajne implikacije u kontekstu opisa jezika, jer sistematski objašnjave određene semantičke relacije, te pojavnosti, koje se u jeziku naizgled materijalizuju po proizvoljnim obrascima (Deignan, 2005:5).

U tom smislu, poveznica korpusne lingvistike i teorije konceptualne metafore čini se kao prirodno komplementarni odnos, imajući na umu da konceptualne metafore obitavaju u jeziku u svakodnevnoj upotrebi. Teorija konceptualne metafore koristi repozitorijum, koji korpusna lingvistika putem sopstvenih instrumentarijuma objedinjuje u lingvistički pogodne forme za analizu. U disertaciji smo pribjegli korpusnolingvističkom metodu selekcije i klasifikacije teksta kako bismo uspostavili tekstualni uzorak na kojem je vršena analiza putem integrativnog modela.<sup>52</sup>

Na osnovu teorijske razrade po Lakoffu i Johnsonu, konceptualne metafore posmatramo ne samo kao mehanizam dekodiranja stvarnosti u kojoj živimo. Metaforičkom poimanju pridodajemo kategoriju strategije konstruisanja mišljenja i značenja. Budući da je jezik prozor u čovjekovu kogniciju, odnosno mentalni proces akumulacije znanja kroz iskustveno-senzorne doživljaje, metafora je svakako strategija, koja se može sasvim intencionalno korisiti kako bi se u određenoj diskursnoj konstrukciji plasirala ideološki poželjna konceptualna matrica. Upravo ova stavka, a imajući peti postulat teorije konceptualnih metafora po Deignan (2005:13) na umu, predstavlja ukrštanje kognitivne lingvistike i kritičke analize diskursa.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Vidi potpoglavlje *Integrativni model analize savremenog američkog političkog diskursa* i poglavlje *Analiza strategija konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu*.

<sup>53</sup> Vidi potpoglavlje *Dijalog kritičke analize diskursa i kognitivne lingvistike*.

U disertaciji, pored strategija kritičke analize diskursa, konceptualne metafore identifikovane kao dominantne platforme konceptualizacije u korpusnoj bazi predstavljaju strategije konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu.

Smatramo da generisanje kognitivne zajednice podrazumijeva metanarativ koji služi kao referentna konceptualna nadstruktura iz koje nastaju specifične materijalizacije diskursnih formi. Lakoff (2004) prenosi zanimljiv primjer. Ukoliko bismo izvjesnim recipijentima saopštili da je istina put do spasenja i potpomognemo tvrdnju činjenicama, imajući na umu da su ljudi racionalna bića, sama ta činjenica će ih voditi do tačnog zaključka. No, to svakako nije način na koji ljudi formulišu vlastiti misaono-racionalni obrazac.

Lakoff nadalje prenosi da na osnovu istraživanja sprovedenih u oblasti kognitivne lingvistike i neurolingvistike postoje jasni dokazi da se ljudsko razmišljanje oslanja na konceptualne nadstrukture i metanarative, koji nam služe kao uporište i referentni centri, kojima kognitivni lingvisti pripisuju naziv okvir, domen ili mentalni prostor.<sup>54</sup> Lakoff pojmovne okvire opisuje kao mentalne strukture koje oblikuju perceptivnu matricu putem koje identifikujemo konceptualne kategorije i na taj način tumačimo realije u materijanom svijetu.

Razumijevanje pojmovnih determinanti kognitivne zajednice, kao ni njeno uspostavljanje, ne bi bilo moguće bez širih konceptualnih suprastrukture na koje se oslanjamo u procesu tumačenja i koje omogućavaju uspostavljanje značenjskih megakompleksa utirući put ka uspostavljanju značenja. Pod terminom konceptualna

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<sup>54</sup> Iako su pomenuti termini relativni sinonimi, postoje stanovite razlike koje proizilaze iz različitog sagledavanja konceptualnih nadstrukture u radu Lakoffa (1980, 1987, 2002, 2004), Fauconniera i Turnera (2002) i Fillmora (1982). U ovom radu termini konceptualni/pojmovni domeni i konceptualni/pojmovni okviri nose isto značenje.

nadstruktura podrazumijevamo širu pozadinsku nadstrukturu spram koje se uobličava značenje. Političko djelovanje je ujedno i upisivanje osnovnih kodova društvene zajednice, te tvorba konceptualnih sistema značenja. Politika je organizovana društvena praksa ustoličena sa ciljem ustrojavanja mehanizama moći, preciznije kontrole i uticaja, koji omogućavaju trasiranje ideoloških sadržaja. U humanističkim okvirima, fenomen cikličnosti nije nepoznat, a kauzalno-konsekventni odnosi počesto su uhvaćeni u petlju koja cirkuliše ad infinitum. Tako je i u slučaju relacija politike i društva.

Društvo ne postoji bez politike, a politika svakako nije kategorija koju možemo posmatrati u vakuumu lišenom sociokognitivnih okvira. Nije daleko od istine ustvrditi da politika jeste društvo i vice versa. Svakako da se nameće i zaključak da jezik predstavlja temeljni gradivni masiv izgradnje političkog diskursa, a time i društva.

Konceptualni metanarativ, koji podrazumijeva gore navedene komponente, je svojevrsna društveno-pojmovna ontologija. Naime, informacione nauke i računarska lingvistika, prepoznaju ovaj termin kao znanje predočeno kroz dijapazon koncepata u pojmovnom metanarativu, te odnosa koji se uspostavljaju između srodnih konceptualnih struktura. Ovako shvaćena, ontologija je matrica tumačenja pojavnosti i repozitorijum za strukturisanje informacija. Preuzimajući ovaj termin iz hibridne računarske lingvistike, a imajući na umu starogrčko porijeklo riječi *onto* u značenju biće ili onaj koji postoji, konceptualnim metanarativima, o kojima govori Lakoff (1980, 1987) i kognitivnoj zajednici, koju opisuje van Dijk (1997) upisujemo dodatnu metafizičku dimenziju neuhvatljivosti fenomena koji predstavljaju okosnicu interesovanja u ovom radu (Gruber, 1993).



Ontologija je u osnovi sistem reprezentacije pojmovnih matrica koje obuhvataju kako same idejne konstrukte tako i materijalizovane pojavnosti i događaje (Gruber, 1993). Društveno-pojmovne ontologije opertavaju i međurelacije, koje nastaju strukturisanjem vrijednosnih konstelacija, koje tvore kognitivne zajednice kao i njihove konstitutivne društveno-diskursne prakse poput savremenog političkog diskursa u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama čija struktura zahvata dijahrono relevantne izvorišne polaznice materijalizovane u formi nekoliko ključnih dokumentata nastalih kao korolarij istorijskih konstelacija i vrijednosnih obrazaca, koji se u diskursu perpetuiraju sve do sinhronih koordinata, kojima pripisujemo atribut *savremeni*.<sup>55</sup>

Konceptualni metanarativi nastaju u prikladnom socio-kulturološkom okruženju date kognitivne zajednice, kako Michel Foucault (1969) navodi, socio-ideološki zemljopis lokaliteta povezanih zajedničkim metanarativom. Foucaultova ideja se prvenstveno odnosi na neutralni prostor u kojem stanje drugosti dolazi do ovaploćenja uslijed same prirode prostora, koji je na razini virtualizovane egzistencije.

Edward Said, koji u sarkastičnom maniru govori o mudrosti američke politike prenosi da upravo tako shvaćena mudrost politike proizilazi iz konceptualnih metanarativa legitimizarinih strategija intertekstualnog dijaloga sa osnivačkim dokumentima i iniciranjem asocijativno-emotivnih poveznica sa kolektivom američke kognitivne zajednice. Said naravno naglašava da je takva mudrost, iako diskursno neprikosnoveno utemeljena, u materijalizovanom svijetu lišena suštine, budući da je Administracija Predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država direktni kanal diskursne perpetuacije sa Utemeljivačima nacije i konceptualno-aksiološkim

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<sup>55</sup> Vidi potpoglavlje *Korpus istraživanja*.

sistemom američke kognitivne zajednice, te bi kao most sa istorijski čistim izvoris̄tem trebalo da i sam ostane moralno nekompromitovan. Said navodi kako je predsjednik Bush u svoje redove ubrojao osuđene kriminalce, Abramsa i Poindextera, dok je njegov prethodnik narušio moralni ekvilibrijum vanbračnom romansom sa sad već dobro poznatom Monicom Lewinsky.

### 2.2.3 Dijalog kritičke analize diskursa i kognitivne lingvistike

Teorijski instrumentarijum disertacije je prvenstveno multimodalan, a selekcija humanističkih, konkretnije lingvističkih platformi je refleksija savremenih kretanja u domenu lingvističkih istraživanja. Humanističke nauke i njeni eksponenti poput lingvistike prirodno su upućeni, ako ne i vezani za prostor istraživanja društvenih nauka. Granice su često nejasne, a vještačke demarkacije i proizvoljne pseudonaučne restrikcije ne samo da sputavaju misaonu slobodu, već usitnjavaju produktivnost naučnog djelovanja. Taj trend, odnosno uskogrudnost kognitivno-naučnih procesa postepeno jenjava, a pioniri naučne unifikacije i interdisciplinarnih konflijacija poput Fairclougha, Hallidaya, Bakhtina, Altussera i čitave plejade interdisciplinarista popločali su put ka esencijalom i primarnom shvatanju nauke, te sagledavanju fenomena koji nas okružuju i mapiranje njihovog uticaja na svakodnevnicu.

Kognitivna lingvistika i kritička analiza diskursa postavljene su kao kohezivni elementi teorijske deskripcije i analize. Rad je teorijsko-deskriptivne prirode, koji u interdisciplinarnom obliku daje opis odabarnih strategija konstruisanja značenja u savremnom političkom diskursu Sjedinjenih Američkih Država kao centralne pokretačke teme.

Nivo lingvističke analize polazi od anatomski najsitnijeg konstituenta, glasa, koji uobličen za potrebe datog jezika tvori fonemu, te prateći etape evolucijskog lanca seže do diskursa i njegovog nivoa ovaploćenja i dekonstrukcije, analize diskursa. Lingvističke forme, u svim svojim fazama, od uslovno rečeno, embrionskih, pa do cjelovito razvijenih kompleksnih diskursnih konstrukata obilježeni su značenjem.

Iako je ova tvrdnja prijemčiva u logičnom smislu, shvatanje značenja je problematika koja svakako nije lako rješiva.

Poznato je da semantika pročava značenje u jeziku ili kako prenosi Danesi (2004) odnos jezičkih formi i značenja koje nose. Naravno, više je nego poznato i koje alatke u tu svrhu koristi. No, nije nužno poznato šta je značenje. Tako u priručniku za izučavanje semantike autora Hurforda, Heasleya i Smitha, *Semantics – A Coursebook* (2007), stoje ekplikati raznorodnih mehanizama, kojima se objašnjava značenje, i naravno, navedeni su formalno semantički ustrojeni definicijski kalupi vrsta značenja i fenomena koji ga okružuju, kao što je referenca, polisemijske i smisaone relacije, logika, značenje riječi, rečenica i izjava, zatim, interpersonalno i nekongruentno značenje. No, nigde ne stoji definicija značenja per se. Ovakvo neshvatanje značenja zapravo seže od *The Meaning of Meaning* Ogdena i Richardsa (1923) naovamo.

Ukoliko kažemo da je značenje referenca, ili povezivanje apstraktnog jezičkog izraza sa referentom u fizičkom svijetu, odmah se suočavamo sa nedoumicom jer znamo da referenca počesto ne nalazi uporište u stvarnom materijalizovanom svijetu. Shodno tome, čini se nedostanim posmatrati značenje kao dijadu realizacije i nerealizacije apstraktnog jezičkog izraza u materijanom svijetu.<sup>56</sup>

Danesi (2004) preliminarnim opaskama u poglavlju o značenju navodi zanimljivu opservaciju po kojoj, iako značenje opisujemo, i neprestano ga spominjeno, te definišemo značenje jezičkih formi, nikada ne definišemo značenje kao takvo jer se, naime, značenje ne može definisati. Značenje posmatramo kroz leće alatki, koje su lingvisti osmislili kako bi definisali i logički predočili značenja lingvističkih formi, najčešće poredbenim metodima i identifikacijom značenja po

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<sup>56</sup> Eng. Extension of meaning; Intension of meaning. Denotation; Connotation.

parametrima asocijacije i referencijalne ekstenzije,<sup>57</sup> a sve kako bi zaobišli samu esenciju fenomena. Tako shvaćena, semantika se bavi *značenjima* jezičkih formi, a ne samim značenjem, što je u skladu sa definicijom koju prenose Hurford, Heasley i Smith, (2007), kao i sa komentarom Ludwiga Wittgensteina da je u većini slučajeva značenje riječi pitanje njene upotrebe u jeziku.<sup>58</sup> Upravo na ovu tvrdnju možemo pridodati definiciju semanticiteta: *jezički signal prenosi značenje putem relativno stabilne reference u domenu stvarnog svijeta* (Danesi, 2004:43).

Budući da kognitivna lingvistika u sprezi sa kritičkom analizom diskursa čini teorijsku platformu ove disertacije, kao i da se u istraživanju oslanjamo na rad Normana Fairclougha, Teuna van Dijka i Georga Lakoffa, ovoj grupi autora relevantno je prododati i teorijske eksplikate Paula Chiltona. Upravo od njega preuzimamo shvatanje jezika koje rekonteksualizujemo kako bismo postulirali definicijsku matricu značenja u radu. Naime, Chilton (2004:8-12) govori o jeziku iz rakursa bifurkacije. S jedne strane, jezik posmatra kao apstraktni kapacitet svojstven ljudima kojim uspostavljaju komunikacijske kanale, iste održavaju sa ciljem stvaranja ideoloških i vrijednosnih sistema, koji tvore kognitivnu zajednicu.

Drugi ugao posmatranja jezika je na razini konkretizacije gore pomenutog apstraktnog ljudskog potencijala za koherentnu verbalnu i tekstualnu komunikaciju. Chilton govori o jeziku sa velikim i malim slovom j. Velikim slovom označava potencijal, a malim konkretizaciju. Potencijal je kognitivna kategorija koja egzistira na razini ideje, preciznije, pojmovne suprastrukture.

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<sup>57</sup> Sameness, opposition, taxonomy, part-whole relations; Association i extension. Danesi, 2004.

<sup>58</sup> For a large class of cases – though not for all – in which we employ the word “meaning” it can be defined thus: the meaning of a word is its use in the language. Ludwig Wittgenstein u Danesi 2004.

Po istim aršinima, kategorišemo i fenomen značenja. Značenje, pisano velikim slovom Z, je apstraktna konceptualna suprastruktura. Splet potencijalnih ideja dostupnih čovjeku posredstvom jezika, koje se materijalizuju komunikacijom, odnosno, u diskursu. Značenje, koje pišemo malim slovom, je pojedinačni eho ili hipostruktura nadređene konceptualizacije. Prateći kognitivnolingvističku tradiciju, Značenje posmatramo kao konceptualizaciju, a diskurs kao arenu u kojoj se ona manifestuje.

Upotreba jezika, odnosno teksta u bilo kojoj inkaranaciji, uvijek pokreće tvorbene procese društvenih identiteta, društvenih odnosa, kao i sisteme znanja i vrijednosnih matrica (Fairclough, 1995). Ovdje povlačimo paralelu između Faircloughovih pristupa definiciji onoga što bi u kognitivnolingvističkom smislu bila konceptualizacija, odnosno obrazovanje pojmova<sup>59</sup> ili u halidejanskoj terminologiji, ideaciona metafunkcija.

Tako Fairclough tekst vidi kao modus reprezentacije, identifikacije, odnosno tvorbe identiteta, i društvene djelatnosti i relacija. Nadalje, poredi svoja tri aspekta multifunkcionalnosti teksta, odnosno vrste značenja (reprezentacija, identifikacija, društvene relacije i djelovanje)<sup>60</sup> sa Hallidayevim metafunkcijama (ideaciona, interpersonalna, tekstualna).<sup>61</sup> Hallidayevu ideacionu metafunkciju poistovjećuje sa svojim nivoom, ili vrstom multifunkcionalnog značenja, reprezentacijom, interpersonalnu metafunkciju stavlja u istu ravan sa svojom identifikacijom, a tekstualnu metafunkciju opisuje kao svoj nivo društvenih relacija i djelovanja. Definišući nivoe značenja, Fairclough (1995:5) postavlja sljedeća pitanja:

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<sup>59</sup> Eng. Conceptualization.

<sup>60</sup> Eng. Representation, identification ili identities, relations ili action.

<sup>61</sup> Eng. Ideational, interpersonal, textual.

1. Kako je svijet predstavljen? – Rerezentacija.
2. Koji identiteti se ovaploćuju? – Identifikacija.
3. Koji su (među)odnosi društvenih aktera? – Društvene relacije i djelovanje.

Bloor i Bloor (2004) prenose razrađenu definiciju ideacione metafunkcije koju je Halliday 1985. godine u svom kapitalnom djelu *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* formulisao na sljedeći način: jezik koristimo kako bismo organizovali, razumijeli i izrazili percepciju svijeta, realija, kao i sopstvenog stanja svijesti. Usvajali smo definicijsko tumačenje autora Bloor i Bloor (2004) zbog preciznije rekontekstualizacije Halidejeve tri metafunkcije i jasnijeg tumačenja ideacionog metafunkcijskog sistema.

Ovu metafunkciju dijelimo na dva podsistema: iskustveni i logički. Prvi je primarno baždaren kao mehanizam sadržajnosti i ideja, dok drugi uvodi sklad i povezanost prethodno uspostavljenih ideja.<sup>62</sup> Fairclough i Halliday su saglasni da metafunkcije ili razine značenja jezikom neprestano provejavaju i da se odvijaju istovremeno. Fairclough elaboriše reprezentaciju kao jezičku funkciju kojom se u jeziku stvaraju slike, uprizorenja, predodžbe ili reprezentacijski modeli po kojima ga prepoznajemo.

Oba autora daju svoja, gotovo podudarna viđenja preostale dvije metafunkcije. Interpersonalna po Hallidayu, a identifikacijska po Faircloughu omogućava da učestvujemo u komunikativnim činovima zauzimajući određenu ulogu u komunikacijskom događaju. Tekstualna, ili kako Fairclough naziva svoj postulat, društveno-relacijska, daje strukturalnu stabilnost tekstu u odnosu na izrečeno.

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<sup>62</sup> Ovo je prvobitna podjela koju je izložio Halliday (1985), no autori poput Thompson (2004) unijeli su određene preinake, pa je tako ideaciona metafunkcija redukovana na *ekperiencialnu*, odnosno iskustvenu, a logička komponenta se ne spominje.

Pozicija halidejanske škole u relaciji sa kritičkim pristupima dekonstrukcije diskursa je nedvojbeno jasna, no, djelimična dilema ostaje kada pokušamo odbraniti meritum uvezivanja kognitivne lingvistike i kritičke analize diskursa. Pionirski koraci na planu povezivanja kognitivne lingvistike i kritičke analize diskursa su već učinjeni. Hart i Lukeš (2007) su ovaj problem sažeto predložili konstatacijom da je kritička lingvistika na kognitivnu lingvistiku sasvim jasno upućena, no, da je, u isto vrijeme, taj put i neobično rješenje. Nadalje, Hart i Lukeš (2007:xi) prenose sljedeće viđenje:

„Dosadašnja primjena kognitivne lingvistike u spoju sa kritičkom analizom diskursa odnosi se prvenstveno na teoriju konceptualnih metafora.”<sup>63</sup>

Osnovni teorijski konstrukti kognitivne lingvistike ilustrovani su rečenicama, no to ne znači da se ne primjenjuju na nadrećenične strukture, odnosno veće diskursne sekvence. Teorija tekstualnih svijetova (Werth, 1999) ovom problemu prilazi iz rakursa većih leksičkih objedinjenja. Hart i Lukeš dalje prenose da ovakva korelacija ipak ima svoje mjesto budući da je jedan od osnovnih postulata kognitivne lingvistike pitanje konceptualnosti i shvatanja, odnosno tumačenja putem konceptualno strukturisanih domena, što je podudarno sa Hallidayevom ideacijom metafunkcijom u jeziku. Spoznaja i tumačenje stvarnosti, ili preciznije, naše verzije stvarnosti, je produkt strukturisanja mnogobrojnih operacija tumačenja i shvatanja, a jedna od njih je i sistem konceptualnih metafora, okvira i profilisanja iz kognitivnolingvističke perspektive. Teorija konceptualnih metafora je najzastupljenija alatka kognitivne lingvistike, koja je svoju primjenu našla u kritičkoj dekonstrukciji teksta.

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<sup>63</sup> Eng. “So far, the application of Cognitive Linguistics in critical discourse analysis has in the main been restricted to conceptual metaphor theory...().”



U analitičkom smislu, ovaj rad je primarno usredotočen na ideacionu, ili reprezentacijsku metafunkciju u nomenklaturi sistemsko-funkcionalne lingvistike i kritičke analize diskursa, i konceptualizaciju u kognitivnoj lingvistici, sa posebnim naglaskom na sistem konceptualnih scenarija.

Fairclough ovakav način posmatranja teksta, koji Halliday opisuje kao proizvod kojem pristupamo upravo na taj način, jer nam je putem medija predočen, te tek tada postajemo svjesni procesa, koji navedeni proizvod implicira, smatra ključnim za uspostavljanje korelacije između analize jezika i ključnih pitanja socio-kulturološke analize, naime, pitanja znanja, vjerovanja, ideologije, društvenih odnosa i moći, pitanja identiteta i pozicioniranja u odnosu na date društvene konstelacije. Jezik nas zanima iz ugla, kako Halliday (1985: xiii-xxxv) kaže, sistema izbora za generisanje značenja, preciznije značenje omogućeno izborom semiotičkog sistema međupovezanih izbora. Jezik, sasvim halidejanski, posmatramo kao sistem značenja praćen kalupom, koji omogućava materijalizaciju značenja. Gramatika, centralna jedinica za obradu jezika, je kalup, u kojem značenje poprima adekvatnu formu, tumačenjski raščlanjivu i analitički pristupačnu.

Bez obzira da li kognitivni potencijal stavljamo u službu vožnje ili govora, možemo primijetiti da i jedna i druga aktivnost impliciraju kretanje, gibanje, fluktuaciju, jednom riječju transfer od početne, nulte do zamišljene destinacije. Jezik se kroz vizuru konceptualno orijentisane kognitivne lingvistike može posmatrati kao generativna primjena, preciznije proces aplikacije, koji dovodi do produkcije jezičkog sadržaja.

Kognitivna lingvistika jezik posmatra kao konceptualnu kategoriju, koja nastaje upotrebom i kao rezultat interakcije pojedinca, odnosno korisnika i svijeta koji ga okružuje. Taj tvorbeni međuodnos dovodi do simultanog akumuliranja gradivnih elemenata, kako strukturno-gramatičkih, tako i leksičkih, koji u konačnici čine jezički sistem.

## 2.3 Politički diskurs i javna sfera u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama

Savremeni američki politički diskurs pripada porodici političkih diskursa. Chilton (2004) prenosi postulate grčko-romanske tradicije po kojoj su ljudi definisani kao bića koja imaju govorni potencijal i tendencije socijalnog udruživanja. Retoričke vještine primarno su korišćene u manipulativne svrhe sa ciljem uvjeravanja primalaca poruka u istinitost i ispravnost kodiranog sadržaja od strane govornika ili tvorca određenog pojmovnog konstrukta. Na ovaj način realizuje se *kodiranje* nacije i, po van Dijkeu, stvaranje specifične kognitivne, socio-kulturološke i ideološki diktirane zajednice (Muhić, 2011).

Savremeni američki politički diskurs je hiponim strukturalno i žanrovski specifične grupacije diskursnih formulacija pod objedinjenim nazivom politički diskurs. Analizom političkog diskursa bavi se analiza političkog diskursa (eng. Political Discourse Analysis) koja se metodološki i analitički oslanja na kritičku analizu diskursa. Imajući na umu raznorodnu prirodu političkog diskursa, nije iznenađujuće da je kritička analiza diskursa iznjedrila političku analizu diskursa kao usmjerenu platformu dekonstrukcije političkog diskursa. Van Dijk (1997) iznosi mišljenje da je političku analizu diskursa teško uokviriti u jednoobrazan definicijski kalup upravo zbog ontološki neuhvatljive suštine političkog diskursa kao pojmovno usmjerenijeg izdanka diskursa uopšte. U tom smislu, ostavljen je značajan manevarski prostor za strukturisanje definicijskih trasa za potrebe datih istraživačkih djelovanja.

No, iako entropijski gledano ne oskudjeva u fleksibilnim i mnogostrukim tumačenjima, politički diskurs i politička analiza diskursa ispoljavaju određene pravilnosti koje smo, u prvom redu preuzeli od Teuna van Dijka i autora okupljenih oko njegove škole misli. Budući da se politička analiza diskursa bavi analizom

političkog diskursa, prvi korak podrazumijeva postavljanje demarkacije između onog što jeste i onog što nije politički diskurs (van Dijk, 1997). Upravo ovdje van Dijk postavlja značajno pitanje u vezi sa razlikovanjem političkog pristupa diskursu i analizi diskursa iz ugla kritičke analize diskursa i djelovanja prema političkom diskursu iz motrišta političke analize diskursa.

Objašnjenje koje postulira, sasvim očekivano, ponovo ostavlja gotovo prazan definicijski hod, koji ne dovodi do krajnjeg opcertavanja granica između ove dvije discipline. Ovakvo rješenje ne iznenađuje jer je politička analiza diskursa, uslovno rečeno, kritička analiza diskursa u malom. Pojednostavljeno, politička analiza diskursa doslovno preuzima ciljeve kritičke analize diskursa, no, usmjerava djelovanje isključivo u sferi političkog diskursa. Kritičko-politička analiza diskursa, kako prenosi van Dijk, zadržava težište na pitanjima moći (zloupotrebe moći, ideologije i hegemonije), ali unutar granica produkcije i reprodukcije političkog diskursa. Nakon što smo postavili koordinate političke analize diskursa unutar domena kritičke analize diskursa, neophodno je utvrditi šta podrazumijevamo pod pojmom *politički diskurs*.

Johnson i Johnson (2000) prenose da su Thomas Jefferson i drugi utemeljivači Sjedinjenih Američkih Država smatrali da je politički diskurs srce demokratije. Jefferson je smatrao da rođenje nije determinanta uticaja pojedinca u društvenoj zajednici. Odbacuje natalno predodređenje i smatra da pojedinac uticaj stiče djelovanjem kroz diskursne prakse i na taj način potvrđuje mjesto u socio-hijerarhijskom sistemu. Ovdje je relevantno pitanje javne sfere koja predstavlja arenu u kojoj se suprotstavljaju oprečna shvatanja i stavovi, no konflikt u slobodnom i otvorenom društvu ostaje na razini diskursa i ne transponira se u materijalnu stvarnost.

Johnson i Johnson (2000) nadalje prenose Jeffersonov diktum: *Razlike u mišljenju vode do preispitivanja, a preispitivanje je put do istine.*<sup>64</sup> Ovakav stav saobražen je sa premisama kritičke analize diskursa, no, ipak ostaje činjenica da ni sam Jefferson nije ispoštovao princip ravnopravnosti, budući da su diskursni uticaj isključivo imali bijeli i bogati muškarci. Sličan modalitet prenesen je u savremeni kontekst, u kojem elite, ne nužno ustrojene po rasnim odrednicama, drže pozicije moći i samim tim nastoje da ih zadrže kako diskursnim, tako i vandiskursnim polugama.

Strategije konstruisanja značenja savremenog američkog političkog diskursa, kao i mnoge druge globalizovane diskursne i materijalno utemeljene tvorevine uslijed magnitude globalizacije i globalnih medijskih konglomerata, koji vrše diseminaciju informacija u skladu sa vlastitim svjetonazorima, ruše pojedinačne etnografske kalupe interpretacije i stvaraju globalni sistem razmišljanja. Politička arena Sjedinjenih Američkih Država odavno ne spada u globalizovane pojavnosti.

Priroda medijski posredovanog, ceremonijalizovanog i ritualizovanog transfera saobražava američku politiku sa svjetskom. Ne bi bilo tačno tvrditi da svi recipijenti širom planete podjednako dekodiraju savremeni američki politički diskurs, primarno zbog pomenutog jakog lokalnog konteksta. Tu se postavlja pitanje koliko je lokalni kontekst ostao i opstao etno-specifičan, a do koje mjere se modifikovao i prerastao u verziju globalizacije prilagođene nekoj zajednici zarad lakšeg procesa interpretacije. Antropološka i istorijska istraživanja će zasigurno sugerisati odgovor na ovo pitanje.

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<sup>64</sup> Eng. Differences of opinion lead to inquiry, and inquiry to truth.

*Causa mali*<sup>65</sup> kao diskursna pojava u 21. vijeku pristiže do recipijenata rapidnim digitalizovanim metodama. Na društvenim zajednicama i samom pojedincu kao članu specifičnog kulturološkog okruženja i globalizovanog svijeta ostaje da promišljaju o mehanizmima tumačenja i održavanja interpretativne ravnoteže.

Ovid<sup>66</sup> je opisao proces vjerovanja u izrečeno kao naivnu praksu, dok su drugi filozofi smatrali da bi u nešto trebalo da se povjeruje upravo zato što je apsurdno (lat. *credo quia absurdum est*). Diskursna mitologizacija konceptualnih metanarativa savremenog političkog arsenala Sjedinjenih Američkih Država je još jedna u nizu efikasnih strategija autentifikacije i legitimizacije artikulisanih ideološko-hegemonijskih matrica. Vjerovanje se postiže persuazijom, po komunikološkom principu Georga Gerbnera<sup>67</sup> i teoriji kultivacije.<sup>68</sup> Svojevrсно šifriranje naroda podrazumijeva uzagajanje percepcije stvarnosti kroz leće željenog ideološkog centra moći aksioloških vrijednosti.<sup>69</sup>

Proces usvajanja aksioloških obrazaca je dugotrajan i potrazumijeva konzistentnu reiteraciju datog diskursnog paketa.<sup>70</sup> Pozivanje na ključna historijska dokumenta, odnosno osnivačke tekstove asimilacijom sadržaja pomenutih semantičkih konstrukata i rekontekstualizacijom sadržaja koji je lako prepoznatljiv ciljanoj publici, u ovom slučaju radi se o makroskali ovaploćenoj u formi nacije, postiže se efekat legitimizacije emotivno-religijskog autoriteta i stvaranja efekta

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<sup>65</sup> Lat. Izvor zla.

<sup>66</sup> Publius Ovidius Naso, pjesnik iz drevnog Rima i autor *Metamorfoza*.

<sup>67</sup> Vidi <http://www.asc.upenn.edu/gerbner/archive.aspx?sectionID=18>.

<sup>68</sup> Vidi <http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/short/cultiv.html>.

<sup>69</sup> [http://www.colorado.edu/communication/metadiscourses/Papers/App\\_Papers/Gulisano.htm](http://www.colorado.edu/communication/metadiscourses/Papers/App_Papers/Gulisano.htm).

Its function is in a word, enculturation" Gerbner draws attention in his work to three entities—institutions, messages, and publics—which he seeks to analyze. Additionally, Gerbner was less concerned about the effect of cultivation on aggressive behavior, and "more concerned that it affects viewers' beliefs about the world around them and the feelings connected to those beliefs.

<sup>70</sup> Vidi poglavlje *Analiza strategija konstruisanja značenja savremenog američkog političkog diskursa*.

prijemčive konceptualne strukture kognitivne zajednice kao porodice kojoj pojedinac pripada i pronalazi mjesto u tako ustrojenom aksiološkom obrascu.

Pripadnost se posmatra kao privilegija data ili rođenjem, ili se pak po obrascu američkog sna stiče praćenjem utabanog hodograma. Članstvo u porodici je moguće čak iako niste natalnim prerogativom u istu inkorporisani. Naprotiv, članstvo se mora zaslužiti, a jedini put jeste put preko staze morala do zaslužene slobode i sreće.

Obećanje američkog sna je konstanta u diskursu politike američkih predsjednika, koji autoritet, slično poglavaru rimo-katoličke crkve, temelje na teologizovanim autoritetima sa kojima intertekstualno vode neprestani dijalog rekontekstualizacije i legitimizacije vlastite agende u jasnom i očekivanom pokušaju nametanja spostvene verzije istine o gradu spasenja, sudbinskoj misiji i američkoj posebnosti, koje su temelj moralnog puta ka slobodi samoopredjeljenja i individualizma unutar zadanih parametara, koji zauzvrat garantuju sreću i spokoj kao i sigurnost porodičnog doma.

Model strogog oca konzervativnih paradigmi u političkom diskursu, za razliku od modela brižnog roditelja predanog skrbi potomstva, nalaže individualizam sa ciljem jačanja zajednice, dok liberlani roditelj skrbnik podrazumijeva polu-patološku vezanost roditelja za dobrobit potomstva koje može biti srećno isključivo pod patronatom roditeljskog nadzora. Ova dva modela izvršne vlasti Sjedinjenih Američkih Država evidentna su u korpusnoj građi disertacije, no, analiza će pokazati, da li su, u lingvističkom smislu, strategije konstruisanja podudarne ili polarizovane.

Kritička analiza diskursa i njen izdanak politička analiza diskursa posmatraju i fenomenologiju neravnomjerne distribucije moći i mehanizme, koje oni koji su subordinirani u diskursno-hegominjskom smislu koriste kako bi se oslobodili stega i

preuzeli dominantnu poziciju u društvu. Upravo je pitanje uticaja kamen temeljac kritičkih pristupa jeziku.

Diskurs, ideologija i moć predstavljaju predmetni triumvirat kritičke analize diskursa, koja diskurs posmatra kao društvenu praksu, koja se manifestuje praktičnom primjenom u govornom i pisanom obliku. Johnson i Johnson preuzimaju definiciju diskursa iz Websterovog rječnika koji diskurs opisuje dvoslojno.

Prvi nivo podrazumijeva komuniciranje mišljenja o, uslovno rečeno, ozbiljnim pitanjima putem leksikogramatičkog sistema, dok drugi ide jedan nivo dublje i označava podlogu za sposobnost racionalnog promišljanja o svijetu koji nas okružuje. Imajući prethodno na umu, politički diskurs je “formalizovana razmjena logički razloženih stavova, koji podrazumijevaju nekoliko vidova rješenja sa ciljem da se riješi određeni društveni problem. Nastaje sa ciljem da uključi sve građane u process donošenja odluka, uvjeri one koji ne dijele mišljenje centara moći da se priklone dominantnom diskursu. To čine putem raznorodnih oblika uvjeravanja koji se oslanjaju na relevantne informacije i logičko uvezivanje diskursnog paketa. Politički diskurs postavlja i putanju djelovanja kako bi se identifikovani društveni problem riješio (Johnson i Johnson, 2000:3-4).

Weiss i Wodak (2007:13) reiteriraju tumačenje diskursa iz ugla kritičke analize diskursa, koji diskursu daje status društvene prakse u dijalektoškom odnosu sa društvenim situacijama, institucijama i društvenim strukturama koji isti taj diskurs oblikuju. Ovo suštinski znači da diskurs tvori društvene fenomene, no, istovremeno na njega pomenuti fenomeni imaju neposredan uticaj.

Van Dijk (1997) postavlja pitanje o prirodi političkog diskursa i daje nedvosmislen odgovor. Politički diskurs razlikujemo od ostalih diskursnih formulacija po akterima, odnosno autorima, a u slučaju političkog diskursa radi se o političarima.



Pojednostavljeno, politički diskurs je ona društveno-jezička praksa, koja nastaje u redakciji političkih centara. Da li se nužno radi o centrima moći u datom trenutku, ili pak centrima, koji pretenduju da dođu u poziciju moći ne odstupa od ove definicije. Ipak, smatramo da je neophodno prethodno shvatanje modifikovati za kontekst koji će najbolje predočiti shvatanje političkog diskursa u ovom istraživanju.

Iako samo saglasni da autorska determinanta značajno oblikuje dati oblik diskursa, nismo sasvim saglasni da su isključivo političari autori političkog diskursa. Naime, kako i sam van Dijk (1997) prenosi, politički diskurs podrazumijeva ne samo generatore diskursa, već i njegove recipijente, odnosno građanstvo.

Specifičnost političkog diskursa je u tome što je, po uzusima kritičke analize diskursa, politička sfera je dio javnog prostora i diskursnog djelovanja, te shodno tome, privilegiju stvaranja političkog diskursa nemaju samo političari, već i svi aktivni, pa i pasivni učesnici u procesu razmjene političkog diskursa u javnoj, preciznije medijskoj sferi.

Omasovljenost protoka informacija i raznorodni oblici trasiranja političkog diskursa čine da ovaj oblik diskursa bude relevantno pitanje od interesa za sve članove društvene zajednice. U tom kontekstu politički diskurs podrazumijeva politički proces, koji se sastoji od aktivnosti, odnosno praksi produkcije politički oblikovanog sadržaja, zatim političke aktere, kako političare, tako i primaoce političkog diskursa.

Naposljetku, takav diskurs mora imati funkciju, odnosno cilj diskursne prakse. Na razini diskursnih praksi, u ovom kontekstu, podrazumijevamo konceptualne strategije konstruisanja značenja u kontekstu savremenog političkog diskursa u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama. Ovdje moramo naglasiti da je politički diskurs konstrukt generisan sa ciljem da se određena ciljna grupa, a kako smo to u ovom radu

po uzoru na van Dijkov model društvene kognicije označili kao kognitivne zajednice, uvjere u ideološku ispravnost komunicirane poruke. Persuazija je naravno istovremeno cilj i strategija. Cilj jeste da recipijent dešifruje konstruisanu diskursnu formulaciju po željenim matricama, i samim tim da se ostvari persuazija, odnosno uvejravanje, ili kao što je u radu napomenuto, svojevrsno šifriranje naroda. Persuazija je ujedno i strategija, no, budući da se radi o apstraktnom pojmu, u radu smo pribjegli konkretizovanim oblicima konstruisanja značenja pomoću identifikovanih pojmovnih strategija.

Prihvatajući prethodna shvatanja političkog diskursa, pod oblicima uvjeravanja podrazumijevamo strategije, kojima se postiže željeni cilj. U radu smo težište stavili na izdvojene strategije pojmovnog stvaranja značenjskog sistema u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu.

Materijalizacija određenog diskursa presuponira prihvatanje hegemonijske matrice, koja je ovaploćenje društvenog konsenzusa (Gramsci, 1971). Postizanje konsenzusa implicira dostizanje nivoa univerzalno određenog stava ili rakursa mišljenja. Na nivou diskursa, to podrazumijeva recepciju i pozitivnu povratnu spregu vis-à-vis određene semantičke artikulacije (Fairclough, 2003).

Politika sama po sebi jeste borba, ne isključivo za vlast, već premoć bez obzira na to gdje je ona locirana, ali je također i sistem saradnje sa ciljem rješavanja spleta problematika, koje prijete opstanku i stabilnosti neke društvene zajednice. Politički diskurs je, shodno takvom gledištu, mehanizam reiteracije i perpetuacije ideoloških obrazaca i datih sistema vrijednosti. Taj kooperativni sistem utjelotvoren je u institucijama i konvencijama djelovanja u određenim situacijama. Politika, kao i diskurs, koji je njena jezička manifestacija, postoji na mikro i makroplanu (Chilton, 2004). Jezik i političko djelovanje su u neraskidivoj vezi upravo zbog urođenog i

univerzalnog komunikativnog potencijala, koji se genetski prenosi unutar ljudske vrste, a koji izranja u punom obliku kroz aplikativne prakse ljudi, a po Aristotelu „političkih i razgovijetnih životinja”.

Savremeni američki politički diskurs ima uporište u religiji. Ovu konstataciju potvrđuju Schultz, West i Maclean (1999:xiii), koji prenose sljedeću poslanicu Frances Wright upućenu javnosti:

„Religija je sistematizovna platforma grešaka, koja od samih početaka civilizacijskih tekovina u iste ukalupljuje kriminal i krvoproliće, a u ovom času vašu zemlju baca u sunovrat nesuglasica i onemogućava njen razvoj.”<sup>71</sup>

Na putešestvijama diljem Sjedinjenih Američkih Država Frances Wright propagirala je svoje tumačenje obrazovanja, nauke i Boga, te oštro osuđivala tradicionalni religijski mitos kao izvor tiranije, zadrnosti i neznanja. Smatrala je da je religija praznovjerni konstrukt i da prosvjećenje dolazi prihvatanjem postulata savremene nauke i empirijski dokazivog svijeta. Njeni oponenti su pak smatrali da tako upakovana eksplikativna *ponuda* vodi u *pakao na zemlji, a ne sekularni raj*, te su je okarakterisali kao *apostola ateističkog slobodarstva* (Schultz, West i Maclean, 1999).

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<sup>71</sup> Eng. “Religion is a system of error, which from the earliest date of human tradition, has filled the earth with crime, and deluged its bosom with blood, and which, at this hour, fills your country with discord, and impedes its progress in virtue.”

Predvodnik osude ideja koje je Wrightova zagovarala bio je velečasni Lyman Beecher. Smatrao je da ko god vjeruje da država može opstati bez religije kao kohezivnog epicentra živi u svijetu samonametnutih obmana. Nadalje, Beecherova argumentacija slijedi trag obaveze, koju nacija ima ukoliko želi slobodu, odnosno moralne obaveze koja proizilazi iz hrišćanskih učenja i institucionalizovanih kanona. Slobodu, po Beecheru, stvara vjera, preciznije religija i njen moralni sistem, a iz toga nastaje sreća kao rezultanta blagostanja slobode i moralne čistote. Hrišćanski model je, kako zagovara Lyman Beecher, najbolja sistematizacija vrijednosnih sistema po kojima je neophodno ustrojiti državni sistem. Sprega religije i državnog aparata omogućava procvat i razvoj društva uopšte. Lyman zaključuje da religija, u prvom redu hrišćanstvo, ne samo da nije sistem opresije, već je *u kolijevci njegovala naša prava na slobodu, branila našu mladost i odgojila nas do zrelosti.*

Schultz, West i Maclean opisuju Frances Wright i Lymana Beechera kao dvije strane iste medalje (1999:xiii). Radi se o dva shvatanja religije koja su u koliziji još od prosvjetiteljstva. Za jednu struju, religija je izvor svih zala svijeta, a za drugu ona predstavlja spasenje i dobro, koje dolazi kao nebeski dar. Kako Schultz, West i Maclean prenose, oba tumačenja imaju argumentacijsko uporište u istoriji. Religiju, kao ni druge diskursno-vrijednosne sisteme, nije zaobišla *upotreba* za opšte dobro i sistematizovana zloupotreba u vidu opravdanja za stravične zločine i pojmovne manipulacije.

Iz prethodnog naslućujemo obrise savremenog američkog političkog diskursa, ili, što je relevantnije, političke misli, koja taj diskurs oblikuje. No, prije nego se uhvatimo u koštac sa značenjsko-diskursnim konstruktima, moramo se osvrnuti na subtemat ovog poglavlja, naime pitanje religije u američkoj politici koje Schultz, West i Maclean karakterišu kao traganje za najefikasnijim modusom kanalanja i

formulisanja moralnih ideala sa ciljem da se isti preslikaju i interpoliraju u političku sferu, a da istovremeno kurs hibridiziranja religije i politike ne skrene na *tamnu stranu* zloupotebe.

U uvodnim razmatranjima svog sadržajno relevantnog članka, Chaput (2011:1) prenosi sljedeću opservaciju:

“Jednom prilikom, prijatelj je izložio, rekao bih, mudar osvrt o shvatanju suštine Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Da biste isto postigli trebalo bi da pročitate dva dokumenta. Ne radi se ni o Deklaraciji nezavisnosti, a niti o Ustavu. Naprotiv, nemaju nikakve očite veze sa politikom. Prvi je Poklonikovo putovanje Johna Bunyana, a drugi Nebeske staze Nathaniela Hawthornea.”<sup>72</sup>

Bunyanov simbolički narativ pod krinkom datog tematskog domena opertava jednu od najvećih alegorija u istoriji. Tematizuje vrijednosti puritanizma i poklonika toj dogmatskoj interpretaciji religijskih kanona, te njihov unutrašnji poriv koji ih je vodio ka Bogu i izvorištu *prave* vjere. Naposljetku je upravo ta matrica oblikovala vrijednosni fundus Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.

S druge strane, posluživši se Bunyanovim djelom, Hawthorne u svojoj kratkoj priči transformiše parabolu o čovjekovoj borbi da zasluži mjesto u vječnoj kući Božijoj, i uvodi motiv dvoličnosti eksploatišući topose lagodnosti života, lakih i brzih rješenja, ovozemaljskog uspjeha utjelotvorenog u materijalnom bogatstvu, i možda

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<sup>72</sup> Eng. “A friend once said – I think shrewdly – that if people want to understand the United States, they need to read two documents. Neither one is the Declaration of Independence. Neither one is the Constitution. In fact, neither one has anything obviously to do with politics. The first document is John Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. The second is Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *The Celestial Railroad*.”

najzanimljivije, hvata se u koštac sa problemom lažne vjere u ruhu religije (Chaput, 2011).

Hawthorne je proročki naslutio o čemu će Lakoff docnije pisati u svojim seminalnim djelima o prirodi značenja.<sup>73</sup> Pitanja kojima se Lakoff bavi ne sežu samo u vidokrug lingvističke analize. Zahvat njegovog istraživanja uključuje i temeljna pitanja geneze i razvoja kulturne hegemonije – kako je definiše Gramsci, 1971 – kroz društvene prakse i ključne aktere u ideološkom igrokazu.

Da bi smo shvatili esencijalnost pomenuta dva teksta u kontekstu eksegeze američke politike, moramo nakratko zaroniti u prošlost i istaknuti tri značajne konceptualne platforme (Schultz, West i Maclean, 1999):

1. Grad spasenja
2. Američka posebnost
3. Sudbinska misija<sup>74</sup>

Ova konceptualna trilateral nastala je u redakciji predvodnika i ideologa puritanskog pokreta koji su vjerovali da Sjedinjene Američke Države imaju poseban status u istoriji čovječanstva i da ih u tom smislu valja i sa dužnom pažnjom i poštovanjem tretirati. U odnosu na druge nacije, američka je nacija iskupitelja, izbavitelja, u tadašnjem, a sasvim očito i u savremenom diskursu, nacija spasitelj(a).<sup>75</sup> Američka posebnost ogleda se u antitezi vrijednosnom sistemu, koji je svojevremeno, a djelimično i danas, bio dominantan obrazac društvene organizacije u Evropi. Moglo

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<sup>73</sup> Vidi poglavlje *Teorijsko-metodološki okvir*.

<sup>74</sup> Eng. City upon a hill, American Exceptionalism, Manifest Destiny.

<sup>75</sup> Eng. The Redeemer Nation.

bi se zaključiti da je ovaj soj posebnosti nastao kao antipod kategorijama koje su ključne u evropskim državama.

Sve što je u Evropi vrijedilo kao ustaljena kategorija, u Americi je njihova suprotnost formulisala ideološku bazu (Schultz, West i Maclean, 1999:14).

U doba nastanka Sjedinjenih Država, preciznije, uspostavljanja kolonija koje će se kasnije objediniti u ovu državu, u Americi nije bilo aristokratskih zemljoposjednika, feudalne monarhije, teritorijanog carstva kao ni društva podijeljenog po klasnim parametrima (Burgett i Hendler, 2007).

Istoričari kojima je ova zanimljiva društvena pojavnost uže polje djelovanja poređenjem Amerike i Evrope koriste tehniku manjka X u vrijednosnom sistemu tadašnjih kolonija kao indikator američke posebnosti i superiornosti u odnosu na društvene prilike u evropskim državama.

Američka posebnost je na taj način u diskurnosm smislu postala kontrolni ideal, politička doktrina, koja opravdava postupke očuvanja američkog identiteta i čuvenu sintagmu *očuvanje američkih nacionalnih interesa* legitimizuje u svakodnevnom diskursu. Američka posebnost je u sazviježđu konceptualnih konstrukata psihološka mapa po kojoj Amerikanci reaguju na istorijske događaje i dešavanja na ličnom planu.

Ova ideaciona tvorevina nastala je u konjunktiji sa pojmom Grad spasenja o kojem je John Winthrop 1630. godine držao slovo opisujući misiju buduće kolonije u Massachusettskom zaljevu.

„Valja nam uvidjeti da ćemo upravo mi biti grad na bržuljku spasenja. Oči svijeta će okreću se prema nama. Ako se ogriješimo o Boga u raboti našoj, te nam On uskrati milost, kojom smo obasjani, svijetom će ta zla vijest odjeknuti.“<sup>76</sup>

U svom manifestu, Winthrop je opcrtao i shvatanje Sudbinske misije. Naime, uzusi ovog pojmovnog konstrukta pozivaju se na sudbinska kretanja po kojima je Amerikancima suđeno da odlaskom na zapad, tačnije ka Tihom okeanu, donesu blagostanje posjedima, koje će integrisati u teritorijalno kompaktnu zajednicu. Ovakav grandiozno uobličen diskurs, od tog trenutka je u čestoj upotrebi sa ciljem stvaranja željenih semantičkih konstrukata (Schultz, West i Maclean, 1999). Kako Winthrop kaže:

„Amerika je novi poredak vremena – novi Izrael, nova obećana zemlja, nositelj Sudbinske misije, posljednja nada ovog svijeta...grad na brežuljku spasenja.“<sup>77 78</sup>

Sasvim je jasno zašto je u američkom političkom diskursu ideja o Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama predstavljena kao model, koji bi trebalo da se primijeni u ostatku svijeta, jer blagodati *američkog eksperimenta* mogu imati globalnu primjenu.

Model Sudbinske misije, Grada spasenja i Američke posebnosti iz religioznog mitosa u javnu političku sferu prenose organizovani pseudo-sekularni mehanizmi koji u američkom kontekstu egzistiraju na binarnoj trasi aktivnijeg i pasivnijeg

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<sup>76</sup> Eng. “For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us. So that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause Him to withdraw His present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world.”

<sup>77</sup> Eng. “America is the New Israel, "a new order of the ages," the bearer of manifest destiny, the "last best hope of Earth," and still, in the language of comparatively recent politics, "a city on a hill."



djelovanja.<sup>79</sup> Naime, radi se o dvije političke partije koje de facto predstavljaju jedini ozbiljni organizovani sistem političkog djelovanja. U pitanju su Demokratska i Republikanska partija Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.

Zanimljiva i sasvim protivrječna praksa u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, koja se ogleda u nastojanju da se pitanja države i religije ne miješaju, preciznije, strogo odvoje je rezultat *podvojene ličnosti* američke javne sfere, koja je nastajala pod uticajima određenih istorijski relevantnih kretanja na koja smo u dosadašnjoj raspavi ukazali.

No, u areni politike i religije,<sup>80</sup> stvari ne stoje na istoj ravni. Čak se može reći da je religija u američkoj politici jedno od najznačajnijih izvorišta, koje se implicitno i počesto eksplicitno upotrebljavaju sa ciljem konstruisanja značenja u savremenom političkom diskursu Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. U tom smislu, religija, ili preciznije, sistem religije/a u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, u prvom redu hrišćanske provenijencije, se može posmatrati kao svojevrsni konceptualno-generativni mehanizam.

Postavlja se pitanje da li je Amerika sekularna ili religiozna država. Odgovor, uz veoma jake argumente, može ići u oba pravca. U tom svjetlu, koncept koji predlažemo ovaploćen je u sintagmi *pseudo-sekularna država*,<sup>81</sup> i smatramo da ima dobro uporište u već pomenutom međuodnosu ova tri pojmovno-vrijednosna sistema.

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<sup>79</sup> Budući da se bavimo značenjem u političkom diskursu, interesuju nas prvenstveno mehanizmi transfera koncepata u tom domenu što svakako ne znači da i drugi društveni akteri ne koriste konceptualne obrasce u religiji u diskursnim praksama.

<sup>80</sup> Imajući na umu da se formalno i suštinski razlikuju, smatramo da je termin *religija* primjereniji od termina *vjera* u kontekstu teme ove disertacije.

<sup>81</sup> Sintagma formulisana za potrebe disertacije kako bi se pobliže opisalo političko uređenje Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.

Budući da je politika, bar u značajnoj mjeri konceptualni konstrukt religioznog kanona, termin pseudo-sekularna država označava sekularnu državu, u formalnom smislu, vođenu religijski obojenim diskursnim i vrijednosno-referentnim nadokvirima. Na ovakvu formulaciju nas navode nalazi analize u ovom istraživačkom radu, a čime se pobliže bavimo u analitičkom poglavlju disertacije.

Po novijom naratološim shvatanjima, ono što je za stare Grke bila sudbina, za nas je društvo (Smiley, 2005). Naime, usud je oblikovao životni put čovjeka i parametralno uspostavljao trase izbora. Na taj način, poništena je slobodna volja, iako je nominalno i dalje postojala, a ljudske sudbine pripisivale su se višoj sili. U novije vrijeme, lokus kontrole, u teorijskom smislu, premješten je na društvene relacije koje, po veoma sličnom obrascu, diriguju procesom odlučivanja, i ponovo, ovaj put iz drugog teorijskog motrišta, dovode u pitanje pojam izbora i slobodne volje, odnosno slobode uopšte.

Držeći se postuliranog koncepta kognitivnih zajednica zapažamo dvije međurelacije. Prvi konstituent ove simbioze jeste pitanje slobode koja nije nužno bio-fizičke prirode, te se može posmatrati kao misaono-konceptualna kategorija. Upravo ova druga stavka je posebno problematična jer otvara novo psihološko polje nejasnoća, na kojem podjednako kličaju ideje o slobodi, ali i o potčinjenosti. Prenosimo filozofsko shvatanje ljudske psihologije, koja konceptualizuje dihotomijski odnos dvije krajnosti ljudske psihe (Mannion, 2008).

Jedna zagovara shvatanje o čovjeku kao epitomizaciji egoizma i sve motivacijske procese pripisuje ljudskoj obijesti i neutaživoj želji za samoaktualizacijom na multidimenzionalnim ravnima egzistencije, od materijalne do transcendentalne.

Druga pak zagovara dijadu po kojoj ljudi osim navedene sebične motivacije, imaju kapacitet da se izdignu i usmjere vlastito djelovanje za neko opšte dobro. Kant je smatrao da čovjek, osim nagona, ima i zdravorazumske ciljeve kojima teži. Političke platforme Republikanske i Demokratske stranke<sup>82</sup> kao i njihov modus operandi konceptualno prate, u manjoj i većoj mjeri, ovaj dvopristupni filozofski obrazac koji je Lakoff (2002) usidrio u metaforičnu percepciju o strogom i brižnom modelu roditelja. Sasvim patrinormativno, otac je strukturisan kao referentni centar.<sup>83</sup>

Deskriptivna priroda shvatanja ljudske motivacione matrice u direktnoj je korelaciji sa normativnim modelima pragmatički motivisanih argumenata iza kojih stoji sposobnost da mislimo, razumijemo svijet u koji smo materijalizovani, te da donosimo vlastite prosudbe. Takozvani psihološki egoizam neumoljivo navodi naš bihevioralni obrazac prateći smjernice, koje po navedenom shvatanju spadaju u inherentnu psihološku kategoriju ljudske rase, neutažive žedi sa poboljšanjem vlastite sreće i blagostanja. Ovakav dualizam ljudske prirode omogućava da svoje napore podjednakim silama usmjerimo na oba fronta, odnosno da lako argumentujemo izbore, koji vode ka interesnim sferama ili altruističim težnjama u maniru rada za opšte dobro. Nadalje, ukoliko prihvatimo ovaj eksplikat ustroja ljudskog kognitivnog sistema, onda smo na tragu dualnog modela na koji se ljudi uvijek pozivaju kada im je neophodan argument za objašnjenje svojih postupaka (Wolf, 2007).

Savremeni američki politički diskurs je patrilinarn – *patercentričan* koji se vrti oko ose u čijem središtu je otac, heteroseksualna i tradicionalno odgojena glava porodice - i, uz manja odstupanja, heteronormativan – tipični patrijarhat. Diskursna

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<sup>82</sup> Eng. The United States Republican Party ili Grand Old Party (GOP); The United States Democratic Party.

<sup>83</sup> Vidi *Teorijsko-metodološki okvir istraživanja*.

strategija *političke korektnosti* koja, po našim shvatanjima proizilazi iz puritanskih odlika uljudnog komuniciranja, ne kvalifikuje vrijednosni potencijal principijelno *krijeposnih* diskursnih domena u značajnoj mjeri. Politička korektnost nije nužno echo tolerancije i prihvatanje *drugog* (eng. *the other*) i antipodnog sopstvenim vrijednostima i perceptivnim obrascima, na koje smo u kognitivnim zajednicama habituirani. Shodno tome, nije neophodno naglasiti da je pitanje vrijednosti često temat politike društva i dominantnih ideoloških i kulturno-hegemonijskih postulata, a ne čin iskrene vjere. Upravo zbog toga pravimo distinkciju između vjere i religije. Vjera je lični sistem vrijednosti koji nije nužno podložan eksternalizaciji. Vjera je *tiha* vrijednosna matrica. Religija je formalizovana i eksternalizirana diskursna konstrukcija. Vjeru posmatramo kao privatno lice, a religiju kao javno.

Weltanschauung<sup>84</sup> je termin koji najbolje možemo shvatiti kao kognitivni kompas, koji nam pomaže da odredimo pravac u kojem će se kretati tvorba i zauzimanje relevantnih stavova. Koncept sveobuhvatne percepcije svijeta odnosi se na kognitivni, vrijednosni i značenjski okvir putem kojeg spoznajemo i tumačimo realije.

U lingvističkom smislu, shvatanje o jeziku kao kontekstualizovanom kognitivnom podsistemu uveo je Wilhelm von Humboldt. Kant i Hegel su Weltanschauung posmatrali iz primarno filozofke perspektive, a lingvistički pečat ovom konceptu dao je von Humboldt svojim varijetatom koncepta sveobuhvatnog shvatanja svijeta Weltansicht.<sup>85</sup> Bez obzira kome u autorskom smislu pripada određeni stratum pomenutog koncepta, shvatanje da postoji nadređeni apstrakni

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<sup>84</sup> Njem. Pogled na svijet, shvatanje svijeta, stavovi prema određenim fenomenima. Eng. (Comprehensive) World View.

<sup>85</sup> Eng. World Sight: The general attitude towards life and reality that an individual or character demonstrates (Oxford English Dictionary, 1989).

supozitorijum vrijednosnih prepostavki, koji diriguje formulisanje mišljenja i stavova prema prirodi datih ontoloških kategorija predstavlja moćan kognitivni sistem prilagodljiv u raznorodnim naučnim disciplinama.

Sjedinjene Američke Države još uvijek igraju dominantnu ulogu na svjetskoj ekonomskoj, vojnoj i političkoj sceni. Iako se globalni tokovi, po priznanju Centralne obavještajne agencije<sup>86</sup> preusmjeravaju na polivalentni kolosijek, u traci za brzu vožnju, smjer i dalje drži donedavno jedina supersila.<sup>87</sup>

No, 21. vijek je drastično promijenio konstelaciju međurelacija moći. Novonastali kontekst doveo je američki primat do prisilne metamorfoze, te ga je preustrojio u policentričnu osovinu dominacije. G8<sup>88</sup> sve više postaje označitelj najmoćnijih zemalja svijeta, a nominalnost tog skupa postaje suštinska. Vojna nadmoć Sjedinjenih Država još uvijek ostaje neupitna, što je svakako dodatni garant da ova zemlja, po mišljenjima politikologa i historičara najjači strukturisani masiv kontrole u istoriji civilizacije, i dalje predstavlja neizbježan faktor na šespirijanskoj svjetskoj pozornici.

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<sup>86</sup> Central Intelligence Agency.

<sup>87</sup> Centralna obavještajna agencija objavila je 2004. godine studiju 'Global Trends 2020' u saradnji sa Nacionalnim obavještajnim savjetom (eng. National Intelligence Council), koji u ažuriranim verzijama iznosi arugmente, koji potvrđuju globalana gibanja i repozicioniranje svjetskih sila i njihov izmijenjeni uticaj. Izvor: [www.cia.gov](http://www.cia.gov).

<sup>88</sup> Grupa 8 (eng. The Group of Eight) predstavlja forum predstavnika najrazvijenijih država svijeta, a čine ga Kanada, Francuska, Njemačka, Italija, Japan, Rusija, Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo Velike Britanije Sjeverne Irske i Sjedinjene Američke Države. Grupa 8 osnovana je 1975. godine. Izvor: [www.g8.co.uk](http://www.g8.co.uk).

Kako bi održali prividnu i suštinsku ulogu u ovom igrokazu, potrebno je osmisliti inventivne strategije adaptacije. Neke od njih iznosi agencija Ernst i Young,<sup>89</sup> koja se bavi analizom i evaluacijom navedenih strategija.

Stručnjaci navedene institucije navode četiri prioriteta za uspjeh u policentričnom svijetu: redefinisanje shvatanja globalnog i lokalnog, razvijanje policentričnih pristupa inovacionim procesima, preustroj odnosa vlasti i poreskih obveznika, diversifikacija radnog okruženja kako bi što više reflektovalo globalne trendove. Navedene strategije predstavljaju mehanizme očuvanja pozicije centra moći, koji po opsegu uticaja na sve svjetske tokove prestavlja neprevaziđenu magnitudu.

Da bi Sjedinjene Države i dalje bile epicentar uticaja, a ne epicentar urušavanja, pomenute taktike postaju neophodnost. Neophodnost u nužnosti, i nuždi manjka. Manjak, koji po rudimentarnoj i inherentnoj definiciji spoznaje vrijednosnog sistema Sjedinjenih Država, predstavlja fatalnu grešku i neprihvatljivu kategoriju.

Thomas Jefferson<sup>90</sup> proročki je formulisao čuvenu sintagmu: (...) *pravo na (...) život, slobodu, i traganje za srećom* (eng. (...) *Rights (...) Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness*). Shvatanje sreće i morala ključno je za oblikovanje političkog diskursa u Sjedinjenim Državama, ne samo u periodu koji smo obuhvatili reprezentativnim korpusnim uzorkom, već od samih početaka onog što će postati najuticajniji tekstualni konstrukt komuniciranja u javnoj sferi globalizovanog svijeta. Kada govorimo o moralu koji uzimamo kao osnovu sreće, oslanjamo se na istraživanje predočeno u knjizi *Moral Politics – How Liberals and Conservatives Think* autora Geoga Lakoffa, izdanje iz 2002. godine.

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<sup>89</sup> Uspjeh u policentričnom svijetu (eng. *Winning in a Polycentric World*). Vlastiti prevod – Vp. Izvor: [www.ey.com](http://www.ey.com).

<sup>90</sup> [http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration\\_transcript.html](http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html).

Poput svih civilizacijskih tvorevina, i Sjedinjene Američke Države imaju genezu koja determinativno određuje njen razvoj i konačni ishod. Jedinstvo naznačeno prvim predmodifikatorom ove prepoznatljive imenske sintagme, *sjedinjene* (eng. *united*), nastalo je antitezom navedenog koncepta. Preciznije govoreći, da bi se desilo sjedinjenje, prvo je morao da se desi razlaz i slom relacijskih trasa sa izvorištem. Kada je Amerika<sup>91</sup> u pitanju, kolijevka leži sa druge strane Atlanskog okeana u naručju nemarne majke sa sjevernog revera Evrope, Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva.<sup>92</sup>

Aksiološki profil sistema značenjskih metanarativa čije koordinate prate tekstualni i diskursni konstrukti u političkoj sferi Sjedinjenih Američkih Država u značajnoj mjeri i sasvim očekivano crpe nadahnuće sa religijskog izvorišta. Kako prenosi Charteris-Black (2004), navedenu situaciju ne bi trebalo posmatrati kroz leće začuđenosti, jer geneza kognitivne zajednice Sjedinjenih Američkih Država upućuje na hrišćanski evangelizam kao kohezivnu osovinu čija moć objedinjavanja ostaje bez premca. Nadalje, religija u Americi, u svojim raznorodnim obrascima, no sasvim jasno u dominantno hrišćanskoj inkarnaciji, predstavlja izvornu domenu u konceptualnom smislu, i mehanizam reprezentacije u funkcionalno-sistemsom, koja markira težnje ka sumblinarnom ciljnom domenu, u ovom kontekstu ne nužno u striktno tehničkom smislu te riječi, idealizovanog, gotovo biblijski licenciranog,

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<sup>91</sup> Amerika je geografski termin, no princip Okamovog rezača doveo je do polisemije navedenog termina koji često umjesto označitelja za kontinet postaje metonimijska odrednica za državu, Sjedinjene Američke Države. Ova prakasa nailazi na otpor i neodobravanje u drugim državama, posebno Srednje i Južne Amerike.

<sup>92</sup> Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo Velike Britanije i Sjeverne Irske (eng. United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland) je savremeni naziv ove sjevernoevropske države koji je nastao gubitkom teritorijalnih posjeda nekadašnjeg Britanskog carstva, te se od 1921. godine zbog preciznosti uobličio u sadašnju formu.

duhovnog modela života i rada koji potvrđuje, a u slučaju naše korpusne baze, prema riječima Charteris-Blacka, predanost predsjednika hrišćanskoj vjeri i religiji.

Strategije konstruisanja željenog značenja ekvivalentne su konstruisanju poželjnog značenja, što esencijalno znači da društveni akteri koji nastoje doći u poziciju moći *a priori* znaju koje strategije su pogodne u datoj kognitivnoj zajednici.

Da bi efikasno strukturisali diskursne konstrukte i kanalisali ih ka ciljanim recipijentima, neophodno je uspostaviti kompleksne mehanizme generisanja i prenosa ideoloških obrazaca. Sistemi na koje se u demokratski orijentisanim društvima oslanjaju društveni akteri su političke partije. Kada su Sjedinjene Američke Države u pitanju izdvajaju se dva takva sistema i to Republikanska i Demokratska partija Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.

Osim pomenutih političkih subjekata u Sjedinjenim Državama postoje i druge stranke poput Libertarijanske stranke koja broji 278.446 registrovanih članova,<sup>93</sup> Stranke Ustava (Konstitucionalistička) čije članstvo iznosi 367.000, dok Stranka zelenih u redovima ima 246.145.

24 miliona glasača ne podržava nijednu ponuđenu političku opciju. Demokratska stranka je politički subjekat koji po broju članova ima jasnu dominaciju, 43.140.758. Ova brojka ne garantuje, kao što je i faktografija pokazala, da Demokratska stranka redovno odnosi pobjedu.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> <http://www.tezaantiteza.net/2011/10/treca-partija-u-americi-libertarijanska.html>.

<sup>94</sup> Vidi službene stranice Bijele Kuće, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents>, za detalje o afilijaciji američkih predsjednika. 18 predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država dolazi iz redova Republikanske stranke, dok je njih 14 iz tabora Demokratske stranke. Ova brojka nije u potpunosti usaglašena jer postoji neslaganje kojoj stranci je pripadao Adrew Johnson. Za detalje vidi <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/>.



Druga stranka po broju registrovanih članova je Republikanska partija na čijem spisku se nalazi 30.700.138 imena.<sup>95</sup>

Uprkos naizgled pluralnoj političkoj areni, samo dvije partije u značajnoj mjeri obliku aksiološki profil Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Njihov *raison d'état* kruži oko ose vrijednosti ekstrahovanih iz homilija Deklaracije nezavisnosti Sjedinjenih Američkih Država:

„Istinitost ovih tvrdnji je neosporiva. Ljudi su jednaki pred Bogom i On im je podario stanovita neotuđiva prava, a ona podrazumijevaju pravo na život, slobodu i potragu za srećom.”<sup>96</sup>

Pomenuti dokument je kako osnivački manifesto američke kognitivne zajednice, tako i zaostavština patrinormativnih trasa, koje su ucrtali Utemeljivači, očevi nacije, koju po njihovom modelu diskursno njeguju i perpetuiraju institucionalizovani nasljednici, predstavnici tri nivoa vlasti sa posebnim naglaskom na instituciju Predsjednika, kojeg metaforički percipiramo kao epitom paterfamiliasa, i nasljednika šampiona američke slobode.

Vrijednosna osa za centar uzima fenomenologiju morala, koji omogućava slobodu i sreću. Pitanje slobode je osnovna sastavnica impulsa američke kognitivne

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<sup>95</sup>[http://2012election.procon.org/view.resource.php?resourceID=004483#historic\\_political\\_parties](http://2012election.procon.org/view.resource.php?resourceID=004483#historic_political_parties). Navedene stranice sadrže i pregled tzv. istorijskih političkih partija u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama.

<sup>96</sup>Eng. “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.” [http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration\\_transcript.html](http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html).

zajednice i preduslov za sreću. Moral pak predstavlja preduslov kako za slobodu, tako i za sreću dok je nedostaka slobode i sreće poguban za pitanje morala. Kao i sve privilegije, slobodu i sreću valja formulirati po moralnim uzusima i kanalisati u željenim dozama. Noumenon slobode i sreće pitanje je iz domena moralnosti. Na taj način nastaje aksiološka petlja iz koje nastaju diskursne prakse i konceptualne strategije u političkom diskursu prethodnih, a podjednakim intenzitetom novijih političkih komunikacijskih obrazaca.

Lakoff je posvetio čitavo potpoglavlje knjige *Moral Politics* – drugo izdanje iz 2002. godine, pokušavajući da dekonstruiše moralnu paniku koja je nastala nakon što je informacija o aferi tadašnjeg predsjednika Clintona sa Monicom Lewinsky ugledala svjetlost dana.<sup>97</sup> U prilog argumentaciji zašto je lov na vještice, u ovom slučaju, predsjednika Clintona poprimio takve proporcije, Lakoff pribjegava modelu strogog oca, koji smo ugradili u hodogram značenjske reprezentacije konceptualnih metanarativa u savremenom političkom diskursu Sjedinjenih Američkih Država predočenom u poglavlju *Analiza strategija konstruisanja značenja savremenog američkog političkog diskursa*. Prenosimo nekoliko Lakoffovih opservacija.

Budući da model strogog oca, kao i brižnog roditelja, američku kognitivnu zajednicu strukturiraju po metafori NACIJA JE PORODICA<sup>98</sup>, postoje moralni uzusi, koje oba modela prate u percipiranju primjerenog bihevioralnog sistema i aplikacije aksioloških sistema Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.

Model strogog oca, patrinormativnog, i naravno, nesumnjivo heteroseksualnog, nalaže da je pitanje odnosa sa ženom, koja nije supruga navedenog prestupnika, a pritom je u dobnoj skupini prestupnikove kćerke, koji je i sam prethodno ušao u bračnu zajednicu, odnosno sistem porodice u metasistemu porodice

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<sup>97</sup> Vidi poglavlje *Analiza strategija konstruisanja značenja savremenog američkog političkog diskursa*.

<sup>98</sup> Pojmovne metafore tipografski prikazujemo veličinom fonta *small caps*.

na razini nacije, zatim zloupotreba položaja i povjerenja, laganje javnosti, metapodnici nacije, i naposljetku pokušaj da zataška navedenu transgresiju predstavlja, kako Lakoff kaže, jasnu uvredu modelu strogog oca i samim tim, takva osoba ne zavrijeđuje simbolički položaj predvodnika američke metapodnice.

Lakoffovi primjeri podupiru pretpostavku da je konceptualni metanarativ diskursni konstrukt ustrojen putem određenih strategija generisanja i dekonstruisanja značenja, no, ne predstavlja nužno sistem nepogrešivosti budući da njim, iako se suprotno želi artikulirati pozivanjem na moralno neupitne izvore, operiše sasvim greškama sklono ljudsko biće.

Pomenuti konceptualni modeli metaforizacije u misaonom i jezičkom strukturisanju predstavljaju neodvojive procese. Jezik je društveni fenomen ljudi. Razvija se, mijenja kroz upotrebu sa ciljem postizanja određene društvene funkcije. Nadalje, razumijevanje je u direktnom korelatu sa jezikom, jer svijet konceptualizujemo pomoću jezika, pa je pitanje mišljenja, razumijevanja, znanja u cikličnoj međurelaciji sa jezikom kao gradivnim i građenim elementom. U tom smislu, konceptuani pristupi jezičkoj fenomenologiji oslanjaju se na apstraktne semantičke metanarative, nadokvire, u zavisnosti od autora, mijenja se i pojmovna nomenklatura, sa manjim modifikacijama u tumačenju pomenutih pojmova.

Politički metanarativi oko kojih teče rasprava u radu, predstavljaju jedan takav iskustveni susret, koji oblikuje doživljaj stvarnosti svijeta, a posebno neposredne kognitivne zajednice u kojoj živimo. Konceptualni metanarativi su u određenoj mjeri utopijski koncepti.

Orvelijanska paradigma, iako plemenita u osnovi i saobražena sa osnovnim postulatima Deklaracije o nezavisnosti Sjedinjenih Američkih Država demokratskog socijalizma, naime, primarno operiše po Faircloughovim shvatanjima borbe za

pozicioniranje u relacijama moći i očuvanje ideološko-aksiološki uticajnih položaja. Orwella nakratko uvodimo u teorijska razmatranja iz dva razloga.

Autor je u knjizi *1984* u javni diskurs uveo pojam *velikog brata*, koji je na svojevrsan način dio savremenog američkog diskursa u kontekstu minucioznosti praćenja pulsa javnog mnijenja, te u skladu s tim, strukturisanjkonceptualnih metanarativa koji odgovaraju populističkim potrebama režima putem oprobanih mehanizama poznatih i uvjerljivih konceptualnih metanarativa.

Drugi razlog koji nas je opredijelio da Orwellu damo mikro-prostor u radu u direktnoj je vezi sa Orwellovim čuvenim ogledom *Politics and the English Language* iz 1946. godine, u kojem autor formuliše sljedeću misao:

„Jezik politike – uz raznorodne sojeve primjenljive na široki spektar političkih partija, od konzervativaca do anarhista – osmišljen je kako bi laži prikazao istinitim, ubistvo prihvatljivim, te kako bi zavarao čitaoca da je sam vjetar uhvatljiv i čvrst.”<sup>99</sup>

Shvatanje političkog diskursa kroz vizuru mehanizma koji prenosi željeno i idealizovano hiperbolama i eufemizmima, a ne sasvim autentično i istinito, nije daleko od shvatanja političkog djelovanja centara moći, bez obzira da li se radi o političkim strankama na vlasti, ili onim koje pretenduju da vlast zauzmu. Ovakav postulat na fonu je kritičke analize diskursa, koja posmatra relacije moći, ideološki profil, te hegemonijske sklonosti tvoraca diskursa. Pomenuto shvatanje saobraženo je i sa predloženim analitičkim pristupom u disertaciji, koji, kombinujući

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<sup>99</sup> Eng. “Political language – and with variations this is true of all political parties, from Conservatives to Anarchists – is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind.”

instrumentarijume kritičke analize diskursa i kognitivne lingvistike, predstavlja svojevrsnu kritičko-kognitivnu analizu savremenog američkog političkog diskursa.

Citat iz 1984: „()...društvo u kojem su svi ljudi jednaki...društvo u kojem bi bogatsvo u kontekstu lične imovine trebalo da se ravnomjerno raspodijeli...raj na zemlji u kojem ljudi žive u zajednici bratstva, bez sprega zakona i okova teškog rada...društvo u kojem se radi kratko, a zaradi dovoljno za život i dom opremljen frižiderom i kupatilom, te društvo gdje bi bilo sasvim uobičajeno da raspolazete motornim vozilom, pa čak i avionom...()”<sup>100</sup> intertekstualno preuzima konceptualni metanarativ nacije kao porodice, no utopijska idila ima i svoj panoptijanski scenario i upravo tu nastupa ideja šifriranja kognitivne zajednice i generisanja željenog značenja prigodnim strategijama.<sup>101</sup>

Šifriranje ima i određenu svrsishodnost, a Orwell se jezičim mehanizmima sa posebnim naglaskom na upotrebu jezika u politici pozabavio u svom čuvenom eseju *Politics and the English Language* iz 1946. godine.<sup>102</sup>

U radu, naglasak stavljamo na centar moći metonimijski predstavljen kroz instituciju Predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država sa posebnim naglaskom na medijski posredovan institut na raspolaganju američkim predsjednicima – ceremonijalizovani teatar obraćanja javnosti u govorima o stanju nacije.

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<sup>100</sup> Eng. “()...a society in which all men shall be equal...a society in which wealth, in the sense of personal possessions and luxuries, should be evenly distributed.... an earthly paradise in which men should live together in a state of brotherhood, without laws and without brute labour...where everyone worked short hours, had enough to eat, lived in a house with a bathroom and a refrigerator, and possessed a motor-car or even an aeroplane.”Vidi <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks01/0100021.txt>.

<sup>101</sup> Vidi <http://www.questia.com/library/1G1-179241325/george-orwell-socialism-and-utopia>.

<sup>102</sup> Vidi <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/orwell46.htm>.

Ovaj čin vremenskog sažimanja putem medijskih platformi instantnog prenosa ključnih vrijednosnih matrica u fragmentiranom prostoru medijske ceremonije zavrijeđuje posebnu pažnju savremnog doba. Posebno je zanimljiv naziv pomenutih govora i način na koji dopiru u javnu sferu.

Ne ulazeći u ovoj fazi u istorijat govora o stanju nacije koji seže do prvog američkog predsjednika Geoga Washingtona, savremeni i dobro uvježbani igrokaz, koji se po ustaljenom repertoaru odigrava početkom godine, u savremenu javnu političku sferu kanališe se posredstvom medijskih konglomerata koji na propuščaju priliku da od navedene prigode upriliče ekstravagantni zabavni program po paliativnom modelu *panem et circensens*, odnosno hljeba i igara, je mehanizam stvaranja pozitivnog mnijenja i pojednostavljenje motivacije stanovništva. Godišnja obraćanja Predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država su svojevrsno uprizorenje procesa pretakanja statičnog teksta u dinamični diskurs ideologije i vrijednosnih matrica dominantnih u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama.

Polazeći od Lakoffovog (2002) postulata da je metaforički sistem metanarativ konceptualnih referentnih okvira na osnovu kojih strukturiramo kognitivnu matricu zajednice oblikovane zajedničkom kulturom, istorijom i jezikom sa kojim se susrećemo u svakodnevnom procesu kodiranja i dekodiranja komunikacijskih paketa, a imajući na umu shvatanje političkog diskursa čiju podlogu u američkom kontekstu predstavlja idejni konstrukt morala zasnovanog na religijskim uzusima, nameću se dva tumačenja morala kao izvora slobode i sreće. Lakoff, baveći se pitanjem morala u politici, navodi dva modela:

1. Model strogog oca

2. Model brižnog roditelja<sup>103</sup>

Lakoff ova dva modela tumači kao konceptualne podloge političkog djelovanja Demokratske stranke, kojoj pripisuje liberalnu kategorizaciju i Republikanske stranke, čiji vrijednosni sistem klasifikuje kroz leće konzervativnosti. Ova demarkacija bi trebalo da se shvati u relativnom smislu, a ne kao konačna linija razgraničenja liberalnih i konzervativnih vrijednosti, odnosno liberalne vrijednosti ekskluzivno ne zastupa Demokratska stranaka, a ni Republikanska nije isključivo proponent konzervativnih vrijednosti. Radi se o uobičajnostima i opštim trendovima koje se često shvataju aksiomatski. U istraživanju se ne bavimo stepenom zastupljenosti liberalnih i konzervativnih vrijednosti u diskursu navedene dvije političke organizacije.<sup>104</sup>

Pomenute partije predstavljaju eksponente sistema ili po halidejanskoj paradigmi, tekstualnu materijalizaciju konceptualnog sistema. U svijetu teorija komunikacije i mediasfere, govorimo o ideološki i interesno ustrojenim trasama, putem kojih dijalogističkim metodama obrade diskursa uspostavljamo određenu hegemonijsku i kontrolnu ideacionu mrežu. Religija i politika su slivene u zajednički cilj: težnja da se uspostavi određeni sistem vrijednosti.

Skloni smo se prikloniti shvatanju da je religija apstraktnija i tim sveobuhvatniji konceptualni arsenal, a da je politika, kao što smo dali naslutiti, neka vrsta konkretizacije apstraktnih kategorija naznačenih u religioznim učenjima. To svakako ne znači da su religija i politika u uzročno-posljedičnoj vezi, jer politika

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<sup>103</sup> Lakoff, 2002. Eng. Strict Father Morality; Nurturant Father Morality.

<sup>104</sup> Vidi poglavlje *Analiza strategija konstruisanja značenja savremenog ameirčkog političkog diskursa*.

stvara sopstvene vrijednosno-konceptualne matrice bez reference na religiju i nije nužno izdanak iste, no, veoma često jeste. Savremeni američki politički diskurs, iako povremeno istinski sekularan, obilježen je u velikoj mjeri skripturalnim uticajima, odnosno vrijednostima, koje na datim sinhronim koordinatama imaju prikladnu svrsishodnost i kontrolnu moć.

Često je upravo politika ta koja revidira shvatanje religijskih principa i vrši retoričko-sadržajnu metamorfozu značenja kako bi se postigao željeni cilj. Ono što možemo zaključiti jeste da se radi o mehanizmima kontrole, uticaja i moći, koji se često simultano stapaju u diskursne prakse bez obzira koji prethodi, a koji egzistira kao njegova rezultanta.

Sistem vrijednosti je kohezivna sveza ove dvije društvene prakse. Savremeni američki politički diskurs prožimaju sljedeći vrijednosni obrasci, koji su dijelom religijske prirode, dijelom političke, a u nekim se radi o hibridnim konstruktima (*CIVITAS: A Framework for Civic Education*, a collaborative project of the Center for Civic Education and the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship, National Council for the Social Studies Bulletin No. 86, 1991):

1. (Pravo na) Život
2. Sloboda
3. Sreća
4. Opšte dobro
5. Pravda
6. Ravnopravnost
7. Različitost
8. Istina



9. Vladavina naroda
10. Patriotizam
11. Vladavina zakona
12. Diferencirani nivo vlasti
13. Vlada u službi naroda
14. Kontrola svih nivoa vlasti
15. Sloboda pojedinca
16. Pravo na vjeru
17. Federalni ustroj države
18. Civilna kontrola nad vojskom

Prethodni repozitorijum Centra za obrazovanje u oblasti građanskih prava potvrđuje prisustvo tri konceptualna okvira koja smo naveli u uvodnim razmatranjima, *moral, sloboda i sreća*, koji se nalaze u jezgri konceptualizacije političkog diskursa. Iako segmentirane, pobrojane vrijednosti američkog društva manifestuju ova tri koncepta genezom i strukturom, i, u tom smislu, ostale kategorije predstavljaju svojevrsnu elaboraciju ključnih vrijednosnih okvira.<sup>105</sup> Religizacija političke sfere ne samo da je relevantna u kontekstu diskursne fenomenologije, ona također predstavlja zanimljivo društveno gibanje koje uočavamo u buđenju interesa za navedenu sferu iz perspektive *religioznih Amerikanaca*.

Religijski intertekstualizovana retorika je alatka, kojom se služe kako republikanci, tako i demokrate. Simpatizeri Demokratske partije u svoje redove *puštaju* i nereligiozne diskursno sociološke kategorije, dok je Republikanska partija bastion *pravih vrijednosti*. U političkom smislu, konzervativni Amerikanci glasaju za

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<sup>105</sup> Za detalje o nacionalnim interesima koji reflektuju vrijednosni sistem Sjedinjenih Američkih Država vidi <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/amernatinter.pdf>.

Republikansku partiju, a liberalni društveni stratumi pokreću lokomotivu Demokratske stranke. Ova konstatacija spada u kategoriju generalizacija usidrenih u tendencije društvenog djelovanja. Nije neuobičajno da jednačina izgleda sasvim drugačije, odnosno korelacija Republikanska partija i konzervativizam, te Demokratska partija i liberalizam nisu automatizovani spojevi. Konzervativne vrijednosti prate heteronotmativnu paradigmu koja ponekad nasilno odbacuje i osuđuje sve što tipološki ne pripada *biblijskim* normativima organizacije života. U tom smislu jasno je da borci za ljudska prava, ili oni koji misle da spadaju u tu grupaciju, često za saveznika u toj borbi biraju Demokratsku partiju, koja konceptualno liberalnije tumači religijske funduse svojih programskih shema.

Zanimljiv izuzetak je organizacija Log Cabin Republicans, koja djeluje unutar Republikanske partije. Vidokrug njihove misije obuhvata promovisanje ideje o konzervativnim homoseksualcima.<sup>106</sup>

Naime, stereotipna percepcija ljudi, koji strukturisu svoj modalitet života unutar istospolnog opsega privlačnosti, presuponira liberlaniji modus vivendi i poravnavanje sa konceptualno-vrijednosnim sistemom Demokratske partije, koja je, politički manipulativno ili ponukana istinskom empatijom, inicirala političke mehanizme koji su LGBT<sup>107</sup> zajednici u Sjedinjenim Državama omogućili relativnu ravnopravnost i slobodu. Republikanska partija ne prati isti princip i diskurs većine političara u ovom taboru gravitira ka religiozno usidrenim platitudama: Brak je zajednica muškarca i žene. Log Cabin Republicans pak smatraju da je, i pored flagrantnog odbijanja da prihvati mogućnost da dva muškarca ili dvije žene oforme legalnu i legitimnu zajednicu sa svim pripadajućim pravima, Republikanska partija uporište njihove političke borbe.

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<sup>106</sup> Upotrijebili smo ovu leksemu, iako pomenuta skupina obuhvata cijelu LGBT zajednicu.

<sup>107</sup> Eng. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender.

Za republikance<sup>108</sup> ispravnost i shvatanje morala i moralnosti zasnivaju se na konzervativnim hrišćanskim<sup>109</sup> interpretacijama religijskih tekstova, u kojima nema mjesta za društvene anomalije poput istospolne ljubavi.

Sistem vrijednosti ovaploćen u religiji i konsekventno u politici ne možemo upisati u bukvar apsolutnih istina i savršenih ideja. Radi se o idealizovanim konceptima, koji iz perspektive datog kognitivnog miljea predstavljaju izričaj njima bliskih shvatanja formulisanih sa željom da ih se arhivira na sigurno mjesto i diseminira onima koji još uvijek nisu prigrlili njihov pravi put.

Filozofska ograda uspostavljena je referisanjem na Boga, svemoćno i vrhovno biće, stvoritelja svijeta i tvorca samog života, te se na taj način postiže efekat objektivnosti. Naime, ukoliko prihvatamo da objektivnost uopšte postoji, jasno je da mora iznirati iz nekog eksternog izvora i time lišiti sadržaj opasnosti da mu se pripiše subjektivni pečat. Ova misaona binarna opozicija problematična je zbog same nedokazivosti postojanja objektivnosti, odnosno, ne nužno nedokazivosti postojanja objektivnog eksternog izvora, ali zasigurno mogućnosti da proces transfera, arhiviranja i tumačenja objektivne poruke nije kontaminiran subjektivnim uplivima. U postuliranim modelima komunikacije, izvor poruke je samo početak komunikacionog lanca, no, ne i determinanta finalne forme informacionog paketa koji nastaje na posljednjoj karici pomenute komunikacijske konkatencije.

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<sup>108</sup> Uvijek mislimo na izvjestan broj ili većinu, nikad na sve pripadnike skupine o kojoj govorimo, osim ako to nije jasno naznačeno.

<sup>109</sup> Američki politički diskurs strukturisao je vrijednosni sistem hrišćanskih zajednica, no, savremenu politiku pa i konzervativan, ili pak liberalan stav prema izvjesnim društvenim pitanjima oblikuju i druge religije i religijske skupine u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama.

Obrasce religijski obojenog političkog diskursa u kontekstu organizacije društvenih vrijednosti možemo taksativno prikazati na sljedeći način (Reichley, 1985):

Religija: Individualizam  
*Lično*  
Monizam  
Teistički humanizam  
Idealizam  
Kolektivizam

Sekularizam: Egoizam  
*Slobodnjaštvo*  
Građanski humanizam  
*Komunizam*  
Autoritarnost

Tipologija vrijednosnog sistema reflektuje temeljne već pomenute vrijednosne obrasce morala, sreće i slobode. Konstrukti poput religije i sekularnih društvenih struktura funkcionišu analogno diskursnim fenomenima. U jednu ruku tvore ključne obrasce, a u drugu, upravo ti obrasci određuju njihove formativne pravce. Religiju možemo posmatrati i kao moćan intertekstualni masiv potencijalno prilagodljivih hegemonijsko-ideoloških taksnomija. Tako shvaćena, religija je sistematizovani repozitorijum autorizovanih regulatornih vrijednosti primijenjivih na lokalnoj i globalnoj skali.

U značenjskom smislu, za nas su relevantni konceptualni okviri koji predstavljaju zajednički označitelj i imaju snažan potencijal univerzalnosti i konsenzualne opšte prihvatljivosti. Dijada ličnosti, ego-baždarena s jedne, usmjerena na djelovanje za opšte dobro s druge strane, crpi motivaciju iz vrijednosti koje smo stavili u prvi plan. Mišljenja smo da, bez obzira da li individua spada u religioznu skupinu, ili eksplikate fenomenoloških dubioza pronalazi u nauci, vrijednosni sistem u značajnoj mjeri podstiče bazičnu aktivnost ljudskog uma, kategorizaciju.

Kategorizacija se kao inherentni kognitivni proces odvija nezavisno, bez obzira da li je vrijednosni sistem ustrojen, no isti pruža plodno tle za brže formiranje kategorizacijskih relacija. Sposobnost da klasifikuju i tipologizacijom interpretiraju pojave je jedna od osnovnih postavki jedinstvenog arsenala kognitivnih sposobnosti na raspolaganju ljudskom rodu. Međutim, diskursni obrasci u javnoj političkoj sferi Sjedinjenih Američkih Država u čvrstoj su poveznici sa temeljnim vrijednostima u rudimentarnim religijskim sistemima koji su zauzeli dominantnu poziciju u hijerarhijskim religijama religijskih svjetonazora.

Prvenstveno se radi o različitim inkarnacijama hrišćanstva, koje je zbog prirode kolonijalnih kretanja na sjevernoameričkom kontinentu udarilo temelje novog društva.<sup>110</sup>

Kategorije koje u znatnoj mjeri oblikuju značenje u političkom diskursu nalaze se u svojevrsnim uzročno-posljedičnim relacijama. Duh puritanskog hrišćanstva kojeg su na *hodočašću* donijeli kolonisti iz moralno i vjerski dekadentne Engleske, teološki formulisana filozofija Utemeljivača nacije, Deklaracija nezavisnosti i Ustav Sjedinjenih Država kao eho pomenute filozofije, pa sve do političkih platformi dvije vodeće partije i ključnih govora Predsjednika kroz istoriju i

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<sup>110</sup> Hrišćanstvo je ubjedljivo najdominantnija religijska matrica i na ostatku američkog kontinenta. Pri tom mislimo na segmentaciju Amerike na Sjevernu, Srednju i Južnu.

na početku vijeka u kojem živimo nose u sebi konceptualne vrijednosti, koje u svjetlu svremenih shvatanja o jezičkim praksama možemo sagledati i analitički identifikovati.

Religija zauzima značajno mjesto u tvorbi konceptualno-vrijednosnih sistema u javnoj sferi. Latentne enciklopedijske matrice po kojima realizujemo interpretativne postupke ne dozvoljavaju trenutni uvid u složenost konceptualnih sistema koji nas oblikuju.

Obilje kognitivnih sposobnosti kojima smo darovani ujedno stvara informacionu entropiju. Mehanizam koji nam omogućava sistematizaciju i uvođenja reda u kaos jeste pomenuta sposobnost kategorizacije i klasifikacije. Religija, osim što je istorijski gledano jedna od najstarijih retoričko-ritualnih tradicija mislećeg čovjeka, predstavlja i konceptualnu taksonomiju koja uređuje, propisuje i kontroliše principe tumačenja i pristupne prakse datih zajednica.

U Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama religija seže do prapočetaka američke državnosti kada su pred najezdom progona prvi naseljenici napustili Evropu i zaputili se u Ameriku kako bi se lišeni okova kvarnosti i grijeha istinski predali pravoj vjeri. Potraga za slobodom je, po riječima Abrahama Lincolna, neodvojiv segment suštine američkog bića. U obraćanju u Gettysburgu, Lincoln ponavlja ideal, za kojim su se mnogi zaputili: *nacija sazdana u slobodi i vjeri da su svi ljudi jednaki*.<sup>111</sup>

Prema podacima studije nastale na osnovu Popisa religijskih zajednica u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama sprovedenom 2010. godine, a čiji su nalazi objavljeni tek 2012. godine, na američkom religijskom nebu ordinira blizu 350, 000 religijskih zajednica, dominantno hrišćanske provenijencije.<sup>112</sup> Od pomenute brojke

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<sup>111</sup> The Gettysburg Address, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, November 19, 1863, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents/abrahamlincoln>. Vidi *Dodatke*.

<sup>112</sup> [www.rcms2010.org/](http://www.rcms2010.org/); [www.rcms2010.org/press\\_release/ACP%2020120501.pdf](http://www.rcms2010.org/press_release/ACP%2020120501.pdf).

314,000 su protestantske zajednice i druge hrišćanske crkve, dok predstavnike katoličke i pravoslavne denominacije kvantifikuje brojka od 24,000. Procjenjuje se da svega 12, 000 zajednica spada u nehrišćanske grupacije.

Vidljiva je kvantitativna nadmoć hrišćanstva u konstelaciji religijskih sistema u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama. Podaci Godišnjaka američkih i kanadskih crkava govore da navedenu konstelaciju sačinjava aproksimativno 217 denominacija.<sup>113</sup>

Od samih početaka kolonizacije, u Sjevernu Ameriku se slijevaju multitudine ljudi u potrazi za zemljom slobode. Svakako da je ovo sentimentalizovani portret navedenih istorijskih kretanja, no, svaki narativ nosi jotu istine i mnoštvo hiperbolizacija i refrakcija istinitosti.

Sjedinjenje Američke Države nastale su kao impuls vjere i želje za slobodom, srećom i moralnim ćudoređem i predstavljaju eho iskonskih vrijednosti u okrilju hrišćanskih principa vjere i religije. Sekularni principi također su podložni ideološkim uticajima, a politički diskurs po definiciji to jeste. Religija u američkoj javnoj sferi je inherentna regulatorna konceptualna determinanta, koja ako ne eksplicitno, onda nedvojbeno latentno diriguje produkciju obrazaca tvorbe i tumačenja značenja (Schultz, West i Maclean, 1999).

Da bi određene vrijednosti zaživjele kao autentičan izvor postojanih principa, istim valja pripisati superiorno izvorište i kongenitalno čiste sastavnice. Čovjekova sposobnost da kategoriše podrazumijeva postojanje referentnih okvira u čijem vidokrugu nastaje vrijednosna prosudba i zauzimanje stavova. Referentni okvir je

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<sup>113</sup> Podaci su preuziti sa portala [www.yearbookofchurches.org](http://www.yearbookofchurches.org). kao i [http://hrr.hartsem.edu/research/fastfacts/fast\\_facts.html](http://hrr.hartsem.edu/research/fastfacts/fast_facts.html), te <http://religions.pewforum.org/affiliations>. Predstvljaju jedan od popisivačko-statističkih objedinjenja koje ukazuju na tendencije, te ih tako valja i posmatrati.

apstraktna misaona platforma čija autentičnost nije upitna zbog kohezivne sveobuhvatnosti i definicijski neodređene prihvatljivosti. Okvir koji je u ovoj disertaciji u centru pažnje sadržan je u konceptualnom triumviratu morala, sreće i slobode. Smatramo da je biblijski lincenciran, istorijski fosilizovan, diskursno reiteriran, te iznova uvršten u repertoar kognitivne zajednice.

*Gdje prestaje znanje, počinje religija.*<sup>114</sup> Disraeli je ovom opaskom nagovijestio, ne nužno sekularni pristup državi, no zasigurno shvatanje manipulativnog potencijala, kojim su diskursni konstrukti zasnovani na ovim temeljima nedvojbeno obojeni. Međutim, iako sadrži elemente istinitosti, bar kada su izvjesne zloupotrebe religijskog diskursa u pitanju,<sup>115</sup> sa Disraelijem smo u disonanci u kontekstu shvatanja korelacije religije i znanja. Objektivno sagledavanje materijalnog svijeta je pitanje subjektivnog odnosa prema objektivnosti, što rezultira poništavanjem principa objektivnosti kao depersonalizovanog mehanizma tumačenja.

Ukoliko postavimo opus Richarda Dawkinsa (1976) u jukstapoziciju sa Disraelijevim diktumom, dobili bismo ferventno sekularni portret kako bi svijet trebalo da izgleda. No, budući da su ovi glasovi, bar kada je američka javna sfera u pitanju, u manjini, iako ne i beznačajni, rečenicu sa početka možemo preinačiti u: *gdje počinje diskurs, onaj politički, tu je neminovno i religija, u jednom od svojih mnogobrojnih izdanja.*

Društveni konstrukti kontrole i centri moći, te oni koji žele doći u poziciju uticaja, ordo naturalis teže ka institucionalizovanim strukturama, koje im u takvom aranžmanu daju legitimitet i legalnost, ili privid navedenih. Opravdanost postojanja

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<sup>114</sup> Eng. Where knowledge ends, religion begins. Benjamin Disraeli, 1804 – 1881.

<sup>115</sup> Ne tvrdimo, niti smatramo da su svi sistemi religije manipulativne matrice diskursne proizvodnje, i naglašavamo da vjeru i religiju posmatramo u konceptualno povezanom, ali ne nužno integrisanom misaonom sistemu.



redovno crpe iz izvora na većem rangu. Kada je u pitanju institucija Predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, analiza korpusa ukazuje na konjunkciju uticaja objedinjenih oko religijskih motiva pretočenih u sekularnu sferu u formi zakonodvanih paketa ustrojenih po uzusima koje su udarili Utemeljivači.

Naime, sama sintagma, *The Founding Fathers*, ukazuje na konzervativnu patrinormativnost, koja nedvosmisleno oblikuje konceptualne metanarative savremenog američkog političkog diskursa. U prilog tvrdnji da je savremeni politički diskurs u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama diskursno ritualizovan i ceremonijalizovan, stoji i neumoljivo pozivanje na gotovu božansku čistotu i autentičnost Utemeljivača.

Ovakav stav prema sad već deifikovanoj skupini ljudi koji su, ako pratimo politički diskurs na svim razinama vlasti Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, od zakonodavne, sudske pa sve do izvršne čiji smo ceremonijalizovani diskursni ritual uzeli kao korpusnu bazu, ukazuje na svojevrsnu reifikaciju apstraktnih fenomena. Naime, ovdje ne tvrdimo da Utemeljivači spadaju u pomenutu kategoriju, no, reinterpretacijom, kako često glasi formulacija, onoga što su Utemeljivači imali na umu ili šta su Utemeljivači odredili, upisuju se po potrebi nova značenja i tumačenja originalnog teksta, odnosno namjera prvobitnih Utemeljivača. U orvelijansko-distopijskom smislu, nameće se pretpostavka da su na snazi prilagođeni vrijednosni sistemi koji su u konstantnom fatičkom intertekstualnom dijalogu sa originalnim tekstovima koje po modalitetu diskursne hirurgije prekrajaju u željeni komunikativno-ideološki paket.

Ukoliko su Utemeljivači očevi nacije, onda je po navedenom hodogramu njihovu novu ulogu ovozemaljskih božanstava preuzela nova skupina utemeljivača, tvorca novog tumačenja vrijednosnog sistema kognitivne zajednice Sjedinjenih

Američkih Država. Novi Utemeljivači, ne nužno na drakonski beščutan način kao u kinematografskom društvenom komentaru iz 2013. godine režisera Jamesa DeMonaca, *Pročišćenje*, po tumačenju Normana Fairclougha i Teuna van Dijka koriste podlogu istorijski legitimizirajućih mehanizama sa ciljem institucionalizovanja novih interpoliranih aksioloških dodataka.

Novi Utemeljivači nisu izolovana skupina ljudi na vlasti, kako je svijet, tačnije Ameriku u distopijskoj 2022. godini oslikao DeMonaco. Radi se o dva pola političke borbe za ideološku nadmoć. U tom kontekstu ne mislimo na Demokratsku i Republikanski stranku Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, već na apstrahovanu dijadu pozicioniranih i predpozicioniranih. Svi članovi predpozicionirane skupine rade na preuzimanju relevantnih pozicija. U savremenim 'demokratskim' društvima, političke stranke su uobičajan ustrojni mehanizam kojim se artikulišu ideološki formulisane ideje ka javnosti koja, ukoliko se diskursna strategija pokaže efektivnom, trebalo bi da dovede do eventualnog sticanja pozicije moći. Predizborni i postizborni periodi su neodvojive sastavnice procesa političko-diskursne ceremonijalizacije.

Za Sjedinjene Američke Države karakteristična je još jedna binarna opozicija. Ogleda se u dominaciji dva već pomenuta politička subjekta, Republikanske i Demokratske stranke Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Od 1789. godine, kada je George Washington<sup>116</sup> inauguralno pružio kormilo izvršne vlasti uspostavivši Administraciju Predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, navedene dvije političke organizacije, kako po formi, tako i po sadržaju izmijenjenim ovaploćenjima suvereno vladaju američkim političkim nebom. Iako službeni registar stranaka sa registrovanim glasačima ukazuje na pet aktivnih političkih partija, neosporna istorijska činjenica ide u prilog tvrdnji da u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama de facto dominira dvopartijski

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<sup>116</sup> Za detalje o istorijskom slijedu američkih predsjednika vidi <http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents>.

sistem.<sup>117</sup> Javnom sferom često provejavaju i kritike na račun ovakvog uvriježenog obrasca formiranja vlasti po principu alternacije dvije političke organizacije.

Kritike idu čak i do karakterizacija po kojima u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama suštinski ne postoji čak ni pomenuti dvopartijski sistem, već da vlada prividna diversifikacija solidifikovanog jednoobraznog političko-ideološkog masiva. Po riječima Rockyja Andersona, 33. gradonačelnika grada Salt Lake City u saveznoj državi Utah i člana Stranke pravde (Justice Party), Demokratska stranka je samo drugo lice Republikanske stranke, te se obje institucije napajaju na koritu interesnih skupina primarno motivisanih novčanim dobitkom. Anderson navodi da je ovakav sistem kranje korumpiran i kvaran.<sup>118</sup>

Pozicija medijski posredovanom ritualizacijom reiterira vlastito tumačenje aksiološkog sistema, dok oponenti čine isto sa ciljem preuzimanja vlasti i etabliranja na solidifikovaniju platformu uticaja. Analiza savremenog američkog političkog diskursa u ovom istraživanju pokazuje da i jedna i druga strana koriste konceptualne metanarative koji, iako dalo bi se zaključiti prate bifurkovane kolosijeke, u osnovi reflektuju gotovo identične strategije.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> <http://2012election.procon.org/view.resource.php?resourceID=004483>.

<sup>118</sup> <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2012/01/201217135317220259.html>. *The Democratic Party has proven itself to be just the other side of the coin from the Republican Party in what has become an incredibly corrupt, diseased system. The influence of money in our government is rampant, and we see the Democrats feeding at the same trough of special interest money as the Republicans. In addition to that, the Democrats seem to have no more regard for the rule of law as the Republicans.*

<sup>119</sup> Vidi poglavlje *Analiza strategija konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu*.

Istraživanja istorijskih, ideoloških i diskursnih masiva poput savremenog američkog političkog diskursa podrazumevaju i razmatranje socio-kognitivnih i etnoligvističkih postavki poput one koju je postulirao teoretičar i kritičar Edward Said. Said se nadovezao na rad sociobiologa Richarda Dawkinsa koji je 1976. godine uveo termin *mema* ili *mimema*.<sup>120</sup> Sociobiološki gledano, *mema*<sup>121</sup> je konceptualni konstrukt koji se odnosi na idejni sistem obrazaca ponašanja koji nastaje u određenoj kognitivnoj zajednici i koji se unutar navedene kulturološko-ideološke sredine prenosi među članovima zajednice. Mema je jedinica kulture analogna genu koji predstavlja jedinicu nasljednih obrazaca čovjekovog biološkog profila.

Memu možemo posmatrati kao fosilizaovani gradivni konstituent kulturološke zajednice koji se transferiše diskursnim praksama u javnoj sferi. Dawkins meme posmatra kao evolucijske nositelje ideja, simbola, kao i običaja koji provejavaju u domenu spisateljstva i drugih obika javnog opštenja, te na taj način oblikuju vrijednosni sistem specifičan za pojedine kognitivne zajednice. Meme su, kao i geni, podložne prirodnoj selekciji. Neki kulturološki obrasci imaju duži, dok neke karakteriše kraći životni ciklus i magnituda uticaja. Ukoliko prihvatimo darwinističko tumačenje, određeni ideološki obrasci opstaju dok drugi, ukoliko nisu interpelirani i interpolirani u javnu sferu, gube mjesto u kulturološko-ideološkom profilu kognitivne zajednice.<sup>122</sup>

Biologizacija ligvističkih fenomena omogućava da dekonstruišemo savremene diskursne prakse iz rekontekstualizovanog motrišta i da jasnije uočimo putanju njihove geneze i transmisije u prostoru javnog mnijenja.

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<sup>120</sup> Eng. Meme.

<sup>121</sup> Str. grčki imitacija, duplikat; imitirati; oponašati, oponašani.

<sup>122</sup> Darwin, 1859. *On the Origin of Species*.

Konceptualne meme perpetuiraju se kroz diskurs, sam diskurs po principu autopoieze generiše i legitimiše sopstvene sastavnice kako bi sasvim darwinistički zauzeo i zadržao hegemonijsku poziciju moći.

Saidov koncept *narateme*, odnosno prostor strukturisanja vijesti i službenih stavova pozicije<sup>123</sup> opisuje meme, koje konstituišu kulturološku zajednicu kao konceptualne obrasce, koji se učestalo ponavljaju i na taj način konstruišu javni diskurs (Ghosh, 2009). Primjer koji Said navodi u članku *The Alternative United States*<sup>124</sup> odnosi se na formulisanje vijesti sa posebnim naglaskom na američku spoljnu politiku u Iraku. Odluke koje je američka vlada u tom periodu donosila, analizirao je putem narateme koja je postavljena kao mehanizam eksplikacije američke samo-percepcije u kontekstu vrijednosnog sistema ideološko-kognitivne zajednice Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Said je također u radu ukazao na stavke, koje se Amerikancima čine kao nedvosmisleno *ispravna* rješenja. Ova takozvana ispravna rješenja potvrđuju konceptualni kontinuitet vrijednosnih obrazaca postavljenih u prethodno pomenutim osnivačkim ukazima američke državnosti.

Uzimajući u obzir strategiju legitimizacije mehanizmima intertekstualnosti navodimo sljedeće opservacije koje je Said predočio u članku *The Alternative United States*, koje su relevantne i za naš obrazac tumačenja konceptualnog značenjskog sistema savremenog političkog diskursa u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama:

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<sup>123</sup> Eng. Narratheme.

<sup>124</sup> Monde Diplomatique, 2003. *Neka druga Amerika*. Vp.

1. Afirimiranje kolektiviteta reiteracijom zamjenice *mi*<sup>125</sup> kao refleks jedinstva i združenosti u odnosu na *drugog*, koji predstavlja eksterni entitet u službi poređenja i konstruisanja zajedništva kognitivne zajednice: Amerika i Amerikanci kao članovi jedne i jedinstvene američke porodice.
2. Strukturisanje heterotopijskog prostora idealizovane Amerike i Amerikanaca opetovnim artikulisanjem vrijednosnog sistema usidrenog u legitimizirajućem izvoru religijskih tekstova. Tekst u službi tvorbe diskursa u medijalizovanoj,<sup>126</sup> odnosno medijski posredovanoj javnoj sferi Sjedinjenih Američkih Država i svijeta.
3. Nepoštovanje ili otpor američkom pristupnom obrascu i političkom djelovanju po principu automatizma dobija epitet *antiamerički* ili eufemistički strukturisano *protivno američkim nacionalnim interesima*. Said nadalje navodi kako suprotstavljanje *našim* političkim rješenjima, pri tom misleći na metaforičku i metonimijsku združenost američke porodice izražene pluralnim imenskim i pronominalnim obracima, nailazi na zid i prekid registrovanja i odbacivanja oponentnog mišljenja. Karakterizacija da je suprotstavljeno mišljenje ujedno i antiameričko je izrazito efikasan mehanizam upotrebe i reiteracije konceptualnog metanarativa, po Saidu mimema u datoj naratemi, američke porodice i intertekstualnog mehanizma legitimiziranja stavova američke vlade pozivajući se na gotovo deifikovane Utemeljivače i dokumenta nastala u njihovo vrijeme i izjednačavanjem građanstva i vladajućih struktura u jednu konceptualnu strukturu. U Saidovom tekstu detektujemo i izvjesnu razinu frustracije američkim stavom superiornog oligarha koji, po njegovim riječima, zanemaruje i revidira percepciju istorijskih činjenica kao što je slučaj

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<sup>125</sup> Eng. We.

<sup>126</sup> Eng. Medialized, mediated.

čestog ponavljanja kako je Amerika spasila Evropu, kako vojno, tako i ekonomski, aludirajući na Drugi svjetski rat i Marshallov plan<sup>127</sup> stavljajući bezbroj Evropljana koji su izgubili život spašavajući svoj kontinent od nacističke pošasti u drugi plan.

Kritički ugao iz kojeg Edward Said posmatra američku politiku je svakako relevantan prevashodno u kontekstu postkolonijalnih studija kojima je udario temelj, no, za naše istraživanje relevantna je podudarnost konceptualnih metanarativa koji, kao što postulat konceptualnih pristupa jeziku nalaže, diriguju strukturisanje semantičkih suprastruktura, koje su neminovno obojene ideološkim obrascima. Takve obrasce u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu pronalazimo u ideološkom, hegemonijskom i istorijsko-kulturološkom vrijednosnom sistemu kognitivne zajednice Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Smatramo da je pomenuta kognitivna zajednica u domenu političkog diskursa utemeljena na principima sadržanim u izvorišnim dokumentima, koji se oslanjaju na deifikovane izvore moći i.e. religiju i riječ Svevišnjeg.

Diskurs teosa pretočen u sekularni eksponent osnivačkih dokumenata stoji kao temelj razvijanju diskursnih praksi legitimizacije željenog aksiološkog obrasca i manevrisanje istog po potrebi u okvirima ideje morala, sreće i slobode, a iz ugla grada spasenja, američke posebnosti i sudbinske misije.

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<sup>127</sup> Vidi <http://www.marshallfoundation.org/TheMarshallPlan.htm>.

U ovakvim konceptualnim okolnostima postuliramo postojanje dvostranog profila u kojoj je prvi niz naličije, a drugi lice američkog neksusa vrijednosti. Plodno tle je sasvim jasno kultivisano za rast tipične ideologije i hegemonijskih inklinacija u materijanom i diskursnom svijetu. Transfer konceptualnih metanarativa potpomognut je paradigmama strogog i brižnog roditelja (Lakoff, 2002), konzervativnog i liberalnog, a u slučaju strogog i liberalnog, nedvosmisleno i sasvim biblijski, heteronormativnog i patrilinearnog.



## 2.4 Integrativni model analize savremenog američkog političkog diskursa

Analiza strategija konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu sprovedena je po integrativnom modelu, koji je sačinjen za potrebe ovog istraživanja, kombinovanjem i prilagođavanjem odabranog teorijskog instrumentarijuma kognitivne lingvistike i kritičke analize diskursa. Nakon teorijske deskripcije, analiza kognitivnolingvističkom aparaturom vršena je sa ciljem da se identifikuju pojmovno-značenjske strategije na kojima se temelje mehanizmi konstruisanja značenja u ispitivanom uzorku savremenog američkog političkog diskursa.

Identifikovanje konceptualnih scenarija i okvira bio je prvi korak u analitičkom postupku. Preliminarni nalazi ukazuju na tri konceptualna okvira koji se ističu na značenjskoj mapi savremenog američkog političkog diskursa: moral, sloboda i sreća.

Prethodnim konceptualnim nadokvirima pridodali smo konceptualne okvire iz religijskog mitosa Sjedinjenih Američkih Država: grad spasenja, američka posebnost i sudbinska misija. Pomenutim pojmovnim metanarativima odredili smo status nadokvira. Nadokviri su superordinantne kategorije – sklopovi šireg značenjskog potencijala i samim tim uopštenijeg. Okviri su subordinantne kategorije suženog semantičkog potencijala. Nalaze se u su svojevrsnoj hiperonimskoj-hiponimskoj korelaciji.<sup>128</sup>

Sljedeći nivo analize preuzeli smo od Lakoffa (2002) kako bismo na osnovu teorijskih ispitivanja koje je sproveo u okviru kapitalnog djela *Moral Politics*, te imajući na umu preliminarne nalaze istraživanja disertacije, odredili pojmovne

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<sup>128</sup> Autrov ekplikat, te shodno tome ne navodimo izvor, no, jasno je da je ovakvo objašnjenje i pomenuti ustroj inspirisan uobičajenim semantičkim, pa čak i sintaksičkim hijerarhijskim odnosima.

metafore koje predstavljaju upečatljive strategije konstruisanja značenja u ispitivanom uzorku savremenog američkog političkog diskursa. Pojmovne metafore utvrđene na osnovu preliminarne analize su: NACIJA JE PORODICA, VLADA JE RODITELJ, GRAĐANI SU DJECA.

Iz pomenutih strukturalnih pojmovnih metafora analiza u domenu kognitivnolingvističke aparature završava Lakoffovim kognitivnim modelima strogog oca i brižnog roditelja. Navedeni kognitivni modeli prepoznaju se u analiziranom materijalu na osnovu preliminarnih nalaza, dok bi detaljna analiza trebalo da potvrdi njihovo prisustvo u ispitivanom uzorku. Na osnovu analize biće predočene strategije konstruisanja značenja u ispitivanom uzorku savremenog američkog političkog diskursa.

Analiza je istovremeno vršena odabranim instrumentarijem kritičke analize diskursa kako bi se na nivou ideoloških matrica i relacija moći na razini diskursa kognitivne zajednice Sjedinjenih Američkih Država identifikovale strategije konstruisanja i dekonstruisanja značenja.

Lingvističke strategije značenjske reprezentacije iz ugla kritičke analize diskursa posložili smo na sljedeći način: inkluzija, ekskluzija i heterodoksija, agentivnost, intertekstualnost, legitimizacija i delegitimizacija, pozitivna i negativna reprezentacija, nametanje okvira i reiteracija.

Integrativni model analize savremenog američkog političkog diskursa shematski je prikazan na sljedeći način:

## **I KONCEPTUALNI OKVIRI**

### **1) NADOKVIRI**

- a) MORAL
- b) SLOBODA
- c) SREĆA

### **2) OKVIRI IZ RELIGIJSKOG MITOSA SJEDINJENIH AMERIČKIH DRŽAVA**

- a) GRAD SPASENJA
- b) AMERIČKA POSEBNOST
- c) SUDBINSKA MISIJA

## **II POJMOVNE METAFORE**

- a) NACIJA JE PORODICA
- b) VLADA JE RODITELJ
- c) GRAĐANI SU DJECA

## **III KOGNITIVNI MODELI**

- a) STROGI OTAC
- b) BRIŽNI RODITELJ

## **IV STRATEGIJE ZNAČENJSKE REPREZENTACIJE**

- a) INKLUZIJA
- b) EKSKLUZIJA I HETERODOKSIJA
- c) AGENTIVNOST

- d) INTERTEKSTUALNOST I DIJALOGICITET
- e) LEGITIMIZACIJA I DELEGITIMIZACIJA
- f) POZITIVNA I NEGATIVNA REPREZENTACIJA
- g) NAMETANJE IDEOLOŠKIH OKVIRA I REITERACIJA

### **3. Analiza strategija konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu**

Poglavlje *Analiza strategija konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu* predstavlja, kako smo u uvodnim razmatranjima naznačili, svojevrsno analitičko središte disertacije. Nakon teorijske deskripcija pojma *diskurs* sa posebnim osvrtom na savremeni američki politički diskurs, rekapitulacije teorijskih uzusa kritičke analize diskursa i kognitivne lingvistike, identifikacije konceptualnih strategija konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu, te teorijskog uobličavanja integrativnog modela analize savremenog američkog političkog diskursa, pristupili smo ispitivanju djelotvornosti eksplikatornog potencijala predloženog integrativnog modela.

Integrativni model sadrži strategije konstruisanja značenja, koje smo prethodno izdvojili iz teorijskog repozitorijuma odabranih aspekata dvije komplementarne lingvističke teorije – kritičke analize diskursa i kognitivne lingvistike, preciznije, teorije konceptualnih metafora. Model smo strukturno podijelili na četiri nivoa. Prvi nivo sadrži konceptualne okvire preuzete iz osnivačkih dokumenata i religijskog mitosa Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Drugi nivo uključuje tri sistema pojmovnih metafora. Treći je posvećen kognitivnim modelima, dok četvrti nivo obuhvata strategije značenjske reprezentacije, koje su posebno formulisane i prilagođene za potrebe istraživanja.<sup>129</sup>

Korpusna građa korišćena za analizu sadrži osam jedinica nastalih u vremenskom rasponu od 2005. do 2012. godine. Godišnja obraćanja, odnosno unaprijed napisani govori Predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država o stanju nacije

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<sup>129</sup> Vidi potpoglavlje *Dosadašnja lingvistička proučavanja političkog diskursa*.

prenose se javnosti prilikom zajedničkih zasjedanja Kongresa i Senata Sjedinjenih Američkih Država i predstavljaju svojevrsni *Urbi et Orbi*<sup>130</sup> američkih predsjednika u medijski cermonijalizovanom ritualu.

Obraćanja Georga W. Busha, 43. i Baracka H. Obame, 44. predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država odabrani su sa ciljem da sa ukaže na ideološku dijadu američkog aksiološkog sistema, ovaploćena u nominalno konzervativnoj Republikanskoj i liberalnoj Demokratskoj stranci. Lakoffovi kognitivni modeli strogog oca i brižnog roditelja predstavljaju podloge političkog djelovanja pomenute dvije političke stranke u relativnom višestranačju Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Ovakvo razgraničenje je isključivo relativno i nikako ne označava demarkaciju liberalnih i konzervativnih vrijednosti, odnosno ne podrazumijeva da liberalne vrijednosti zastupa isključivo Demokratska, a konzervativne vrijednosne obrazace Republikanska stranka.

Predsjednik George W. Bush je po mnogo čemu kontroverzna ličnost američke političke scene. Sam izborni proces 2000. godine nagovijestio je turbulentan svedruštveni istorijski isječak. Iako su tadašnji podpredsjednik Al Gore i senator Joe Lieberman osvojili 48.4% glasačkog tijela naspram kandidatskog para Georga W. Busha i Dicka Cheneyja, koji su upisali 47.9%, specifičan izborni sistem u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, sistem elektorskih koledža,<sup>131</sup> po kojoj je Bush dobio 271 u odnosu na Gorovih 266, kao i odluka Vrhovnog suda Sjedinjenih Američkih Država,<sup>132</sup> koja je razriješila sudski spor, dovela je Busha na mjesto lidera *slobodnog svijeta* i metaforičko-metonimijskog paterfamiliasa američke nacije.

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<sup>130</sup> Lat. Gradu i svijetu.

<sup>131</sup> <http://www.archives.gov/federal-register/electoral-college/about.html>.

<sup>132</sup> [http://www.princeton.edu/~achaney/tmve/wiki100k/docs/Bush\\_v.\\_Gore.html](http://www.princeton.edu/~achaney/tmve/wiki100k/docs/Bush_v._Gore.html).

Za vrijeme njegovog mandata, desio se najveći teroristički napad na Sjedinjene Američke Države poznat kao *11. septembar*.<sup>133</sup> Započeta su dva rata u na teritorijama *neprijateljskih* država, a ekonomija je doživjela krah.<sup>134</sup> Statistička istraživanja potvrđuju da je George W. Bush najnepopularniji bivši američki predsjednik,<sup>135</sup> iako noviji trendovi sugerišu da javno mnijenje postepeno okreće pozitivne leće u pravcu predsjednika Busha.<sup>136</sup>

U osam obraćanja građanima i združenom zasjedanju Kongresa o stanju nacije, od kojih analiziramo posljednja četiri, insistirao je na pojmovom metanarativu američke kognitivne zajednice sagledane budnim okom oca, no, ne nužno i strogog. Diskurs predsjednika Busha spada u kategoriju konzervativnih aksioloških matrica u skladu sa političkim manifestom i vrijednosnim sistemom Republikanske stranke Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Posebnost Bushove političke djelatnosti je i uvođenje pojma Bushova doktrina<sup>137</sup> po kojoj Sjedinjene Američke Države imaju pravo unilateralno prekinuti diplomatske odnose i samostalno pokrenuti vojnu mašineriju kako bi zaštitila nacionalne interese. Na fonu pomenute doktrine, koja je nedvosmisleni eho ideje američke posebnosti, sudbinske misije i grada spasenja je i sistem sigurnosnih mjera simbolički označen sintagmom *Patriotski akt*.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> <http://www.911memorial.org/911-primary-sources>.

<sup>134</sup> [http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/dana-milbank-george-w-bush-returns-as-a-uniter/2013/07/08/c1464e4c-e818-11e2-8f22-de4bd2a2bd39\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/dana-milbank-george-w-bush-returns-as-a-uniter/2013/07/08/c1464e4c-e818-11e2-8f22-de4bd2a2bd39_story.html).

<sup>135</sup> [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/06/07/george-bush-most-unpopular-president\\_n\\_1577651.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/06/07/george-bush-most-unpopular-president_n_1577651.html).

<sup>136</sup> [http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/dana-milbank-george-w-bush-returns-as-a-uniter/2013/07/08/c1464e4c-e818-11e2-8f22-de4bd2a2bd39\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/dana-milbank-george-w-bush-returns-as-a-uniter/2013/07/08/c1464e4c-e818-11e2-8f22-de4bd2a2bd39_story.html).

<sup>137</sup> <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/iraq/etc/cron.html>.

<sup>138</sup> <http://www.cis.org/USAPatriotAct-ImmigrationRelatedProvisions>.

Doktorske disertacija korpusno povezuje kraj drugog mandata predsjednika Busha i početak prvog mandata predsjednika Obame. Gotovo ciklični kraj vladavine jedne partije – Republikanske – i početak vladavine druge – Demokratske. Retorički istorijografiju Baracka H. Obame pratili od perioda kada je obavljao dužnost predstavnika u Senatu Sjedinjenih Američkih Država ispred savezne države Illinois na sedam ključnih govora koji su, u diskursnom smislu, isklesali njegov jedinstveni i prepoznatljivo elokventni jezički identitet koji se kasnije pretočio u primarnu korpusnu bazu disertacije – četiri govora koja su nastala u periodu prvog Obaminog mandata na mjestu predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.

U sedam govora na kojima je vršena analiza u okviru preliminarnih istraživanja i testiranja teorijsko-metodološkog okvira, uočene su izražene karakteristike koje se stilski i konceptualno naziru ili jasno ističu u Obaminom diskursu. Ključne riječi poput *nade*, *početka*, *jedinstva* i *jednakosti* određuju putanju njegovog retoričkog aparata. Međutim, iako se radi o konstantama, one u različitim kontekstualnim okruženjima poprimaju preinačena značenja i diskursnu poziciju.

Konceptualno se uočava diskurs ekonomskog oporavka i novih početaka kao dominantna tema u cjelokupnom diskursnom stvaralaštvu Baracka H. Obame i njegovim primjenama jezičkih strategija. Sedam govora se posebno ističe u kontekstu diskursa ekonomskog oporavka i novih početaka za vrijeme Obaminog senatorskog staža. *Take Back America* (14. 06. 2006), *Our Past, Our Future and Vision for America: Call to Renewal* (28. 06. 2006), *Time Has Come for Universal Health Care* (25. 01. 2007), *A World that Stands as One* (24. 07. 2008), *The American Promise* (28. 08. 2008), *Night Before the Election Speech* (03. 11. 2008), *The Inaugural Address* (20. 01. 2009) su odabrani govori senatora Obame u kojima se sistematično tematizuju sadržaji koji su oblikovali Obaminu diskursnu posebnost.



Pažljiv odabir relevantnih tema i minuciozna primjena lingvističke aparature omogućila je dobitnu sinergiju s društvenim kontekstom koji je za stranku iz protivničkog tabora bio izrazitno nepovoljan. Iako je Obama pred kraj drugog Bushovog mandata bio relativno nepoznat, upisao u istoriju kao 44. predsjednik Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Izbor Baracka Obame odjeknuo je kao spektakularni korak u bolju budućnost.

Ovaj diskursni trend nastavljen je i u diskursu predsjednika Obame, no konceptuani zaokret vidljiv je u postizbornom razdoblju. To je posebno uočljivo u govorima o stanju nacije. Obama je do sada održao sedam govora ove prirode u kojima je obavijestio kako kongresmene i senatore tako i američku javnost o napretku, planovima i zakonodavnim okvirima Administracije pod njegovim vođstvom. Pored ovih obraćanja, ističe se i obraćanje studentima i profesorima univerziteta Georgetown 14. Aprila, 2009. godine naslovljeno *Remarks By The President On The Economy* (srp. Predsjednikovo viđenje ekonomije).

U govorima predsjednika Obame zanimljivi su gradacioni odmaci od nepopsutljivog, nepokolebljivog, izričitog, hrabrog, preciznog i nedvosmislenog diskursa nade, oporavka, novih početaka i čvrstog obećanja i kretanje u smjeru kompromisa, političkog pozicioniranja i diskursnog manevrisanja koje zahtijeva položaj predsjednika u odnosu na senatora koji ima znatno manje breme odgovornosti i više prostora za retoričke eksperimente, koji su se pokazali kao uspješan poduhvat u Obaminom slučaju.

Nakon sedam godine na dužnosti, predsjednik Obama suočava se sa javnim mnijenjem koje sve oštrije kritikuje njegov neuspjeli projekat smjelosti nade i neoliberalne postrasne Amerike, a predstojeći izbori 2016. godine biće svojevrsni test kako predsjednika Obame, tako i političke stranke čiji je neslužbeni predvodnik.

Donald Trump, kontroverzni magnat, zanimljiva je pojava ove izborne sezone, kako u medijsko ceremonijalizovanom, tako i u pojmovno značenjskom smislu. G. Trump se pozicionirao kao svojevrsni šampion nezadovoljnih i razočaranih igrajući na kartu populističkih metanarativa, a u ime Republikanske stranke. Imajući na umu tradicionalno konzervativne aksiološke sisteme koje njeguje i propagira Republikanska stranka, nije neobično da je diskurs g. Trumpa obojen zaokretom ka desnici i ksenofobičnim govorima. Zanimljivo je da je, upravo zbog suviše intenzivne retorike, Donald Trump zapravo postao problem samoj Republikanskoj stranci, te će na tom fonu biti značajno posmatrati i analizirati rasplet unutar republikanskog tabora na Nacionalnoj konvenciji na kojoj će u julu 2016. godine biti odabran kandidat te partije za 45. predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.

S druge strane, u još jednu utrku upustila se bivša državna sekretarka Hillary Rodham Clinton. Gđ. Clinton se 2008. godine prvi uključila u utrku za nominaciju, no kandidaturu je dobio još uvijek aktuelni predsjednik Obama. Gđ Clinton je podjednako osebujna ličnost na američkoj političkoj sceni i ukoliko bude nominovana (Demokratska stranka će svoju Nacionalnu konvenciju takođe odražati u julu 2016. godine) za kandidatkinju Demokratske stranke i pobijedi na izborima, biće prva žena, ujedno bivša Prva dama, senatorka i državna sekretarka koja je postala predsjednica Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Analizu kampanja u 2016. godini za nominaciju kandidata i u konačnici izbor novog predsjednika ili predsjednice Sjedinjenih Američkih Država ostavljamo za naredni istraživački projekat.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Imajući na umu da se ova disertacija ne bavi aktuelnom kampanjom, pomenuli smo samo dva dominantna kandidata Republikanske i Demokratske stranke Sjedinjenih Američkih Država ne umanjujući značaj, ni mogućnost da drugi kandidati dobiju nominaciju i pobijede na izborima.

U dosadašnjem Obaminom diskursu, dva tematska slijeda uočljiva su u svim njegovim govorima, pa tako i u govorima o stanju nacije:

1. Oporavak
2. Početak

Tri perioda u Obaminom djelovanju i diskursnom konstruisanju obilježeni su *novim počecima*:

1. Senatorsko razdoblje i predizborna predsjednička kampanja
2. Predsjednički mandat
3. Kampanja za reizbor na mjesto predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država

Izbor Baracka H. Obame na mjesto 44. predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država 4. novembra 2008. godine; polaganje zakletve i preuzimanje dužnosti 20. januara 2009. godine<sup>140</sup> bili su neizostavni elementi svakodnevnih novinskih napisa. Barack H. Obama je prvi Amerikanac afričkog porijekla koji je preuzeo kormilo Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. To je svakako jedan od razloga zbog čega izbori za američkog predsjednika 2008. godine nisu mogli proći bez znatno intenzivnije medijske pažnje. Prvi mandat predsjednika Obame stoji u gotovo istovremenoj korelaciji sa početkom svjetske ekonomske krize. Diskurs nade i promjene i diskurs svjetske ekonomske krize nalaze u svojevrsnoj neodvojivoj medijskoj simbiozi. Obamin diskurs nade, promjene, uzleta i sveopšteg ushićenja dolazi kao eliksir ohrabrenja i svjetionik ka svjetlu iz nepredvidivih i opasnih voda iz kojih Sjedinjene

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<sup>140</sup> <http://www.whitehouse.gov>.

Američke Države izlaze kao pobjednik u zajedništvu metaforičke konceptualizacije NACIJE KAO PORODICE.

Barack Obama se pojavljuje kao propagator diskursa promjene, nade i klasno-rasne uniformnosti i, kao takav, može biti shvaćen kao prazan ekran sa kojeg se skidaju željene poruke inspirativnog sadržaja. Klasno-rasna uniformisanost implicira egalitarizam, koji proizilazi iz diskursa čovjeka koji živi taj ideal. Kao predvodnik novog talasa diskursa jednakosti i pravičnosti, Obama želi diskursno izgraditi takvu auru političkog djelovanja.

U knjigama *Snovi moga oca* (eng. *Dreams from my Father*) i *Smjelost nade* (eng. *The Audacity of Hope*) Barack Obama opisuje životni i politički put koji ga, optočen vlastitim odlukama, dovodi na mjesto Predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Pomenute knjige su manifest, kako života, tako i političkog diskursa koji je u Obaminoj predizbornoj kampanji oduševio svijet i većinu glasačkog tijela u matičnoj zemlji. Baracka Obamu možemo posmatrati i kao desemantizovani označitelj (eng. *empty signifier*). Tako shvaćen, Barack Obama suštinski nudi prazni mozaik, koji bi sami trebalo da popunimo, dok, s druge strane, on ostvaruje sopstveni američki san konstruišući retoriku koja je postala jedan od dominantnijih diskursa u skorijoj američkoj istoriji.

Analizirani tekstovi korpusne građe akronimski šifrirani – SOTU: GWB 1 (2005), 2 (2006), 3 (2007), 4 (2008) i SOTU: BHO 1 (2009), 2 (2010), 3 (2011), 4 (2012) – potvrđuju hipotezu da je savremeni američki politički diskurs ustrojen po upečatljivim konceptualnim nadokvirima, koji fundamentalnu značenjsku građu crpe iz religijskih vrijednosnih sistema nastalih u istorijski posebnim uslovima. Ova tvrdnja je detaljnije argumentovana i u potpoglavlju *Politički diskurs i javna sfera u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama*. Identifikacijom konceptualnih strategija

konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu potvrđuje se upotrebnost vrijednost predloženog integrativnog modela zasnovanog na eksplikatornom potencijalu sinergije kognitivne lingvistike i kritičke analize diskursa.

Analitički postupak je tekao po principu izdvajanja tekstualnih jedinica na kojima se uočavaju elementi predloženog integrativnog modela. Prvo smo izdvojili dvije stotine i trideset (230) tekstualnih cjelina – rečenica ili paragrafa u zavisnosti od nivoa semanto-logičke koherentnosti – koje smo detaljnije razlagali po nivoima integrativnog modela za svako obraćanje (osam jedinica korpusne građe) ponaosob.

Ukoliko predloženi elementi nisu eksplicitno identifikovani, predočeni su konceptualno srodni korelati. Nalazi su predstavljeni po tekstovima uz kumulativni pregled za cjelokupan ispitivani uzorak prema elementima predloženog modela. Za određene strategije, koristili smo iste primjere budući da se multi-konceptualno uklapaju u više komponenti integrativnog modela i ujedno ilustruju više strategija u jednom klauzalnom sklopu. Sumirani pregled izložen je u okviru tekućeg poglavlja. Teorijske implikacije razmotrene su u poglavlju *Diskusija i zaključci*.

Tri konceptualne koordinate, kojima započinjemo analitički postupak, upečatljive su na značenjskoj mapi savremenog političkog diskursa u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama zbog prirode osnivačkog dokumenta na osnovu kojeg su djelimično formulisane.

Radi se dakako o pojmovima *moral, sloboda i sreća*. Kako smo prethodno napomenuli u uvodnim razmatranjima,<sup>141</sup> slijed pomenutih pojmovnih koordinata smo usvojili uvidim u jedan od osnivačkih dokumenata – Deklaracija o nezavisnosti Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.

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<sup>141</sup> Vidi potpoglavlje *Ciljevi i zadaci istraživanja*.

Lekseme prate upravo ovakavu sekvencu po želji Utemeljivača i pisaca Deklaracije. Naime, leksema moral se ne spominje u ovom slijedu, te smo iz tog razloga napomenuli da smo djelimično preuzeli ovako složenu katenaciju.

Čuvena sintagma *život, sloboda i potraga za srećom* (eng. *Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness*) poslužila je kao temelj za formulisanje dijela nivoa integrativnog modela. Leksemu moral stavili smo na početak slijeda imajući na umu sistematizovane trase religioznog kanona, koji je udario temelje američkoj aksiološkoj matrici u savremenom političkom diskuru u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama.

Prethodno smo ustanovili da je međuodnos religije i politike osnova za uspostavljanje diskursnog sistema strukturisanja značenjskih obrazaca u američkoj javnoj sferi na nivou savremenog političkog diskursa.

Posebnost istorijske geneze Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, te raznorodnih sistema religije i moralnih svjetonazora u javnoj sferi kognitivne zajednice Sjedinjenih Američkih Država intertekstualnim mehanizmima reiteriraju u savremenom političkom diskursu primarni aksiološki referentni sistem iz kojeg nastaju konceptualne koordinate idejnih scenarija američke kognitivne zajednice.

U analitičkom postupku smo identifikovali eksplicitne i implicitne korpusne jedinice, koje ilustruju moral, slobodu i sreću. U tom smislu, eksplicitno prisustvo leksema moral, sloboda i sreća predstavlja osnovu za klasifikaciju, no sagledavanje konteksta i koteksta je u konačnici opredijelilo tok kategorizacije. Primjeri u osam korpusnih cjelina detaljnije će uspostaviti logički sistem ovog metodološkog postupka.

Sljedeće tri konceptualne platforme koje smo ugradili u drugi nivo integrativnog modela analize savremenog američkog političkog diskursa preuzeli smo iz religijskog mitosa Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Radi se o kategorijama *grad*

*spasenja, američka posebnost i sudbinska misija* (eng. City upon a hill, American Exceptionalism, Manifest Destiny).

Pojmovne metafore, kojima operišemo u okviru integrativnog modela su: NACIJA JE PORODICA, VLADA JE RODITELJ, GRAĐANI SU DJECA. Prethodna tri sistema strukturalnih pojmovnih metafora uspostavili smo preliminarnim uvidom u korpusnu građu u sklopu pilot istraživanja sprovedenog sa ciljem uspostavljanja teorijsko-analitičke baze disertacije.

Identičan modus operandi smo primijenili i za naredni nivo analize oslanjajući se na Lakoffov predložak kognitivnih modela strogog oca i brižnog roditelja, koje smo preuzeli iz knjige *Moral Politics*, izdanje iz 2002. godine. Model strogog oca, kao i brižnog roditelja, američku kognitivnu zajednicu upućuje na metaforički sistem NACIJA JE PORODICA. Uspostavljeni moralni uzusi, koje oba modela prate u percipiranju primjerenog sistema ponašanja i primjene vrijednosnih sistema Sjedinjenih Američkih Država predstavljaju referentni sistem identifikovanja pomenutih modela u odabranoj korpusnoj građi.

Nadalje, u radu smo za potrebe formulisanja integrativnog modela analize savremenog američkog političkog diskursa koristili prilagođene elemente iz domena kritičke analize diskursa i to po Chiltonu (2004:42-47;111-134) i van Dijk (1997:211-214). U samom integrativnom modelu, instrumentarij kritičke analize diskursa strukturalno sačinjava četvrtu i posljednju komponentu. Ovaj dio modela nosi naziv *Strategije značenjske reprezentacije* i predstavlja objedinjeni analitički sistem uz *Konceptualne okvire*, koji stoje kao prvi dio modela, zatim *Pojmovne metafore*, drugi i *Kognitivne modele*, kao pretposljednji, odnosno treći segment integrativnog modela.

Segment integrativnog modela nastao na temeljima teorijskog aparata kritičke analize diskursa u redakciji prethodno navedena dva autora u ovoj disertaciji poprima sljedeću strukturu:

- a) INKLUZIJA
- b) EKSKLUZIJA I HETERODOKSIJA
- c) AGENTIVNOST
- d) INTERTEKSTUALNOST I DIJALOGICITET
- e) LEGITIMIZACIJA I DELEGITIMIZACIJA
- f) POZITIVNA I NEGATIVNA REPREZENTACIJA
- g) NAMETANJE IDEOLOŠKIH OKVIRA I REITERACIJA<sup>142</sup>

Sve dijelove korpusne građe – osam govora – propratili smo uvodnim komentarima, nakon čega slijedi obrada po predloženom integrativnom modelu analize. U 4. poglavlju, *Diskusija i zaključci*, dajemo zaključne komentare i izlažemo nalaze analize koje smo dobili primjenom integrativnog modela, te teorijske implikacije istraživanja uz opaske u vezi sa potencijalnim istraživačkim zahvatima u ovom domenu i pomoću ovako ustrojene teorijsko-analitičke platforme u budućnosti. Prvi govor - SOTU: GWB 1 – obogatili smo opsežnijom komentarskom građom. Smatrali smo da je bitno prvi govor u analizi detaljnije objasniti. Primjere iz preostalih sedam govora korpusne baze obrađivali smo po principu ekonomičnije deskripcije i eksplikacije budući da se sastavnice integrativnog modela koherentno funkcionšu na primerima cjelokupnog korpusa.

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<sup>142</sup> Vidi potpoglavlje *Integrativni model analize savremenog američkog političkog diskursa*.



### 3.1 Govori predsjednika Busha

#### i SOTU: GWB 1<sup>143</sup>

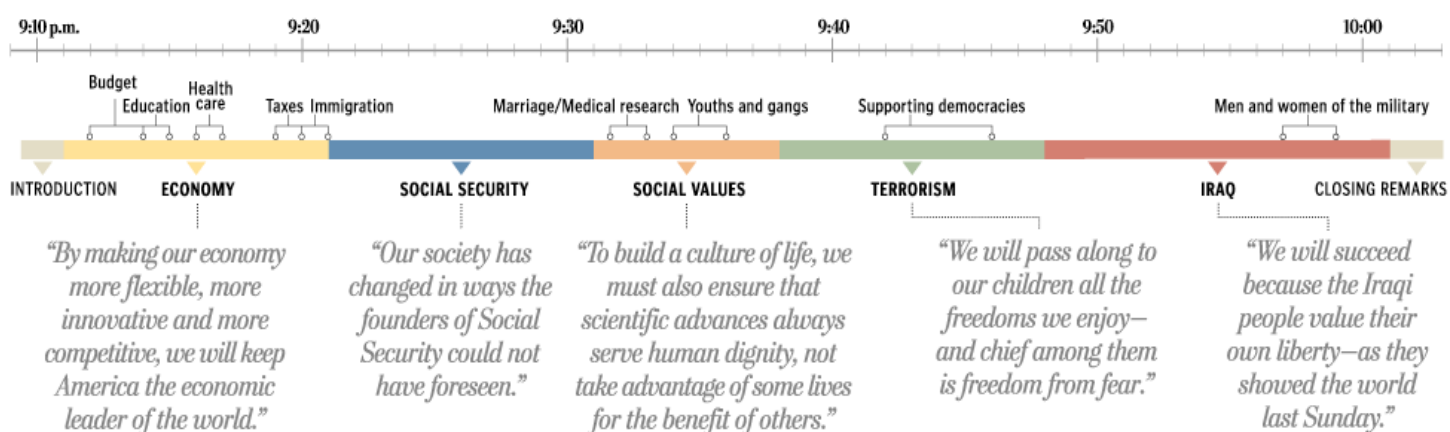
Kamen temeljac obraćanja predsjednika Busha 2005. godine je pitanje socijalnog osiguranja, preciznije plan za restrukturisanje sistema koji bi moguo socijalnu stabilnost i sigurnost građana Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Bush je, kako su analitičari formulisali, predočio istorijski putokaz kako ostvariti ovo svedruštveno pitanje. Bushova ideja podrazumijeva mogućnost da mlađi pripadnici radne snage imaju na raspolaganju mehanizam putem kojeg bi dio poreskih obaveza mogli da kanališu u kupovinu dionica na berzi. Grafički prikaz koji smo preuzeli sa elektronskih stranica časopisa *Washington Post* ([http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/daily/graphics/address\\_020305.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/daily/graphics/address_020305.html)) ukazuje na tematski hodogram i slijed konceptualnih strategija konstruisanja značenjskih blokova u ovom govoru, a koji ujedno stoji kao reprezentativni uzorak konstruisanja značenja u savremenom političkom diskursu Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.

Radi se o šablonu i svojevrsnoj mustri, po kojoj se u datom vremenskom prostoru predviđenom za ovaj vid cermonijalizacije diskursa, artikulišu konceptualni paketi prateći uhodani mehanizam konceptualnih metanarativa tj. nadokvira. Grafički prikaz *Washington Posta* označava i vrijeme kada je određena *ideja* predočena, kao i slijed po kojem su se ideacioni paketi nizali u govoru. Savremeni mediji – prvenstveno televizijske mreže koje prenose predsjedničke govore o stanju nacije, ali i eminentni časopisi koji sadržaje prenose putem savremenih elektronskih platformi –

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<sup>143</sup> Tekstovi korpusne baze su u cjelini priložni u poglavlju *Dodaci*. Za detalje o organizaciji korpusa i sistemu sraćenica vidi potpoglavlje *Korpus istraživanja*.

u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, pa i sama Bijela kuća ove govore obogaćuju kako vizualnim, tako i dodatnim statističkim poređenjima i informacijama koje imaju informativnu, ali i notu dinamiziranja predočenog materijala kako bi gledaoci pratili dati sadržaj uz povećan stepen pažnje. Ovaj vid subliminalnog kodiranja nacije svakako predstavlja i dodatnu vrijednost kada su u pitanju diskursni sistemi poput obraćanja o stanju američke nacije, koji su i sami strukturisani kao mehanizam kodiranja i konstruisanja željenog značenja. Grafikon koji slijedi je samo jedan u nizu sličnih informativno-analičkih alati.



Početak Bushovog obraćanja uvodi intertekstualnost na više nivoa. Prvi se odnosi na vlastiti govor povodom ponovnog izbora na dužnost Predsjednika 2004. godine a koji je održan u duhu ceremonijalizacije i ritualizacije 20. januara 2005. godine. U drugom inauguracijskom govoru Bush legitimizira i potvrđuje moralnost svog položaja sljedećim riječima:

*On this day, prescribed by law and marked by ceremony, we celebrate the durable wisdom of our Constitution, and recall the deep commitments that unite our country. I am grateful for the honor of this hour, mindful of the consequential times in*

*which we live, and determined to fulfill the oath that I have sworn and you have witnessed.*

Zatim se poziva na Ustav Sjedinjenih Američkih Država i bezvremenske vrijednosti poput:

*We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.*

Naposljetku evocira i preteču Ustava, Deklaraciju o nezavisnosti Sjedinjenih Američkih Država:

*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.*

43. američki predsjednik uvodi plejadu metanarativa u inicijalnoj rečenici petog obraćanja o stanju nacije, podsjećajući na historijski vrijednosno-ideološki prostor u kojem se razvijalo američko porodično zajedništvo.

*Two weeks ago, I stood on the steps of this Capitol and renewed the commitment of our Nation to the guiding ideal of liberty for all.*

Izdvajajući riječi *Capitol*, kao simbol američke parlamentarnosti i legislativne moći, zatim *commitment*, posvećenost, riječ primjerena moralnim metanarativima, determinatora združene posesije *our*, sa naglaskom da se radi o fenomenu koji pripada svim članovima, a ubrzo slijedi i razjašnjenje posjedovanog, *Nation*, nacije sa velikim n čime se uvodi dvostruko tumačenje, s jedne strane nacija je prostorna, kulturološka i kognitivna zajednica, a s druge, ono u duhu ferklafijanskih načela, nacija sa velikim n je i formalizovana institucija, centar moći ustrojen po principima diskursno perpetuiranih i interpeliranih istorijskih dokumenata kao izvorišta temeljnih vrijednosti američke kognitivne zajednice, Bush efektivno otvara komunikacijske kanale po kojima će se trasirati konceptualni metanarativi.

*As a new Congress gathers, all of us in the elected branches of Government share a great privilege: We've been placed in office by the votes of the people we serve.*

Prethodni primjer nedvosmisleno potvrđuju hipotezu kognitivne zajednice kojom upravlja Vlada, koja uživa legitimitet naroda, koji joj isti obezbjeđuje, kako Abraham Lincoln, 16. predsjednik Sjedinjenih Američkih Država kaže:

*...that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom – and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.*"<sup>144</sup>

Vlast koju koju sačinjavaju upravo ti ljudi, kojima je vlast pretpostavljena u njihovo ime i za njihovo dobro, je Lincolnovo tumačenje dva ključna dokumenta Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, Ustava i Deklaracije o nezavisnosti, a koje je 16.

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<sup>144</sup> The Gettysburg Address, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. 19. novembar, 1863. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents/abrahamlincoln>.

Predsjednik Sjedinjenih Američkih Država pretočio u seminalni istorijski govor baziran na temeljima intertekstualnog dijaloga u Gettysburgu 1863. godine.

2005. godine 43. predsjednik pribjegava identičnim mehanizmima konstruisanja značenjskog konstrukta sa ciljem postavljanja i perpetuiranja aksioloških matrica kognitivne zajednice Sjedinjenih Američkih Država iz motrišta republikanskih i tradicionalno konzervativnijih ideoloških repozitorijuma. Leksema *serve* u značenju služiti, u ovom slučaju američkom narodu, istovremeno omogućava dvoslojno tumačenje: pozivanje na pretpostavljeni autoritet, narod, kojom se aktivira strategija legitimizacije i inkluzije jer, po američkom shvatanju, intertekstualno uspostavljenom Deklaracijom o nezavisnosti i Ustavom Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, kao i prethodno navedenim istorijskim govoru Abrahama Lincolna u Gettysburgu, vlast pripada narodu koji bira i aktivno participira u radu izvršnog organa vlasti i tim je privilegovan pravom da bira, ali i da preuzme odgovornost za stanje nacije.

*We the People of the United States* sa početka Ustava Sjedinjenih Američkih Država nedvosmisleno uspostavlja diskurs inkluzije, legitimizacije i otvara put ka tumačenju zajedništva u djelovanju, a po idealima koji su nastali tumačenjem religijskih postulata ugrađenih u osnivačka dokumenta američke kognitivne zajednice.

*This evening I will set forth policies to advance that ideal at home and around the world.*

U prethodnom primjeru uočava se model strogog oca u kontekstu preuzimanja odgovornosi za očuvanje ideala američke kognitivne zajednice. Bush kao eksponent vlasti i metonimijski predvodnik mehanizma skrbitelja američke kognitivne zajednice preuzima poziciju subjekta, odnosno agensa koji će preduzeti nepohodne korake

izložene u svojevrsnom planu očuvanja ideala, koji smo radu predstavili kao konceptualnu trilateralu morala, slobode i sreće.

Prisustvo ferklafijanske lingvističke strategije komunalnog involviranja, odnosno inkluzije vidljivo je u narednim primjerima:

*Tonight, with a healthy, growing economy, with more Americans going back to work, with our Nation an active force for good in the world, the state of our Union is confident and strong. Our generation has been blessed by the expansion of opportunity, by advances in medicine, by the security purchased by our parents' sacrifice.*

*...we watch our children moving into adulthood, we ask the question: What will be the state of their Union? Members of Congress, the choices we make together will answer that question. Over the next several months, on issue after issue, let us do what Americans have always done and build a better world for our children and our grandchildren. First, we must be good stewards of this economy and renew the great institutions on which millions of our fellow citizens rely.*

Ova dva primjera, osim inkluzije putem apeliranja na porodičnu svezu članova zajednice i eksplicitnog odabira leksičkih jedinica *healthy, growing, active force, confident* i *strong* ukazuju na prisustvo konceptualnog scenarija kretanja naprijed kao jednog od američkih ideala u sklopu konceptualne trilaterale morala, slobode i sreće.

Zatim, jasno je uočljivo apeliranje na biološki kontinuitet američke kognitivne zajednice putem leksema *children* sa naglaskom na inkluzivnu posesiju *our* i metamorfozu u zrelo doba, *adulthood*, te se iz ugla strogog oca postavlja pitanje o stanju nacije za buduća pokoljenja. Ubrzo slijedi potvrda modela strogog oca postavljenog u intertekstualni okvir pozivanjem na historijat američke prakse dobrog

staranja o zajedničkim institucijama i kontinuirane izgradnje tzv. boljeg svijeta za našu djecu i unuke.

Rast, kao znak napretka, koristi se i kao diskursna strategija pozitivne reprezentacije u odnosu na druge nacije. U sljedećim primjerima uočava se i prisustvo pojmovnog religijskog mitosa američke posebnosti i Amerike sagledane kroz leće Grada spasenja:

*America's economy is the fastest growing of any major industrialized nation.*

*By making our economy more flexible, more innovative, and more competitive, we will keep America the economic leader of the world.*

*To make our economy stronger and more dynamic, we must prepare a rising generation to fill the jobs of the 21st century.*

Pitanje slobode, a u skladu sa postuliranim tripatritnim aksiološkim sistemom morala, sreće i slobode, predstavlja integralni dio strateškog tematskog arsenala kojem predsjednik Bush bezrezervno pribjegava u komuniciranju s američkom javnošću. Koristeći model strogog oca, šalje jasnu poruku moralne odgovornosti kognitivne zajednice da očuva i diskursno interpelira pojam slobode u javnu sferu za buduća pokoljenja. Pritom, jasno je vidljiva obavezujuća priroda takve odgovornosti s obzirom na leksički odabir u primjerima koji slijede.

*Our second great responsibility to our children and grandchildren is to honor and to pass along the values that sustain a free society.*

*Our Government will continue to support faith-based and community groups that bring hope to harsh places.*

*We will pass along to our children all the freedoms we enjoy, and chief among them is freedom from fear.*

*We are all part of a great venture: To extend the promise of freedom in our country, to renew the values that sustain our liberty, and to spread the peace that freedom brings.*

*The road of providence is uneven and unpredictable, yet we know where it leads: It leads to freedom.*

Ovo je ujedno i prvi Bushov govor nakon ponovnog izbora na mjesto predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, te je u tom smislu značajniju pažnju posvetio domaćim pitanjima. To naravno ne znači da je zanemario više puta napomenuti dužnost Sjedinjenih Američkih Država da osigura mir, slobodu i demokratiju u svijetu. Sintagma *demokratija* predstavlja svojevrsnu netransparentnu alatku za propagiranje Sudbinske misije. *Dēmokratía*, ravnopravna vladavina ljudi, predstavlja nepostojeću nostalgiju, koju diskursom sudbinske mislije i idejom Američke posebnosti Vlada Sjedinjenih Američkih Država komodifikuje u vrhunski izvozni proizvod.

Klauza u obraćanju – *okončati tiraniju u svijetu* – uočljiva je perpetuacija američke hegemonijske težnje da mirom uvede mirni mehanizam kontrole. U samom govoru uviđa se i kome pripada etiketa pozitivne i negativne reprezentacije. Zemlje Bliskog istoka nemaju isti diskursni status. Naime, Saudijska Arabija i Egipat su saveznici, te je njima upućen poziv da sprovedu neophodne *demokratske* reforme, dok su Iran i Sirija jasno označeni kao *drugi* i direktni protivnici demokratije i mira u svijetu. Svojevrsna sintetička personalizacija ostvarena je referisanjem na pripadnike Vojske Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, koji su izgubili živote u službi naciji i njihove roditelje.



## I KONCEPTUALNI OKVIRI<sup>145</sup>

### 1) NADOKVIRI

#### a) MORAL

Fenomen morala, moralnosti, ćudoređa ili ćudorednosti je jedna od temeljnica na kojima počiva konstruisanje značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu. Stepem do kojeg je određena forma ponašanja prihvatljiva, dobra ili loša u odnosu na moralne vrijednosti, te kako bi ljudi trebalo da se ponašaju u svakodnevnici, kao i vjervanja da su određene *ideacije* u sferi dobrog ili lošeg predstavlja značajnu referentnu tačku u formiranju diskursnih obrazaca u savremenom političkom diskursu u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama. Moral je zapravo sistem kao i svaki drugi. Skupina moralnih smjernica po kojima se kodira ponašanje date kognitivne zajednice obrazuje se putem institucionalizovanih mehanizama poput religije i politike.<sup>146</sup> Moralnost se na djelu pokazuje ćvrstinom karaktera da se u datom trenutku donese valjana i moralno utemeljena odluka – eng. moral fibre.

U svom govoru, predsjednik Bush, kao i njegovi prethodnici, a analizom uviđamo i njegov nasljednik, koristi ovu strategiju konstruisanja značenja.

1. *We must, however, be guided by some basic principles.*
2. *()...keep America the economic leader of the world.*

Predsjednik Bush u primejrima 1 i 2 ukazuje na *neke osnovne principe* – principima smo posebnu pažnju posvetili u potpoglavlju *Politički diskurs i javna sfera u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama* – koji, kako stoji u primjeru 2, podrazumijevaju očuvanje američkog moralnog sistema viđenog iz konzervativnog ugla Republikanske partije Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.

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<sup>145</sup> Objašnjenja i razrada pojedinih stavki ovog dijela analize - SOTU: GWB 1 – su detaljniji u odnosu na ostatak analize. U ovom dijelu opisujemo principe koji su primjenjivi na ostatak korpusne građe.

<sup>146</sup> <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/morality-definition/>.

Ekonomska moć i višak predstavljaju moralni cilj; suficit podrazumijeva uspjeh na moralnom planu, a manjak je moralni nedostatak. Jedan od moralnih ciljeva je i očuvanje uloge predvodnika i vođe koja pripada Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, kako po principu moralnog bastiona, tako i po mjerilu američke posebnosti.

3. *So many of my generation, after a long journey, have come home to family and faith and are determined to bring up responsible, moral children.*

U prethodnom primjeru Bush je jasno naznačio jedan od kamena temeljaca američkog moralnog sistema: porodica i odgoj *moralne djece*. Valja napomenuti da je vjera – *faith* – izvor primjera dobre prakse ogoja budućih naraštaja. Nije naodmet ukazati na sintagmu *dugo putovanje*, koja ukazuje na svojevrsno životno hodočašće.

4. *Because marriage is a sacred institution and the foundation of society, it should not be redefined by activist judges.*

Brak – sklopljen između muškarca i žene – je dakako svetinja po konzervativnim aksiološkim obrascima i predsjednik Bush se postarao da to i naglasi u primjeru 4, kao i da osudi one koji se zalažu za stav i pravo, u ovom slučaju sudije *aktiviste*, da taj društveni institut nije isključivo pravo heteroseksualnih parova. I u narednom primjeru, Bush ostaje vjeran konzervativnim svjetonazorima pozivajući se na dobrobit, porodice – kao jezgra društva – djece i cjelokupnog društva.

5. *For the good of families, children, and society, I support a constitutional amendment to protect the institution of marriage.*

Istorijska odluka Vrhovnog suda Sjedinjenih Američkih Država od 26. juna 2015. godine u slučaju *Obergefell v. Hodges*, trud predsjednika Busha da instituciju braka sačuva kao nedostižan domen za istospolne parove baca na koljena i označava

prekretnicu u redefinisaju određenih aspekata aksiološkog obrasca američke kognitivne zajednice, a dugoročni efekti će tek biti vidljivi u budućnosti.<sup>147</sup>

## b) SLOBODA

Predsjednik Bush u nadokviru *sloboda* ukazuje na obavezu američke porodice da se postara da buduća pokoljenja uživaju u privilegiji slobode, a to vidimo u naredna dva primjera:

1. *Our second great responsibility to our children and grandchildren is to honor and to pass along the values that sustain a free society.*
2. *We will pass along to our children all the freedoms we enjoy, and chief among them is freedom from fear.*

U primjerima 3 i 4, predsjednik Bush ukazuje i na obavezu američke nacije da osigura taj užitak i za sve druge širom planete, imajući na umu da je upravo sloboda *zvijezda vodilja* američkog društva, a, kako smo prethodno ukazali, i jedan od najznačajnijih američkih izvoznih proizvoda.

3. *(...)the commitment our Nation to the guiding ideal of liberty for all.*
4. *Our aim is to build and preserve a community of free and independent nations, with governments that answer to their citizens and reflect their own cultures.*

*Napad na slobodu*, kako retorički oblikuje predsjednik Bush, podsjeća na obavezu da se ta ista sloboda zaštititi – ovo ujedno predstavlja i svojevrsno opravdanje za mnogobrojne vojne intervencije američkih trupa širom tog istog, očito, ne tako slobodnog svijeta – jer sloboda ima *moć da promijeni svijet*. Primjer 5 tematizuje ovaj nadokvir, dok je primjer 6 dodatna potvrda, kako uvjerenja da je američka dužnost da

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<sup>147</sup> [http://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/14pdf/14-556\\_3204.pdf](http://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/14pdf/14-556_3204.pdf); No union is more profound than marriage, for it embodies the highest ideals of love, fidelity, devotion, sacrifice, and family. In forming a marital union, two people become something greater than once they were. As some of the petitioners in these cases demonstrate, marriage embodies a love that may endure even past death. It would misunderstand these men and women to say they disrespect the idea of marriage. Their plea is that they do respect it, respect it so deeply that they seek to find its fulfillment for themselves. Their hope is not to be condemned to live in loneliness, excluded from one of civilization's oldest institutions. They ask for equal dignity in the eyes of the law. The Constitution grants them that right.()

se postara da sloboda dođe u sve skrivene dijelove svijeta, da tu slobodu njeguju i u vlastitoj otadžbini, i da mir bude tle na kojem će se temeljiti sloboda – uz pretpostavku da je, opet, dužnost Sjedinjenih Američkih Država da se postara da se ostvare uslovi za strukturisanje *mira*, odnosno za izvoz mira u *nemirne* regione.

5. *The attack on freedom in our world has reaffirmed our confidence in freedom's power to change the world.*
6. *We are all part of a great venture: To extend the promise of freedom in our country, to renew the values that sustain our liberty, and to spread the peace that freedom brings.*

Primjeri 7 i 8 su referenca na američki san i istoriju koja, intertekstualno, podjeća na primjere dobre prakse, bez obzira na crna poglavlja poput legalnog ropstva, kao i na krajnji cilj, a to je sloboda koja je ipak dio američkog aksiološkog sistema. Predsjednik Bush, u osnovi, poručuje da je san moguće ostvariti ako je pravičan.

7. *The abolition of slavery was only a dream until it was fulfilled.*
8. *The road of providence is uneven and unpredictable, yet we know where it leads: It leads to freedom.*

### c) SREĆA

Imajući na umu da sreća, preciznije *potraga za srećom*, kako stoji i u Deklaraciji o nezavisnosti Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, predstavlja ideal američkog sna i da bi ka ostvarenju tog ideala trebalo da teže kako vlast, tako i građanstvo, izgradnja boljeg svijeta za *djecu* i *unuke* jeste jedan od primata američkog djelovanja, a kako stoji u primjeru 1. Zanimljivo je da se predsjednik Bush u *SOTU: GWB I* često osvrće na pitanje sreće i sigurnosti budućih pokoljenja. U duhu konzervativnih vrijednosti na čijim krilima je i izabran, predsjednik Bush se trudi da ostavi utisak ne samo brižnog oca, već i dobrog čuvara, da ne kažemo pastira, američkih ljudskih resursa.

1. *Over the next several months, on issue after issue, let us do what Americans have always done and build a better world for our children and our grandchildren.*

Predsjednik Bush napominje da je bitno da budemo *dobri skrbnici* ekonomije, kao jednog od primarnih izvora blagostanja, a samim tim i sreće, a u duhu te brige ukazuje da od takvog djelovanja zavise milioni američkih građana. Primjer 2 ilustruje ovaj konceptualni sklop ideja.

2. *First, we must be good stewards of this economy and renew the great institutions on which millions of our fellow citizens rely.*

Predsjednik Bush ushićeno tvrdi da je Amerika zemlja gdje se *rađaju* najveći snovi; snovi o slobodi, ali i snovi o sreći. Zapravo se radi o zemlji u kojoj je dozvoljeno sanjati, snivati i sreću tražiti. U primjeru 3, predsjednik Bush pribjegava kombinatorici pojmovne metafore: ontološka – Amerika, kojoj pripisuje personifikovane karakteriske – ne radi se samo o lokalitetu, već i biću u kojem nastaje, kako nacija, tako i ideje vodilje koje naciju usmjeravaju – Amerika ili Majka, i strukturalna, kojom opisuje nastanak dobrih, velikih ideja – SNOVI SU DJECA.

3. *And we live in the country where the biggest dreams are born.*

## **2) OKVIRI IZ RELIGIJSKOG MITOSA SJEDINJENIH AMERIČKIH DRŽAVA**

### **a) GRAD SPASENJA**

Repozitorijum uvjerenja, vjerovanja i pretpostavki o određenim vrijednostima, koji se po principu tradicije prenosi i održava u društvenom narativu, je zanimljiva strategija konstruisanja značenja. Religijski mistos Sjedinjenih Američkih Država je upravo jedan od takvih konceptualnih izvorišta. U primjeru 1, predsjednik Bush

koristi nekoliko leksema čija frekvenција u govorima ovog tipa ima nesumnjivo visok stepen. *Posvećenost* i *predanost*, *Nacija*, *ideal* koji je zvijezda vodilja, i naravno *sloboda za sve* su česta opisna građa Američkog grada spasenja.

1. *()...the commitment of our Nation to the guiding ideal of liberty for all.*

Grad spasenja je svakako utemeljen u religiji, ili kako u narednom primjeru stoji, vjeri, i Američka vlada ima dužnost da kao čuvar Grada spasenja, osigura da religija buja i da osigura da se takav model promoviše i u insotranstvu, ili kako stoji u primjeru 2, na *okrutnim mjestima*.

2. *Our Government will continue to support faith-based and community groups that bring hope to harsh places.*

Ovdje ponavljamo primjer iz nadokvira *sloboda* jer ova klauza, osim što označava slobodu, označava i spasenje od ropstva, a Amerika je upravo taj Grad spasenja gdje je ropstvo doživjelo poraz. Primjer 3 je ilustracija kako san postaje stvarnost, a primjer 4 nam govori da Američki grad spasenja predstavlja *aktivnu silu dobra*, a samim tim, stanje nacije je nepokolebljivo i snažno.

3. *The abolition of slavery was only a dream until it was fulfilled.*
4. *()...with our Nation an active force for good in the world, the state of our Union is confident and strong.*

Sloboda je svakako i ono što odlikuje jedan grad spasenja, pa se nadokvir *sloboda* i okvir iz religijskog mitosa Grad spasenja još jednom susreću u primjeru 5.

5. *We are all part of a great venture: To extend the promise of freedom in our country, to renew the values that sustain our liberty, and to spread the peace that freedom brings.*

## b) AMERIČKA POSEBNOST

Sjedinjene Američke Države su posebne, drugačije i jedinstvene upravo zato što u osnovi djelovanja ne nose podudarne obrasce ponašanja po kojima operišu drugi ili preciznije *Drugi*. Zapravo, Sjedinjene Američke Države na to imaju pravo, a to im je i dužnost imajući na umu genezu nastanka i konceptualno-religijske posebnosti. U tom maniru, predsjednik Bush formuliše i primjer 1, naglašavajući razliku između *nas* i *njih*. I ovaj paragraf može da se upiše kao ilustracija više strategija, u prvom redu heterodoksije.

1. *The United States has no right, no desire, and no intention to impose our form of government on anyone else. That is one of the main differences between us and our enemies.*

Sjedinjene Američke Države su posebne, u odnosu na druge, i po stopi razvoja, a po riječima predsjednika Busa u primjeru 2.

2. *America's economy is the fastest growing of any major industrialized nation.*

U formi eksplicitne intertekstualnosti, predsjednik Bush podsjeća sugrađana da su Amerikanci posebni i po tome što svako novo doba donosi i nove snove, a po obrascu *novo je bolje*, upravo onako kako su i same Sjedinjene Američke Države nastajale: kao vizija, kako san.

3. *As Franklin Roosevelt once reminded Americans, "Each age is a dream that is dying, or one that is coming to birth."*

## c) SUDBINSKA MISIJA

Fenomenologija Sudbinske misije je usko povezana sa ostalim okvirima religijskog mitosa Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Grad spasenja i Američka posebnost podrazumijevaju postojanje misije, i to sudbinski određene. Samim tim, u razlaganju primjera korpusne baze, javljaju se podudarnosti, no, značenje na razini lekseme, ili na razini idejnog konstrukta ukazuje na jasne, ili nijansama markirane

demarkacije. Predsjednik Bush u primjeru 1 ukazuje na obavezu izgradnje blagostanja za generacije koje će živjeti u budućnosti. U primjeru 2, ukazuje na cilj da se po obrascu Sudbinske misije Amerika mora angažovati na planu širenju ideala slobode širom svijeta.

1. *To build the prosperity of future generations...()*.
2. *Our aim is to build and preserve a community of free and independent nations...()*.

Amerika ima zadaću da taj ideal – ideal slobode – njeguje u vlastitoj zemlji, ali i na globalnom planu. Tako shvaćena, Sudbinska misija je još jedan u nizu alibija za djelovanje van vlastitih granica. Primjer 3 je tematski usmjeren ka tom retoričkom cilju, dok je primjer 4 usmjeren ka ekskulpiranju potencijanih vojnih ekspedicija u inostranstvu sa ciljem eliminisanja *neprijatelja* koji ugrožava američki aksiološki sistem.

3. *()...to advance that ideal at home and around the world.*
4. *Pursuing our enemies is a vital commitment of the war on terror, and I thank the Congress for providing our service men and women with the resources they have needed.*

## II POJMOVNE METAFORE

### a) NACIJA JE PORODICA

Pojmovno-metaforički konglomerat ovaploćen u pojmovnoj metafori NACIJA JE PORODICA predstavlja jednu od najupečatljivijih strategija konstruisanja ideološki obojenog značenjskog sistema<sup>148</sup>, a ujedno je alatka da se tako ustrojen pojmovno-značenjski proizvod razotkrije, demaskira i analitički dekonstruiše. Pojmovne metafore su zasigurno jedana od efikasnijih platformi razumjevanja značenja iz

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<sup>148</sup> Ovo je mišljenje autora disertacije, a u skladu sa savremenim kretanjima u lingvistici. Ovakav stav svakako predstavlja sinhronu percepciju autora koja će se neminovnošću protoka vremena mijenjati.



domena leksiksičke semantike i srodnih značenjski orijentisanih lingvističkih škola misli.

Predsjednik Bush u redovima koji slijede poseže za nekoliko upečatljivih pojmovnih metafora.

1. (...)the commitment of our Nation to the guiding ideal of liberty for all.

Leksema *nacija* u primjeru 1 označava mapiranje relativno *labavijeg* domena na stabilniji uz pretpostavku da je porodica izvorni domen po teoriji pojmovnih metafora koja inicijalno traži upravo solidifikovane kategorije, te shodno tome nije neobično da porodica koju percipiramo kao nukleus, jezgro i temeljnicu dobije status *jačeg* domena u ovoj konstelaciji. Nacija u prethodnom primjeru označava zajedništvo i predanost određenim porodično-hereditarnim vrijednostima, u ovom slučaju *idealu slobode za sve*.

U narednom primjeru (primjer 2), predsjednik Bush se poziva na svojevrsno pravo da vlada jer je to pravo proizašlo iz porodičnog okruženja i dolazi od članova porodične zajednice.

2. We've been placed in office by the votes of the people we serve.

U trećem primjeru nacija je predstavljena kao sila i to nepokolebljiva koja, kao svaka dobro njegovana porodica radi za opšte dobro u svijetu. U primjeru se koristi i leksema *union* koja pojačava osjećaj zajedništva i pripadanja.

3. Tonight, with a healthy, growing economy, with more Americans going back to work, with our Nation an active force for good in the world, the state of our Union is confident and strong.

U narednom primjeru, predsjednik Bush naglašava blagostanje u porodičnom okrilju koje stvara prilike i omogućava napredak, a sve je to moguće jer su se roditelji postarali da uhodaju stazu za narednu generaciju.

4. Our generation has been blessed by the expansion of opportunity, by advances in medicine, by the security purchased by our parents' sacrifice.

Primjeri 5, 6, 7 su tipični sklopovi lekesma koji evociraju odgoj nasljednika i odgovornost za njihovu budućnost.

5. (...)we watch our children moving into adulthood, we ask the question: What will be the state of their Union?
6. Members of Congress, the choices we make together will answer that question.
7. Over the next several months, on issue after issue, let us do what Americans have always done and build a better world for our children and our grandchildren.

Predsjednik se i u primjerima 8 i 9 vješto služi leksemama *djeca, društvo i brak* uspostavljajući poveznicu između ciljnog i izvornog domena.

8. For the good of families, children, and society, I support a constitutional amendment to protect the institution of marriage.
9. We will pass along to our children all the freedoms we enjoy, and chief among them is freedom from fear.

Porodici su potrebni prijatelji da bi napredovala i da bi se uspješno razvijala, te da bi se suočila s potencijalnim prijateljima i neprijateljima. Ovo je vidljivo u primjeru 10.

10. Our Nation, working with allies and friends, has also confronted the enemy abroad with measures that are determined, successful, and continuing.

b) VLADA JE RODITELJ

Kao što je i uobičajeno, svakoj porodici su potrebni roditelji, a u slučaju Republikanske stranke, pretpostavka je da se radi o konzervativnim roditeljima, no zanimljivo je da pored uloge predvodnika porodice, Republikanska stranka zastupa veću odgovornost pojedinca, a manji uticaj vlade i vlasti. Pozivaju se na premisu da je svaki pojedinac odgovoran za sebe i samim tim se ostvaruje u američkom idelu

slobode. To, dakako, znači da je Vlada Sjedinjenih Američkih Država i manje odgovorna za blagostanje građana i građanki. Ovo je svojevrsni paradoks budući da strogi roditelji žele veću kontrolu, no ovdje se radi o svojevrsnoj sinergiji strogoće i otklona odgovornosti. Predsjednik Bush naglašava da je vlast privilegija i da svi nivoi koje je birao narod, odnosno članovi američke kognitivne zajednice i porodice, služe upravo toj etniji, ali s određenom distancom. U tom smislu primjer 1 je opšte mjesto i zapravo rečenica koja se ceremonijalno ponavlja u sličnoj formi u svom govorima o stanju nacije.

1. As a new Congress gathers, all of us in the elected branches of Government share a great privilege: We've been placed in office by the votes of the people we serve.

U narednom primjeru, predsjednik Bush metonimijski preuzima preuzima na sebe plašt vlasti upotrebom pronomine *ja* i naglašava da je on taj koji vodi Vladu i na taj način predvodi američku porodicu, pritom se poziva na američke ideale, u ovom slučaju slobodu izbora i demokratičnosti cjelokupnog procesa. Zanimljivo je da se demokratija u svim analiziranim govorima percipira kao američki ideal, a ne univerzalna vrijednost.

2. This evening I will set forth policies to advance that ideal at home and around the world.

Predsjednik Bush u primjeru 3 ističe da je važno da vlast skrbi za privredu i na taj način se uspostavlja spona roditelja i porodice, odgovornog i zavisnog.

3. First, we must be good stewards of this economy and renew the great institutions on which millions of our fellow citizens rely.

Predsjednik ne propušta da podijeli odgovornost s Kongresom i na taj način postavi određenu ogradu između izvršne vlasti i naroda i zapravo naglasi da porodica-nacija ima još jednog roditelja.

4. When action was needed, the Congress delivered, and the Nation is grateful.

5. I will work with Members of Congress to find the most effective combination of reforms.

Vlada, kao dobar roditelj, ima i odgovornost da pomogne drugima, te da unese svjetlo nade u mračna i okrutna mjesta. Na taj način vlada odgaja djecu i prenosi američki aksiološki obrazac na naredna pokoljenja. To možemo vidjeti u primejrma 6 i 7, dok u primjeru 8 uviđamo i spremnost roditelja da se uhvati u koštac s neprijateljima nacije i zaštiti integitet porodice.

6. Our Government will continue to support faith-based and community groups that bring hope to harsh places.
7. We will pass along to our children all the freedoms we enjoy, and chief among them is freedom from fear.
8. Pursuing our enemies is a vital commitment of the war on terror, and I thank the Congress for providing our service men and women with the resources they have needed.

c) GRAĐANI SU DJECA

Roditelj brine za dijete, a dijete je srećno ukoliko se ostvaruje na poslovnom planu i time doprinosi sebi i cjelokupnoj porodici. Upravo zato pitanje zapošljavanja, stepena nezaposlenosti i održavanje socijalnog reda i mira uvijek provejava govorima o stanju nacije. Predsjednici imaju obavezu da bodre djecu-građane (primjer 1) i da ih uvjere da vlada, njihov roditelj, brine za njihovo blagostanje. U primjeru 2, roditeljskim tonom, predsjednik se pita kakva je bućnost zajednice s obzirom da stasavaju nove generacije, implicirajući da je dobra. U primjeru 3, naglašava da je neophodno odgajati nova pokoljenja na način da se lako prilagode svijetu koji se rapidno mijenja.

1. ()...with more Americans going back to work...()
2. ()...we watch our children moving into adulthood, we ask the question: What will be the state of their Union?

3. To make our economy stronger and more dynamic, we must prepare a rising generation to fill the jobs of the 21st century.

Roditelj ima i obavezu da kažnjava, ali i da nagradi djecu ukoliko rade za dobrobit porodice.

4. To make our economy stronger and more competitive, America must reward, not punish, the efforts and dreams of entrepreneurs.

Predsjednik podsjeća djecu da su i prethodni poglavari porodice imali viziju i na taj način naglašava da ju ima i on. Ovo je svakako primjer intertekstualnog dijaloga s ciljem legitimizacije vlastite pozicije koju građani-djeca moraju da poštuju i da u istu vjeruju.

5. As Franklin Roosevelt once reminded Americans, "Each age is a dream that is dying, or one that is coming to birth."

### III KOGNITIVNI MODELI

#### a) STROGI OTAC

Strogi otac očekuje poslušnost i poštovanje uspostavljenih sistema vrijednosti. Predsjednik Bush pribjegava sasvim opštim kategorima upotrebom lekesema *osnovni, principi, porodica, vjera, odgovorni i moralni* u primjerima 1 i 2. Ovdje se nadovezujemo na prethodnu stavku analize jer se očekuje da djeca budu moralna. Ovo pokazuje da je integrativni model analize u ovoj disertaciji pojmovno-značenjski uvezan, unutrašnje sastavnice usko naslonjene jedna na drugu.

1. We must, however, be guided by some basic principles.
2. So many of my generation, after a long journey, have come home to family and faith and are determined to bring up responsible, moral children.

Iako se trudio da zadrži instituciju braka u okrilju privilegije heteroseksualnih parova sasvim jasno arikulisanim stavom da je pomenuta institucija *sveta* – jer tako i razmišlja strogi otac – i svojevrsnim upiranjem prsta u one koji pokušavaju da istu promijene, to mu ipak nije pošlo za rukom, jer je u drugom mandatu predsjednika Obame ustavnom odlukom ovo pravo dodijeljeno i homoseksualnim parovima.<sup>149</sup>

3. Because marriage is a sacred institution and the foundation of society, it should not be redefined by activist judges.
4. For the good of families, children, and society, I support a constitutional amendment to protect the institution of marriage.

#### b) BRIŽNI RODITELJ

U primjerima koji slijede (1, 2 i 3) predsjednik Bush ukazuje na brižnost vlasti-roditelja i ukazuje na korake koje je roditelj preduzeo da iskaže navedenu brigu. Ovdje je vidljivo preplitanje primjera iz pojmovnih metafora GRAĐANI SU DJECA. Pozivajući se na simbol izvršne vlasti u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama – *this Capitol* – predsjednik Bush otvara interdiskursni kanal legitimizacije kroz čin ceremonije i rituala. Brižni roditelj se brine za poslovni status djece i u primjeru 2 slijedi auto-panegirik koji ide u prilog brižnosti vlasti. Zdravlje porodice je jedna od ključnih stavki, pa je shodno tome predsjednik Bush u primjeru 3 po uopštenim matricama intropolirao navedeno pitanje.

1. I stood on the steps of this Capitol and renewed the commitment of our Nation to the guiding ideal of liberty for all.
2. ()...with more Americans going back to work, with our Nation an active force for good in the world...()
3. To make our economy stronger and more productive, we must make health care more affordable and give families greater access to good coverage and more control over their health decisions.

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<sup>149</sup> Vidi početak analize SOTU: GWB 1.

## IV STRATEGIJE ZNAČENJSKE REPREZENTACIJE

### a) INKLUZIJA

Inkluzija je suprotan proces u odnosu na ekskluziju. Obje strategije se vrte oko istog epicentra, no kreću se u suprotnim smjerovima. Linija razgraničenja i distance se u strateškom mehanizmu inkluzije briše ili blijedi, dok je u slučaju ekskluzije ta granica naglašena i posebno se ističe. Ova dva procesa zapravo još jednom potvrđuju relevantnost binarnih relacija, ne samo u jeziku, već u cjelokupnom sistemu percepcije. Inkluzija je važna strategija koju smo uključili u integrativni model analize u ovoj disertaciji budući da predstavlja moćnu alatku kojom se odgovornost dijeli i stvara osjećaj zajedništva i na taj način se konstruiše značenjski konstrukt koji često uočavamo u govorima o stanju nacije.

Predsjednik Bush u primjeru 1 ukazuje da su zapravo *ljudi* na vlasti tu zahvaljujući *ljudima* koji su ih izabrali i na taj način subliminalno poziva cjelokupnu naciju na odgovornost i svojevrsnu poslušnost.

1. We've been placed in office by the votes of the people we serve.

Izvršna vlast ne bi mogla funkcionisati, bar ne uspješno, ukoliko legislativna branša ne pruža podršku. U tom smislu slijedi primjer 2 u kojem predsjednik Bush poziva poslanike – kongresmene i senatore – da zajedničim naporima doprinesu boljitku nacije. U sličnom ozračju su nastali i primjeri 3 i 4.

2. Members of Congress, the choices we make together will answer that question.
3. First, we must be good stewards of this economy and renew the great institutions on which millions of our fellow citizens rely.
4. When action was needed, the Congress delivered, and the Nation is grateful. Now we must add to these achievements.

U primjeru 5, predsjednik Bush nedvosmisleno deiksom i koordinacijom *ja* i *vi*, generiše sponu inkluzije. U primjeru 6, predsjednik stapa *ja* i *vi* u *mi* i na taj način još jednom pojačava osjećaj inkluzije.

5. ()...you and I will work together to give this Nation a Tax Code that is pro-growth, easy to understand, and fair to all.
6. We should not be content with laws that punish hard-working people who want only to provide for their families...().

Naredni primjer je poziv da se *svi* uključe u proces upravljanja državom. Ovo je mudra strategija jer se na taj način predsjednik Bush ograđuje od potencijalnog shvatanja njegove vladavine kao diktature i apsolutizma. *Mi* u primjerima 8 i 9 lijepi su primjeri optimizma i (auto-)bodrenja.

7. I will listen to anyone who has a good idea to offer.
8. We are all part of a great venture: To extend the promise of freedom in our country, to renew the values that sustain our liberty, and to spread the peace that freedom brings.
9. And we live in the country where the biggest dreams are born.

#### b) EKSKLUZIJA I HETERODOKSIJA

Ono što ne želimo da uvrstimo u vlastiti sistem vrijednosti moramo na adekvatan način etiketirati kao neprihvatljivo, heretičko pa i neprijateljsko. U tom kontekstu strategije ekskluzije i heteordoksije – svega onog što nije ortodoksno, odnosno tradicionalno – predstavljaju zadovoljavajući retorički put.

Prethodno pomenuti fenomen instituta braka predstavlja jedan od fundusa tradiconalnog i konzervativnog pristupa politici i shodno tome važno je pitanje za Republikansku stranku. Predsjednik Bush imao je obavezu da u svom govoru ovo pitanje pokrene i da ga putem ekskluzije i heterodoksije etiketira.

1. ()...marriage is a sacred institution and the foundation of society, it should not be redefined by activist judges.

Pominjanje neprijatelja – drugog i opasnog – dobar je mehanizam da se ova strategija stavi u upotrebu – primjer 2.



2. Our Nation, working with allies and friends, has also confronted the enemy abroad with measures that are determined, successful, and continuing.

Navođenje razlika je takođe putanja do ove dvije strategije – primjeri 3, 4 i 5.

3. That is one of the main differences between us and our enemies.
4. They seek to impose and expand an empire of oppression in which a tiny group of brutal, self-appointed rulers control every aspect of every life.
5. The attack on freedom in our world has reaffirmed our confidence in freedom's power to change the world.

#### c) AGENTNOST

Predsjednik Bush naglašava i svoju aktivnu ulogu agensa i centra uticaja, bez obzira na prethodnu inkluziju i poziv za učešće. Jasno je da se u ovakvim govorima mora uspostaviti ekvilibrijum između diktature i legitimne vlasti, apsolutizma i pluralizma kako bi naposljetku recipjent imao osjećaj da je dio porodice, da tom porodicom neko suvereno upravlja i da upravlja upravo voljom recipijenta, ali da u isto vrijeme nije potlačen i da su njegova i njena prava zaštićena. U primjerima koji slijede ponavljaju se pronomine *ja, ja i vi, mi, vi*, te imenica *vlada* kojima se ukazuje na odlučnost u preuzimanju odgovornosti i ustrojava se agentivnost.

1. ()...I stood on the steps of this Capitol and renewed the commitment of our Nation to the guiding ideal of liberty for all.
2. We've been placed in office by the votes of the people we serve.
3. This evening I will set forth policies to advance that ideal at home and around the world.
4. ()...we watch our children moving into adulthood...().
5. ()...we must be good stewards of this economy and renew the great institutions on which millions of our fellow citizens rely.
6. ()...we must make health care more affordable and give families greater access to good coverage and more control over their health decisions.

7. ...you and I will work together to give this Nation a Tax Code that is pro-growth, easy to understand, and fair to all.
8. We should not be content with laws that punish hard-working people who want only to provide for their families...()
9. I will work with Members of Congress to find the most effective combination of reforms.
10. I will listen to anyone who has a good idea to offer.
11. For the good of families, children, and society, I support a constitutional amendment to protect the institution of marriage.
12. Our Government will continue to support faith-based and community groups that bring hope to harsh places.
13. We will pass along to our children all the freedoms we enjoy, and chief among them is freedom from fear.
14. ()...we must continue to support our military and give them the tools for victory.

#### d) INTERTEKSTUALNOST I DIJALOGICITET

Predsjednik se poziva na američke *ideale* – doduše ne kaže uvijek o kojim je idealima riječ, no pretpostavka je da je to opšte mjesto i da svi članovi američke kognitivne zajednice znaju o kojim idealima se radi. Tu je i imenica *principi*, a u primjeru 3, predsjednik Bush je konkretniji te navodi sintagme *veličanstveni poduhvat, obećanje o slobodi, vrijednosti, sloboda, širenje mira*.

1. ()...to advance that ideal at home and around the world.
2. We must, however, be guided by some basic principles.
3. We are all part of a great venture: To extend the promise of freedom in our country, to renew the values that sustain our liberty, and to spread the peace that freedom brings.

Predsjednik se u primjeru 4 poziva na 32. predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država otvarajući dijalog sa prethodnicima i vrijednostima koje su oni zastupali, a koje on sada čuva i nadograđuje.

4. As Franklin Roosevelt once reminded Americans, "Each age is a dream that is dying, or one that is coming to birth."

Američki san i pojam snova koje je moguće ostvariti u Sjedinjenim američkim Državama i vrijednosti koje/ih ga sačinjavaju su česta tačka na koju se predsjednici referentno povezuju, a stavke iz prošlosti su takođe dio arhiva koji služi kao mehanizam intertekstualnog dijaloga.

5. And we live in the country where the biggest dreams are born.
6. The abolition of slavery was only a dream until it was fulfilled.

#### e) LEGITIMIZACIJA I DELEGITIMIZACIJA

Predsjednik Bush ima obavezu, kao i drugi predsjednici, da legitimizuje kako svoj, tako i položaj svojih saradnika. Naravno, postoji i suprotan proces u kojem se oponentima uskraćuje legitimitet kroz strategiju delegitimizacije.

Pozicija predsjednika, kao i drugih izabranih nivoa vlasti, je legitimizovana ukoliko dolazi kroz snagu izbora člnova američke kognitivne zajednice – američke porodice-nacije.

1. We've been placed in office by the votes of the people we serve.

Pozicija predsjednika je takođe legitimna ukoliko se predsjednik bori protiv prijetnji po društvo i čuva njegovu sigurnost.

2. Pursuing our enemies is a vital commitment of the war on terror, and I thank the Congress for providing our service men and women with the resources they have needed.

Legitimno je posezati za vojnom silom ako je u cilju ostvarenja američkih strateških interesa, a u skalu s prethodnim primjerom. U primjeru 4, uočavamo idealističko-mesijanske namjere koje su takođe karta legitimnosti djelovanja unutar granica ovlaštenja predsjednika.

3. During this time of war, we must continue to support our military and give them the tools for victory.
4. Our aim is to build and preserve a community of free and independent nations, with governments that answer to their citizens and reflect their own cultures.

Delegitimizirajući napad na slobodu, legitimizuje se borba protiv onih koji tu slobodu ugrožavaju - legitimizacija rata delegitimizacijom neprijatelja.

5. The attack on freedom in our world has reaffirmed our confidence in freedom's power to change the world.

Cilj je plemenit jer vodi ka slobodi, pa je onda i put do tog cilja legitiman.

6. The road of providence is uneven and unpredictable, yet we know where it leads: It leads to freedom.

#### f) POZITIVNA I NEGATIVNA REPREZENTACIJA

Jezičko uprizorenje stavova i pozicija u pozitivnom i negativnom kontekstu je kompleksan proces. Sasvim je jasno da će govornik, u ovom slučaju predsjednik Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, pribjeći pozitivnoj reprezentaciji određeneih fenomena ukoliko su u skladu s aksiološkim sistemom koji zastupa. Nauprot tome, sve što ne ulazi u taj djelokrug biće oslikano negativnim koloritom na platnu reprezentacije.

Promovisanje američkih ideala je zasigirno u domenu pozitivnog predstavljanja. Nacija koja je aktivna sila dobra, koja je sigurna u sebe i snažna i mjesto koje je sigurno za buduća pokoljenja, američka privreda – pogon američke porodice – kao najjačeg mehanizma na svijetu ozitivan rakurs – jesu kategorije koje zavrijeđuju pozitivan rakurs – primjeri 1, 2, 3 i 4.

1. ()...to advance that ideal at home and around the world.
2. ()...with our Nation an active force for good in the world, the state of our Union is confident and strong.

3. Over the next several months, on issue after issue, let us do what Americans have always done and build a better world for our children and our grandchildren.
4. America's economy is the fastest growing of any major industrialized nation.

g) NAMETANJE OKVIRA I REITERACIJA

Nametanje značenjskih okvira postiže se strateškim pozicioniranjem značenjskog konstrukta na jasno uočljive lokalitete. Ovaj cilj se najefikasnije postiže reiteracijom – učestalim ponavljanjem željenih sadržaja. Dakako, radi se o svojevrsno teoriji kultivacije o kojoj smo govorili u potpoglavlju *Politički diskurs i javna sfera u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama*. Predsjednik Bush u narednim primjerima učestalo poseže za sintagmama i klauzama poput *brak je sveta institucija, temelj društva, za dobit naših porodica, djece i društva, zaštita instituta braka, naša nacija, naš cilj, promovisati ideale, naša nacija je aktivna sila dobra u svijetu, stanje naše zajednice je snažno, američka ekonomija je naj snažnija, Amerika...predvodnik u svijetu, kako bismo osnažili ekonomiju, da nam ekonomija raste, radiću s predstavnicima Kongresa, spreman sam saslušati svakog ko ima dobru ideju, naša odgovornost, naša Vlada, prijatelji, saveznici, neprijatelji*.

1. Because marriage is a sacred institution and the foundation of society, it should not be redefined by activist judges.
2. For the good of families, children, and society, I support a constitutional amendment to protect the institution of marriage.
3. Our Nation, working with allies and friends, has also confronted the enemy abroad with measures that are determined, successful, and continuing.
4. Our aim is to build and preserve a community of free and independent nations, with governments that answer to their citizens and reflect their own cultures.
5. ()...to advance that ideal at home and around the world.

6. ()...with our Nation an active force for good in the world, the state of our Union is confident and strong.
7. America's economy is the fastest growing of any major industrialized nation.
8. By making our economy more flexible, more innovative, and more competitive, we will keep America the economic leader of the world.
9. To make our economy stronger and more dynamic, we must prepare a rising generation to fill the jobs of the 21st century.
10. To make our economy stronger and more competitive, America must reward, not punish, the efforts and dreams of entrepreneurs.
11. To make our economy stronger and more productive, we must make health care more affordable and give families greater access to good coverage and more control over their health decisions.
12. To keep our economy growing, we also need reliable supplies of affordable, environmentally responsible energy.
13. I will work with Members of Congress to find the most effective combination of reforms.
14. I will listen to anyone who has a good idea to offer.
15. Our second great responsibility to our children and grandchildren is to honor and to pass along the values that sustain a free society.
16. For the good of families, children, and society, I support a constitutional amendment to protect the institution of marriage.
17. Our Government will continue to support faith-based and community groups that bring hope to harsh places.
18. We will pass along to our children all the freedoms we enjoy, and chief among them is freedom from fear.
19. Our Nation, working with allies and friends, has also confronted the enemy abroad with measures that are determined, successful, and continuing.

## **ii SOTU: GWB 2**

Uviđajući da prethodna godina stoji kao nepokolebljiv podsjetnik neuspjele politike koju je vodio u protekloj periodu, Bush je u ovom obraćanju podabrao redukovane amencije za nadolazeće dane na vlasti. Budući da prošlogodinje obraćanje, koje je posvetio planu za socijalnu zaštitu, nije ostvarilo željena očekivanja – prijedlog predsjednika Busha nije ušao u parlamentarnu proceduru – skromnijim apelom uputio je molbu da se izvrši revizija sistema socijalne zaštite građana rođenih u periodu nakon Drugog svjetskog rata (od 1946. do 1964. godine).

Težište je ponovo stavio na domaća pitanja, u prvom redu pokretanje privrede. Rat u Iraku je iscrpio američku privredu, a Bushov afintitet za grandiozne planove pretrpio je mnogobrojna unižavanja u proteklom periodu. Nestabilnost u Iraku i jačanje islamističkih organizacija u svijetu, te ekonomski neuspjeh na domaćem tlu i razarajući uragan Katrina pokazuju da popularnost predsjednika Busha naglo opada. Kada ne postoje konkretne mjere, a evidentan je mjerljiv neuspjeh, diskurs često uzima zaokret ka filozofsko-apstraktnim formulacijama, što je učinio i predsjednik Bush 2006. godine. Sama Bijela kuća potvrdila je da je obraćanje realizovano u filozofskom maniru, a ne po tipičnom obrascu svojstvenom ovim govorima.

## **I KONCEPTUALNI OKVIRI**

### **1) NADOKVIRI**

#### **a) MORAL**

Moralna obaveza vlasti se i u drugom govoru predsjednika Busha koji smo analizirali u disertaciji uočava u primjerima u kojima predsjednik stavlja do znanja da je mir moralan, a da je i obaveza vlade da osigura mir za svoje građane, te na tom

fonu u primjeru 1 pronalazimo sintagme *jedini način, zaštititi naš narod, jedini put do mira*, i na posljetku, moralnim nadokvirom, predsjednik Bush vrši i legitimizaciju svoje vlasti, odnosno vlasti i dominacije Sjedinjenih Američkih Država posljednjim dijelom rečenice *jedini način da kontrolišemo našu sudbinu je da mi vladamo*.

1. The only way to protect our people, the only way to secure the peace, the only way to control our destiny is by our leadership.

Nije moralno otići sa borbenih položaja (primjer 2) i stoga *nema mira ako se povučemo, a nema ni časti u povlačenju*, a samim tim, nema ni morala.

2. There is no peace in retreat, and there is no honor in retreat.

Moralni bastion Sjedinjenih Američkih Država štiti se i čvrstim stavom o neuzmicanju pred neprijateljem uz obećanje da *naši prijatelji i neprijatelji mogu biti sigurni da se Sjedinjene Američke Države neće povući iz svijeta i da se nikada neće predati zlu*. Zanimljivo je da je riječ *zlo* upravo na ovom tekstualnom lokalitetu ukolopljena u nadokvir morala – primjer 3.

3. ()...our enemies and our friends can be certain: The United States will not retreat from the world, and we will never surrender to evil.

Moralno je boriti se protiv zla i unijeti svjetlo nade na mračna mjesta očaja *jačanjem privrede, borbom protiv bolesti* kao što stoji u primjeru 4.

4. To overcome dangers in our world, we must also take the offensive by encouraging economic progress and fighting disease and spreading hope in hopeless lands.

Moralno društvo strukturisano je po određenim *principima* (primjer 5), ali moralno društvo nije satkano od *moći i raskoši*. Moralno društvo je *samilosno, čedno, i društvo nade* – primjer 6.



5. To draw that support, we must always be clear in our principles and willing to act.
6. ()...our greatness is not measured in power or luxuries but by who we are and how we treat one another. So we strive to be a compassionate, decent, hopeful society.

## b) SLOBODA

Sloboda je svakako jedan od metaanarativa koji se frekventno javlja i u čestije je korelaciji s prethodnim nadokvirom, te se shodno tome i nalaze u istoj analitičkoj skupini. Da bi se došlo do slobode, nepohodno je *svijet osloboditi od tiranije*, kao što stoji u primjeru 1, a sloboda se *ne brani unutar naših granica* – primjer 2.

1. We seek the end of tyranny in our world.
2. In a time of testing, we cannot find security by abandoning our commitments and retreating within our borders.

*Naša je odluka da se nepokolebljivo uhvatimo u koštac s neprijateljima slobode* je dio primejera 3 u kojem se još jednom naglašava jedna od temeljnih vrijednosti aksiološkog sistema Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.

3. We will choose to act confidently in pursuing the enemies of freedom, or retreat from our duties in the hope of an easier life.

*Sloboda nije nedostižni san*. San o slobodi je epopeja koja se se ostvarila američim djelovanjem diljem svijeta. Sjedinjene Američke Države su *spasile slobodu u Evropi, oslobodile koncentracione logore, pomogle da se demokratije podigne na noge i uručile porazni udarac zlom carstvu* – primjeri 4 i 5).

4. Far from being a hopeless dream, the advance of freedom is the great story
5. We are the nation that saved liberty in Europe and liberated death camps and helped raise up democracies and faced down an evil empire.

U primjerima 6 i 7 ponovo se naglašava da je Amerika *velika sila koja se bori za slobodu i prosperitet* i da će i dalje *predvoditi napredak slobode u svijetu*.

6. America is a great force for freedom and prosperity.
7. We will lead freedom's advance.

c) SREĆA

Nada je svakako izvor sreće, a *društvo puno nade* očekuje da *izabrani dužnosnici izvršavaju svoje obaveze u skladu s povjerenjem koje su im građani dali*, da se s *posebnom pažnjom brinemo o djeci kojoj nedostaje ljubav i smjernice u životu*. Put oporavka popločan je pravdom, jednakošću, i obilatom prilikama za sve – primjeri 1, 2 i 3.

1. A hopeful society expects elected officials to uphold the public trust.
2. A hopeful society gives special attention to children who lack direction and love.
3. As we recover from a disaster, let us also work for the day when all Americans are protected by justice, equal in hope, and rich in opportunity.

**2) OKVIRI IZ RELIGIJSKOG MITOSA SJEDINJENIH AMERIČKIH DRŽAVA**

a) GRAD SPASENJA

Sjedinjene Američke Države su svjetionik nade i da njih nema, *svijet bi bio mnogo opasnije i nespokojnije mjesto*. Samo *američko vodstvo* može spasiti svijet.

1. The only way to protect our people, the only way to secure the peace, the only way to control our destiny is by our leadership.

2. The only alternative to American leadership is a dramatically more dangerous and anxious world.

#### b) AMERIČKA POSEBNOST

Sjedinjene Američke Države uvijek idu drugim, boljim i posebnim putem u odnosu na druge. Amerika se ne predaje *lažnom osjećaju ugođaja u izolaciji*. Amerika je, zapravo, *partner svima ukoliko žele bolje da žive*. U Americi se vrijednosti ne mjere samo u materijalnim izračunima. U Americi su *samilost, čednost i nada* nešto što predstavlja nadređene kategorije. Ovo možemo detektovati u primjerima 1, 2, 3 i 4.

1. America rejects the false comfort of isolationism.
2. For people everywhere, the United States is a partner for a better life.
3. To draw that support, we must always be clear in our principles and willing to act.
4. ()...our greatness is not measured in power or luxuries but by who we are and how we treat one another. So we strive to be a compassionate, decent, hopeful society.

#### c) SUDBINSKA MISIJA

Fenomenologija Sudbinske misije se i dalje uviđa u korpusu disertacije. Sudbinski ekspanzionizam Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, misija da mogu i da im je zapravo suđeno da se šire, da predvode i da budu predvodnik, jeste dio kako politike Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, ali je značajna diskursno-značenjska platforma na kojoj se grade inormacioni blokovi koji se svakodnevno kanališu u javni i privatni prostor. U primjeru 1, predsjednik jasno kaže da će Amerika da nastavi da prevodi i da i dalje bude lider svijeta koji će okončati tiraniju (primjer 2), prihvata poziv usuda i izbavlja potlačene iz okova u smiraj mira (primjer 3).

1. So the United States of America will continue to lead.

2. We seek the end of tyranny in our world.
3. ()...we accept the call of history to deliver the oppressed and move this world toward peace.

Sjedinjene Američke Države se i dalje bore protiv *terorista* i *njihovih mreža* (primjer 4). Amerika je uvijek *pobjedonosna kada se zaputi na pohod mira* – primjer 5.

4. We remain on the offensive against terror networks.
5. American leaders—from Roosevelt to Truman to Kennedy to Reagan—rejected isolation and retreat, because they knew that America is always more secure when freedom is on the march.

U primjeru 6, sasvim se jasno vide obrisi američke sudbinske misije u izricanju obećanja o *nastavka puta* i *sigurnosti u pobjedu*.

6. And so we move forward, optimistic about our country, faithful to its cause, and confident of the victories to come.

## II POJMOVNE METAFORE

### c) NACIJA JE PORODICA

U primjeru 1, predsjednik Bush se sjedno osvrće na zajedničku prošlost amerike porodice, a podsjetnik za to je i zdanje u kojem drži ovaj govor. U primjeru 2, predsjednik napominje da se američka porodica upravo u tom zdanju – *the Capitol* – okuplja u dobrim i teškim vremenima, kao što to čine sve porodice u svom domu.

1. Every time I'm invited to this rostrum, I'm humbled by the privilege and mindful of the history we've seen together.
2. We have gathered under this Capitol dome in moments of national mourning and national achievement.

Razlike između članova porodice ne smiju dovesti bijesa. Ova pitanja se moraju rješavati u ozračju dobronamjernosti i uzajamnog poštovanja, a predsjednik Bush, kao otac porodice, će uraditi ono što je u njegovoj moći da se pomenuta pitanja riješe na miran način za opšte dobro porodice – primjeri 3 i 4.

3. (...)our differences cannot be allowed to harden into anger.
4. To confront the great issues before us, we must act in a spirit of good will and respect for one another, and I will do my part.

d) VLADA JE RODITELJ

Vlada se stara za članove porodice kao pravi roditelj i to čini kada je porodici najteže – primejr 1.

1. We have served America through one of the most consequential periods of our history, and it has been my honor to serve with you.

U primjeru 2, predsjednik Bush napominje da se radi o odlučujućoj godini u kojoj će vlast donijeti odluke koje odrediti budućnost članova porodice.

2. In this decisive year, you and I will make choices that determine both the future and the character of our country.

e) GRAĐANI SU DJECA

Djeca imaju i ulogu da štite porodicu, pa je stoga porodica zahvalana pripadnicima američkih vojnih snaga zato što štite svoju porodicu.

1. We're grateful to all who volunteer to wear our Nation's uniform.

Svaka porodica mora da podnese određene žrtve da opšte dobro, ali je važno da porodica te žrtve uviđa i da uputi adekvatan pomen i pohvalu.

2. And as we honor our brave troops, let us never forget the sacrifices of America's military families.

### **III KOGNITIVNI MODELI**

#### **a) STROGI OTAC**

Strogi otac jasno vidi jedan put kojim bi se porodica morala kretati i taj put predsjednik Bush iznosi u primjeru 1, a u primjerima 2 i 3 naglašava nužnost da Amerika vlada i je jedini put do mira proaktivno djelovanje. U primjeru 4, strogi otac se hvali uspjesima svoje vladavine u kontekstu borbe protiv prijetnje američkoj porodici i upućuje obećanje da će vremenom svim neprijateljima Sjedinjenih Američkih Država vlasti pokucati na vrata.

1. The only way to protect our people, the only way to secure the peace, the only way to control our destiny is by our leadership.
2. ()...the United States of America will continue to lead.
3. There is no peace in retreat, and there is no honor in retreat.
4. We have killed or captured many of their leaders. And for the others, their day will come.

#### **b) BRIŽNI RODITELJ**

Brižni roditelj ima na umu ekonomski i zdravstveni prosperitet porodice – primjer 1.

1. Keeping America competitive requires affordable health care.

Brižni roditelj se stara da porodica može da se osloni na adekvatne resurse – institucije – koje svoj posao rade po etičkim uzusima – primjer 2.

2. A hopeful society has institutions of science and medicine that do not cut ethical corners and that recognize the matchless value of every life.

Brižnom roditelju je bitno svako dijete, pa i ono bez ljubavi i koje je u određenom smislu zalutalo (primjer 3). U primjeru 4, predsjednik Bush naglašava da je dužnost porodice da pomogne onim članovima kojima je pomoć nepohodna kako bi se oporavili.

3. A hopeful society gives special attention to children who lack direction and love.
4. A hopeful society comes to the aid of fellow citizens in times of suffering and emergency and stays at it until they're back on their feet.

#### **IV STRATEGIJE ZNAČENJSKE REPREZENTACIJE**

##### **a) INKLUZIJA**

U sljedećim primjerima uvidamo upotrebu pronomine *mi* kojom predsjednik Bush uspostavlja uključivanje i pravi ograde od potpune odgovornosti.

1. We have served America...().
2. ()...we must act...().
3. We will choose to act confidently...().
4. We will choose to build our prosperity...().
5. We are the nation ...().
6. ()...we accept the call of history ...().
7. We remain on the offensive ...().

## b) EKSKLUZIJA I HETERODOKSIJA

U primjeru 1, predsjednik Bush opetuje *drugog* i *borbu za slobodu* protiv drugog – *neprijatelja*. U primjerima 2 i 3, predsjednik Bush tvrdi da je borba i dalje u toku i da je polučila željene ishode.

1. ()...pursuing the enemies of freedom...().
2. We remain on the offensive against terror networks.
3. We have killed or captured many of their leaders. And for the others, their day will come.

## c) AGENTNOST

Aktivna uloga i svjesni postupci su neophodni kako bi se ostvario odreženi cilj kao u primjeru 1.

1. To confront the great issues before us, we must act in a spirit of good will and respect for one another, and I will do my part.

Taj isti obrazac je vidljiv u primjeru 2 u kojem predsjednik Bush na sebe preuzima veliku odgovornost donošenja značajnih odluka za budućnost zemlje.

2. In this decisive year, you and I will make choices that determine both the future and the character of our country.

U primjeru 3, predsjednik Bush inkluzivno aktivira mehanizam agenstivnosti s ciljem mobilizacije podrške i ostvarenja zajedničkog cilja. Iste obrace čitamo i u primjerima 4 i 5.

3. We will choose to act confidently in pursuing the enemies of freedom, or retreat from our duties in the hope of an easier life.
4. We will choose to build our prosperity by leading the world economy...().
5. The United States will not retreat from the world, and we will never surrender to evil.



#### d) INTERTEKSTUALNOST I DIJALOGICITET

U narednim primjerima, predsjednik Bush se poziva na historicitet doma američkog legislativnog sistema koji je svojevrsni simbol američkog zajedništva i porodičnog okupljanja. Zatim se poziva na historijku crticu – američko učešće u Drugom svjetskom ratu. Naposljetku se poziva na svoje prethodnike kao i na prethodne generacije koje su u datom sinhronom trenutku težili ostvarenju sličnih ciljeva, pa shodno tome, takav dijalog intertekstualno generiše dijahronu relevantnost i univerzalanu vrijednost.

1. Every time I'm invited to this rostrum, I'm humbled by the privilege and mindful of the history we've seen together.
2. We are the nation that saved liberty in Europe and liberated death camps and helped raise up democracies and faced down an evil empire.
3. American leaders—from Roosevelt to Truman to Kennedy to Reagan—rejected isolation and retreat, because they knew that America is always more secure when freedom is on the march.
4. Like Americans before us, we will show that courage, and we will finish well.

#### e) LEGITIMIZACIJA I DELEGITIMIZACIJA

Rad za dobrobit porodice je neosporan argument u retoričkom smislu koji se može ići u prilog legitimizacije datih postupaka – primjer 1.

1. We have served America through one of the most consequential periods of our history, and it has been my honor to serve with you.

Ukoliko je čin odlučan i ima plemenit ishod na horizontu očekivanja, onda je takav primjer primjerena građa za strukturisanje legitimizacije – primjer 2.

2. We will choose to act confidently in pursuing the enemies of freedom, or retreat from our duties in the hope of an easier life.

Eventualno posustajanje nema mjesta u prostoru legitimizacije, tako da nam ovaj primjer (3) služi kao dvoslojni egzemplar legitimizacije i delegitimizacije.

3. There is no peace in retreat, and there is no honor in retreat.

Primjer 4, legitimizuje ubistvo neprijatelja jer je prijetanja američkoj porodici, dok primjer 5 dodatno opravdava metode ratovanja jer da Sjedinjene Američke Države nisu na bojnopolju, svijet bi bio u većoj opasnosti.

4. We have killed or captured many of their leaders. And for the others, their day will come.
5. The only alternative to American leadership is a dramatically more dangerous and anxious world.

#### f) POZITIVNA I NEGATIVNA REPREZENTACIJA

Pozitivni primjeri iz repozitorijuma američke isorije i sadašnjice slijede kao esponente pozitivne značenjske reprezentacije.

1. ()...to build our prosperity by leading the world economy...().
2. America rejects the false comfort of isolationism.
3. We are the nation that saved liberty in Europe and liberated death camps and helped raise up democracies and faced down an evil empire.
4. ()...we accept the call of history to deliver the oppressed and move this world toward peace.
5. Our economy is healthy and vigorous and growing faster than other major industrialized nations.
6. We must continue to lead the world in human talent and creativity.

g) NAMETANJE OKVIRA I REITERACIJA

U ovoj koordinisanoj strategiji, repeticija – opetovanje leksema, sintagmi i klauzalnih sklopova – predstavlja upečatljiv retorički manevar indoktrinacije.

1. We will...().
2. The only way ...().
3. ()...we accept...().T
4. ()...we must...().
5. We have served America...().
6. We have gathered...().
7. ()...we must act...().
8. We will choose to act...().
9. We will choose to build ...().
10. ()...the United States of America will continue to lead.
11. We will lead...().
12. We will compete...().
13. We will renew...().

### iii SOTU: GWB 3

Pretposljednje obraćanje predsjednika Busha 2007. godine ponajbolje je opisao analitičar časopisa *Washington Post* Dan Balz naslovivši analitički članak o predsjednikovom obraćanju *Stanje predsjednika: Opsadno* (eng. *The State of the President: Beleaguered*).<sup>150</sup> U pokušaju da preostale dvije godine mandata donekle učini smislenim, te u svjetlu, preciznije tami, u kontekstu izbornog poraza Republikanske stranke iz čijih redova dolazi, Bush je pribjegao donekle ublaženom, no i dalje odlučno čvrstom diskursu šefa Bijele kuće. Onesposobljen gubitkom većine u Kongresu Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, Bush je de facto prešao u hendikepirani status čelnika američke administracije. Suštinski problem predsjednika Busha je gubitak podrške američke kognitivne zajednice modusu operandi koji je u proteklom periodu zagovarao, što esencijalno znači da je glavi porodice izglasano nepovjerenje, te se čeka sistemski strukturisan temporalni prostor da ga se isprati, ne nužno uz počasti, sa čela stola. Kako je Balz primijetio, Bushov govor se račva na dva kolosijeka. Prvi se odnosi na domaća pitanja, koje je ovlaš dotaknuo, dok je drugi povratak iscrpno oprobanim obrascima, čiji su glavni sastojci Irak, te rat protiv terorizma. Rat koji je, kako Balz navodi, *definisao njegove predsjedničke mandate*, čini se da je u dobroj mjeri obilježio i njegov sveopšti diskurs.

Ova godina je istorijski bitna i na planu rodne jednakosti budući da je po prvi put na mjesto Predsjedavajućeg Kongresa Sjedinjenih Američkih Dražava izabrana žena, i to Nancy Pelosi, zastupnica Demokratske stranke, koja u Kongresu predstavlja saveznu državu Kaliforniju. Poruke koje je uputio američkoj javnosti, po uobičajenom hodogramu, prate tematizaciju rata protiv terorizma, borbe na ekonomskom planu i

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<sup>150</sup> <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/01/23/AR2007012301550.html>.

jedinstvo američke nacije. Jasno je pak da je Bushovu politiku, a posebno odluku da se pokrene rat u Iraku, javnost osudila kao neuspjeh. *Washington Post* prenosi mišljenje eksperta za javno mnijenje Republikanske stranke, koji je nakon sprovedenog istraživanja o indeksu podrške predsjedniku Bushu zaključio da je američka nacija shvatila da je *došlo vrijeme da se stvari privedu kraju*. Uprkos pozivu za prevazilaženje stranačkih barijera, ostatak drugog mandata predsjednika Busha osuđen je na političku dormantnost i status društvene anateme.

## **I KONCEPTUALNI OKVIRI**

### **1) NADOKVIRI**

#### **a) MORAL**

Neokoljan sistem pravosuđa je paragon ćudoređa, a borba protiv gladi, siromaštva i bolesti je osnovno pitanje moralnog djelovanja. Amerika na taj način pokazuje svijetu da je utočište morala i postavlja primjer drugima šta je ispravan put – primjeri 1, 2 i 3.

1. A future of hope and opportunity requires a fair, impartial system of justice.
2. We hear the call to take on the challenges of hunger and poverty and disease, and that is precisely what America is doing.
3. When America serves others in this way, we show the strength and generosity of our country.

#### **b) SLOBODA**

Soboda je sveta i nju valja čuvati životima članova kognitivne zajednice. Upravo zato predsjednik Bush korisiti idiomatski, ne sasvim transparentnu, strukturu u kojoj figurira riječ *vjera*, a koja zapravo znači biti odan i podržavati – primjer 1. U

primjeru 2, predsjednik Bush ističe da nema veće odgovornosti od zaštite ljudi, u ovom slučaju Amerikanaca, od opasnosti. U trećem se primjeru predsjednik pohvalio inovacijama koje je njegova vlada uvela kako bi osigurala jednu od temeljnica američkog akisološkog sistema – slobodu.

1. (...and to keep faith with those we have sent forth to defend us.
2. For all of us in this room, there is no higher responsibility than to protect the people of this country from danger.
3. We've added many critical protections to guard the homeland.

U 4. primjeru, predsjednik Bush – a ovaj se primjer uklapa i u strategije ekskluzije i heterodoksije, te pozitivne i negativne reprezentacije – ukazuje na one faktore koji ugrožavaju slobodu i protiv kojih se njegova administracija bori. U petom primjeru, evocira dublju argumentaciju sukoba navodeći da se radi o ideološkom, a ne samo fizičkom konfliktu.

4. They want to kill Americans, kill democracy in the Middle East, and gain the weapons to kill on an even more horrific scale.
5. This war is more than a clash of arms; it is a decisive ideological struggle.

### c) SREĆA

Amerika je na pragu tehnoloških otkrića što svakako doprinosi sveopštoj sreći u društvu. U prvom primjeru pored pomenutog napretka, predsjednik Bush otvara vrata optimizmu i na polju buduće energetske nezavisnosti. U primjeru 2, predsjednik Bush ponavlja mantru iz prethodnih govora o nužnosti da svaki građanin i građanka ima pristup kvalitetnom i pristupačnom sistemu zdravstvene zaštite.

1. America is on the verge of technological breakthroughs that will enable us to live our lives less dependent on oil.
2. A future of hope and opportunity requires that all our citizens have affordable and available health care.

## 2) OKVIRI IZ RELIGIJSKOG MITOSA SJEDINJENIH AMERIČKIH DRŽAVA

### a) GRAD SPASENJA

Američki grad spasenja se ogleda i principu *e pluribus unum*<sup>151</sup> (srp. od mnogih jedan, jedan satkan od mnoštva), moto koji krasi grb Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, a u primjeru 2, predsjednik navodi Sjedinjene Američke Države kao silu koja se odaziva u pomoć kada je to neophodno.

1. We need to uphold the great tradition of the melting pot that welcomes and assimilates new arrivals.
2. We hear the call to take on the challenges of hunger and poverty and disease, and that is precisely what America is doing.

### b) AMERIČKA POSEBNOST

Amerika je posebna i po tome što svu velikodušnost nesebično dijeli s drugima.

1. When America serves others in this way, we show the strength and generosity of our country.

U primjeru 2, predsjednik navodi i specifičnost cilja Sjedinjenih Američkih Država u odnosu na ostatak svijeta, navodeći da se radi o pravičnim porivima koje Americi daju legitimitet i već poznatu posebnost.

2. Yet we can go forward with confidence, because the State of our Union is strong, our cause in the world is right, and tonight that cause goes on.

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<sup>151</sup> <http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/e-pluribus-unum?q=e+pluribus+unum>.

### c) SUDBINKSA MISIJA

Pobjeda je američko sudbinsko pravo i kada se suočava s opasnostima, Amerika zna šta slijedi – pobjeda.

1. Let us find our resolve and turn events toward victory.
2. We've met challenges and faced dangers, and we know that more lie ahead.
3. Let us find our resolve and turn events toward victory.

## II POJMOVNE METAFORE

### a) NACIJA JE PORODICA

Zajedništvo je fundus svake porodice, pa tako i američke. Teške odluke zbližavaju članove porodice u zajedničkoj borbi.

1. The rite of custom brings us together at a defining hour when decisions are hard and courage is needed.

U primjeru 2, predsjednik se još jednom filozofski osvrće na fenomenologiju zajedništva.

2. Together we can restrain the spending appetite of the Federal Government, and we can balance the Federal budget.

U primjerima 3, 4 i 5, predsjednik Bush podcrtava osjećaj zajedništva u teškim trenucima, no ukazuje na nadu jer je zajednica jaka, a cilj borbe pravedan.

3. We've been through a lot together.
4. We've met challenges and faced dangers, and we know that more lie ahead.
5. Yet we can go forward with confidence, because the State of our Union is strong, our cause in the world is right, and tonight that cause goes on.



b) VLADA JE RODITELJ

Vlada ima obavezu da se postara da su djeca sigurna i ovaj primjer (1) može se primijetiti i u nadokviru slobode, kao i primjer 2, koji je ujedno i eksponent ove pojmovne metafore.

1. For all of us in this room, there is no higher responsibility than to protect the people of this country from danger.
2. We've added many critical protections to guard the homeland.

c) GRAĐANI SU DJECA

Vlada ima dužnost da resurse građana i građanki mudro utroši, jer je to roditeljska dužnost kao što stoji u primjeru 1, kao i da djeca budu zdravstveno osigurana - primjer 2.

1. (...)to spend the people's money wisely...().
2. A future of hope and opportunity requires that all our citizens have affordable and available health care.

### III KOGNITIVNI MODELI

a) STROGI OTAC

\*\*\*

b) BRIŽNI RODITELJ

Brižni roditelj je posebno zainteresovan za budućnost pokoljenja, a u primjerima 1 i 2, predsjednik Bush to pokazuje pažljivo posloženim klauzalnim sklopovima.

1. A future of hope and opportunity begins with a growing economy, and that is what we have.
2. A future of hope and opportunity requires that all our citizens have affordable and available health care.

U sličnom maniru, predsjednik nastavlja svoju homiliju.

3. Extending hope and opportunity depends on a stable supply of energy that keeps America's economy running and America's environment clean.

#### IV STRATEGIJE ZNAČENJSKE REPREZENTACIJE

##### a) INKLUZIJA

U ovoj strategiji, predsjednik Bush je pribjegao klauzalnom sklopu poput onog u primjeru 1, zatim je upotrijebio prilošku odredbu *zajedno* u primjeru 2, dok u primjeru 3 poziva, gotovo imperativno, na *zajednički poduhvat*. U primjerima 4 i 5, pronomina *mi*, predsjednik uključuje recipijente i evocira empatijske reakcije.

1. Each of us is guided by our own convictions, and to these we must stay faithful.
2. Together we can restrain the spending appetite of the Federal Government, and we can balance the Federal budget.
3. Let us find our resolve...().
4. ()...we show the strength and generosity of our country.
5. We've been through a lot together.

##### b) EKSKLUZIJA I HETERODOKSIJA

*Neprijatelj je jasno stavio do znanja šta želi time što ubija Amerikance i prijeti slobodi. Neprijatelj – oni – žele da ubiju Amerikance, samim tim i demokratiju i žele*

da se *domognu oružja za još veća razaranja* – primjeri 1, 2 i 3 ukazuju na anateme koje valja etiketirati.

1. Our enemies are quite explicit about their intentions.
2. By killing and terrorizing Americans, they want to force our country to retreat from the world and abandon the cause of liberty.
3. They want to kill Americans, kill democracy in the Middle East, and gain the weapons to kill on an even more horrific scale.

c) AGENTNOST

U primjerima koji slijede, predsjednik Bush ističe neke od koraka koje je njegova vlada zajedno s ostalim nivoima vlasti ostvarila proaktivno-agensnim djelovanjem.

1. Together we can restrain the spending appetite of the Federal Government, and we can balance the Federal budget.
2. We've added...().
3. We hear the call to take on the challenges...().
4. ()... we show the strength and generosity of our country.

d) INTERTEKSTUALNOST I DIJALOGICITET

Običaj koji se ponavlja je jedna o intertekstualnih resursa kojima se uspostavlja dijalog s prethodnicima i onim što su oni radili te time omogućili našu sadašnjost. To je dakako i vrijedno pomena.

1. The rite of custom brings us together at a defining hour when decisions are hard and courage is needed.

e) LEGITIMIZACIJA I DELEGITIMIZACIJA

Budući da ovaj rat nije samo fizički okršaj, već i borba oprečnih ideologija, sasvim je jasno da je neophodno učiniti sve da se zaštiti vlastiti ideološki sistem.

1. This war is more than a clash of arms; it is a decisive ideological struggle.

Amerika je na usluzi drugima I na taj način njeno djelovanje u svijetu je opravdano i legitimizirano.

2. When America serves others in this way, we show the strength and generosity of our country.

#### f) POZITIVNA I NEGATIVNA REPREZENTACIJA

Dobar i pristupačan zdravstveni sistem znači i zdravlju naciju. U primjeru 1, jasan je strateški manevar pozitivne reprezentacije.

1. A future of hope and opportunity requires that all our citizens have affordable and available health care.

U primjeru 2, neprijatelj koji ima jasne namjere dobija status negativne reprezentacije. Shodno tome, stoje i primjeri 3 i 4.

2. Our enemies are quite explicit about their intentions.
3. By killing and terrorizing Americans, they want to force our country to retreat from the world and abandon the cause of liberty.
4. They want to kill Americans, kill democracy in the Middle East, and gain the weapons to kill on an even more horrific scale.

g) NAMETANJE OKVIRA I REITERACIJA

*Zajedno, budućnost nade, prilike i mogućnosti, ekonomija koja se razvija, svi građani, pravičan* su sintagme koje smo identifikovali i izdvojili u sljedećim primjerima, a koje idu u prilog reiteracije s ciljem nametanja određenog značenjskog okvira.

1. Together we can restrain the spending appetite of the Federal Government, and we can balance the Federal budget.
2. A future of hope and opportunity begins with a growing economy, and that is what we have.
3. A future of hope and opportunity requires that all our citizens have affordable and available health care.
4. A future of hope and opportunity requires that all our citizens have affordable and available health care.
5. A future of hope and opportunity requires a fair, impartial system of justice.

#### iv SOTU: GWB 4

Oproštajni govor predsjednika Busha o stanju nacije sasvim očekivano protekao je u ozračju optimizma, te u maniru popisa uspjeha vlade, koju je u proteklih osam godina vodio. Zanimljivo je da je uprkos oštrim kritikama Bush odlučio da rat u Iraku predstavi kao jedan od svjetlih primjera u nizu poteza koje je povukao kako bi osigurao stabilnost, sigurnost i slobodu američke porodice. Paket mjera ekonomskog oporavka kao kontramjera nadolazećoj ekonomskoj krizi također je predstavljen kao kvalitetan mehanizam zaustavljanja fiskalnog cunamija. No, iako je ekonomija na rubu ambisa, rat u Iraku i borba protiv terorizma predstavljaju značajan izvor Bushovog diskursnog ponosa. U tom smislu obratio se skepticima, koji sumnjaju u uspješnost njegovih mjera, uvjeravanjem da teroristička mreža Al-Qaeda propada i da im slijedi neizbježni poraz.

U ekonomskom smislu, Bush je inkluzivno pozvao Kongres da odobri predložene mjere fiskalnog poticaja za dobrobit američke nacije. Kathleen Sebelius, guvernerka Kanzasa, u odgovoru Demokratske stranke na predsjednikovo obraćanje opisala je Bushovu zaostavštinu kao slijed odluka, koji je Sjedinjene Američke Države lišio saveznika, a akumulirao mnogo više neprijatelja. Ovom spisku valja dodati i ekonomsku krizu svjetskih razmjera, koju je kako na domaćem, tako i na globalnom planu naslijedio Barack H. Obama.

## **I KONCEPTUALNI OKVIRI**

### **1. NADOKVIRI**

#### a) MORAL

Utemeljivači su postavili osnovu ustavnog ustroja Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, a poštovanje volje onih koji su vođeni moralnim činom ustroja same države, jeste sam po sebi moralni čin.

1. On matters of justice, we must trust in the wisdom of our Founders and empower judges who understand that the Constitution means what it says.

#### b) SLOBODA

U primjeru 1, predsjednik Bush govori o borbi za slobodu diljem svijeta kako bi Amerikanci uživali u vlastitoj slobodi.

1. (...)building a prosperous future for our citizen also depends on confronting enemies abroad and advancing liberty in troubled regions of the world.

Slobodu moramo braniti o tome predsjednik zbori u narednom primjeru.

2. We will not rest until this enemy has been defeated.

Sloboda zavisi i od sigurnih granica, a u primjeru 3 vidimo da predsjednik Bush preduzima adekvatne korake kako bi osigurao pomenute granice.

3. America needs to secure our borders, and with your help, my administration is taking steps to do so.

c) SREĆA

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2) OKVIRI IZ RELIGIJSKOG MITOSA SJEDINJENIH AMERIČKIH  
DRŽAVA

a) GRAD SPASENJA

Budući da je Amerika predvodnica borbe protiv globalnog *siromaštva*, možemo ovaj primjer (1) shvatiti kao egzemplar grada spasenja. U primjeru 2, leksema koju predsjednik rabi je *glad*, dok je u primjeru 3 ta leksema *bolest*.

1. America is leading the fight against global poverty with strong education initiatives and humanitarian assistance.
2. America is leading the fight against global hunger.
3. America is leading the fight against disease.

Ameriku vidimo u retoričkom konstruktu kao *silu nade* u primjeru 4.

4. America is a force for hope in the world because we are a compassionate people, and some of the most compassionate Americans are those who have stepped forward to protect us.

b) AMERIČKA POSEBNOST

Amerika ima stručne naučnike i to ju čini posebnom, a društvo ima obavezu da im pruži svu podršku

1. To keep America competitive into the future, we must trust in the skill of our scientists and engineers and empower them to pursue the breakthroughs of tomorrow.



Utemeljivači su imali povjerenje u ljude i to je omogućilo da se razvije ova velika nacija. Zanimljivo je da predsjednik Bush u svom oproštajnom govoru otvara multilateralne intertekstulane kanale i poziva se na odluke Utemeljivača.

2. By trusting the people, our Founders wagered that a great and noble nation could be built on the liberty that resides in the hearts of all men and women.

#### c) SUDBINSKA MISIJA

Amerika ima dužnost da se širi, zaštiti i uništi neprijatelje, te se neće zaustaviti dok taj cilje ne postigne.

1. We will not rest until this enemy has been defeated.

Napredak je ono što je u srži sudbinske misije i upravo na taj način predsjednik Bush konstruiše naredni primjer, dok je u primjeru 3 lako uočiti poziv na korake koji će uz veliku mjeru samopozdanja dovesti do još većeg napretka Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.

2. From expanding opportunity to protecting our country, we've made good progress.
3. So tonight, with confidence in freedom's power and trust in the people, let us set forth to do their business.

## II POJMOVNE METAFORE

#### a) NACIJA JE PORODICA

Američke porodice se suočavaju s poteškoćama, a globalna američka porodica će se postarati da im pomogne

1. These are difficult times for many American families, and by taking these steps, we can help more of them keep their homes.

Zajednički cilj porodice je zdravstvena zaštita koja će biti svima dostupna. U primjeru 3, vjera u ljude, u članove porodice je ključ napretka.

2. We share a common goal: making health care more affordable and accessible for all Americans.
3. And so long as we continue to trust the people, our Nation will prosper, our liberty will be secure, and the state of our Union will remain strong.

b) VLADA JE RODITELJ

*Mi* u prvom primjeru govori o volji vlade da ukaže povjerenje građanima-djeci kako bi privreda doživjela procvat. To je vidljivo i u primjeru 2.

1. ()...we must trust people with their own money and empower them to grow our economy.
2. ()...we must trust in the skill of our scientists and engineers and empower them to pursue the breakthroughs of tomorrow.

c) GRAĐANI SU DJECA

Djecu valja zaštititi i to je ono što će vlada i učiniti.

1. These are difficult times for many American families, and by taking these steps, we can help more of them keep their homes.

### III KOGNITIVNI MODELI

a) STROGI OTAC

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## b) BRIŽNI RODITELJ

Brižni roditelj je evidentna pojmovna metafora kojoj pribjega predsjednik Bush u primjeru 1, opetujući primjer koji se ovaplotio u prethodnim strategijama. U primjeru 2, naglašava obaveze koje roditelj ima u kući, a u primjeru 3, predsjednik daje obećanje da on, kao glava porodice neće stati dok se ne postigne željeni rezultat.

1. We share a common goal: making health care more affordable and accessible for all Americans.
2. This is the business of our Nation here at home.
3. My fellow Americans, we will not rest either.

## IV STRATEGIJE ZNAČENJSKE REPREZENTACIJE

### a) INKLUZIJA

Pronomina *mi* se i dalje javlja kao glavni signal inkluzije.

1. ()...we've made good progress.
2. ()...we must trust people with their own money and empower them to grow our economy.
3. ()...we must trust patients and doctors to make medical decisions and empower them with better information and better options.
4. We share a common goal...().
5. We will not rest until this enemy has been defeated.

## b) EKSKLUZIJA I HETERODOKSIJA

Da bi ostvarili cilj i imali društvo koje će u budućnosti biti utočište za sve građana i građanke, neophodna je borba protiv neprijatelja koji se upisuje u heterodoksiju.

1. (...)building a prosperous future for our citizen also depends on confronting enemies abroad and advancing liberty in troubled regions of the world.

Teroristička mreža protiv koje se predsjednik Bush borio u svom mandatu zaslužuje isti diskursni status.

2. Al Qaida is on the run in Iraq, and this enemy will be defeated.

## c) AGENTNOST

Preduzimanje koraka jasan je pokazatelj agentnosti, kao i klauzalni sklopovi koji upućuju da je predsjednik, vlada i vlad u ulozi agensa i aktivnog pokretača.

1. These are difficult times for many American families, and by taking these steps, we can help more of them keep their homes.
2. We share a common goal: making health care more affordable and accessible for all Americans.
3. (...)we will not rest either.
4. We will not rest until this enemy has been defeated.

## d) INTERTEKSTUALNOST I DIJALOGICITET

U primjerima 1 i 2, predsjednik Bush se poziva na Utemeljivače i njihovu mudrost koja je omogućila mnogobrojne iskorake ka boljoj budućnosti Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.

1. On matters of justice, we must trust in the wisdom of our Founders and empower judges who understand that the Constitution means what it says.

2. By trusting the people, our Founders wagered that a great and noble nation could be built on the liberty that resides in the hearts of all men and women.

e) LEGITIMIZACIJA I DELEGITIMIZACIJA

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f) POZITIVNA I NEGATIVNA REPREZENTACIJA

*Napredak* (1), *zdravstvena zaštita* (2) kao pozitivni primjeri, te teroristička organizacija kao negativan.

1. From expanding opportunity to protecting our country, we've made good progress.
2. We share a common goal: making health care more affordable and accessible for all Americans.
3. Al Qaida is on the run in Iraq, and this enemy will be defeated.

Amerika je predvodnik u xyz kategorijama i na tom fonu predsjednik Bush niže sljedeće rečenice.

4. America is leading the fight against global poverty with strong education initiatives and humanitarian assistance.
5. America is leading the fight against global hunger.
6. America is leading the fight against disease.
7. America is a force for hope in the world because we are a compassionate people, and some of the most compassionate Americans are those who have stepped forward to protect us.

g) NAMETANJE OKVIRA I REITERACIJA

Infinitiv *izgraditi* u prva dva primjera, zatim, u primjeru 3, naglašavanje zajedništva, kojem slijedi infinitiv *održati*.

1. To build a prosperous future...().
2. To build a future of quality health care...().
3. We share a common goal: making health care more affordable and accessible for all Americans.
4. To keep America competitive into the future...().

Amerika kao predvodnik u borbi protiv *siromaštva*, *gladi*, *bolesti*, Amerika kao *sila nade*, te opetovanje intertekstualnih mehanizama su građa od kojih su satkani sljedeći primjeri.

5. America is leading the fight against global poverty...().
6. America is leading the fight against global hunger.
7. America is leading the fight against disease.
8. America is a force for hope...().
9. By trusting the people, our Founders wagered that a great and noble nation could be built on the liberty that resides in the hearts of all men and women.
10. By trusting the people, succeeding generations transformed our fragile young democracy into the most powerful nation on Earth and a beacon of hope for millions.

## 3.2 Govori predsjednika Obame

### v SOTU: BHO 1

Bushov osmogodišnji zakup Bijele kuće ostavio je nesaglediva dugovanja i gotovo neporavljivo narušio ugled u svijetu. Čini se da 43. predsjednik naprosto nije smatrao da se je dio fiskalne razboritosti, osim uobičajenog utroška, svakako i otplata zaduženja. Barak H. Obama naslijedio je zalag za neuspjeh, no upravo politika njegovog prethodnika omogućila mu je da se na krilima entuzijazma trijumfalno upiše u registar stanara najpoznatije bijele kuće na planeti na opšte ushićenje kod kuće i širom svijeta. Izbor Baracka Obame odjeknuo je kao dobra vijest nakon poduže kiše. Diskurs Baracka Obame, osim upečatljivih tematskih koordinata promjene i nade, sadrži elemente diskursa otrežnjenja po uzoru na Winstona Churchilla i njegov čuveni govor *Krv, patnja, suze i znoj*.<sup>152</sup> Časopis *The New York* nadovezuje se na čuvenu rečenicu *Stanje naše nacije je postojano* koju američki predsjednici formulaično izgovaraju u ovim obraćanjima i na tehničku prirodu samog govora, koji iako nosi svu raskoš formalnog obraćanja o stanju nacije, tehnički gledano to nije, pa je sasvim srećna okolnost da Obama nije u obavezi da izgovori pomenutu rečenicu jer stanje nacije nije ni snažno, postojano, a niti dobro.<sup>153</sup>

U prvom obraćanju na združenoj sjednici Kongresa i Senata Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, Obama je iskoristio priliku da naciju podsjeti da je situacija ozbiljna na svim poljima i da je vrijeme uobrazilje i gordosti stvar prošlosti. Obama je

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<sup>152</sup> <http://www.winstonchurchill.org/learn/speeches/speeches-of-winston-churchill/92-blood-toil-tears-and-sweat>.

<sup>153</sup> [http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/25/us/politics/25assess.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/25/us/politics/25assess.html?_r=0).

pozvao na združeni napor američke kognitivne zajednice u odlučnom pohodu ka promjenama i boljitku svih članova porodice u teškim vremenima.

Tonalitet govora je praćen oprezom, no i prijeko potrebnim ohrabrenjem, koje naziremo u primerima poput ponovo *pokrenuti lokomotivu našeg prosperiteta* (eng. restart the engine of our prosperity) i *odvažno djelovanje i hrabre ideje* (eng. bold action and big ideas). Naciji, čiji nivo samopouzdanja bilježi rekordno nisku stopu, riječi novog predsjednika i nove *glave kuće* dolaze savim blagovremeno uz ljekovito dejstvo. Bijela kuća iskoristila je priliku da se potvrdi kao metaforički dom svih Amerikanaca, a intertekstualno poredeći Obamin govor sa obraćanjima čuvenog 32. američkog predsjednika Franklina D. Roosevelta, koji je Sjedinjene Američke Države uveo u eru ekonomskog prosperiteta nakon Velike depresije,<sup>154</sup> legitimizuje diskursne strategije novog šefa Vlade Sjedinjenih Američkih Država.

## **I KONCEPTUALNI OKVIRI**

### **1) NADOKVIRI**

#### **a) MORAL**

Predsjednik Obama insisitira da je pitanje morala usko povezano s pitanjem poštenja i da vlast nije uvijek bila u stanju prihvatiti svoje nedostatke, implicirajući da će on, kao novi poglavar američke porodice i vlade biti u stanju da se suoči s vlastitim propustima i nedostacima jer je to i čin morala.

1. Now, if we're honest with ourselves, we'll admit that for too long, we have not always met these responsibilities as a Government or as a people.

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<sup>154</sup> <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/243118/Great-Depression>.



Oporavak ekonomije i samim tim države je moralna kategorija, te se u skladu s tim, predsjednik Obama zahvalio Kongresu na pruženoj podršci.

2. ()... I am grateful that this Congress delivered and pleased to say that the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act is now law.

Metoforički struktuirano, predsjednik Obama navodi deficit povjerenja kao moralnu manjkavostu koja se mora ispraviti pravičnim mjerama.

3. Finally, because we're also suffering from a deficit of trust, I am committed to restoring a sense of honesty and accountability to our budget.

#### b) SLOBODA

Nacija koja je prošla golgotu kako bi došla do slobode zna da ju čuva.

1. We are a nation that has seen promise amid peril and claimed opportunity from ordeal.

#### c) SREĆA

Američka porodica je srećna ukoliko je ekonomski rast na horizontu, a to ujedno garantuje boljitak američkih porodica u pozno doba.

1. Investors will return to the market, and American families will see their retirement secured once more.

Predsjednik Obama ohrabruje građane i građanke da se postepeno vraća povjerenje i da će se ekonomija oporaviti, a tim činom se osigurava i sreća.

2. Slowly but surely, confidence will return and our economy will recover.

## 2) OKVIRI IZ RELIGIJSKOG MITOSA SJEDINJENIH AMERIČKIH DRŽAVA

### a) GRAD SPASENJA

Ukoliko vlastitu zemlju opišete kao *najveću silu napretka i blagostanja u istoriji čovječanstva*, onda se zasigurno radi o kategoriji grada spasenja.

1. America (is) the greatest force of progress and prosperity in human history...().

Još jedan vijek će biti obilježen američkim uspjehom, a ako (primjer 3) zajedničim naporima ustrajemo na obnovi, uspjeh je neminovan.

2. ()... this century will be another American century...().
3. And if we do, if we come together and lift this Nation from the depths of this crisis, if we put our people back to work and restart the engine of our prosperity, if we confront without fear the challenges of our time and summon that enduring spirit of an America that does not quit, then someday years from now our children can tell their children that this was the time when we performed, in the words that are carved into this very Chamber, "something worthy to be remembered."

### b) AMERIČKA POSEBNOST

Amerika se ne predaje ni kada je u krizi jer nam istorija govori da uz uspone i padove, američka nacija izlazi pobjedonosno.

1. The weight of this crisis will not determine the destiny of this Nation.

2. ()...history tells a different story. History reminds us that at every moment of economic upheaval and transformation, this Nation has responded with bold action and big ideas.

c) SUDBINSKA MISIJA

Sudbinska misija nalaže neminovan uspjeh nakon krize.

1. ()...the United States of America will emerge stronger than before.

Vrijeme je da se polože računi i da se preuzme odgovornost za budućnost.

2. Well, that day of reckoning has arrived, and the time to take charge of our future is here.

## II POJMOVNE METAFORE

a) NACIJA JE PORODICA

Predsjednik Obama odlučno uvjerava članove američke porodice da će se porodica oporaviti i da će biti jača nego prije – primjer 1.

1. ()...I want every American to know this: We will rebuild, we will recover, and the United States of America will emerge stronger than before.

Nacija se ponaša kao porodica jer reaguje u skladu s datom situacijom, a američka reakcija je uvijek obojena dobrim idejama – primjer 2. U primjeru 3 i 4, predsjednik Obama nas podsjeća na nedaće koje je porodica prebrodila i je sada došlo vrijeme da se ponovo uhvatimo u koštac sa nepovoljnim okolnostima.

2. ()...this Nation has responded with bold action and big ideas.

3. We are a nation that has seen promise amid peril and claimed opportunity from ordeal.
4. Now we must be that nation again...().

b) VLADA JE RODITELJ

Vlada ima obavezu da obezbijedi resurse za svoju djecu, a predsjednik Obama ima jasnu viziju do kada bi to trebalo da se učini.

1. As soon as I took office, I asked this Congress to send me a recovery plan by President's Day that would put people back to work and put money in their pockets...().

Kongres je zajedno s predsjednikom, roditeljski postupio i predožio plan oporavka (2). U primjeru 3, predsjednik naglašava da je to i *obaveza* koju su preuzeli.

2. ()..I am grateful that this Congress delivered and pleased to say that the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act is now law.
3. That is our responsibility.

Primjer 4, ukazuje na princip većeg stepena angažovanosti vlade u svakodnevnom životu građana koji je u skladu s načelima Demokratske stranke.

4. I reject the view that says our problems will simply take care of themselves, that says Government has no role in laying the foundation for our common prosperity.

c) GRAĐANI SU DJECA

Otac ima dužnost da bude iskren prema djeci, u ovom slučaju građanima i građankama koji su mu dali povjerenje – primjeri 1 i 2.

1. I have come here (...) to speak frankly and directly to the men and women who sent us here.
2. caused more hardship.

3. (...)every American should know that it directly affects you and your family's well-being.

Predsjednik Obama se ne libi da upotrijebi leksemu djeca, što je dodatni signal konstruisanja ove pojmovne metafore – primjeri 4 i 5.

4. That is a promise we have to make to the children of America.
5. (...)responsibility for our children's education must begin at home.

### **III KOGNITIVNI MODELI**

#### **a) STROGI OTAC**

Strogi otac je kritičan i prema članovima porodice koji su na čelu iste, a koji pritom ne ispunjavaju svoju dužnost – primjeri 1 i 2.

1. Now, if we're honest with ourselves, we'll admit that for too long, we have not always met these responsibilities as a Government or as a people.
2. Well, that day of reckoning has arrived, and the time to take charge of our future is here.

#### **b) BRIŽNI RODITELJ**

Brižni roditelj iskazuje empatiju i iskrenost u odnosu s djecom.

1. (...) to speak frankly and directly to the men and women who sent us here.

Brižni roditelj shvata zebnju djece u vezi s određenim gorućim pitanjima, a obaveza roditelja je da hitro reaguje, što predsjednik Obama i čini, te nam to prikladno i saopštava – primjeri 2 i 3.

2. I know that for many Americans watching right now, the state of our economy is a concern that rises above all others, and rightly so.
3. I called for action because the failure to do so would have cost more jobs and caused more hardship.

#### **IV STRATEGIJE ZNAČENJSKE REPREZENTACIJE**

##### **a) INKLUZIJA**

Svi smo dio istog problema, i svi Amerikanci se u ovom trenutku brinu u vezi s istim pitanje – kakvo je stanje naše ekonomije?

1. I know that for many Americans watching right now, the state of our economy is a concern that rises above all others, and rightly so.

Da bi se ekonomija oporavila, neophodan je zajednički, inkluzivni, napor.

2. What is required now is for this country to pull together, confront boldly the challenges we face, and take responsibility for our future once more.

Ovo pitanje prevazilazi partijske linije, ono je podjednako bitno za sve.

3. That is not a Democratic issue or a Republican issue; that's an American issue.

##### **b) EKSKLUZIJA I HETERODOKSIJA**

Neprijatelj se ne smije ignorisati, jasno upozorenje predsjednika Obame.

1. We cannot shun the negotiating table, nor ignore the foes or forces that could do us harm.

c) AGENTNOST

*Mi, ja* su pronomine kojima predsjednik Obama šalje signal kolektivne i vlastite uloge agensa.

1. We will rebuild, we will recover, and the United States of America will emerge stronger than before.
2. Now, if we're honest with ourselves, we'll admit that for too long, we have not always met these responsibilities as a Government or as a people.
3. As soon as I took office, I asked this Congress to send me a recovery plan by President's Day that would put people back to work and put money in their pockets..().
4. I called for action because the failure to do so would have cost more jobs and caused more hardship.
5. ()...that's why I pushed for quick action.
6. ()..I am grateful that this Congress delivered and pleased to say that the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act is now law.
7. I want to speak plainly and candidly about this issue tonight, because every American should know that it directly affects you and your family's well-being.

d) INTERTEKSTUALNOST I DIJALOGICITET

Istorija je uvijek dobar izvor primjera koji nas hrabre ili dodatno uvjeravaju u ispravnost akutelnih odluka (1). Istoiija je prisutna i primjeru 2 u kojem predsjednik Obama podjeća da je nacija koja se izdigla iz teške borbe za slobodu napoljetku dospjela na Mjesec. U primjeru 3, predsjednik Obama se poziva na 26. predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država i na taj način uspostavlja intertekstualni dijalog.

1. For history tells a different story. History reminds us that at every moment of economic upheaval and transformation, this Nation has responded with bold action and big ideas.
2. And a twilight struggle for freedom led to a nation of highways, an American on the Moon, and an explosion of technology that still shapes our world.

3. I suffer no illusions that this will be an easy process. Once again, it will be hard. But I also know that nearly a century after Teddy Roosevelt first called for reform, the cost of our health care has weighed down our economy and our conscience long enough. So let there be no doubt: Health care reform cannot wait, it must not wait, and it will not wait another year.

e) LEGITIMIZACIJA I DELEGITIMIZACIJA

Iskrenost je mehanizam legitimizacije odluka koje slijede, kao i nastojanja koja su neophodna da se zaustavi kriza i dodatne teškoće – primjeri 1 i 2.

1. ()...to speak frankly and directly to the men and women who sent us here.
2. I called for action because the failure to do so would have cost more jobs and caused more hardship.

U primjerima koji slijede, predsjednik Obama taksativno nabroja korake koje ne načinio kako bi se kkriza osujetila.

3. First, we are creating a new lending fund that represents the largest effort ever to help provide auto loans, college loans, and small-business loans to the consumers and entrepreneurs who keep this economy running.
4. Second, we have launched a housing plan that will help responsible families facing the threat of foreclosure lower their monthly payments and refinance their mortgages.
5. Third, we will act with the full force of the Federal Government to ensure that the major banks that Americans depend on have enough confidence and enough money to lend even in more difficult times.

f) POZITIVNA I NEGATIVNA REPREZENTACIJA

Primjeri koji slijede su egzemplari pozitivne reprezentacije koje predsjednik Obama formuliše s ciljem oslikavnja željene slike i tonaliteta u govoru



1. We will rebuild, we will recover, and the United States of America will emerge stronger than before.
2. America (is) the greatest force of progress and prosperity in human history...().
3. And a twilight struggle for freedom led to a nation of highways, an American on the Moon, and an explosion of technology that still shapes our world.
4. I speak to you not just as a President, but as a father, when I say that responsibility for our children's education must begin at home. That is not a Democratic issue or a Republican issue; that's an American issue.
5. ()...I am committed to restoring a sense of honesty and accountability to our budget.

g) NAMETANJE OKVIRA I REITRACIJA

*Mi ćemo, Amerika je, sada je vrijeme, zatražio sam, želim razgovarati, znam, prvo, drugo, treće, jedini način, vidim, odbijam, mi smo nacija* su sintagme i klauze kojima predsjednik obama pribjegava kako bi nametnu željeni podtekst u govoru.

1. ()...We will rebuild, we will recover, and the United States of America will emerge stronger than before.
2. America (is) the greatest force of progress and prosperity in human history...().
3. Now is the time to act boldly and wisely to not only revive this economy, but to build a new foundation for lasting prosperity.
4. Now is the time to jump-start job creation, restart lending, and invest in areas like energy, health care, and education that will grow our economy, even as we make hard choices to bring our deficit down.
5. I called for action because the failure to do so would have cost more jobs and caused more hardship.
6. I want to speak plainly and candidly about this issue tonight, because every American should know that it directly affects you and your family's well-being.
7. I know that for many Americans watching right now, the state of our economy is a concern that rises above all others, and rightly so.
8. First, we are creating a new lending fund that represents the largest effort ever to help provide auto loans, college loans, and small-business loans to the consumers and entrepreneurs who keep this economy running.

9. Second, we have launched a housing plan that will help responsible families facing the threat of foreclosure lower their monthly payments and refinance their mortgages.
10. Third, we will act with the full force of the Federal Government to ensure that the major banks that Americans depend on have enough confidence and enough money to lend even in more difficult times.
11. But the only way to fully restore America's economic strength is to make the long-term investments that will lead to new jobs, new industries, and a renewed ability to compete with the rest of the world.
12. The only way this century will be another American century is if we confront at last the price of our dependence on oil and the high cost of health care, the schools that aren't preparing our children and the mountain of debt they stand to inherit. That is our responsibility.
13. I see it as a vision for America, as a blueprint for our future.
14. I reject the view that says our problems will simply take care of themselves, that says Government has no role in laying the foundation for our common prosperity.
15. We are a nation that has seen promise amid peril and claimed opportunity from ordeal.

## vi SOTU: BHO 2

Jedinstvo je kohezivna osovina drugog obraćanja predsjednika Obame o stanju nacije. I u 2010. godini predsjednik nastavlja *ruzeveltijanski* retorički modus i težište stavlja na nacionalni interes broj jedan – zapošljavanje. U tom svjetlu, uputio je jasnu poruku i svojoj partiji od koje očekuje predanost i upornost. Predsjednikovo obraćanje predstavlja i pokušaj da posloži i jasnije predoči ambiciozne planove na zakonodavnom planu, za koje mnogi tvrde da počinju polako da tonu u legislativni haos.

Budući da se oprobana retorika predizborne kampanje pokazala kao izrazito uspješna diskursna alatka, Obama je u obraćanju primijenio uhodane trase i opomenuo na nedostatak povjerenja i neefikasnost pristrasnih modaliteta rada po kojima je lojalnost partiji značajnija od predanosti naciji. Na taj način je pozvao i prozvao kolege iz opozicionog republikanskog bloka da naciji omoguće vladu koju istinski zaslužuju.

Godina ovog obraćanja je za Obamu izrazito izazovna budući da javno mnijenje ukazuje da odvažni planovi njegove administracije ne dovode do brzih i željenih rješenja, u prvom redu veću stopu zapošljavanja, a predsjednikova popularnost opada. Odluke da finansijski restrukturiše velike kompanije, koje simbolišu Wall Street i svjetsku ekonomsku krizu, također je naišla na neodobravanje. Obama je pak ostao vjeran svojim vizijama, iako je svjestan da promjene za mnogobojne građane kasne i kaskaju, te da Amerikanci nemaju vremena da sačekaju kraj malodušnog političkog igrokaza. Time predsjednik Obama poručuje partijama na obje strane političke obale da je vrijeme da Amerikancima pokažu da umiju da vladaju.

## **I KONCEPTUALNI OKVIRI**

### **1) NADOKVIRI**

#### **a) MORAL**

Ideje optočene u moralnim paradigmama su gradivni materijal od kojeg su satkane Sjedinjene Američke Države.

1. In the end, it's our ideals, our values that built America...()

#### **b) SLOBODA**

Sloboda se postiže ukoliko Amerika stane na starnu ljudskog dostojanstva.

1. For America must always stand on the side of freedom and human dignity—always.

#### **c) SREĆA**

\*\*\*

### **2) OKVIRI IZ RELIGIJSKOG MITOSA SJEDINJENIH AMERIČKIH DRŽAVA**

#### **a) GRAD SPASENJA**

Aksiološki sistem u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama ne pripada jednoj ili drugoj političkoj partiji. To je sistem superordinantnih vrijednosti na koji se pozivaju sve političke stranke – u slučaju Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, bar za sada, dvije – i upravo nam to predsjednik Obama i govori u ovom primjeru (1). U primjeru 2,

predsjednik Obama naglašava da je američki *duh* održao naciju u životu i isti taj duh vidi u novim naraštajima. Budući da je Amerika grad spasenja, neja osnovna uloga je i da uvijek bude na strani ljudskog dostojanstva – primjer 3, ali i da se postara da u sigurnosti i blagostanju uživa cijelo čovječanstvo – primjer 4.

1. These aren't Republican values or Democratic values that they're living by, business values or labor values, they're American values.
2. The spirit that has sustained this Nation for more than two centuries lives on in you, its people.
3. For America must always stand on the side of freedom and human dignity—always.
4. ()...advance(s) the common security and prosperity of all people.

#### b) AMERIČKA POSEBNOST

Upravo taj nepolebljivi *američki duh* čini ameriku posebnom. *Čednost, snaga* i *nada* su nepresušne američke vrijednosti (1). Amerika je posebna i samim tim je neprihvatljiva da ikada bude na drugom mjestu (2). Amerika je nacija koja svojim postupcima vodi cijeli svijet i na koje se cijela planeta ugleda (3).

1. It's because of this spirit, this great decency and great strength, that I have never been more hopeful about America's future than I am tonight.
2. ()...I do not accept second place for the United States of America.
3. ()...the nation that leads the clean energy economy will be the nation that leads the global economy. And America must be that nation.

#### c) SUDBINSKA MISIJA

Sudbinska je misija Amerikanaca da idealima grade svoju zemlju – zemlju doseljenika i tražilaca bolje budućnosti (1). Kada tako posmatramo stvari, uspjeh je dio usuda (2). Raskoli se moraju ostaviti po strani, a neophodno je graditi jaču Ameriku za cijeli svijet (3). Amerika je uvijek na udaru iskušenja (4), no nikada ne bježi od izazova (5), nikada ne odustaje i ne posustaje (5 i 6).

1. In the end, it's our ideals, our values that built America, values that allowed us to forge a nation made up of immigrants from every corner of the globe, values that drive our citizens still.
2. It's tempting to look back on these moments and assume that our progress was inevitable, that America was always destined to succeed.
3. Let's leave behind the fear and division and do what it takes to defend our Nation and forge a more hopeful future for America and for the world.
4. Again, we are tested.
5. And again, we must answer history's call.
6. We do not give up.
7. We do not quit.

## **II POJMOVNE METAFORE**

### a) NACIJA JE PORODICA

Američkoj porodici je bilo suđeno da uspije uprkos izazovima i iskušenjima, no odlukom da kao jedinstvena nacija – jedna porodica – nastavimo put u budućnost, pomogla je da Amerika prebrodi mnogobrojne izazove (1, 2 i 3).

1. (...)America was always destined to succeed.
2. These were the times that tested the courage of our convictions and the strength of our Union.
3. And despite all our divisions and disagreements, our hesitations and our fears, America prevailed because we chose to move forward as one Nation, as one people.

b) VLADA JE RODITELJ

Dužnost roditelja – lidera – obnaša se već 220 godina (1), a vladina dužnost je da radi na tome da se što više ljudi zaposli (2) i da podupire duh izumiteljstva (3), a stil vladavine predsjednika Obame je na liniji opšte sigurnosti i boljtki za sve ljude (4).

1. For 220 years, our leaders have fulfilled this duty.
2. We should put more Americans to work building clean energy facilities and give rebates to Americans who make their homes more energy efficient, which supports clean energy jobs.
3. ()...we need to encourage American innovation.
4. That's the leadership we are providing: engagement that advances the common security and prosperity of all people.

c) GRAĐANI SU DJECA

Neophodno je omogućiti djeci bolji život (1) i vrijeme je da djeca dobiju prave roditelje (2). Uspjeh naše djece ne smije zavisiti od geografske lokacije (3).

1. ()...the ability to give their children a better life.
2. ()...it's time the American people get a Government that matches their decency, that embodies their strength.
3. ()...the success of our children cannot depend more on where they live than on

### III KOGNITIVNI MODELI

a) STROGI OTAC

Strogi otac nalaže – deontičkim modalnim glagolom *morati* – nužnost djelovanja.

1. ()... we must answer history's call.

## b) BRIŽNI RODITELJ

Amerikanci zaslužuju da dobiju ono čemu se nadaju (1), posao kojim će platiti račune, te prilike da napreduju u bolju budućnost (2 i 3).

1. And what the American people hope, what they deserve, is for all of us, Democrats and Republicans, to work through our differences, to overcome the numbing weight of our politics.
2. ()...a job that pays the bills; a chance to get ahead; most of all, the ability to give their children a better life.
3. ()...the success of our children cannot depend more on where they live than on their potential.

## IV STRATEGIJE ZNAČENJSKE REPREZENTACIJE

### a) INKLUZIJA

*Jedna nacija, mi se suočavamo, i demokrate i republikanci, imamo zajedničko, ne odustajemo, pronađimo način, ostavimo iza sebe, uspječemo, ne postoje demokratke ili republikanske vrijednosti* ovim je primjerima predsjednik Obama pozvao cjelokunu američku naciju na zajedničku borbu, ali i suparnike iz Republikanske stranke da se uključe u produktivno djelovanje sa zajedničkim ciljem.

1. And despite all our divisions and disagreements, our hesitations and our fears, America prevailed because we chose to move forward as one Nation, as one people.
2. So we face big and difficult challenges.
3. And what the American people hope, what they deserve, is for all of us, Democrats and Republicans, to work through our differences, to overcome the numbing weight of our politics.
4. And you know what else they share? They share a stubborn resilience in the face of adversity.



5. We do not give up. We do not quit. We do not allow fear or division to break our spirit. In this new decade, it's time the American people get a Government that matches their decency, that embodies their strength.
6. Let us find a way to come together and finish the job for the American people.
7. Let's leave behind the fear and division and do what it takes to defend our Nation and forge a more hopeful future for America and for the world.
8. There will be difficult days ahead, but I am absolutely confident we will succeed.
9. These aren't Republican values or Democratic values that they're living by, business values or labor values, they're American values.

b) EKSKLUZIJA I HETERODOKSIJA

Prijenja nukleranim arsenalom se upisuje u ekskluziju i heterodoksiju.

1. Now, even as we prosecute two wars, we're also confronting perhaps the greatest danger to the American people, the threat of nuclear weapons.

c) AGENTNOST

*Ja nikada nisam polaga veće nade, ne smijemo da odustajemo, mi ne odustajemo, možemo zaposliti više Amerikanaca, trebalo bi da to učinimo* neki su od primjera u ovom govoru predsjednika Obame u kojem naglašava, pored mnogobrojnih drugih kategorija, vrijednost ličnog i zajedničkog zauzimanja subjekatke pozicije agensa.

1. ()...I have never been more hopeful about America's future than I am tonight.
2. We do not give up.
3. We do not quit.
4. ()...we can put Americans to work today...().
5. We should put more Americans to work...().

#### d) INTERTEKSTUALNOST I DIJALOGICITET

Ustav je jedan od osnivačkih dokumenata i riznica vrijednosti na koje se američki predsjednici pozivaju u govorima ove prirode (1).

1. Our Constitution declares that from time to time, the President shall give to Congress information about the state of our Union. For 220 years, our leaders have fulfilled this duty. They've done so during periods of prosperity and tranquility, and they've done so in the midst of war and depression, at moments of great strife and great struggle.

Pobjedonosne istorijske stavke su također građa od koje se zidaju govori o stanju nacije.

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

A referisanje na slavne predsjednike je dobar način da se otvori dijalog sa slavnom prošlošću.

3. I've embraced the vision of John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan through a strategy that reverses the spread of these weapons and seeks a world without them.

#### e) LEGITIMIZACIJA I DELEGITIMIZACIJA

Amerika je predvodnik dobra i amerika mora biti ta nacija koja će da vodi svijet (1). Poziv na zajedništvo za opšte dobro (2). Budući da se bori za ljudsko dostojanstvo, postupci Amerike su legitimizovani (3).

1. ()...the nation that leads the clean energy economy will be the nation that leads the global economy. And America must be that nation.
2. Let us find a way to come together and finish the job for the American people.
3. For America must always stand on the side of freedom and human dignity—always.

#### f) POZITIVNA I NEGATIVNA REPREZENTACIJA

Uprkos tegobama, američka zajednica je jaka (1), a Amerikanci ne posustaju (2) i nema za ameriku kategorije drugoplasiranosti (3). Ameriku grade naši ideali koji su jedinstveni za oba politička polariteta (4 i 5).

1. Despite our hardships, our Union is strong.
2. We do not give up. We do not quit.
3. ()...I do not accept second place for the United States of America.
4. In the end, it's our ideals, our values that built America...().
5. These aren't Republican values or Democratic values that they're living by, business values or labor values, they're American values.

#### g) NAMETANJE OKVIRA I REITERACIJA

*Ponovo smo na iskušenju, suočavamo se s velikim izazovima, uprkos nedaćama, ne odustajemo, ne predajemo se, vrijeme je da Amerikanci dobiju pravu vladu, možemo, trebalo bi da, pronađimo put zajedništva, zaboravimo razlike, uspjećemo, očuvajmo san i ojačajmo zajednicu predstavljaju mehanizme kojima se predsjednik Obama poslužio kako bi reiterirao i uspostavio okvir u čijim granicama želi da se kreće diskursna aparaturna njegove administracije.*

1. Again, we are tested. And again, we must answer history's call.
2. So we face big and difficult challenges.
3. Despite our hardships, our Union is strong.
4. We do not give up.
5. We do not quit.
6. ()...it's time the American people get a Government that matches their decency, that embodies their strength.
7. ()...we can put Americans to work today building the infrastructure of tomorrow.
8. We should put more Americans to work...().
9. Let us find a way to come together...().
10. Let's leave behind the fear and division and do what it takes to defend our Nation and forge a more hopeful future for America and for the world.
11. ()...we will succeed.
12. Let's seize this moment to start anew, to carry the dream forward, and to strengthen our Union once more.

## vii SOTU: BHO 3

Prošlogodišnje jedinstvo doživjelo je metamorfozu, te u obraćanju 2011. godine predsjednik Obama konkretizuje zajedništvo u neophodnosti borbe za budućnost. Obama napominje da je budućnost nadohvat i da Amerikanci, kao inherentni dio sudbinske misije, imaju pravo i da upravo oni mogu da osvoje budućnost.

Predsjednik je u obraćanju za cilj imao i da naciju opomene da samodopadnost nije putanja kojom Sjedinjene Američke Države mogu, niti bi trebalo da idu. Obama nadalje nameće okvir sopstvenog tumačenja američkog sna i uvodi dijalog sa odveć neuhvatljivim konceptom. Predsjednik napominje da tvrdoglavost nikada nije bila put do ostvarenja američkog sna. Na taj način g. Obama ukazuje na neophodnost proaktivnog djelovanja kako bi se ostvarila američka sudbinska misija i kako bi američki san nastavio svoj put ka budućnosti.

Iako je Demokratska stranka pretrpjela poraz na nedavnim izborima, Obama zadržava sebi svojstven optimizam. No, okolnosti u kojima operiše su daleko od logističke i manevarske lakoće. Ovaj scenario podsjeća na situaciju u kojoj se svojevremeno našao predsjednik Bush, kada su Demokrate 2006. godine preuzele vlast u Kongresu i Senatu. Naravno, situacija nije tako drastična, no ukazuje na nepovoljne trendove u kojima se našla Demokratska stranka, a i sam predsjednik Obama. Kao što je i Bush svojevremeno učinio, Obama se okrenuo apstraktnim diskursnim obrascima u nedostatku konkretizovanih prijedloga. Napomenuo je da su Sjedinjenje Američke Države spremne za napredak i da im je napredak suđen. Ono što je ostalo nedorečeno jeste na koji način će pomenuti napredak da se realizuje. Predsjednik ipak zaključuje, u maniru grada spasenja, da i pored svih nedaća i

nedostataka ne postoji nacija koja ne bi željela status koji uživaju Sjedinjene Američke Države.

## **I KONCEPTUALNI OKVIRI**

### **1) NADOKVIRI**

#### **a) MORAL**

Predsjednik Obama u svoom trećem obraćanju sasvim eksplicitno ukazuje na značaj *svjetlosti američkog morala* koje mora da nastavi da svijetli za sve one koji žude za slobodom (1). U primjeru 2, predsjednik Obama podvlači da je američki način oblikovanja svijeta vođen idealom pravde i dostojanstva.

1. America's moral example must always shine for all who yearn for freedom and justice and dignity.
2. This is just a part of how we're shaping a world that favors peace and prosperity.

#### **b) SLOBODA**

Američka sudbinaje stvar izbora i samim tim slobode.

1. Our destiny remains our choice.

#### **c) SREĆA**

Zajednica američke porodice i nakon dva stoljeća opstaje što je izvor sreće za sve njene članove.

1. And tonight more than two centuries later, it's because of our people that our future is hopeful, our journey goes forward, and the state of our Union is strong.

## **2) OKVIRI IZ RELIGIJSKOG MITOSA SJEDINJENIH AMERIČKIH DRŽAVA**

### **a) GRAD SPASENJA**

Američki grad spasenja odašilje svjetlo u svijet (1). U Americi se nalaze najbolji sistemi obrazovanja (2). Amerika je prva nacija koja je osnovana zbog ideje vodilje – pravo da oblikujemo vlastitu sudbinu (3).

1. It's whether we sustain the leadership that has made America not just a place on a map, but the light to the world.
2. We're the home to the world's best colleges and universities, where more students come to study than any place on Earth.
3. What's more, we are the first nation to be founded for the sake of an idea: the idea that each of us deserves the chance to shape our own destiny.

### **b) AMERIČKA POSEBNOST**

Američka posebnost se ogleda u ravnopravnosti svih rasa i vjerskih zajednica. Američka zajednica je posebna zbog same fenomenologije zajedništva u različitosti.

1. We believe that in a country where every race and faith and point of view can be found, we are still bound together as one people, that we share common hopes and a common creed, that the dreams of a little girl in Tucson are not so different than those of our own children, that they all deserve the chance to be fulfilled.
2. That too is what sets us apart as a nation.
3. We will move forward together or not at all, for the challenges we face are bigger than party and bigger than politics.

### c) SUDBINSKA MISIJA

Amerika spremno očekuje napredak i nove izazove (1 i 2). Budućnost pripada Americi (3), a Amerika je ujedno i najbolje mesto na svijetu za razvlog preduzetništva (4).

1. We are poised for progress.
2. ()...the world is changed. The competition for jobs is real. But this shouldn't discourage us. It should challenge us.
3. The future is ours to win.
4. We have to make America the best place on Earth to do business.

## II POJMOVNE METAFORE

### a) NACIJA JE PORODICA

Svi smo dio američke porodice i predsjednik Obama se postarao da to sasvim eksplicitno saopšti recipijentima ovog govora – primjer 1. U primjeru 2, predsjednik Obama naglašava da smo kao narod povezani, a primjer 3 i 4 idu u prilog porodične sprege i jedinog puta ka napretku.

1. We are part of the American family.
2. ()...we are still bound together as one people...().
3. That too is what sets us apart as a nation.
4. We will move forward together or not at all...().

### b) VLADA JE RODITELJ

Vlast ima obavezu – i to svi nivoi vlasti, te opzicija – da dopinesu efikasnosti državnog sistema i da se roditeljski odnosi prema svojoj djeci. Vlada mora biti sposobna, a ne samo pristupačni servis. To je vlada dvadest i prvog vijeka – primjeri 1, 2 i 3.



1. Now is the time for both sides and both Houses of Congress, Democrats and Republicans, to forge a principled compromise that gets the job done.
2. We shouldn't just give our people a Government that's more affordable, we should give them a Government that's more competent and more efficient.
3. The 21st-century Government that's open and competent, a government that lives within its means, an economy that's driven by new skills and new ideas—our success in this new and changing world will require reform, responsibility, and innovation.

c) GRAĐANI SU DJECA

Djeca imaju očekivanja od roditelja koja roditelji moraju pokušati da ostvare, jer upravo su djeca razlog zašto postoji nada i zašto se vrijedi truditi za bolje sutra – primjeri 1 i 2.

1. That's the project the American people want us to work on—together.
2. (...)it's because of our people that our future is hopeful, our journey goes forward, and the state of our Union is strong.

### III KOGNITIVNI MODELI

a) STROGI OTAC

Strogi otac jasno postavlja očekivanja što vidimo u primjeru 1. U primjeru 2, bodri, ali i postavlja jasnu zadaću, što se slijeva u primjer 3. U primjeru 4, gotovo prijekorno, predsjednik obama artikuliše misao da se mora uložiti više truda.

1. But to get there, we can't just stand still.
2. And now it's our turn.
3. We have to make America the best place on Earth to do business.
4. Maintaining our leadership in research and technology is crucial to America's success.

5. We have to do better.

#### b) BRIŽNI RODITELJ

Brižnom roditelju su djeca-građani na prvom mjestu i ukoliko su oni uspješni, onda je to dobar pokazatelj sveopšteg uspjeha porodice (1). Svi članovi moraju biti u prilici da kroje vlastitu sudbinu (2). Primjer 3 je epitom optimizma i vidljive brige brižnog roditelja.

1. We measure progress by the success of our people...().
2. ()...the idea that each of us deserves the chance to shape our own destiny.
3. We're a nation that says, "I might not have a lot of money, but I have this great idea for a new company." "I might not come from a family of college graduates, but I will be the first to get my degree." "I might not know those people in trouble, but I think I can help them, and I need to try." "I'm not sure how we'll reach that better place beyond the horizon, but I know we'll get there. I know we will."

### IV STRATEGIJE ZNAČENJSKE REPREZENTACIJE

#### a) INKLUZIJA

*Svi smo dio Američke porodice, vjerujem da možemo i da moramo, ići ćemo naprijed zajedno, mi smo spremni da uspijemo, budućnost je naša, mi stvaramo velike stvari.*

1. We are part of the American family.
2. I believe we can, and I believe we must.
3. We will move forward together or not at all, for the challenges we face are bigger than party and bigger than politics.
4. We are poised for progress.
5. The future is ours to win.
6. We do big things.

## b) EKSKLUZIJA I HETERODOKSIJA

Pobjeda nad neprijateljem je od krucijane važnosti, a da bi se se to postiglo, neophodno je graditi mostove širom svijeta, bez obira na rasu i religiju.

1. And so we must defeat determined enemies, wherever they are, and build coalitions that cut across lines of region and race and religion.

## c) AGENTNOST

*Ja vjerujem, mi ćemo napredovati, mi moramo, moramo biti bolji, moramo poraziti neprijatelje* su primjeri u kojima predsjednik aktivira i strategiju agentivnosti.

1. I believe we can, and I believe we must.
2. We will move forward together...().
3. We have to make America the best place on Earth to do business.
4. We have to do better.
5. And so we must defeat determined enemies...().

## d) INTERTEKSTUALNOST I DIJALOGICITET

U primjerima koji slijede, predsjednik Obama uspostavlja intertekstualne trase s čuvenim senatorom iz reda Demokratske stranke – Robertom F. Kennedyjem.

1. As Robert Kennedy told us, "The future is not a gift. It is an achievement." Sustaining the American Dream has never been about standing pat. It has required each generation to sacrifice and struggle and meet the demands of a new age.
2. In Robert's words, "We reinvented ourselves." That's what Americans have done for over 200 years: reinvented ourselves.

#### e) LEGITIMIZACIJA I DELEGITIMIZACIJA

Imajući na umu da Amerika nije samo mjesto na karti, već i svjetionik nade, potezi koje vlada povlači su legitimni i prihvatljivi. Izazove ne bi trebalo da posmatramo kao prijetnju, već kao motivaciju. Ideja amerike je originalna, pa je originalna i sama država koja povlači legitimne poteze – primjeri 1, 2 i 3.

1. It's whether we sustain the leadership that has made America not just a place on a map, but the light to the world.
2. ()...the world is changed. The competition for jobs is real. But this shouldn't discourage us. It should challenge us.
3. What's more, we are the first nation to be founded for the sake of an idea: the idea that each of us deserves the chance to shape our own destiny.

#### f) POZITIVNA I NEGATIVNA REPREZENTACIJA

Primjer 1 nam govori o zajedništvu i različitostima koje se nalaze pod američkom kupolom.

1. We believe that in a country where every race and faith and point of view can be found, we are still bound together as one people, that we share common hopes and a common creed, that the dreams of a little girl in Tucson are not so different than those of our own children, that they all deserve the chance to be fulfilled.

Uprkos recesiji, ekonomija se oporavlja – primjer 2.

2. Two years after the worst recession most of us have ever known, the stock market has come roaring back, corporate profits are up, the economy is growing again.

U Americi operiše najveći svjetski privredni sistem, a u tom sistemu djeluju najuspješnije kompanije i njeguje se duh preduzetništva – primjeri 3 i 4.

3. ()...America still has the largest, most prosperous economy in the world.

4. No country has more successful companies or grants more patents to inventors and entrepreneurs.

g) NAMETANJE OKVIRA I REITERACIJA

*Ja vjerujem, mi smo spremni, mi mjerimo, Amerika (je), mi smo prva nacija, budućnost je naša, Amerika...najbolje mjesto na zemlji, u Americi, američka ideja i dalje traje.*

1. I believe we can, and I believe we must.
2. We are poised for progress.
3. We measure progress by the success of our people...().
4. ()...we are the first nation...().
5. The future is ours to win.
6. We have to make America the best place on Earth to do business.
7. In America, innovation doesn't just change our lives. It is how we make our
8. The idea of America endures.

## viii SOTU: BHO 4

Obraćanje 2012. godine posebno je bitno za predsjednika Obamu imajući na umu da se radi o izbornoj godini, u kojoj će se donijeti odluka da li će ime g. Obame da se uvrsti na spisak predsjednika koji su odslužili samo jedan mandat ili će pak dobiti još jednu četverogodišnju šansu da ispuni bar dio obećanja koja su ga prvobitno dovela na vlast. Govor je suštinski najava kampanje za predsjedničke izbore 2012. godine, a sadrži detaljnu hrestomatiju prijedloga za ekonomski oporavak, u prvom redu otvaranje novih radnih mjesta i modifikovanje sistema oporezivanja.<sup>155</sup> Predsjednik Obama je u obraćanju izložio robu, a ta roba je ponuda u vidu pravičnosti i ravnopravnosti. G. Obama je u maniru brižnog roditelja uputio obećanje Amerikancima da će iskoristiti poluge moći Vlade da smanji jaz između bogatih i siromašnih članova američke porodice. Obama nadalje navodi da je prvi mandat tek početak promjena i da je suviše mnogo napora učinjeno da bi se sada odustalo od tog puta.

Predsjednik tvrdi da je stanje nacije sve jače i da se mora raditi na strukturisanju ekonomskog sistema, a time i same Amerike koja će da traje i doživi budućnost o kojoj je govorio u prošlogodišnjem obraćanju. Obama je, kako navodi kolumnista časopisa *Washington Post* Aaron Blake, čovjek mnogobrojnih slogana.<sup>156</sup> Retorička visprenost ga nije izdala ni ovaj put. Slogan koji ga je doveo na vlast 2008. godine – *promjene* – 2012. godine zamijenio je sloganom: *naprijed*. Na tom fonu je realizovan i posljednji govor predsjednika Obame u prvom mandatu.

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<sup>155</sup> <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/25/us/politics/state-of-the-union-2012.html>.

<sup>156</sup> [http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/the-fix/post/president-obama-a-man-of-many-slogans/2012/07/10/gJQAf8UlaW\\_blog.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/the-fix/post/president-obama-a-man-of-many-slogans/2012/07/10/gJQAf8UlaW_blog.html).

Promjene koje valja nastaviti u narednom četverogodišnjem periodu. Istorija će pokazati da je ova strategija bila dobra odluka.

## **I KONCEPTUALNI OKVIRI**

### **1) NADOKVIRI**

#### **a) MORAL**

Moralno je otvarati radna mjesta na domaćem terenu i oni koji to rade zaslužuju prigodnu nagradu.

1. It is time to stop rewarding businesses that ship jobs overseas, and start rewarding companies that create jobs right here in America.

Istinitost je moralna kategorija, posebno kada istinu ljubimo u teškim vremenima.

2. And if we hold fast to that truth, in this moment of trial, there is no challenge too great, no mission too hard.

#### **b) SLOBODA**

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#### **c) SREĆA**

Sreća proizilazi i iz osjećaja sigurnosti, a posebno je jak ako znamo da iza nas stoji jaka podrška – porodica i država. U toj vjeri, stanje nacije će uvijek biti jako, a sreća nesmanjena – primjeri 1 i 2.

1. I'm reminded that our destiny is stitched together like those 50 stars and those 13 stripes.
2. As long as we are joined in common purpose, as long as we maintain our

common resolve, our journey moves forward, and our future is hopeful, and the state of our Union will always be strong.

## **2) OKVIRI IZ RELIGIJSKOG MITOSA SJEDINJENIH AMERIČKIH DRŽAVA**

### **a) GRAD SPASENJA**

Nacija koja je trijumfovala nad ekonomskom krizom i fašizmom jeste primjer grada spasenja (1). Nacija je velika jer nastala zajedničkim naporima i dok smo spremni jedni druge da zaštitimo i da zajedno hodimo ka cilju, nacija će biti postojana (2).

1. (...) a nation that had triumphed over a depression and fascism.
2. This Nation is great because we built it together. This Nation is great because we worked as a team. This Nation is great because we get each other's backs. And if we hold fast to that truth, in this moment of trial, there is no challenge too great, no mission too hard. As long as we are joined in common purpose, as long as we maintain our common resolve, our journey moves forward, and our future is hopeful, and the state of our Union will always be strong.

### **b) AMERIČKA POSEBNOST**

Pitanje ličnog i prava na samodefinisanje uviđamo u primjeru 1.

1. (...) the basic American promise that if you worked hard, you could do well enough to raise a family, own a home, send your kids to college, and put a little away for retirement.

Mogućnost novih poduhvata nigdje se ne otvara kao u Americi.



2. And nowhere is the promise of innovation greater than in American-made energy.

Prirodna bogatstva su dar i posebnost.

3. We have a supply of natural gas that can last America nearly 100 years.

Čak i kada je teško i nedaće su bremenite, Amerika gradi i napreduje.

4. During the Great Depression, America built the Hoover Dam and the Golden Gate Bridge. After World War II, we connected our States with a system of highways.

#### c) SUDBINSKA MISIJA

Pravo je Amerike da bude prva i to pravo ne bi smjeli prepustiti drugima.

1. Don't let other countries win the race for the future.

Kada je u pitanju sudbinska misija nema vrijednosti koje se mogu okarakterisati kao stranačke, samo one nacionalne.

2. What's at stake aren't Democratic values or Republican values, but American values. And we have to reclaim them.

Sudbinska misija je pravo da se Amerika širi i da štiti svoje interese, ali se na tom putu ne smije izgubiti i zaboraviti na svoje vrijednosti.

3. ()...and a renewal of American values.

## II POJMOVNE METAFORE

### a) NACIJA JE PORODICA

U primjerima koji slijede, predsjednik Obama reiterira sintagme i klauze *nacija, stanje nacije, vaša zemlja, Ameriku valja graditi iznova, kada djelujemo zajedno, nacija je velika zato što smo ju izgradili zajedno, zato što radimo kao tim, zato što jedni druge podržavamo*. Ovo su eklaktantni primjeri konstruisanja metaforičkog sistema nacija je porodica.

- a) ()...a nation that had triumphed over a depression and fascism.
- b) The state of our Union is getting stronger.
- c) ()...your country will do everything we can to help you succeed.
- d) ()...America needs to be rebuilt.
- e) ()...when we act together, there's nothing the United States of America can't achieve.
- f) This Nation is great because we built it together.
- g) This Nation is great because we worked as a team.
- h) This Nation is great because we get each other's backs.

### b) VLADA JE RODITELJ

Budući da je vlada roditelj, ona će se postarati da uradi sve što je u njenoj moći da pomogne svojoj djeci-građanima. Na tom fonu je primjer 1, no i primjer 2, u kojem predsjednik Obama govori da su obje političke stranke – kada su bile na vlasti – ulagale u velike projekte. Ovo je zanimljivo iz motrišta priznanja onima koji trenutno nisu na vlasti.

- 1. ()...your country will do everything we can to help you succeed.
- 2. Democratic and Republican administrations invested in great projects that benefited everybody, from the workers who built them to the businesses that still use them today.

Vlada je dužna pomoći djeci-građanima kada oni nisu u stanju da sami sebi pomognu – primjer 3.

3. ()...Government should do for people only what they cannot do better by themselves and no more.

c) GRAĐANI SU DJECA

Roditelj mora imati povjerenje u vlastitu djecu, pa je shodno tome i nastao primjer 1.

1. We bet on American workers.

Roditelj ima obavezu i da pohvali dijete kada za to postoji valjan razlog. Ovaj primjer je posebno zanimljiv jer polako otvara vrata onima koji još uvijek nisu u pravnom smislu građani, a ni djeca Sjedinjenih Amerikih Država.

2. Let's also remember that hundreds of thousands of talented, hard-working students in this country face another challenge: the fact that they aren't yet American citizens.

### III KOGNITIVNI MODELI

a) STROGI OTAC

Strogi otac upozorava i kritikuje, a nakon toga donosi čvrstu odluku – primjeri 1 i 2.

1. Don't let other countries win the race for the future.
2. We've subsidized oil companies for a century. That's long enough. It's time to end the taxpayer giveaways to an industry that rarely has been more profitable and

double down on a clean energy industry that never has been more promising.  
Pass clean energy tax credits. Create these jobs.

b) BRIŽNI RODITELJ

Marljiv rad valja nagraditi u maniru brižnog roditelja, te je neophodno razvijati privredu kako bi svi imali jednake prilike – primjeri 1 i 2.

- 1) ()...if you worked hard, you could do well enough to raise a family, own a home, send your kids to college, and put a little away for retirement.
- 2) ()...we can restore an economy where everyone gets a fair shot and everyone does their fair share and everyone plays by the same set of rules.

Brižni roditelj se brine za ravnomjernu distribuciju dobara i upozorava na nejednakosti ukoliko ih uoči – primjeri 3 i 4.

- 3) Folks at the top saw their incomes rise like never before, but most hard-working Americans struggled with costs that were growing, paychecks that weren't, and personal debt that kept piling up.
- 4) It was wrong, it was irresponsible, and it plunged our economy into a crisis that put millions out of work, saddled us with more debt, and left innocent, hard-working Americans holding the bag.

#### IV STRATEGIJE ZNAČENJSKE REPREZENTACIJE

a) INKLUZIJA

U primjerima koji slijede provejavaju koncepti zajedništva koje se oslikava priloškom odredbom *zajedno* ili glagolom *okupiti se*.

1. Together, we offered a final, proud salute to the colors under which more than a million of our fellow citizens fought and several thousand gave their lives.

2. We gather tonight knowing that this generation of heroes has made the United

b) EKSKLUZIJA I HETERODOKSIJA

Kriza i fašizam nemaju mjesto u američkom aksiološkom sistemu i shodno tome mora ih se prikladno označiti.

1. ()...a nation that had triumphed over a depression and fascism.

c) AGENTNOST

*Mi bi mogli postići, mi moramo vratiti, mi to možemo ostvariti, radiću s predstavnicima u Konkresu i Senatu, namjeravam, ovaj saziv Kongresa mora zaustaviti, ne dopustimo da druge zemlje dobiju utrku, stovite ta radna mjesta.*

1. ()...we could accomplish...().

2. ()...we have to reclaim them.

3. We can do this. I know we can, because we've done it before.

4. As long as I'm President, I will work with anyone in this Chamber to build on this momentum.

5. But I intend to fight obstruction with action, and I will oppose any effort to return to the very same policies that brought on this economic crisis in the first place.

6. ()...this Congress needs to stop the interest rates on student loans from doubling in July.

7. Don't let other countries win the race for the future.

8. Create these jobs.

d) INTERTEKSTUALNOST I DIJALOGICITET

U prvom primjeru, predsjednik Obama implicitno koristi sličan sklop riječi koji je svojevremeno upotrijebio 35. predsjednik Sjedinjenih Američkih Država John F. Kennedy.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> My fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country.

1. Ask yourselves what you can do to bring jobs back to your country, and your country will do everything we can to help you succeed.

U primjeru 2, predsjednik Obama napominje da u Sjedinjene Američke Države i uteškim vremenima bile predvodnica izgradnje i obnove. Ovo je posebno bitno jer se radi o izrazito značajnim istorijskim dionicama američke kognitivne zajednice.

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

U primjeru 3, predsjednik Obama se poziva na 16. predsjednika Sjedinjenih Američkih Država i izražava slaganje s njegovim vrijednostima.

3. I'm a Democrat, but I believe what Republican Abraham Lincoln believed: That Government should do for people only what they cannot do better by themselves and no more.

#### e) LEGITIMIZACIJA I DELEGITIMIZACIJA

Predsjednik Obama legitimizuje svoje namjere navodeći da je ekonomska kriza duboka, da su američki studenti zaduženi, da mnogobrojni studenti nisu američki državljani i formalno-pravnom smislu, da Ameriku moramo obnoviti, da su američki putevi u lošem stanju, kao i energetska mreža – primjeri 1, 2, 3, 4 i 5.

1. (...)I intend to fight obstruction with action, and I will oppose any effort to return to the very same policies that brought on this economic crisis in the first place.
2. At a time when Americans owe more in tuition debt than credit card debt, this Congress needs to stop the interest rates on student loans from doubling in July.
3. Let's also remember that hundreds of thousands of talented, hard-working students in this country face another challenge: the fact that they aren't yet

American citizens.

4. So much of America needs to be rebuilt.
5. We've got crumbling roads and bridges, a power grid that wastes too much energy, an incomplete high-speed broadband network that prevents a small-business owner in rural America from selling her products all over the world.

f) POZITIVNA I NEGATIVNA REPREZENTACIJA

U primjerima koji slijede, predsjednik Obama navodi potencijalnost i mogućnosti koje su na raspolaganju svim članovima američke kognitivne zajednice i porodice ukoliko bude dovoljno spremnosti za zajedničke napore i poduhvate.

1. Think about the America within our reach: a country that leads the world in educating its people; an America that attracts a new generation of high-tech manufacturing and high-paying jobs; a future where we're in control of our own energy and our security and prosperity aren't so tied to unstable parts of the world; an economy built to last, where hard work pays off and responsibility is rewarded.
2. ()...a nation that had triumphed over a depression and fascism.
3. The state of our Union is getting stronger.
4. And tonight, the American auto industry is back.
5. And nowhere is the promise of innovation greater than in American-made energy.
6. We have a supply of natural gas that can last America nearly 100 years.
7. We can also spur energy innovation with new incentives.
8. The renewal of American leadership can be felt across the globe. Our oldest alliances in Europe and Asia are stronger than ever.

g) NAMETANJE OKVIRA I REITERACIJA

Predsjednik Obama, kao i njegov prethodnik, predsjednik Bush, poseže za reiteracijom željenih značenjskih paketa kako bi uspostavio neophodan značenjski okvir. Dominira pronomina *mi*, imenice *zemlja*, *Amerika* i *nacija*.

1. ()...a country that leads the world in educating its people...().
2. ()...an America that attracts a new generation of high-tech manufacturing and high-paying jobs...().
3. ()...a future where we're in control of our own energy and our security and prosperity aren't so tied to unstable parts of the world...().
4. ()...an economy built to last, where hard work pays off and responsibility is rewarded...().
5. We can do this. I know we can, because we've done it before.
6. ()...the basic American promise...().
7. And we have to reclaim them.
8. ()...an economy built on American manufacturing...().
9. ()...American energy...().
10. ()...skills for American workers...().
11. ()...and a renewal of American values.
12. We bet on American workers.
13. We bet on American ingenuity.
14. We have a supply of natural gas that can last America nearly 100 years.
15. We can also spur energy innovation with new incentives.
16. Because when we act together, there's nothing the United States of America can't achieve.
17. This Nation is great because we built it together.
18. This Nation is great because we worked as a team.
19. This Nation is great because we get each other's backs.



#### 4. Diskusija i zaključci

Cjelokupnom tekstualnom građom disertacije, nastojali smo da pratimo zadate trase na početku istraživačkog projekta, od njegovih preliminarnih, istraživačkih, pa sve do spisateljsko-završnih faza rada. Na početku disertacije postavili smo sljedeće hipoteze:

- da je savremeni američki politički diskurs ustrojen po konceptualnim okvirima utemeljenim na shvatanju nacije i porodice iz ugla dominantnih religijskih vrijednosnih sistema nastalih u istorijski posebnim uslovima, koji su predodredili daljnji modus diskursnog konstruisanja u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama;
- da se u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu mogu identifikovati specifične konceptualne strategije konstruisanja značenja putem dijadnog teorijskog sistema prilagođenog za analitičku dekonstrukciju, a koje su relevantne za diskursno kodiranje društveno-političke stvarnosti u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama;
- da se cjelishodan teorijski instrumentarijum za tu svrhu može izgraditi integrisanjem teorijskih konstrukata kritičke analize diskursa (zasnovane na sistemsko-funkcionalnoj lingvistici) i kognitivnoj lingvistici;
- da razumijevanje savremenog američkog političkog diskursa doprinosi cjelovitijem sagledavanju političkog diskursa uopšte,

U poglavljima koja prethode, potkrijepili smo mnogobrojnim primjerima i teorijskim objašnjenjima tvrdnju da se savremeni američki politički diskurs može posmatrati kao diskursni *proizvod* ustrojen po konceptualnim okvirima koji operišu po uzusima dominantnih religijskih sistema, a koji posmatraju naciju i porodicu iz njima specifičnog rakursa. Potpoglavlje *Politički diskurs i javna sfera u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama* je u cjelosti posvećeno sagledavanju ove hipoteze.

Poglavlje *Teorijsko-metodološki okvir istraživanja* se s posebnom pažnjom bavi pitanjem druge hipoteze – identifikovanje specifičnih konceptualnih strategije konstruisanja značenja putem dijadnog teorijskog sistema prilagođenog za analitičku dekonstrukciju. Potpoglavlja *Kritička analiza diskursa* i *Kognitivna lingvistika* nas opsežnim razmatranjima dovode do željenog cilja – strukturisanje cjelishodanog teorijskog instrumentarijuma i primjerenog integrativnog modela analize savremenog američkog političkog diskursa koji je zasnovan na sistemsko-funkcionalnoj lingvistici, preciznije kritičkoj analizi diskursa i kognitivnoj lingvistici.

Razmatranja u potpoglavlju *Politički diskurs i javna sfera u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama*, kao i cjelokupna građa disertacije potvrđuje da je holističko-konceptualni pristup proučavanju savremenog američkog političkog diskursa doprinosi jasnijem, preciznijem, te analitičko-teorijski utemeljenijem razumijevanju i dekonstruisanju političkog diskursa uopšte.

Kada su u pitanju ciljevi koje smo postavili u ovom istraživanju, proučavanjem referentne i relevantne literature, naučnih istraživanja iz srodnih domena, slaganje i revidiranje teorijske podloge u relativno dugom istraživačkom periodu, predstavlja konglomerat radnji koje su dovele do željene teorijske deskripcije savremenog američkog političkog diskursa. Pročavanjem aksiološkog sistema Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, genzeu tekstualnih obrazaca koji se opetovano

pojavljuju u javnom prostoru, kao i osvrt na specifične okolnosti pod kojim su Sjedinjene Američke Države nastajale i ideološku matricu koja je uticala na razvoj ove nove *svjetske hegemonije* identifikovali smo konceptualne strategije konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu. Ispitali smo eksplikatorni potencijal slijevanja teorijskih sistema kognitivne lingvistike i kritičke analize diskursa, što je dovelo do formulisanja posebnog integrativnog modela analize savremenog američkog političkog diskursa.

#### 4.1 Sumiranje rezultata istraživanja

Razumijevanje savremenog američkog političkog diskursa nesumnjivo doprinosi cjelishodnijem sagledavanju političkog diskursa uopšte. Imajući na umu relevantnost analize konceptualnih i kritičkih kategorija u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu, slijedi sumiranje rezultata istraživanja uz analitičke komentare o korpusnoj bazi.

Slijedi kvantitativni prikaz nalaza prema identifikovanim tekstualnim jedinicama u odnosu na nivo integrativnog modela analize savremenog američkog političkog diskursa uz napomenu da smo, kako smo i naveli u poglavlju *Analiza strategija konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu* prvo izdvojili dvije stotine i trideset (230) tekstualnih cjelina – rečenica ili paragrafa u zavisnosti od nivoa semanto-logičke koherentnosti – koje smo detaljnije razlagali po nivoima integrativnog modela za svako obraćanje (osam jedinica korpusne građe) ponaosob, ali smo u samom trećem poglavlju – u analizi – navodili najprominentnije i najupečatljivije primjere. Nakon brojanja i kvantitativne obrade tekstualne građe korpusne baze, kvantitativno sumiranje rezultata istraživanja izgleda ovako:

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
MORAL	6	11	3	1	3	1	3	2
SLOBODA	9	10	6	7	1	1	1	/
SREĆA	3	3	3	/	3	/	1	2
GRAD SPASENJA	7	4	2	4	5	4	5	2
AMERIČKA POSEBNOST	4	7	2	3	4	4	3	4
SUDBINSKA MISIJA	9	15	3	4	6	10	14	4
NACIJA JE PORODICA	30	31	14	12	18	22	21	21
VLADA JE RODITELJ	16	6	2	5	9	5	3	5
GRAĐANI SU DJECA	10	5	3	6	6	7	2	3
STROGI OTAC	6	5	/	/	4	1	7	3
BRIŽNI RODITELJ	13	12	6	4	19	14	6	17
INKLUZIJA	24	15	6	7	15	16	15	19
EKSKLUZIJA I HETERODOKSIJA	5	4	3	2	1	2	3	1
AGENTIVNOST	19	15	5	8	16	9	7	13
INTERTEKSTUALNOST I DIJALOGICITET	6	4	1	2	5	3	3	3
LEGITIMIZACIJA I DELEGITIMIZACIJA	11	16	2	/	15	6	10	8
POZITIVNA I NEGATIVNA REPREZENTACIJA	14	20	8	10	16	16	17	20
NAMETANJE OKVIRA I REITERACIJA	27	27	5	14	20	16	20	25

Tabelarni prikaz rezultata analize ukazuje na diskursno jedinstvo retoričkih praksi Republikanske i Demokratske stranke Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. U potpoglavlju *Politički diskurs i javna sfera u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama* izložili smo tačke divergencije u aksiološkoj matrici pomenute dvije političke partije, koje nominalno upisuju Sjedinjenje Američke Države u registar političkog pluralizma. Ovim ne tvrdimo da postoji nedostatak slobode izražavanja ili slobodnog političkog djelovanja, koje nije na fonu dominantnog centra moći. Smatramao da društveni akteri namjerno biraju uspostavljene strategije sa ciljem ostvarivanja željenog ishoda.

Na planu morala, predsjednik Bush je u kvantitativnoj prednosti. Integrativni model ukazuje da predsjednik Obama slabijim intenzitetom pribjegava ovoj strategiji, no, moral je identifikovan i u Obaminom diskursu. Značajnija razlika uočava se na nivou slobode, kojoj se u strateškom smislu predsjednik Bush priklanja u većem broju instanci u odnosu na predsjednika Obamu. U obraćanju 2012. godine, Obama pomenutu strategiju nije primijenio. Fenomenologiju sreće oba predsjednika gotovo identično uvode u obraćanja, a poredeći osam jedinica korpusa, dva puta izostavljaju sreću kao strateški mehanizam diskursnog konstruisanja.

Grad spasenja, američka posebnost i sudbinska misija bitne su strategije konstruisanja značenja u obraćanjima kako republikanca Busha, tako i demokrate Obame. Brojčano su na približnom podioku primjene navedenih strategija.

Konceptualna metafora NACIJA JE PORODICA je uvjerljivo najfrekventnija strategija u svim analiziranim obraćanjima. Predsjednik Bush ovdje ima prednost u odnosu na predsjednika Obamu, budući da je 2006. godine ovu pojmovnu metaforu upotrijebio trideset i jedan put. Međutim, predsjednik Obama ne zaostaje, te je 2010. godine pomenutu strategiju inkorporisao u obraćanje u dvadeset i dva navrata. Metafore VLADA JE RODITELJ i GRAĐANI SU DJECA podjednako pronalazimo u svim obraćanjima, s tim da je predsjednik Bush ove dvije strategije u značajnijoj mjeri upotrijebio 2005. godine.

Posebno su indikativni nalazi na planu kognitivnih modela strogog oca i brižnog roditelja. Kognitivni model strogog oca ne identifikujemo u dva obraćanja predsjednika Busha, 2007. i 2008. godine, dok je navedenu strategiju predsjednik Obama artikulirao u svim obraćanjima koje smo analizirali. Kognitivni model brižnog roditelja detekujemo u svim obraćanjima oba predsjednika, uz opasku da je predsjednik Obama ovu strategiju kvantitativno više koristio.

Inkluziju smo identifikovali u svim obraćanjima. Predsjednik Bush je inkluziju 2005. godine uvrstio u obraćanje dvadeset i četiri puta. Kada je u pitanju ekskluzija i heterodoksija, Bush ovim mehanizmima pribjegava u većem broju instanci, no pomenuti mehanizmi su prisutni i u Obaminim obraćanjima. Agentivnost je značajna strategija kojoj oba predsjednika gotovo identično pristupaju. Intertekstualnost i dijalogicitet pronalazimo u svim obraćanjima, a zbirno su u istoj ravni primjene u govorima predsjednika Busha i predsjednika Obame. Legitimizaciju i delegitimizaciju ne nalazimo u obraćanju predsjednika Busha 2008. godine. Ista strategija je prisutna u svim Obaminim obraćanjima. Zanimljivo je da je Obama u većem broju primijenio strategije pozitivne i negativne reprezentacije, dok je u kontekstu nametanja okvira i reiteracije predsjednik Bush u blagoj prednosti.

Nalazi istraživanja ukazuju da su strategije konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu slične, a do određene mjere identične. Ishod koji se na prvi pogled mogao očekivati – da će diskurs predsjednika Busha dramatično odudarati od diskursa predsjednika Obame, imajući na umu pripadnost različitim političkim partijama pomenuta dva predsjednika – ispostavio se kao neutemeljen. Integrativni model potvrđuje da strategije konstruisanja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu, u prvom redu reprezentativni uzorak godišnjih predsjedničkih obraćanja Kongresu i narodu o stanju nacije, prate slične vrijednosno-konceptualne strategije. Aksiološki i ideološki sistem američke kognitivne zajednice predstavlja sigurno utočište za otvaranje kanala komuniciranja sa javnošću i postojan mehanizam plasiranja željenih semantičkih sadržaja. Republikanska i Demokratska stranka Sjedinjenih Američkih Država upotrebljavaju upravo ovako čvrsto postavljene strukture konstruisanja značenja. Ovako posmatrano, značenje se suštinski organski konstruiše. Značenje je – u domenu političkog diskursa

– enciklopedijski pohranjeno, a strategijama se, po potrebi, naglašava ili prikrija. Dijahrono gledano, predsjednička obraćanja usklađena su sa datim temporalnim okvirima, preciznije, trenutnim potrebama društva. Aktualnost tema čini ovaj reprezentativni uzorak raznovrsnom građom za analizu, no dobro utvrđeni konceptualni nadokviri ostaju kao podloga i kalup na osnovu kojeg nastaje naizgled novi diskursni paket.

Postavlja se pitanje suštinske razlike između vrijednosnih svejtonazora Demokratske i Republikanske stranke i da li je nominalna diferencijacija ustrojena kao dobro zamišljen sistem manipulacije i privida pluralizma. Sudeći po konceptualnim nadokvirima, koji do izražaja dolaze analitičkim procedurama dekonstrukcije, suštinska razlika ne postoji, a pomenute partije su eksponent ideološki saobraženog sistema vrijednosti i kontrole. Evidentno svakako jeste postojanje upečatljivih konceptualnih nadokviria zasnovanih na religijskim vrijednosnim sistemima, koji čine savremeni američki politički diskurs zanimljivim, specifičnim i nadasve relevantnim diskursnim uzorkom za iscpne istraživačke projekte.



## 4.2 Teorijske implikacije istraživanja

Integrativni model analize savremenog američkog političkog diskursa koji je razrađen i primijenjen u ovom istraživanju potvrđuje dijaloški potencijal kritičke analize diskursa i kognitivne lingvistike. Nadalje, ova prirodna simbioza ukazuje na mogućnosti daljnjeg *inter-* i transdisciplinarnog uparivanja postojećih instrumentarijuma pomenuta dva sistema i formulisanje preciznijih analitičkih mehanizama. Radi se o izrazito opsežnom, cjelishodnom, translateralnom i mnogostruko korisnom sinergijskom sistemu koji uz primjerene modifikacije može da se doraduje, unapređuje i prilagođava specifičnim korpusnim uzorcima.

U radu se jasno vide poveznice društveno-kulturoloških zbivanja u odnosu na diskursne prakse u savremenom kontekstu. Uočljivo je prisustvo konceptualnih nadokvira, koji nedvosmisleno utiču na formulisanje strategija konstruisanja značenja kako u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu, tako i u diskursima drugih ideološko-kognitivnih zajednica.

Fenomenologija kognitivnih zajednica, te objedinjujući ideološki metanarativ otvara prostor za aktivnije posezanje za transdisciplinarnim analitičkim platformama kao što su predložena socio-kognitivna kritička analiza diskursa i kritička analiza metafora, koje su nastale na temeljima etabliranih sistema kritičke analize diskursa i kognitivne lingvistike. Svi postulirani sistemi teorijsko-analitičke dekonstrukcije podrazumijevaju kontinuiranu nadogranju.

Uz relevantne aspekte bogatog repozitorijuma kulturoloških studija, zatim uz primjenu novih saznanja iz kognitivne lingvistike i kritičke analize diskursa, te uz pažljivo odabrane aspekte postkolonijalne teorije i antropologije, teorijsko-analitička

platforma strukturisana za potrebe ovog istraživačkog projekta može da se razvija u još efikasnije i preciznije analitičko-eksplikatorne platforme.

Rad na disertaciji navodi autora na dodatno razmišljanje o prirodi značenja što svakako ostaje kao prijedlog za buduća istraživanja. Čitanjem raznorodnih teorijskih objašnjenja o značenju, a u potrazi za strategijama konstituiranja značenja u savremenom američkom političkom diskursu, dolazimo do prijedloga tripartitne podjele značenja:

- Čisto značenje – neotkriveni i apstrakni potencijal koji postoji kao ideja, no njegovu prirodu shvatamo tek posredno i uz pomoć filozofskih promišljanja. Čisto značenje ostaje u domenu nedokučivog i još uvijek neobjašnjivog fenomena.
- Međuznačenje – konceptualni nadokviri i ideje koje djelimično razumijemo, a kojim smo se bavili u ovoj disertaciji. Relativno ostvaren potencijal i instancijacija čistog značenja.
- Lično značenje – je nivo kodiranja i dekodiranja, onaj nivo koji nam je blizak i koji želimo da kanališemo ka sagovorniku. Sagovornik taj značenjski paket kroji i prekraja po vlastitim aršinima, odnosno pod uticajem međuznačenja, čistog značenja i cjelokupnosti kognitivne zajednice koja obrazuje misaono-percepcijski sistem svagog pojedinca.

Ovu troslojnu podjelu značenja valja shvatiti u kontekstu ovog istraživanja i autorovog promišljanja o fenomenologiji značenja uopšte, te zahtijeva dodatna istraživanja u budućnosti.

Naposljetku, opservacija o konceptualnom, ili kako smo u disertaciji uobičajeno govorili, aksiološkom sistemu Sjedinjenih Američkih Država i savremenom američkom političkom diskursu koji je u njemu nastao – nije poseban, nije loš, a niti dobar. Naprosto je takav i bilo bi netačno pripisivati i upisivati mu bilo kakve osobine ili donosti vrijednosni sud. No, taj je zadatak na nivou ličnog značenja teško, ali ne i nemoguće postići.

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## 6. Prilozi<sup>160</sup>

### SOTU: GWB 1

Mr. Speaker, Vice President Cheney, Members of Congress, fellow citizens: As a new Congress gathers, all of us in the elected branches of Government share a great privilege: We've been placed in office by the votes of the people we serve. And tonight that is a privilege we share with newly elected leaders of Afghanistan, the Palestinian Territories, Ukraine, and a free and sovereign Iraq. Two weeks ago, I stood on the steps of this Capitol and renewed the commitment of our Nation to the guiding ideal of liberty for all. This evening I will set forth policies to advance that ideal at home and around the world. Tonight, with a healthy, growing economy, with more Americans going back to work, with our Nation an active force for good in the world, the state of our Union is confident and strong.

Our generation has been blessed by the expansion of opportunity, by advances in medicine, by the security purchased by our parents' sacrifice. Now, as we see a little gray in the mirror—or a lot of gray and we watch our children moving into adulthood, we ask the question: What will be the state of their Union? Members of Congress, the choices we make together will answer that question. Over the next several months, on issue after issue, let us do what Americans have always done and build a better world for our children and our grandchildren. First, we must be good stewards of this economy and renew the great institutions on which millions of our fellow citizens rely. America's economy is the fastest growing of any major industrialized nation. In the past 4 years, we've provided tax relief to every person who pays income taxes, overcome a recession, opened up new markets abroad, prosecuted corporate criminals, raised homeownership to its highest level in history. And in the last year alone, the United States has added 2.3 million new jobs. When action was needed, the Congress delivered, and the Nation is grateful. Now we must add to these achievements. By making our economy more flexible, more innovative, and more competitive, we will keep America the economic leader of the world. America's prosperity requires restraining the spending appetite of the Federal Government. I welcome the bipartisan enthusiasm for spending discipline. I will send you a budget that holds the growth of discretionary spending below inflation, makes tax relief permanent, and stays on track to cut the deficit in half by 2009. My budget substantially reduces or eliminates more than 150 Government programs that are not getting results or duplicate current efforts or do not fulfill essential priorities. The principle here is clear: Taxpayer dollars must be spent wisely or not at all. To make our economy stronger and more dynamic, we must prepare a rising generation to fill the jobs of the 21st century. Under the No Child Left Behind Act, standards are higher, test scores are on the rise, and we're closing the achievement gap for minority students. Now we must demand better results from our high schools, so every high school diploma is a ticket to success. We will help an additional 200,000 workers to get training for a better career by reforming our job training system and strengthening America's community colleges. And we'll make it easier for Americans to afford a college education by increasing the size of Pell grants. To make our economy stronger and more competitive, America must reward, not punish, the efforts and dreams of entrepreneurs. Small business is the path of advancement, especially for women and minorities, so we must free small businesses from needless regulation and protect honest job-creators from junk lawsuits. Justice is distorted and our economy is held back by irresponsible class actions and frivolous asbestos claims, and I urge Congress to pass legal reforms this year. To make our economy stronger and more productive, we must make health care more affordable and give families greater access to good coverage and more control over their health decisions. I ask Congress to move forward on a comprehensive health care agenda with tax credits to help low-income workers buy insurance, a community health center in every poor county, improved information technology to prevent medical error and needless costs, association health plans for small businesses and their employees, expanded health savings accounts, and medical liability reform that will reduce health care costs and make sure patients have the doctors and care they need. To keep our economy growing, we also need reliable supplies of affordable, environmentally responsible energy. Nearly 4 years ago, I submitted a comprehensive energy strategy that encourages conservation, alternative sources, a modernized electricity grid, and more production here at home, including safe, clean nuclear energy. My Clear Skies legislation will cut powerplant pollution and improve the health of our citizens.

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<sup>160</sup> Redukovana veličina fonta – 10 tipografskih tačaka; proredi su rijetki i u tekstovima su interpolirani isključivo s ciljem bolje preglednosti tekstualne građe.

And my budget provides strong funding for leading-edge technology, from hydrogen-fueled cars to clean coal to renewable sources such as ethanol. Four years of debate is enough. I urge Congress to pass legislation that makes America more secure and less dependent on foreign energy. All these proposals are essential to expand this economy and add new jobs, but they are just the beginning of our duty. To build the prosperity of future generations, we must update institutions that were created to meet the needs of an earlier time. Year after year, Americans are burdened by an archaic, incoherent Federal Tax Code. I've appointed a bipartisan panel to examine the Tax Code from top to bottom. And when their recommendations are delivered, you and I will work together to give this Nation a Tax Code that is progrowth, easy to understand, and fair to all. America's immigration system is also outdated, unsuited to the needs of our economy and to the values of our country. We should not be content with laws that punish hard-working people who want only to provide for their families and deny businesses willing workers and invite chaos at our border. It is time for an immigration policy that permits temporary-guest workers to fill jobs Americans will not take, that rejects amnesty, that tells us who is entering and leaving our country, and that closes the border to drug dealers and terrorists. One of America's most important institutions, a symbol of the trust between generations, is also in need of wise and effective reform. Social Security was a great moral success of the 20th century, and we must honor its great purposes in this new century. The system, however, on its current path, is headed toward bankruptcy. And so we must join together to strengthen and save Social Security. Today, more than 45 million Americans receive Social Security benefits, and millions more are nearing retirement. And for them the system is sound and fiscally strong. I have a message for every American who is 55 or older: Do not let anyone mislead you; for you, the Social Security system will not change in any way. For younger workers, the Social Security system has serious problems that will grow worse with time. Social Security was created decades ago for a very different era. In those days, people did not live as long. Benefits were much lower than they are today. And a half century ago, about 16 workers paid into the system for each person drawing benefits.

Our society has changed in ways the founders of Social Security could not have foreseen. In today's world, people are living longer and, therefore, drawing benefits longer. And those benefits are scheduled to rise dramatically over the next few decades. And instead of 16 workers paying in for every beneficiary, right now it's only about 3 workers. And over the next few decades, that number will fall to just 2 workers per beneficiary. With each passing year, fewer workers are paying ever-higher benefits to an ever-larger number of retirees. So here is the result: Thirteen years from now, in 2018, Social Security will be paying out more than it takes in. And every year afterward will bring a new shortfall, bigger than the year before. For example, in the year 2027, the Government will somehow have to come up with an extra \$200 billion to keep the system afloat, and by 2033, the annual shortfall would be more than \$300 billion. By the year 2042, the entire system would be exhausted and bankrupt. If steps are not taken to avert that outcome, the only solutions would be dramatically higher taxes, massive new borrowing, or sudden and severe cuts in Social Security benefits or other Government programs. I recognize that 2018 and 2042 may seem a long way off. But those dates are not so distant, as any parent will tell you. If you have a 5-year-old, you're already concerned about how you'll pay for college tuition 13 years down the road. If you've got children in their twenties, as some of us do, the idea of Social Security collapsing before they retire does not seem like a small matter. And it should not be a small matter to the United States Congress. You and I share a responsibility. We must pass reforms that solve the financial problems of Social Security once and for all. Fixing Social Security permanently will require an open, candid review of the options. Some have suggested limiting benefits for wealthy retirees. Former Congressman Tim Penny has raised the possibility of indexing benefits to prices rather than wages. During the 1990s, my predecessor, President Clinton, spoke of increasing the retirement age. Former Senator John Breaux suggested discouraging early collection of Social Security benefits. The late Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan recommended changing the way benefits are calculated. All these ideas are on the table. I know that none of these reforms would be easy. But we have to move ahead with courage and honesty, because our children's retirement security is more important than partisan politics. I will work with Members of Congress to find the most effective combination of reforms. I will listen to anyone who has a good idea to offer. We must, however, be guided by some basic principles. We must make Social Security permanently sound, not leave that task for another day. We must not jeopardize our economic strength by increasing payroll taxes. We must ensure that lower income Americans get the help they need to have dignity and peace of mind in their retirement. We must guarantee there is no change for those now retired or nearing retirement. And we must take care that any changes in the system are gradual, so younger workers have years to prepare and plan for their future. As we fix Social Security, we also have the responsibility to make the system a better deal for younger workers. And the best way to reach that goal is through

voluntary personal retirement accounts. Here is how the idea works. Right now, a set portion of the money you earn is taken out of your paycheck to pay for the Social Security benefits of today's retirees. If you're a younger worker, I believe you should be able to set aside part of that money in your own retirement account, so you can build a nest egg for your own future.

Here's why the personal accounts are a better deal. Your money will grow over time at a greater rate than anything the current system can deliver, and your account will provide money for retirement over and above the check you will receive from Social Security. In addition, you'll be able to pass along the money that accumulates in your personal account, if you wish, to your children and—or grandchildren. And best of all, the money in the account is yours, and the Government can never take it away. The goal here is greater security in retirement, so we will set careful guidelines for personal accounts. We'll make sure the money can only go into a conservative mix of bonds and stock funds. We'll make sure that your earnings are not eaten up by hidden Wall Street fees. We'll make sure there are good options to protect your investments from sudden market swings on the eve of your retirement. We'll make sure a personal account cannot be emptied out all at once but rather paid out over time as an addition to traditional Social Security benefits. And we'll make sure this plan is fiscally responsible by starting personal retirement accounts gradually and raising the yearly limits on contributions over time, eventually permitting all workers to set aside 4 percentage points of their payroll taxes in their accounts. Personal retirement accounts should be familiar to Federal employees, because you already have something similar called the Thrift Savings Plan, which lets workers deposit a portion of their paychecks into any of five different broadly based investment funds. It's time to extend the same security and choice and ownership to young Americans. Our second great responsibility to our children and grandchildren is to honor and to pass along the values that sustain a free society. So many of my generation, after a long journey, have come home to family and faith and are determined to bring up responsible, moral children. Government is not the source of these values, but Government should never undermine them. Because marriage is a sacred institution and the foundation of society, it should not be redefined by activist judges. For the good of families, children, and society, I support a constitutional amendment to protect the institution of marriage. Because a society is measured by how it treats the weak and vulnerable, we must strive to build a culture of life. Medical research can help us reach that goal by developing treatments and cures that save lives and help people overcome disabilities, and I thank the Congress for doubling the funding of the National Institutes of Health.

To build a culture of life, we must also ensure that scientific advances always serve human dignity, not take advantage of some lives for the benefit of others. We should all be able to agree on some clear standards. I will work with Congress to ensure that human embryos are not created for experimentation or grown for body parts and that human life is never bought or sold as a commodity. America will continue to lead the world in medical research that is ambitious, aggressive, and always ethical. Because courts must always deliver impartial justice, judges have a duty to faithfully interpret the law, not legislate from the bench. As President, I have a constitutional responsibility to nominate men and women who understand the role of courts in our democracy and are well-qualified to serve on the bench, and I have done so. The Constitution also gives the Senate a responsibility: Every judicial nominee deserves an up-or-down vote. Because one of the deepest values of our country is compassion, we must never turn away from any citizen who feels isolated from the opportunities of America. Our Government will continue to support faith-based and community groups that bring hope to harsh places. Now we need to focus on giving young people, especially young men in our cities, better options than apathy or gangs or jail. Tonight I propose a 3-year initiative to help organizations keep young people out of gangs and show young men an ideal of manhood that respects women and rejects violence. Taking on gang life will be one part of a broader outreach to at-risk youth, which involves parents and pastors, coaches and community leaders in programs ranging from literacy to sports. And I am proud that the leader of this nationwide effort will be our First Lady, Laura Bush. Because HIV/AIDS brings suffering and fear into so many lives, I ask you to reauthorize the Ryan White Act to encourage prevention and provide care and treatment to the victims of that disease. And as we update this important law, we must focus our efforts on fellow citizens with the highest rates of new cases, African American men and women. Because one of the main sources of our national unity is our belief in equal justice, we need to make sure Americans of all races and backgrounds have confidence in the system that provides justice. In America, we must make doubly sure no person is held to account for a crime he or she did not commit, so we are dramatically expanding the use of DNA evidence to prevent wrongful conviction. Soon I will send to Congress a proposal to fund special training for defense counsel in capital cases, because people on trial for their lives must have competent lawyers by their side. Our third responsibility to future generations is to leave them an

America that is safe from danger and protected by peace. We will pass along to our children all the freedoms we enjoy, and chief among them is freedom from fear. In the 3 1/2 years since September the 11th, 2001, we have taken unprecedented actions to protect Americans. We've created a new department of Government to defend our homeland, focused the FBI on preventing terrorism, begun to reform our intelligence agencies, broken up terror cells across the country, expanded research on defenses against biological and chemical attack, improved border security, and trained more than a half million first-responders. Police and firefighters, air marshals, researchers, and so many others are working every day to make our homeland safer, and we thank them all.

Our Nation, working with allies and friends, has also confronted the enemy abroad with measures that are determined, successful, and continuing. The Al Qaida terror network that attacked our country still has leaders, but many of its top commanders have been removed. There are still governments that sponsor and harbor terrorists, but their number has declined. There are still regimes seeking weapons of mass destruction but no longer without attention and without consequence. Our country is still the target of terrorists who want to kill many and intimidate us all, and we will stay on the offensive against them until the fight is won. Pursuing our enemies is a vital commitment of the war on terror, and I thank the Congress for providing our service men and women with the resources they have needed. During this time of war, we must continue to support our military and give them the tools for victory. Other nations around the globe have stood with us. In Afghanistan, an international force is helping provide security. In Iraq, 28 countries have troops on the ground, the United Nations and the European Union provided technical assistance for the elections, and NATO is leading a mission to help train Iraqi officers. We're cooperating with 60 governments in the Proliferation Security Initiative to detect and stop the transit of dangerous materials. We're working closely with the governments in Asia to convince North Korea to abandon its nuclear ambitions. Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and nine other countries have captured or detained Al Qaida terrorists. In the next 4 years, my administration will continue to build the coalitions that will defeat the dangers of our time. In the long term, the peace we seek will only be achieved by eliminating the conditions that feed radicalism and ideologies of murder. If whole regions of the world remain in despair and grow in hatred, they will be the recruiting grounds for terror, and that terror will stalk America and other free nations for decades. The only force powerful enough to stop the rise of tyranny and terror and replace hatred with hope is the force of human freedom. Our enemies know this, and that is why the terrorist Zarqawi recently declared war on what he called the "evil principle" of democracy. And we've declared our own intention: America will stand with the allies of freedom to support democratic movements in the Middle East and beyond, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world.

The United States has no right, no desire, and no intention to impose our form of government on anyone else. That is one of the main differences between us and our enemies. They seek to impose and expand an empire of oppression in which a tiny group of brutal, self-appointed rulers control every aspect of every life. Our aim is to build and preserve a community of free and independent nations, with governments that answer to their citizens and reflect their own cultures. And because democracies respect their own people and their neighbors, the advance of freedom will lead to peace. That advance has great momentum in our time, shown by women voting in Afghanistan and Palestinians choosing a new direction and the people of Ukraine asserting their democratic rights and electing a President. We are witnessing landmark events in the history of liberty, and in the coming years, we will add to that story. The beginnings of reform and democracy in the Palestinian Territories are now showing the power of freedom to break old patterns of violence and failure. Tomorrow morning Secretary of State Rice departs on a trip that will take her to Israel and the West Bank for meetings with Prime Minister Sharon and President Abbas. She will discuss with them how we and our friends can help the Palestinian people end terror and build the institutions of a peaceful, independent, democratic state. To promote this democracy, I will ask Congress for \$350 million to support Palestinian political, economic, and security reforms. The goal of two democratic states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace is within reach, and America will help them achieve that goal. To promote peace and stability in the broader Middle East, the United States will work with our friends in the region to fight the common threat of terror, while we encourage a higher standard of freedom. Hopeful reform is already taking hold in an arc from Morocco to Jordan to Bahrain. The Government of Saudi Arabia can demonstrate its leadership in the region by expanding the role of its people in determining their future. And the great and proud nation of Egypt, which showed the way toward peace in the Middle East, can now show the way toward democracy in the Middle East.

To promote peace in the broader Middle East, we must confront regimes that continue to harbor terrorists and pursue weapons of mass murder. Syria still allows its territory and parts of Lebanon to be used by terrorists who seek to destroy every chance of peace in the region. You have passed and we are applying the Syrian Accountability Act, and we expect the Syrian Government to end all support for terror and open the door to freedom. Today, Iran remains the world's primary state sponsor of terror, pursuing nuclear weapons while depriving its people of the freedom they seek and deserve. We are working with European allies to make clear to the Iranian regime that it must give up its uranium enrichment program and any plutonium reprocessing and end its support for terror. And to the Iranian people, I say tonight: As you stand for your own liberty, America stands with you. Our generational commitment to the advance of freedom, especially in the Middle East, is now being tested and honored in Iraq. That country is a vital front in the war on terror, which is why the terrorists have chosen to make a stand there. Our men and women in uniform are fighting terrorists in Iraq so we do not have to face them here at home. And the victory of freedom in Iraq will strengthen a new ally in the war on terror, inspire democratic reformers from Damascus to Tehran, bring more hope and progress to a troubled region, and thereby lift a terrible threat from the lives of our children and grandchildren.

We will succeed because the Iraqi people value their own liberty, as they showed the world last Sunday. Across Iraq, often at great risk, millions of citizens went to the polls and elected 275 men and women to represent them in a new Transitional National Assembly. A young woman in Baghdad told of waking to the sound of mortar fire on election day and wondering if it might be too dangerous to vote. She said, "Hearing those explosions, it occurred to me: The insurgents are weak; they are afraid of democracy; they are losing. So I got my husband and I got my parents, and we all came out and voted together." Americans recognize that spirit of liberty, because we share it. In any nation, casting your vote is an act of civic responsibility. For millions of Iraqis, it was also an act of personal courage, and they have earned the respect of us all. One of Iraq's leading democracy and human rights advocates is Safia Taleb al-Suhail. She says of her country, "We were occupied for 35 years by Saddam Hussein. That was the real occupation. Thank you to the American people who paid the cost but, most of all, to the soldiers." Eleven years ago, Safia's father was assassinated by Saddam's intelligence service. Three days ago in Baghdad, Safia was finally able to vote for the leaders of her country, and we are honored that she is with us tonight. The terrorists and insurgents are violently opposed to democracy and will continue to attack it. Yet the terrorists' most powerful myth is being destroyed. The whole world is seeing that the car bombers and assassins are not only fighting coalition forces; they are trying to destroy the hopes of Iraqis, expressed in free elections. And the whole world now knows that a small group of extremists will not overturn the will of the Iraqi people. We will succeed in Iraq because Iraqis are determined to fight for their own freedom and to write their own history. As Prime Minister Allawi said in his speech to Congress last September, "Ordinary Iraqis are anxious to shoulder all the security burdens of our country as quickly as possible." That is the natural desire of an independent nation, and it is also the stated mission of our coalition in Iraq. The new political situation in Iraq opens a new phase of our work in that country. At the recommendation of our commanders on the ground and in consultation with the Iraqi Government, we will increasingly focus our efforts on helping prepare more capable Iraqi security forces, forces with skilled officers and an effective command structure. As those forces become more self-reliant and take on greater security responsibilities, America and its coalition partners will increasingly be in a supporting role. In the end, Iraqis must be able to defend their own country, and we will help that proud new nation secure its liberty. Recently an Iraqi interpreter said to a reporter, "Tell America not to abandon us." He and all Iraqis can be certain: While our military strategy is adapting to circumstances, our commitment remains firm and unchanging. We are standing for the freedom of our Iraqi friends, and freedom in Iraq will make America safer for generations to come. We will not set an artificial timetable for leaving Iraq, because that would embolden the terrorists and make them believe they can wait us out. We are in Iraq to achieve a result, a country that is democratic, representative of all its people, at peace with its neighbors, and able to defend itself. And when that result is achieved, our men and women serving in Iraq will return home with the honor they have earned. Right now, Americans in uniform are serving at posts across the world, often taking great risks on my orders. We have given them training and equipment, and they have given us an example of idealism and character that makes every American proud. The volunteers of our military are unrelenting in battle, unwavering in loyalty, unmatched in honor and decency, and every day they're making our Nation more secure. Some of our service men and women have survived terrible injuries, and this grateful country will do everything we can to help them recover. And we have said farewell to some very good men and women who died for our freedom and whose memory this Nation will honor forever. One name we honor is Marine Corps Sergeant Byron Norwood of Pflugerville, Texas, who was killed during the assault on Fallujah. His mom, Janet, sent me a letter and

told me how much Byron loved being a marine and how proud he was to be on the frontline against terror. She wrote, "When Byron was home the last time, I said that I wanted to protect him like I had since he was born. He just hugged me and said, 'You've done your job, Mom. Now it is my turn to protect you.'" Ladies and gentlemen, with grateful hearts we honor freedom's defenders and our military families, represented here this evening by Sergeant Norwood's mom and dad, Janet and Bill Norwood.

In these 4 years, Americans have seen the unfolding of large events. We have known times of sorrow and hours of uncertainty and days of victory. In all this history, even when we have disagreed, we have seen threads of purpose that unite us. The attack on freedom in our world has reaffirmed our confidence in freedom's power to change the world. We are all part of a great venture: To extend the promise of freedom in our country, to renew the values that sustain our liberty, and to spread the peace that freedom brings. As Franklin Roosevelt once reminded Americans, "Each age is a dream that is dying, or one that is coming to birth." And we live in the country where the biggest dreams are born. The abolition of slavery was only a dream until it was fulfilled. The liberation of Europe from fascism was only a dream until it was achieved. The fall of imperial communism was only a dream until, one day, it was accomplished. Our generation has dreams of its own, and we also go forward with confidence. The road of providence is uneven and unpredictable, yet we know where it leads: It leads to freedom. Thank you, and may God bless America.

## **SOTU: GWB 2**

Thank you all. Mr. Speaker, Vice President Cheney, Members of Congress, members of the Supreme Court and diplomatic corps, distinguished guests, and fellow citizens: Today our Nation lost a beloved, graceful, courageous woman who called America to its founding ideals and carried on a noble dream. Tonight we are comforted by the hope of a glad reunion with the husband who was taken so long ago, and we are grateful for the good life of Coretta Scott King. Every time I'm invited to this rostrum, I'm humbled by the privilege and mindful of the history we've seen together. We have gathered under this Capitol dome in moments of national mourning and national achievement. We have served America through one of the most consequential periods of our history, and it has been my honor to serve with you. In a system of two parties, two chambers, and two elected branches, there will always be differences and debate. But even tough debates can be conducted in a civil tone, and our differences cannot be allowed to harden into anger. To confront the great issues before us, we must act in a spirit of good will and respect for one another, and I will do my part. Tonight the state of our Union is strong, and together we will make it stronger. In this decisive year, you and I will make choices that determine both the future and the character of our country. We will choose to act confidently in pursuing the enemies of freedom, or retreat from our duties in the hope of an easier life. We will choose to build our prosperity by leading the world economy, or shut ourselves off from trade and opportunity. In a complex and challenging time, the road of isolationism and protectionism may seem broad and inviting, yet it ends in danger and decline. The only way to protect our people, the only way to secure the peace, the only way to control our destiny is by our leadership. So the United States of America will continue to lead. Abroad, our Nation is committed to an historic, long-term goal: We seek the end of tyranny in our world. Some dismiss that goal as misguided idealism. In reality, the future security of America depends on it. On September the 11th, 2001, we found that problems originating in a failed and oppressive state 7,000 miles away could bring murder and destruction to our country. Dictatorships shelter terrorists, and feed resentment and radicalism, and seek weapons of mass destruction. Democracies replace resentment with hope, respect the rights of their citizens and their neighbors, and join the fight against terror. Every step toward freedom in the world makes our country safer, so we will act boldly in freedom's cause. Far from being a hopeless dream, the advance of freedom is the great story of our time. In 1945, there were about two dozen lonely democracies in the world. Today, there are 122. And we're writing a new chapter in the story of self-government—with women lining up to vote in Afghanistan, and millions of Iraqis marking their liberty with purple ink, and men and women from Lebanon to Egypt debating the rights of individuals and the necessity of freedom. At the start of 2006, more than half the people of our world live in democratic nations. And we do not forget the other half—in places like Syria and Burma, Zimbabwe, North Korea, and Iran—because the demands of justice and the peace of this world require their freedom as well. No one can deny the success of freedom, but some men rage and fight against it. And one of the main sources of reaction

and opposition is radical Islam—the perversion by a few of a noble faith into an ideology of terror and death. Terrorists like bin Laden are serious about mass murder, and all of us must take their declared intentions seriously. They seek to impose a heartless system of totalitarian control throughout the Middle East and arm themselves with weapons of mass murder. Their aim is to seize power in Iraq and use it as a safe haven to launch attacks against America and the world. Lacking the military strength to challenge us directly, the terrorists have chosen the weapon of fear. When they murder children at a school in Beslan or blow up commuters in London or behead a bound captive, the terrorists hope these horrors will break our will, allowing the violent to inherit the Earth. But they have miscalculated: We love our freedom, and we will fight to keep it. In a time of testing, we cannot find security by abandoning our commitments and retreating within our borders. If we were to leave these vicious attackers alone, they would not leave us alone. They would simply move the battlefield to our own shores. There is no peace in retreat, and there is no honor in retreat. By allowing radical Islam to work its will, by leaving an assaulted world to fend for itself, we would signal to all that we no longer believe in our own ideals or even in our own courage. But our enemies and our friends can be certain: The United States will not retreat from the world, and we will never surrender to evil. America rejects the false comfort of isolationism. We are the nation that saved liberty in Europe and liberated death camps and helped raise up democracies and faced down an evil empire. Once again, we accept the call of history to deliver the oppressed and move this world toward peace. We remain on the offensive against terror networks. We have killed or captured many of their leaders. And for the others, their day will come. We remain on the offensive in Afghanistan, where a fine President and a National Assembly are fighting terror while building the institutions of a new democracy. We're on the offensive in Iraq with a clear plan for victory. First, we're helping Iraqis build an inclusive government, so that old resentments will be eased and the insurgency will be marginalized. Second, we're continuing reconstruction efforts and helping the Iraqi Government to fight corruption and build a modern economy, so all Iraqis can experience the benefits of freedom. And third, we're striking terrorist targets while we train Iraqi forces that are increasingly capable of defeating the enemy. Iraqis are showing their courage every day, and we are proud to be their allies in the cause of freedom. Our work in Iraq is difficult because our enemy is brutal. But that brutality has not stopped the dramatic progress of a new democracy. In less than 3 years, the nation has gone from dictatorship to liberation, to sovereignty, to a Constitution, to national elections. At the same time, our coalition has been relentless in shutting off terrorist infiltration, clearing out insurgent strongholds, and turning over territory to Iraqi security forces. I am confident in our plan for victory; I am confident in the will of the Iraqi people; I am confident in the skill and spirit of our military. Fellow citizens, we are in this fight to win, and we are winning.

The road of victory is the road that will take our troops home. As we make progress on the ground and Iraqi forces increasingly take the lead, we should be able to further decrease our troop levels. But those decisions will be made by our military commanders, not by politicians in Washington, DC. Our coalition has learned from our experience in Iraq. We've adjusted our military tactics and changed our approach to reconstruction. Along the way, we have benefited from responsible criticism and counsel offered by Members of Congress of both parties. In the coming year, I will continue to reach out and seek your good advice. Yet there is a difference between responsible criticism that aims for success and defeatism that refuses to acknowledge anything but failure. Hindsight alone is not wisdom, and second-guessing is not a strategy. With so much in the balance, those of us in public office have a duty to speak with candor. A sudden withdrawal of our forces from Iraq would abandon our Iraqi allies to death and prison, would put men like bin Laden and Zarqawi in charge of a strategic country, and show that a pledge from America means little. Members of Congress, however we feel about the decisions and debates of the past, our Nation has only one option: We must keep our word, defeat our enemies, and stand behind the American military in this vital mission. Our men and women in uniform are making sacrifices and showing a sense of duty stronger than all fear. They know what it's like to fight house to house in a maze of streets, to wear heavy gear in the desert heat, to see a comrade killed by a roadside bomb. And those who know the costs also know the stakes. Marine Staff Sergeant Dan Clay was killed last month fighting in Fallujah. He left behind a letter to his family, but his words could just as well be addressed to every American. Here is what Dan wrote: "I know what honor is— it has been an honor to protect and serve all of you. I faced death with the secure knowledge that you would not have to. Never falter. Don't hesitate to honor and support those of us who have the honor of protecting that which is worth protecting." Staff Sergeant Dan Clay's wife, Lisa, and his mom and dad, Sara Jo and Bud, are with us this evening. Welcome. Our Nation is grateful to the fallen, who live in the memory of our country. We're grateful to all who volunteer to wear our Nation's uniform. And as we honor our brave troops, let us never forget the sacrifices of America's military families. Our offensive

against terror involves more than military action. Ultimately, the only way to defeat the terrorists is to defeat their dark vision of hatred and fear by offering the hopeful alternative of political freedom and peaceful change. So the United States of America supports democratic reform across the broader Middle East. Elections are vital, but they are only the beginning. Raising up a democracy requires the rule of law and protection of minorities and strong, accountable institutions that last longer than a single vote. The great people of Egypt have voted in a multiparty Presidential election, and now their Government should open paths of peaceful opposition that will reduce the appeal of radicalism. The Palestinian people have voted in elections, and now the leaders of Hamas must recognize Israel, disarm, reject terrorism, and work for lasting peace. Saudi Arabia has taken the first steps of reform; now it can offer its people a better future by pressing forward with those efforts. Democracies in the Middle East will not look like our own, because they will reflect the traditions of their own citizens. Yet liberty is the future of every nation in the Middle East because liberty is the right and hope of all humanity. The same is true of Iran, a nation now held hostage by a small clerical elite that is isolating and repressing its people. The regime in that country sponsors terrorists in the Palestinian territories and in Lebanon, and that must come to an end. The Iranian Government is defying the world with its nuclear ambitions, and the nations of the world must not permit the Iranian regime to gain nuclear weapons. America will continue to rally the world to confront these threats. Tonight let me speak directly to the citizens of Iran: America respects you, and we respect your country. We respect your right to choose your own future and win your own freedom. And our Nation hopes one day to be the closest of friends with a free and democratic Iran.

To overcome dangers in our world, we must also take the offensive by encouraging economic progress and fighting disease and spreading hope in hopeless lands. Isolationism would not only tie our hands in fighting enemies, it would keep us from helping our friends in desperate need. We show compassion abroad because Americans believe in the God-given dignity and worth of a villager with HIV/AIDS or an infant with malaria or a refugee fleeing genocide or a young girl sold into slavery. We also show compassion abroad because regions overwhelmed by poverty, corruption, and despair are sources of terrorism and organized crime and human trafficking and the drug trade. In recent years, you and I have taken unprecedented action to fight AIDS and malaria, expand the education of girls, and reward developing nations that are moving forward with economic and political reform. For people everywhere, the United States is a partner for a better life. Shortchanging these efforts would increase the suffering and chaos of our world, undercut our long-term security, and dull the conscience of our country. I urge Members of Congress to serve the interests of America by showing the compassion of America.

Our country must also remain on the offensive against terrorism here at home. The enemy has not lost the desire or capability to attack us. Fortunately, this Nation has superb professionals in law enforcement, intelligence, the military, and homeland security. These men and women are dedicating their lives, protecting us all, and they deserve our support and our thanks. They also deserve the same tools they already use to fight drug trafficking and organized crime, so I ask you to reauthorize the PATRIOT Act. It is said that prior to the attacks of September the 11th, our Government failed to connect the dots of the conspiracy. We now know that two of the hijackers in the United States placed telephone calls to Al Qaida operatives overseas. But we did not know about their plans until it was too late. So to prevent another attack—based on authority given to me by the Constitution and by statute—I have authorized a terrorist surveillance program to aggressively pursue the international communications of suspected Al Qaida operatives and affiliates to and from America. Previous Presidents have used the same constitutional authority I have, and Federal courts have approved the use of that authority. Appropriate Members of Congress have been kept informed. The terrorist surveillance program has helped prevent terrorist attacks. It remains essential to the security of America. If there are people inside our country who are talking with Al Qaida, we want to know about it, because we will not sit back and wait to be hit again. In all these areas—from the disruption of terror networks, to victory in Iraq, to the spread of freedom and hope in troubled regions—we need the support of our friends and allies. To draw that support, we must always be clear in our principles and willing to act. The only alternative to American leadership is a dramatically more dangerous and anxious world. Yet we also choose to lead because it is a privilege to serve the values that gave us birth. American leaders—from Roosevelt to Truman to Kennedy to Reagan—rejected isolation and retreat, because they knew that America is always more secure when freedom is on the march. Our own generation is in a long war against a determined enemy, a war that will be fought by Presidents of both parties who will need steady bipartisan support from the Congress. And tonight I ask for yours. Together, let us protect our country, support the men and women who defend us, and lead this world



toward freedom. Here at home, America also has a great opportunity: We will build the prosperity of our country by strengthening our economic leadership in the world. Our economy is healthy and vigorous and growing faster than other major industrialized nations. In the last 2 1/2 years, America has created 4.6 million new jobs, more than Japan and the European Union combined. Even in the face of higher energy prices and natural disasters, the American people have turned in an economic performance that is the envy of the world.

The American economy is preeminent, but we cannot afford to be complacent. In a dynamic world economy, we are seeing new competitors like China and India, and this creates uncertainty, which makes it easier to feed people's fears. So we're seeing some old temptations return. Protectionists want to escape competition, pretending that we can keep our high standard of living while walling off our economy. Others say that the government needs to take a larger role in directing the economy, centralizing more power in Washington and increasing taxes. We hear claims that immigrants are somehow bad for the economy, even though this economy could not function without them. All these are forms of economic retreat, and they lead in the same direction, toward a stagnant and second-rate economy. Tonight I will set out a better path: an agenda for a nation that competes with confidence; an agenda that will raise standards of living and generate new jobs. Americans should not fear our economic future because we intend to shape it.

Keeping America competitive begins with keeping our economy growing. And our economy grows when Americans have more of their own money to spend, save, and invest. In the last 5 years, the tax relief you passed has left \$880 billion in the hands of American workers, investors, small businesses, and families. And they have used it to help produce more than 4 years of uninterrupted economic growth. Yet the tax relief is set to expire in the next few years. If we do nothing, American families will face a massive tax increase they do not expect and will not welcome. Because America needs more than a temporary expansion, we need more than temporary tax relief, I urge the Congress to act responsibly and make the tax cuts permanent. Keeping America competitive requires us to be good stewards of tax dollars. Every year of my Presidency, we've reduced the growth of nonsecurity discretionary spending, and last year, you passed bills that cut this spending. This year, my budget will cut it again and reduce or eliminate more than 140 programs that are performing poorly or not fulfilling essential priorities. By passing these reforms, we will save the American taxpayer another \$14 billion next year and stay on track to cut the deficit in half by 2009. I am pleased that Members of Congress are working on earmark reform, because the Federal budget has too many special interest projects. And we can tackle this problem together, if you pass the line-item veto. We must also confront the larger challenge of mandatory spending, or entitlements. This year, the first of about 78 million baby boomers turn 60, including two of my dad's favorite people—me and President Clinton. This milestone is more than a personal crisis it is a national challenge. The retirement of the baby boom generation will put unprecedented strains on the Federal Government. By 2030, spending for Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid alone will be almost 60 percent of the entire Federal budget. And that will present future Congresses with impossible choices: staggering tax increases, immense deficits, or deep cuts in every category of spending. Congress did not act last year on my proposal to save Social Security, yet the rising cost of entitlements is a problem that is not going away. And every year we fail to act, the situation gets worse. So tonight I ask you to join me in creating a commission to examine the full impact of baby boom retirements on Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid. This commission should include Members of Congress of both parties and offer bipartisan solutions. We need to put aside partisan politics and work together and get this problem solved.

Keeping America competitive requires us to open more markets for all that Americans make and grow. One out of every five factory jobs in America is related to global trade, and we want people everywhere to buy American. With open markets and a level playing field, no one can outproduce or outcompete the American worker. Keeping America competitive requires an immigration system that upholds our laws, reflects our values, and serves the interests of our economy. Our Nation needs orderly and secure borders. To meet this goal, we must have stronger immigration enforcement and border protection. And we must have a rational, humane guest-worker program that rejects amnesty, allows temporary jobs for people who seek them legally, and reduces smuggling and crime at the border. Keeping America competitive requires affordable health care. Our Government has a responsibility to provide health care for the poor and the elderly, and we are meeting that responsibility. For all Americans, we must confront the rising cost of care, strengthen the doctor-patient relationship, and help people afford the insurance coverage they need. We will make wider use of electronic records and other health information technology to help control costs and reduce

dangerous medical errors. We will strengthen health savings accounts, making sure individuals and small-business employees can buy insurance with the same advantages that people working for big businesses now get. We will do more to make this coverage portable, so workers can switch jobs without having to worry about losing their health insurance. And because lawsuits are driving many good doctors out of practice, leaving women in nearly 1,500 American counties without a single ob-gyn, I ask the Congress to pass medical liability reform this year. Keeping America competitive requires affordable energy. And here we have a serious problem: America is addicted to oil, which is often imported from unstable parts of the world. The best way to break this addiction is through technology. Since 2001, we have spent nearly \$10 billion to develop cleaner, cheaper, and more reliable alternative energy sources. And we are on the threshold of incredible advances. So tonight I announce the Advanced Energy Initiative—a 22-percent increase in clean-energy research at the Department of Energy—to push for breakthroughs in two vital areas. To change how we power our homes and offices, we will invest more in zero-emission coal-fired plants, revolutionary solar and wind technologies, and clean, safe nuclear energy. We must also change how we power our automobiles. We will increase our research in better batteries for hybrid and electric cars and in pollution-free cars that run on hydrogen. We'll also fund additional research in cutting-edge methods of producing ethanol, not just from corn but from wood chips and stalks or switchgrass. Our goal is to make this new kind of ethanol practical and competitive within 6 years. Breakthroughs on this and other new technologies will help us reach another great goal: to replace more than 75 percent of our oil imports from the Middle East by 2025. By applying the talent and technology of America, this country can dramatically improve our environment, move beyond a petroleum-based economy, and make our dependence on Middle Eastern oil a thing of the past. And to keep America competitive, one commitment is necessary above all: We must continue to lead the world in human talent and creativity. Our greatest advantage in the world has always been our educated, hard-working, ambitious people. And we're going to keep that edge. Tonight I announce an American Competitiveness Initiative to encourage innovation throughout our economy and to give our Nation's children a firm grounding in math and science. First, I propose to double the Federal commitment to the most critical basic research programs in the physical sciences over the next 10 years. This funding will support the work of America's most creative minds as they explore promising areas such as nanotechnology, supercomputing, and alternative energy sources. Second, I propose to make permanent the research and development tax credit to encourage bolder private sector initiative in technology. With more research in both the public and private sectors, we will improve our quality of life and ensure that America will lead the world in opportunity and innovation for decades to come. Third, we need to encourage children to take more math and science, and to make sure those courses are rigorous enough to compete with other nations. We've made a good start in the early grades with the No Child Left Behind Act, which is raising standards and lifting test scores across our country. Tonight I propose to train 70,000 high school teachers to lead Advanced Placement courses in math and science, bring 30,000 math and science professionals to teach in classrooms, and give early help to students who struggle with math, so they have a better chance at good, high-wage jobs. If we ensure that America's children succeed in life, they will ensure that America succeeds in the world. Preparing our Nation to compete in the world is a goal that all of us can share. I urge you to support the American Competitiveness Initiative, and together we will show the world what the American people can achieve.

America is a great force for freedom and prosperity. Yet our greatness is not measured in power or luxuries but by who we are and how we treat one another. So we strive to be a compassionate, decent, hopeful society. In recent years, America has become a more hopeful nation. Violent crime rates have fallen to their lowest levels since the 1970s. Welfare cases have dropped by more than half over the past decade. Drug use among youth is down 19 percent since 2001. There are fewer abortions in America than at any point in the last three decades, and the number of children born to teenage mothers has been falling for a dozen years in a row. These gains are evidence of a quiet transformation, a revolution of conscience, in which a rising generation is finding that a life of personal responsibility is a life of fulfillment. Government has played a role. Wise policies, such as welfare reform and drug education and support for abstinence and adoption have made a difference in the character of our country. And everyone here tonight, Democrat and Republican, has a right to be proud of this record. Yet many Americans, especially parents, still have deep concerns about the direction of our culture and the health of our most basic institutions. They're concerned about unethical conduct by public officials and discouraged by activist courts that try to redefine marriage. They worry about children in our society who need direction and love, and about fellow citizens still displaced by natural disaster, and about suffering caused by treatable diseases. As we look at these challenges, we must never give in to

the belief that America is in decline or that our culture is doomed to unravel. The American people know better than that. We have proven the pessimists wrong before, and we will do it again.

A hopeful society depends on courts that deliver equal justice under the law. The Supreme Court now has two superb new members on its bench, Chief Justice John Roberts and Justice Sam Alito. I thank the Senate for confirming both of them. I will continue to nominate men and women who understand that judges must be servants of the law and not legislate from the bench.

Today marks the official retirement of a very special American. For 24 years of faithful service to our Nation, the United States is grateful to Justice Sandra Day O'Connor. A hopeful society has institutions of science and medicine that do not cut ethical corners and that recognize the matchless value of every life. Tonight I ask you to pass legislation to prohibit the most egregious abuses of medical research: human cloning in all its forms; creating or implanting embryos for experiments; creating human-animal hybrids; and buying, selling, or patenting human embryos. Human life is a gift from our Creator, and that gift should never be discarded, devalued, or put up for sale. A hopeful society expects elected officials to uphold the public trust. Honorable people in both parties are working on reforms to strengthen the ethical standards of Washington. I support your efforts. Each of us has made a pledge to be worthy of public responsibility, and that is a pledge we must never forget, never dismiss, and never betray. As we renew the promise of our institutions, let us also show the character of America in our compassion and care for one another. A hopeful society gives special attention to children who lack direction and love. Through the Helping America's Youth Initiative, we are encouraging caring adults to get involved in the life of a child. And this good work is being led by our First Lady, Laura Bush. This year, we will add resources to encourage young people to stay in school, so more of America's youth can raise their sights and achieve their dreams. A hopeful society comes to the aid of fellow citizens in times of suffering and emergency and stays at it until they're back on their feet. So far the Federal Government has committed \$85 billion to the people of the gulf coast and New Orleans. We're removing debris and repairing highways and rebuilding stronger levees. We're providing business loans and housing assistance. Yet as we meet these immediate needs, we must also address deeper challenges that existed before the storm arrived. In New Orleans and in other places, many of our fellow citizens have felt excluded from the promise of our country. The answer is not only temporary relief but schools that teach every child and job skills that bring upward mobility and more opportunities to own a home and start a business. As we recover from a disaster, let us also work for the day when all Americans are protected by justice, equal in hope, and rich in opportunity. A hopeful society acts boldly to fight diseases like HIV/AIDS, which can be prevented and treated and defeated. More than a million Americans live with HIV, and half of all AIDS cases occur among African Americans. I ask Congress to reform and reauthorize the Ryan White Act and provide new funding to States, so we end the waiting lists for AIDS medicines in America. We will also lead a nationwide effort, working closely with African American churches and faith-based groups, to deliver rapid HIV tests to millions, end the stigma of AIDS, and come closer to the day when there are no new infections in America.

Fellow citizens, we've been called to leadership in a period of consequence. We've entered a great ideological conflict we did nothing to invite. We see great changes in science and commerce that will influence all our lives. Sometimes it can seem that history is turning in a wide arc toward an unknown shore. Yet the destination of history is determined by human action, and every great movement of history comes to a point of choosing. Lincoln could have accepted peace at the cost of disunity and continued slavery. Martin Luther King could have stopped at Birmingham or at Selma and achieved only half a victory over segregation. The United States could have accepted the permanent division of Europe and been complicit in the oppression of others. Today, having come far in our own historical journey, we must decide: Will we turn back or finish well? Before history is written down in books, it is written in courage. Like Americans before us, we will show that courage, and we will finish well. We will lead freedom's advance. We will compete and excel in the global economy. We will renew the defining moral commitments of this land. And so we move forward, optimistic about our country, faithful to its cause, and confident of the victories to come. May God bless America.

### SOTU: GWB 3

Thank you very much. And tonight I have the high privilege and distinct honor of my own as the first President to begin the State of the Union message with these words: Madam Speaker. In his day, the late Congressman Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., from Baltimore, Maryland, saw Presidents Roosevelt and Truman at this rostrum. But nothing could compare with the sight of his only daughter, Nancy, presiding tonight as Speaker of the House of Representatives. Congratulations, Madam Speaker. Two Members of the House and Senate are not with us tonight, and we pray for the recovery and speedy return of Senator Tim Johnson and Congressman Charlie Norwood. Madam Speaker, Vice President Cheney, Members of Congress, distinguished guests, and fellow citizens: The rite of custom brings us together at a defining hour when decisions are hard and courage is needed. We enter the year 2007 with large endeavors underway and others that are ours to begin. In all of this, much is asked of us. We must have the will to face difficult challenges and determined enemies and the wisdom to face them together. Some in this Chamber are new to the House and the Senate, and I congratulate the Democrat majority. Congress has changed, but not our responsibilities. Each of us is guided by our own convictions, and to these we must stay faithful. Yet we're all held to the same standards and called to serve the same good purposes: to extend this Nation's prosperity; to spend the people's money wisely; to solve problems, not leave them to future generations; to guard America against all evil; and to keep faith with those we have sent forth to defend us. We're not the first to come here with a Government divided and uncertainty in the air. Like many before us, we can work through our differences, and we can achieve big things for the American people. Our citizens don't much care which side of the aisle we sit on, as long as we're willing to cross that aisle when there is work to be done. Our job is to make life better for our fellow Americans and to help them build a future of hope and opportunity, and this is the business before us tonight.

A future of hope and opportunity begins with a growing economy, and that is what we have. We're now in the 41st month of uninterrupted job growth, a recovery that has created 7.2 million new jobs so far. Unemployment is low; inflation is low; wages are rising. This economy is on the move, and our job is to keep it that way, not with more government but with more enterprise. Next week, I'll deliver a full report on the state of our economy. Tonight I want to discuss three economic reforms that deserve to be priorities for this Congress. First, we must balance the Federal budget. We can do so without raising taxes. What we need is spending discipline in Washington, DC. We set a goal of cutting the deficit in half by 2009 and met that goal 3 years ahead of schedule. Now let us take the next step. In the coming weeks, I will submit a budget that eliminates the Federal deficit within the next 5 years. I ask you to make the same commitment. Together we can restrain the spending appetite of the Federal Government, and we can balance the Federal budget. Next, there is the matter of earmarks. These special interest items are often slipped into bills at the last hour--when not even C-SPAN is watching. In 2005 alone, the number of earmarks grew to over 13,000 and totaled nearly \$18 billion. Even worse, over 90 percent of the earmarks never make it to the floor of the House and Senate. They are dropped into committee reports that are not even part of the bill that arrives on my desk. You didn't vote them into law; I didn't sign them into law; yet they're treated as if they have the force of law. The time has come to end this practice. So let us work together to reform the budget process, expose every earmark to the light of day and to a vote in Congress, and cut the number and cost of earmarks at least in half by the end of this session. And finally, to keep this economy strong, we must take on the challenge of entitlements. Social Security and Medicare and Medicaid are commitments of conscience, and so it is our duty to keep them permanently sound. Yet we're failing in that duty. And this failure will one day leave our children with three bad options: huge tax increases; huge deficits; or huge and immediate cuts in benefits. Everyone in this Chamber knows this to be true, yet somehow we have not found it in ourselves to act. So let us work together and do it now. With enough good sense and good will, you and I can fix Medicare and Medicaid and save Social Security. Spreading opportunity and hope in America also requires public schools that give children the knowledge and character they need in life. Five years ago, we rose above partisan differences to pass the No Child Left Behind Act, preserving local control, raising standards, and holding schools accountable for results. And because we acted, students are performing better in reading and math and minority students are closing the achievement gap. Now the task is to build on the success without watering down standards, without taking control from local communities, and without backsliding and calling it reform. We can lift student achievement even higher by giving local leaders flexibility to turn around failing schools and by giving families with children stuck in failing schools the right to choose someplace better. We must increase funds for students who struggle and make sure these children get the special help they need. And we can make sure our children are prepared for the jobs of the future and our country is more competitive by

strengthening math and science skills. The No Child Left Behind Act has worked for America's children, and I ask Congress to reauthorize this good law.

A future of hope and opportunity requires that all our citizens have affordable and available health care. When it comes to health care, Government has an obligation to care for the elderly, the disabled, and poor children, and we will meet those responsibilities. For all other Americans, private health insurance is the best way to meet their needs. But many Americans cannot afford a health insurance policy, and so tonight I propose two new initiatives to help more Americans afford their own insurance. First, I propose a standard tax deduction for health insurance that will be like the standard tax deduction for dependents. Families with health insurance will pay no income or payroll tax--or payroll taxes on \$15,000 of their income. Single Americans with health insurance will pay no income or payroll taxes on \$7,500 of their income. With this reform, more than 100 million men, women, and children who are now covered by employer-provided insurance will benefit from lower tax bills. At the same time, this reform will level the playing field for those who do not get health insurance through their job. For Americans who now purchase health insurance on their own, this proposal would mean a substantial tax savings--\$4,500 for a family of four making \$60,000 a year. And for the millions of other Americans who have no health insurance at all, this deduction would help put a basic, private health insurance plan within their reach. Changing the Tax Code is a vital and necessary step to making health care affordable for more Americans. My second proposal is to help the States that are coming up with innovative ways to cover the uninsured. States that make basic private health insurance available to all their citizens should receive Federal funds to help them provide this coverage to the poor and the sick. I have asked the Secretary of Health and Human Services to work with Congress to take existing Federal funds and use them to create Affordable Choices grants. These grants would give our Nation's Governors more money and more flexibility to get private health insurance to those most in need. There are many other ways that Congress can help. We need to expand health savings accounts. We need to help small businesses through association health plans. We need to reduce costs and medical errors with better information technology. We will encourage price transparency. And to protect good doctors from junk lawsuits, we need to pass medical liability reform. In all we do, we must remember that the best health care decisions are not made by government and insurance companies but by patients and their doctors. Extending hope and opportunity in our country requires an immigration system worthy of America, with laws that are fair and borders that are secure. When laws and borders are routinely violated, this harms the interests of our country. To secure our border, we're doubling the size of the Border Patrol and funding new infrastructure and technology. Yet even with all these steps, we cannot fully secure the border unless we take pressure off the border, and that requires a temporary-worker program. We should establish a legal and orderly path for foreign workers to enter our country to work on a temporary basis. As a result, they won't have to try to sneak in, and that will leave border agents free to chase down drug smugglers and criminals and terrorists. We'll enforce our immigration laws at the worksite and give employers the tools to verify the legal status of their workers, so there's no excuse left for violating the law. We need to uphold the great tradition of the melting pot that welcomes and assimilates new arrivals. We need to resolve the status of the illegal immigrants who are already in our country without animosity and without amnesty. Convictions run deep in this Capitol when it comes to immigration. Let us have a serious, civil, and conclusive debate, so that you can pass and I can sign comprehensive immigration reform into law. Extending hope and opportunity depends on a stable supply of energy that keeps America's economy running and America's environment clean. For too long, our Nation has been dependent on foreign oil. And this dependence leaves us more vulnerable to hostile regimes and to terrorists who could cause huge disruptions of oil shipments and raise the price of oil and do great harm to our economy. It's in our vital interest to diversify America's energy supply. The way forward is through technology. We must continue changing the way America generates electric power by even greater use of clean coal technology, solar and wind energy, and clean, safe nuclear power. We need to press on with battery research for plug-in and hybrid vehicles and expand the use of clean diesel vehicles and biodiesel fuel. We must continue investing in new methods of producing ethanol, using everything from wood chips to grasses to agricultural wastes.

We made a lot of progress, thanks to good policies here in Washington and the strong response of the market. And now even more dramatic advances are within reach. Tonight I ask Congress to join me in pursuing a great goal. Let us build on the work we've done and reduce gasoline usage in the United States by 20 percent in the next 10 years. When we do that, we will have cut our total imports by the equivalent of three-quarters of all the oil we now import from the Middle East. To reach this goal, we must increase the supply of alternative fuels by setting a mandatory fuels standard to require 35 billion gallons of renewable and alternative fuels in 2017--and that is nearly five times the current target. At

the same time, we need to reform and modernize fuel economy standards for cars the way we did for light trucks and conserve up to 8 1/2 billion more gallons of gasoline by 2017. Achieving these ambitious goals will dramatically reduce our dependence on foreign oil, but it's not going to eliminate it. And so as we continue to diversify our fuel supply, we must step up domestic oil production in environmentally sensitive ways. And to further protect America against severe disruptions to our oil supply, I ask Congress to double the current capacity of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve.

America is on the verge of technological breakthroughs that will enable us to live our lives less dependent on oil. And these technologies will help us be better stewards of the environment, and they will help us to confront the serious challenge of global climate change.

A future of hope and opportunity requires a fair, impartial system of justice. The lives of our citizens across our Nation are affected by the outcome of cases pending in our Federal courts. We have a shared obligation to ensure that the Federal courts have enough judges to hear those cases and deliver timely rulings. As President, I have a duty to nominate qualified men and women to vacancies on the Federal bench, and the United States Senate has a duty as well, to give those nominees a fair hearing and a prompt up-or-down vote on the Senate floor. For all of us in this room, there is no higher responsibility than to protect the people of this country from danger. Five years have come and gone since we saw the scenes and felt the sorrow that the terrorists can cause. We've had time to take stock of our situation. We've added many critical protections to guard the homeland. We know with certainty that the horrors of that September morning were just a glimpse of what the terrorists intend for us--unless we stop them. With the distance of time, we find ourselves debating the causes of conflict and the course we have followed. Such debates are essential when a great democracy faces great questions. Yet one question has surely been settled: that to win the war on terror, we must take the fight to the enemy. From the start, America and our allies have protected our people by staying on the offense. The enemy knows that the days of comfortable sanctuary, easy movement, steady financing, and free flowing communications are long over. For the terrorists, life since 9/11 has never been the same.

Our success in this war is often measured by the things that did not happen. We cannot know the full extent of the attacks that we and our allies have prevented, but here is some of what we do know. We stopped an Al Qaida plot to fly a hijacked airplane into the tallest building on the west coast. We broke up a Southeast Asian terror cell grooming operatives for attacks inside the United States. We uncovered an Al Qaida cell developing anthrax to be used in attacks against America. And just last August, British authorities uncovered a plot to blow up passenger planes bound for America over the Atlantic Ocean. For each life saved, we owe a debt of gratitude to the brave public servants who devote their lives to finding the terrorists and stopping them. Every success against the terrorists is a reminder of the shoreless ambitions of this enemy. The evil that inspired and rejoiced in 9/11 is still at work in the world. And so long as that's the case, America is still a nation at war. In the mind of the terrorists, this war began well before September the 11th and will not end until their radical vision is fulfilled. And these past 5 years have given us a much clearer view of the nature of this enemy. Al Qaida and its followers are Sunni extremists possessed by hatred and commanded by a harsh and narrow ideology. Take almost any principle of civilization, and their goal is the opposite. They preach with threats, instruct with bullets and bombs, and promise paradise for the murder of the innocent. Our enemies are quite explicit about their intentions. They want to overthrow moderate governments and establish safe havens from which to plan and carry out new attacks on our country. By killing and terrorizing Americans, they want to force our country to retreat from the world and abandon the cause of liberty. They would then be free to impose their will and spread their totalitarian ideology. Listen to this warning from the late terrorist Zarqawi: "We will sacrifice our blood and bodies to put an end to your dreams, and what is coming is even worse." Usama bin Laden declared: "Death is better than living on this Earth with the unbelievers among us." These men are not given to idle words, and they are just one camp in the Islamist radical movement. In recent times, it has also become clear that we face an escalating danger from Shi'a extremists who are just as hostile to America and are also determined to dominate the Middle East. Many are known to take direction from the regime in Iran, which is funding and arming terrorists like Hizballah--a group second only to Al Qaida in the American lives it has taken. The Shi'a and Sunni extremists are different faces of the same totalitarian threat. Whatever slogans they chant when they slaughter the innocent, they have the same wicked purposes. They want to kill Americans, kill democracy in the Middle East, and gain the weapons to kill on an even more horrific scale. In the sixth year since our Nation was attacked, I wish I could report to you that the dangers have ended. They have not. And so it remains the policy of this Government to use every lawful and proper tool of intelligence, diplomacy, law enforcement, and military action to do our duty,

to find these enemies, and to protect the American people. This war is more than a clash of arms; it is a decisive ideological struggle. And the security of our Nation is in the balance. To prevail, we must remove the conditions that inspire blind hatred and drove 19 men to get onto airplanes and to come and kill us. What every terrorist fears most is human freedom, societies where men and women make their own choices, answer to their own conscience, and live by their hopes instead of their resentments. Free people are not drawn to violent and malignant ideologies, and most will choose a better way when they're given a chance. So we advance our own security interests by helping moderates and reformers and brave voices for democracy. The great question of our day is whether America will help men and women in the Middle East to build free societies and share in the rights of all humanity. And I say, for the sake of our own security, we must.

In the last 2 years, we've seen the desire for liberty in the broader Middle East, and we have been sobered by the enemy's fierce reaction. In 2005, the world watched as the citizens of Lebanon raised the banner of the Cedar Revolution. They drove out the Syrian occupiers and chose new leaders in free elections. In 2005, the people of Afghanistan defied the terrorists and elected a democratic legislature. And in 2005, the Iraqi people held three national elections, choosing a transitional government, adopting the most progressive, democratic Constitution in the Arab world, and then electing a Government under that Constitution. Despite endless threats from the killers in their midst, nearly 12 million Iraqi citizens came out to vote in a show of hope and solidarity that we should never forget. A thinking enemy watched all of these scenes, adjusted their tactics, and in 2006, they struck back. In Lebanon, assassins took the life of Pierre Gemayel, a prominent participant in the Cedar Revolution. Hizballah terrorists, with support from Syria and Iran, sowed conflict in the region and are seeking to undermine Lebanon's legitimately elected Government. In Afghanistan, Taliban and Al Qaida fighters tried to regain power by regrouping and engaging Afghan and NATO forces. In Iraq, Al Qaida and other Sunni extremists blew up one of the most sacred places in Shi'a Islam, the Golden Mosque of Samarra. This atrocity, directed at a Muslim house of prayer, was designed to provoke retaliation from Iraqi Shi'a, and it succeeded. Radical Shi'a elements, some of whom receive support from Iran, formed death squads. The result was a tragic escalation of sectarian rage and reprisal that continues to this day. This is not the fight we entered in Iraq, but it is the fight we're in. Every one of us wishes this war were over and won. Yet it would not be like us to leave our promises unkept, our friends abandoned, and our own security at risk. Ladies and gentlemen, on this day, at this hour, it is still within our power to shape the outcome of this battle. Let us find our resolve and turn events toward victory. We're carrying out a new strategy in Iraq, a plan that demands more from Iraq's elected Government and gives our forces in Iraq the reinforcements they need to complete their mission. Our goal is a democratic Iraq that upholds the rule of law, respects the rights of its people, provides them security, and is an ally in the war on terror. In order to make progress toward this goal, the Iraqi Government must stop the sectarian violence in its capital. But the Iraqis are not yet ready to do this on their own. So we're deploying reinforcements of more than 20,000 additional soldiers and marines to Iraq. The vast majority will go to Baghdad, where they will help Iraqi forces to clear and secure neighborhoods and serve as advisers embedded in Iraqi Army units. With Iraqis in the lead, our forces will help secure the city by chasing down the terrorists, insurgents, and the roaming death squads. And in Anbar Province, where Al Qaida terrorists have gathered and local forces have begun showing a willingness to fight them, we're sending an additional 4,000 United States marines, with orders to find the terrorists and clear them out. We didn't drive Al Qaida out of their safe haven in Afghanistan only to let them set up a new safe haven in a free Iraq. The people of Iraq want to live in peace, and now it's time for their Government to act. Iraq's leaders know that our commitment is not open-ended. They have promised to deploy more of their own troops to secure Baghdad, and they must do so. They pledged that they will confront violent radicals of any faction or political party, and they need to follow through and lift needless restrictions on Iraqi and coalition forces, so these troops can achieve their mission of bringing security to all of the people of Baghdad. Iraq's leaders have committed themselves to a series of benchmarks: to achieve reconciliation; to share oil revenues among all of Iraq's citizens; to put the wealth of Iraq into the rebuilding of Iraq; to allow more Iraqis to reenter their nation's civic life; to hold local elections; and to take responsibility for security in every Iraqi Province. But for all of this to happen, Baghdad must be secure, and our plan will help the Iraqi Government take back its capital and make good on its commitments.

My fellow citizens, our military commanders and I have carefully weighed the options. We discussed every possible approach. In the end, I chose this course of action because it provides the best chance for success. Many in this Chamber understand that America must not fail in Iraq, because you understand that the consequences of failure would be grievous and far-reaching. If American forces

step back before Baghdad is secure, the Iraqi Government would be overrun by extremists on all sides. We could expect an epic battle between Shi'a extremists backed by Iran and Sunni extremists aided by Al Qaida and supporters of the old regime. A contagion of violence could spill out across the country, and in time, the entire region could be drawn into the conflict. For America, this is a nightmare scenario; for the enemy, this is the objective. Chaos is the greatest ally--their greatest ally in this struggle. And out of chaos in Iraq would emerge an emboldened enemy with new safe havens, new recruits, new resources, and an even greater determination to harm America. To allow this to happen would be to ignore the lessons of September the 11th and invite tragedy. Ladies and gentlemen, nothing is more important at this moment in our history than for America to succeed in the Middle East, to succeed in Iraq, and to spare the American people from this danger.

This is where matters stand tonight, in the here and now. I have spoken with many of you in person. I respect you and the arguments you've made. We went into this largely united, in our assumptions and in our convictions. And whatever you voted for, you did not vote for failure. Our country is pursuing a new strategy in Iraq, and I ask you to give it a chance to work, and I ask you to support our troops in the field and those on their way. The war on terror we fight today is a generational struggle that will continue long after you and I have turned our duties over to others. And that's why it's important to work together so our Nation can see this great effort through. Both parties and both branches should work in close consultation. It's why I've proposed to establish a special advisory council on the war on terror, made up of leaders in Congress from both political parties. We will share ideas for how to position America to meet every challenge that confronts us. We'll show our enemies abroad that we are united in the goal of victory. And one of the first steps we can take together is to add to the ranks of our military so that the American Armed Forces are ready for all the challenges ahead. Tonight I ask the Congress to authorize an increase in the size of our active Army and Marine Corps by 92,000 in the next 5 years. A second task we can take on together is to design and establish a volunteer civilian reserve corps. Such a corps would function much like our military reserve. It would ease the burden on the Armed Forces by allowing us to hire civilians with critical skills to serve on missions abroad when America needs them. It would give people across America who do not wear the uniform a chance to serve in the defining struggle of our time. Americans can have confidence in the outcome of this struggle because we're not in this struggle alone. We have a diplomatic strategy that is rallying the world to join in the fight against extremism. In Iraq, multinational forces are operating under a mandate from the United Nations. We're working with Jordan and Saudi Arabia and Egypt and the Gulf States to increase support for Iraq's Government. The United Nations has imposed sanctions on Iran and made it clear that the world will not allow the regime in Tehran to acquire nuclear weapons. With the other members of the Quartet--the U.N., the EU, and Russia--we're pursuing diplomacy to help bring peace to the Holy Land and pursuing the establishment of a democratic Palestinian state living side by side with Israel in peace and security. In Afghanistan, NATO has taken the lead in turning back the Taliban and Al Qaida offensive--the first time the Alliance has deployed forces outside the North Atlantic area. Together with our partners in China and Japan, Russia and South Korea, we're pursuing intensive diplomacy to achieve a Korean Peninsula free of nuclear weapons.

We will continue to speak out for the cause of freedom in places like Cuba, Belarus, and Burma, and continue to awaken the conscience of the world to save the people of Darfur. American foreign policy is more than a matter of war and diplomacy. Our work in the world is also based on a timeless truth: To whom much is given, much is required. We hear the call to take on the challenges of hunger and poverty and disease, and that is precisely what America is doing. We must continue to fight HIV/AIDS, especially on the continent of Africa. Because you funded the Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, the number of people receiving lifesaving drugs has grown from 50,000 to more than 800,000 in 3 short years. I ask you to continue funding our efforts to fight HIV/AIDS. And I ask you to provide \$1.2 billion over 5 years so we can combat malaria in 15 African countries. I ask that you fund the Millennium Challenge Account, so that American aid reaches the people who need it, in nations where democracy is on the rise and corruption is in retreat. And let us continue to support the expanded trade and debt relief that are the best hope for lifting lives and eliminating poverty. When America serves others in this way, we show the strength and generosity of our country. These deeds reflect the character of our people. The greatest strength we have is the heroic kindness and courage and self-sacrifice of the American people. You see this spirit often if you know where to look, and tonight we need only look above to the gallery. Dikembe Mutombo grew up in Africa amid great poverty and disease. He came to Georgetown University on a scholarship to study medicine, but Coach John Thompson took a look at Dikembe and had a different idea. Dikembe became a star in the NBA and a citizen of the United States, but he never forgot the land of his birth or the duty to share his blessings



with others. He built a brand new hospital in his old hometown. A friend has said of this good-hearted man: "Mutombo believes that God has given him this opportunity to do great things." And we are proud to call this son of the Congo a citizen of the United States of America. After her daughter was born, Julie Aigner-Clark searched for ways to share her love of music and art with her child. So she borrowed some equipment and began filming children's videos in her basement. The Baby Einstein Company was born, and in just 5 years, her business grew to more than \$20 million in sales. In November 2001, Julie sold Baby Einstein to Walt Disney Company, and with her help, Baby Einstein has grown into a \$200 million business. Julie represents the great enterprising spirit of America. And she is using her success to help others--producing child safety videos with John Walsh of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children. Julie says of her new project: "I believe it is the most important thing I have ever done. I believe that children have the right to live in a world that is safe." And so tonight we are pleased to welcome this talented business entrepreneur and generous social entrepreneur, Julie Aigner-Clark. Three weeks ago, Wesley Autrey was waiting at a Harlem subway station with his two little girls when he saw a man fall into the path of a train. With seconds to act, Wesley jumped onto the tracks, pulled the man into the space between the rails, and held him as the train passed right above their heads. He insists he's not a hero. He says: "We got guys and girls overseas dying for us to have our freedoms. We have got to show each other some love." There is something wonderful about a country that produces a brave and humble man like Wesley Autrey. Tommy Rieman was a teenager pumping gas in Independence, Kentucky, when he enlisted in the United States Army. In December 2003, he was on a reconnaissance mission in Iraq when his team came under heavy enemy fire. From his Humvee, Sergeant Rieman returned fire. He used his body as a shield to protect his gunner. He was shot in the chest and arm and received shrapnel wounds to his legs, yet he refused medical attention and stayed in the fight. He helped to repel a second attack, firing grenades at the enemy's position. For his exceptional courage, Sergeant Rieman was awarded the Silver Star. And like so many other Americans who have volunteered to defend us, he has earned the respect and the gratitude of our entire country. In such courage and compassion, ladies and gentlemen, we see the spirit and character of America. And these qualities are not in short supply. This is a decent and honorable country--and resilient too. We've been through a lot together. We've met challenges and faced dangers, and we know that more lie ahead. Yet we can go forward with confidence, because the State of our Union is strong, our cause in the world is right, and tonight that cause goes on. God bless. See you next year. Thank you for your prayers.

#### **SOTU: GWB 4**

Madam Speaker, Vice President Cheney, Members of Congress, distinguished guests, and fellow citizens: Seven years have passed since I first stood before you at this rostrum. In that time, our country has been tested in ways none of us could have imagined. We faced hard decisions about peace and war, rising competition in the world economy, and the health and welfare of our citizens. These issues call for vigorous debate, and I think it's fair to say, we've answered the call. Yet history will record that amid our differences, we acted with purpose, and together we showed the world the power and resilience of American self-government. All of us were sent to Washington to carry out the people's business. That is the purpose of this body. It is the meaning of our oath. It remains our charge to keep. The actions of the 110th Congress will affect the security and prosperity of our Nation long after this session has ended. In this election year, let us show our fellow Americans that we recognize our responsibilities and are determined to meet them. Let us show them that Republicans and Democrats can compete for votes and cooperate for results at the same time. From expanding opportunity to protecting our country, we've made good progress. Yet we have unfinished business before us, and the American people expect us to get it done. In the work ahead, we must be guided by the philosophy that made our Nation great. As Americans, we believe in the power of individuals to determine their destiny and shape the course of history. We believe that the most reliable guide for our country is the collective wisdom of ordinary citizens. And so in all we do, we must trust in the ability of free peoples to make wise decisions and empower them to improve their lives for their futures.

To build a prosperous future, we must trust people with their own money and empower them to grow our economy. As we meet tonight, our economy is undergoing a period of uncertainty. America has added jobs for a record 52 straight months, but jobs are now growing at a slower pace. Wages are up, but so are prices for food and gas. Exports are rising, but the housing market has declined. At kitchen

tables across our country, there is a concern about our economic future. In the long run, Americans can be confident about our economic growth. But in the short run, we can all see that that growth is slowing. So last week, my administration reached agreement with Speaker Pelosi and Republican Leader Boehner on a robust growth package that includes tax relief for individuals and families and incentives for business investment. The temptation will be to load up the bill. That would delay it or derail it, and neither option is acceptable. This is a good agreement that will keep our economy growing and our people working, and this Congress must pass it as soon as possible. We have other work to do on taxes. Unless Congress acts, most of the tax relief we've delivered over the past 7 years will be taken away. Some in Washington argue that letting tax relief expire is not a tax increase. Try explaining that to 116 million American taxpayers who would see their taxes rise by an average of \$1,800. Others have said they would personally be happy to pay higher taxes. I welcome their enthusiasm. I'm pleased to report that the IRS accepts both checks and money orders. Most Americans think their taxes are high enough. With all the other pressures on their finances, American families should not have to worry about their Federal Government taking a bigger bite out of their paychecks. There's only one way to eliminate this uncertainty: Make the tax relief permanent. And Members of Congress should know, if any bill raises taxes reaches my desk, I will veto it. Just as we trust Americans with their own money, we need to earn their trust by spending their tax dollars wisely. Next week, I'll send you a budget that terminates or substantially reduces 151 wasteful or bloated programs, totaling more than \$18 billion. The budget that I will submit will keep America on track for a surplus in 2012. American families have to balance their budgets; so should their Government. The people's trust in their Government is undermined by congressional earmarks, special interest projects that are often snuck in at the last minute, without discussion or debate. Last year, I asked you to voluntarily cut the number and cost of earmarks in half. I also asked you to stop slipping earmarks into committee reports that never even come to a vote. Unfortunately, neither goal was met. So this time, if you send me an appropriations bill that does not cut the number and cost of earmarks in half, I'll send it back to you with my veto. And tomorrow I will issue an Executive order that directs Federal Agencies to ignore any future earmark that is not voted on by Congress. If these items are truly worth funding, Congress should debate them in the open and hold a public vote. Our shared responsibilities extend beyond matters of taxes and spending. On housing, we must trust Americans with the responsibility of homeownership and empower them to weather turbulent times in the housing market. My administration brought together the HOPE NOW Alliance, which is helping many struggling homeowners avoid foreclosure. And Congress can help even more. Tonight I ask you to pass legislation to reform Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, modernize the Federal Housing Administration, and allow State housing agencies to issue tax-free bonds to help homeowners refinance their mortgages. These are difficult times for many American families, and by taking these steps, we can help more of them keep their homes.

To build a future of quality health care, we must trust patients and doctors to make medical decisions and empower them with better information and better options. We share a common goal: making health care more affordable and accessible for all Americans. The best way to achieve that goal is by expanding consumer choice, not government control. So I have proposed ending the bias in the Tax Code against those who do not get their health insurance through their employer. This one reform would put private coverage within reach for millions, and I call on the Congress to pass it this year. The Congress must also expand health savings accounts, create association health plans for small businesses, promote health information technology, and confront the epidemic of junk medical lawsuits. With all these steps, we will ensure that decisions about your medical care are made in the privacy of your doctor's office, not in the Halls of Congress. On education, we must trust students to learn, if given the chance, and empower parents to demand results from our schools. In neighborhoods across our country, there are boys and girls with dreams, and a decent education is their only hope of achieving them. Six years ago, we came together to pass the No Child Left Behind Act, and today, no one can deny its results. Last year, fourth and eighth graders achieved the highest math scores on record. Reading scores are on the rise. African American and Hispanic students posted alltime highs. Now we must work together to increase accountability, add flexibilities for States and districts, reduce the number of high school dropouts, provide extra help for struggling schools. Members of Congress, the No Child Left Behind Act is a bipartisan achievement. It is succeeding. And we owe it to America's children, their parents, and their teachers to strengthen this good law. We must also do more to help children when their schools do not measure up. Thanks to the DC Opportunity Scholarships you approved, more than 2,600 of the poorest children in our Nation's Capital have found new hope at a faith-based or other non-public school. Sadly, these schools are disappearing at an alarming rate in many of America's inner cities. So I will convene a White House summit aimed at strengthening these

lifelines of learning. And to open the doors of these schools to more children, I ask you to support a new \$300 million program called Pell Grants for Kids. We have seen how Pell grants help low-income college students realize their full potential. Together we've expanded the size and reach of these grants. Now let us apply the same spirit to help liberate poor children trapped in failing public schools. On trade, we must trust American workers to compete with anyone in the world and empower them by opening up new markets overseas. Today, our economic growth increasingly depends on our ability to sell American goods and crops and services all over the world. So we're working to break down barriers to trade and investment wherever we can. We're working for a successful Doha round of trade talks, and we must complete a good agreement this year. At the same time, we're pursuing opportunities to open up new markets by passing free trade agreements. I thank the Congress for approving a good agreement with Peru. And now I ask you to approve agreements with Colombia and Panama and South Korea. Many products from these nations now enter America duty free, yet many of our products face steep tariffs in their markets. These agreements will level the playing field. They will give us better access to nearly 100 million customers. They will support good jobs for the finest workers in the world, those whose products say "Made in the USA." These agreements also promote America's strategic interests. The first agreement that will come before you is with Colombia, a friend of America that is confronting violence and terror and fighting drug traffickers. If we fail to pass this agreement, we will embolden the purveyors of false populism in our hemisphere. So we must come together, pass this agreement, and show our neighbors in the region that democracy leads to a better life. Trade brings better jobs and better choices and better prices. Yet for some Americans, trade can mean losing a job, and the Federal Government has a responsibility to help. I ask Congress to reauthorize and reform trade adjustment assistance so we can help these displaced workers learn new skills and find new jobs.

To build a future of energy security, we must trust in the creative genius of American researchers and entrepreneurs and empower them to pioneer a new generation of clean energy technology. Our security, our prosperity, and our environment all require reducing our dependence on oil. Last year, I asked you to pass legislation to reduce oil consumption over the next decade, and you responded. Together we should take the next steps. Let us fund new technologies that can generate coal power while capturing carbon emissions. Let us increase the use of renewable power and emissions-free nuclear power. Let us continue investing in advanced battery technology and renewable fuels to power the cars and trucks of the future. Let us create a new international clean technology fund, which will help developing nations like India and China make a greater use of clean energy sources. And let us complete an international agreement that has the potential to slow, stop, and eventually reverse the growth of greenhouse gases. This agreement will be effective only if it includes commitments by every major economy and gives none a free ride. The United States is committed to strengthening our energy security and confronting global climate change. And the best way to meet these goals is for America to continue leading the way toward the development of cleaner and more energy efficient technology.

To keep America competitive into the future, we must trust in the skill of our scientists and engineers and empower them to pursue the breakthroughs of tomorrow. Last year, Congress passed legislation supporting the American Competitiveness Initiative, but never followed through with the funding. This funding is essential to keeping our scientific edge. So I ask Congress to double Federal support for critical basic research in the physical sciences and ensure America remains the most dynamic nation on Earth. On matters of life and science, we must trust in the innovative spirit of medical researchers and empower them to discover new treatments while respecting moral boundaries. In November, we witnessed a landmark achievement when scientists discovered a way to reprogram adult skin cells to act like embryonic stem cells. This breakthrough has the potential to move us beyond the divisive debates of the past by extending the frontiers of medicine without the destruction of human life. So we're expanding funding for this type of ethical medical research. And as we explore promising avenues of research, we must also ensure that all life is treated with the dignity it deserves. And so I call on Congress to pass legislation that bans unethical practices, such as the buying, selling, patenting, or cloning of human life. On matters of justice, we must trust in the wisdom of our Founders and empower judges who understand that the Constitution means what it says. I've submitted judicial nominees who will rule by the letter of the law, not the whim of the gavel. Many of these nominees are being unfairly delayed. They are worthy of confirmation, and the Senate should give each of them a prompt up-or-down vote. In communities across our land, we must trust in the good heart of the American people and empower them to serve their neighbors in need. Over the past 7 years, more of our fellow citizens have discovered that the pursuit of happiness leads to the path of service. Americans have volunteered in record numbers. Charitable donations are higher than ever. Faith-based groups are

bringing hope to pockets of despair, with newfound support from the Federal Government. And to help guarantee equal treatment of faith-based organizations when they compete for Federal funds, I ask you to permanently extend charitable choice. Tonight the armies of compassion continue the march to a new day in the gulf coast. America honors the strength and resilience of the people of this region. We reaffirm our pledge to help them build stronger and better than before. And tonight I'm pleased to announce that in April, we will host this year's North American Summit of Canada, Mexico, and the United States in the great city of New Orleans. There are two other pressing challenges that I've raised repeatedly before this body and that this body has failed to address: entitlement spending and immigration. Every Member in this Chamber knows that spending on entitlement programs like Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid is growing faster than we can afford. We all know the painful choices ahead if America stays on this path: massive tax increases, sudden and drastic cuts in benefits, or crippling deficits. I've laid out proposals to reform these programs. Now I ask Members of Congress to offer your proposals and come up with a bipartisan solution to save these vital programs for our children and our grandchildren. The other pressing challenge is immigration. America needs to secure our borders, and with your help, my administration is taking steps to do so. We're increasing worksite enforcement, deploying fences and advanced technologies to stop illegal crossings. We've effectively ended the policy of catch-and-release at the border, and by the end of this year, we will have doubled the number of Border Patrol agents. Yet we also need to acknowledge that we will never fully secure our border until we create a lawful way for foreign workers to come here and support our economy. This will take pressure off the border and allow law enforcement to concentrate on those who mean us harm. We must also find a sensible and humane way to deal with people here illegally. Illegal immigration is complicated, but it can be resolved. And it must be resolved in a way that upholds both our laws and our highest ideals.

This is the business of our Nation here at home. Yet building a prosperous future for our citizen also depends on confronting enemies abroad and advancing liberty in troubled regions of the world. Our foreign policy is based on a clear premise: We trust that people, when given the chance, will choose a future of freedom and peace. In the last 7 years, we have witnessed stirring moments in the history of liberty. We've seen citizens in Georgia and Ukraine stand up for their right to free and fair elections. We've seen people in Lebanon take to the streets to demand their independence. We've seen Afghans emerge from the tyranny of the Taliban and choose a new President and a new Parliament. We've seen jubilant Iraqis holding up ink-stained fingers and celebrating their freedom. These images of liberty have inspired us. In the past 7 years, we've also seen the images that have sobered us. We've watched throngs of mourners in Lebanon and Pakistan carrying the caskets of beloved leaders taken by the assassin's hand. We've seen wedding guests in blood-soaked finery staggering from a hotel in Jordan, Afghans and Iraqis blown up in mosques and markets, and trains in London and Madrid ripped apart by bombs. On a clear September day, we saw thousands of our fellow citizens taken from us in an instant. These horrific images serve as a grim reminder: The advance of liberty is opposed by terrorists and extremists, evil men who despise freedom, despise America, and aim to subject millions to their violent rule.

Since 9/11, we have taken the fight to these terrorists and extremists. We will stay on the offense; we will keep up the pressure; and we will deliver justice to our enemies. We are engaged in the defining ideological struggle of the 21st century. The terrorists oppose every principle of humanity and decency that we hold dear. Yet in this war on terror, there is one thing we and our enemies agree on: In the long run, men and women who are free to determine their own destinies will reject terror and refuse to live in tyranny. And that is why the terrorists are fighting to deny this choice to the people in Lebanon, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Palestinian Territories. And that is why, for the security of America and the peace of the world, we are spreading the hope of freedom. In Afghanistan, America, our 25 NATO allies, and 15 partner nations are helping the Afghan people defend their freedom and rebuild their country. Thanks to the courage of these military and civilian personnel, a nation that was once a safe haven for Al Qaida is now a young democracy where boys and girls are going to school, new roads and hospitals are being built, and people are looking to the future with new hope. These successes must continue, so we're adding 3,200 marines to our forces in Afghanistan, where they will fight the terrorists and train the Afghan Army and police. Defeating the Taliban and Al Qaida is critical to our security, and I thank the Congress for supporting America's vital mission in Afghanistan. In Iraq, the terrorists and extremists are fighting to deny a proud people their liberty and fighting to establish safe havens for attacks across the world. One year ago, our enemies were succeeding in their efforts to plunge Iraq into chaos. So we reviewed our strategy and changed course. We launched a surge of American forces into Iraq. We gave our troops a new mission: Work with the Iraqi forces to protect the

Iraqi people; pursue the enemy in its strongholds; and deny the terrorists sanctuary anywhere in the country. The Iraqi people quickly realized that something dramatic had happened. Those who had worried that America was preparing to abandon them instead saw tens of thousands of American forces flowing into their country. They saw our forces moving into neighborhoods, clearing out the terrorists, and staying behind to ensure the enemy did not return. And they saw our troops, along with Provincial Reconstruction Teams that include Foreign Service officers and other skilled public servants, coming in to ensure that improved security was followed by improvements in daily life. Our military and civilians in Iraq are performing with courage and distinction, and they have the gratitude of our whole Nation.

The Iraqis launched a surge of their own. In the fall of 2006, Sunni tribal leaders grew tired of Al Qaida's brutality, started a popular uprising called the "Anbar Awakening." Over the past year, similar movements have spread across the country. And today, the grassroots surge includes more than 80,000 Iraqi citizens who are fighting the terrorists. The Government in Baghdad has stepped forward as well, adding more than 100,000 new Iraqi soldiers and police during the past year. While the enemy is still dangerous and more work remains, the American and Iraqi surges have achieved results few of us could have imagined just 1 year ago. When we met last year, many said that containing the violence was impossible. A year later, high-profile terrorist attacks are down, civilian deaths are down, sectarian killings are down. When we met last year, militia extremists--some armed and trained by Iran--were wreaking havoc in large areas of Iraq. A year later, coalition and Iraqi forces have killed or captured hundreds of militia fighters. And Iraqis of all backgrounds increasingly realize that defeating these militia fighters is critical to the future of their country. When we met last year, Al Qaida had sanctuaries in many areas of Iraq, and their leaders had just offered American forces safe passage out of the country. Today, it is Al Qaida that is searching for safe passage. They have been driven from many of the strongholds they once held. And over the past year, we've captured or killed thousands of extremists in Iraq, including hundreds of key Al Qaida leaders and operatives. Last month, Usama bin Laden released a tape in which he railed against Iraqi tribal leaders who have turned on Al Qaida and admitted that coalition forces are growing stronger in Iraq. Ladies and gentlemen, some may deny the surge is working, but among the terrorists there is no doubt. Al Qaida is on the run in Iraq, and this enemy will be defeated. When we met last year, our troop levels in Iraq were on the rise. Today, because of the progress just described, we are implementing a policy of return on success, and the surge forces we sent to Iraq are beginning to come home. This progress is a credit to the valor of our troops and the brilliance of their commanders. This evening I want to speak directly to our men and women on the frontlines. Soldiers and sailors, airmen, marines, and coast guardsmen: In the past year, you have done everything we've asked of you and more. Our Nation is grateful for your courage. We are proud of your accomplishments. And tonight in this hallowed Chamber, with the American people as our witness, we make you a solemn pledge: In the fight ahead, you will have all you need to protect our Nation. And I ask Congress to meet its responsibilities to these brave men and women by fully funding our troops. Our enemies in Iraq have been hit hard. They are not yet defeated, and we can still expect tough fighting ahead. Our objective in the coming year is to sustain and build on the gains we made in 2007 while transitioning to the next phase of our strategy. American troops are shifting from leading operations to partnering with Iraqi forces and, eventually, to a protective overwatch mission. As part of this transition, one Army brigade combat team and one Marine expeditionary unit have already come home and will not be replaced. In the coming months, four additional brigades and two Marine battalions will follow suit. Taken together, this means more than 20,000 of our troops are coming home. Any further drawdown of U.S. troops will be based on conditions in Iraq and the recommendations of our commanders. General Petraeus has warned that too fast a drawdown could result in, quote, "the disintegration of the Iraqi security forces, Al Qaida-Iraq regaining lost ground, and a marked increase in violence." Members of Congress, having come so far and achieved so much, we must not allow this to happen. In the coming year, we will work with Iraqi leaders as they build on the progress they're making toward political reconciliation. At the local level, Sunnis, Shi'a, and Kurds are beginning to come together to reclaim their communities and rebuild their lives. Progress in the Provinces must be matched by progress in Baghdad. We're seeing some encouraging signs. The national Government is sharing oil revenues with the Provinces. The Parliament recently passed both a pension law and de-Ba'athification reform. They're now debating a Provincial powers law. The Iraqis still have a distance to travel, but after decades of dictatorship and the pain of sectarian violence, reconciliation is taking place, and the Iraqi people are taking control of their future. The mission in Iraq has been difficult and trying for our Nation. But it is in the vital interest of the United States that we succeed. A free Iraq will deny Al Qaida a safe haven. A free Iraq will show millions across the Middle East that a future of liberty is possible. A free Iraq will be a friend of America, a partner in fighting

terror, and a source of stability in a dangerous part of the world. By contrast, a failed Iraq would embolden the extremists, strengthen Iran, and give terrorists a base from which to launch new attacks on our friends, our allies, and our homeland. The enemy has made its intentions clear. At a time when the momentum seemed to favor them, Al Qaida's top commander in Iraq declared that they will not rest until they have attacked us here in Washington. My fellow Americans, we will not rest either. We will not rest until this enemy has been defeated. We must do the difficult work today so that years from now, people will look back and say that this generation rose to the moment, prevailed in a tough fight, and left behind a more hopeful region and a safer America. We're also standing against the forces of extremism in the Holy Land, where we have new cause for hope. Palestinians have elected a President who recognizes that confronting terror is essential to achieving a state where his people can live in dignity and at peace with Israel. Israelis have leaders who recognize that a peaceful, democratic Palestinian state will be a source of lasting security. This month in Ramallah and Jerusalem, I assured leaders from both sides that America will do, and I will do, everything we can to help them achieve a peace agreement that defines a Palestinian state by the end of this year. The time has come for a Holy Land where a democratic Israel and a democratic Palestine live side by side in peace. We're also standing against the forces of extremism embodied by the regime in Tehran. Iran's rulers oppress a good and talented people. And wherever freedom advances in the Middle East, it seems the Iranian regime is there to oppose it. Iran is funding and training militia groups in Iraq, supporting Hizballah terrorists in Lebanon, and backing Hamas efforts to undermine peace in the Holy Land. Tehran is also developing ballistic missiles of increasing range and continues to develop its capability to enrich uranium, which could be used to create a nuclear weapon. Our message to the people of Iran is clear: We have no quarrel with you. We respect your traditions and your history. We look forward to the day when you have your freedom. Our message to the leaders of Iran is also clear: Verifiably suspend your nuclear enrichment so negotiations can begin. And to rejoin the community of nations, come clean about your nuclear intentions and past actions, stop your oppression at home, cease your support for terror abroad. But above all, know this: America will confront those who threaten our troops; we will stand by our allies; and we will defend our vital interests in the Persian Gulf.

On the homefront, we will continue to take every lawful and effective measure to protect our country. This is our most solemn duty. We are grateful that there has not been another attack on our soil since 9/11. This is not for the lack of desire or effort on the part of the enemy. In the past 6 years, we've stopped numerous attacks, including a plot to fly a plane into the tallest building in Los Angeles and another to blow up passenger jets bound for America over the Atlantic. Dedicated men and women in our Government toil day and night to stop the terrorists from carrying out their plans. These good citizens are saving American lives, and everyone in this Chamber owes them our thanks. And we owe them something more; we owe them the tools they need to keep our people safe. And one of the most important tools we can give them is the ability to monitor terrorist communications. To protect America, we need to know who the terrorists are talking to, what they are saying, and what they're planning. Last year, Congress passed legislation to help us do that. Unfortunately, Congress set the legislations to expire on February the 1st. That means if you don't act by Friday, our ability to track terrorist threats would be weakened and our citizens will be in greater danger. Congress must ensure the flow of vital intelligence is not disrupted. Congress must pass liability protection for companies believed to have assisted in the efforts to defend America. We've had ample time for debate. The time to act is now. Protecting our Nation from the dangers of a new century requires more than good intelligence and a strong military. It also requires changing the conditions that breed resentment and allow extremists to prey on despair. So America is using its influence to build a freer, more hopeful, and more compassionate world. This is a reflection of our national interests; it is the calling of our conscience. America opposes genocide in Sudan. We support freedom in countries from Cuba and Zimbabwe to Belarus and Burma. America is leading the fight against global poverty with strong education initiatives and humanitarian assistance. We've also changed the way we deliver aid by launching the Millennium Challenge Account. This program strengthens democracy, transparency, and the rule of law in developing nations, and I ask you to fully fund this important initiative. America is leading the fight against global hunger. Today, more than half the world's food aid comes from the United States. And tonight I ask Congress to support an innovative proposal to provide food assistance by purchasing crops directly from farmers in the developing world, so we can build up local agriculture and help break the cycle of famine. America is leading the fight against disease. With your help, we're working to cut by half the number of malaria-related deaths in 15 African nations. And our Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief is treating 1.4 million people. We can bring healing and hope to many more. So I ask you to maintain the principles that have changed behavior and made this program a success. And I call on you to double our initial commitment to fighting HIV/AIDS by approving an additional \$30

billion over the next 5 years. America is a force for hope in the world because we are a compassionate people, and some of the most compassionate Americans are those who have stepped forward to protect us. We must keep faith with all who have risked life and limb so that we might live in freedom and peace. Over the past 7 years, we've increased funding for veterans by more than 95 percent. And as we increase funding, we must also reform our veterans system to meet the needs of a new war and a new generation. I call on Congress to enact the reforms recommended by Senator Bob Dole and Secretary Donna Shalala, so we can improve the system of care for our wounded warriors and help them build lives of hope and promise and dignity. Our military families also sacrifice for America. They endure sleepless nights and the daily struggle of providing for children while a loved one is serving far from home. We have a responsibility to provide for them. So I ask you to join me in expanding their access to child care, creating new hiring preferences for military spouses across the Federal Government, and allowing our troops to transfer their unused education benefits to their spouses or children. Our military families serve our Nation; they inspire our Nation; and tonight our Nation honors them. The strength--the secret of our strength, the miracle of America is that our greatness lies not in our Government, but in the spirit and determination of our people. When the Federal Convention met in Philadelphia in 1787, our Nation was bound by the Articles of Confederation, which began with the words, "We the undersigned delegates." When Governor Morris was asked to draft the preamble to our new Constitution, he offered an important revision and opened with words that changed the course of our Nation and the history of the world: "We the people." By trusting the people, our Founders wagered that a great and noble nation could be built on the liberty that resides in the hearts of all men and women. By trusting the people, succeeding generations transformed our fragile young democracy into the most powerful nation on Earth and a beacon of hope for millions. And so long as we continue to trust the people, our Nation will prosper, our liberty will be secure, and the state of our Union will remain strong. So tonight, with confidence in freedom's power and trust in the people, let us set forth to do their business. God bless America.

#### **SOTU: BHO 1**

Madam Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, the First Lady of the United States--she's around here somewhere: I have come here tonight not only to address the distinguished men and women in this great Chamber, but to speak frankly and directly to the men and women who sent us here. I know that for many Americans watching right now, the state of our economy is a concern that rises above all others, and rightly so. If you haven't been personally affected by this recession, you probably know someone who has: a friend, a neighbor, a member of your family. You don't need to hear another list of statistics to know that our economy is in crisis, because you live it every day. It's the worry you wake up with and the source of sleepless nights. It's the job you thought you'd retire from but now have lost, the business you built your dreams upon that's now hanging by a thread, the college acceptance letter your child had to put back in the envelope. The impact of this recession is real, and it is everywhere. But while our economy may be weakened and our confidence shaken, though we are living through difficult and uncertain times, tonight I want every American to know this: We will rebuild, we will recover, and the United States of America will emerge stronger than before. The weight of this crisis will not determine the destiny of this Nation. The answers to our problems don't lie beyond our reach. They exist in our laboratories and our universities, in our fields and our factories, in the imaginations of our entrepreneurs and the pride of the hardest working people on Earth. Those qualities that have made America the greatest force of progress and prosperity in human history, we still possess in ample measure. What is required now is for this country to pull together, confront boldly the challenges we face, and take responsibility for our future once more. Now, if we're honest with ourselves, we'll admit that for too long, we have not always met these responsibilities as a Government or as a people. I say this not to lay blame or to look backwards, but because it is only by understanding how we arrived at this moment that we'll be able to lift ourselves out of this predicament. The fact is, our economy did not fall into decline overnight, nor did all of our problems begin when the housing market collapsed or the stock market sank. We have known for decades that our survival depends on finding new sources of energy, yet we import more oil today than ever before. The cost of health care eats up more and more of our savings each year, yet we keep delaying reform. Our children will compete for jobs in a global economy that too many of our schools do not prepare them for. And though all these challenges went unsolved, we still managed to spend more money and pile up more debt, both as individuals and through our Government, than ever before. In other words, we have lived through an era where too often short-term gains were prized over long-term prosperity,

where we failed to look beyond the next payment, the next quarter, or the next election. A surplus became an excuse to transfer wealth to the wealthy instead of an opportunity to invest in our future. Regulations were gutted for the sake of a quick profit at the expense of a healthy market. People bought homes they knew they couldn't afford from banks and lenders who pushed those bad loans anyway. And all the while, critical debates and difficult decisions were put off for some other time, on some other day. Well, that day of reckoning has arrived, and the time to take charge of our future is here.

Now is the time to act boldly and wisely to not only revive this economy, but to build a new foundation for lasting prosperity. Now is the time to jump-start job creation, restart lending, and invest in areas like energy, health care, and education that will grow our economy, even as we make hard choices to bring our deficit down. That is what my economic agenda is designed to do, and that is what I'd like to talk to you about tonight. It's an agenda that begins with jobs. As soon as I took office, I asked this Congress to send me a recovery plan by President's Day that would put people back to work and put money in their pockets, not because I believe in bigger Government--I don't--not because I'm not mindful of the massive debt we've inherited--I am. I called for action because the failure to do so would have cost more jobs and caused more hardship. In fact, a failure to act would have worsened our long-term deficit by assuring weak economic growth for years. And that's why I pushed for quick action. And tonight I am grateful that this Congress delivered and pleased to say that the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act is now law. Over the next 2 years, this plan will save or create 3.5 million jobs. More than 90 percent of these jobs will be in the private sector: jobs rebuilding our roads and bridges, constructing wind turbines and solar panels, laying broadband and expanding mass transit. Because of this plan, there are teachers who can now keep their jobs and educate our kids, health care professionals can continue caring for our sick. There are 57 police officers who are still on the streets of Minneapolis tonight because this plan prevented the layoffs their department was about to make. Because of this plan, 95 percent of working households in America will receive a tax cut; a tax cut that you will see in your paychecks beginning on April 1st. Because of this plan, families who are struggling to pay tuition costs will receive a \$2,500 tax credit for all 4 years of college, and Americans who have lost their jobs in this recession will be able to receive extended unemployment benefits and continued health care coverage to help them weather this storm. Now, I know there are some in this Chamber and watching at home who are skeptical of whether this plan will work, and I understand that skepticism. Here in Washington, we've all seen how quickly good intentions can turn into broken promises and wasteful spending. And with a plan of this scale comes enormous responsibility to get it right. And that's why I've asked Vice President Biden to lead a tough, unprecedented oversight effort; because nobody messes with Joe. I--am I right? They don't mess with him. I have told each of my Cabinet, as well as mayors and Governors across the country, that they will be held accountable by me and the American people for every dollar they spend. I've appointed a proven and aggressive Inspector General to ferret out any and all cases of waste and fraud. And we have created a new web site called [recovery.gov](http://recovery.gov), so that every American can find out how and where their money is being spent. So the recovery plan we passed is the first step in getting our economy back on track. But it is just the first step. Because even if we manage this plan flawlessly, there will be no real recovery unless we clean up the credit crisis that has severely weakened our financial system. I want to speak plainly and candidly about this issue tonight, because every American should know that it directly affects you and your family's well-being. You should also know that the money you've deposited in banks across the country is safe, your insurance is secure, you can rely on the continued operation of our financial system. That's not the source of concern. The concern is that if we do not restart lending in this country, our recovery will be choked off before it even begins. You see, the flow of credit is the lifeblood of our economy. The ability to get a loan is how you finance the purchase of everything from a home to a car to a college education, how stores stock their shelves, farms buy equipment, and businesses make payroll. But credit has stopped flowing the way it should. Too many bad loans from the housing crisis have made their way onto the books of too many banks. And with so much debt and so little confidence, these banks are now fearful of lending out any more money to households, to businesses, or even to each other. And when there is no lending, families can't afford to buy homes or cars, so businesses are forced to make layoffs. Our economy suffers even more, and credit dries up even further. That is why this administration is moving swiftly and aggressively to break this destructive cycle, to restore confidence, and restart lending. And we will do so in several ways. First, we are creating a new lending fund that represents the largest effort ever to help provide auto loans, college loans, and small-business loans to the consumers and entrepreneurs who keep this economy running. Second, we have launched a housing plan that will help responsible families facing the threat of foreclosure lower their monthly payments and refinance their mortgages. It's a plan that won't help speculators or that neighbor down



the street who bought a house he could never hope to afford, but it will help millions of Americans who are struggling with declining home values; Americans who will now be able to take advantage of the lower interest rates that this plan has already helped to bring about. In fact, the average family who refinances today can save nearly \$2,000 per year on their mortgage. Third, we will act with the full force of the Federal Government to ensure that the major banks that Americans depend on have enough confidence and enough money to lend even in more difficult times. And when we learn that a major bank has serious problems, we will hold accountable those responsible, force the necessary adjustments, provide the support to clean up their balance sheets, and assure the continuity of a strong, viable institution that can serve our people and our economy. Now, I understand that on any given day, Wall Street may be more comforted by an approach that gives bank bailouts with no strings attached and that holds nobody accountable for their reckless decisions. But such an approach won't solve the problem, and our goal is to quicken the day when we restart lending to the American people and American business and end this crisis once and for all. And I intend to hold these banks fully accountable for the assistance they receive, and this time, they will have to clearly demonstrate how taxpayer dollars result in more lending for the American taxpayer. This time, CEOs won't be able to use taxpayer money to pad their paychecks or buy fancy drapes or disappear on a private jet. Those days are over. Still, this plan will require significant resources from the Federal Government--and, yes, probably more than we've already set aside. But while the cost of action will be great, I can assure you that the cost of inaction will be far greater, for it could result in an economy that sputters along for not months or years, but perhaps a decade. That would be worse for our deficit, worse for business, worse for you, and worse for the next generation. And I refuse to let that happen. Now, I understand that when the last administration asked this Congress to provide assistance for struggling banks, Democrats and Republicans alike were infuriated by the mismanagement and the results that followed. So were the American taxpayers; so was I. So I know how unpopular it is to be seen as helping banks right now, especially when everyone is suffering in part from their bad decisions. I promise you, I get it. But I also know that in a time of crisis, we cannot afford to govern out of anger or yield to the politics of the moment. My job--our job is to solve the problem. Our job is to govern with a sense of responsibility. I will not send--I will not spend a single penny for the purpose of rewarding a single Wall Street executive, but I will do whatever it takes to help the small business that can't pay its workers or the family that has saved and still can't get a mortgage. That's what this is about. It's not about helping banks; it's about helping people. It's not about helping banks; it's about helping people. Because when credit is available again, that young family can finally buy a new home. And then some company will hire workers to build it. And then those workers will have money to spend. And if they can get a loan too, maybe they'll finally buy that car or open their own business. Investors will return to the market, and American families will see their retirement secured once more. Slowly but surely, confidence will return and our economy will recover. So I ask this Congress to join me in doing whatever proves necessary, because we cannot consign our Nation to an open-ended recession. And to ensure that a crisis of this magnitude never happens again, I ask Congress to move quickly on legislation that will finally reform our outdated regulatory system. It is time to put in place tough, new, commonsense rules of the road so that our financial market rewards drive and innovation, and punishes shortcuts and abuse.

The recovery plan and the financial stability plan are the immediate steps we're taking to revive our economy in the short term. But the only way to fully restore America's economic strength is to make the long-term investments that will lead to new jobs, new industries, and a renewed ability to compete with the rest of the world. The only way this century will be another American century is if we confront at last the price of our dependence on oil and the high cost of health care, the schools that aren't preparing our children and the mountain of debt they stand to inherit. That is our responsibility. In the next few days, I will submit a budget to Congress. So often, we've come to view these documents as simply numbers on a page or a laundry list of programs. I see this document differently. I see it as a vision for America, as a blueprint for our future. My budget does not attempt to solve every problem or address every issue. It reflects the stark reality of what we've inherited, a trillion-dollar deficit, a financial crisis, and a costly recession. Given these realities, everyone in this Chamber, Democrats and Republicans, will have to sacrifice some worthy priorities for which there are no dollars. And that includes me. But that does not mean we can afford to ignore our long-term challenges. I reject the view that says our problems will simply take care of themselves, that says Government has no role in laying the foundation for our common prosperity.

For history tells a different story. History reminds us that at every moment of economic upheaval and transformation, this Nation has responded with bold action and big ideas. In the midst of Civil War, we

laid railroad tracks from one coast to another that spurred commerce and industry. From the turmoil of the Industrial Revolution came a system of public high schools that prepared our citizens for a new age. In the wake of war and depression, the GI bill sent a generation to college and created the largest middle class in history. And a twilight struggle for freedom led to a nation of highways, an American on the Moon, and an explosion of technology that still shapes our world. In each case, Government didn't supplant private enterprise; it catalyzed private enterprise. It created the conditions for thousands of entrepreneurs and new businesses to adapt and to thrive. We are a nation that has seen promise amid peril and claimed opportunity from ordeal. Now we must be that nation again, and that is why, even as it cuts back on programs we don't need, the budget I submit will invest in the three areas that are absolutely critical to our economic future: energy, health care, and education. It begins with energy. We know the country that harnesses the power of clean, renewable energy will lead the 21st century. And yet, it is China that has launched the largest effort in history to make their economy energy efficient. We invented solar technology, but we've fallen behind countries like Germany and Japan in producing it. New plug-in hybrids roll off our assembly lines, but they will run on batteries made in Korea. Well, I do not accept a future where the jobs and industries of tomorrow take root beyond our borders, and I know you don't either. It is time for America to lead again. Thanks to our recovery plan, we will double this Nation's supply of renewable energy in the next 3 years. We've also made the largest investment in basic research funding in American history, an investment that will spur not only new discoveries in energy but breakthroughs in medicine and science and technology. We will soon lay down thousands of miles of power lines that can carry new energy to cities and towns across this country. And we will put Americans to work making our homes and buildings more efficient so that we can save billions of dollars on our energy bills. But to truly transform our economy, to protect our security, and save our planet from the ravages of climate change, we need to ultimately make clean, renewable energy the profitable kind of energy. So I ask this Congress to send me legislation that places a market-based cap on carbon pollution and drives the production of more renewable energy in America. That's what we need. And to support that innovation, we will invest \$15 billion a year to develop technologies like wind power and solar power, advanced biofuels, clean coal, and more efficient cars and trucks built right here in America. Speaking of our auto industry, everyone recognizes that years of bad decisionmaking and a global recession have pushed our automakers to the brink. We should not, and will not, protect them from their own bad practices. But we are committed to the goal of a retooled, reimagined auto industry that can compete and win. Millions of jobs depend on it; scores of communities depend on it. And I believe the Nation that invented the automobile cannot walk away from it. Now, none of this will come without cost, nor will it be easy. But this is America. We don't do what's easy. We do what's necessary to move this country forward. And for that same reason, we must also address the crushing cost of health care. This is a cost that now causes a bankruptcy in America every 30 seconds. By the end of the year, it could cause 1.5 million Americans to lose their homes. In the last 8 years, premiums have grown four times faster than wages. And in each of these years, 1 million more Americans have lost their health insurance. It is one of the major reasons why small businesses close their doors and corporations ship jobs overseas. And it's one of the largest and fastest growing parts of our budget. Given these facts, we can no longer afford to put health care reform on hold. We can't afford to do it. It's time. Already, we've done more to advance the cause of health care reform in the last 30 days than we've done in the last decade. When it was days old, this Congress passed a law to provide and protect health insurance for 11 million American children whose parents work full time. Our recovery plan will invest in electronic health records, a new technology that will reduce errors, bring down costs, ensure privacy, and save lives. It will launch a new effort to conquer a disease that has touched the life of nearly every American, including me, by seeking a cure for cancer in our time. And it makes the largest investment ever in preventive care, because that's one of the best ways to keep our people healthy and our costs under control. This budget builds on these reforms. It includes a historic commitment to comprehensive health care reform, a down payment on the principle that we must have quality, affordable health care for every American. It's a commitment that's paid for in part by efficiencies in our system that are long overdue. And it's a step we must take if we hope to bring down our deficit in the years to come. Now, there will be many different opinions and ideas about how to achieve reform, and that's why I'm bringing together businesses and workers, doctors and health care providers, Democrats and Republicans to begin work on this issue next week. I suffer no illusions that this will be an easy process. Once again, it will be hard. But I also know that nearly a century after Teddy Roosevelt first called for reform, the cost of our health care has weighed down our economy and our conscience long enough. So let there be no doubt: Health care reform cannot wait, it must not wait, and it will not wait another year. The third challenge we must address is the urgent need to expand the promise of education in America. In a global economy where the most valuable skill you can sell is your knowledge, a good education is no longer just a pathway to

opportunity, it is a prerequisite. Right now, three-quarters of the fastest growing occupations require more than a high school diploma. And yet, just over half of our citizens have that level of education. We have one of the highest high school dropout rates of any industrialized nation, and half of the students who begin college never finish. This is a prescription for economic decline, because we know the countries that out-teach us today will outcompete us tomorrow. That is why it will be the goal of this administration to ensure that every child has access to a complete and competitive education, from the day they are born to the day they begin a career. That is a promise we have to make to the children of America. Already, we've made historic investment in education through the economic recovery plan. We've dramatically expanded early childhood education and will continue to improve its quality, because we know that the most formative learning comes in those first years of life. We've made college affordable for nearly 7 million more students--7 million. And we have provided the resources necessary to prevent painful cuts and teacher layoffs that would set back our children's progress. But we know that our schools don't just need more resources, they need more reform. And that is why this budget creates new teachers--new incentives for teacher performance, pathways for advancement, and rewards for success. We'll invest in innovative programs that are already helping schools meet high standards and close achievement gaps, and we will expand our commitment to charter schools.

It is our responsibility as lawmakers and as educators to make this system work. But it is the responsibility of every citizen to participate in it. So tonight I ask every American to commit to at least 1 year or more of higher education or career training. This can be community college or a 4-year school, vocational training or an apprenticeship. But whatever the training may be, every American will need to get more than a high school diploma. And dropping out of high school is no longer an option. It's not just quitting on yourself, it's quitting on your country, and this country needs and values the talents of every American. That's why we will support--we will provide the support necessary for all young Americans to complete college and meet a new goal. By 2020, America will once again have the highest proportion of college graduates in the world. That is a goal we can meet. That's a goal we can meet. Now, I know that the price of tuition is higher than ever, which is why if you are willing to volunteer in your neighborhood or give back to your community or serve your country, we will make sure that you can afford a higher education. And to encourage a renewed spirit of national service for this and future generations, I ask Congress to send me the bipartisan legislation that bears the name of Senator Orrin Hatch, as well as an American who has never stopped asking what he can do for his country, Senator Edward Kennedy. These education policies will open the doors of opportunity for our children, but it is up to us to ensure they walk through them. In the end, there is no program or policy that can substitute for a parent, for a mother or father who will attend those parent-teacher conferences or help with homework or turn off the TV, put away the video games, read to their child. I speak to you not just as a President, but as a father, when I say that responsibility for our children's education must begin at home. That is not a Democratic issue or a Republican issue; that's an American issue. There is, of course, another responsibility we have to our children. And that's the responsibility to ensure that we do not pass on to them a debt they cannot pay. That is critical. I agree, absolutely. See, I know we can get some consensus in here. With the deficit we inherited, the cost of the crisis we face, and the long-term challenges we must meet, it has never been more important to ensure that as our economy recovers, we do what it takes to bring this deficit down. That is critical. Now, I'm proud that we passed a recovery plan free of earmarks, and I want to pass a budget next year that ensures that each dollar we spend reflects only our most important national priorities. And yesterday I held a fiscal summit where I pledged to cut the deficit in half by the end of my first term in office. My administration has also begun to go line by line through the Federal budget in order to eliminate wasteful and ineffective programs. As you can imagine, this is a process that will take some time. But we have already identified \$2 trillion in savings over the next decade. In this budget, we will end education programs that don't work and end direct payments to large agribusiness that don't need them. We'll eliminate the no-bid contracts that have wasted billions in Iraq and reform our defense budget so that we're not paying for cold war-era weapons systems we don't use. We will root out the waste and fraud and abuse in our Medicare program that doesn't make our seniors any healthier. We will restore a sense of fairness and balance to our Tax Code by finally ending the tax breaks for corporations that ship our jobs overseas. In order to save our children from a future of debt, we will also end the tax breaks for the wealthiest 2 percent of Americans. Now, let me be clear--let me be absolutely clear, because I know you'll end up hearing some of the same claims that rolling back these tax breaks means a massive tax increase on the American people: If your family earns less than \$250,000 a year, a quarter million dollars a year, you will not see your taxes increased a single dime. I repeat: Not one single dime. In fact--not a dime--in fact, the recovery plan provides a tax cut--that's right, a tax cut--for 95 percent of working families. And by the way, these checks are on the way. Now, to preserve our long-term fiscal health, we must

also address the growing costs in Medicare and Social Security. Comprehensive health care reform is the best way to strengthen Medicare for years to come. And we must also begin a conversation on how to do the same for Social Security, while creating tax-free universal savings accounts for all Americans. Finally, because we're also suffering from a deficit of trust, I am committed to restoring a sense of honesty and accountability to our budget. That is why this budget looks ahead 10 years and accounts for spending that was left out under the old rules. And for the first time, that includes the full cost of fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan. For 7 years, we have been a nation at war. No longer will we hide its price.

Along with our outstanding national security team, I'm now carefully reviewing our policies in both wars, and I will soon announce a way forward in Iraq that leaves Iraq to its people and responsibly ends this war. And with our friends and allies, we will forge a new and comprehensive strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan to defeat Al Qaida and combat extremism, because I will not allow terrorists to plot against the American people from safe havens halfway around the world. We will not allow it. As we meet here tonight, our men and women in uniform stand watch abroad and more are readying to deploy. To each and every one of them and to the families who bear the quiet burden of their absence, Americans are united in sending one message: We honor your service; we are inspired by your sacrifice; and you have our unyielding support. To relieve the strain on our forces, my budget increases the number of our soldiers and marines. And to keep our sacred trust with those who serve, we will raise their pay and give our veterans the expanded health care and benefits that they have earned. To overcome extremism, we must also be vigilant in upholding the values our troops defend, because there is no force in the world more powerful than the example of America. And that is why I have ordered the closing of the detention center at Guantanamo Bay and will seek swift and certain justice for captured terrorists. Because living our values doesn't make us weaker, it makes us safer and it makes us stronger. And that is why I can stand here tonight and say without exception or equivocation that the United States of America does not torture. We can make that commitment here tonight. In words and deeds, we are showing the world that a new era of engagement has begun. For we know that America cannot meet the threats of this century alone, but the world cannot meet them without America. We cannot shun the negotiating table, nor ignore the foes or forces that could do us harm. We are instead called to move forward with the sense of confidence and candor that serious times demand. To seek progress towards a secure and lasting peace between Israel and her neighbors, we have appointed an envoy to sustain our effort. To meet the challenges of the 21st century--from terrorism to nuclear proliferation, from pandemic disease to cyber threats to crushing poverty--we will strengthen old alliances, forge new ones, and use all elements of our national power. And to respond to an economic crisis that is global in scope, we are working with the nations of the G-20 to restore confidence in our financial system, avoid the possibility of escalating protectionism, and spur demand for American goods in markets across the globe. For the world depends on us having a strong economy, just as our economy depends on the strength of the world's.

As we stand at this crossroads of history, the eyes of all people in all nations are once again upon us, watching to see what we do with this moment, waiting for us to lead. Those of us gathered here tonight have been called to govern in extraordinary times. It is a tremendous burden, but also a great privilege, one that has been entrusted to few generations of Americans. For in our hands lies the ability to shape our world for good or for ill. I know that it's easy to lose sight of this truth, to become cynical and doubtful, consumed with the petty and the trivial. But in my life, I have also learned that hope is found in unlikely places, that inspiration often comes not from those with the most power or celebrity, but from the dreams and aspirations of ordinary Americans who are anything but ordinary. I think of Leonard Abess, a bank president from Miami who reportedly cashed out of his company, took a \$60 million bonus, and gave it out to all 399 people who worked for him, plus another 72 who used to work for him. He didn't tell anyone, but when the local newspaper found out, he simply said, "I knew some of these people since I was 7 years old. It didn't feel right getting the money myself." I think about Greensburg, Kansas, a town that was completely destroyed by a tornado, but is being rebuilt by its residents as a global example of how clean energy can power an entire community, how it can bring jobs and businesses to a place where piles of bricks and rubble once lay. "The tragedy was terrible," said one of the men who helped them rebuild. "But the folks here know that it also provided an incredible opportunity." I think about Ty'Sheoma Bethea, the young girl from that school I visited in Dillon, South Carolina, a place where the ceilings leak, the paint peels off the walls, and they have to stop teaching six times a day because the train barrels by their classroom. She had been told that her school is hopeless, but the other day after class she went to the public library and typed up a letter to the people sitting in this Chamber. She even asked her principal for the money to buy a stamp. The

letter asks us for help and says: "We are just students trying to become lawyers, doctors, Congressmen like yourself, and one day President, so we can make a change to not just the State of South Carolina, but also the world. We are not quitters." That's what she said: "We are not quitters."

These words and these stories tell us something about the spirit of the people who sent us here. They tell us that even in the most trying times, amid the most difficult circumstances, there is a generosity, a resilience, a decency, and a determination that perseveres, a willingness to take responsibility for our future and for posterity. Their resolve must be our inspiration. Their concerns must be our cause. And we must show them and all our people that we are equal to the task before us.

I know--look, I know that we haven't agreed on every issue thus far. There are surely times in the future where we will part ways. But I also know that every American who is sitting here tonight loves this country and wants it to succeed. I know that. That must be the starting point for every debate we have in the coming months and where we return after those debates are done. That is the foundation on which the American people expect us to build common ground. And if we do, if we come together and lift this Nation from the depths of this crisis, if we put our people back to work and restart the engine of our prosperity, if we confront without fear the challenges of our time and summon that enduring spirit of an America that does not quit, then someday years from now our children can tell their children that this was the time when we performed, in the words that are carved into this very Chamber, "something worthy to be remembered." Thank you. God bless you, and may God bless the United States of America. Thank you.

## **SOTU: BHO 2**

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

It's tempting to look back on these moments and assume that our progress was inevitable, that America was always destined to succeed. But when the Union was turned back at Bull Run and the Allies first landed at Omaha Beach, victory was very much in doubt. When the market crashed on Black Tuesday and civil rights marchers were beaten on Bloody Sunday, the future was anything but certain. These were the times that tested the courage of our convictions and the strength of our Union. And despite all our divisions and disagreements, our hesitations and our fears, America prevailed because we chose to move forward as one Nation, as one people. Again, we are tested. And again, we must answer history's call. One year ago, I took office amid two wars, an economy rocked by a severe recession, a financial system on the verge of collapse, and a Government deeply in debt. Experts from across the political spectrum warned that if we did not act, we might face a second depression. So we acted, immediately and aggressively. And 1 year later, the worst of the storm has passed. But the devastation remains. One in 10 Americans still cannot find work. Many businesses have shuttered. Home values have declined. Small towns and rural communities have been hit especially hard. And for those who'd already known poverty, life's become that much harder. This recession has also compounded the burdens that America's families have been dealing with for decades: the burden of working harder and longer for less, of being unable to save enough to retire or help kids with college. So I know the anxieties that are out there right now. They're not new. These struggles are the reason I ran for President. These struggles are what I've witnessed for years, in places like Elkhart, Indiana; Galesburg, Illinois. I hear about them in the letters that I read each night. The toughest to read are those written by children asking why they have to move from their home, asking when their mom or dad will be able to go back to work.

For these Americans and so many others, change has not come fast enough. Some are frustrated, some are angry. They don't understand why it seems like bad behavior on Wall Street is rewarded, but hard work on Main Street isn't, or why Washington has been unable or unwilling to solve any of our problems. They're tired of the partisanship and the shouting and the pettiness. They know we can't afford it. Not now. So we face big and difficult challenges. And what the American people hope, what they deserve, is for all of us, Democrats and Republicans, to work through our differences, to overcome

the numbing weight of our politics. For while the people who sent us here have different backgrounds, different stories, different beliefs, the anxieties they face are the same. The aspirations they hold are shared: a job that pays the bills; a chance to get ahead; most of all, the ability to give their children a better life. And you know what else they share? They share a stubborn resilience in the face of adversity. After one of the most difficult years in our history, they remain busy building cars and teaching kids, starting businesses and going back to school. They're coaching Little League and helping their neighbors. One woman wrote to me and said, "We are strained but hopeful, struggling but encouraged." It's because of this spirit, this great decency and great strength, that I have never been more hopeful about America's future than I am tonight. Despite our hardships, our Union is strong. We do not give up. We do not quit. We do not allow fear or division to break our spirit. In this new decade, it's time the American people get a Government that matches their decency, that embodies their strength. And tonight I'd like to talk about how together we can deliver on that promise.

It begins with our economy. Our most urgent task upon taking office was to shore up the same banks that helped cause this crisis. It was not easy to do. And if there's one thing that has unified Democrats and Republicans and everybody in between, it's that we all hated the bank bailout. I hated it. I hated it; you hated it. It was about as popular as a root canal. But when I ran for President, I promised I wouldn't just do what was popular; I would do what was necessary. And if we had allowed the meltdown of the financial system, unemployment might be double what it is today. More businesses would certainly have closed. More homes would have surely been lost. So I supported the last administration's efforts to create the financial rescue program. And when we took that program over, we made it more transparent and more accountable. And as a result, the markets are now stabilized, and we've recovered most of the money we spent on the banks—most but not all. To recover the rest, I've proposed a fee on the biggest banks. Now, I know Wall Street isn't keen on this idea. But if these firms can afford to hand out big bonuses again, they can afford a modest fee to pay back the taxpayers who rescued them in their time of need. Now, as we stabilized the financial system, we also took steps to get our economy growing again, save as many jobs as possible, and help Americans who had become unemployed. That's why we extended or increased unemployment benefits for more than 18 million Americans, made health insurance 65 percent cheaper for families who get their coverage through COBRA, and passed 25 different tax cuts. Now, let me repeat: We cut taxes. We cut taxes for 95 percent of working families. We cut taxes for small businesses. We cut taxes for first-time home buyers. We cut taxes for parents trying to care for their children. We cut taxes for 8 million Americans paying for college. I thought I'd get some applause on that one. As a result, millions of Americans had more to spend on gas and food and other necessities, all of which helped businesses keep more workers. And we haven't raised income taxes by a single dime on a single person—not a single dime. Now, because of the steps we took, there are about 2 million Americans working right now who would otherwise be unemployed. Two hundred thousand work in construction and clean energy. Three hundred thousand are teachers and other education workers. Tens of thousands are cops, firefighters, correctional officers, first-responders. And we're on track to add another 1½ million jobs to this total by the end of the year. The plan that has made all of this possible, from the tax cuts to the jobs, is the Recovery Act. That's right, the Recovery Act, also known as the stimulus bill. Economists on the left and the right say this bill has helped save jobs and avert disaster. But you don't have to take their word for it. Talk to the small business in Phoenix that will triple its workforce because of the Recovery Act. Talk to the window manufacturer in Philadelphia who said he used to be skeptical about the Recovery Act, until he had to add two more work shifts just because of the business it created. Talk to the single teacher raising two kids who was told by her principal in the last week of school that because of the Recovery Act, she wouldn't be laid off after all. There are stories like this all across America. And after 2 years of recession, the economy is growing again. Retirement funds have started to gain back some of their value. Businesses are beginning to invest again, and slowly some are starting to hire again. But I realize that for every success story, there are other stories, of men and women who wake up with the anguish of not knowing where their next paycheck will come from, who send out resumes week after week and hear nothing in response. That is why jobs must be our number-one focus in 2010, and that's why I'm calling for a new jobs bill tonight.

Now, the true engine of job creation in this country will always be America's businesses. I agree, absolutely. But Government can create the conditions necessary for businesses to expand and hire more workers. We should start where most new jobs do, in small businesses, companies that begin when an entrepreneur takes a chance on a dream or a worker decides it's time she became her own boss. Through sheer grit and determination, these companies have weathered the recession, and they're ready to grow. But when you talk to small-business owners in places like Allentown, Pennsylvania, or Elyria,

Ohio, you find out that even though banks on Wall Street are lending again, they're mostly lending to bigger companies. Financing remains difficult for small-business owners across the country, even those that are making a profit. So tonight I'm proposing that we take \$30 billion of the money Wall Street banks have repaid and use it to help community banks give small businesses the credit they need to stay afloat. I'm also proposing a new small business tax credit, one that will go to over 1 million small businesses who hire new workers or raise wages. While we're at it, let's also eliminate all capital gains taxes on small-business investment and provide a tax incentive for all large businesses and all small businesses to invest in new plants and equipment. Next, we can put Americans to work today building the infrastructure of tomorrow. From the first railroads to the Interstate Highway System, our Nation has always been built to compete. There's no reason Europe or China should have the fastest trains or the new factories that manufacture clean energy products. Tomorrow I'll visit Tampa, Florida, where workers will soon break ground on a new high-speed railroad funded by the Recovery Act. There are projects like that all across this country that will create jobs and help move our Nation's goods, services, and information.

We should put more Americans to work building clean energy facilities and give rebates to Americans who make their homes more energy efficient, which supports clean energy jobs. And to encourage these and other businesses to stay within our borders, it is time to finally slash the tax breaks for companies that ship our jobs overseas and give those tax breaks to companies that create jobs right here in the United States of America. Now, the House has passed a jobs bill that includes some of these steps. As the first order of business this year, I urge the Senate to do the same, and I know they will. They will. People are out of work. They're hurting. They need our help. And I want a jobs bill on my desk without delay. But the truth is, these steps won't make up for the 7 million jobs that we've lost over the last 2 years. The only way to move to full employment is to lay a new foundation for long-term economic growth and finally address the problems that America's families have confronted for years. We can't afford another so-called economic "expansion" like the one from the last decade, what some call the "lost decade," where jobs grew more slowly than during any prior expansion, where the income of the average American household declined while the cost of health care and tuition reached record highs, where prosperity was built on a housing bubble and financial speculation.

From the day I took office, I've been told that addressing our larger challenges is too ambitious; such an effort would be too contentious. I've been told that our political system is too gridlocked and that we should just put things on hold for a while. For those who make these claims, I have one simple question: How long should we wait? How long should America put its future on hold? You see, Washington has been telling us to wait for decades, even as the problems have grown worse. Meanwhile, China's not waiting to revamp its economy. Germany's not waiting. India's not waiting. These nations are—they're not standing still. These nations aren't playing for second place. They're putting more emphasis on math and science. They're rebuilding their infrastructure. They're making serious investments in clean energy because they want those jobs. Well, I do not accept second place for the United States of America. As hard as it may be, as uncomfortable and contentious as the debates may become, it's time to get serious about fixing the problems that are hampering our growth. Now, one place to start is serious financial reform. Look, I am not interested in punishing banks. I'm interested in protecting our economy. A strong, healthy financial market makes it possible for businesses to access credit and create new jobs. It channels the savings of families into investments that raise incomes. But that can only happen if we guard against the same recklessness that nearly brought down our entire economy.

We need to make sure consumers and middle class families have the information they need to make financial decisions. We can't allow financial institutions, including those that take your deposits, to take risks that threaten the whole economy. Now, the House has already passed financial reform with many of these changes, and the lobbyists are trying to kill it. But we cannot let them win this fight. And if the bill that ends up on my desk does not meet the test of real reform, I will send it back until we get it right. We've got to get it right. Next, we need to encourage American innovation. Last year, we made the largest investment in basic research funding in history, an investment that could lead to the world's cheapest solar cells or treatment that kills cancer cells but leaves healthy ones untouched. And no area is more ripe for such innovation than energy. You can see the results of last year's investments in clean energy in the North Carolina company that will create 1,200 jobs nationwide helping to make advanced batteries or in the California business that will put a thousand people to work making solar panels. But to create more of these clean energy jobs, we need more production, more efficiency, more incentives. And that means building a new generation of safe, clean nuclear powerplants in this country. It means

making tough decisions about opening new offshore areas for oil and gas development. It means continued investment in advanced biofuels and clean coal technologies. And, yes, it means passing a comprehensive energy and climate bill with incentives that will finally make clean energy the profitable kind of energy in America. Now, I am grateful to the House for passing such a bill last year. And this year, I'm eager to help advance the bipartisan effort in the Senate. I know there have been questions about whether we can afford such changes in a tough economy. I know that there are those who disagree with the overwhelming scientific evidence on climate change. But here's the thing: Even if you doubt the evidence, providing incentives for energy efficiency and clean energy are the right thing to do for our future, because the nation that leads the clean energy economy will be the nation that leads the global economy. And America must be that nation. Third, we need to export more of our goods, because the more products we make and sell to other countries, the more jobs we support right here in America. So tonight we set a new goal: We will double our exports over the next 5 years, an increase that will support 2 million jobs in America. To help meet this goal, we're launching a National Export Initiative that will help farmers and small businesses increase their exports and reform export controls consistent with national security. We have to seek new markets aggressively, just as our competitors are. If America sits on the sidelines while other nations sign trade deals, we will lose the chance to create jobs on our shores. But realizing those benefits also means enforcing those agreements so our trading partners play by the rules. And that's why we'll continue to shape a Doha trade agreement that opens global markets and why we will strengthen our trade relations in Asia and with key partners like South Korea and Panama and Colombia. Fourth, we need to invest in the skills and education of our people. Now, this year, we've broken through the stalemate between left and right by launching a national competition to improve our schools. And the idea here is simple: Instead of rewarding failure, we only reward success. Instead of funding the status quo, we only invest in reform, reform that raises student achievement, inspires students to excel in math and science, and turns around failing schools that steal the future of too many young Americans, from rural communities to the inner city. In the 21st century, the best antipoverty program around is a world-class education. And in this country, the success of our children cannot depend more on where they live than on their potential. When we renew the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, we will work with Congress to expand these reforms to all 50 States. Still, in this economy, a high school diploma no longer guarantees a good job. That's why I urge the Senate to follow the House and pass a bill that will revitalize our community colleges, which are a career pathway to the children of so many working families. To make college more affordable, this bill will finally end the unwarranted taxpayer subsidies that go to banks for student loans. Instead, let's take that money and give families a \$10,000 tax credit for 4 years of college and increase Pell grants. And let's tell another 1 million students that when they graduate, they will be required to pay only 10 percent of their income on student loans and all of their debt will be forgiven after 20 years—and forgiven after 10 years if they choose a career in public service, because in the United States of America, no one should go broke because they chose to go to college. And by the way, it's time for colleges and universities to get serious about cutting their own costs, because they too have a responsibility to help solve this problem. Now, the price of college tuition is just one of the burdens facing the middle class. That's why last year, I asked Vice President Biden to chair a task force on middle class families. That's why we're nearly doubling the child care tax credit and making it easier to save for retirement by giving access to every worker a retirement account and expanding the tax credit for those who start a nest egg. That's why we're working to lift the value of a family's single largest investment, their home. The steps we took last year to shore up the housing market have allowed millions of Americans to take out new loans and save an average of \$1,500 on mortgage payments. This year, we will step up refinancing so that homeowners can move into more affordable mortgages. And it is precisely to relieve the burden on middle class families that we still need health insurance reform. Yes, we do.

Now, let's clear a few things up. I didn't choose to tackle this issue to get some legislative victory under my belt. And by now it should be fairly obvious that I didn't take on health care because it was good politics. I took on health care because of the stories I've heard from Americans with preexisting conditions whose lives depend on getting coverage, patients who've been denied coverage, families, even those with insurance, who are just one illness away from financial ruin. After nearly a century of trying—Democratic administrations, Republican administrations—we are closer than ever to bringing more security to the lives of so many Americans. The approach we've taken would protect every American from the worst practices of the insurance industry. It would give small businesses and uninsured Americans a chance to choose an affordable health care plan in a competitive market. It would require every insurance plan to cover preventive care. And by the way, I want to acknowledge our First Lady, Michelle Obama, who this year is creating a national movement to tackle the epidemic



of childhood obesity and make kids healthier. Thank you, honey. She gets embarrassed. Our approach would preserve the right of Americans who have insurance to keep their doctor and their plan. It would reduce costs and premiums for millions of families and businesses. And according to the Congressional Budget Office, the independent organization that both parties have cited as the official scorekeeper for Congress, our approach would bring down the deficit by as much as \$1 trillion over the next two decades. Still, this is a complex issue, and the longer it was debated, the more skeptical people became. I take my share of the blame for not explaining it more clearly to the American people. And I know that with all the lobbying and horse-trading, the process left most Americans wondering, "What's in it for me?" But I also know this problem is not going away. By the time I'm finished speaking tonight, more Americans will have lost their health insurance. Millions will lose it this year. Our deficit will grow. Premiums will go up. Patients will be denied the care they need. Small-business owners will continue to drop coverage altogether. I will not walk away from these Americans, and neither should the people in this Chamber. So, as temperatures cool, I want everyone to take another look at the plan we've proposed. There's a reason why many doctors, nurses, and health care experts who know our system best consider this approach a vast improvement over the status quo. But if anyone from either party has a better approach that will bring down premiums, bring down the deficit, cover the uninsured, strengthen Medicare for seniors, and stop insurance company abuses, let me know. Let me know. Let me know. I'm eager to see it.

Here's what I ask Congress, though: Don't walk away from reform. Not now. Not when we are so close. Let us find a way to come together and finish the job for the American people. Let's get it done. Let's get it done. Now, even as health care reform would reduce our deficit, it's not enough to dig us out of a massive fiscal hole in which we find ourselves. It's a challenge that makes all others that much harder to solve and one that's been subject to a lot of political posturing. So let me start the discussion of Government spending by setting the record straight. At the beginning of the last decade, the year 2000, America had a budget surplus of over \$200 billion. By the time I took office, we had a 1-year deficit of over \$1 trillion and projected deficits of \$8 trillion over the next decade. Most of this was the result of not paying for two wars, two tax cuts, and an expensive prescription drug program. On top of that, the effects of the recession put a \$3 trillion hole in our budget. All this was before I walked in the door. Now, stating the facts. Now, if we had taken office in ordinary times, I would have liked nothing more than to start bringing down the deficit. But we took office amid a crisis. And our efforts to prevent a second depression have added another \$1 trillion to our national debt. That too is a fact. I'm absolutely convinced that was the right thing to do. But families across the country are tightening their belts and making tough decisions. The Federal Government should do the same. So tonight I'm proposing specific steps to pay for the trillion dollars that it took to rescue the economy last year. Starting in 2011, we are prepared to freeze Government spending for 3 years. Spending related to our national security, Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security will not be affected. But all other discretionary Government programs will. Like any cash-strapped family, we will work within a budget to invest in what we need and sacrifice what we don't. And if I have to enforce this discipline by veto, I will.

We will continue to go through the budget, line by line, page by page, to eliminate programs that we can't afford and don't work. We've already identified \$20 billion in savings for next year. To help working families, we'll extend our middle class tax cuts. But at a time of record deficits, we will not continue tax cuts for oil companies, for investment fund managers, and for those making over \$250,000 a year. We just can't afford it. Now, even after paying for what we spent on my watch, we'll still face the massive deficit we had when I took office. More importantly, the cost of Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security will continue to skyrocket. That's why I've called for a bipartisan fiscal commission, modeled on a proposal by Republican Judd Gregg and Democrat Kent Conrad. This can't be one of those Washington gimmicks that lets us pretend we solve a problem. The commission will have to provide a specific set of solutions by a certain deadline. Now, yesterday the Senate blocked a bill that would have created this commission, so I'll issue an Executive order that will allow us to go forward, because I refuse to pass this problem on to another generation of Americans. And when the vote comes tomorrow, the Senate should restore the pay-as-you-go law that was a big reason for why we had record surpluses in the 1990s. Now, I know that some in my own party will argue that we can't address the deficit or freeze Government spending when so many are still hurting. And I agree, which is why this freeze won't take effect until next year, when the economy is stronger. That's how budgeting works. But understand, if we don't take meaningful steps to rein in our debt, it could damage our markets, increase the cost of borrowing, and jeopardize our recovery, all of which would have an even worse effect on our job growth and family incomes.

From some on the right, I expect we'll hear a different argument, that if we just make fewer investments in our people, extend tax cuts, including those for the wealthier Americans, eliminate more regulations, maintain the status quo on health care, our deficits will go away. The problem is, that's what we did for 8 years. That's what helped us into this crisis. It's what helped lead to these deficits. We can't do it again. Rather than fight the same tired battles that have dominated Washington for decades, it's time to try something new. Let's invest in our people without leaving them a mountain of debt. Let's meet our responsibility to the citizens who sent us here. Let's try common sense—a novel concept. Now, to do that, we have to recognize that we face more than a deficit of dollars right now. We face a deficit of trust, deep and corrosive doubts about how Washington works that have been growing for years. To close that credibility gap, we have to take action on both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue to end the outsized influence of lobbyists, to do our work openly, to give our people the Government they deserve. Now, that's what I came to Washington to do. That's why, for the first time in history, my administration posts on—our White House visitors online. That's why we've excluded lobbyists from policymaking jobs or seats on Federal boards and commissions. But we can't stop there. It's time to require lobbyists to disclose each contact they make on behalf of a client, with my administration or with Congress. It's time to put strict limits on the contributions that lobbyists give to candidates for Federal office. With all due deference to separation of powers, last week, the Supreme Court reversed a century of law that I believe will open the floodgates for special interests, including foreign corporations, to spend without limit in our elections. I don't think American elections should be bankrolled by America's most powerful interests, or worse, by foreign entities. They should be decided by the American people. And I'd urge Democrats and Republicans to pass a bill that helps correct some of these problems. I'm also calling on Congress to continue down the path of earmark reform, Democrats and Republicans—Democrats and Republicans. Look, you've trimmed some of this spending, you've embraced some meaningful change, but restoring the public trust demands more. For example, some Members of Congress post some earmark requests online. Tonight I'm calling on Congress to publish all earmark requests on a single web site before there's a vote so that the American people can see how their money is being spent. Of course, none of these reforms will even happen if we don't also reform how we work with one another. Now, I'm not naive. I never thought that the mere fact of my election would usher in peace and harmony and — some postpartisan era. I knew that both parties have fed divisions that are deeply entrenched. And on some issues, there are simply philosophical differences that will always cause us to part ways. These disagreements, about the role of government in our lives, about our national priorities and our national security, they've been taking place for over 200 years. They're the very essence of our democracy. But what frustrates the American people is a Washington where every day is Election Day. We can't wage a perpetual campaign where the only goal is to see who can get the most embarrassing headlines about the other side, a belief that if you lose, I win. Neither party should delay or obstruct every single bill just because they can. The confirmation of—I'm speaking to both parties now. The confirmation of well-qualified public servants shouldn't be held hostage to the pet projects or grudges of a few individual Senators. Washington may think that saying anything about the other side, no matter how false, no matter how malicious, is just part of the game. But it's precisely such politics that has stopped either party from helping the American people. Worse yet, it's sowing further division among our citizens, further distrust in our Government. So, no, I will not give up on trying to change the tone of our politics. I know it's an election year. And after last week, it's clear that campaign fever has come even earlier than usual. But we still need to govern. To Democrats, I would remind you that we still have the largest majority in decades and the people expect us to solve problems, not run for the hills. And if the Republican leadership is going to insist that 60 votes in the Senate are required to do any business at all in this town—a supermajority—then the responsibility to govern is now yours as well. Just saying no to everything may be good short-term politics, but it's not leadership. We were sent here to serve our citizens, not our ambitions. So let's show the American people that we can do it together. This week, I'll be addressing a meeting of the House Republicans. I'd like to begin monthly meetings with both Democratic and Republican leadership. I know you can't wait.

Now, throughout our history, no issue has united this country more than our security. Sadly, some of the unity we felt after 9/11 has dissipated. And we can argue all we want about who's to blame for this, but I'm not interested in relitigating the past. I know that all of us love this country. All of us are committed to its defense. So let's put aside the schoolyard taunts about who's tough. Let's reject the false choice between protecting our people and upholding our values. Let's leave behind the fear and division and do what it takes to defend our Nation and forge a more hopeful future for America and for the world. That's the work we began last year. Since the day I took office, we've renewed our focus on the terrorists who threaten our Nation. We've made substantial investments in our homeland security

and disrupted plots that threatened to take American lives. We are filling unacceptable gaps revealed by the failed Christmas attack, with better airline security and swifter action on our intelligence. We've prohibited torture and strengthened partnerships from the Pacific to South Asia to the Arabian Peninsula. And in the last year, hundreds of Al Qaida's fighters and affiliates, including many senior leaders, have been captured or killed, far more than in 2008. And in Afghanistan, we're increasing our troops and training Afghan security forces so they can begin to take the lead in July of 2011 and our troops can begin to come home. We will reward good governance, work to reduce corruption, and support the rights of all Afghans, men and women alike. We're joined by allies and partners who have increased their own commitments and who will come together tomorrow in London to reaffirm our common purpose. There will be difficult days ahead, but I am absolutely confident we will succeed. As we take the fight to Al Qaida, we are responsibly leaving Iraq to its people. As a candidate, I promised that I would end this war, and that is what I am doing as President. We will have all of our combat troops out of Iraq by the end of this August. We will support the Iraqi Government as they hold elections, and we will continue to partner with the Iraqi people to promote regional peace and prosperity. But make no mistake: This war is ending, and all of our troops are coming home. Tonight all of our men and women in uniform, in Iraq, in Afghanistan, and around the world, they have to know that we—that they have our respect, our gratitude, our full support. And just as they must have the resources they need in war, we all have a responsibility to support them when they come home. That's why we made the largest increase in investments for veterans in decades last year. That's why we're building a 21st century VA. And that's why Michelle has joined with Jill Biden to forge a national commitment to support military families. Now, even as we prosecute two wars, we're also confronting perhaps the greatest danger to the American people, the threat of nuclear weapons. I've embraced the vision of John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan through a strategy that reverses the spread of these weapons and seeks a world without them. To reduce our stockpiles and launchers, while ensuring our deterrent, the United States and Russia are completing negotiations on the farthest reaching arms control treaty in nearly two decades. And at April's Nuclear Security Summit, we will bring 44 nations together here in Washington, DC, behind a clear goal: securing all vulnerable nuclear materials around the world in 4 years so that they never fall into the hands of terrorists. Now, these diplomatic efforts have also strengthened our hand in dealing with those nations that insist on violating international agreements in pursuit of nuclear weapons. That's why North Korea now faces increased isolation and stronger sanctions, sanctions that are being vigorously enforced. That's why the international community is more united and the Islamic Republic of Iran is more isolated. And as Iran's leaders continue to ignore their obligations, there should be no doubt: They too will face growing consequences. That is a promise.

That's the leadership we are providing: engagement that advances the common security and prosperity of all people. We're working through the G-20 to sustain a lasting global recovery. We're working with Muslim communities around the world to promote science and education and innovation. We have gone from a bystander to a leader in the fight against climate change. We're helping developing countries to feed themselves and continuing the fight against HIV/AIDS. And we are launching a new initiative that will give us the capacity to respond faster and more effectively to bioterrorism or an infectious disease, a plan that will counter threats at home and strengthen public health abroad. As we have for over 60 years, America takes these actions because our destiny is connected to those beyond our shores. But we also do it because it is right. That's why, as we meet here tonight, over 10,000 Americans are working with many nations to help the people of Haiti recover and rebuild. That's why we stand with the girl who yearns to go to school in Afghanistan, why we support the human rights of the women marching through the streets of Iran, why we advocate for the young man denied a job by corruption in Guinea. For America must always stand on the side of freedom and human dignity—always. Abroad, America's greatest source of strength has always been our ideals. The same is true at home. We find unity in our incredible diversity, drawing on the promise enshrined in our Constitution: The notion that we're all created equal; that no matter who you are or what you look like, if you abide by the law, you should be protected by it; if you adhere to our common values, you should be treated no different than anyone else. We must continually renew this promise. My administration has a Civil Rights Division that is once again prosecuting civil rights violations and employment discrimination. We finally strengthened our laws to protect against crimes driven by hate. This year, I will work with Congress and our military to finally repeal the law that denies gay Americans the right to serve the country they love because of who they are. It's the right thing to do. We're going to crackdown on violations of equal pay laws so that women get equal pay for an equal day's work. And we should continue the work of fixing our broken immigration system, to secure our borders and enforce our laws and ensure that everyone who plays by the rules can contribute to our economy and enrich our Nation.

In the end, it's our ideals, our values that built America, values that allowed us to forge a nation made up of immigrants from every corner of the globe, values that drive our citizens still. Every day, Americans meet their responsibilities to their families and their employers. Time and again, they lend a hand to their neighbors and give back to their country. They take pride in their labor and are generous in spirit. These aren't Republican values or Democratic values that they're living by, business values or labor values, they're American values. Unfortunately, too many of our citizens have lost faith that our biggest institutions—our corporations, our media, and, yes, our Government—still reflect these same values. Each of these institutions are full of honorable men and women doing important work that helps our country prosper. But each time a CEO rewards himself for failure or a banker puts the rest of us at risk for his own selfish gain, people's doubts grow. Each time lobbyists game the system or politicians tear each other down instead of lifting this country up, we lose faith. The more that TV pundits reduce serious debates to silly arguments, big issues into sound bites, our citizens turn away. No wonder there's so much cynicism out there. No wonder there's so much disappointment. I campaigned on the promise of change. Change we can believe in, the slogan went. And right now I know there are many Americans who aren't sure if they still believe we can change or that I can deliver it.

But remember this: I never suggested that change would be easy or that I could do it alone. Democracy in a nation of 300 million people can be noisy and messy and complicated. And when you try to do big things and make big changes, it stirs passions and controversy. That's just how it is. Those of us in public office can respond to this reality by playing it safe and avoid telling hard truths and pointing fingers. We can do what's necessary to keep our poll numbers high and get through the next election, instead of doing what's best for the next generation. But I also know this: If people had made that decision 50 years ago or 100 years ago or 200 years ago, we wouldn't be here tonight. The only reason we are here is because generations of Americans were unafraid to do what was hard, to do what was needed even when success was uncertain, to do what it took to keep the dream of this Nation alive for their children and their grandchildren. Now, our administration has had some political setbacks this year, and some of them were deserved. But I wake up every day knowing that they are nothing compared to the setbacks that families all across this country have faced this year. And what keeps me going, what keeps me fighting, is that despite all these setbacks, that spirit of determination and optimism, that fundamental decency that has always been at the core of the American people, that lives on. It lives on in the struggling small-business owner who wrote to me of his company, "None of us," he said, ". . . are willing to consider, even slightly, that we might fail." It lives on in the woman who said that even though she and her neighbors have felt the pain of recession, "We are strong. We are resilient. We are American." It lives on in the 8-year-old boy in Louisiana who just sent me his allowance and asked if I would give it to the people of Haiti. And it lives on in all the Americans who've dropped everything to go someplace they've never been and pull people they've never known from the rubble, prompting chants of "U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!" when another life was saved. The spirit that has sustained this Nation for more than two centuries lives on in you, its people. We have finished a difficult year. We have come through a difficult decade. But a new year has come. A new decade stretches before us. We don't quit. I don't quit. Let's seize this moment to start anew, to carry the dream forward, and to strengthen our Union once more. Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.

### **SOTU: BHO 3**

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, distinguished guests, and fellow Americans: Tonight I want to begin by congratulating the men and women of the 112th Congress, as well as your new Speaker, John Boehner. And as we mark this occasion, we're also mindful of the empty chair in this Chamber, and we pray for the health of our colleague and our friend Gabby Giffords.

It's no secret that those of us here tonight have had our differences over the last 2 years. The debates have been contentious; we have fought fiercely for our beliefs. And that's a good thing. That's what a robust democracy demands. That's what helps set us apart as a nation. But there's a reason the tragedy in Tucson gave us pause. Amid all the noise and passion and rancor of our public debate, Tucson reminded us that no matter who we are or where we come from, each of us is a part of something greater, something more consequential than party or political preference.

We are part of the American family. We believe that in a country where every race and faith and point of view can be found, we are still bound together as one people, that we share common hopes and a common creed, that the dreams of a little girl in Tucson are not so different than those of our own children, that they all deserve the chance to be fulfilled. That too is what sets us apart as a nation. Now, by itself, this simple recognition won't usher in a new era of cooperation. What comes of this moment is up to us. What comes of this moment will be determined not by whether we can sit together tonight, but whether we can work together tomorrow.

I believe we can, and I believe we must. That's what the people who sent us here expect of us. With their votes, they've determined that governing will now be a shared responsibility between parties. New laws will only pass with support from Democrats and Republicans. We will move forward together or not at all, for the challenges we face are bigger than party and bigger than politics.

At stake right now is not who wins the next election. After all, we just had an election. At stake is whether new jobs and industries take root in this country or somewhere else. It's whether the hard work and industry of our people is rewarded. It's whether we sustain the leadership that has made America not just a place on a map, but the light to the world. We are poised for progress. Two years after the worst recession most of us have ever known, the stock market has come roaring back, corporate profits are up, the economy is growing again. But we have never measured progress by these yardsticks alone. We measure progress by the success of our people, by the jobs they can find and the quality of life those jobs offer, by the prospects of a small-business owner who dreams of turning a good idea into a thriving enterprise, by the opportunities for a better life that we pass on to our children. That's the project the American people want us to work on—together. Now, we did that in December. Thanks to the tax cuts we passed, Americans' paychecks are a little bigger today. Every business can write off the full cost of new investments that they make this year. And these steps, taken by Democrats and Republicans, will grow the economy and add to the more than 1 million private sector jobs created last year. But we have to do more. These steps we've taken over the last 2 years may have broken the back of this recession, but to win the future, we'll need to take on challenges that have been decades in the making. Many people watching tonight can probably remember a time when finding a good job meant showing up at a nearby factory or a business downtown. You didn't always need a degree, and your competition was pretty much limited to your neighbors. If you worked hard, chances are you'd have a job for life, with a decent paycheck and good benefits and the occasional promotion. Maybe you'd even have the pride of seeing your kids work at the same company. That world has changed. And for many, the change has been painful. I've seen it in the shuttered windows of once booming factories and the vacant storefronts on once busy Main Streets. I've heard it in the frustrations of Americans who've seen their paychecks dwindle or their jobs disappear, proud men and women who feel like the rules have been changed in the middle of the game.

They're right. The rules have changed. In a single generation, revolutions in technology have transformed the way we live, work, and do business. Steel mills that once needed 1,000 workers can now do the same work with 100. Today, just about any company can set up shop, hire workers, and sell their products wherever there's an Internet connection. Meanwhile, nations like China and India realized that with some changes of their own, they could compete in this new world. And so they started educating their children earlier and longer, with greater emphasis on math and science. They're investing in research and new technologies. Just recently, China became the home to the world's largest private solar research facility and the world's fastest computer. So yes, the world is changed. The competition for jobs is real. But this shouldn't discourage us. It should challenge us. Remember, for all the hits we've taken these last few years, for all the naysayers predicting our decline, America still has the largest, most prosperous economy in the world. No workers are more productive than ours. No country has more successful companies or grants more patents to inventors and entrepreneurs. We're the home to the world's best colleges and universities, where more students come to study than any place on Earth. What's more, we are the first nation to be founded for the sake of an idea: the idea that each of us deserves the chance to shape our own destiny. That's why centuries of pioneers and immigrants have risked everything to come here. It's why our students don't just memorize equations, but answer questions like "What do you think of that idea? What would you change about the world? What do you want to be when you grow up?"

The future is ours to win. But to get there, we can't just stand still. As Robert Kennedy told us, "The future is not a gift. It is an achievement." Sustaining the American Dream has never been about

standing pat. It has required each generation to sacrifice and struggle and meet the demands of a new age. And now it's our turn. We know what it takes to compete for the jobs and industries of our time. We need to out-innovate, out-educate, and out-build the rest of the world. We have to make America the best place on Earth to do business. We need to take responsibility for our deficit and reform our Government. That's how our people will prosper. That's how we'll win the future. And tonight, I'd like to talk about how we get there. The first step in winning the future is encouraging American innovation. None of us can predict with certainty what the next big industry will be or where the new jobs will come from. Thirty years ago, we couldn't know that something called the Internet would lead to an economic revolution. What we can do—what America does better than anyone else—is spark the creativity and imagination of our people. We're the nation that put cars in driveways and computers in offices; the nation of Edison and the Wright brothers, of Google and Facebook. In America, innovation doesn't just change our lives. It is how we make our living. Our free enterprise system is what drives innovation. But because it's not always profitable for companies to invest in basic research, throughout our history, our Government has provided cutting-edge scientists and inventors with the support that they need. That's what planted the seeds for the Internet. That's what helped make possible things like computer chips and GPS. Just think of all the good jobs—from manufacturing to retail—that have come from these breakthroughs. Half a century ago, when the Soviets beat us into space with the launch of a satellite called Sputnik, we had no idea how we would beat them to the Moon. The science wasn't even there yet. NASA didn't exist. But after investing in better research and education, we didn't just surpass the Soviets; we unleashed a wave of innovation that created new industries and millions of new jobs. This is our generation's Sputnik moment. Two years ago, I said that we needed to reach a level of research and development we haven't seen since the height of the space race. And in a few weeks, I will be sending a budget to Congress that helps us meet that goal. We'll invest in biomedical research, information technology, and especially clean energy technology, an investment that will strengthen our security, protect our planet, and create countless new jobs for our people. Already, we're seeing the promise of renewable energy. Robert and Gary Allen are brothers who run a small Michigan roofing company. After September 11th, they volunteered their best roofers to help repair the Pentagon. But half of their factory went unused, and the recession hit them hard. Today, with the help of a Government loan, that empty space is being used to manufacture solar shingles that are being sold all across the country. In Robert's words, "We reinvented ourselves."

That's what Americans have done for over 200 years: reinvented ourselves. And to spur on more success stories like the Allen Brothers, we've begun to reinvent our energy policy. We're not just handing out money. We're issuing a challenge. We're telling America's scientists and engineers that if they assemble teams of the best minds in their fields and focus on the hardest problems in clean energy, we'll fund the Apollo projects of our time. At the California Institute of Technology, they're developing a way to turn sunlight and water into fuel for our cars. At Oak Ridge National Laboratory, they're using supercomputers to get a lot more power out of our nuclear facilities. With more research and incentives, we can break our dependence on oil with biofuels and become the first country to have a million electric vehicles on the road by 2015. We need to get behind this innovation. And to help pay for it, I'm asking Congress to eliminate the billions in taxpayer dollars we currently give to oil companies. I don't know if you've noticed, but they're doing just fine on their own. So instead of subsidizing yesterday's energy, let's invest in tomorrow's. Now, clean energy breakthroughs will only translate into clean energy jobs if businesses know there will be a market for what they're selling. So tonight I challenge you to join me in setting a new goal: By 2035, 80 percent of America's electricity will come from clean energy sources. Some folks want wind and solar. Others want nuclear, clean coal, and natural gas. To meet this goal, we will need them all, and I urge Democrats and Republicans to work together to make it happen. Maintaining our leadership in research and technology is crucial to America's success. But if we want to win the future, if we want innovation to produce jobs in America and not overseas, then we also have to win the race to educate our kids. Think about it. Over the next 10 years, nearly half of all new jobs will require education that goes beyond a high school education. And yet as many as a quarter of our students aren't even finishing high school. The quality of our math and science education lags behind many other nations. America has fallen to ninth in the proportion of young people with a college degree. And so the question is whether all of us, as citizens and as parents, are willing to do what's necessary to give every child a chance to succeed. That responsibility begins not in our classrooms, but in our homes and communities. It's family that first instills the love of learning in a child. Only parents can make sure the TV is turned off and homework gets done. We need to teach our kids that it's not just the winner of the Super Bowl who deserves to be celebrated, but the winner of the science fair. We need to teach them that success is not a function of fame or PR, but of hard work and discipline.

Our schools share this responsibility. When a child walks into a classroom, it should be a place of high expectations and high performance. But too many schools don't meet this test. That's why instead of just pouring money into a system that's not working, we launched a competition called Race to the Top. To all 50 States, we said, "If you show us the most innovative plans to improve teacher quality and student achievement, we'll show you the money." Race to the Top is the most meaningful reform of our public schools in a generation. For less than 1 percent of what we spend on education each year, it has led over 40 States to raise their standards for teaching and learning. And these standards were developed, by the way, not by Washington, but by Republican and Democratic Governors throughout the country. And Race to the Top should be the approach we follow this year as we replace No Child Left Behind with a law that's more flexible and focused on what's best for our kids.

You see, we know what's possible from our children when reform isn't just a top-down mandate, but the work of local teachers and principals, school boards and communities. Take a school like Bruce Randolph in Denver. Three years ago, it was rated one of the worst schools in Colorado, located on turf between two rival gangs. But last May, 97 percent of the seniors received their diploma. Most will be the first in their families to go to college. And after the first year of the school's transformation, the principal who made it possible wiped away tears when a student said, "Thank you, Ms. Waters, for showing that we are smart and we can make it." That's what good schools can do, and we want good schools all across the country. Let's also remember that after parents, the biggest impact on a child's success comes from the man or woman at the front of the classroom. In South Korea, teachers are known as "nation builders." Here in America, it's time we treated the people who educate our children with the same level of respect. We want to reward good teachers and stop making excuses for bad ones. And over the next 10 years, with so many baby boomers retiring from our classrooms, we want to prepare 100,000 new teachers in the fields of science and technology and engineering and math. In fact, to every young person listening tonight who's contemplating their career choice: If you want to make a difference in the life of our Nation, if you want to make a difference in the life of a child, become a teacher. Your country needs you.

Of course, the education race doesn't end with a high school diploma. To compete, higher education must be within the reach of every American. That's why we've ended the unwarranted taxpayer subsidies that went to banks and used the savings to make college affordable for millions of students. And this year, I ask Congress to go further and make permanent our tuition tax credit, worth \$10,000 for 4 years of college. It's the right thing to do. Because people need to be able to train for new jobs and careers in today's fast-changing economy, we're also revitalizing America's community colleges. Last month, I saw the promise of these schools at Forsyth Tech in North Carolina. Many of the students there used to work in the surrounding factories that have since left town. One mother of two, a woman named Kathy Proctor, had worked in the furniture industry since she was 18 years old. And she told me she's earning her degree in biotechnology now, at 55 years old, not just because the furniture jobs are gone, but because she wants to inspire her children to pursue their dreams too. As Kathy said, "I hope it tells them to never give up." If we take these steps, if we raise expectations for every child and give them the best possible chance at an education, from the day they are born until the last job they take, we will reach the goal that I set 2 years ago: By the end of the decade, America will once again have the highest proportion of college graduates in the world. One last point about education: Today, there are hundreds of thousands of students excelling in our schools who are not American citizens. Some are the children of undocumented workers, who had nothing to do with the actions of their parents. They grew up as Americans and pledge allegiance to our flag, and yet they live every day with the threat of deportation. Others come here from abroad to study in our colleges and universities. But as soon as they obtain advanced degrees, we send them back home to compete against us. It makes no sense. Now, I strongly believe that we should take on, once and for all, the issue of illegal immigration. And I am prepared to work with Republicans and Democrats to protect our borders, enforce our laws, and address the millions of undocumented workers who are now living in the shadows. I know that debate will be difficult. I know it will take time. But tonight, let's agree to make that effort. And let's stop expelling talented, responsible young people who could be staffing our research labs or starting a new business, who could be further enriching this Nation. The third step in winning the future is rebuilding America. To attract new businesses to our shores, we need the fastest, most reliable ways to move people, goods, and information, from high-speed rail to high-speed Internet. Our infrastructure used to be the best, but our lead has slipped. South Korean homes now have greater Internet access than we do. Countries in Europe and Russia invest more in their roads and railways than we do. China is building faster trains and newer airports. Meanwhile, when our own engineers graded our Nation's infrastructure, they gave us a "D." We have to do better. America is the nation that built the

transcontinental railroad, brought electricity to rural communities, constructed the Interstate Highway System. The jobs created by these projects didn't just come from laying down track or pavement. They came from businesses that opened near a town's new train station or the new off-ramp. So over the last 2 years, we've begun rebuilding for the 21st century, a project that has meant thousands of good jobs for the hard-hit construction industry. And tonight I'm proposing that we redouble those efforts. We'll put more Americans to work repairing crumbling roads and bridges. We'll make sure this is fully paid for, attract private investment, and pick projects based [on]\* what's best for the economy, not politicians. Within 25 years, our goal is to give 80 percent of Americans access to high-speed rail. This could allow you to go places in half the time it takes to travel by car. For some trips, it will be faster than flying, without the pat-down. As we speak, routes in California and the Midwest are already underway. Within the next 5 years, we'll make it possible for businesses to deploy the next generation of high-speed wireless coverage to 98 percent of all Americans. This isn't just about—this isn't about faster Internet or fewer dropped calls. It's about connecting every part of America to the digital age. It's about a rural community in Iowa or Alabama where farmers and small-business owners will be able to sell their products all over the world. It's about a firefighter who can download the design of a burning building onto a handheld device, a student who can take classes with a digital textbook, or a patient who can have face-to-face video chats with her doctor. All these investments, in innovation, education, and infrastructure, will make America a better place to do business and create jobs. But to help our companies compete, we also have to knock down barriers that stand in the way of their success. For example, over the years, a parade of lobbyists has rigged the Tax Code to benefit particular companies and industries. Those with accountants or lawyers to work the system can end up paying no taxes at all. But all the rest are hit with one of the highest corporate tax rates in the world. It makes no sense, and it has to change. So tonight I'm asking Democrats and Republicans to simplify the system, get rid of the loopholes, level the playing field, and use the savings to lower the corporate tax rate for the first time in 25 years without adding to our deficit. It can be done. To help businesses sell more products abroad, we set a goal of doubling our exports by 2014. Because the more we export, the more jobs we create here at home. Already, our exports are up. Recently, we signed agreements with India and China that will support more than 250,000 jobs here in the United States. And last month, we finalized a trade agreement with South Korea that will support at least 70,000 American jobs. This agreement has unprecedented support from business and labor, Democrats and Republicans, and I ask this Congress to pass it as soon as possible. Now, before I took office, I made it clear that we would enforce our trade agreements, and that I would only sign deals that keep faith with American workers and promote American jobs. That's what we did with Korea, and that's what I intend to do as we pursue agreements with Panama and Colombia and continue our Asia Pacific and global trade talks.

To reduce barriers to growth and investment, I've ordered a review of Government regulations. When we find rules that put an unnecessary burden on businesses, we will fix them. But I will not hesitate to create or enforce commonsense safeguards to protect the American people. That's what we've done in this country for more than a century. It's why our food is safe to eat, our water is safe to drink, and our air is safe to breathe. It's why we have speed limits and child labor laws. It's why last year, we put in place consumer protections against hidden fees and penalties by credit card companies and new rules to prevent another financial crisis. And it's why we passed reform that finally prevents the health insurance industry from exploiting patients. Now, I have heard rumors that a few of you still have concerns about our new health care law. So let me be the first to say that anything can be improved. If you have ideas about how to improve this law by making care better or more affordable, I am eager to work with you. We can start right now by correcting a flaw in the legislation that has placed an unnecessary bookkeeping burden on small businesses. What I'm not willing to do—what I'm not willing to do is go back to the days when insurance companies could deny someone coverage because of a preexisting condition. I'm not willing to tell James Howard, a brain cancer patient from Texas, that his treatment might not be covered. I'm not willing to tell Jim Houser, a small-business man from Oregon, that he has to go back to paying \$5,000 more to cover his employees. As we speak, this law is making prescription drugs cheaper for seniors and giving uninsured students a chance to stay on their parents'—parents' coverage. So I say to this chamber tonight: Instead of refighting the battles of the last 2 years, let's fix what needs fixing, and let's move forward. Now, the final critical step in winning the future is to make sure we aren't buried under a mountain of debt. We are living with a legacy of deficit spending that began almost a decade ago. And in the wake of the financial crisis, some of that was necessary to keep credit flowing, save jobs, and put money in people's pockets. But now that the worst of the recession is over, we have to confront the fact that our Government spends more than it takes in. That is not sustainable. Every day, families sacrifice to live within their means. They deserve a Government that does the same. So tonight I am proposing that starting this year, we freeze annual



domestic spending for the next 5 years. Now, this would reduce the deficit by more than \$400 billion over the next decade and will bring discretionary spending to the lowest share of our economy since Dwight Eisenhower was President. This freeze will require painful cuts. Already, we've frozen the salaries of hard-working Federal employees for the next 2 years. I've proposed cuts to things I care deeply about, like community action programs. The Secretary of Defense has also agreed to cut tens of billions of dollars in spending that he and his generals believe our military can do without. Now, I recognize that some in this Chamber have already proposed deeper cuts, and I'm willing to eliminate whatever we can honestly afford to do without. But let's make sure that we're not doing it on the backs of our most vulnerable citizens. And let's make sure that what we're cutting is really excess weight. Cutting the deficit by gutting our investments in innovation and education is like lightening an overloaded airplane by removing its engine. It may make you feel like you're flying high at first, but it won't take long before you feel the impact. Now, most of the cuts and savings I've proposed only address annual domestic spending, which represents a little more than 12 percent of our budget. To make further progress, we have to stop pretending that cutting this kind of spending alone will be enough. It won't.

The bipartisan fiscal commission I created last year made this crystal clear. I don't agree with all their proposals, but they made important progress. And their conclusion is that the only way to tackle our deficit is to cut excessive spending wherever we find it, in domestic spending, defense spending, health care spending, and spending through tax breaks and loopholes. This means further reducing health care costs, including programs like Medicare and Medicaid, which are the single biggest contributor to our long-term deficit. The health insurance law we passed last year will slow these rising costs, which is part of the reason that nonpartisan economists have said that repealing the health care law would add a quarter of a trillion dollars to our deficit. Still, I'm willing to look at other ideas to bring down costs, including one that Republicans suggested last year: medical malpractice reform to rein in frivolous lawsuits. To put us on solid ground, we should also find a bipartisan solution to strengthen Social Security for future generations. We must do it without putting at risk current retirees, the most vulnerable, or people with disabilities, without slashing benefits for future generations, and without subjecting Americans' guaranteed retirement income to the whims of the stock market. And if we truly care about our deficit, we simply can't afford a permanent extension of the tax cuts for the wealthiest 2 percent of Americans. Before we take money away from our schools or scholarships away from our students, we should ask millionaires to give up their tax break. It's not a matter of punishing their success, it's about promoting America's success.

In fact, the best thing we could do on taxes for all Americans is to simplify the individual Tax Code. This will be a tough job, but members of both parties have expressed an interest in doing this, and I am prepared to join them. So now is the time to act. Now is the time for both sides and both Houses of Congress, Democrats and Republicans, to forge a principled compromise that gets the job done. If we make the hard choices now to rein in our deficits, we can make the investments we need to win the future. Let me take this one step further. We shouldn't just give our people a Government that's more affordable, we should give them a Government that's more competent and more efficient. We can't win the future with a Government of the past. We live and do business in the information age, but the last major reorganization of the Government happened in the age of black-and-white TV. There are 12 different agencies that deal with exports. There are at least five different agencies that deal with housing policy. Then there's my favorite example: The Interior Department is in charge of salmon while they're in fresh water, but the Commerce Department handles them when they're in saltwater. I hear it gets even more complicated once they're smoked.

Now, we've made great strides over the last 2 years in using technology and getting rid of waste. Veterans can now download their electronic medical records with a click of the mouse. We're selling acres of Federal office space that hasn't been used in years, and we'll cut through redtape to get rid of more. But we need to think bigger. In the coming months, my administration will develop a proposal to merge, consolidate, and reorganize the Federal Government in a way that best serves the goal of a more competitive America. I will submit that proposal to Congress for a vote, and we will push to get it passed. In the coming year, we'll also work to rebuild people's faith in the institution of Government. Because you deserve to know exactly how and where your tax dollars are being spent, you'll be able to go to a web site and get that information for the very first time in history. Because you deserve to know when your elected officials are meeting with lobbyists, I ask Congress to do what the White House has already done: put that information online. And because the American people deserve to know that special interests aren't larding up legislation with pet projects, both parties in Congress should know

this: If a bill comes to my desk with earmarks inside, I will veto it. I will veto it. The 21st-century Government that's open and competent, a government that lives within its means, an economy that's driven by new skills and new ideas—our success in this new and changing world will require reform, responsibility, and innovation. It will also require us to approach that world with a new level of engagement in our foreign affairs. Just as jobs and businesses can now race across borders, so can new threats and new challenges. No single wall separates East and West. No one rival superpower is aligned against us.

And so we must defeat determined enemies, wherever they are, and build coalitions that cut across lines of region and race and religion. And America's moral example must always shine for all who yearn for freedom and justice and dignity. And because we've begun this work, tonight we can say that American leadership has been renewed and America's standing has been restored. Look to Iraq, where nearly 100,000 of our brave men and women have left with their heads held high. American combat patrols have ended, violence is down, and a new Government has been formed. This year, our civilians will forge a lasting partnership with the Iraqi people, while we finish the job of bringing our troops out of Iraq. America's commitment has been kept. The Iraq war is coming to an end. Of course, as we speak, Al Qaida and their affiliates continue to plan attacks against us. Thanks to our intelligence and law enforcement professionals, we're disrupting plots and securing our cities and skies. And as extremists try to inspire acts of violence within our borders, we are responding with the strength of our communities, with respect for the rule of law, and with the conviction that American Muslims are a part of our American family. We've also taken the fight to Al Qaida and their allies abroad. In Afghanistan, our troops have taken Taliban strongholds and trained Afghan security forces. Our purpose is clear: By preventing the Taliban from reestablishing a stranglehold over the Afghan people, we will deny Al Qaida the safe haven that served as a launching pad for 9/11. Thanks to our heroic troops and civilians, fewer Afghans are under the control of the insurgency. There will be tough fighting ahead, and the Afghan Government will need to deliver better governance. But we are strengthening the capacity of the Afghan people and building an enduring partnership with them. This year, we will work with nearly 50 countries to begin a transition to an Afghan lead, and this July, we will begin to bring our troops home. In Pakistan, Al Qaida's leadership is under more pressure than at any point since 2001. Their leaders and operatives are being removed from the battlefield. Their safe havens are shrinking. And we've sent a message from the Afghan border to the Arabian Peninsula to all parts of the globe: We will not relent, we will not waver, and we will defeat you. American leadership can also be seen in the effort to secure the worst weapons of war. Because Republicans and Democrats approved the new START Treaty, far fewer nuclear weapons and launchers will be deployed. Because we rallied the world, nuclear materials are being locked down on every continent so they never fall into the hands of terrorists. Because of a diplomatic effort to insist that Iran meet its obligations, the Iranian Government now faces tougher sanctions, tighter sanctions than ever before. And on the Korean Peninsula, we stand with our ally South Korea and insist that North Korea keeps its commitment to abandon nuclear weapons. This is just a part of how we're shaping a world that favors peace and prosperity. With our European allies, we revitalized NATO and increased our cooperation on everything from counterterrorism to missile defense. We've reset our relationship with Russia, strengthened Asian alliances, built new partnerships with nations like India. This March, I will travel to Brazil, Chile, and El Salvador to forge new alliances across the Americas. Around the globe, we're standing with those who take responsibility, helping farmers grow more food, supporting doctors who care for the sick, and combating the corruption that can rot a society and rob people of opportunity.

Recent events have shown us that what sets us apart must not just be our power—it must also be the purpose behind it. In south Sudan—with our assistance—the people were finally able to vote for independence after years of war. Thousands lined up before dawn. People danced in the streets. One man who lost four of his brothers at war summed up the scene around him. "This was a battlefield for most of my life," he said. "Now we want to be free." And we saw that same desire to be free in Tunisia, where the will of the people proved more powerful than the writ of a dictator. And tonight let us be clear: The United States of America stands with the people of Tunisia and supports the democratic aspirations of all people. We must never forget that the things we've struggled for, and fought for, live in the hearts of people everywhere. And we must always remember that the Americans who have borne the greatest burden in this struggle are the men and women who serve our country. Tonight let us speak with one voice in reaffirming that our Nation is united in support of our troops and their families. Let us serve them as well as they've served us, by giving them the equipment they need, by providing them with the care and benefits that they have earned, and by enlisting our veterans in the great task of building our own Nation. Our troops come from every corner of this country. They're Black, White,

Latino, Asian, Native American. They are Christian and Hindu, Jewish and Muslim. And yes, we know that some of them are gay. Starting this year, no American will be forbidden from serving the country they love because of who they love. And with that change, I call on all our college campuses to open their doors to our military recruiters and ROTC. It is time to leave behind the divisive battles of the past. It is time to move forward as one Nation. We should have no illusions about the work ahead of us. Reforming our schools, changing the way we use energy, reducing our deficit, none of this will be easy. All of it will take time. And it will be harder because we will argue about everything: the costs, the details, the letter of every law. Of course, some countries don't have this problem. If the central government wants a railroad, they build a railroad, no matter how many homes get bulldozed. If they don't want a bad story in the newspaper, it doesn't get written. And yet, as contentious and frustrating and messy as our democracy can sometimes be, I know there isn't a person here who would trade places with any other nation on Earth. We may have differences in policy, but we all believe in the rights enshrined in our Constitution. We may have different opinions, but we believe in the same promise that says this is a place where you can make it if you try. We may have different backgrounds, but we believe in the same dream that says this is a country where anything is possible, no matter who you are, no matter where you come from. That dream is why I can stand here before you tonight. That dream is why a working-class kid from Scranton can sit behind me. That dream is why someone who began by sweeping the floors of his father's Cincinnati bar can preside as Speaker of the House in the greatest nation on Earth. That dream—that American Dream—is what drove the Allen Brothers to reinvent their roofing company for a new era. It's what drove those students at Forsyth Tech to learn a new skill and work towards the future. And that dream is the story of a small-business owner named Brandon Fisher. Brandon started a company in Berlin, Pennsylvania, that specializes in a new kind of drilling technology. And one day last summer, he saw the news that halfway across the world, 33 men were trapped in a Chilean mine, and no one knew how to save them.

But Brandon thought his company could help. And so he designed a rescue that would come to be known as Plan B. His employees worked around the clock to manufacture the necessary drilling equipment, and Brandon left for Chile.

Along with others, he began drilling a 2,000-foot hole into the ground, working 3 or 4 hour—3 or 4 days at a time without any sleep. Thirty-seven days later, Plan B succeeded, and the miners were rescued. But because he didn't want all of the attention, Brandon wasn't there when the miners emerged. He'd already gone back home, back to work on his next project. And later, one of his employees said of the rescue, "We proved that Center Rock is a little company, but we do big things." We do big things. From the earliest days of our founding, America has been the story of ordinary people who dare to dream. That's how we win the future. We're a nation that says, "I might not have a lot of money, but I have this great idea for a new company." "I might not come from a family of college graduates, but I will be the first to get my degree." "I might not know those people in trouble, but I think I can help them, and I need to try." "I'm not sure how we'll reach that better place beyond the horizon, but I know we'll get there. I know we will." We do big things. The idea of America endures. Our destiny remains our choice. And tonight more than two centuries later, it's because of our people that our future is hopeful, our journey goes forward, and the state of our Union is strong. Thank you. God bless you, and may God bless the United States of America.

#### **SOTU: BHO 4**

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

We gather tonight knowing that this generation of heroes has made the United States safer and more respected around the world. For the first time in 9 years, there are no Americans fighting in Iraq. For the first time in two decades, Usama bin Laden is not a threat to this country. Most of Al Qaida's top lieutenants have been defeated. The Taliban's momentum has been broken, and some troops in Afghanistan have begun to come home. These achievements are a testament to the courage, selflessness, and teamwork of America's Armed Forces. At a time when too many of our institutions have let us down, they exceed all expectations. They're not consumed with personal ambition. They

don't obsess over their differences. They focus on the mission at hand. They work together. Imagine what we could accomplish if we followed their example. Think about the America within our reach: a country that leads the world in educating its people; an America that attracts a new generation of high-tech manufacturing and high-paying jobs; a future where we're in control of our own energy and our security and prosperity aren't so tied to unstable parts of the world; an economy built to last, where hard work pays off and responsibility is rewarded.

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

The two of them shared the optimism of a nation that had triumphed over a depression and fascism. They understood they were part of something larger, that they were contributing to a story of success that every American had a chance to share, the basic American promise that if you worked hard, you could do well enough to raise a family, own a home, send your kids to college, and put a little away for retirement. The defining issue of our time is how to keep that promise alive. No challenge is more urgent. No debate is more important. We can either settle for a country where a shrinking number of people do really well while a growing number of Americans barely get by. Or we can restore an economy where everyone gets a fair shot and everyone does their fair share and everyone plays by the same set of rules. What's at stake aren't Democratic values or Republican values, but American values.

And we have to reclaim them. Let's remember how we got here. Long before the recession, jobs and manufacturing began leaving our shores. Technology made businesses more efficient, but also made some jobs obsolete. Folks at the top saw their incomes rise like never before, but most hard-working Americans struggled with costs that were growing, paychecks that weren't, and personal debt that kept piling up. In 2008, the house of cards collapsed. We learned that mortgages had been sold to people who couldn't afford or understand them. Banks had made huge bets and bonuses with other people's money. Regulators had looked the other way or didn't have the authority to stop the bad behavior.

It was wrong, it was irresponsible, and it plunged our economy into a crisis that put millions out of work, saddled us with more debt, and left innocent, hard-working Americans holding the bag. In the 6 months before I took office, we lost nearly 4 million jobs. And we lost another 4 million before our policies were in full effect. Those are the facts. But so are these: In the last 22 months, businesses have created more than 3 million jobs. Last year, they created the most jobs since 2005. American manufacturers are hiring again, creating jobs for the first time since the late 1990s. Together, we've agreed to cut the deficit by more than \$2 trillion. And we've put in place new rules to hold Wall Street accountable so a crisis like this never happens again.

The state of our Union is getting stronger. And we've come too far to turn back now. As long as I'm President, I will work with anyone in this Chamber to build on this momentum. But I intend to fight obstruction with action, and I will oppose any effort to return to the very same policies that brought on this economic crisis in the first place. No, we will not go back to an economy weakened by outsourcing, bad debt, and phony financial profits. Tonight I want to speak about how we move forward and lay out a blueprint for an economy that's built to last, an economy built on American manufacturing, American energy, skills for American workers, and a renewal of American values. Now, this blueprint begins with American manufacturing. On the day I took office, our auto industry was on the verge of collapse. Some even said we should let it die. With a million jobs at stake, I refused to let that happen. In exchange for help, we demanded responsibility. We got workers and automakers to settle their differences. We got the industry to retool and restructure. Today, General Motors is back on top as the world's number-one automaker. Chrysler has grown faster in the U.S. than any major car company. Ford is investing billions in U.S. plants and factories. And together, the entire industry added nearly a hundred and sixty thousand jobs.

We bet on American workers. We bet on American ingenuity. And tonight, the American auto industry is back. What's happening in Detroit can happen in other industries. It can happen in Cleveland and Pittsburgh and Raleigh. We can't bring every job back that's left our shore. But right now it's getting more expensive to do business in places like China. Meanwhile, America is more productive. A few weeks ago, the CEO of Master Lock told me that it now makes business sense for him to bring jobs back home. Today, for the first time in 15 years, Master Lock's unionized plant in Milwaukee is running at full capacity. So we have a huge opportunity at this moment to bring manufacturing back. But we have to seize it. Tonight my message to business leaders is simple: Ask yourselves what you can do to bring jobs back to your country, and your country will do everything we can to help you

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

First, if you're a business that wants to outsource jobs, you shouldn't get a tax deduction for doing it. That money should be used to cover moving expenses for companies like Master Lock that decide to bring jobs home. Second, no American company should be able to avoid paying its fair share of taxes by moving jobs and profits overseas. From now on, every multinational company should have to pay a basic minimum tax. And every penny should go towards lowering taxes for companies that choose to stay here and hire here in America. Third, if you're an American manufacturer, you should get a bigger tax cut. If you're a high-tech manufacturer, we should double the tax deduction you get for making your products here. And if you want to relocate in a community that was hit hard when a factory left town, you should get help financing a new plant, equipment, or training for new workers.

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

We're also making it easier for American businesses to sell products all over the world. Two years ago, I set a goal of doubling U.S. exports over 5 years. With the bipartisan trade agreements we signed into law, we're on track to meet that goal ahead of schedule. And soon there will be millions of new customers for American goods in Panama, Colombia, and South Korea. Soon there will be new cars on the streets of Seoul imported from Detroit and Toledo and Chicago. I will go anywhere in the world to open new markets for American products. And I will not stand by when our competitors don't play by the rules. We've brought trade cases against China at nearly twice the rate as the last administration, and it's made a difference. Over a thousand Americans are working today because we stopped a surge in Chinese tires. But we need to do more. It's not right when another country lets our movies, music, and software be pirated. It's not fair when foreign manufacturers have a leg up on ours only because they're heavily subsidized. Tonight I'm announcing the creation of a trade enforcement unit that will be charged with investigating unfair trading practices in countries like China. There will be more inspections to prevent counterfeit or unsafe goods from crossing our borders. And this Congress should make sure that no foreign company has an advantage over American manufacturing when it comes to accessing financing or new markets like Russia. Our workers are the most productive on Earth, and if the playing field is level, I promise you, America will always win. I also hear from many business leaders who want to hire in the United States, but can't find workers with the right skills. Growing industries in science and technology have twice as many openings as we have workers who can do the job. Think about that: openings at a time when millions of Americans are looking for work. It's inexcusable, and we know how to fix it.

Jackie Bray is a single mom from North Carolina who was laid off from her job as a mechanic. Then Siemens opened a gas turbine factory in Charlotte and formed a partnership with Central Piedmont Community College. The company helped the college design courses in laser and robotics training. It paid Jackie's tuition, then hired her to help operate their plant. I want every American looking for work to have the same opportunity as Jackie did. Join me in a national commitment to train 2 million Americans with skills that will lead directly to a job. My administration has already lined up more companies that want to help. Model partnerships between businesses like Siemens and community colleges in places like Charlotte and Orlando and Louisville are up and running. Now you need to give more community colleges the resources they need to become community career centers, places that teach people skills that businesses are looking for right now, from data management to high-tech manufacturing. And I want to cut through the maze of confusing training programs so that from now on, people like Jackie have one program, one web site, and one place to go for all the information and help that they need. It is time to turn our unemployment system into a reemployment system that puts people to work. These reforms will help people get jobs that are open today. But to prepare for the jobs of tomorrow, our commitment to skills and education has to start earlier. For less than 1 percent of what our Nation spends on education each year, we've convinced nearly every State in the country to raise their standards for teaching and learning, the first time that's happened in a generation. But challenges remain, and we know how to solve them. At a time when other countries are doubling down on education, tight budgets have forced States to lay off thousands of teachers. We know a good teacher can increase the lifetime income of a classroom by over \$250,000. A great teacher can offer an escape from poverty to the child who dreams beyond his circumstance. Every person in this Chamber can point to a teacher who changed the trajectory of their lives. Most teachers work tirelessly, with modest pay, sometimes digging into their own pocket for school supplies, just to make a difference.

Teachers matter. So instead of bashing them or defending the status quo, let's offer schools a deal. Give them the resources to keep good teachers on the job and reward the best ones. And in return, grant schools flexibility to teach with creativity and passion, to stop teaching to the test, and to replace teachers who just aren't helping kids learn. That's a bargain worth making. We also know that when students don't walk away from their education, more of them walk the stage to get their diploma. When students are not allowed to drop out, they do better. So tonight I am proposing that every State—every State—requires that all students stay in high school until they graduate or turn 18. When kids do graduate, the most daunting challenge can be the cost of college. At a time when Americans owe more in tuition debt than credit card debt, this Congress needs to stop the interest rates on student loans from doubling in July. Extend the tuition tax credit we started that saves millions of middle class families thousands of dollars and give more young people the chance to earn their way through college by doubling the number of work-study jobs in the next 5 years. Of course, it's not enough for us to increase student aid. We can't just keep subsidizing skyrocketing tuition; we'll run out of money. States also need to do their part by making higher education a higher priority in their budgets. And colleges and universities have to do their part by working to keep costs down. Recently, I spoke with a group of college presidents who have done just that. Some schools redesign courses to help students finish more quickly. Some use better technology. The point is, it's possible. So let me put colleges and universities on notice: If you can't stop tuition from going up, the funding you get from taxpayers will go down. Higher education can't be a luxury. It is an economic imperative that every family in America should be able to afford.

Let's also remember that hundreds of thousands of talented, hard-working students in this country face another challenge: the fact that they aren't yet American citizens. Many were brought here as small children, are American through and through, yet they live every day with the threat of deportation. Others came more recently, to study business and science and engineering, but as soon as they get their degree, we send them home to invent new products and create new jobs somewhere else. That doesn't make sense. I believe as strongly as ever that we should take on illegal immigration. That's why my administration has put more boots on the border than ever before. That's why there are fewer illegal crossings than when I took office. The opponents of action are out of excuses. We should be working on comprehensive immigration reform right now. But if election-year politics keeps Congress from acting on a comprehensive plan, let's at least agree to stop expelling responsible young people who want to staff our labs, start new businesses, defend this country. Send me a law that gives them the chance to earn their citizenship. I will sign it right away. You see, an economy built to last is one where we encourage the talent and ingenuity of every person in this country. That means women should earn equal pay for equal work. It means we should support everyone who's willing to work and every risk taker and entrepreneur who aspires to become the next Steve Jobs. After all, innovation is what America has always been about. Most new jobs are created in startups and small businesses. So let's pass an agenda that helps them succeed. Tear down regulations that prevent aspiring entrepreneurs from getting the financing to grow. Expand tax relief to small businesses that are raising wages and creating good jobs. Both parties agree on these ideas. So put them in a bill and get it on my desk this year.

Innovation also demands basic research. Today, the discoveries taking place in our federally financed labs and universities could lead to new treatments that kill cancer cells, but leave healthy ones untouched, new lightweight vests for cops and soldiers that can stop any bullet. Don't gut these investments in our budget. Don't let other countries win the race for the future. Support the same kind of research and innovation that led to the computer chip and the Internet, to new American jobs and new American industries. And nowhere is the promise of innovation greater than in American-made energy. Over the last 3 years, we've opened millions of new acres for oil and gas exploration, and tonight I'm directing my administration to open more than 75 percent of our potential offshore oil and gas resources. Right now—right now—American oil production is the highest that it's been in 8 years. That's right, 8 years. Not only that, last year, we relied less on foreign oil than in any of the past 16 years. But with only 2 percent of the world's oil reserves, oil isn't enough. This country needs an all-out, all-of-the-above strategy that develops every available source of American energy, a strategy that's cleaner, cheaper, and full of new jobs. We have a supply of natural gas that can last America nearly 100 years. And my administration will take every possible action to safely develop this energy. Experts believe this will support more than 600,000 jobs by the end of the decade. And I'm requiring all companies that drill for gas on public lands to disclose the chemicals they use. Because America will develop this resource without putting the health and safety of our citizens at risk.

The development of natural gas will create jobs and power trucks and factories that are cleaner and

cheaper, proving that we don't have to choose between our environment and our economy. And by the way, it was public research dollars, over the course of 30 years, that helped develop the technologies to extract all this natural gas out of shale rock, reminding us that Government support is critical in helping businesses get new energy ideas off the ground. Now, what's true for natural gas is just as true for clean energy. In 3 years, our partnership with the private sector has already positioned America to be the world's leading manufacturer of high-tech batteries. Because of Federal investments, renewable energy use has nearly doubled, and thousands of Americans have jobs because of it. When Bryan Ritterby was laid off from his job making furniture, he said he worried that at 55 no one would give him a second chance. But he found work at Energetx, a wind turbine manufacturer in Michigan. Before the recession, the factory only made luxury yachts. Today, it's hiring workers like Bryan, who said, "I'm proud to be working in the industry of the future."

Our experience with shale gas, our experience with natural gas, shows us that the payoffs on these public investments don't always come right away. Some technologies don't pan out, some companies fail. But I will not walk away from the promise of clean energy. I will not walk away from workers like Bryan. I will not cede the wind or solar or battery industry to China or Germany because we refuse to make the same commitment here. We've subsidized oil companies for a century. That's long enough. It's time to end the taxpayer giveaways to an industry that rarely has been more profitable and double down on a clean energy industry that never has been more promising. Pass clean energy tax credits. Create these jobs. We can also spur energy innovation with new incentives. The differences in this Chamber may be too deep right now to pass a comprehensive plan to fight climate change. But there's no reason why Congress shouldn't at least set a clean energy standard that creates a market for innovation. So far, you haven't acted. Well, tonight I will. I'm directing my administration to allow the development of clean energy on enough public land to power 3 million homes. And I'm proud to announce that the Department of Defense, working with us, the world's largest consumer of energy, will make one of the largest commitments to clean energy in history, with the Navy purchasing enough capacity to power a quarter of a million homes a year. Of course, the easiest way to save money is to waste less energy. So here's a proposal: Help manufacturers eliminate energy waste in their factories and give businesses incentives to upgrade their buildings. Their energy bills will be a hundred billion dollars lower over the next decade, and America will have less pollution, more manufacturing, more jobs for construction workers who need them. Send me a bill that creates these jobs. Building this new energy future should be just one part of a broader agenda to repair America's infrastructure. So much of America needs to be rebuilt. We've got crumbling roads and bridges, a power grid that wastes too much energy, an incomplete high-speed broadband network that prevents a small-business owner in rural America from selling her products all over the world. During the Great Depression, America built the Hoover Dam and the Golden Gate Bridge. After World War II, we connected our States with a system of highways. Democratic and Republican administrations invested in great projects that benefited everybody, from the workers who built them to the businesses that still use them today. In the next few weeks, I will sign an Executive order clearing away the redtape that slows down too many construction projects. But you need to fund these projects. Take the money we're no longer spending at war, use half of it to pay down our debt, and use the rest to do some nation-building right here at home. There's never been a better time to build, especially since the construction industry was one of the hardest hit when the housing bubble burst. Of course, construction workers weren't the only ones who were hurt. So were millions of innocent Americans who've seen their home values decline. And while Government can't fix the problem on its own, responsible homeowners shouldn't have to sit and wait for the housing market to hit bottom to get some relief. And that's why I'm sending this Congress a plan that gives every responsible homeowner the chance to save about \$3,000 a year on their mortgage by refinancing at historically low rates. No more redtape. No more runaround from the banks. A small fee on the largest financial institutions will ensure that it won't add to the deficit and will give those banks that were rescued by taxpayers a chance to repay a deficit of trust.

Let's never forget: Millions of Americans who work hard and play by the rules every day deserve a Government and a financial system that do the same. It's time to apply the same rules from top to bottom. No bailouts, no handouts, and no copouts. An America built to last insists on responsibility from everybody. We've all paid the price for lenders who sold mortgages to people who couldn't afford them and buyers who knew they couldn't afford them. That's why we need smart regulations to prevent irresponsible behavior. Rules to prevent financial fraud or toxic dumping or faulty medical devices, these don't destroy the free market. They make the free market work better. There's no question that some regulations are outdated, unnecessary, or too costly. In fact, I've approved fewer regulations in the first 3 years of my Presidency than my Republican predecessor did in his. I've ordered every

Federal agency to eliminate rules that don't make sense. We've already announced over 500 reforms, and just a fraction of them will save business and citizens more than \$10 billion over the next 5 years. We got rid of one rule from 40 years ago that could have forced some dairy farmers to spend \$10,000 a year proving that they could contain a spill, because milk was somehow classified as an oil. With a rule like that, I guess it was worth crying over spilled milk. Now, I'm confident a farmer can contain a milk spill without a Federal agency looking over his shoulder. Absolutely. But I will not back down from making sure an oil company can contain the kind of oil spill we saw in the Gulf 2 years ago. I will not back down from protecting our kids from mercury poisoning or making sure that our food is safe and our water is clean. I will not go back to the days when health insurance companies had unchecked power to cancel your policy, deny your coverage, or charge women differently than men. And I will not go back to the days when Wall Street was allowed to play by its own set of rules. The new rules we passed restore what should be any financial system's core purpose: getting funding to entrepreneurs with the best ideas and getting loans to responsible families who want to buy a home or start a business or send their kids to college. So if you are a big bank or financial institution, you're no longer allowed to make risky bets with your customers' deposits. You're required to write out a "living will" that details exactly how you'll pay the bills if you fail, because the rest of us are not bailing you out ever again. And if you're a mortgage lender or a payday lender or a credit card company, the days of signing people up for products they can't afford with confusing forms and deceptive practices, those days are over. Today, American consumers finally have a watchdog in Richard Cordray, with one job: to look out for them. We'll also establish a financial crimes unit of highly trained investigators to crack down on large-scale fraud and protect people's investments. Some financial firms violate major antifraud laws because there's no real penalty for being a repeat offender. That's bad for consumers, and it's bad for the vast majority of bankers and financial service professionals who do the right thing. So pass legislation that makes the penalties for fraud count. And tonight I'm asking my Attorney General to create a special unit of Federal prosecutors and leading State attorney general to expand our investigations into the abusive lending and packaging of risky mortgages that led to the housing crisis. This new unit will hold accountable those who broke the law, speed assistance to homeowners, and help turn the page on an era of recklessness that hurt so many Americans. Now, a return to the American values of fair play and shared responsibility will help protect our people and our economy. But it should also guide us as we look to pay down our debt and invest in our future. Right now our most immediate priority is stopping a tax hike on a hundred and sixty million working Americans while the recovery is still fragile. People cannot afford losing \$40 out of each paycheck this year. There are plenty of ways to get this done. So let's agree right here, right now. No side issues. No drama. Pass the payroll tax cut without delay. Let's get it done. When it comes to the deficit, we've already agreed to more than \$2 trillion in cuts and savings. But we need to do more, and that means making choices. Right now we're poised to spend nearly \$1 trillion more on what was supposed to be a temporary tax break for the wealthiest 2 percent of Americans. Right now because of loopholes and shelters in the Tax Code, a quarter of all millionaires pay lower tax rates than millions of middle class households. Right now Warren Buffett pays a lower tax rate than his secretary. Do we want to keep these tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans? Or do we want to keep our investments in everything else, like education and medical research, a strong military and care for our veterans? Because if we're serious about paying down our debt, we can't do both.

The American people know what the right choice is. So do I. As I told the Speaker this summer, I'm prepared to make more reforms that rein in the long-term costs of Medicare and Medicaid and strengthen Social Security, so long as those programs remain a guarantee of security for seniors. But in return, we need to change our Tax Code so that people like me, and an awful lot of Members of Congress, pay our fair share of taxes. Tax reform should follow the Buffett rule. If you make more than a million dollars a year, you should not pay less than 30 percent in taxes. And my Republican friend Tom Coburn is right: Washington should stop subsidizing millionaires. In fact, if you're earning a million dollars a year, you shouldn't get special tax subsidies or deductions. On the other hand, if you make under \$250,000 a year, like 98 percent of American families, your taxes shouldn't go up. You're the ones struggling with rising costs and stagnant wages. You're the ones who need relief. Now, you can call this class warfare all you want. But asking a billionaire to pay at least as much as his secretary in taxes? Most Americans would call that common sense. We don't begrudge financial success in this country. We admire it. When Americans talk about folks like me paying my fair share of taxes, it's not because they envy the rich. It's because they understand that when I get a tax break I don't need and the country can't afford, it either adds to the deficit or somebody else has to make up the difference, like a senior on a fixed income or a student trying to get through school or a family trying to make ends meet. That's not right. Americans know that's not right. They know that this generation's success is only



possible because past generations felt a responsibility to each other and to the future of their country, and they know our way of life will only endure if we feel that same sense of shared responsibility. That's how we'll reduce our deficit. That's an America built to last. Now, I recognize that people watching tonight have differing views about taxes and debt, energy and health care. But no matter what party they belong to, I bet most Americans are thinking the same thing right about now: Nothing will get done in Washington this year or next year or maybe even the year after that, because Washington is broken. Can you blame them for feeling a little cynical? The greatest blow to our confidence in our economy last year didn't come from events beyond our control. It came from a debate in Washington over whether the United States would pay its bills or not. Who benefited from that fiasco? I've talked tonight about the deficit of trust between Main Street and Wall Street. But the divide between this city and the rest of the country is at least as bad, and it seems to get worse every year. Now, some of this has to do with the corrosive influence of money in politics. So together, let's take some steps to fix that. Send me a bill that bans insider trading by Members of Congress. I will sign it tomorrow. Let's limit any elected official from owning stocks in industries they impact. Let's make sure people who bundle campaign contributions for Congress can't lobby Congress and vice versa, an idea that has bipartisan support, at least outside of Washington. Some of what's broken has to do with the way Congress does its business these days. A simple majority is no longer enough to get anything—even routine business—passed through the Senate. Neither party has been blameless in these tactics. Now both parties should put an end to it. For starters, I ask the Senate to pass a simple rule that all judicial and public service nominations receive a simple up-or-down vote within 90 days.

The executive branch also needs to change. Too often, it's inefficient, outdated, and remote. That's why I've asked this Congress to grant me the authority to consolidate the Federal bureaucracy so that our Government is leaner, quicker, and more responsive to the needs of the American people. Finally, none of this can happen unless we also lower the temperature in this town. We need to end the notion that the two parties must be locked in a perpetual campaign of mutual destruction, that politics is about clinging to rigid ideologies instead of building consensus around commonsense ideas.

I'm a Democrat, but I believe what Republican Abraham Lincoln believed: That Government should do for people only what they cannot do better by themselves and no more. That's why my education reform offers more competition and more control for schools and States. That's why we're getting rid of regulations that don't work. That's why our health care law relies on a reformed private market, not a Government program. On the other hand, even my Republican friends who complain the most about Government spending have supported federally financed roads and clean energy projects and Federal offices for the folks back home. The point is, we should all want a smarter, more effective Government. And while we may not be able to bridge our biggest philosophical differences this year, we can make real progress. With or without this Congress, I will keep taking actions that help the economy grow. But I can do a whole lot more with your help. Because when we act together, there's nothing the United States of America can't achieve. That's the lesson we've learned from our actions abroad over the last few years. Ending the Iraq war has allowed us to strike decisive blows against our enemies. From Pakistan to Yemen, the Al Qaida operatives who remain are scrambling, knowing that they can't escape the reach of the United States of America. From this position of strength, we've begun to wind down the war in Afghanistan. Ten thousand of our troops have come home. Twenty-three thousand more will leave by the end of this summer. This transition to Afghan lead will continue, and we will build an enduring partnership with Afghanistan so that it is never again a source of attacks against America.

As the tide of war recedes, a wave of change has washed across the Middle East and North Africa, from Tunis to Cairo, from Sana'a to Tripoli. A year ago, Qadhafi was one of the world's longest serving dictators, a murderer with American blood on his hands. Today, he is gone. And in Syria, I have no doubt that the Asad regime will soon discover that the forces of change cannot be reversed and that human dignity cannot be denied. How this incredible transformation will end remains uncertain. But we have a huge stake in the outcome. And while it's ultimately up to the people of the region to decide their fate, we will advocate for those values that have served our own country so well. We will stand against violence and intimidation. We will stand for the rights and dignity of all human beings: men and women; Christians, Muslims, and Jews. We will support policies that lead to strong and stable democracies and open markets, because tyranny is no match for liberty. And we will safeguard America's own security against those who threaten our citizens, our friends, and our interests. Look at Iran. Through the power of our diplomacy, a world that was once divided about how to deal with Iran's nuclear program now stands as one. The regime is more isolated than ever before. Its leaders are faced

with crippling sanctions, and as long as they shirk their responsibilities, this pressure will not relent. Let there be no doubt: America is determined to prevent Iran from getting a nuclear weapon, and I will take no options off the table to achieve that goal. But a peaceful resolution of this issue is still possible, and far better. And if Iran changes course and meets its obligations, it can rejoin the community of nations. The renewal of American leadership can be felt across the globe. Our oldest alliances in Europe and Asia are stronger than ever. Our ties to the Americas are deeper. Our ironclad commitment—and I mean ironclad—to Israel's security has meant the closest military cooperation between our two countries in history. We've made it clear that America is a Pacific power, and a new beginning in Burma has lit a new hope. From the coalitions we've built to secure nuclear materials, to the missions we've led against hunger and disease, from the blows we've dealt to our enemies, to the enduring power of our moral example, America is back. Anyone who tells you otherwise, anyone who tells you that America is in decline or that our influence has waned, doesn't know what they're talking about. That's not the message we get from leaders around the world who are eager to work with us. That's not how people feel from Tokyo to Berlin, from Cape Town to Rio, where opinions of America are higher than they've been in years. Yes, the world is changing. No, we can't control every event. But America remains the one indispensable nation in world affairs, and as long as I'm President, I intend to keep it that way. That's why, working with our military leaders, I've proposed a new defense strategy that ensures we maintain the finest military in the world, while saving nearly half a trillion dollars in our budget. To stay one step ahead of our adversaries, I've already sent this Congress legislation that will secure our country from the growing dangers of cyber threats.

Above all, our freedom endures because of the men and women in uniform who defend it. As they come home, we must serve them as well as they've served us. That includes giving them the care and the benefits they have earned, which is why we've increased annual VA spending every year I've been President. And it means enlisting our veterans in the work of rebuilding our Nation. With the bipartisan support of this Congress, we're providing new tax credits to companies that hire vets. Michelle and Jill Biden have worked with American businesses to secure a pledge of 135,000 jobs for veterans and their families. And tonight I'm proposing a veterans jobs corps that will help our communities hire veterans as cops and firefighters, so that America is as strong as those who defend her. Which brings me back to where I began. Those of us who've been sent here to serve can learn a thing or two from the service of our troops. When you put on that uniform, it doesn't matter if you're Black or White, Asian, Latino, Native American; conservative, liberal; rich, poor; gay, straight. When you're marching into battle, you look out for the person next to you or the mission fails. When you're in the thick of the fight, you rise or fall as one unit, serving one nation, leaving no one behind. You know, one of my proudest possessions is the flag that the SEAL team took with them on the mission to get bin Laden. On it are each of their names. Some may be Democrats, some may be Republicans, but that doesn't matter. Just like it didn't matter that day in the Situation Room, when I sat next to Bob Gates, a man who was George Bush's Defense Secretary, and Hillary Clinton, a woman who ran against me for President. All that mattered that day was the mission. No one thought about politics. No one thought about themselves. One of the young men involved in the raid later told me that he didn't deserve credit for the mission. It only succeeded, he said, because every single member of that unit did their job: the pilot who landed the helicopter that spun out of control, the translator who kept others from entering the compound, the troops who separated the women and children from the fight, the SEALs who charged up the stairs. More than that, the mission only succeeded because every member of that unit trusted each other, because you can't charge up those stairs into darkness and danger unless you know that there's somebody behind you, watching your back. So it is with America. Each time I look at that flag, I'm reminded that our destiny is stitched together like those 50 stars and those 13 stripes. No one built this country on their own. This Nation is great because we built it together. This Nation is great because we worked as a team. This Nation is great because we get each other's backs. And if we hold fast to that truth, in this moment of trial, there is no challenge too great, no mission too hard. As long as we are joined in common purpose, as long as we maintain our common resolve, our journey moves forward, and our future is hopeful, and the state of our Union will always be strong. Thank you, God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

## vi Biografija autora

Emir Muhić je rođen 23. juna 1983. godine u Banjoj Luci. Diplomirao je 2007. godine na Odsjeku za engleski i književnost Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Banjoj Luci. Postdiplomske magistarske studije upisao je na istom fakultetu 2008. godine, smjer *Nauka o jeziku*. Magistarski rad pod nazivom „Semantičke, pragmatičke i kognitivne dimenzije diskursa svjetske ekonomske krize u tekstovima na engleskom jeziku“ (mentor: prof. dr Snežana Bilbija) odbranio je decembra 2010. godine na Filološkom fakultetu (koji se 2009. godine izdvojio iz Filozofskog fakulteta) Univerziteta u Banjoj Luci i time stekao naučni stepen magistra filoloških nauka. Magistarska diploma Emira Muhića nostrifikovana je na Filološkom fakultetu Univerziteta u Beogradu aprila 2011. godine (zvanje magistar filoloških nauka – VII-2 stepen stručne spreme).

U periodu od 2007. do 2009. godine, Emir Muhić je radio kao profesor engleskog jezika u Školi stranih jezika Cambridge Centra u Banjoj Luci, na kursovima nivoa C1 i C2 (CEFOR) i na specijalističkom kursu *Phonetics and Everyday Spoken English*, čiji je i autor. Od 2008. godine povremeno saraduje u nastavi na Visokoj školi Komunikološki koledž u Banjoj Luci, gdje je 2011. godine biran u zvanje predavača. Predavao je predmete Engleski jezik I–VIII, Engleska književnost i Struktura engleskog jezika IV – Sintaksa.

Od 2009. godine zaposlen je na Filološkom fakultetu Univerziteta u Banjoj Luci, Studijski program engleskog jezika i književnosti, najprije u zvanju asistenta za užu naučnu oblast Anglistika, a od 2011. godine u zvanju višeg asistenta, uža naučna oblast Specifični jezici – engleski jezik. Kao asistent, odnosno viši asistent, radio je na predmetima Gramatika engleskog jezika I i II, Morfologija engleskog jezika, Morfosintaksa I i II, Fonetika engleskog jezika, Fonologija engleskog jezika i Savremeni engleski jezik I–VIII. Predavao je predmet Engleski jezik i na Studijskom programu njemačkog jezika i književnosti Filološkog fakulteta u Banjoj Luci, Odsjeku za istoriju Filozofskog fakulteta u Banjoj Luci, Studijskom programu za novinarstvo i komunikologiju, te Studijskim programima socijalnog rada i sociologije na Fakultetu političkih nauka Univerziteta u Banjoj Luci. Bavi se pismenim prevodjenjem, a radi i kao konsekutivni i simultani prevodilac.

Kao stipendista Vlade Sjedinjenih Američkih Država boravio je 2012. godine na Teksaškom univerzitetu u Ostinu (University of Texas at Austin) u okviru

programa *Junior Faculty Development Program* – program finansira *The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) of the U.S. Department of State*.

Naučna interesovanja Emira Muhića kreću se u domenu kognitivne lingvistike – teorija pojmovnih metafora, fonetike, fonologije, semantike i kritičke analize diskursa. Saradivao je na tri naučna projekta:

- 1) Council of Europe and European Commission Joint Project ‘Strengthening Higher Education in BiH – SHE III’ (koordinatori Karen Roberts i Nedim Vrabac). 2009 – 2011.
- 2) Diskurzivno konstruisanje nacionalnih i etničkih identiteta kod mladih u Bosni i Hercegovini (glavna istraživačica Danijela Majstorović). Regional Research Promotion Program in the Western Balkans, University of Freiburg, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation i Centar za kulturni i socijalni popravak Banja Luka, 2010 – 2011.
- 3) ICLE (International Corpus of Learner English) – prikupljanje pisanog korpusa studenata engleskog jezika za centralnu bazu podataka Univerziteta u Levenu, Belgija (koordinatorka projekta ispred Univerziteta u Banjoj Luci prof. dr Željka Babić). 2015 – 2016.

**Прилог 1.**

**Изјава о ауторству**

Потписани: Емир Мухић

Број уписа: 06-53/39

**Изјављујем**

да је докторска дисертација под насловом:

***Стратегије конструисања значења у савременом америчком политичком дискурсу***

- резултат сопственог истраживачког рада,
- да предложена дисертација у целини ни у деловима није била предложена за добијање било које дипломе према студијским програмима других високошколских установа,
- да су резултати коректно наведени и
- да нисам кршио ауторска права и користио интелектуалну својину других лица.

У Београду, 16.11.2015. г.

**Потпис докторанда**

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## Прилог 2.

### Изјава о истоветности штампане и електронске верзије докторског рада

Име и презиме аутора: Емир Мухић

Број уписа: 06-53/39

Студијски програм: Англистика

Наслов рада: *Стратегије конструисања значења у савременом америчком политичком дискурсу*

Ментор: др Катарина Расулић, доцент Филолошког факултета у Београду

Потписани: Емир Мухић

изјављујем да је штампана верзија мог докторског рада истоветна електронској верзији коју сам предао/ла за објављивање на порталу **Дигиталног репозиторијума Универзитета у Београду**.

Дозвољавам да се објаве моји лични подаци везани за добијање академског звања доктора наука, као што су име и презиме, година и место рођења и датум одбране рада.

Ови лични подаци могу се објавити на мрежним страницама дигиталне библиотеке, у електронском каталогу и у публикацијама Универзитета у Београду.

У Београду, 16.11.2015. г.

Потпис докторанда

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### Прилог 3.

#### Изјава о коришћењу

Овлашћујем Универзитетску библиотеку „Светозар Марковић“ да у Дигитални репозиторијум Универзитета у Београду унесе моју докторску дисертацију под насловом:

*Стратегије конструисања значења у савременом америчком политичком дискурсу*

која је моје ауторско дело.

Дисертацију са свим прилозима предао/ла сам у електронском формату погодном за трајно архивирање.

Моју докторску дисертацију похрањену у Дигитални репозиторијум Универзитета у Београду могу да користе сви који поштују одредбе садржане у одабраном типу лиценце Креативне заједнице (Creative Commons) за коју сам се одлучио.

1. Ауторство

**2. Ауторство – некомерцијално**

3. Ауторство – некомерцијално – без прераде

4. Ауторство – некомерцијално – делити под истим условима

5. Ауторство – без прераде

6. Ауторство – делити под истим условима

У Београду, 16.11.2015. г.

**Потпис докторанда**

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1. Ауторство – Дозвољавате умножавање, дистрибуцију и јавно саопштавање дела, и прераде, ако се наведе име аутора на начин одређен од стране аутора или даваоца лиценце, чак и у комерцијалне сврхе. Ово је најслободнија од свих лиценци.
2. Ауторство – некомерцијално. Дозвољавате умножавање, дистрибуцију и јавно саопштавање дела, и прераде, ако се наведе име аутора на начин одређен од стране аутора или даваоца лиценце. Ова лиценца не дозвољава комерцијалну употребу дела.
3. Ауторство – некомерцијално – без прераде. Дозвољавате умножавање, дистрибуцију и јавно саопштавање дела, без промена, преобликовања или употребе дела у свом делу, ако се наведе име аутора на начин одређен од стране аутора или даваоца лиценце. Ова лиценца не дозвољава комерцијалну употребу дела. У односу на све остале лиценце, овом лиценцом се ограничава највећи обим права коришћења дела.
4. Ауторство – некомерцијално – делити под истим условима. Дозвољавате умножавање, дистрибуцију и јавно саопштавање дела, и прераде, ако се наведе име аутора на начин одређен од стране аутора или даваоца лиценце и ако се прерада дистрибуира под истом или сличном лиценцом. Ова лиценца не дозвољава комерцијалну употребу дела и прерада.
5. Ауторство – без прераде. Дозвољавате умножавање, дистрибуцију и јавно саопштавање дела, без промена, преобликовања или употребе дела у свом делу, ако се наведе име аутора на начин одређен од стране аутора или даваоца лиценце. Ова лиценца дозвољава комерцијалну употребу дела.
6. Ауторство – делити под истим условима. Дозвољавате умножавање, дистрибуцију и јавно саопштавање дела, и прераде, ако се наведе име аутора на начин одређен од стране аутора или даваоца лиценце и ако се прерада дистрибуира под истом или сличном лиценцом. Ова лиценца дозвољава комерцијалну употребу дела и прерада. Слична је софтверским лиценцама, односно лиценцама отвореног кода.